

CHRONOTOPES IN THE 19TH-CENTURY BELGIAN HISTORICAL NOVEL: THE CASE OF JOSEPH RONSSE'S *ARNOLD VAN SCHOORISSE*

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Abstract. In this contribution I explore the perspectives Mikhail Bakhtin's chronotope concept offers for the study of the intrinsically hybrid genre of the historical novel. By applying the concept to the analysis of the early 19th-century Flemish historical novel, I illustrate how the chronotope of the adventure novel of ordeal, which structures a significant number of the historical novels published in Belgium between 1830 and 1850, and which can be traced back to the ancient Greek romance, can undergo drastic revisions under the influence of the particular poetics of the Belgian historical novel. During the first two decades of Belgian independence the poetics of the genre was strongly determined by the nationalist and didactic function the historical novel was called upon to perform. On the basis of an analysis of the historical adventure novel *Arnold van Schoorisse* (1845) by Joseph Ronsse – after Hendrik Conscience the second author to practise the genre in Flanders – I will illustrate how the first Flemish novelists harked back to traditional chronotopes (and their corresponding plots and motives) with which the largely uneducated Flemish public was familiar from a mostly oral folk tradition, and tried to remould these to accord with their own purposes and with the demands and regulations of the genre.

In what is generally referred to as Bakhtin's *third period* (the period of his forced exile in Kazakhstan in the 1930s), Mikhail Bakhtin became interested in the question of genre, which he regarded as 'a key organ of memory and an important vehicle of historicity'.¹ More specifically, it was the genre of the novel that awakened this interest; during the late 1930s and early 1940s, Bakhtin wrote six essays that deal with the theory of the novel: 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel', 'The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance in the History of Realism', 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse', 'Epic and Novel', 'Discourse in the Novel' and *The Novel of Education and Its Significance in the History of Realism*.² In their own way, these essays all trace and describe 'the establishment and growth of a generic skeleton of literature'.³ The *chronotope essays* 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel. Notes toward a Historical Poetics' (henceforth referred to as FTC) and 'The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance in the History of Realism (Toward a Historic Typology of the Novel)' (henceforth referred to as BSHR) constitute the basis for the theoretical framework that is developed in my dissertation on 19th-century Belgian historical novels. One of the case-studies from this dissertation is presented here, albeit in a considerably abridged form.

The main reason for choosing Bakhtin's chronotope theory for the textual analysis of Belgian historical novels written in the 1830s and 1840s is the hopeful prospect that Bakhtin's concept might help to shed some light on the essential *hybridity* of the genre. The chronotope essays chiefly trace the literary descent of what Bakhtin considers to be the various 'genres of the novel' (the adventure novel of ordeal, the adventure novel of everyday life, the chivalric romance, the (auto-)biographical novel, the idyllic romance, the folkloric romance, the *Bildungsroman*, etc.). Many of these 'subgenres' can be recognized in the multifarious set of novels that are lumped together in the first half of the 19th century under the common denominator 'historical novel'. This tracing of the literary descent leads Bakhtin to consider the literary works of the ancient Greeks and Romans as the 'authentic predecessors of the novel [...] containing in embryo and sometimes in developed form the basic elements characteristic of the most important later prototypes of the European novel'.⁴ In this light, the chronotope comes to function precisely as the primary principle that 'both defines genre and generic distinction and establishes the boundaries between the various intrageneric subcategories of the major literary types'.⁵

The preface to the very first Flemish (historical) novel *In 't Wonderjaer* (1837) testifies to the fact that the genre of the novel was still largely unknown in Flanders in the 1830s: the author, Hendrik Conscience, forewarns his public not to be frightened by the fact that he is presenting them with a *novel* ('Het is een *Roman!* schrikt niet').⁶ The Belgian (and especially the Flemish) reading public in the 1830s and 1840s was for the most part hardly educated, and was unfamiliar with literary traditions. Because the historical novels I study were the very first novels written in Belgium, and therefore do not fit within a longer national novelistic tradition, I need a theoretical framework that enables me to somehow ground this new genre in a broader literary and cultural history. In the absence of precursors in the same genre in this tradition, this framework enables me to lay bare and explain the foundations of certain characteristics of the genre.

The historical novels that started appearing in Belgium from the late 1820s on⁷ were not only influenced by foreign literary traditions (many novelists explicitly mention the models of Walter Scott and of the French historical novelists in their prefaces), but also, and for a large part, by 'native' (local or national) folk tales and popular legends. These folk tales showed strong resemblances (especially with respect to plot and motives) to certain basic chronotopes Bakhtin distinguished in FTC and BSHR. As Keunen has argued, Bakhtin's chronotopes can

be regarded as ‘memory schemata’⁸; particularly the memory schemata of the chronotope of the adventure novel of ordeal, the chronotope of the adventure novel of everyday life and the folkloric chronotope closely resemble the form of the horizon of expectation of the Belgian public, which was formed mainly by oral folk tales.

From Bakhtin’s initial definition it already becomes clear that the chronotope offers a privileged concept for the study of a genre that is not only hybrid, but that is at the same time saturated with both time (because of its character as *historical* novel) and space (because of its nationalist function in the context of Belgian independence (cf. *infra*)). Bakhtin’s concept allows me to do justice to both aspects of time and space since the term (borrowed from Einstein) is meant precisely to ‘express[...] the inseparability of space and time (time as the fourth dimension of space)’:

We will give the name *chronotope* (literally, ‘time space’) to the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature. [...] In the literary chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope.⁹

This essay mainly focuses on a single Flemish ‘adaptation’ of one of the oldest chronotopes Bakhtin has distinguished, the chronotope of the *adventure novel of ordeal*. The particular case of Joseph Ronsse’s historical novel *Arnold van Schoorisse* (1845)¹⁰ can, however, be seen as symptomatic for a great number of Belgian historical novels (cf. *infra*). First Bakhtin’s characterization of this chronotope. In *FTC*, Bakhtin analyses the chronotope of the adventure novel of ordeal predominantly in the cases of the very earliest examples of this type of novel, the so called Greek or Sophistic romances. As Carlos García Gual has demonstrated, some of these Greek romances (especially Chariton’s *Chareas and Callirhoë* and Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*) may be regarded as historical novels, and were indeed received as such in ancient times. The action in these romances is projected towards a – albeit only feebly characterized – past, historical characters figure in a minor role (often as parents of the heroes), and certain characters and scenes echo the works of historians like Herodotus and Thucydides.¹¹ Moreover, like the Belgian historical novels, these Greek romances constitute a formal hybrid,

a crossbreed. They are fictions reported under the guise of history, formally related to historiography, their plots consisting mostly of fictitious love affairs: ‘They are the fruit of an affair between the ancient epic and the picturesque historiography of the Hellenic period’.¹² And again like the Belgian historical novels, these Greek romances found their origins in local folk culture.

The crucial argument allowing me to locate my analysis of the historical adventure novel of ordeal *Arnold van Schoorisse* against the background of these ancient Greek romances is Bakhtin’s claim that in these prototypes the adventure time and the technique of its use are already ‘so perfected, so full, that in all subsequent evolution of the *purely* adventure novel nothing essential has been added to it down to the present day’.¹³ These Greek romances thus form a privileged point of reference. One significant characteristic of this adventure time is that it ‘lies outside biographical time’, as Bakhtin terms it. ‘It is not measured off in the novel and does not add up; it is simply days, nights, hours, moments clocked in a technical sense within the limits of each separate adventure’. It is an ‘empty time’ that ‘leaves no traces anywhere, no indications of its passing’.¹⁴ As for space, in these novels it ‘figures in solely as a naked, abstract expanse of space’, ‘measured primarily by *distance* on the one hand and by *proximity* on the other’. Thus, ‘[t]he adventure chronotope is [...] characterized by a *technical, abstract connection* [not an organic one, nb] *between space and time*, by the *reversibility* of moments in a temporal sequence, and by their *interchangeability* in space’.¹⁵

As I would like to illustrate, the traditional chronotope of the adventure novel of ordeal as Bakhtin described it has undergone particular – and in some novels quite significant – changes under the influence of the specific poetics of the Belgian historical novel, as it is expressed mainly in prefaces and works of literary criticism. In previous articles, I have argued that the case of the early 19th-century Belgian historical novel shows how prefaces – which in the 18th century had proved to be the privileged loci for expressing the literary novelistic consciousness – also offered an ideal discursive climate for addressing issues of nation building and collective memory. Detailed analyses of the nationalist discourse in the prefaces to the historical novels written in Belgium in the first two decades after independence, focussing on the discourses about memory and national identity, have revealed that both the concept of the native soil (space) and the genealogical link between the glorious ancestors and their descendants (time) have played a major role in the construction of this nationalist discourse.¹⁶ In the wider context of what may be called an integral historical

Belgian culture, the historical novel functioned as one of the primary media of collective memory in early-19th-century Belgium. Belgian historical novels helped to create a Belgian national past, thus historically legitimizing the independence that was gained in 1830. A *national Belgian* literature was explicitly called for, and historical novels were granted a privileged status, mostly because they were said to provide the ideal means for offering the Belgian reading public a truthful image of the glorious ‘Belgian’ past, of the ancestors with their customs and traditions, and, above all, of their unremitting struggle for independence.

However, many of the historical novels that follow the typical nationalist prefaces do not seem to live up to the claims made for them in these prefaces: they do not effectively ‘saturate’ the space of the native country with historical time, they do not present the Belgian reader with an image of the life and manners of his ancestors, and the depiction of the glorious struggle against foreign tyranny often seems to have been moulded to fit the chronotopic structure of the traditional adventure novel of ordeal, a structure the public was familiar with from the oral folk tales. Joseph Ronsse’s *Arnold van Schoorisse* (1845) presents a perfect example of this type of historical novel. One reason for selecting a work from Joseph Ronsse is that he was the second practitioner of the genre of the historical novel in the Flemish language after Hendrik Conscience, and that in spite of a quite positive reception in his own days¹⁷, since the beginning of the 20th century his novels have generally been regarded as uninteresting. Their main merit was that they functioned as a dark background against which Conscience’s works could stand out in all their luminosity. Against this routine devaluation, I want to argue that precisely these ‘second rate’ historical novels offer interesting insights into the efforts and struggles the Belgian historical novelists had to undertake in order to mould the traditional chronotopes of a largely unknown literary genre in ways that enabled them to perform the most urgent function of this historical narrative literature, i.e. the propagation of nationalist feelings. My choice for Ronsse’s third and last historical novel *Arnold van Schoorisse* (1845) – which deals with the uprising of the citizens of Ghent in 1382: under the leadership of Philip van Artevelde, Pieter van den Bossche and Frans Ackerman Ghent opposed the Count of Flanders Louis of Mâle, who after a defeat in Beverhout (3 May 1382) appealed for help to his son-in-law, the French regent Philip the Bold, and defeated the Flemish army at Westrozebeke (27 November 1382) – is motivated by the fact that, unlike in his first two historical novels *Kapitein Blommaert* (1841)¹⁸ and *Pedro en Blondina* (1842)¹⁹, Ronsse now for the first time incorporates the characteristic 19th-century nationalist discourse in the dedication and the preface to his novel. His first two

novels had been criticized for their lack of national awareness; with his third novel, Ronsse apparently wanted to repair these earlier ‘failures’.²⁰ In the preface to *Arnold van Schoorisse*, phrases like ‘[Lodewyk van Male, onder wiens bestuer] onze moedergrond het bloed van zoo menig dapperen zoon gedronken heeft’ (‘[Louis of Mâle, under whose reign] the soil of the mother country drank the blood of so many a brave son’) (I, v) are more reminiscent of the combatant nationalist prefaces of Conscience’s *Phantazy* (1837) and *De Leeuw van Vlaenderen* (*The Lion of Flanders*) (1838).²¹

It is interesting to see how Ronsse here picks up on a sentence from Conscience’s preface to *Phantazy*, where the text reads: ‘Gevloekte moeders! de verbastering zit in uwe borsten, en de zuigeling die gy kweekt, haelt het vreemde bloed uit uwe aderen’²² (‘Cursed mothers! the corruption sits in your breasts, and the infant you raise drains the foreign blood from your veins’). This image of a mother nursing her baby is reversed in Ronsse’s sentence, where it is the soil of the mother country that is said to drink the blood of her sons. The reversal not only works on this logical level, but also on the level of national morality: where the 19th-century Belgians are warned for the danger of corruption and degeneration that lurks in their midst, the 14th-century sons of Flanders / Belgium are said to be ‘brave’. Through this image, the national space (the ‘mother country’) is as it were brought into a genealogical metaphor, and thus into the dimension of time. By actively ‘drinking’ the heroic ancestral blood, the national space becomes saturated with national time, a time that condenses the heroic ancestral struggles against all foreign oppressors who ever dared to assail the Belgians on their mother soil.

In his review of *Arnold van Schoorisse* in the Flemish periodical *Kunst- en Letterblad*, the critic P.F. Van Kerckhoven indeed recognizes Ronsse’s ‘aim’ as primarily ‘national’ (‘vaderlandsche poogingen’) and he praises the effect of the novel on the contemporary Flemish reader: ‘De grootsche beelden van Philips van Artevelde en van Frans Ackerman verheffen zich op het vaderlandsche tooneel, als om de Vlamingen hunne aloude grootheid te doen herinneren en daerdoor de liefde voor den heiligen geboortegrond meer en meer te doen aangroeijen.’²³ (‘The great images of Philip van Artevelde and Frans Ackerman rise on the national scene as if to remind the Flemings of the ancient greatness of their nation in order to more and more increase the love for the holy native soil.’) The abstract adventure time and space of the novel, however, pose more of a problem to Van Kerckhoven. The novel itself does indeed consist almost entirely of adventure time and space, albeit that space in *Arnold*

van Schoorisse is somewhat less abstract than in the traditional adventure novels of ordeal: its chronotope is at regular points concretized in exact temporal and spatial coordinates. This slight manipulation results from the demand of truthfulness that the historical novel has to meet: the characteristic ‘interchangeability’ of adventure time and space is forced to a compromise with the required illusion of truth. At the same time, the typical ‘abstract-alien world’ of the adventure novel of ordeal is replaced by the native Belgian country, which already in itself makes the novelistic space somewhat less abstract than an ‘alien’ world would be.

Van Kerckhoven also criticizes the novel for not being consistent: ‘het verhael [...] [maekt] geen en enkelen draed uit [...]: het is eene gedurige afwisseling van vreugde en droefheid, van blydschap en nêerslagtigheid, van hoop en wanhoop; het is eene vereeniging van kleine episodien welke elkaer opvolgen en ieder eenen draed uitmaken.’²⁴ (‘the story does not form one single thread: it is a constant alternation of joy and sadness, of happiness and depression, of hope and despair; it is an assemblage of small episodes which follow each other and each make up a single thread.’) In addition, the plot is found to be ‘too complicated, too rich in events’²⁵ (‘het onderwerp van het verhael [is] te zeer ingewikkeld, te ryk van gebeurtenissen’), although the succession of adventures does incite an unremitting curiosity. Such plotlines are typical of the adventure novel of ordeal: adventure time can be extended infinitely, and the case of the 17th-century Baroque novel illustrates how such adventure novels could easily comprise tens of thousands of pages, spread out over various volumes. These complicated plotlines, Van Kerckhoven argues, have forced Ronsse to use a merely narrating form, and, in order not to become too lengthy, to neglect aspects such as portrayal and depiction. However, it is precisely the ‘schildering’, the depiction and portrayal of manners, customs, people, spaces, ... that is seen as typically ‘national’ and ‘Belgian’: ‘De Vlamingen zyn, als het ware, van natuerwege schilders, en beminnen het harmonische, doch sterk gekleurde bovenal.’²⁶ (‘The Flemings are, as it were, portrayers (painters) by nature; they share a love for the harmonious, but above all, for the colourful.’) In my dissertation I argue that it is precisely a chronotope saturated by national influences, with many portrayals and depictions of a national space and time, that constitutes the characteristic trait of what is regarded as the ‘good’, ‘true’, ‘national’ Belgian historical novel in the 1830s and 1840s.

Contemporary criticism thus seemed to regard *Arnold van Schoorisse* primarily as an adventure novel; it was not *depicting* enough to count as a ‘national’ historical novel. The

depiction of historical space through various and detailed descriptions could have provided the author with an abundance of opportunities to call forth nationalist feelings, but contrary to the expectations raised by the preface, space remains highly abstract in *Arnold van Schoorisse*. To name but one example: the roads leading from the (mostly) individual spaces of the castles to the public spaces of the cities – the ‘Vrijdagmarkt’ for example plays an important role as the ‘vergaderplaets’ (‘meeting place’) (IV, 38) for the citizens of Ghent – are situated in a kind of no man’s land. They run through landscapes that, as in the Greek romances, remain vague and indistinct. Space is seen solely as something that should be overcome (cf. I, 12-13: ‘naermate de te doorlopen baen korter werd’ (‘as the road to be journeyed grew shorter’)); no attention whatsoever is paid to what happens at the side of the road, to the life that is ‘spread out along the edge of the road itself, and along the sideroads’²⁷, to the manners and traditions of the 14th-century Flemish people. Journeys (typically on horseback) take place in hiatus between dawn and dusk; conversations on the way take place in a vacuous space. *Arnold van Schoorisse* contains no elements from what Bakhtin has called the chronotope of the *adventure novel of everyday life* (the earliest instances being Apuleius’ *The Golden Ass* and Petronius’ *Satyricon*): all wanderings retain their typical ‘Greek’, abstract character. Even when the narrator describes Artevelde’s military campaign through the Flemish provinces (II, 187-197 & II, 218-219) the native space remains abstract. The narrator confines himself to a summing up of city names; nowhere is the Flemish land or life depicted in any detail. Only significant, functional details are described, and never at great length, which is quite untypical of a historical novel, for the genre has, since Walter Scott, often been equated with an extravagance of tedious descriptions. Moreover, the details that *are* described in *Arnold van Schoorisse* primarily function to indicate the rapid passing of adventure time (and the dangers inherent to such novelistic time). This is the case in the scene where Arnold’s daughter Oda van Schoorisse (the main female character) impatiently awaits her lover Ackerman, who has promised to journey to the castle of Schoorisse. Here the narrator describes in detail an hourglass running on water (I, 126) and also mentions an hour hand (I, 126), a tower clock (I, 127) and a sandglass (I, 128). As in the descriptions in Greek romances, the few objects that are described remain separate elements. Nowhere an ‘overview’ is given, not of rooms or houses, nor of the manners of a people, the country side, ... And although the narrator often presents the reader with detailed road directions (with the names of all the streets travelled) in his narration of the public processions in the story, the historical information which precisely charges these places with historicity is significantly banned to the footnotes (e.g. II, 57-58).²⁸ The historical chronotope in this type of historical

adventure novels of ordeal, as we can now call them, can be encountered predominantly, and sometimes only, in the footnotes and endnotes.

The nationalist discourse that can be found in the prefaces thus cannot be said to have greatly increased the amount of concretization of time and space. However, it is certainly explicitly and abundantly present in the *discourse* of certain characters (in their speeches, dialogues, monologues). I will here mention only one example, other examples can be found in the endnotes to this paper.²⁹ On the eve of the decisive battle at Westrozebeke, Philip van Artevelde reminds his fellow citizens of the glorious deeds of their forefathers in Groeninge in the way the 19th-century historical novelists remind their contemporaries of the ancestral heroism: ‘Herinnert u allen de heldendaden uwer vaderen’ (II, 227). That Ronsse made the 19th-century nationalist discourse serve as a model for Artevelde’s discourse in *Arnold van Schoorisse* can be seen for instance in Artevelde’s confident exclamation that ‘nieuwe Breydels en de Coninks zyn weêr opgerezen om hunne stadgenooten tot de overwinning te geleiden’ (‘new Breydel’s and de Coninck’s have risen again to lead their fellow citizens to victory’) (II, 229): the main characters from Conscience’s *De Leeuw van Vlaenderen* only became legendary in the 19th century.

A perfect example of the little influence the nationalist discourse has exerted on the categories of time and space in the novel is provided by the ensuing description of the battle at Westrozebeke. By reminding the citizens of Ghent and Bruges of the fact that ‘de vermolmde gebeenderen uwer vrye vaderen [nog] rusten [...] in den heiligen grond van Groeninge’ (‘the mouldered bones of your free fathers still rest in the holy soil of Groeninge’) (II, 229) Philip van Artevelde succeeds in arousing their nationalist feelings. In his speech the imaginary space of ‘Vlaenderen’ is charged with historicity through the mentioning of such places as Groeninge, through the stressing of the need to free the native soil of ‘uitheemsch[...] gebroedsel’ (‘foreign scum’) (II, 231) and through the call to let the blood of the last oppressor spill under Flemish axes. The native soil is saturated with the past (literally, through the image of the corpses buried in the ground) and even acquires a holy character. Likewise, time becomes charged with historicity as well: the battle that is to take place the next day, ‘[zal] de onafhankelykheid der Vlamingen vereeuwigen, of hen op nieuw met boeijen overladen’ (‘will perpetuate the independence of the Flemings, or put them back in chains’) (II, 236). However, Ronsse importantly does not succeed in introducing this historicity into the descriptions of the actual novelistic space. The historical chronotope in *Arnold van*

Schoorisse is only created in the imagination of the characters, it is not realised in the novel's 'reality' (in its chronotope): in the description of the battle the next day, the space of the native country once more completely disappears into the background, and actions such as 'rushing forward', 'fleeing', 'hastening to help', 'gaining ground', 'recoiling', 'pursuing', 'surrounding' and 'cutting short' (II, 240-249) all take place against a completely abstract background. This abstract quality of time and space is a necessity in any adventure novel of ordeal. As Bakhtin explains, it is a prerequisite for the ruling principle of 'chance' to be able to operate to its fullest:

Every concretization, of even the most simple and everyday variety, would introduce its own *rule-generating force*, its own *order*, its *inevitable ties* to human life and to the time specific to that life. Events would end up being interwoven with these rules, and to a greater or lesser extent would find themselves participating in this order, subject to its ties. This would critically limit the power of chance; the movement of the adventures would be organically localized and tied down in time and space.³⁰

Not only in its treatment of time and space does *Arnold van Schoorisse* position itself within the tradition of the adventure novel of ordeal; it extends this tradition as well in its plot-structure, and principally in its use of the 'compositional-organizing device of *testing* the heroes'.³¹ The whole plot begins with a letter (a typical plot motif in the Greek romance) announcing the knighting of the title figure Arnold van Schoorisse as a reward for his unremitting faith and loyalty to Count Louis of Mâle. *Faith* (on various levels: with regard to family ties, as well as on the amorous and political plane) and the test, the trial of this faith, form the pivot around which the plot of *Arnold van Schoorisse* is constructed. Bakhtin argued that '[t]he majority of adventures in a Greek romance are organized [...] as trials of the hero and heroine, especially trials of their chastity and mutual fidelity. But other things may also be tested: their nobility, courage, strength, fearlessness, and – more rarely – their intelligence.'³² As in the Greek romances, it is the fidelity of the heroes and heroines that will be put to all sorts of tests in *Arnold van Schoorisse*. Contrary to the Greek romance, however, the first kind of loyalty being mentioned is not towards the loved one (the amorous faith) but towards the sovereign (the political faith, more suitable for use in a novel that intends to arouse nationalist feelings).

Where, from the Greek romances onwards, the whole plot movement of the adventure novel of ordeal typically unfolds in the adventurous gap, the hiatus between two biographical moments in life that are strictly amorous events (falling in love and marriage), in *Arnold van Schoorisse* this amorous plot-line is not introduced at the very beginning, but only after the introduction of the political (national) plot-line.³³ The amorous plot-line is however still introduced in the first chapter, in the story of Arnold's and Isabella's marriage and Isabella's subsequent abduction, and at the end the motif is even doubled by the introduction of another couple (Oda van Schoorisse and Frans Ackerman) about to get married. The deep indebtedness of *Arnold van Schoorisse* to the Greek romance reveals itself in the fact that Ackerman is first introduced as Oda's lover (and thus as a hero in the amorous plot-line), and is to figure as a historical character only in the next chapter.

Further in the novel, however, it will become clear that Arnold's unremitting (and uncritical) loyalty to the Count of Mâle largely stems from a curse that 'de zwarte ridder' ('the black knight'), a long-time persecutor of Arnold's family who had abducted Arnold's wife Isabella seventeen years before, has laid upon Arnold's daughter Oda. The black knight had added a stipulation to this curse, promising that if Arnold should ever succeed in being knighted by the Count as a reward for his faithful service, he himself would honour the precepts of knighthood, and would respect and even protect Oda, because from then on she would be 'het erfdeel eens ridders' ('the inheritance of a knight') (I, 38). The reason for Arnold's loyalty is therefore primarily to be situated on the 'individual' (and predominantly amorous) plane of events, not on the political plane.

As in the traditional adventure novel of ordeal, the faith of the main characters is for the most part never under debate in *Arnold van Schoorisse*: the whole novel is conceived as a proof of this faith, rather than as a test in which the heroes might fail.³⁴ The central motif of faith also informs the many oaths sworn in this novel – the crucifixes in the bedrooms of the 'persecuted maidens' Isabella and Oda seem to be present for this purpose only. Characters in the novel are, moreover, often evaluated on the basis of their trustworthiness and sincerity: they are characterized as honest and sincere, or as 'lasteraer' ('slanderer'), 'schynheilig' ('hypocritical') or 'valschaert' ('imposter') (I, 17). This opposition receives its clearest expression in Oda's characterization of her respective suitors Frans Ackerman and Walter van Herzeele (Arnold's best friend, who will later turn out to be none other than the black knight³⁵). The words of Ackerman are 'waer als het H. Evangelie' ('as true as the gospel'); in

Walter's words on the contrary 'schuilt iets listigs' ('they contain something cunning and deceitful'), and Oda remains on her guard against the 'listen en lagen' ('cunning schemes') of the 'valschaert' (I, 80-81).³⁶

Walter van Herzelee not only plays the role of false friend in the 'individual' plot-sequence, where he uses his position as Arnold's best friend and confidant for his own scheming to get Oda to renounce Ackerman and marry him instead, he also (and successfully) plays this role on the historical plane, where he stands in the grace of both opposed political parties and knows their secrets: Walter

was [...] in de gunsten des Graven, even als in die der opstandelingen gedrongen: de geheimen der beide gezindheden doorgrondde hy: de belangen van den Prins, even als die der Gentenaers, werden door hem in schyn verdedigd; en nauw was de eene of andere maetregel genomen, of hy werd aen de vyandlyke benden overgebrieffd (I, 70-71).

had come into the Count's favour, as well as in that of the rebels: he fathomed the secrets of both parties: both the interests of the Prince and of the citizens of Ghent were defended by him, but only in name; and hardly had one or the other measure been taken, before it was passed on to the enemy[.]

As a faithful descendant of his villainous forefathers Walter enters into this new context of the historical novel, and with the new opportunities it provides for villainous behaviour he skilfully takes advantage of his inside information on the historical plane of the narrative and puts it to his personal use on the individual, amorous plane. His means of seduction for a large part lie in his words, in his language. In a strange way, he seems to have mastered the generic devices of the adventure novel of ordeal to a high degree. Furthermore, Walter makes the utmost of the opportunities of adventure time and space, where everything revolves about 'to be or not to be in a given place at a given moment, to meet or not to meet and so forth'³⁷, a talent Walter excels in. A typical trait of adventure time is that it is a time in which 'the normal, pragmatic and premeditated course of events is interrupted', providing 'an opening for sheer chance, which has its own specific logic [...], one of *random contingency*, which is to say, chance *simultaneity* (meetings) and *chance rupture* (nonmeetings)'.³⁸ This 'chance time'

is the specific time during which irrational forces intervene in human life; the intervention of Fate (Tyche), gods, demons, sorcerers or – in later adventure novels – those novelistic villains who as villains use chance meetings or failures to meet for their own purposes: they ‘lie in wait,’ they ‘bide their time,’ we have a veritable downpour of ‘suddenlys’ and ‘at just that moments.’³⁹

Villains construe obstacles and impediments in order to keep the lovers apart, to hold them back or delay them ‘on the way’. Walter van Herzeele is a textbook example of such a villain, who on top of this also knows how to blend in in adventure space: he hides himself in the woods, disappears into the crowded streets of Oudenaarde, etc. But Walter is a *new* kind of villain – and a particularly suitable one to appear in a national historical novel – in that he has adapted himself extremely well to a very specific characteristic of the genre: he seems to control what Bakhtin has characterized as the intersections of the public (historical) and the private (individual) time-planes typical of all historical novels. Where according to Bakhtin folklore still displays a time that is ‘unified in an unmediated way’ – a time that has had great influence on the folkloric chronotope – in later literary works

the time of personal, everyday family occasions has already been individualized and separated out from the time of the collective historical life of the social whole [...] there emerged one scale for measuring the events of a *personal* life and another for measuring the events of *history* (these were experienced on various levels). Although *in the abstract* time remained unified, when it was appropriated for the making of plots it bifurcated. There were not many personal plots to choose from, and they could not be transferred into the life of the social whole (the state, the nation); the plots (occasions) of history became something specifically separate from the plots of personal life (love, marriage); they intersected only at certain specific points (war, the marriage of a king, crime), and took off from these points in a multitude of different directions (as in the double plot of historical novels: on the one hand historical events, and on the other the life of the historical personage as a private individual).⁴⁰

This bifurcation figures in the very first chapter of *Arnold van Schoorisse* when Arnold relates how, ‘[o]p zekeren dag [...] in het begin der lente van den jare 1359’ (‘on a certain day during the beginning of spring 1359’) (I, 12)⁴¹, while some Flemish knights drove off to Calais to

fight against France, he on the other hand left his castle ‘by de eerste morgenschemering’ (‘at first dawn’), filled by sweet thoughts of love and future happiness, to join his beloved Isabella. Arnold does emphatically not choose the historical path; he takes the opposite direction, following the path that leads into adventure time and space.⁴² At the end of the novel, Ackerman is confronted with a similar choice, and ‘ditzelfde paerd, dat Ackerman als minnaer tot voor de voeten zyner verloofde moest brengen, werd gezadeld tot een geheel ander einde’ (‘the very same horse that should have taken Ackerman as a lover to his fiancée was now saddled to a wholly different end’) (IV, 11), as Ackerman decides to leave for Ghent as commander-in-chief, riding into historical time and space.

Precisely these opposing loyalties, which are connected with different narrative time-planes and different motivic chronotopes (private versus historical) determine the suspense surrounding the main plotline of Oda’s and Ackerman’s marriage. The suspense sets in from the moment that Arnold makes it clear to his daughter that if Ackerman would get involved in the revolt of Ghent, their union in marriage would become impossible, because he would never accept a son-in-law who dared to oppose his liege, the Count of Flanders (I, 50). Ackerman, whose nationalism is already praised in the dedication to the novel⁴³, of course *does* embrace the ‘Flemish’ cause. The ensuing constant prevention of his marriage is, however, to a large extent caused by the cunning schemes of Walter van Herzelee, who has talked Ackerman into accepting the leadership of the rebels of Ghent. The marriage will, finally, never take place, for Ackerman is murdered only hours before his wedding and ‘[d]e koets, die bespannen stond om Ackerman, als minnaer, naer den autaar te brengen, diende hem tot lykwagen’ (‘the chariot standing harnessed to bring Ackerman as lover to the altar now served him for a hearse’) (IV, 202).⁴⁴

What is striking in the continuation of the novel is that, although Ackerman has been murdered by Walter’s nephew Gallodin van Herzelee to revenge his uncle’s death (Ackerman had killed the black knight during the knight’s attempt to abduct Oda from her father’s castle; later, the body proved to be Walter’s), Arnold will attribute Ackerman’s death entirely to the events in the historical plotline. In his funeral oration he only has eye for the historical, public dimension of Ackerman’s death, and he seizes the shared circumstance of the ungratefulness and inconstancy of the masses as an opportunity to grant Frans Ackerman the same status as the great Jacob van Artevelde:

Ackerman! ... slagtoffer uwer medeburgers, gy ook hebt het lot van den volklievenden Jacob van Artevelde ondergaen! Gy ook, zyt als de ongelukkige Galterus van Herzeele, onder het oog uwer stedegenooten gesneuveld! ... Gy alleen hebt gedaen wat anderen slechts poogden, en tot belooning van al die diensten, heeft het zwaerd van den hatelyken Gallodin u den schedel gekloven! ... Gent! Gent! hoe ondankbaer zyn uwe kinderen niet! (IV, 184)

Ackerman! ... victim of your fellow citizens, you too have suffered the fate of the caring Jacob van Artevelde! You too, like the unfortunate Galterus van Herzeele, have fallen under the eyes of your fellow townsmen! ... You alone have done what others only endeavoured, and as a reward for all these services, the sword of the spiteful Gallodin has cleft your skull! ... Ghent! Ghent! how ungrateful are your children!

When the Count does not punish Gallodin for his murder of Ackerman and instead sentences those who try to avenge Ackerman's death with exile, Arnold's loyalty turns into indifference ('De straffeloosheid van Gallodin, en de onmogelykheid waerin de Vryheer van Schoorisse zich bevond, om er wraek over te nemen, maekte dat zyne aengekleefdheid aen den Graef in onverschilligheid overging' (IV, 191)), and this indifference soon makes way for feelings of hatred, 'die haet voor woede, en de Vryheer die steeds bereid was geweest om zyn bloed voor den Prins te wagen, vormde slechts nog éénen wensch, en 't was die van zyn zwaerd tegen de belangen van dienzelfden Vorst te mogen trekken!' ('this hatred [made way] for anger, and the Knight [Arnold van Schoorisse, nb] who had always been prepared to risk his blood for the Prince now had only one wish left: to pull his sword against the interests of that same Prince!') (IV, 191).

This analysis strongly contradicts Pauwels' characterization of *Arnold van Schoorisse* as a moral exemplum ('moreel exempel') that according to him carries as its most important message ('boodschap') the lesson that faith and loyalty to the legal authorities in the end always pays off, even though these authorities often do not deserve any faith ('uiteindelijk loont trouw aan het wettige gezag, hoewel dat gezag vaak geen trouw verdient').⁴⁵ Arnold's reform may testify to the conclusion that, although the historicity in *Arnold van Schoorisse* is largely to be found in the paratext instead of in the chronotopes, Joseph Ronsse did succeed in the task every historical novelist faces, according to Bakhtin: that of allotting a certain amount of importance to the historical events, enough to bear an influence on the events of the

individual plotline. As in the traditional adventure novel of ordeal, the adventure time in *Arnold van Schoorisse* is ‘intensified’ (events happen in the nick of time, ‘suddenly’ and ‘at just that moments’ reign supreme, together with the notions of ‘earlier’ and ‘later’), but a great difference lies in the fact that this time is no longer wholly ‘undifferentiated’, as Bakhtin called it: the actual historical context and historical time are no longer completely irrelevant with respect to the plot adventures.⁴⁶ The novel begins when Arnold receives the news of his knighting as a token of gratitude for his loyalty to the Count, but it ends with his *renunciation* of this loyalty; where, in the first chapter, he calls the citizens of Ghent ‘muitelingen’ (‘rebels’) (I, 3), at the end he chooses their side and embraces their cause. The nationalist discourse has had its effect, and the nationalist function of the historical novel appears to have strongly influenced the idea of ‘testing’ in the traditional adventure novel of ordeal. A previous faith is abandoned, and this is illustrated by Arnold’s decision to abandon his all too ‘public’ house in the city of Oudenaarde (which is the second place of residence of the Schoorisses) to go and live in the symbolic, private space of Schoorisse castle: ‘dàér verwyderde hy zich van al wat vroeger met hem over de belangen van Vlaenderens beheerschers handelde, zoo verre dat hy [...] de belofte afvergde van nimmermeer den naem van Philips van Valois in zyne tegenwoordigheid te noemen.’ (‘there, he removed himself from everything that he used to do in the interest of Flanders’s oppressors – and he removed himself so far, that he demanded to never have the name of Philip of Valois mentioned in his presence again.’) (IV, 192).

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Notes

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¹ Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics*. Stanford (California): Stanford University Press, 1990, p. 280.

² - ‘Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel. Notes toward a Historical Poetics’ (FTC) (1937-1938) (in M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays*. Edited by Michael Holquist. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990 [1981], p. 84-258.

- 'The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance in the History of Realism (Toward a Historic Typology of the Novel)' (BSHR) (1936-1938) (in M.M. Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Translated by Vern. W. McGee. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002 [1986], p. 10-59.

- 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse' (PND) (1940) (in Bakhtin 1990, p. 41-83).

- 'Epic and Novel. Toward a Methodology for the Study of the Novel' (EaN) (1941) (in id., p. 3-40).

- 'Discourse in the Novel' (DiN) (late 1930s), (in id., p. 259-422).

- *The Novel of Education and Its Significance in the History of Realism*, Bakhtin's lost book on Goethe.

All quotations from these essays will be indicated by the abbreviations of the title and relevant page numbers.

³ Morson & Emerson 1990, p. 278.

⁴ EaN, p. 21-22.

⁵ Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist, *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Cambridge/Massachusetts/Londen: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 280.

⁶ Hendrik Conscience, *In 't Wonderjaer [1566]. Historische tafereelen uit de XVI^e eeuw*. Antwerpen: Schoeseters, 1837, p. iii.

⁷ The novel generally regarded to be the very first *Belgian* historical novel (H.-G. Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer, ou la Belgique sous le Duc d'Albe* (Bruxelles: Sacré, 1827)) appeared, strange as it may seem, *before* Belgium became a nation-state. During the period of the United Kingdom of King William I (1815-1830), Moke published three historical novels which in their titles all presented themselves as historical novels about 'Belgium', or, more explicitly, as 'Belgian historical novels' (cf. the other two titles: *Le Gueux des Bois ou Les Patriotes Belges de 1566* (Bruxelles: Lebègue, 1828) and *Philippine de Flandre, ou les Prisonniers du Louvre, Roman historique belge* (Paris: Gosselin 1830)).

⁸ Bart Keunen, 'Bakhtin, Genre Formation, and the Cognitive Turn: Chronotopes as Memory Schemata', in *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture: A WWWeb Journal* 2 (2000) 2, section 4.

⁹ FTC, p. 84. Many theorists have pointed out the vagueness surrounding Bakhtin's chronotope concept. Morson & Emerson and Keunen, amongst others, have clarified how a distinction can be made in Bakhtin's examples between what could be called 'generic chronotopes' or 'chronotopes of whole genres' on the one hand, and 'motivic chronotopes' on

the other (Morson & Emerson 1990, p. 374; Keunen 2000). In the last case, '[a] particular sort of event, or a particular sort of place that usually serves as the locale for such an event, acquires a certain chronotopic aura, which is in fact the "echo of the generic whole" in which the given event typically appears. [...] When these events or locales are used in other genres, they may "remember" their past, and carry the aura of the earlier genre into the new one; indeed, they may be incorporated for this very reason.' (Morson & Emerson 1990, p. 374) This distinction greatly enhances the operational potential of Bakhtin's concept for the analysis of literary texts, a potential my analysis exploits.

¹⁰ Joseph Ronsse, *Arnold van Schoorisse, episode uit den opstand der Gentenaers (1382-1385)*. 4 vols. Oudenaarde: de Vos, 1845. All further quotations from this novel will be indicated by volume and page numbers in the text. All translations are my own.

¹¹ Carlos Garcia Gual, 'L'élément historique dans les romans grecs de l'antiquité', in *L'évolution du roman. Evolution of the novel. Die Entwicklung des Romans*. Edited by Zoran Konstantinovic, Eva Kushner a.o. Innsbruck: Amoe, 1982 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. 53; Proceedings of the ... Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association 'Literature as cultural memory' 9, 4 / Actes du ... Congrès de l'Association internationale de littérature comparée 9, 4), p. 19-23; quote on p. 22.

¹² Gual 1982, p. 19-20.

¹³ FTC, p. 87.

¹⁴ FTC, p. 90-91.

¹⁵ FTC, p. 99-100.

¹⁶ Cf. Nele Bemong, 'A State Just out of the Cradle, but with Age-old Recollections: The Memory-shaping Function of the Belgian Historical Novel', in *Literature & Memory: Theoretical Paradigms – Genres – Functions*. Edited by Ansgar Nünning, Marion Gymnich & Roy Sommer. Tübingen: Narr, 2006 (in print).

¹⁷ In 1845, he is called a 'verdienstvol letterkundige' (a 'meritorious man of letters') ([P.F.] V[an] K[erckhoven], '[review of *Arnold van Schoorisse, episode uit den opstand der Gentenaers (1382-1385)* by Joseph Ronsse]', in *Kunst- en Letterblad* 6 (1845) 6, p. 69). In 1862, *Arnold van Schoorisse* is praised as a 'gewrocht waar de geest des meesters in doorstraalt' (a 'creation in which the spirit of the master radiates') ([Frans] R[ens], 'Jozef Ronsse', in *De Eendragt, veertiendaagsch tijdschrift voor letteren, kunsten en wetenschappen* 16, 22 (18/05/1862), p. 89). And still in 1910, Ronsse is said to deserve '[w]aardering en lof'

(‘recognition and praise’) (Th. Coopman and L. Scharpé, *Geschiedenis der Vlaamsche Letterkunde*. Antwerpen: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1910, p. 171).

¹⁸ Joseph Ronsse, *Kapitein Blommaert of de Boschgeuzen te Audenaerde. 1566-1572*. Oudenaarde: Drukkery der Gazette van Audenaerde, 1841.

¹⁹ Joseph Ronsse, *Pedro en Blondina, verhael uit de XVI^e eeuw*. Oudenaarde: Drukkery der Gazette van Audenaerde, 1842.

²⁰ Karel Wauters, ‘Het Vlaamse fictionele proza van Conscience tot Loveling’, in *Hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse letterkunde in de negentiende eeuw*. Vol 1. Edited by Ada Deprez, Walter Gobbers and Karel Wauters. Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1999, p. 147-310; quote on p. 186.

²¹ Cf. Bemong 2006.

²² Hendrik Conscience, *Phantazy*. Antwerpen: De Cort, 1837, p. ii.

²³ Van Kerckhoven 1845, p. 69.

²⁴ Id.

²⁵ Id.

²⁶ Id.

²⁷ FTC, p. 120.

²⁸ Cf. Joep Leerssen, ‘Over de ontologische status en de tekstuele situering van imagotypen: exotisme en voetnoten in Walter Scotts *Waverley*’, in *Deugdelijk Vermaak. Opstellen over literatuur en filosofie in de negentiende eeuw*. Edited by Els Eweg. Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1987, p. 125-135.

²⁹ The soil of Flanders is said to have drunk the blood of many a brave descendant (I, 47). The citizens of Ghent strive ‘om de vryheden [en voorregten] hunner vaderen weêr te winnen’ (‘to regain the freedoms [and privileges] of their fathers’) (I, 88-89; cf. also I, 91). Philip van Artevelde sincerely believes that, like his father, he is ‘geroepen [...] tot de rol van verlosser zyns vaderlands’ (‘called to be the liberator of his fatherland’) (I, 97), which is why he wants to break ‘de boeijen’ (‘the chains’) holding the people of Ghent captive (I, 99): ‘Onze verdrukking moet eindigen’ (‘Our oppression must end’) (I, 101). Citizens of Bruges and Ghent alike ‘hebben zich [...] het juk des dwingelands onttrokken: zy hebben getoond dat de vryheid, met de moedermelk ingezogen, door geene opoffering [...] verdoofd kon worden’ (‘have cast off the yoke of the oppressor: they have shown that freedom, sucked up with their mother’s milk, cannot be numbed by any sacrifice’) (II, 228-229). ‘[V]ry te zyn of te sterven’ (‘being free or dying’ / ‘freedom or death’) is said to be the motto of Flanders (II, 229).

See especially chapters twelve and nineteen for the dominating presence of this nationalist discourse in the encounters and conversations between Frans Ackerman – the commander-in-chief of the citizens of Ghent – and Count Louis of Mâle, and in the speeches of Ackerman and Philip van Artevelde.

³⁰ FTC, p. 100.

³¹ FTC, p. 106.

³² Id.

³³ This particular manipulation of the traditional chronotope of the adventure novel of ordeal had already been announced in the last sentences of the preface, where the political loyalty was put forth as the central theme of the novel ('De [Arnolds, nb] trouw aen zynen Vorst, zelfs als deze van 't regte pad door valsche staetkunde afwykt, is boven alle berisping verheven' ('His [Arnold's, nb] faith to his sovereign, even if this sovereign deviates from the straight and narrow path by unjust politics, is beyond all reprimand') (I, xxvi)).

³⁴ Interesting in this respect is Ackerman's remark to Walter van Herzelee 'dat hy, van Odas minne verzekerd, deze proeve niet noodig had' ('that, assured of Oda's love, he did not need this token of proof') (I, 147).

³⁵ The first real evidence of Walter's secret identity is given in a Cassandra-like feverish nightmare of Oda (I, 138). Like many other motifs in *Arnold van Schoorisse*, the motifs of dream premonitions and feverish visions stem from the Greek romance.

³⁶ Much like the faith of the other characters is beyond any doubt, the unfaithfulness of Walter never forms an issue of debate either, and is stressed by the narrator from the very beginning.

³⁷ FTC, p. 91.

³⁸ FTC, p. 92.

³⁹ FTC, p. 94-95.

⁴⁰ FTC, p. 208. Some ten pages later in the same essay Bakhtin makes a similar claim: at some point in literary history, '[p]arallel to the[...] individual life-sequences [that form the only time-sequences both in the adventure novel of ordeal and the adventure novel of everyday life, nb] – above them, but outside of them – there [comes into being] a time-sequence that is historical, serving as the channel for the life of the nation, the state, mankind. Whatever its general ideological and literary assumptions, whatever its concrete forms for perceiving historical time and the events that occur within it, this time-sequence is not fused with the individual life-sequences. The historical time-sequence is measured by different standards of value, other kinds of events take place in it, it has no interior aspect, no point of view for

perceiving it from the inside out. No matter how its influence on individual life is conceived and represented, its events are in any case different from the events of individual life, and its narratives are different as well.’ (FTC, p. 217)

⁴¹ Despite the fact that a quite exact historical date is given (spring 1359), the phrase ‘op zekeren dag’ introduces a vagueness typical of adventure time and recalls the temporal settings of fairy-tales and legends (‘once upon a time ...’).

⁴² In such a time and space speed is important: ‘myn [Arnolds, nb] draver vloog, als een schicht’ (‘my horse flew, like a flash of lighting’). On arriving at the castle of Isabella’s father, Arnold jumps from his horse and rushes towards Isabella in a split-second (‘Van myn ros afspringen en tot haer snellen was het werk van een oogenblik’) (I, 13).

Later on in the same chapter and at a similar crossroads of choices Arnold will choose the opposite path, leading away from Isabella to his castle where Count Louis of Mâle is said to be awaiting him. The presence of the historical figure of the Count turns the castle of Schoorisse into a historical space (I, 31).

⁴³ De naem van Ackerman verhoogt den ouden luister,
Die ’t langbelasterd Gent naest Rome stappen deed.
In verontwaerdiging verbrak hy Vlaendrens kluister,
En ’s lands verfranschte Graef herdacht nu bleek zyn eed!

Hy was de rechterarm van Philip Artevelde,
En stierf een eedlen dood, schoon door een laffen dolk
Geveld. Wat flonkrende eeuw, die zoo veel dappren telde
Als Vlaendren burgers had, verdedigers van ’t volk! (I, i)

The name of Ackerman adds splendour to the ancient glory,
He who made the often slandered Ghent stride in step with Rome.
Indignant he broke Flanders’ shackles,
And the Gallicized Count now palely reconsidered his oath!

He [Ackerman] was the right hand of Philip van Artevelde,
And died a glorious death, albeit through a coward’s dagger.
What sparkling century, that counted as many brave men
As Flanders counted citizens, defenders of the people!

⁴⁴ The marriage of Oda's sister Agar at the end of the fourth volume is significantly kept completely *outside* of historical time, and inside of safe private spaces, so that no successful intersection between the two time-planes has to be achieved, and this marriage will not run the risk of being prevented.

⁴⁵ Jan Pauwels, 'De kleine garnaal: Jozef Ronsse', in *ZL: literair-historisch tijdschrift* 2 (2003) 4, p. 20-33; quotes on p. 28-29.

⁴⁶ Cf. Morson & Emerson 1990, p. 378.