

# **In search of the medieval ‘Anonymous’**

On authorship of anonymous medieval chronicles in the Low  
Countries and the search for the author of the *Chronicon*  
*Hollandiae*

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Thesis (40 ects)

December 2012

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## Acknowledgements

Behind the name of the author on the cover of this thesis many other names are concealed who helped to accomplish this final result. Many thanks to all. A special thanks to my supervisor, Antheun Janse, for his guidance and his persuasion to be critical and go one step further, but also to set boundaries and know when it is time to stop. Thank you, Michiel Louter for helping me with the Latin translations and Katie Ekama for the necessary control on the English language. Cahir O'Doherty, thank you for the endless proofreading, spelling checks and assistance. I'm very grateful for your support during all those months. And of course many thanks to my parents who have supported me all those years and have helped me in the writing of this thesis again, practically and emotionally, in so many ways.

## Introduction

Two examples of substantial thirteenth-century history works are the *Brabantse Yeesten* and the *Rijmkroniek* from Melis Stoke. These works are published and can be accessed and read by the modern public. They are large works, but made accessible by editions and modern publications. Less attention, however, has been paid to history works from the later Middle Ages. Johannes Beke's chronicle of Holland and Utrecht is a large chronicle from the fourteenth century which has also been published in the twentieth century. And recently more chronicles, like Jan van Naaldwijk's chronicle or the works of the Heraut van Beieren have received more detailed attention. Compared to the growing corpus of history texts in the fifteenth century, however, more scholarly attention for late medieval historiography is desired. A number of large and well-known works, like the chronicles of Johannes a Leydis, still lack an edition. Even though some editions and a lot of research are required for those medieval historians named above, there is another group of writers that has received even less attention. During the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century an ever growing amount of history works were produced. Some names are well-known and therefore more visible, but in between those few we all know, many more anonymous authors were writing. Because these authors are unnamed their work often remains unknown as well, for they are hard to interpret and value without the context of their origin.

The extent of fifteenth-century historical works from the Low Countries can be deduced and accessed by historians through [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), the online encyclopedia of narrative sources from the medieval Low Countries. *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* contains similar entries on history works in all of medieval Europe. The Low Countries witnessed a large increase in short local or regional chronicles in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially the years around the 1470's. Some large chronicles, such as Johannes Beke's chronicle of Holland and Utrecht, were written in the last years of the fourteenth and start of the fifteenth century and used from that time on. The second half of the fifteenth century provided us mainly with numerous small scale history works. When one searches for fifteenth-century chronicles or histories in those reference works or encyclopedias, at least a third of the manuscripts found are anonymous. And for a lot of manuscripts which are ascribed to an author, a name is about all that is known. This means our knowledge about the writers of historical sources in the fifteenth century is limited and inconsistent. Knowledge about these authors or compilers is valuable, because an understanding of the writers' background and identity can provide important information about the meaning and purpose of the chronicles. But before the implication of those authors' lives and contexts can be assessed, we have to give some thought to the question of how these authors can be identified. This thesis will propose some guidelines for the identification of an author, or, more likely in most cases, for the sketch of a probable profile of an author, for authors can very seldomly be directly named. To help build up some

guidelines on the sort of evidence that can be trusted to draw conclusions about the profiles of medieval chroniclers, one specific chronicle is examined in more detail in the second part of this thesis. To date, this Latin chronicle of Holland, only known by the nondescript name *Chronicon Hollandiae*, Chronicle of Holland, has not been studied in any depth. It is a small, anonymous chronicle from the second half of the fifteenth century. Apart from a few suggestions nothing is known about its author.

Recent research on medieval chronicles has not included a strong focus on the writers of historiographical manuscripts. This is seen in subjects attended to in conferences and publications. Telling examples of this are the conferences on the medieval chronicle, and the connected series *The Medieval Chronicle* edited by Erik Kooper. The main themes of interest mentioned in the aims of those projects do not include any major references to the writers.<sup>1</sup> Genre, function, form and illuminations of the chronicles are the main focus points. While the historical awareness of the author is mentioned, authorship and the study of the actual authors are not included. Many fifteenth-century chronicles have been studied, but mostly on a small scale, with one manuscript, one text or one author as the subject of study. A broader research on chronicle writers in the fifteenth century will give the opportunity to understand better the kind of people that produced chronicles in the Middle Ages. The more information we collect about the authors of these chronicles, the more there is to conclude about the intention and significance of these history works, because 'knowledge of the author allows us to place the text in the intellectual milieu, perspective, and even personal aims and interests of its creator, and beyond that to read it in context.'<sup>2</sup>

In this thesis the focus is on late medieval historiography in the Northern Low Countries, and especially on works from the second half of the fifteenth century. Most of these chronicles are anonymous and our knowledge about the environment and context of the authors and compilers is poor. Occasionally attempts to identify writers or ascribe chronicles to known authors have been undertaken by scholars in medieval historiography. Such attempts were frequently accompanied by lengthy debates, because the evidence in this type of research is rarely unambiguous. Examples of this are the discussions on the authorship of the *Rijmkroniek* and the *Divisiechroniek*, which will be narrated below in more detail.<sup>3</sup> When do a few clues form enough evidence to appoint a certain town as the place of origin or a certain person as the author of a chronicle? And what type of evidence needs to be taken into consideration or prioritised in such studies?

Identification of each individual author is based on very specific evidence and circumstances and therefore necessitates a very detailed approach. As a consequence, not much is written yet about the general methodology behind this type of study. This thesis both highlights the lacuna in the scholarship and seeks to

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<sup>1</sup> Prefaces of the series Erik Kooper, (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam etc. 1999- ).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts: An evidence-based approach* (Turnhout 2003) 21.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 25-26.

fill them, being in itself an example of the detailed and specific approach required both in the search for a general methodology and in the study of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. The general methodology that we work towards in the first part of this thesis is for a large part based on individual examples. Also, research on the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, taken up as a case-study and described in part two of this thesis, turned out to be a very demanding, time consuming but surprising and rewarding job. This demonstrates the unexpected and exciting sides of this research as much as providing an example of its very detailed nature.

The *Chronicon Hollandiae* is a perfect example to show us how necessary some coherent methodologies are for research into medieval authorship. The Latin text was published by Obreen in 1925 accompanied by a very short introduction. Almost a century later, this is still the most elaborate work on this *Chronicon*, although it has also been mentioned in the encyclopedias and reference works on Dutch medieval chronicles since then. Obreen observed a ‘close relationship’ between the *Chroincon* and a late fifteenth-century chronicle of Holland by Johannes a Leydis. Later commentators have connected it with different versions of this work by Johannes a Leydis. Very recently Levelt turned the tables and suggested the *Chronicon Hollandiae* was a source of A Leydis rather than it’s abstract.<sup>4</sup> Any explanation on how he reached this conclusion is unfortunately lacking. Ninety years of isolated comments later, Obreen’s cautious and not very instructive indication of a ‘close relationship’ between the two chronicles of Holland still seems all we can prove. When we view the debate in the secondary literature about this *Chronicon Hollandiae*, we find that that might be what is missing – it is hard to speak of a debate. Loose comments are made, often decades apart, and none of them with any substantial amount of research evidence to support their statements, which are therefore surrounded by ‘probablies’ and ‘presumablies’. The only concrete name mentioned is that of the Eggert family, but this option is repeated time after time without much conviction. Even though the comments place the *Chronicon* in the context of a well-known and important name in medieval historiography, that of Johannes a Leydis, the effort or the knowledge to support statements about authorship by evidence is lacking. What can we really know about the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and other chronicles, and how do we have to approach and prove that? These questions are central to this thesis.

To provide a clear view on the approach taken in this thesis, it is decided to show every step in the search for the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. With the guidelines of the first part of this thesis in mind, and the practicalities and uniqueness of the *Chronicon* in our hands, the process of the research is shown step by step.

Three manuscripts of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* have survived. Two complete manuscripts can be found, one in the Royal Library in Brussels and the other in the

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<sup>4</sup> Sjoerd Levelt, ‘Chronicon Hollandiae’, in: Graeme Dunphy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden etc. 2010) 346.

University Library in Utrecht.<sup>5</sup> The third copy of the chronicle is a fragment of only the first three pages of the *Chronicon* and precedes the text of the first chronicle about Holland and Utrecht by Johannes a Leydis, which is in the British Library in London. Mutual comparison made clear that the manuscript in Utrecht has to be a copy of the Brussels manuscript.<sup>6</sup> The Utrecht manuscript can also be dated later, around the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The manuscript from Brussels was used as the source for the 1925 edition and this edition and manuscript will be used here as well.

The date of the Brussels manuscript is not known exactly. The manuscript contains two more chronicles besides this chronicle of Holland, one about the lords of Egmond and one about the noble Brederode family. Obreen observes it has been written by several hands from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In her description Carasso-Kok mentions the year 1515 as the date, but this year is taken from a comment in the Brederode chronicle rather than from the *Chronicon Hollandiae* itself and is therefore hard to verify.<sup>9</sup> The chronicle begins at pre-Roman times and continues until the first part of the fifteenth century. Although it does not describe events up to 1459 – it stops after the 1440's - it is dated this late because the death of Jacob van Gaesbeek, which only took place in the year 1459, is mentioned.

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<sup>5</sup> Brussels, Royal Library, 5376-78 and Utrecht, University Library, hs. 771.

<sup>6</sup> H. Bruch, *Supplement bij de geschiedenis van de Noord-Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de Middeleeuwen van J.M. Romein* (Haarlem 1956) 40.

<sup>7</sup> M. Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen*, Bibliografische reeks van het Nederlands Historisch Genootschap 2 (The Hague 1981) no 179 and H. Obreen, 'Chronicon Hollandiae (-1459)', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 46 (1925) 1-42, 3.

<sup>8</sup> 'De drie kronieken zijn met verschillende handen geschreven, welke uit de laatste jaren der 15<sup>e</sup> en de eerste der 16<sup>e</sup> eeuw dagteekenen en een zeer groot aantal afkortingen gebruiken.' Obreen, 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 2.

<sup>9</sup> Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, no 179. Obreen, 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 2, also quotes the date in the Brederode chronicle but is cautious to apply it to the *Chronicon Hollandiae*.

## PART ONE

### AUTHORSHIP OF MEDIEVAL CHRONICLES



## 1. Context of historiography

The traditional view on medieval history writing traces a development from official institutional and world chronicles written by monks in monasteries towards smaller urban chronicles written by lay people in the later Middle Ages. An important category in late medieval history writing is urban historiography. Town chronicles, however, are mainly known from Italy, Switzerland and Germany. North-West Europe knew few examples of urban consciousness in history writing and those are usually better understood as diaries or dynastic chronicles.

There is abundant evidence which illustrates the awareness of towns as political units with independent authority in Northern Europe, but somehow this awareness was not expressed in the form of chronological accounts focused on the towns as such.<sup>10</sup>

England is the only North-West European country where town chronicles were known, although in very limited numbers and only from the capital. For the study of small and local chronicles in the Low Countries therefore, a comparison with England is more useful than with Germany or Italy, even though more is written on urban chronicles in the latter regions.

This transition from official world chronicles to small-scale local chronicles was related to changes in society which also had consequences for the form and content of the written history.<sup>11</sup> The work of an urban or secular chronicler was very different from that of a monk because of the attitude and social position those people were in. When more and more information became available through the increase of bureaucracy and literacy the task of the chronicler developed from collection to selection. The above is, of course, a very brief and general view of the developments in history writing in medieval Europe on which much more information is available.<sup>12</sup> Chris Given-Wilson sketches a slightly more specific image about this development for England.

The history written at these old and great communities thus tended to be of a very traditional kind – a staple diet of kings, nobles and the royal family, wars, councils and parliaments, liberally laced with saints and prodigies. They wrote with breadth, attempting an overview of the high politics of the realm – a weave of dynastic and institutional history focused on king, church and government. (...) Secular clerks, on the other hand, tended to write more individualistic and selective chronicles, more narrowly focused on what they as individuals had

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<sup>10</sup> E.M.C. van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, (Turnhout 1995) 25.

<sup>11</sup> Chris Given-Wilson, 'Official and Semi-Official History in the Later Middle Ages: The English Evidence in Context', in: Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle V* (Amsterdam etc. 2008) 1-16, 3-4.

<sup>12</sup> For example Deborah M. Deliyannis, *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden etc. 2003) 10–12.

experienced, or were interested in, or had been able to discover, frequently concentrating on particular episodes or aspects of English history in depth rather than attempting the sort of systematic or continuous register of public events.<sup>13</sup>

The situation in the Low Countries was not entirely the same as the above short overview based on English historiography, as was already mentioned. In this thesis I focus on chronicles from the fifteenth century and according to general overviews this was a period in which fewer world chronicles and more town chronicles would have originated. Few traces of urban historiography, however, can be identified in the Low Countries.

### 1.1 Genre of regional chronicles

In medieval and modern times distinctions between ‘chronicle’, ‘annals’ and ‘history’ have been made when speaking about medieval historiography. This is not the place to repeat the debate about those concepts, but some conclusions from it can be helpful to shape our expectations about the *Chronicon Hollandiae*.<sup>14</sup> The editors of the so-called Chronicle of Tiel observe that ‘[o]ne cannot, in essence, expect more of a chronicle than that it will list historical facts that are more or less brought together.’<sup>15</sup> Later authors have also commented on the loose definition and tried to define the concept more strictly.<sup>16</sup> An example of this is Van Houts’ definition which focuses primarily on content and region of origin. Gransden and Guenée however, have placed more emphasis on the chronological structure of the text. Guenée defined annals as contemporary to the events and a chronicle as a work of compilation made after the events took place.<sup>17</sup> For Gransden the difference between annals, chronicles and histories lies in the length of the events described. Both these definitions are problematic though, because many works we know as ‘chronicles’ will overlap at least two of these categories. Late medieval

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<sup>13</sup> Given-Wilson, ‘Official and Semi-Official,’ 7–8.

<sup>14</sup> See for example Van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, 13–14, Bunna Ebels-Hoving, ‘Nederlandse Geschiedschrijving 1350–1530. Een poging tot karakterisering’, in: B. Ebels-Hoving, C. G. Santing and C.P.H.M. Tilmans (eds.), *Genoeblicke ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland*. Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen 5 (Hilversum 1987) 217–242, 217–223. Sjoerd Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk’s Chronicles of Holland: Continuity and Transformation in the Historical Tradition of Holland during the Early Sixteenth Century* (Hilversum 2011) 22–23.

<sup>15</sup> Jan Kuys, et al. (eds.), *De Tielse kroniek: Een geschiedenis van de Lage Landen van de Volksverhuizingen tot het midden van de vijftiende eeuw, met een vervolg over de jaren 1552–1566* (Amsterdam 1983) xiv.

<sup>16</sup> See for example David Dumville, ‘What is a Chronicle?’, in: Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle II. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999* (2002) 1–27 and A. Gransden, ‘The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: Part I’, *Journal of Medieval History* 16: 2 (1990) 129–150, 129–130 and Van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, 14–16.

<sup>17</sup> B. Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l’Occident médiéval* (Paris 1980) 203–204.

chronicles, such as the *Chronicon Hollandiae* for example, frequently start with rather short entries, compiled from sources long after the events took place, but continue into the author's contemporary time with longer, more subjective entries.

In the end it is agreed that chronicles take many forms and not only the definition of chronicles in general, but also of different types of chronicles are under discussion. The definition of town or urban chronicles is equally challenging. According to Vasina, in a 2003 article, urban chronicles are in general problematic for study, with the exception of Italy,

partly because it is less typologically definable in its precise urban definitions, given a multiplicity and variety of historical narrations that were oriented primarily in a universal or national or ethnic direction or focused on rulers, princes, or feudal dynasties; on episcopates, monasteries, canons, convents; or on other realities for the most part external to the urban world.

Another non-negligible limitation in the recognition of such chronicles is their frequently anonymous nature (...).<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, an article by Robert Stein shows this problem in typological definition in German research and lists many of the approaches towards German urban historiography taken up in the past.<sup>19</sup> Although many scholars recognise the lack of easily identifiable town chronicles in the Low Countries as they are found in some other parts of Europe, this does not mean the production of history works in this region is said to look the same as a few centuries before. Literature about late medieval historiography in the Low Countries certainly mentions an increase in small, local chronicles. However, compared to other countries, local chronicles from this area are said to show less 'authentic urban consciousness', which is remarkable because of the high grade of urbanisation in the region and the great significance the cities had for the government of the Low Countries.<sup>20</sup> Even in the sixteenth century when urban self-consciousness was further stimulated by humanist ideas no town chronicles developed.<sup>21</sup> When we return to the comparison

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<sup>18</sup> Augusto Vasina, 'Medieval Urban Historiography in Western Europe (1100-1500),' in: Deliyannis, *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, 317-352, 341 and Paul Trio, 'The Chronicle Attributed to "Olivier van Diksmuide": a Misunderstood Town Chronicle of Ypres from Late Medieval Flanders', in: Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle V* (Amsterdam etc. 2008) 211-225.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Stein, 'Selbstverständnis oder Identität? Städtische Geschichtsschreibung als Quelle für die Identitätsforschung', in: H. Brand and P. Monnet (eds.), *Memoria, communitas, civitas: Mémoire et conscience urbaines en occident à la fin du moyen âge* (Ostfildern 2003) 181-202, 181-187.

<sup>20</sup> Vasina, 'Urban Historiography,' 345. Trio, 'Diksmuide'. Robert Stein, however, identified urban consciousness in urban environments in all of Western Europe, but drew this conclusion by using many types of sources that originated in an urban environment and without restricting his search to a specific definition of town chronicles, see Stein, 'Selbstverständnis oder Identität?'

<sup>21</sup> Karin Tilmans, "'Autentijck ende Warachtig": Stedenstichtingen in de Hollandse geschiedschrijving: van Beke tot Aurelius,' *Holland: regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 21 : 2 (1989) 68-87, 80.

with English urban chronicles we also see substantial differences. Medieval England produced some primarily political texts, focused on a specific war or political conflict. A limited number of urban chronicles are known, the majority of which is counted among the London Chronicles, wherein there is a strong focus on the city of London and the structure of the chronicles is formed by the annually stated names of mayors and city government. Both these types of local chronicles are unknown to us from the Low Countries.

Recently though Paul Trio has argued that from the fourteenth century onwards at least the Southern Low Countries did have an urban historiography.<sup>22</sup> The works he describes appear to be similar to the London Chronicles; both were very clearly focused on the town and structured by lists of the town government. However, chronicles like these are still unknown for the Northern Low Countries. Even chronicles with city names in their title, such as the Chronicle of Tiel, often include a lot of content not directly related to this town and these titles sometimes only signify the preservation of the chronicle in that town's archive.<sup>23</sup>

The genre of short local chronicles that occurred in the Northern Low Countries in the later Middle Ages, can better be described as regional chronicles than town chronicles; a few exceptions aside. Not only are a lot of chronicles known by names as 'chronicle of Holland and Utrecht', or 'Frisian chronicle', for we have just seen that titles can be misleading, but also because of their content. A definition given by Van Houts shows how important the content is in the understanding of the chronicle.

A regional chronicle is written in one region, e.g. a county, duchy or other politically coherent domain, and normally at one place within that region. It is primarily, but not necessarily exclusively, devoted to the history of that region.<sup>24</sup>

In comparison to the English city chronicles or Paul Trio's example of a town chronicle from Flanders, the regional chronicles from the Northern Low Countries are noticeably less strictly concentrated on the towns. The major points of recognition and even of definition of the London Chronicles are the city focus and the structure. The description of each year is started off by a list of names of the city magistrates. A similar urban focus and structure based on the town's government is mentioned by Trio for the city of Ypres in the Southern Low Countries. Although Trio also assumes the occurrence of similar urban works in the Northern Low Countries, this structure is until now without much comparison in those regions. Counts of Holland, bishops of Utrecht, but also other lords, dukes or even emperors occur in the text, but often not in the form of a consistent

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<sup>22</sup> Trio, 'Diksmuide'. See also Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *De Gentse memorieboeken als spiegel van stedelijke historisch bewustzijn (14de tot 16de eeuw)*. Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent. Verhandelingen XXII (Gent 1998).

<sup>23</sup> Kuys, *Tielse kroniek*.

<sup>24</sup> Van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, 14.

structuring framework.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the subject matter of smaller fifteenth-century chronicles from the Northern Low Countries does not correspond with the prominence of the town or the strong urban self-consciousness expected of town chronicles. In relation to the above definition it is even safe to assume that when we focus primarily on regional chronicles as they are known in the late medieval Northern Low Countries, chroniclers did not restrict themselves to their own region at all. Highly localised as well as regional and abundant foreign and international information is alternated between in one single text.

Two of the genres recognised, both by modern scholars and medieval writers in the Low Countries, are regional chronicles and world (or universal) chronicles. However, even when the prologues explicitly tell us which of those the writer aspired to produce, the chronicle frequently seems not to align exactly with the predicted genre. Ebels-Hoving explained this by referring to a lack of a form for this new genre of regional chronicles. Therefore, the writers took the well-known format of world chronicles and with the borrowing of the form copied some of the content as well.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, urban chronicles in North-West Europe were characterised by Vasina as originating from the insertion of local information in an institutional framework, with which he shows how important both the local and international aspects were and how intertwined the different genres.<sup>27</sup> This clarifies the phenomenon of the vast amount of national and international information in the regional chronicles studied here. The genre of regional chronicles known from the Northern Low Countries can be placed in between the official national chronicles and the local urban chronicles we know from Italy, Germany or England. It will be on those late medieval regional chronicles, mostly those with a focus on Holland and Utrecht, that we will focus below.

## 1.2 Late medieval chronicles on Holland and Utrecht

Its sources shape the medieval chronicle in a very substantial way; they leave easily recognisable traces and provide information about the context in which the chronicle was formed and the tradition in which it was created. The context of historiography of the chronicle under research is therefore extremely important. In this thesis we will mainly discuss chronicles from the county of Holland and the diocese of Utrecht. In other parts of the Northern Low Countries, such as Brabant or Frisia, some chronicles were also produced. However, the majority of chronicles

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<sup>25</sup> Some chronicles structured by dynasties, such as the names of the counts of Holland or the dukes of Brabant, are known, however, mostly from the early or high Middle Ages. Chronology tends to be the only structural framework for late medieval regional chronicles.

<sup>26</sup> Ebels-Hoving, 'Nederlandse Geschiedschrijving', 224–227.

See for the combination of world and regional chronicle: Antheun Janse (ed.), *Johan Huysen van Kattendijke-Kroniek: Die Historie of die Cronicke van Hollant, van Zeelant ende van Vrieslant ende van den Stichte van Utrecht*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën. Kleine Serie 102 (The Hague 2005) cxxxvii.

<sup>27</sup> Vasina, 'Urban Historiography', 345.

and especially chronicles with an urban character come from Holland and Utrecht in this time period.

Chronicles highly esteemed in the late medieval historiography of Holland and Utrecht and often copied in later chronicles are, for instance, the chronicle of Beke, the world chronicles and chronicles of Holland of the ‘Heraut Beyeren’, the Chronicle of Gouda, or for the early sixteenth-century historiography the works of Johannes a Leydis. The chronicle of Johannes Beke is one of the most significant chronicles in Dutch medieval historiography.<sup>28</sup> Johannes Beke, probably a priest and clerk at the monastery of Egmond, wrote a substantial chronicle about the history of Utrecht and Holland from the time of the Romans until 1346. His Latin work was added to and translated into medieval Dutch around 1395. Although Beke derived his information from earlier chronicles and accounts, it is his compilation and adaptation which has become famous, because it is copied and used in the majority of medieval historiographical works about the Low Countries. It is hard to find a fifteenth-century chronicle about Holland or Utrecht which is not to a large extent based on one of Beke’s versions. Chroniclers ‘rewrote, renegotiated and reshaped Beke’s historiography to suit their own purposes’ and to fit their own focus.<sup>29</sup> However, Beke was not the only frequently used source; other chronicles and stories also became familiar in the historiography of the Low Countries.

In his book about Jan van Naaldwijk’s chronicles, Sjoerd Levelt provides a very helpful overview of several of the major works in late medieval historiography of the Low Countries and the subjects those chronicles chose to in- or exclude.<sup>30</sup> Other important history works in fifteenth-century Holland are the chronicles of the ‘Heraut Beyeren’. This man, later identified as Claes Heynenzoon, became known by the title of his function of herald and he wrote two world chronicles and two chronicles of Holland in the first decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Another early fifteenth-century chronicle of Holland named its author as the ‘clerk from the low countries at the sea’.<sup>32</sup> This clerk introduced some of the stories about the oldest times of Holland. The Chronicle of Gouda (*Gonds Kroniekje*), however, introduced most of the mythical pre-Roman stories into the historiography of the Low Countries.

Over the course of the century and a half in which this tradition developed, a modest store of interesting narratives and personalities

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<sup>28</sup> See for example Johannes de Beke, *Croniken van den stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, published by Bruch. Rijks-geschiedkundige Publicatiën. Grote Serie 180 (The Hague 1982) lxi-lxiv and Antheun Janse, 'De Nederlandse Beke opnieuw bekeken,' *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 9 (2006) 116–149.

<sup>29</sup> Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk’s Chronicles*, 67.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-68.

<sup>31</sup> [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), NL0183-NL0186.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, C044. [clerc uten laghen landen bi der see].

(such as King Donkey's Ears and the Countess of Hennenberg) also accumulated around Beke's rather terse account.<sup>33</sup>

The editors of the late fifteenth-century *Kattendijke Kroniek* recognised a number of characteristics of history writing from this period.<sup>34</sup> One of them is the combination of regional and world chronicles discussed above. Another trend is the structure based on years instead of the subsequent reigns of the counts, which can be recognised in the description of many late medieval chronicles. A third important aspect is that the *Kattendijke Kroniek*, like the many other chronicles, is based on the chronicle of Johannes Beke and his combination of the histories of Holland and Utrecht.

In the historiography of the Northern Low Countries the county of Holland and the diocese of Utrecht are the main subjects. There are also a relatively large number of chronicles dedicated to Frisia, but they usually focus on Frisia alone and do not incorporate much history from outside the county. In the regional chronicles of the later Middle Ages the historiography of Holland and Utrecht is closely intertwined. Because the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht were the key figures in the medieval and early modern history of the Northern Low Countries it is almost impossible to write a history about one of the areas without including the other. However, chroniclers have taken very different approaches on this. Beke had to rely on separate sources for the histories of Utrecht and Holland, but he chose to combine the histories of the two regions in his work. Because Beke has been used as a major source by most medieval chronicles written after the appearance of his chronicle, many chroniclers have followed him in this approach. However, some fifteenth-century historians have taken a different viewpoint again and chose to focus on the history of only one of those counties.<sup>35</sup>

A lot of attention has been given to Holland specifically and many 'chronicles of Holland' appeared. Dynastic tradition was quite important in the structure, content, but also commissioning of history works. The county of Holland with its comital court took the most advantage of this in the Low Countries and therefore played a major role in the Low Countries' historiography. The *Kattendijke Kroniek* is one of the later chronicles which returned to an earlier approach and combined the history of Utrecht and Holland, but maintained a slightly larger focus on the county of Holland. This can also be recognized in some chronicles which balance on the border between late medieval and early humanist history writing, such as the chronicles on Holland and Utrecht by Johannes a Leydis or Theodoricus Pauli.

The fifteenth century witnessed an increase of chronicles which emphasised the distant past and with that a continuity of an empire, dynasty or county throughout the centuries. With the description of the past and present in a linear story the present was connected to that powerful and miraculous past and therefore

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<sup>33</sup> Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk's Chronicles*, 68.

<sup>34</sup> Janse, *Kattendijke-Kroniek*, cxxxvii-cxxxix.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, cxxxvii and Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk*, 32-35ff.

legitimacy or authority could be derived from it.<sup>36</sup> The increase in regional chronicles in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, therefore, is often connected to the intensification of the Burgundian sphere of influence in this region. The court of Holland and other centres of power in the Low Countries saw the need to emphasise their own history and authority.<sup>37</sup> The Chronicle of Gouda was the first to show this development from historiography about the dynasty of Holland towards history writing on the county of Holland itself. New in this approach was also that the people of Holland were given their own origin, instead of being taken together with the people in Utrecht or all the people in the Low Countries.<sup>38</sup> Noticeable in this context is the amount of information given on the pre-Christian or mythological origin of the people of Holland and Utrecht and on the foundation of cities and towns in those regions. Most of these stories were first introduced into Dutch historiography by the Chronicle of Gouda. For example the stories of a Trojan origin, of the arrival of the Slavs from Britain and the 'wild forest without mercy' in the area of Holland are first known from the Chronicle of Gouda.<sup>39</sup> The focus on the county of Holland instead of on its dynasty and the attention paid to the earliest history of the region are features that often occur in late fifteenth-century chronicles.

Medieval chronicles are known for their accumulative nature. They are usually not in the form of coherent narratives with a single subject. Regional chronicles include regional, but also local and international information. Not always can all comments be related easily to the county under description. The range of topics can be very broad as well. Wars; foundations of cities, forts or monasteries; epidemics; city fires; special weather conditions and natural disasters are just some illustrations of subjects included in many local or regional chronicles. Other examples of subjects frequently incorporated in medieval chronicles are miracle stories, political conflicts or descriptions of the reign and death of emperors, counts or popes. Some chronicles have a clear overall focus on dynastic or ecclesiastical history, but again, in a large number of cases the focus of the author is not clear, or he chose not to confine his focus; and political, ecclesiastical and natural subject matters all pass by.

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<sup>36</sup> Jeanne Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming in Holland: Heraut Beyeren en de historiografie omstreeks 1400*, Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de middeleeuwen 13 (Amsterdam 1995) 211–213.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 150–151 & 283–285 and Wilma Keesman, 'De Hollandse oudheid in het Gouds Kroniekje. Over drukpers en geschiedschrijving', *Spiegel der Letteren* 49 : 2 (2007) 165–182, 168. An example of this from Brabant is the 'Continuation' of the *Brabantse Yeesten*, see Robert Stein, *Politiek en historiografie : Het ontstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw* (Leuven 1994) 300–301.

<sup>38</sup> Antheun Janse, 'De Historie van Hollant. Een nieuw begin in de Hollandse geschiedschrijving in de vijftiende eeuw', *Millennium: tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies* 21 : 1 (2007) 19–38, 37.

<sup>39</sup> This mythological forest was known before though, probably from Flanders, but not used in the historiography of the Northern Low Countries before. Marijke Carasso-Kok, 'Het Woud zonder Genade', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 107 : 2 (1992) 241–263.



## 2. Medieval authors and authorship

### 2.1 The concept of medieval authorship

Early on in the study of medieval historiography the status of the writer became topic of discussion. This occurred because the medieval historiography has a noteworthy characteristic which is strange and problematic to modern historians: the fact that most chronicles contain few original words. The majority of all medieval chronicles is, sometimes word for word, copied. Plagiarism was a concept unknown in the Middle Ages and the borrowing of texts from other writers was a common and well-accepted way to create a new chronicle. Therefore, the value of the chronicle, but also the credibility of the writer has been in dispute.

The attention of historians in the nineteenth and far into the twentieth century used to be primarily on the historical facts in chronicles; history works were valued according to the amount of new information about historical events they provided. This can be seen in the way Burgers summarised the view on the *Rijmkroniek*, an early fourteenth-century rhymed chronicle on Holland and Zeeland, and its supposed author Melis Stoke:

For the current medievalists – although they will no longer believe unconditionally in the ‘accuracy, truthfulness and impartiality’ of a medieval chronicler – Stoke’s authority remained unchallenged: for he was a count's clerk, and therefore well informed.<sup>40</sup>

The literature about chronicles, of which Romein’s 1932 description of history writing in the Northern Low Countries is a well-known and much-used example, long focused on the trustworthiness and originality of the historical facts described.<sup>41</sup>

In the last few decades, however, the academic world came to realise the value chronicles hold for the history of mentalities and our understanding of medieval culture. Even when chronicles do not give the smallest piece of new information, the particular collection of stories can provide a glimpse into the world of ideas and views of the medieval chronicler. Like the editors of the *Chronicle of Tiel* emphasise, that text, and likewise the text of all medieval chronicles, should not be considered a historical reference book. Not only is some of its information questionable, a lot of it was also already known from other sources and therefore of

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<sup>40</sup> J.W.J. Burgers, *De Rijmkroniek van Holland en zijn auteurs: Historiografie in Holland door de Anonymus (1280-1282) en de grafelijke klerk Melis Stoke (begin veertiende eeuw)*, *Hollandse Studiën* 35 (Hilversum 1999) 10. My translation. [Bij de huidige mediëvisten – hoewel die niet meer zo onvoorwaardelijk in de ‘nauwkeurigheid, waarheidsliefde en onpartijdigheid’ van een middeleeuwse kroniekschrijver zullen geloven – bleef Stokes gezag onomstreden: hij was immers een grafelijke klerk, en daardoor goed op de hoogte van de feiten.]

<sup>41</sup> J. M. Romein, *Geschiedenis van de Noord-Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de middeleeuwen: Bijdrage tot de beschavingsgeschiedenis* (Haarlem 1932).

little value to the study of historical facts. However, they add that the Chronicle of Tiel should rather be seen as the product of the ideas about history writing in its time and as the intellectual effort of an individual medieval historian.<sup>42</sup>

Verbij-Schillings has written about this development in insights in her overview of the historiography in Holland at the start of the fifteenth century and concludes:

It is now acknowledged that the compilation is a serious form of late medieval historiography. It is realised that the newsworthiness of late medieval narrative historical sources is 'hidden' in the selective interaction with the historiographical tradition.<sup>43</sup>

This development can be recognised as well in the secondary literature on the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, which is studied in detail in the second part of this thesis.<sup>44</sup> Obreen and Romein considered only the later part of the chronicle worth publishing, because no example text was known for that particular part. As Romein put it: the *Chronicon Hollandiae* 'is however only of interest after that year [1417], because the text that we have left from the second edition of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle does not go beyond the aforementioned year.'<sup>45</sup> A few years later Bruch followed the same argument and called the entire chronicle useless, because, according to him, it was entirely based on a text already known. As recent reference works show, no longer is any trace of this view found; instead the *Chronicon* is treated as an interesting and independent but not yet well-studied chronicle.

The understanding of the person of the writer as a compiler instead of an author has grown and compilations have been appreciated more and more. A.J. Minnis has written an elaborate theoretical study of medieval authorship mainly based on biblical, classical and literary works and commentators. Even though his attention is only indirectly on chroniclers, his treatment of the concepts of *auctor* and *compilator* are useful for historiography as well.

(...) the *compilator* firmly denied any personal authority and accepted responsibility only for the manner in which he had arranged the statements of other men.<sup>46</sup>

Compilation was the method most medieval chroniclers used to write history. As the early sixteenth-century chronicler Jan van Naaldwijk put it: 'I compiled,

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<sup>42</sup> Kuys, *Tielse kroniek*, xv.

<sup>43</sup> Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming in Holland*, 275. My translation. [Thans wordt onderkend dat de compilatie een serieuze vorm van laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving is. Men beseft dat de nieuwswaarde van de laatmiddeleeuwse verhalende historische bronnen 'verborgen' ligt in de selectieve omgang met de historiografische traditie.]

<sup>44</sup> Obreen, 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 1; Romein, *Noord-Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijving*, 110–112 and Bruch, *Supplement*, 40–41.

<sup>45</sup> Romein, *Noord-Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijving*, 111. My translation. [(...) wordt in elk geval pas na dat jaar [1417] van belang, omdat de tekst, dien we van de tweede bewerking van Johannes a Leydis' kroniek over hebben, niet verder dan tot genoemd jaar loopt.]

<sup>46</sup> A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic literary attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London 1984) 192.

collected, translated and adapted into Dutch this history, *gest* and chronicle from many French and Latin books and authors.<sup>47</sup>

For the medieval historian authority and knowledge about history could only be found in written documents or eye-witness events. For the time period before the writer's own life, written documents were the only sources available and what better way to ensure the authority of the text than copying it word for word to make sure that it stayed as close to the original as possible.<sup>48</sup> Although some medieval authors were very conscious about different versions of the same story or the credibility of accounts, their goal was not to provide an overview of all knowledge on the subject. Compilers did have a goal and focus in mind when they wrote history. The acts of compilation, collection, translation and adaption involved conscious choices and changes. By selecting and shaping fragments from multiple sources a new text was created, which is different and has to be studied differently from an all original book or from its sources, but which is interesting and valuable in itself for research as well.

Verbij-Schillings quoted Bernard Guenée in this context, who wrote in his influential 1980 book *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident medieval*:

En réalité, toute compilation est une construction qui mérite d'être étudié pour elle-même, et précisément comparée aux sources qu'elle a utilisée. Chaque mot omis, chaque mot ajouté est révélateur d'une conviction religieuse, d'une attitude politique, d'un choix critique.<sup>49</sup>

Therefore also in this thesis the words of a chronicle will be studied in detail to see which are selected and which are not and what they can tell us about the sources, the subjects and, ultimately, the compiler.

## 2.2 Medieval chroniclers in the Low Countries

Who were those authors and compilers of medieval chronicles? In the early Middle Ages chroniclers were usually monks, writing because they felt obliged to their monastery or monarch to preserve history for coming generations. But what kind of people were involved in history writing in the later Middle Ages? Who were those aforementioned urban clerics and laymen who decided to use their time for writing history? Van Houts, in her study based primarily on urban chronicles in Italy and Germany, points out patricians, towns' scribes and notaries to be the main history writers, who wrote chronicles mainly because of their profession and involvement in the town's government. A smaller number of local chronicles was

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<sup>47</sup> Quoted and translated by Sjoerd Levelt in his book Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk's Chronicles*, 22.

<sup>48</sup> There is much more to say about the authority of texts in the Middle Ages and the status of medieval authors. See for example Deliyannis, *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, 1 and Minnis, *Medieval Theory*.

<sup>49</sup> Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, 63.

written by members of the clergy, in particular from the mendicant orders, who wrote urban historiography on commission.<sup>50</sup> Chris Given-Wilson and Rose McLaren come to similar conclusions when they answer this question for English chroniclers.

Most of them served as lawyers, administrators, chaplains, secretaries or ambassadors to the great and powerful; if they were laymen, they were frequently soldiers. They attended court, they fought on campaigns, they travelled about, or abroad, on the king's or their own business and moved from the employment of one prince or noble to another; they could use their feet, in other words, as well as their eyes and ears, to gather material for their chronicles.

As a result, the chronicles which they wrote tended to be shaped not by documents or the chance arrival (...) of a noble or bishop (...) but by their personal experiences, interest and connections.<sup>51</sup>

The identities of almost all London Chronicle authors are unknown, but

[s]ome authors or types of authors can be guessed at. We can be fairly sure from their content and the kind of material they were bound with that the London chronicles were the product of free citizens of London, particularly the merchant classes, who may or may not have been involved in the governing of the city, but who were not noble.<sup>52</sup>

However, the situation in the Low Countries was slightly different from that in England. The clergy in England who were still involved in history writing were mainly restricted to the monasteries in continuation of the old tradition and therefore not in the citations above.<sup>53</sup> In the Low Countries the clergy, mainly friars, also resided in the towns and played a significant role in late medieval historiography. As discussed above, the separation into official world chronicles and secular town chronicles was never fully established in the Low Countries. Notwithstanding the fact that in the Low Countries as well a shift occurred towards smaller and local chronicles in the later Middle Ages. The fourteenth and fifteenth century brought an increase in regional chronicles in the Low Countries and even though many of their authors are unknown, the authors that have been identified provide a good starting point to examine this group of authors.

Most authors from regional chronicles known in the Low Countries seem to have held a post as a town clerk or were from the urban clergy or they held some position at a comital court. In particular examples of the latter are abundant, for

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<sup>50</sup> Van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, 47-48.

<sup>51</sup> Given-Wilson, 'Official and Semi-Official', 9.

<sup>52</sup> Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A revolution in English writing. With an annotated edition of Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives MS 32D86/42* (Cambridge 2002) 4.

<sup>53</sup> Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London etc. 2004) 152-155.

instance, the author of the *Alder excellentste kroniek van Brabant*.<sup>54</sup> This writer held a position at the fifteenth-century court of Brabant. Also many chroniclers connected to the court of the count of Holland are known. The aforementioned ‘Heraut Beyeren’ is one such example. This herald wrote two world chronicles and two chronicles of Holland in his time at the court of William VI (1404 - 1417) count of Holland.<sup>55</sup> Another early fifteenth-century chronicle of Holland named its author as the ‘clerk from the low countries at the sea’.<sup>56</sup> Although this clerk currently remains anonymous he almost certainly formed part of the court of the same count William VI of Holland. Also one of the early major works in the medieval historiography of the Low Countries mentioned above, the *Rijmkroniek*, was written by a count’s secretary.<sup>57</sup> Jan van Naaldwijk, who produced two chronicles of Holland, was of lower nobility and held an administrative position for the lords of Montford and probably later in the household of the Burgundian Maximilian of Horne. He might even have been matriculated at the University of Leuven in 1476. Although he worked at court, his interests were mostly intellectual, not political, and he was always looking for connections to famous humanist scholars of his time.<sup>58</sup> Not all known chronicles were written at court, however.

Secondly, town clerks also formed a large part of the known chronicle writers. An example of this is Jan van Boendale, clerk in Antwerp, who wrote the *Brabantse Yeesten*.<sup>59</sup> The author of the *Kattendijke Kroniek* furthermore, could also have been a layman in one of Holland’s towns or cities. At least he is not known to have worked at court and his intended audience seems to have been the burghers, the higher urban middle class, rather than a count or the nobility.<sup>60</sup>

A third group of chroniclers were clergymen. Johannes Beke, for example was a priest, probably connected to the monastery of Egmond which had a rich past in history writing. The well-known and much copied Johannes a Leydis was a friar from the city of Haarlem in the early sixteenth century. He was a member of the Carmelites; an order of friars who lived inside the cities. The clergy based in urban environments, such as friars or clergymen at a bishop’s court, were particularly involved in history writing.

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<sup>54</sup> [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), W008 and see for more information Jaap Tigelaar, *Brabants historie ontvouwd: die alder excellentste cronyke van Brabant en het Brabantse geschiedbeeld anno 1500* (Hilversum 2006).

<sup>55</sup> [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), NL0183-0186 and see for more information Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming in Holland*.

<sup>56</sup> See above, note 32.

<sup>57</sup> See for more information about the authorship of the *Rijmkroniek* below, p. 25-26.

<sup>58</sup> Sjoerd Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk’s chronicles*, 137-141.

<sup>59</sup> [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), J038 and see for more information Wim van Anrooij, *Al t’Antwerpen in die stad: Jan van Boendale en de literaire cultuur van zijn tijd*. Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de middeleeuwen 24 (Amsterdam 2002).

<sup>60</sup> Janse, *Kattendijke-Kroniek*.

These authors from the Low Countries could either have been commissioned to write their historiographical work, or have taken up the mission on their own initiative. Examples are known of both scenarios.

According to his own words the herald 'Heraut Beyeren' started writing his chronicles to avoid spending his time in idleness, for idleness is the parent of vice and was highly feared in the Middle Ages. The author of the earlier *Rijmchroniek* among others stated this same reason for undertaking his project.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, a chronicle of the duchy of Brabant from the fourteenth century, the so-called *Brabantsche Yeeften*, is known to be commissioned, as is its continuation from the fifteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Both commissioners in this case were men in a high office in one of the large cities of the Southern Low Countries. However, in many cases it is not impossible that both incentives worked together and that the 'Heraut' indeed received some financial help from the count for his writings.

The writers of the genre of late medieval regional chronicles in the Northern Low Countries can be positioned in the lower nobility or higher middle class. Noblemen do not start writing history until later centuries, in the fifteenth century therefore most historiographical works with a local focus are produced by laymen with a position at court. Also, especially for the county of Utrecht, there are chronicles written by clergymen. However, this usually tended to be friars or clergymen in a high office. They were indeed friars, but nevertheless generally involved in the government of the city, the diocese or the duchy and therefore not comparable in their situation to monks writing in monasteries outside city walls. Unlike the writers of the English London Chronicles, however, these chroniclers from the Low Countries seemed to have belonged to an educated higher class.<sup>63</sup> The above examples of authors show they usually had had an education and were familiar with administrative work at a court or town government or lived in monasteries which were also traditional centres of intellectual work.

The writing of regional chronicles therefore tended to be an urban activity. Chronicles originated in the larger cities of Holland and Utrecht or at a court, which often resided in a major town and rarely in the countryside. People in those civic environments were better informed about regional and international events and more involved in politics. The intellectual interest in history writing and the time to execute it were also usually more easily obtained in cities or at courts than in rural environments. These environments are important, because they shed light on the political, social and cultural context of the chronicle and the author. From the geographical focus of a chronicle a probable environment of the author can often be guessed at, because one can assume '[t]he authors of local and regional chronicles normally lived in the areas they wrote about for some part of their lives

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<sup>61</sup> Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming in Holland*, 235.

<sup>62</sup> [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), J038 and B021.

<sup>63</sup> Some authors of London Chronicles could not read French or Latin and many of them are thought to be merchants, which does not necessarily acquire much education. McLaren, *London Chronicles*, 49-51.

at least.<sup>64</sup> This is because people are more inclined to write about their own environment. This is formulated by the early sixteenth-century chronicler Jan van Naaldwijk:

Also, taking into account that I am a Hollander, my nature should reasonably be more inclined to describe the chronicles of Holland than of other lands and nations.<sup>65</sup>

The fifteenth century witnessed increasing interest in and writing of history works and with that a rise in the number of anonymous works. Especially some of the less substantial regional chronicles from the fifteenth century are anonymous. Of course, anonymity is a recurrent problem for medievalists who work with texts from these centuries. Many of the larger (world) chronicles from the previous centuries, such as the *Rijmkroniek* or the chronicle of Johannes Beke, are provided with a name. Also from the sixteenth century when humanism affects history writers, authors are more inclined again to identify themselves, or they can be identified because more is known about the context of history writing through correspondence and so on. However, a large number of late medieval regional and local chronicles lack information about their authors. The understanding of the chronicle will improve when the writer of the text is known. It is, however, not always important to find a person's name to connect to a chronicle, but most of all to find information about his environment, profession, sources and background. One of many anonymous regional chronicles is the *Chronicon Hollandiae* discussed here. It is one of several short Latin chronicles known by the name *Chronicon Hollandiae* and it appears to be a typical example of a fifteenth-century chronicle from Holland.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, 14.

<sup>65</sup> Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk's Chronicles*, 169.

<sup>66</sup> Janse, *'Historie van Hollant'*, 24.

### 3. Methodologies to study medieval authorship

To date, medieval authorship has mostly been studied in individual cases. Therefore, this chapter incorporates many examples of studies on the identity of a medieval chronicler in an attempt to deduce a general methodology from these individual approaches. The lack of discussion about methods to apply to the study of medieval authorship comes from practicality – every chronicle needs a unique detailed approach – not from a failure to realise the significance of this type of study. Individual scholars, like Michael Hicks, know to frame their attempt to identify one medieval chronicler in a broader area of research:

Identification of the author would enhance the value of the chronicle as a historical source capable of much more intensive study and more discriminating appreciation.<sup>67</sup>

But the process of identification, however necessary, is not without its problems. This same author concluded on the last page of his article in which he first announced the proposition of a new candidate for the Second Anonymous Continuation of the Crowland Chronicle, that it might not be that simple.

Actually it is doubtful whether the authorship of any anonymous chronicle can be conclusively established. Langport is merely the most probable candidate to date.<sup>68</sup>

But even when we are unable to specifically name an anonymous chronicler, the attempt to move towards identification is useful nonetheless. In many cases unfortunately, the search for authorship will not result in the conclusive proposal of a certain person's name. Nevertheless, on the way to possible identification a profile of the author is formed which provides a lot of information.

For as long as medieval chronicles have been subjects of study, the question of identification and authorship has been present. Although these questions have been dealt with for decades or maybe even centuries, not much has been written about the methodology to tackle these problems in the field of medieval history. In the area of literature studies scholars have written about methods to attribute an anonymous text to an author known from other sources. Quantitative analysis has especially been applied to medieval literary texts. Such methods use lexical richness, word frequency and sentence length to recognise the hand of a certain author in a text of uncertain authorship.<sup>69</sup> However, the application of such analysis to chronicles would be extremely complicated because of the nature of

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<sup>67</sup> Michael Hicks, 'The Second Anonymous Continuation of the Crowland Abbey Chronicle 1459-86 Revisited', *English Historical Review* 122 : 496 (2007) 349-370, 370.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> For example Karina van Dalen-Oskam, 'Kwantificeren van stijl', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- & letterkunde* 123 (2007) 37-54.



historiographical texts. As will be shown in the description of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* in part two of this thesis, due to compilation many passages are copied almost verbatim from older sources, which would give confusing results in a quantitative analysis. For the majority of fifteenth-century anonymous texts we also lack a suggested author thus making comparative methods of quantitative analysis even more problematic.

### 3.1 Examples of methodologies

There are publications, however, that perform a search for an anonymous author or even claim to identify one of them. A quick survey of these publications will provide some insight into the possibilities of some methods and the pitfalls of other arguments. A large difference in approach and chance of success is concealed in whether we face a completely anonymous chronicler or attempt to assign a work to an already well-known author. Some examples will be presented to offer an overview of what has been done in previous publications.

#### ***Rijmkroniek*: the manuscript, the language and the right time and place**

The *Rijmkroniek* is one of the first major works in Dutch historiography. It was written at the end of the thirteenth and early years of the fourteenth century and covers the history of Holland until the year 1305 in rhymed verses. The argument about the supposed author of the *Rijmkroniek*, Melis Stoke, is based on multiple factors. The first identification of Melis Stoke, the secretary of the count of Holland around the start of the fourteenth century, was made on the argument of the similarity in hands in which the chronicle and signed charters at the court of Holland were written. This nineteenth-century identification was only seriously criticised and even dismissed in 1966 when an entirely different interpretation of the chronicle was given by a new monograph on the *Rijmkroniek*.<sup>70</sup> It was argued that Wouter de Clerc was the author. This was based on a different interpretation of an appendix of one of the manuscripts which had, until the 1960's been considered a later substitute. After two decades of debate about the date of the appendix and the order of the manuscripts the conclusion was drawn that Wouter de Clerc's appendix indeed originated from a later period and Wouter had been merely a copyist. However, this did not prove Melis Stoke to be the chronicle's author, because substantial doubts were raised in the debates requiring reconsideration of the creation, writing and copying processes of the manuscripts. In 1999 a new study was published which proved the original idea about the chronicler right.<sup>71</sup> In this publication the *Rijmkroniek* was compared with

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<sup>70</sup> H.C. Peeters, *De Rijmkroniek van Holland, haar auteur en Melis Stoke* (Antwerpen 1966).

<sup>71</sup> Before Melis Stoke an anonymous author is thought to have laid the foundation for the *Rijmkroniek*. This earlier author cannot be identified yet. See Burgers, *Rijmkroniek van Holland*.

information about Stoke's career that was reconstructed from his charters. This revealed a stunning similarity in the places the author of the chronicle and Melis Stoke had been, visiting the same cities or the same court at the same time. Events the author witnessed himself are very probable to have been witnessed by Stoke as well. This parallel is further supported with linguistic evidence. The word forms and phrases known from Stoke in his charters compare very well with the chronicle. The 1999 study brought an end to the debate about the authorship of the *Rijmkroniek* after the handwriting, the manuscripts, the language and the whereabouts and career of the probable author were studied elaborately.

### ***Divisiiekroniek*: Secondary literature**

The authorship of the *Divisiiekroniek* is a different story. However, the search for the author of the *Divisiiekroniek* shares an important aspect with that of the *Rijmkroniek*. For both chronicles an author known by name from other sources was proposed. The secondary literature about the *Divisiiekroniek* and its author has been most important in the search. Again, the discussion was started off by a late nineteenth-century scholar. Robert Fruin discovered a reference in another medieval chronicle, the chronicle of Jan van Naaldwijk, to a chronicle written by a certain Cornelius van Lopsen.<sup>72</sup> This Cornelius could be identified as the well-known Dutch scholar Cornelius Aurelius, because his career and his position as a canon in the Lopsen monastery were known.

Again, as with the *Rijmkroniek*, after the consideration of external evidence the suggestions about the supposed author were examined against the chronicle itself. A passage had been discovered by Fruin in which the author of the *Divisiiekroniek* admits to have used one of Aurelius' treaties. This passage includes all possible formulas to express the highest modesty about the treaty, which makes it highly probable that this was a work of the author himself. But because Aurelius had been known as a humanist scholar, and a friend of Erasmus, this hypothesis was questioned recurrently. The writing of a chronicle in medieval style contradicted all that was thought about him. However, with the reevaluation of medieval chronicles in the last decades the view on the *Divisiiekroniek* has changed as well. Its own character, meaning and purposes, even though they come in the form of a medieval chronicle have been emphasised. In recent publications the identification of Aurelius as the author is rarely questioned. Yet, the evidence is still not indisputable, because Cornelius Aurelius never mentioned the chronicle in any of his other works or letters and no copy in his own hand survived.<sup>73</sup>

The two examples above show how early suggestions about a probable author based on references or secondary literature provide the incentive to search the

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<sup>72</sup> R. Fruin, *Robert Fruin's verspreide geschriften: Met aantekeningen, toevoegsels en verbeteringen uit des schrijvers nalatenschap*, edited by P. J. Blok, Pieter Lodewijk Muller and S. Muller (The Hague 1903).

<sup>73</sup> Karin Tilmans, *Historiography and humanism in Holland in the age of Erasmus: Aurelius and the Divisiiekroniek of 1517* (Nieuwkoop 1992) 3-8.

chronicle itself for information. Both stories start with the discovery of external evidence which subsequently leads to a detailed study of the text itself for confirmation of a name rather than suggestions on an anonymous identity.

The study on the *Rijmkroniek* showed that even the study of word forms and language, as is commonly used in literary studies can sometimes be helpful for medieval chronicles. Another work where this detailed study of word forms has turned out to be essential for a possible identification is a phrasebook attributed to William Caxton. This, however, is not a typical history work, but rather a language textbook which contains sentences and stories. The mastering and use of the French and Flemish languages is compared to Caxton's assumed knowledge to ascertain his authorship.<sup>74</sup> The study of word forms, length and language, however, is seldom applicable to proper chronicles, and then only with due observance of the above objections.

Another form of external information that can help the identification of anonymous authors is the search for the situation of the hypothetical author at certain times. A very strong argument can be made when the location and date of origin of the chronicle match the whereabouts of the suggested chronicler. The *Rijmkroniek* was not the only case in which this was essential for identification of the author; Fruin also made use of a similar approach when studying the authorship of the *Divisiechroniek*. When applicable an identification can be made even more likely or dismissed almost entirely by the comparison of the date of origin of the chronicle and the knowledge of whether the believed author was alive, where he was at that time and if he was in a position to write the chronicle in those years. Examples of this can also be found in the recent attempts of Hanham and Hicks to identify respectively the author of William Caxton's Phrasebook and the second continuation of the Crowland Chronicle (2CC).<sup>75</sup>

Systematic analysis of 2CC has revealed the author to be normally resident in London or Westminster, well-acquainted with the palace of Westminster, employed in one of the central government writing offices and present at (or at least well-informed) of activities in the royal council, great council and parliament from the late 1460s to the 1480s. All these requirements Langport [the suggested author] fulfils. Like Crowland [the anonymous author], he was continuously in London, not just as indicated explicitly in the council acts and by privy seal attestations, but normally also for the twice-weekly council meetings and for the sessions of the great council and parliament.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Alison Hanham, 'Who made William Caxton's Phrase-Book', *The Review of English Studies* 56: 227 (2005) 712-729.

<sup>75</sup> Respectively Hanham, 'Caxton's Phrase-Book', 717-719 and Hicks, 'Second Anonymous Continuation', 353-355.

<sup>76</sup> Hicks, 'Second Anonymous Continuation', 367.

### 3.2 Internal information

Unfortunately many medieval chronicles are not commented upon in other chronicles, letters or documents and come to us without any suggestion of the author's name. But even those completely anonymous chronicles can be searched for little bits of information on the person of the author. When no other sources on the chronicle can be found we can focus on the text itself and the many clues that can be found in the manuscript.

Prologues and colophons are a very helpful tool in this context, because they tend to include the purpose of the chronicler, a possible patron or other relevant information. A specific identification based on this is not possible, unless the author names himself or his function explicitly, but it might make clear whether he worked at a monastery, a court or a city and what he considered the function of his work. Many regional chronicles in the Netherlands however, did not have a prologue, or it has not survived. Therefore information about the purpose, a possible commissioner, and an environment of writing has to be looked for in the text of the chronicle itself and too often it can only be found between the lines. Using both biographical data discovered in the text itself and information about the sources, an image of the author, his environment and his goals can be developed.

#### *Biographical data from the chronicle*

For identification of the author the text itself is in most cases our only source to look for hints he provided about himself. Every chronicle presents to the researcher more or less biographical data. This may come in the form of stories written in the first person singular in which the main character witnessed or contributed to stories reflected upon in the chronicle, as occurs a few times in the Chronicle of Tiel. In one unique example, which shows how much information can be deduced from a single passage, we learn where the chronicler lived, how he earned his money, his status in life and that he wrote the chronicle at the end of his life in the year 1450.

The day before Saint Francis (3 October) 1425 – which was a Wednesday – 35 houses and five granaries burnt down in the city of Tiel at the ninth hour after midday. The one who compiled and wrote this little work found his own position heavily affected by this fire. For he had then not been married six months and he had spent the little he possessed on growing wheat in his field. That wheat had grown rather well and yielded an acceptable harvest; that harvest from four acres of land had been piled up in one of the aforementioned granaries which were caught on fire. Furthermore, the house he then lived in had been burnt to ashes by the same fire, so that he was left with nothing, and nothing at all, of worldly goods. But because he was young, he was less to be pitied then, than when a similar fate had

befallen him in the time he wrote this book, that is in the year [14]50.

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Unfortunately, such beautifully explicit references to the person of the author are rare in chronicles. Biographical information, however, can also be given in less obvious ways by comments on other persons in the chronicle or above-average attention for a specific family, monastery or town. In addition, comments on ecclesiastical and political events are often at least slightly subjective. The view and position a chronicler takes on these matters reveal his position in society. For example, when a chronicler pays a lot of attention to the succession of popes and bishops and the foundation of monastic orders a connection to a monastery or a position in the clergy can reasonably be expected.

Another example of this type of deduction of information can be found in the *Kattendijke Kroniek*, a chronicle of Holland, Zeeland, Vriesland and Utrecht from the last decade of the fifteenth century. The editors detected some preferences towards the so-called *Hoeken*, one of the parties in a long-standing dispute in Holland, in the *Kattendijke Kroniek*. This can tell us about the political position of the author and therefore about his social position and his possible place of residence for it is known which noble families and which cities were positioned on the side of the *Hoeken*. However, these kinds of preferences need to be studied carefully, before any conclusion can be drawn from them. The commentators on the *Kattendijke Kroniek* defend an author with a *Hoekse* prejudice, but based on more than just the appearance of a few subjective stories. The editors of the chronicle observe that most of the available and widely used sources – the Beke chronicle, the Chronicle of Gouda, and others – all show a bias in favour of the *Hoeken*. The fact that authors chose to copy certain parts of these chronicles can be explained as a political preference, but it requires careful research to prove that this copying expresses a conscious preference and not merely the use of available, but biased sources. With some care, however, it is often possible to deduce some focus and views of the chronicler from an anonymous text.

Another interesting aspect of an anonymous medieval chronicle is the place of origin, because it can provide information about the environment and context of the author while he was writing it. A common way to try to detect the origin of

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<sup>77</sup> Kuys, *Tielse Kroniek*, 157, § 814. My translation. [Daags vóór Sint Franciscus (3 oktober) 1425 – dat was een woensdag – brandden om negen uur na de middag in de stad Tiel 35 huizen en vijf korenschuren af. Degene die dit werkje samenstelde en schreef zag zijn eigen positie door deze brand zwaar aangetast. Hij was toen immers nog geen half jaar getrouwd en het weinige dat hij bezat had hij uitgegeven voor het verbouwen van tarwe op zijn akker. Die tarwe was vrij redelijk opgegroeid en had een aardige oogst opgeleverd; die oogst van vier morgen lands lag opgetast in één van de daarnet genoemde opslagplaatsen die door brand getroffen werden. Bovendien was het huis waar hij toen woonde door dezelfde brand totaal in de as gelegd, zodat hij op dat moment niets, maar dan ook niets, aan aardse goederen overhield. Maar omdat hij jong was, was hij toen minder beklagenswaardig dan wanneer hem een dergelijk lot was overkomen in de tijd, waarin hij dit boek schreef, te weten in het jaar [14]50.]

chronicles is to look at the geographical focus of the text. An example of this can be found again in the description of the *Kattendijke Kroniek*. The origin of the text is easily placed in the county of Holland, because there is 'a special emphasis on Holland' in the chronicle.<sup>78</sup> A more specific location is suggested in the city of Haarlem, but the editors of the chronicle are very careful not to make this any more than a mere suggestion. The chronicle contains several stories about Haarlem, some texts used in the chronicle originated in Haarlem, and a number of nobles and noble families in the chronicle are from Haarlem.<sup>79</sup> However, these families, stories and texts were known outside the city of Haarlem as well and, because it was an important city in Holland, it is not unusual that information about this city was incorporated into a more general account of Holland.

A stronger argument can be made in the case of the Chronicle of Gouda. Antheun Janse has suggested an origin for this chronicler in the city of Delft. Because in its history of the counts of Holland 'Delft is the most named city, and not just that: it is also the city most often praised.'<sup>80</sup> Accounts of events in the city of Delft are more elaborate in the Chronicle of Gouda than they are known from other sources. Moreover, the people of Delft are described as very brave and good people and the chronicler even makes Albrecht of Bavaria, count of Holland, value the well-being of the people of Delft over half of the county of Holland at some point. Janse therefore concluded this chronicler had a specific interest in and was likely to originate from Delft himself.<sup>81</sup>

The subject of stories, what kind of information is included and excluded, and the towns and persons mentioned by name in a chronicle can all be used to try to identify the place of origin of a medieval chronicle. To be certain of this location based on only this kind of information, however, is very difficult. The evidence has to be viewed carefully. Not only can the content of the chronicle, but also its sources help in the process of identification.

### **Sources**

The sources used by a chronicler can provide evidence about his person in several ways. The availability of sources can offer information about the location in which the chronicle was written. Also, the preferences of the author in picking sources reveal something about the purpose and social or political position of the author. When a partiality is shown in the political view of sources or only sources in the vernacular or in Latin are chosen, certain environments, such as a particular court or a monastery, can be assumed. Another important aspect of the study of sources

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<sup>78</sup> Janse, *Kattendijke-Kroniek*, cxlvi. [met speciale nadruk op Holland].

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., cxlvi-cxlix.

<sup>80</sup> Antheun Janse, 'De gelaagdheid van een laatmiddeleeuuse kroniek: De ontstaansgeschiedenis van het zogenaamde Goudse kroniekje', *Queeste: tijdschrift over middeleeuwse letterkunde in de Nederlanden* 8 : 1 (2001) 134–159, 153-154. My translation. [(...) is Delft de meest genoemde stad, en dat niet alleen: het is ook de meest geprezen stad.]

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 152-156.

is that it can help determine when a text would have been written and what kind of text it is. To recognise and list the sources used by a chronicler takes a lot of time and detailed study, but can provide useful results about how and where to place that chronicle in the medieval historiography of the Low Countries. When parallels between sources are found, the order has to be established. Which manuscript was the copy and which the exemplar or is it even possible that a different communal source once existed? This might take some meticulous research because not all manuscripts are well dated and copied passages can be almost identical. The comparison of word forms and specific details commented upon in the texts usually leads to a conclusion about the order of the works.

When as many sources as possible have been found and the origin of the majority of the text has been identified, the passages that remain without a source are usually the most interesting ones. Those parts of the text are either the author's original work or come from a relatively unknown and less significant source. To include passages from the chronicles of Beke or Johannes a Leydis was quite common in medieval historiography of the Low Countries and does not imply any particular meaning. But in instances when particular information is added to parts of these well-known chronicles we are most likely to find more specific information about the author. To identify these noteworthy passages is often attempted, but not always successfully and although theoretically it can be very significant, it is often problematic to prove what this information actually means. Examples of this are the assignment of the authorship of the Chronicle of Tiel to Willem van Wijje, because two different passages mention him or one of his ancestors, and the idea the *Chronicon Hollandiae* originated in the environment of the Eggert family because of the inclusion of a rather long comment on Willem Eggert and his son. It is implied that simply because such passages are rather specific, they would not have been copied from one of the general chronicles of Holland or Utrecht, but were rather included by the compiler himself because of personal acquaintance or interest. That this was not true for the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is shown below.<sup>82</sup> As for the 'Chronicon of Tiel', the editors of the Dutch version in 1983 dismiss the above idea very easily because it is entirely based on speculation.<sup>83</sup> The presumption that the chronicler must have known the older Willem de Wijje who is mentioned in the chronicle, is not in any case proof that the author therefore can be identified with his supposed family member Willem van Wijje, who is mentioned a few centuries later in the chronicle. The zeal of editors to identify an author makes them inclined to interpret any evidence available in favour of one of the very few names identifiable. Many cases, unfortunately, of these nineteenth and early twentieth-century identifications are examples of this fervour rather than of thorough research.

Also, as commented on above, the availability of sources can provide some evidence for the context of writing. Different sources make different environments – such as a monastery, a specific court or a municipal government – most probable

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<sup>82</sup> See below, Chapter 7, p. 84-85.

<sup>83</sup> Kuys, *Tielse Kroniek*, xxvii-xxviii.

for the origin of the chronicle. The extensive use of charters from the Utrecht town archive by the translator/continuator of the Beke chronicle, for example, was an important incentive for Janse to describe him as a Utrecht town clerk.<sup>84</sup> A writer from a monastery, for example, would have had a totally different library at his disposal than a town clerk.

### 3.3 Guidelines

In order to get as close as possible to the author of an anonymous medieval chronicle a number of things have to be taken into consideration. Of course not all the aspects discussed below will be applicable to every chronicle. What will be useful or decisive depends to a great extent on the situation of the specific chronicle under research, because of the availability of information on the chronicle and the content of the chronicle itself. In most cases both external, or secondary, and internal information can be helpful. Sharpe even pleads for the use of

primarily internal evidence, and after that the evidence of inscriptions and colophons transmitted with the text. Only when the first is wanting and the second can be shown to be misleading do we construct other arguments for authorship.<sup>85</sup>

The internal evidence must indeed be valued very highly, and seen as more decisive than comments from later scholars. However, the practical side of this type of research makes it necessary to start on external evidence and work from there.

First of all, one starts with research on what is already written about the chronicle, by medieval commentators in the rare case that is available, and also by modern scholars. At the present time, after centuries of study into medieval writing, most manuscripts are known and commented upon, although there are a multitude of texts that have yet to be thoroughly studied. Frequently one will find some of the work already done by previous scholars and some suggestions proposed concerning possible authorship, especially since the recent publication of reference works, databases and encyclopedias, which incorporate all known medieval historiography and do not restrict themselves to the well-studied cases. A search for confirmation or rejection of a proposed author gives more handles to start looking for clues to contribute to a profile of an anonymous chronicler. The manuscript and text itself always have to be taken into consideration before a conclusion is reached; a conclusion merely based on secondary literature or editions is not advisable. However, it is highly recommended to start with a broad view and to perform the actual study of the manuscript with the available knowledge and broader context of the period in mind, to profit as much as possible from previous research.

When we start looking at external information, before carefully reading and considering the content of the text itself, both secondary literature and the physical

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<sup>84</sup> Janse, 'Nederlandse Beke opnieuw bekeken', 133-139.

<sup>85</sup> Sharpe, *Titulus*, 22-23.



manuscript of the text can provide information. Secondary information can take the form of comments in medieval history works on other chronicles it was copied from, like Jan van Naaldwijk's comment on Cornelius' chronicle. But also references in letters, diaries or other documents to chronicles and authors yet unknown to modern scholars, can be a source of information. Finding this kind of information about medieval chronicles is rare though, and to look for it in case of an anonymous author is complicated. In the case of an attempt to describe an anonymous history work to an author known from other sources, one might have more luck with secondary literature, because there is a name to search for and the other works of the same author could hold clues.

Another form of external evidence that can help shape the picture of the anonymous author is the physical manuscript. Again, one has to be lucky to find major clues in this, because a large number of chronicles are only handed down to our time in later copies. However, if the autograph or another early manuscript is available, the date, hand, script, marginalia and use of language can all help determine where to look for an author. Examples of this can for instance be found in the search for authors of the London Chronicles when different hands and sloppy handwriting are considered signals of private and lay authorship.<sup>86</sup> For some texts, the study of the hand and language can also provide information, as was done for the *Rijmkroniek* for which comparison of the hand of the author led to the proposition of a name, which was further strengthened by the study of the development of linguistics and word forms used by that author.

Unfortunately, the majority of medieval manuscripts are not easily ascribed to a writer through external references. The next step, therefore, is to look at the text itself and consider what the content and sources of the text can tell us about its authorship. As a first step in the study of internal information, it is worth carefully studying the prologue. Some chronicles contain a prologue or a colophon; this could give the profession or position of the author, a possible assignment or patron and the purpose of an author. Anonymous works would not provide a name of course, but prologues remain very useful for some information about the aims of the author or the context and environment in which he was working.

Also less explicit internal evidence can be found. When the actual text is read carefully it will disclose information about authorship as well. The subjects an author chose to write about reveal where his interests lay. The place the work originated in is often detectable from the geographical focus of the chronicle, because authors tended to write more about local matters, both because they were more important to them and because information about local events was more easily available. Not only the geographical focus, but also the emphasis in the subjects that were covered and the type of stories included can help us build up a picture of an author. Political preferences, a large number of references to a certain noble family or a lot of attention given to a specific dynasty can point to an author with a connection to a certain court or family. In addition, particular emphasis on politics, ecclesiastical subjects or town matters, for example, will help determine

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<sup>86</sup> McLaren, *London Chronicles*, 25-28ff.

whether the author could have been a canon, town clerk or rather have had some function at court, to name a few options. The hypothesis made about a possible author's profile because of information drawn from the chronicle itself, can be strengthened by what we can call biographical data from the chronicle. Some authors write in the first person singular to describe some particular events they experienced themselves. If there are eye-witness accounts from the writer in the chronicle or other hints at his personal situation or whereabouts, this could suggest a context for an author or strengthen a profile that has already taken shape.

Another major indicator in the search for a possible author is the collection of sources of the chronicle. The number and range of sources used for a certain chronicle reveal something about the environment in which the chronicle originated. Moreover, the selection of the sources and of stories selected from those available sources disclose information about the purpose and focus of the chronicler.

One has to be extremely cautious, however, to propose more than a rough profile of the author based on internal information, because the interpretation of this type of information is particularly complicated and subjective. Not only the occurrence of information on a city or monastery is important, but the value attributed to it by the author is most significant. One comment that includes praise or partiality is more revealing than a number of passages with general information. The search described above is not just a quantitative analysis of names and places, but needs an insightful interpretation before conclusions can be drawn and our view of the historiography in the medieval Low Countries is broadened.

## PART TWO

### AUTHORSHIP OF THE *CHRONICON HOLLANDIAE*

#### 4. Description of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*

The entries on the *Chronicon Hollandiae* in reference works are short and they excel in the use of words like ‘possibly’, ‘probably’ or ‘presumably’. In summary, not much is known yet about the *Chronicon*. Also the title *Chronicon Hollandiae* is just a modern designation to refer to this chronicle for no original title is known. Therefore a description of the chronicle is given before we start the actual research for its author.

##### 4.1 The physical appearance

The oldest of the extant manuscripts of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, which has survived to the present day in the Royal Library in Brussels contains fifteen folia, which is translated in circa thirty-nine pages in Obreen’s 1925 edition.<sup>87</sup> The Brussels manuscript contains a number of adjustments and alterations made to the text in the process of writing. It was clearly still a work in progress when left. Corrections and additions in the margins occur frequently. Therefore it could be argued that this is not a copy of a text known from another exemplar but the version written by the author or compiler himself. Repeatedly words, sentences, and sometimes an entire paragraph, are on second thought scored out and replaced. On folio 49r (fig. 7) we see an example of this. The paragraph at the top of the page is erased, but we can still read some words through the lines and discover that the author changed his mind on how to report this story rather than that a mistake was made during the process of simply copying. After the deleted entry on John of Bavaria other information is provided first, but at the end of the page this continues into the subject of the erased lines. The scored out story is told after all, but in a different context, with different words. Another page shows a blank space (fig. 6), left open for some other story the author meant to tell, but never got to. The unfinished character of the work is also shown on the last page, where the *Chronicon* suddenly ends in the middle of a sentence (fig. 11).

The *Chronicon Hollandiae* in the Brussels manuscript is preceded by a chronicle of the lords of Brederode attributed to Johannes a Leydis and a short chronicle on the lords of Egmond. The appearance of the *Chronicon* however, is different from those chronicles preceding it in the same binding. The first two chronicles are neatly, evenly written, without strikethroughs or corrections, although they show some comments in a different hand. They contain rubricated initials, and the chronicle of Brederode is even decorated with a number of coloured coats of arms in the margins. The *Chronicon Hollandiae*, in contrast, only contains one red initial, at the start of the text and gives a less neat impression.

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<sup>87</sup> See also Obreen, ‘Chronicon Hollandiae’, 1-3 for a more elaborate description of the manuscript.

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**H**ollandie p̄modialis civitas & dolacindich ubi flān  
 magm̄ castm̄ erigatur p̄ flān burch̄ noīabant. Hic  
 quidē flān de saxonia veniat p̄ terra q̄ n̄r d̄ fūsa ubi q̄plm̄  
 nob̄ ḡgates p̄ b̄n̄m de britānia q̄ n̄r vocat̄ anglia expulsos  
 in ore gladij fundit̄ p̄m̄erunt. Hic b̄n̄m fuit t̄p̄e dauid r̄ḡi  
 p̄m̄erato quidē castro flān burch̄ q̄ntū fuit siluſtri & formm̄  
 p̄ vulgarij d̄ic̄bat̄ dar wulde wout s̄onder ghenad̄ p̄ ānos  
 plurimos flān circa mari v̄ntabant in v̄lacindich (s̄ illa  
 v̄eta v̄lacindich p̄ n̄r est in m̄osa) t̄m̄ n̄ris multiplicati in  
 r̄ḡi p̄ h̄ollandiam s̄ d̄is̄si. Eundē v̄ro insulam zelandā s̄ r̄ḡi  
 longe an̄ ep̄i n̄ritate

Alexander magnus p̄ t̄rentos et triginta v̄ni ānos an̄ n̄ritate  
 d̄m̄ n̄r d̄m̄ q̄i tom̄ m̄adū suo p̄b̄ngat̄ ip̄eio h̄os t̄n̄ v̄agos  
 et indomitos flānos n̄o p̄b̄ngat̄ q̄z forſita corū fama n̄o d̄m̄  
 audierat illa et ip̄i ignozabat̄ v̄lla c̄ terra h̄oīl̄z ihabitat̄  
 p̄ britānia et v̄aga saxonia n̄o ad c̄ fūſiam

Deinceps ante n̄ritate d̄m̄ p̄liij ānis r̄ḡbat̄ iulij cesar qui  
 p̄ flān descendens noīmagm̄ venit et ibidē castm̄ ḡstruor et v̄l  
 t̄m̄ p̄f̄asens cū p̄f̄atis siluſtribz flānis horribile bellū ḡm̄it̄  
 in quo p̄f̄at̄ cesar q̄plm̄ nob̄ de suis occisos n̄o reliquit. T̄m̄  
 habito cū iulio colloquio q̄f̄er̄ ab eo q̄n̄a c̄t et v̄n̄ veniret  
 t̄m̄ cū r̄nd̄s̄it̄ se ab v̄ro roma descendisse vt̄ oīz terrā roma  
 n̄o p̄f̄er̄ p̄b̄ngare p̄nd̄er̄nt̄ c̄i flān p̄lū in quo iulij cognat̄  
 r̄nd̄it̄ m̄d̄ulo t̄n̄ flānorū capitaneq̄ noī. Fabon̄ n̄ris magm̄  
 tudis ḡgatis enā ibidē p̄m̄p̄z est et sic d̄m̄ti s̄ et se romanis  
 p̄b̄ntos fore sp̄p̄oder̄t

Hic etiā t̄p̄o t̄rueris deuastat̄ a iulio q̄ civitas p̄p̄ abrah̄  
 r̄nd̄ita fuisse p̄bat̄

Subiēte flāno iulij in flāndia c̄ p̄f̄ata cū cognato suo ḡaro  
 q̄ q̄dem ḡarq̄ ibidē civitate ḡadensē famosiss̄iaz ḡstruor v̄o  
 r̄n̄o cam noīe suo ḡarq̄nt̄. Recedente t̄n̄ iulio flān fecer̄t̄ q̄

Figure 1. The opening page of the Brussels manuscript of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, f. 37r.

The edition by Obreen, which is used for this thesis, unfortunately fails in providing details about the different levels in the text. The majority of additions in the margins of the manuscript are simply inserted without annotation and some other features, like a correction of two entries in the wrong chronological order, remained unnoticed by Obreen. For lack of better, Obreen's edition is used as a basis for this thesis and comparisons are performed using the 1925 publication. Unfortunately this carries with it the risk of missing some steps in the creation of the *Chronicon* and its precise use of different sources. A new edition and detailed study of all additions and corrections is necessary, but beyond the scope of this thesis.

## 4.2 Contents

'Hollandie primordialis civitas dicitur Vlaerdinck, ubi Slavi magnum castrum erexerant, quod Slavenburch nominabant' reads the first sentence of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*.<sup>88</sup> The Slavs founded the city of Vlaardingen, called the 'castle of the Slavs', and by doing that created the first city in Holland. The chronicle's focus on Holland is obvious from this first sentence and it is revealing that 'Hollandie' is the first word of the chronicle. However, the foundation of the city of Utrecht follows quickly at the end of the second page of the *Chronicon* and gives an indication that we have to expect not only a chronicle of Holland. It will become clear that there are too many stories not directly related to the county of Holland to simply call this a chronicle of Holland, although Holland receives the larger share of attention in the *Chronicon*.

As the first sentence demonstrated, the *Chronicon Hollandiae* opens with the very beginning of the history of the Low Countries and commences the history of Holland and Utrecht a few centuries before Beke had started it. Rather than from Beke, those stories are familiar to us through the Chronicle of Gouda and Johannes a Leydis. The *Chronicon* tells us about the Slavs, who came from Saxonia, which was equated with Frisia, and lived in their city 'Slavenburch' next to the 'wild forest without mercy' and fought the Romans. In Nero's time Anthonina was built by a runaway senator from Rome and after a fight occupied by the Wilts, who called it Wiltenburch and later Traiectensum or Utrecht. The Wilts were a people of unknown origin fighting side by side with the Slavs and both were important in the history and development of the Low Countries. 'Anno Domini 368 Slavi scilicet Hollandrini, Saxones, Frisones et Wilti, qui nunc sunt Traiectenses, (...) [In the year 368 the Slavs, namely the Hollanders, the Saxons, the Frisians and the Wilts, who are now the people of Utrecht (...)].<sup>89</sup> Whereas the Slavs were the people of origin for Holland, the Wilts fulfilled that role for the people of Utrecht.

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<sup>88</sup> To enhance understanding the full text of the chronicle from Obreen, 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 3-42 is provided in the appendix and page numbers refer to the page numbers in the appendix (hereafter: *Chronicon Hollandiae*), p. 1.

<sup>89</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 5.

After a few more pages on legendary lords such as Lem, Dibbout, Valc and Aurindilius or ‘teutonice Ezeloir’ [‘Donkey’s Ears’ in Germanic], a king of the Slavs named after his very long ears, the chronicle arrives at St Boniface († 754), the archbishop of Utrecht.<sup>90</sup> Although the status of Boniface’s bishopric is historically questionable, in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* his name marks the end of the ‘prehistoric’ section of the chronicle and the start of the part that is slightly more consistently focused on the history of the bishops of Utrecht and the counts of Holland. Floris I (1049 - 1061) is the first count of Holland mentioned in the *Chronicon*, when his violent death ‘sub unbra salicis in Hamert’ [in the shadow of a willow in Hamert] is narrated on folio 39 verso.<sup>91</sup> A selection of counts and bishops is named in the rest of the chronicle, but not systematically. Also other regional leaders, such as Albert of Bavaria (1336 - 1404), John of Burgundy (r. 1404 – 1419) or Philip of Leiden (r. 1414 – 1420), foreign sovereigns, like the emperors Henry VII (1275 – 1313) or Sigmund (1368 – 1437) and popes, for example Innocent II (pope 1130 – 1143) and John XXII (pope 1316 – 1334), make their appearance. Influential international issues, like several events from the Hundred Years’ War are included, but also two- or three-line long comments that just state the foundation of a monastery or church. The last line is an unfinished sentence on the year 1433. The conflict in Utrecht between bishop Rudolf van Diepholt and antibishop Walraven van Meurs during the 1440’s has been told in the pages before though.

The *Chronicon Hollandiae* contains a combination of local, regional and international comments and events. It can be characterised as a chronicle of Holland and Utrecht, a well-known genre of regional chronicles in the late medieval Low Countries. As was typical for regional chronicles from these regions it does not exclusively contain stories located in or directly related to the counties of Holland or Utrecht. Many passages have strictly local subjects or comment on international or foreign events. Entries related to counts of Holland or bishops of Utrecht are alternated by stories of, for example, the emperor Fredericus who occupied the city of Milan in the year 1165.<sup>92</sup> Almost an entire page in the manuscript is dedicated to the story that tells us how the holy bodies of the three magi were secretly transported from the occupied city to the city of Cologne under the excuse of a transport back home for three kinsmen of the archbishop who had fallen victim to the plague. But also a very specific list of the members of the order of Saint Lambert in Liege is mentioned, and a number of other short, local comments about cities and towns in the Low Countries: ‘Anno Domini 1411 Johannes de Wouda miles et dominus de Warmonda fundavit monasterium ordinis Cisterciensium apud Warmondam’ [In the year 1411 Johannes of Wouda, knight and lord of Warmond, founded a monastery of the order of the Cistercians near Warmond].<sup>93</sup> Most of the

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<sup>90</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 6-7.

<sup>91</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 9.

<sup>92</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 13-14.

<sup>93</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 29.

local comments concern places in the county of Holland, although a high number of them seems to have no direct meaning for the course of events in the county.

Many events or stories included in the *Chronicon* can be characterised as legendary stories or even miracle tales. The aforementioned story of the three magi carries a hint of legend. Other examples include: the stories about the siege of Damiatra (p. 14-16); the woman who received a denarius instead of the Eucharist which eventually led to the crusade against the Stedingers (p. 16-18); Margaretha of Hennenberch and her 365 sons (p. 19); the giant Nicolaus from Spaarnewou (p. 20); the pope and the poisoned crucifix presented to him by friars (p. 21); the talking baby in Utrecht (p. 25-26); the fake bishop Jacobus and his trial (p. 26-28) and the swimming woman near Edam (p. 28-29). Most of the above, with the exception of the stories about Damiatra, the giant Nicolaus and the woman from the sea, are histories with a strong religious connotation. Lessons can be learned from this. Legendary and miracle stories seem to have been a major interest from the chronicler, because the space reserved for this information in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is substantial. Almost a quarter of the chronicle is dedicated to the stories mentioned above, which are only slightly over ten percent of the number of events mentioned in the *Chronicon*.<sup>94</sup> The chronicler took quite a lot of space in relation to the rest of the chronicle to write down these legendary and miracle stories elaborately. The story of Damiatra, the fake Eucharist in Stedingen, the career and trial of the fake bishop Jacobus and the woman from the sea near Edam all fill at least an entire page in a manuscript of only thirty pages in total.

Another interest of the chronicler can be found in ecclesiastical matters. The founding or consecration of six monasteries, four churches and two collegiums are mentioned. The bishops of Utrecht received some attention naturally through the attention given to the city and diocese of Utrecht in its entirety. Also, some crusades or battles for Jerusalem did not escape the author's attention. The *Chronicon Hollandiae* however, cannot be truthfully described as an ecclesiastical chronicle. The affairs of the counts of Holland, but also, for example, local and international wars, city fires and political matters take up a substantial part of the *Chronicon* too. In the last pages of the chronicle the focus of the author seems to have become more strictly fixed on war and politics. The chronicler has been interested in battles from the start of the *Chronicon* as the stories of the siege on Damiatra and Milan and also for example an elaborate description of the wars and politics around Huesden (p. 22-24) show. The final nine pages of the manuscript are almost entirely about war and politics, with the Hundred Years' War, the situations around Jacoba, countess of Holland, and the Schism of Utrecht as main themes.<sup>95</sup> Although this last conflict did also have substantial ecclesiastical

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<sup>94</sup> 270/1142 lines and 9/70 stories. The legendary stories in the 'prehistory' part of the chronicle (p. 1-7 in the appendix) are not included in this calculation.

<sup>95</sup> The 'Utrechtse Schisma' was a battle about the succession of the bishop of Utrecht between ca. 1423 and 1449 in which first Zweder van Culemborg and later Walraven van Meurs fought against Rudolf van Diepholt, who seized the title in 1449.



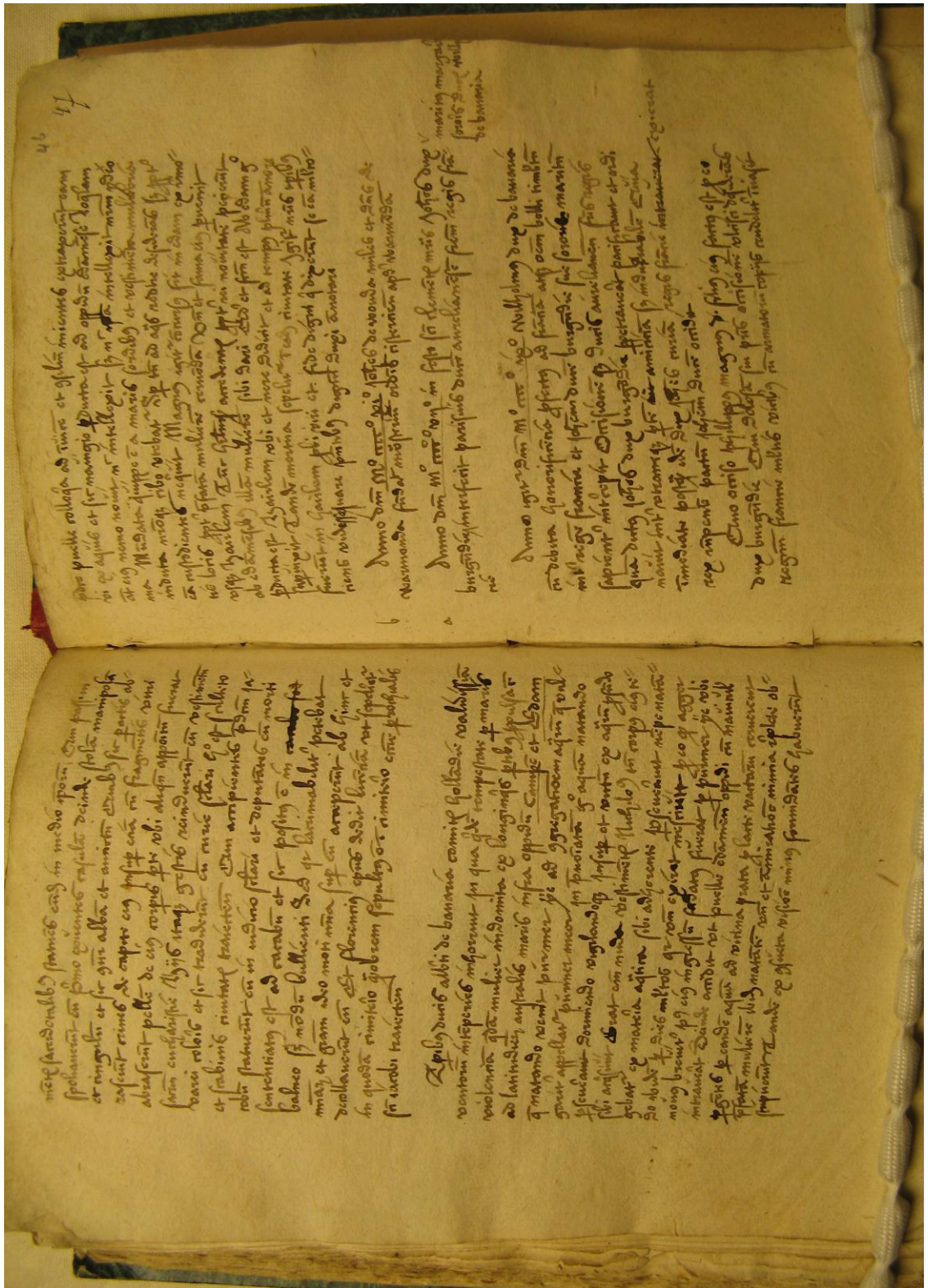


Figure 2. Pages of the Brussels manuscript of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, ff. 46v-47r.

implications, the majority of the information is political and concerns allies, treaties and the responses of the public rather than any consequences for the church. A possible explanation for this is that political affairs have seemed more interesting to the chronicler when they were more recent or perhaps legendary stories and foundations of monasteries and such were only easily available from earlier times.

### 4.3 Geographical focus

The *Chronicon*'s modern title places it in line with other fifteenth-century chronicles of Holland that are known from the herald Beyeren, the Chronicle of Gouda or the 'clerk from the low countries at the sea'. Another well-known group of medieval chronicles, such as the chronicle of Johannes Beke or the chronicles of Johannes a Leydis, combine the histories of both Holland and Utrecht. Unlike its name suggests, this has in fact also been done in this *Chronicon Hollandiae*. Bruch is the only commentator who claimed that the information about Utrecht has been omitted.<sup>96</sup> All other descriptions have more accurately called it a chronicle of Holland and Utrecht. The geographical focus will therefore be on those regions. A closer look on the geographical focus in the *Chronicon* will show how the attention is divided between those counties, international affairs and regions and towns inside those counties.

	Number of lines	Percentage
<b>World</b> <sup>97</sup>	265	<b>23%</b>
<b>World/Holland</b>	120	<b>11%</b>
<b>Holland</b>	358	<b>31%</b>
<b>Holland/Utrecht</b>	145	<b>13%</b>
<b>Utrecht</b>	254	<b>22%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1142</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Figure 3. The geographical focus of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*.**

Figure 1 shows that the focus of the *Chronicon* is predominantly on the county of Holland. A third of the space of the chronicle is dedicated to information about the history of the cities and counts of Holland specifically. When we add the passages concerning both Utrecht and Holland, more general entries about the Low Countries, and comments on Holland in combination with international events and relations, it can be stated that up to 50% of the chronicle is concerned with Holland. The entries on Holland have to be studied more closely to examine whether it is possible to discover a local focus of the *Chronicon*'s author. Are there places that occur frequently, and if so how do we interpret that? When placenames are mentioned in very detailed stories, unknown from other sources, it might teach

<sup>96</sup> Bruch, *Supplement*, 40-41.

<sup>97</sup> For this overview everything that can not be grouped under Holland or Utrecht is collected in the group World.

us something. However, stories known from many sources or with very general information should not be weighted too heavily, even when they include specific placenames.

Anno Domini 1366 fundatum est collegium apud sanctum Pancratium in oppido Leydensi cooperante et adiuvante quodam venerabili et litterato viro Philippo Leydensi in quo quidem collegio ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis et beati Pancratii prebendati sunt viginti quattuor canonici. Huius collegii primus prepositus fuit dominus Gysbertus de Walenborch qui obiit anno Domini 1387.<sup>98</sup>

[In the year 1366 the foundation is laid for the college near St Pancras in the town of Leiden with cooperation and help of a certain venerable and learned man Philippus van Leiden, and to this college twenty-four canons were offered to the honour of the Lord Almighty and the blessed Pancras. The first provost of this college was lord Gysbertus van Walenborch who died in the year 1387.]

The above is just one of several passages that contain very local information. Leiden and Haarlem are the two cities in the county of Holland referred to most frequently. The above quote is followed by a list of the founders of the college in Leiden. The familiarity with all those names gives the impression that the writer was closely involved with those people, this city, or at least with documents on the city. However, when we browse through the manuscript we come across a similar specific list of the names of the secular residents of the college in Liège. Also, within the county of Holland not just Leiden, but the city of Haarlem too is the subject of some quite specific information. One example is the name of the founder and some decoration details which are provided on the foundation of a church in Haarlem.

Anno Domini 1316 venerabilis dominus Jacobus, Zudensis episcopus, commendator domus sancti Johannis in Traiecto, regalem aulam apud Hairlem fabricavit.

Anno vero sequenti predictus Jacobus eodem loco in Hairlem decoratam ecclesiam ornato ambitu fabricari fecit et in sequenti anno perficitur. Quo loco Deus cum sanctissima Virgine, nec non sanctissimo precursore per militem piissimum Theodericum, videlicet dominum de Bredenrode, oblatione calicis purissimi auri veneratur.<sup>99</sup>

[In the year 1316 the venerable Jacobus, bishop of Zuden, benefactor of the house of St John in Utrecht, built a royal castle near Haarlem.

In the subsequent year, however, the aforementioned Jacobus took care that a decorated church with a fine gallery was built in the same place in Haarlem and it was finished in the next year. In this place God, together with the very holy Virgin and also the very holy preacher were venerated by the very pious knight Theodoricus, who

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<sup>98</sup> Chronicon Hollandiae, p. 24.

<sup>99</sup> Chronicon Hollandiae, p. 20-21.

was the lord of Brederode, through the dedication of a chalice of very pure gold.]

More short and not very specific entries are given on the foundation of monasteries or churches or on fires in Haarlem and Leiden. But also for instance The Hague, Amsterdam and Warmond are the location of similar short comments.

Other passages about Holland feature the whereabouts, offspring or death of the counts of Holland. These passages usually contain very general information. A list of the offspring of a count could probably be found in a lot of sources and does not contain any details to help define a specific origin of this chronicle. A third category of stories that feature in Holland are a few of the aforementioned legendary stories. One of the stories tells us how a woman from afar is brought into the waters of the Purmermeer by a storm.<sup>100</sup> She is living in the water, eats what she can get from the sea and wears nothing but what the water clothes her with. A dam is built which prevented her from leaving these waters and one day girls from Edam sailed by, on their way to cows in nearby meadows. When they lay eyes on the woman they deliberate what to do. Eventually they overcome their fear and drag the woman aboard. This mysterious woman from the sea is given clothing and food and stays in Edam, guarded to prevent her from returning to the sea. Her story becomes known and the people of nearby Haarlem ask for her. She is taken to Haarlem and is said to have lived in that city until she died many years later and was buried there. In this story the placenames of Purmerije, Edam and Haarlem are mentioned. It does not, however, feature many specific details that could only be known by locals. These towns are the stage against which the story is set, but, it is difficult to take clues from this story. It is hard to determine how commonly known these kind of legends were in the counties of Holland and Utrecht and whether the occurrence of those three cities helps us at all in the search for a place of origin of the *Chronicon*.

Both Haarlem and Leiden receive more than average attention, but not enough still to be able to appoint one of them as the probable residence of the writer. Short local comments, information and short stories about a few counts of Holland and legendary stories make up those 54% of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* marked as being on Holland. Unfortunately few of these present very specific or otherwise unknown information which can help to give decisive answers about the location of the author. There is just one story that focuses on one specific family, when we do not count the entries on the counts and countesses of Holland. This is a passage on Wilhelmus Eggert, treasurer of count William of Holland, and his son Johannes. The town of Purmereyndt is mentioned in this story. However when it is assumed Wilhelmus Eggert was known because of his function of treasurer, we should realise information about him might just have been known at court or around Holland. It does therefore not provide decisive information about the place the *Chronicon* was written.

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<sup>100</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 28-29.

Despite the large amount of attention on Holland, Utrecht has not been ignored. Moreover, the aforementioned comment about the year 368 contains the early origin of both Hollanders and people from Utrecht. The first few pages of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* give a role to both the Wilts and the Slavs and proceed into a chronicle of both Holland and Utrecht. For the passages set in the county of Utrecht, a closer look at the sort of descriptions is desired as well. Can we find more specific knowledge here which tells us if Utrecht is more or less probable to have been the place of residence of the author than places in Holland? A great majority of the lines dedicated to the county of Utrecht turns out to be on episcopal matters. But not only important episcopal matters or conflicts are included in the *Chronicon*, which could be explained as being of important value in regard to the county of Holland as well, but also local, non-ecclesiastical matters. Two quite substantial legendary stories that took place in the city are also counted in this group. The very local matters of the city of Utrecht like the finishing of the tower of the St Marten Church, the plague in the year 1368 or a city fire only take up about five percent of all the lines dedicated to Utrecht. They come down to a handful of short and non-specific comments of just two to four lines. Therefore Holland seems more likely to have been the place of residence of the unknown author of the *Chronicon*.

Several places outside Holland and Utrecht are mentioned in the chronicle. Frisia, Brabant and Lotharingen are mentioned, for example, but also Liege, Milan, Paris and Jerusalem pass by. Brabant and Frisia both get a comment on their early origin as well. The emperor Valentinianus descended all the way into Saxonia, 'hanc nominavit Frisiam, propter frigiditatem nimiam' [which he called Frisia, because of the great cold].<sup>101</sup> The name Brabantia is told to have originated from Henricus III, who described himself as the first duke of Brabant in 1251.<sup>102</sup> The interests of the author of this regional chronicle were certainly not restricted to one region.

#### 4.4 Temporal focus

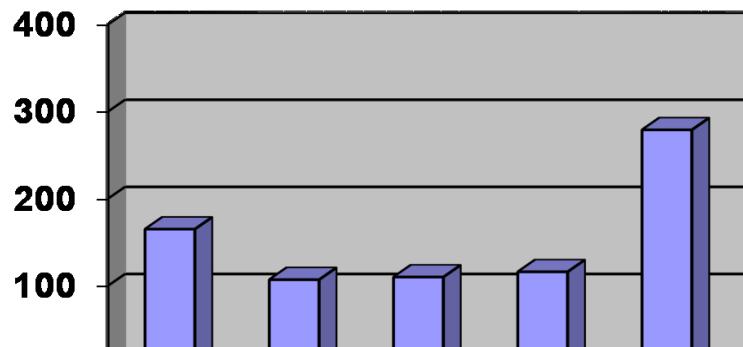
With the exclusion of the period before the year 1000 the *Chronicon* shows a very clear slow but continuous growth in the amount of lines dedicated to each century. The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century get almost exactly the same amount of space in the chronicle, with just a very slight increase in the number of lines dedicated to each century. The number of lines used for the description of the fourteenth century is more than double that of the previous centuries. Not a doubling, but a serious increase can be seen again in the amount of space given to the fifteenth century. This last growth is even more significant, because of the small number of years involved. The chronicle only extends to the middle of the fifteenth century, but still takes a third of the entire chronicle to describe these approximately fifty years.

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<sup>101</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 5.

<sup>102</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p.10.

**Figure 4. The temporal spreading of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*.**



The period before the year 1000 has been categorised as one group in this overview of the temporal focus of the *Chronicon*. This is partly done because of practical reasons. Showing the number of lines used per century for the centuries before 1000 would not make the description of the *Chronicon* any clearer, because more than a millennium is summarised in those 165 lines. Also, the difference between the space dedicated to, for example, the sixth and the seventh century, is much less relevant than the division of space in the centuries more contemporary to the author. Not only would it distort the study of the temporal focus of the chronicle, it would also be almost impossible to perform, because a large number of passages in the first 165 lines do not specify any date. The majority of comments in the rest of the chronicle start with the indication of a date, usually in the form of the very sober phrase *Anno Domini* followed by the year. However, a large number of stories from the pre-Roman, Roman and early medieval times are not dated, with the exception of several Roman emperors. A few centuries later Boniface and bishop Adelboldus are the first historical figures named. In the description of Adelboldus there is an odd leap from the year 909 to 1017, probably because of confusion between two different bishops by that same name. From this time on the stories are dated more consistently by the year of the Lord.

	Number of lines	Percentage
until 1000	165	15%
11 <sup>th</sup> century	107	9%
12 <sup>th</sup> century	110	10%
13 <sup>th</sup> century	116	10%
14 <sup>th</sup> century	279	24%
15 <sup>th</sup> century (until 1459)	365	32%
total	1142	100%

**Figure 5. The temporal focus of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*.**

The fifteenth century receives an exceptional amount of attention in the *Chronicon*. It is, however, not uncommon for medieval chroniclers to elaborate on times more

contemporary to them.<sup>103</sup> This can be easily explained because usually there is simply more information available on more recent times. The last few decades of the chronicle often represent the decades the author himself lived through and they are sometimes based on eyewitness reports from himself or contemporaries rather than on earlier chronicles. The amount of documented information available from the fourteenth and early fifteenth century was also larger than from the centuries before, because of the growth of literacy and bureaucracy. Also, more contemporary events are often of more interest to an author, because its impact can still, or better, be felt. Unfortunately in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* no eyewitness accounts from either the author himself or contemporaries have been used for the description of the fifteenth century.

The *Chronicon Hollandiae* is written entirely in chronological order with a few small exceptions. Four or five times the chronological order is distorted in a minor way when one or two comments are integrated into the chronicle a few years too late. This usually happens when it concerns different types of information than the immediate context. The arrival of monks in the monastery in Haarlem and of twelve nuns in the convent in Leeuwenhorst in respectively 1249 and 1262 are for instance mentioned after the death of countess Machteldis which is dated in the year 1267. One chronological disorder is corrected by the writer, or copyist, himself. In the Brussels manuscript two entries on 1411 and 1407 which are in the wrong chronological order have been corrected by respectively an 'b' and 'a' in the left margin to clarify the right order (fig. 2). Whether these discontinuities in chronology are deliberately made to group related subjects together, or because different sources underlie different sorts of comments and the switch between the different sources was incidentally not made at the correct place, is hard to tell.

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<sup>103</sup> This is true for many of the chronicles mentioned in this thesis. A clear example is for instance the Chronicle of Tiel.

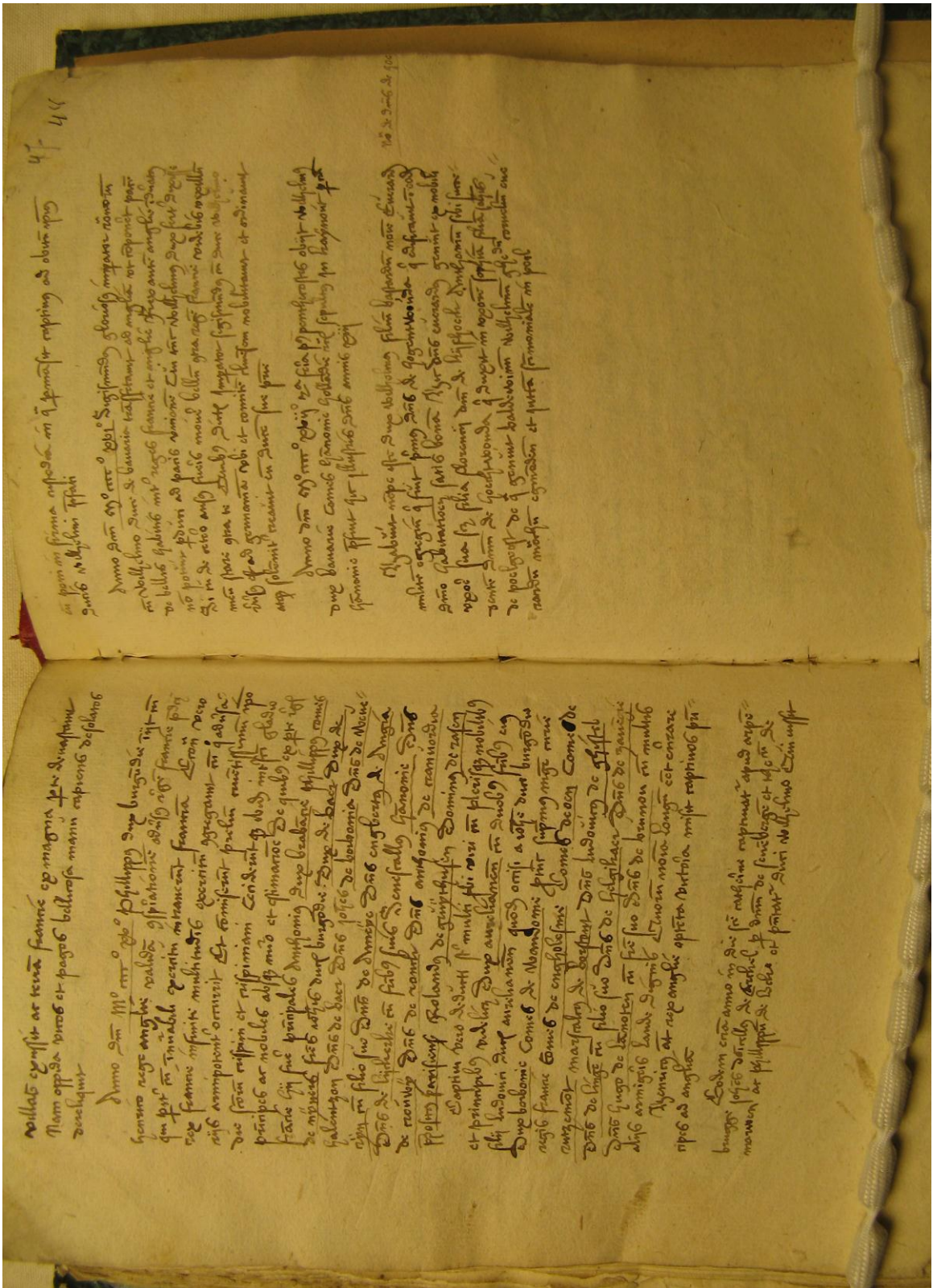


Figure 6. Pages of the Brussels manuscript of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, ff. 47v-48r.



## 5. Sources of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*

The author or compiler of the *Chronicon* does not give a single clue about his person, which is unfortunate for us, but as we have seen this is not uncommon for medieval chroniclers. The chronicle, however, has not been studied exhaustively, and might possess some indications about where to look for its writer. Before we submerge ourselves in the text of the manuscript, all that is written about the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and other external evidence is taken into consideration first to determine where we stand in the study of this medieval chronicle. The sources of the chronicle are a significant aspect in the research done on the *Chronicon* until now.

The short description Obreen has given in 1925 to introduce his publication of the Latin text of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* has long been the most influential publication on the subject. Later reference works or encyclopedias, from Romein in 1932 until the recent Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle and the narrative-sources website, have relied heavily on Obreen for information about the *Chronicon*. Obreen is very short on the topic of sources and the type of manuscript concerned: 'It shows a close relationship to the second version of Johannes a Leydis' Annales, which goes till 1417 in Sweertius' publication.'<sup>104</sup> Johannes a Leydis is known as the author of two chronicles of Holland and Utrecht. The first (A Leydis I) has been written between 1467 and 1469 and the second (A Leydis II), which is in more complicated or humanist Latin, around 1485.<sup>105</sup>

Following Obreen's observation, Romein suggested the *Chronicon* could very well be an abstract of the chronicle of Johannes a Leydis or otherwise must have been based on a communal source.<sup>106</sup> In 1956 Bruch proposed a slightly different view on the chronicle and implied it was a simplified copy of A Leydis I. He assumed Obreen had not considered the first version of A Leydis' chronicle, because he found that text even more similar to the *Chronicon* than A Leydis II. However, with this conclusion he simultaneously dismissed all significance of the chronicle completely, whereas Obreen ascribed at least some importance to the part from 1417 on, because the text of A Leydis II after that year has not survived. Bruch called it a 'poor abstract' of the first version of A Leydis and denied all value of research into this chronicle.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Obreen, 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 1. My translation. [Het vertoont een nauwe verwantschap met de tweede bewerking van Joannes a Leydis' Annales, welke in Sweertius' uitgave tot 1417 loopt.]

<sup>105</sup> The second version is usually dated between 1485/86 and 1494, but some argue for an earlier revision and suggest the second version was written between 1475/80 and 1485/90. See [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), NL0285.

<sup>106</sup> Romein, *Noord-Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving*, 111.

<sup>107</sup> Bruch, *Supplement*, 41, [dit povere uittreksel]. Obreen, 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 1.

However, in the 'Repertorium' of Carasso-Kok and the recent collection of historical medieval sources from the Low Countries published online, the collectors are critical of this view.<sup>108</sup> This is because one of the three copies known of this chronicle is found in a London manuscript. A short fragment of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* fills the first few pages of the autograph of the first version of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle. This undermines the theory that the *Chronicon* is a mere abstract of that same text of A Leydis, because one would not add an abstract of a work to the manuscript that contains the entire text. In *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* Sjoerd Levelt very recently stated that 'the work appears to have served as a source to Johannes a Leydis's chronicle of Holland.' Unfortunately he does not offer any further explanation for this statement other than the reference to the aforementioned fragment of the *Chronicon* found in A Leydis' autograph.<sup>109</sup>

Other external evidence that can lead to the identification of an author, such as secondary literature or a precise date of the autograph, are difficult to apply to this case. Contemporary secondary literature is not helpful for this chronicle; there are no references known from other documents of A Leydis or from other persons about the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. What we do have on the *Chronicon* is some suggestive context, like the occurrence of the first few pages of the chronicle in the manuscript of A Leydis' autograph in London and the presence of the possible autograph of the *Chronicon* in a single binding with a Brederode chronicle attributed to Johannes a Leydis.<sup>110</sup> For the date, not much is known about the *Chronicon*, except that internal evidence proves it has been written after 1459. No obvious eye-witness accounts or other personal comments appear which can help us check whether A Leydis could have been at the right place at the right time. A closer look at the text and especially its sources is needed before any conclusion about the type of text and the author can be drawn.

When the text of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is studied in detail to find evidence with regard to possible sources the criticism of recent commentators seems legitimate and the ideas of Obreen and Romein may have to be put aside. The study of the *Chronicon* here will take as a starting point the most common opinion on it, which is its close resemblance to A Leydis. A first recollection will show that Beke, the Chronicle of Gouda and the second version of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle all show remarkable similarities with the *Chronicon*. However, Johannes a Leydis has drawn on Beke and the Chronicle of Gouda in his work as well. Therefore further study has to clarify whether the resemblances with those sources demonstrate the

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<sup>108</sup> Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, no 179, [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), no NL0554. [Volgens Obreen vertoont deze kroniek grote verwantschap met de Hollandse kroniek van Jan Gerbrandszoon van Leiden (NL0285), volgens Bruch met de eerste redactie van deze kroniek. De autograaf van de eerste redactie van de Hollandse kroniek van Jan Gerbrandszoon van Leiden wordt echter voorafgegaan door een gedeeltelijk afschrift van dit *Chronicon Hollandiae*. Het lijkt daarom niet waarschijnlijk dat het *Chronicon Hollandiae* een uittreksel is van de kroniek van Jan Gerbrandszoon van Leiden, zoals Bruch veronderstelt.]

<sup>109</sup> Levelt, 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 346.

<sup>110</sup> See [www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be), NL0288 and NL0269.

*Chronicon* took its information from those sources directly or if it is just proof for indirect use through A Leydis.

The methodology to determine which sources are used for a medieval chronicle is relatively simple. Comparison with other known chronicles will tell whether there is a close resemblance between the two or not. Subsequently, dates or detailed study will help to conclude which one came first and is later copied. Because of the limitations that surround the preservation of medieval chronicles not all passages can always be traced back to a known source. And some sources will need further study because it might be unclear whether they are used directly or indirectly via earlier copied texts. To start forming a picture of the sources of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, we will begin with a comparison with two very frequently copied chronicles, the chronicle of Johannes Beke and, secondly, the Chronicle of Gouda. In this comparison the chronicle of A Leydis is also taken into account, because if the *Chronicon* turns out to be indeed a mere abstract of the chronicle of A Leydis, all sources will only have been used indirectly through A Leydis and therefore not be significant for the understanding of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*.

In the study comparing A Leydis and the *Chronicon Hollandiae* the second version of A Leydis' chronicle is used in the first instance. This is partly because of practical reasons; a printed edition of this version is available in the University Library in Leiden, whereas A Leydis I is only available in manuscript in London; partly also because of the comments made by Obreen, who suggested the *Chronicon* is close to this second version of Johannes A Leydis. Although Bruch disagreed with him on that issue, neither of those views is later conclusively commented upon and the original introduction of Obreen, who edited and worked elaborately on the chronicle, is a good place to start.

### **5.1. The Dutch Beke as a source of the *Chronicon Hollandiae***

Johannes Beke wrote an elaborate chronicle of Holland and Utrecht from Roman times until 1346. This Latin chronicle was later translated into middle Dutch and extended until the year 1393. Since it became available it has been extremely widely used in historiography in the Low Countries. The large majority of late medieval history works can to a greater or lesser extent be traced back to Beke's work. Therefore, it is an evident place to start this study. Two examples will be given to explain the relationship between the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, Beke's chronicle and A Leydis II.

#### ***Example 1***

Even at first sight the passage below from the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, which is a list of vassals of the diocese of Utrecht ordered by bishop Adelboldus, looks more similar to the list we find in Beke than in A Leydis. The list is only found in the Dutch Beke, not in the Latin version of the chronicle, so the language is a noticeable

difference, because the *Chronicon* shows the text in Latin. However, even in a different language the lay-out of short lines, one line dedicated to each of the vassals and the numerical list look very familiar. Johannes a Leydis' chronicle on the other hand included this list in Latin as well, but less recognisable in form. Also, the order of the vassals has changed in A Leydis II. The count of Holland is the second one named, and the count of Flanders, who is the third in Beke and the *Chronicon*, is not mentioned at all in A Leydis II. Interesting to note in this comparison is not only the beginning, but also the ending. The ninth noble man named in the *Chronicon* is different from both of the sources mentioned here. However, except for the actual name, the sentence is very similar to the last sentence in the Dutch Beke. In A Leydis II, however, a ninth name is missing altogether, but the land of Ameijda is ascribed to the count of Ghoor, the previous name on the list.

### ***Chronicon Hollandiae:***

Porro hic Adelboldus episcopus conscribi fecit nomina principalium vasallorum ecclesie Traiectensis cum eorum feodalibus bonis ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

De quibus dux Brabancie primus, et habuit in feodum ab ecclesia Traiectense oppidum Tijelense cum suis attinenciis et ipse dicebatur drossatus episcopi.

Secundus vero fuit comes Flandrie et habuit in feodum quattuor oppidula *cum suis villagiis prope Gandavum*.

Tercius fuit comes Ghelrie et habuit in feodum comitatum Zutphanie et hic dicebatur venator pontificis.

Quartus fuit comes Hollandie et ipse habuit in feodum Zeelandiam et partem Hollandie ac Waterlandiam et dicebatur marscalcus tocius episcopatus.

Quintus erat comes Clivie et possidebat iure feudali Wouderichem cum suis compendenciis et dicebatur camerarius presulis.

Sextus fuit comes de Benthem et ipse fuit iure feudali burchgravius Traiectensis et dicebatur janitor episcopi.

Septimus fuit comes de Kuijck et habuit in feodum multa officia in episcopatu et dicebatur pincerna antistitis.

Octavus fuit comes de Ghoer qui fuit portarius episcopi et habuit more vasallorum quasi omnia bona que possidebat.

Nonus vero *et ultimus* fuit *nobilis dominus sive baro de Arkel* et habuit in feodum dominium de Ameijda cum suis attinenciis et dictus est vexillifer antistitis.<sup>111</sup>

### **Dutch Beke:**

Dese bisscop Adelbolt dede oec bescriven, wie des Sticht(s) van Utrecht hoghe manne waren ende wat goede si mede verleent waren, opdattet bliven soude tot eenre ewigher ghedenckenis.

Des is die hertoghe van Brabant ene die hout van den Stichte te lene die stat van Tiele ende dat daertoe behoort *ende alle Kempenlant tot Tornotervoerde toe ende dat daertoe hoort. Ende sijn ambocht* was dat hi hiet des bisscops drossate.

Die grave van Vlanderen was die ander ende hielt van den Stichte die iiii ambochte.

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<sup>111</sup> Chronicon Hollandiae, p. 8-9.

Die grave van Ghelre was die derde, die hilt van den Stichte te lene die graefscap van Zutphen *algheheel ende half Emric ende dat meerredeel van Tielreweert ende van Boemelreweert*. Ende is gheheten des bisscops jagher.

Die grave van Hollant is die vierde ende hilt van den Stichte Zelant, een deel van Hollant ende Waterlant ende hi hiet des Stichts marscalc.

Die grave van Cleve is die vijfde ende hout van den Stichte te lene Woudrichem ende dat daertoe behoort *ende mede wat in der Batuen dat bi den Rine lach*. Ende hi was gheheten des bisscops kamerlinc.

Die grave van Benthem was die seste ende hielt van den Stichte te lene die borchgraefscap van Utrecht *ende ander gherechte mede*. Ende hiet des bisscops doenvaerder.

Die here van Kuuc was die sevendende ende hilt van den Stichte veel gherichte, *die ic niet bescreven en vant, hoe si ghenoeemt waren*. Ende hi is gheheten des bisscops scencke.

Die here van Goor was die achte ende hielt van den Stichte te lene meest al sijn goet. Ende hi is gheheten des bisscops poortwachter.

*Die here van Herlaer* is die neghende ende hout van den Stichte te lene die Ameyde ende dat daertoe behoort. Ende is ghenoeemt des bisscops bannerdragher.<sup>112</sup>

## A Leydis II:

Anno Domini millesimo vicesimo primo Adelboldus pontifex ordinavit unum memoriale scriptum de liberis vasallis Ecclesiae Traiectensis, conscribens pariter & eorum bona feudalia, quae ipsi possident in feudum ab eadem Ecclesia. Et haec est forma illius scriptionis : In nomine Domini, Amen. Operae precium duxi, ea, quae sequuntur scriptis inferere, ne posteros lateret, quod praesens aetas faceret. (...) Dux Brabantiae est liber feudalis Ecclesia Traiectensis, & tenet in feudum civitatem lapideam in Tyela cum praediis, familiis, mancipiis, silvis, aquis, piscationibus, pratis & salictum iuxta civitatem praedictam Tyele situm, & omnibus ad civitatem pertinentibus eandem. Item totam Kempiniam usque Turnouter Vorde cum mancipiis, praediis, silvis, campis, officiumq; eius est, quod vocatur dapifer Episcopi Traiectensis.

*Item comes Hollandiae est liber feudalis Episcopi Traiectensis, & tenet in feudum comitatum Hollandiae, & terram Kenemariae cum terris, mancipiis, silvis, campis, pratis, pascuis, mansis, aquis, aquarumque decursibus & iustitia : exceptis dictarum terrarum decimis & terra Waterlandiae & Westfrisiae, quae totaliter pertinent ad Episcopum & Ecclesiam Traiectensem. Et dictus comes Hollandiae vocatur, & est Marschalcus Episcopi Traiectensis.*

*Item tutor sine comes Gbelriae etiam est liber feudalis Ecclesie Traiectensis, & tenet in feudum comitatum Zutphaniae cum multis praediis, mancipiis, pratis, aquis, aquarumq; decursibus & iustitiis. Item Embricam cum suis attinentiis pro parte media, & alia pars est Episcopi Traiectensis. Item in pago Batua (...). Item Tielrewaert & Bomelerewairt cum multis mancipiis, mansis, terris, casis, domibus, campis, pratis, aquis, aquarumq; decursibus & iustitia. Et dicti comitis officium est, quod vocatur & est venator Episcopi Traiectensis.*

Comes Clivensis est liber feudalis Episcopi Traiectensis, & tenet in feudum in pago Batua, in superiori parte supra Rhenum, magnam partem terrarum & mansorum cum casibus, domibus, mancipiis, campis, pratis, pascuis. Et ex alia parte Rheni, & in aliis quibusdam locis, (...). In Wondrichem cum agris & campis, cum aquis, aquarumq; decursibus & iustitiis, qui vocatur & est Camerarius Episcopi Traiectensis.

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<sup>112</sup> Beke, *Croniken*, XXXIX, 70-98.

Item comes de Benthem est liber feudalis Ecclesiae Traiectensis, & tenet in feudum Burchgraviatum Traiectensem cum pluribus mansis, terris, insulis, campis, mancipiis, silvis, pratis, pascuis, aquis, aquarumq; decursibus, & iustitiam in pluribus locis civitatis & dioecesis Traiectensis. Qui vocatur & est ianitor Episcopi Traiectensis.

Item comes de Guick est liber feudalis Ecclesiae Traiectensis, & tenet in feudum multas terras, insulas & decimas cum casibus, domibus & silvis, campis, pratis, pascuis, aquis, aquarumque decursibus & iustitia in diversis locis dioecesis Traiectensis.

*Item Comes Ghore est liber feudalis Episcopi Traiectensis, & tenet in feudum castrum Ghore & terram dictam Ameyde cum multis terris, mansis, casis, domibus, silvis, campis, mancipiis, pratis, pascuis, aquis, aquarumque decursibus mobilibus & immobilibus in omnibus ad dictos districtus de Ghore & Ameyde pertinentibus. Qui vocatur & est signifer Episcopi Traiectensis.*<sup>113</sup>

This story in the chronicle of A Leydis contains a lot of additional information compared to the other two. Therefore it seems logical to conclude that Johannes a Leydis made use of other sources next to Beke's chronicle. The only information in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* which is not found in Beke, is the comment 'cum suis villagiis prope Gandavum' [with his villages near Ghent] for the count of Flanders, and the name of the baron of Arkel in the last line. The count of Flanders does not even appear in A Leydis who, therefore, can not have been the source for this small addition. Also, the land of Ameijda is ascribed to the count of Ghoor in A Leydis II, and neither the baron of Arkel nor the lord of Herlaer occurs in that chronicle. We can therefore draw the conclusion that this list in the *Chronicon* is very likely based on just one source, namely the Dutch chronicle of Beke. The text shows that the writer of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* did not copy from Johannes a Leydis for this passage and therefore did use the Dutch Beke directly and not only through the chronicle of A Leydis. This can only be stated, however, with the premise that another source which includes an almost exact copy of the Dutch Beke on this point does not exist.

### ***Example 2***

The start of the third crusade in 1188 is reported in the text used for this second example. A very close resemblance between the three sources under investigation here can be seen. For this passage there are two clues which can lead us to the conclusion that the Dutch Beke and not A Leydis II has been used directly by the compiler of the *Chronicon*. However, what it reveals about the relationship between A Leydis II and the *Chronicon Hollandiae* will need further research.

### ***Chronicon Hollandiae:***

Anno Domini 1188 decreto Alexandri Romani pontificis et edicto gloriosi principis

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<sup>113</sup> Johannes a Leydis, *Chronicon comitum Hollandiae et episcoporum Ultraiectensium*, in: F. Sweertius (ed.), *Rerum Belgicarum annals chronici et historici* (Frankfurt 1620), Cap. IX, X. (Hereafter: A Leydis II).

cesaris Fredrici inestimabilis exercitus Christiane professionis cruce signatus est apud Maguntiam ab Henrico legato sedis apostolice pro recuperatione sancte civitatis Jherosolim *que tradicionem Hugonis comitis de Tripolis per soldanum Babilonie expugnata est.*

Cuius innumerabilis exercitus capitanei principes erant: Fredricus Romanorum imperator, Philippus rex Francie, Richardus rex Anglie, Fredricus dux Zwevie, Conrardus dux Austrie, *Henricus dux Brabantie, dux Saxonie, dux Bavarie*, Florencius comes Hollandie, *Theodericus comes Clivie*, Philippus comes Flandrie, *Otto comes Gbelrie* cum aliis magnatibus multis et proceribus infinitis.<sup>114</sup>

### **Dutch Beke:**

Inden jaer ons Heren m c lxxxviii bi goetduncken des paeus Alexander ende bi ghebode Vrederix des gloriosen keisers, so hebben der kerstine een ongetallic volc dat cruce ghenomen te Mense van den cardinael Henric, dien die paeus daer ghesendt hadde, *alse om dat Heilighe Lant* te vercrighen ende die stat van Jherusalem, *die de soudaen van Babiloniën ghenonnen hadde alse bi verrade des graven Hughen van Tripoli*, ende mede om dat heilighe cruce te versamenen dattie Agareni hadden ghevoert in die conincrike van Barbariën.

Van wilker onghetalliker heervaert die hooftprincen waren Frederic die Roemsche keiser, Philippus die coninc van Vrancrijc, Rikardus die coninc van Engellant, Vrederic hertoghe van Zwaven, Conraet hertoghe van Oesterrijc, Florens grave van Hollant, Philippus grave van Vlandren ende anders vele groter heren ende princen.<sup>115</sup>

### **A Leydis II:**

Anno Domini millesimo centesimo octuagesimo octavo, decreto Alexandri Romani pontificis, & edicto gloriosi Caesaris Frederici *innumerabilis* exercitus christiane professionis cruce signatus est apud Moguntiam ab Henrico *Cardinale sive* legato sedis Apostolicae pro recuperatione sanctae civitatis Ierusalem.

Cuius innumerabilis exercitus capitanei principales erant Fredericus Romanorum Imperator, Philippus Rex Franciae, Richardus Rex Angliae, *Dux Bavariae, Dux Saxoniae*, Conradus Dux Austriae, Fredericus Dux Sueviae, *Henricus Dux Lotharingiae & Brabantiae*, Philippus Comes Flandriae, Florentius Comes Hollandiae, *Theodericus Comes Cliviae, Ottho Comes Gbelriae* cum aliis magnatibus multis.<sup>116</sup>

Firstly, the sentence ‘que tradicionem Hugonis comitis de Tripolis per soldanum Babilonie expugnata est’ in the *Chronicon*, which does not occur in Johannes a Leydis, can be traced back to the Dutch Beke. It is a slight summary of the actual sentence in the Dutch source, but the *Chronicon*’s author tends to abbreviate regularly when he finds it necessary, so this would be no exception. All the information in this sentence in the *Chronicon* is mentioned in the Dutch Beke, whereas none of this information can be found in A Leydis II.

The list of the princes in command of this crusade army is a second clue. The *Chronicon* and Johannes a Leydis record the same names in their accounts. The

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<sup>114</sup> Chronicon Hollandiae, p. 14.

<sup>115</sup> Beke, *Croniken*, LV, 43-54.

<sup>116</sup> A Leydis II, Cap. XVIII, XX, 1-10.

Dutch Beke does not include ‘Henricus dux Brabancie, dux Saxonie, dux Bavarie, Theodericus comes Clivie’ and ‘Otto comes Ghelrie’ from the *Chronicon*. Therefore, the initial conclusion would be that the *Chronicon* has been based on Johannes a Leydis’ chronicle rather than on Beke. However, the order in which the names are placed raises questions. The *Chronicon* follows the exact order of names from Beke and simply includes some additional names in that order. A Leydis II, however, mixes the names up completely and it would be highly unlikely the compiler of the *Chronicon* has put them back in the ‘right’ order again.

Therefore, two clues from this passage point to a direct use of Beke by the compiler of the *Chronicon*. However, the fact that the names missing in Beke match precisely with the names found in Johannes a Leydis requires our attention. This suggests an interrelationship between those two sources as well.

Two examples have proven the primary use of the Chronicle of Beke as a source for the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. The Chronicle of Beke can only be one of the sources of the *Chronicon* though, because a large part of the entries in the *Chronicon* cannot be traced back to a comparable story in Beke. Further exploration into possible sources used by the *Chronicon*, for example the Chronicle of Gouda, is therefore necessary.

The above comparison with Beke has provided another question to return to later in this study as well. Even when some parts of the chronicle can clearly be traced back to the Dutch Beke, some parts of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and Johannis a Leydis’ chronicle resemble each other extremely closely in their use of Latin. This suggests a relationship between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis instead of an independent use and translation of Beke by both of them. However, it has been shown that the *Chronicon* at least made direct use of the Dutch Beke. Does that mean both chronicles used the Latin version or another communal source for other parts as well? Or is this also proof of a direct relationship between A Leydis and the *Chronicon Hollandiae*? We will come back to this in chapter 6.2.

## **5.2. The Chronicle of Gouda as a source of the *Chronicon Hollandiae***

Another substantial amount of information in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* can be traced back to the Chronicle of Gouda. This chronicle was widespread and quite well-known in the fifteenth century already, partly because it appeared in print in 1440 which made it more easily available than manuscripts. The beginning of this chronicle especially has very frequently been used in later chronicles of Holland or the Low Countries. This first part of the chronicle is about the oldest times or what could be called the ‘prehistory’ of Holland and Utrecht. Beke’s chronicle started around the beginning of the Christian era with the emperor Octavianus. The Chronicle of Gouda added to this a substantial earlier history including a Trojan origin for the people of Holland and Utrecht and stories about the wild forest



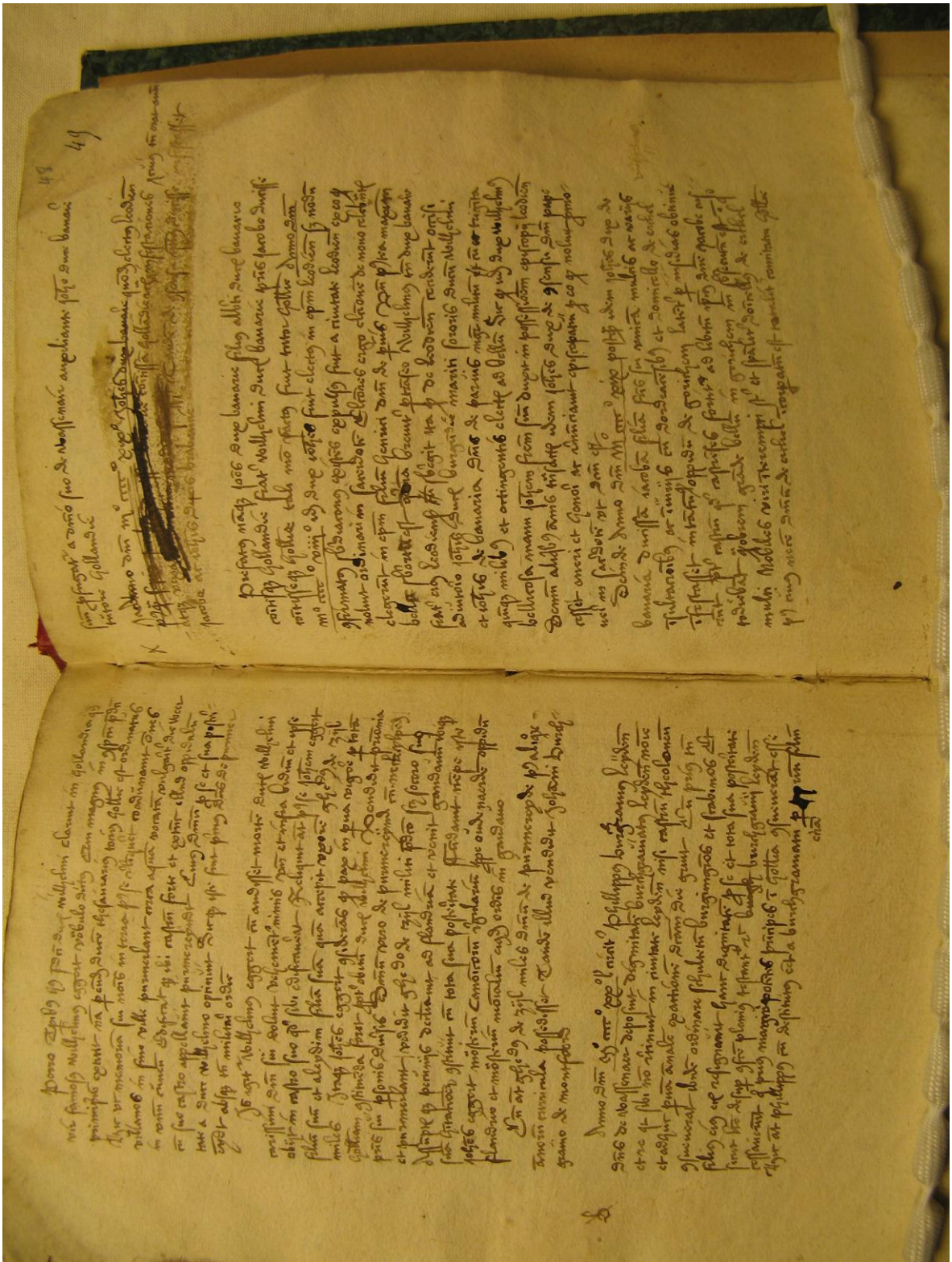


Figure 7. Pages of the Brussels manuscript of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, ff. 48v-49r.

without mercy (the 'wilde wout zonder genade').<sup>117</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century these early histories have been copied in many chronicles and are applied in different forms to the countries of Holland and Utrecht. This has also been done for the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. The majority of the first four pages of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is based on the Chronicle of Gouda, and most of it quite accurately. Not only the beginning, but also other parts of the *Chronicon* are related to the Chronicle of Gouda. One example of this is the story about the wars, lords and possession of Huesden told at the year 1356.<sup>118</sup>

The similarities between the text of the Chronicle of Gouda and the parts of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* related to it are substantial. For a large number of the passages the texts are almost word for word the same. The Chronicle of Gouda has survived in several manuscript versions and in a printed version. The passages from the Chronicle of Gouda which occur in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* do not match the printed version. Also, there is no one single manuscript which contains all the relevant passages. The stories based on the Chronicle of Gouda found in the *Chronicon* are therefore probably based on a manuscript version of it that has not survived.<sup>119</sup> The *Chronicon Hollandiae* is written years later than the Chronicle of Gouda and this fact, supported by the exact similarities between the two, lead us to the conclusion that the *Chronicon* has used the Chronicle of Gouda as a direct source, next to Beke's chronicle.

The next step is to examine the relationship between the *Chronicon*, the Chronicle of Gouda and A Leydis II. It is known that A Leydis based his chronicle on the chronicles of Beke and Gouda as well, just as the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* did. But, as we have seen with Beke, the *Chronicon* seems to be closer to the primary source than A Leydis II is to them. Similarly, the Chronicle of Gouda is not merely used as an indirect source via the copying of A Leydis II. It is also used as a direct source. The *Chronicon* even seems to be based more directly on and closer to the text of the Chronicle of Gouda than A Leydis II is.

One example of this is the aforementioned story on Huesden. A Leydis has stated some of the facts about Huesden, but in several short notes described under different years, nothing like the coherent and relatively long narrative in the *Chronicon*.<sup>120</sup> The account in the *Chronicon*, however, resembles the Chronicle of Gouda very closely.

Another example to prove the connection between the Chronicle of Gouda and the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and see whether this is more direct than the relationship

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<sup>117</sup> Carasso-Kok, 'Woud zonder Genade'.

<sup>118</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 22-23.

<sup>119</sup> With thanks to Antheun Janse. It could be a lost fifteenth-century manuscript from Rotterdam. The seventeenth-century copy thereof is the only extant manuscript that contains the Huesden story. However, this copy does not hold all the other entries and therefore the fifteenth-century original must have been different from the copy, or there could have been another communal source.

<sup>120</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 22-24. A Leydis II, among others Cap. XXVII, XXXII and XXX, XVI.

between the Chronicle of Gouda and A Leydis II, is the passage below on a campaign from the Frisians against the Britons in 416.

### ***Chronicon Hollandiae:***

Annis 416 post Christi nativitatem transactis Frisones cum rege suo Egisto et fratre eius Horso adiunctis Slavis silvestribus profecti sunt in Angliam expellensque ex ea Brittones et ordinaverunt ibidem reges secundum eorum voluntatem. Quo quidem ibi permanserunt quidam vero reversi sunt.<sup>121</sup>

### **Chronicle of Gouda:**

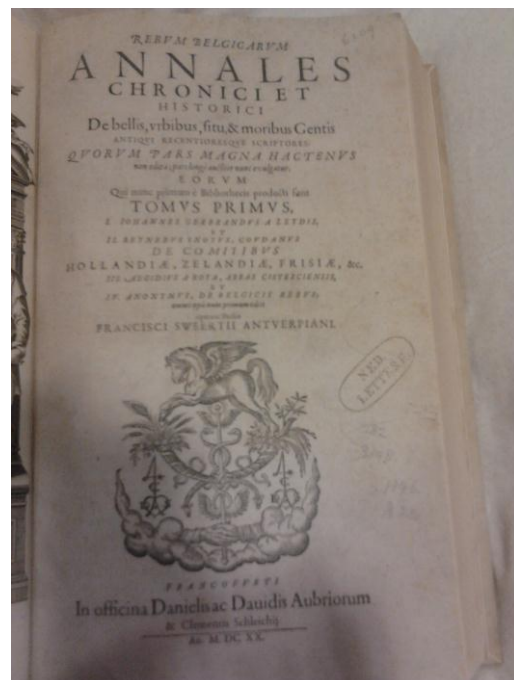
Nader gheboet ons Heren Jhesu Christi CCCC ende XVI jaer so staken si hem te samen die Vriesen mit horen coninc Egistus ende Horsus, sijn broeder, ende mit die wilde wrede Slaven ende toghen over in Enghelant ende verdreven daer uut die Enghelsche Brutoenen ende beheerden Engellant selve ende setten daer in coninghen na hoers selfs sin. Ende daer na keerde die sommighe weder om ende die ander bleven daer.<sup>122</sup>

### **A Leydis II:**

Anno Domini *trecentesimo octuagesimo quinto* regnante Gortingero in Brittania, id est Anglia, *tres magnae naves* in quibus Hengistus, Res Frisiae, & Horsus eiusdem regis frater, & multi amici, & complices eorum *ex Frisia depulsi venerunt prospero flante vento* in antefatam Britanniam.<sup>123</sup>

Again, the Chronicle of Gouda and the *Chronicon* offer us the same text, whereas A Leydis' chronicle gives comparable information, except for a different dating in the year 385, but in different words and supplements it with a lot of extra information.

Not the entire text is covered yet when the passages copied from the Chronicle of Gouda and Beke's chronicle would be highlighted in the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. However, a large part of the chronicle is accounted for after the comparison with those two sources. Further research on additional sources needs to be done. To reach a conclusion on the context of this chronicle and the position of the author, some other steps in this research might be more relevant to turn to first.



**Figure 8. The title page of the 1620 publication of the second version of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle of Holland.**

<sup>121</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 6.

<sup>122</sup> UB Utrecht, hs. 1180, f. 5v-6.

<sup>123</sup> A Leydis II, Cap. I, IX.

## 6. The connection between the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and the chronicles of Johannes a Leydis

### 6.1. A Leydis I or A Leydis II?

The examples discussed above show that Obreen's suggestion and Romein's statement made almost a century ago are unquestionably untrue. The comparisons prove the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is not a mere abstract from A Leydis II. A Leydis II is not the only source for the *Chronicon* studied here, in fact it is necessary to investigate again if it even is among the sources for the *Chronicon Hollandiae* at all. The comparison with A Leydis II demonstrates that the chronicle of Beke and the Chronicle of Gouda have almost certainly both been used as primary sources by the compiler of the *Chronicon*. However, next to stories based on Beke and the Chronicle of Gouda, the *Chronicon* contains many passages that seem to relate mostly or only to A Leydis. A lot of these entries resemble each other very closely, even in language, as was commented on above. The observation of Obreen about a 'close relationship' between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis' second edition is not without reason.

The relationship between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis II is very strong. The parts of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* that resemble passages in A Leydis II exceed the parts directly traced back to Beke or the Chronicle of Gouda. However, this of course is only true for the first three quarters of the *Chronicon*. A Leydis' second version has not survived past the year 1417, so the last seven pages of the *Chronicon* cannot be compared to it.<sup>124</sup> At least fifty percent of the text of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* up to 1417 seems to be related to A Leydis II. A large part of this is very similar. An example of this is the narrative about the origins of the war or crusade in Stedingen in 1234 described on pages 16-18.<sup>125</sup> This quite elaborate story has different sentences at the start and ending to frame the story into the rest of the *Chronicon*. Except from that, however, only three sentences and a few loose words differ from A Leydis II.

Some similarities with A Leydis II were to be expected after the analysis of Obreen and Romein. The fact that a substantial amount of the text is not easily connectable to Johannes a Leydis' second version is more interesting. Bruch has suggested A Leydis I as the main source for the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. This raises the question of whether the connection between the *Chronicon* and the first version of A Leydis would be closer than the relationship with A Leydis II. To take a better look at the relations between those three chronicles an article Ebels-Hoving published in 1985 concerning the differences and similarities between the first and second version of

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<sup>124</sup> It is generally assumed the chronicle originally continued after the year 1417. See Bunna Ebels-Hoving, 'Johannes a Leydis en de eerste humanistische geschiedschrijving van Holland,' *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 100 : 1 (1985) 26–51, 46.

<sup>125</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 16-18.

A Leydis' chronicle is examined.<sup>126</sup> A Leydis I is not as elaborately studied as one would hope for, especially as the autograph has survived. However, the manuscript with the autograph, now in the British Library in London, has been severely damaged by fire complicating research on the text, that is therefore also partially based on the abovementioned secondary literature.

A major difference between the first and second version of Johannes a Leydis' text is the style and use of Latin. There are many small additions in the second version, but there is no obvious focus in the passages changed or added to in this revision. In many instances the difference can be found mainly in the style and less so in the extra information provided. Very interesting, however, in the transition between the first and second version of A Leydis are the marginalia in the autograph manuscript in London. The notes and narratives in the marginalia are often explained as part of Johannes a Leydis' preparation for his revised version.<sup>127</sup> Ebels-Hoving tried to reconstruct a focus or direction from these marginalia, but reached the conclusion that they are of a very diverse nature and touch on many different subjects. The short overview she provided about them is, however, noteworthy when seen from the perspective of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. In the few examples mentioned by Ebels-Hoving there are references to several stories that can be recognized from the *Chronicon*. It is remarkable to note that some stories in the *Chronicon*, like the swimming woman near Edam and the city fires in Haarlem for example, do not occur in the original version of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle, but only in its marginalia. This fact is even more significant when reflected on in combination with the conclusions reached before. When parts of the *Chronicon* do not appear in the main text of A Leydis I but only in later additions to that manuscript, and we also assume that the *Chronicon* made use of other primary sources, what does that mean for the date and status of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*? At least Beke's chronicle and the Chronicle of Gouda appear to be used as direct sources. The *Chronicon* seems to stand closer to those sources than A Leydis, or at least A Leydis II, does. How close exactly then is the *Chronicon Hollandiae* to the first version of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle?

It can be deduced from Ebels-Hoving's article that some of the entries in the *Chronicon* can be found in the marginalia of A Leydis I. However, only a small part of the stories mentioned to be in the marginalia are found in the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. Recognisable entries in the *Chronicon* from Ebels-Hovings' list are about the two fires in Haarlem, the two Carthusian monasteries, the swimming woman near Edam and the talking baby in Utrecht.<sup>128</sup> However, Ebels-Hoving only stated a number of examples to clarify her categories and did not claim to provide an exhaustive list of the subjects in the marginalia of the London autograph.

When the marginalia in the manuscript of A Leydis I are compared to the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, the first thing that becomes clear is that not all marginalia

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<sup>126</sup> Ebels-Hoving, 'Johannes a Leydis'.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., nt 66.

resemble parts of the *Chronicon*. The autograph of A Leydis I contains many comments in the margins that can not be connected to similar information in the *Chronicon*. Also, the other way around, not the full range of entries from the *Chronicon Hollandiae* can be recognised in the marginalia of A Leydis' first version. While there is a close relationship between the two chronicles, neither of them seems to be copied entirely or exclusively from the other. Before we reach conclusions on this the main text of A Leydis I also has to be taken into account. However, it remains intriguing that quite a significant number of stories from the *Chronicon* are similar to those from the margins of A Leydis' autograph. Notes and narratives from the marginalia of A Leydis I have later been incorporated into A Leydis II, which was used in this thesis for the initial comparison with the *Chronicon*. Is there a way to determine whether the *Chronicon* is related to A Leydis I including the marginalia or rather to the second version where the marginalia have been incorporated into the main text?

The majority of the marginalia, but not all of them, were later incorporated in the revised version of A Leydis.<sup>129</sup> Unfortunately though, the examples Ebels-Hoving provides of stories that did not make A Leydis II do not contain a decisive answer to our question. The two examples from her article can not be recognised in the *Chronicon* and therefore can not tell us anything. We will therefore have to find our own examples in the marginalia of A Leydis I.

One example that can help find the decisive answer on this question is a passage on Godfrey of Bouillon (p. 10). This story from the *Chronicon Hollandiae* can be found both in the marginalia of the first version and in the text of the second version of A Leydis. When studied in detail the account of the *Chronicon* turns out to be unmistakably closer to A Leydis I than to A Leydis II. This passage from the texts of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and A Leydis II seem quite similar at first glance and are obviously based on either each other or a communal source. However, some words and parts of sentences in this story in the *Chronicon* are not found in A Leydis II. On the other hand, all these missing parts are present in A Leydis I. This passage seems to be almost perfectly identical in the autograph of A Leydis I and the *Chronicon*. Because of the fire damage on the London manuscript this unfortunately cannot be verified word for word. From the surviving part of the text, however, its resemblance can be assumed in all probability, when the readable part of the text and the size of the lost parts of the sentences are examined.

### ***Chronicon Hollandiae:***

Hic itaque Godefridus dux *Lotringie* habebat sororem sanctam Ydam nomine que erat matrimonialiter coniuncta Eustachio comiti Bononiensi, cui genuit tres filios, scilicet Godefridum de Bullion, Baldewinumque, reges Jherosolimorum et Eustachium. Godefrido gibboso duce defuncto successit ei Godefridus de Bullion, filius sancte Yde, sororis sue, in ducatu Lothringie seu Brabancie, nam Brabancie

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 41.

nomen nondum assumpserant sibi duces illius patrie, sed postea Henricus III scripsit primo se ducem Brabancie circa annum Domini 1251.

Hic Godefridus de Bullion nobilissimus per maternum genus ad Karoli Magni lineam spectabat et reputatur inter novem optimos et meliores unus. Imperatori Henrico IV militavit quondam contra papam Gregorium VII qui prius *dicebatur* Hildebrandus, et in oppugnando Romam partem muri quem sibi obtigerat primus irrupit. Postea pre nimio labore et nimia siti vinum nimium hauriens febrem quartanam nactus est. Audita autem fama vie Jherosol(o)mitane illuc se iturum vovit si Deus ei pristinam reddiderit sanitatem. Quo voto emisso mox vires eius penitus refluoruerunt.

Is namque inclitus dux votum suum implens et capiens terram sanctam civitatem Jherosolim *optinuit* feria sexta in festo divisionis apostolorum, die *vero* obsidionis 39 anno Domini 1099, fecitque quam plurima bona. Virgo tota vita permansit. Eo autem defuncto frater eius Baldewinus successit ei in Jherosolimorum regno.<sup>130</sup>

**Marginalia of A Leydis I** (*italics* are not in the *Chronicon*, *grey* is assumed to be on the burnt parts of the page):

Hic itaque Godefridus dux habebat *quandam* sororem sanctam Ydam nomine que erat *in matrimonio* coniuncta Eustachio comiti Bononiensi, cui genuit tres filios, scilicet Godefridum de Bullion, Baldewinumque, reges Jherosolimorum et Eustachium. Godefrido gibboso duce *Lotharingie* defuncto successit ei Godefridus de Bullion, filius sancte Yde, *sororis sue*, in ducatu Lothringie seu Brabancie. Nam Brabancie nomen nondum assumpserant sibi duces illius patrie, sed postea Henricus tertius scripsit primo se ducem Brabancie circa annum Domini millesimum ducentesimum li.

Hic Godefridus de Bullion nobilissimus per maternum genus ad Karoli Magni lineam spectabat et reputatur inter novem optimos et meliores unus. Imperatori Henrico quarto militavit quondam contra papam Gregorium septimus qui prius *dictus fuit* Hildebrandus, et in oppugnando Romam partem muri quem sibi obtigerat primus irrupit. Postea pre nimio labore et nimia siti *vinum nimium* hauriens febrem quartanam nactus est. Audita autem fama vie Iherosolomitane illuc se iturum vovit si Deus ei pristinam reddiderit sanitatem. Quo voto emisso mox vires eius penitus refluoruerunt.

Is namque dux votum suum implens et capiens terram sanctam *Jherosolim* civitatem *optit in* feria sexta in festo divisionis apostolorum, obsidionis die xxxix *in* anno Domini 1099, fecitque quam *plura* bona. Virgo *per* totam vitam permansit. Eo autem defuncto frater eius Baldewinus successit ei in Jherosolimorum regno.<sup>131</sup>

### **A Leydis II:**

Hic Godefridus Dux sine liberis obit, & habebat sororem, sanctam Idam nomine, quae erat matrimonio iuncta Eustachio Comiti Boloniensi, cui genuerat tres filios, scilicet Godefridum de Bullion, Baldewinum & Eustachium. Godefrido Gibboso, Duce Lotharingiae, defuncto, successit Godefridus de Bullion, filius sanctae Idae, sororis suae, in Ducatu Lotharingiae seu Brabantiae. Nam Brabantiae nomen nondum assumpserant, *qui de genere Godefridi Magni Ducis erant*. Sed postea Heinricus tertius scripsit primo se Ducem Brabantiae circa annum Domini millesimum,

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<sup>130</sup> Chronicon Hollandiae, p. 9-10.

<sup>131</sup> London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E VI, f. 71r. (Hereafter: A Leydis I).

ducentesimum, quinquagesimum primum. Hic Godefridus Dux nobilissimus reputatur inter novem optimos & meliores unus.

(...) Godefridus autem de Bullion Henrico IV militaverat, & in oppugnando Romam partem muri, quae sibi obtigerat, primus irrupit. Postea pro nimio labore & nimia siti vinum nimium hauriens, febrem quartanam nactus est, audita autem fama viae Ierosolimitanae illuc ire iterum vovit, si Deus illi sanitatem redderet: quo voto emisso, mox vires eius penitus refluoruerunt.

(...) *Cum haec paterentur, pares a longo terrae spatio ligneas trabes adduci faciebant, quibus turres & machinae fierent, unde civitatem expugnarent; quibus adductis, Dux Godefridus suam turrim extruxit ab Occidente plaga prope urbem, & Comes S. Egidii a meridiana parte suum castrum statuit: sexta vero feria, absidionis die 39. Aurora serena luce coruscante turres egregii bellatores ascendunt & schalis manibus apponunt.*

(...) *Duce igitur Godefrido in regem Ierosolymorum electo, caeteri Principes repatriant, in qua plura bona facies in terra sancta per totam vitam suam permansit. Quare eo defuncto absque liberis successit ei in regno Ierosolymorum Balduinus frater eius, qui etiam multum gloriosus fuit, & multis vicibus suis satis egregie aduersus infideles paganos triumphavit.*<sup>132</sup>

Another example of this can be seen in the account of the fake bishop Jacobus. In the year 1392 a certain Jacobus pretended to be a priest in the city of Utrecht. He was ordained bishop by bishop Florentius and he consecrated altars and churches, ordained priests and deacons and did all that his position included. When it was discovered that this Jacobus was a false bishop he was imprisoned. A council of seven bishops then took off his bishop's clothes and scraped off the skin of his fingers where he had touched the holy eucharist. He was convicted to be boiled to death but when he started to cry and beg for mercy when he was placed in the pot they therefore showed mercy and decapitated him instead. The start of the story of the false bishop Jacobus provides evidence again that the *Chronicon* is closer to A Leydis I than to the second version of A Leydis.

### ***Chronicon Hollandiae:***

*Anno Domini 1392 erat in civitate Traiectensi quidam sacerdos de ordine fratrum minorum qui dicebat se esse episcopum, quod falsum tamen erat, cuius nomen erat frater Jacobus Juliacensis quia de Juliaco fuit oriundus. Florencius de Wedelichoven autem Traiectensis episcopus acceptaverat hunc fratrem Jacobum pro suo suffraganeo, quapropter et idem Jacobus sepius temporibus congruis celebravit ordines et ordinavit seu consecravit in eodem episcopatu clericos, accolitos, subdiaconos, dyaconos et presbiteros. Etiam et altaria ac ecclesias multas consecravit et dedicavit. Quibus sic miserabiliter peractis tandem Deo disponente manifestatur eius malitia quia bulle ipsius invente sunt false omnibusque manifestatum est ipsum esse episcopum fictum.*

### **Main text of A Leydis I:**

*Eodem anno erat in civitate traiectensi quidam sacerdos de ordine fratrum minorum qui dicebat se [...] episcopum quod falsum erat cuius nomen erat frater Jacobus*

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<sup>132</sup> A Leydis II, Cap. XIV, IV and XV, IX.



Juliacensis quia de Juliaco [*extint*] oriundus Florencius autem traiectensis episcopus acceptaverat hunc fratrem Jacobum pro suo suffraganeo quapropter et idem Jacobus [*multociens*] celebravit ordines in qua[*tuor*] [*pp.ibus*] [et] ordinavit seu consecravit in [*quo*] episcopatu *traiectensi* clericos acolitos subdyaconos dyaconos presbiteros. *Quiny[mmo]* et altaria ac ecclesias multas *viribus* consecravit. Quibus sic miserabiliter peractis tandem deo disponente manifestatur eius malitia quia bulle ipsius invente sunt false et [*qui*] esset episcopus fictus omnibus manifesta[...] est.<sup>133</sup>

### A Leydis II:

*Anno etiam eodem* erat in civitate Traiectensi quidam sacerdos de ordine fratrum minorum, qui dicebatur esse Episcopus *Lauarensis per qualsdam literas confictas Apostolicas*, quas falsavit, cuius nomen erat frater Iacobus de Iuliaca oriundus. Hic postquam *per decem annos in Treverensi, Maguntinensi & Argentinensi Diocesibus ordines minores & maiores, ceteraque Episcopalia officia celebrare & exercere praesumpsisset, venit Traiectum*, & a Domino Florentio Episcopo Traiectensi acceptatur pro suffraganeo Traiectensi. Qui cum etiam aliquantis annis *officia Episcopalia complexisset*, in eadem Diocesi consecrando ecclesias, altaria, *calices, vestes sacras*, etiam conferens ordines *minores, & maiores tandem compertum est*, Deo disponente, ipsum esse falsum Episcopum.<sup>134</sup>

Similar examples can be given which all clearly show that the connection between the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and the first version of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle is closer than the relationship with the second version. Furthermore, there are a few stories or passages in the *Chronicon* for which the marginalia of A Leydis I are until now the only other occurrence known. Examples of this are the story of the poisoned crucifix that a group of friars presented to the pope in 1319 and the election of Walramus as bishop of Utrecht.<sup>135</sup> The last subject is not completely unknown from other chronicles, but the way the story is told in Beke or the Chronicle of Gouda is significantly different from the way the story occurs in both A Leydis I and the *Chronicon*. A close connection with the second version of A Leydis can be recognized, but is made insignificant by the conclusion that the *Chronicon* relates more closely to the first edition than to the second one.

The entire text of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* can not be traced back to sources yet. A number of passages, mainly from the last pages of the chronicle, remain of unknown origin for now. The very close relation to A Leydis I confirms the rejection by recent commentators of the view that the *Chronicon* is an abstract of A Leydis II. This close connection, however, raises several new questions on the relation between the *Chronicon* and Johannes a Leydis and on the *Chronicon's* relation with other primary sources.

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<sup>133</sup> A Leydis I, f. 146v.

<sup>134</sup> A Leydis II, Cap. XXXI, XLIII.

<sup>135</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 21, 38-39.

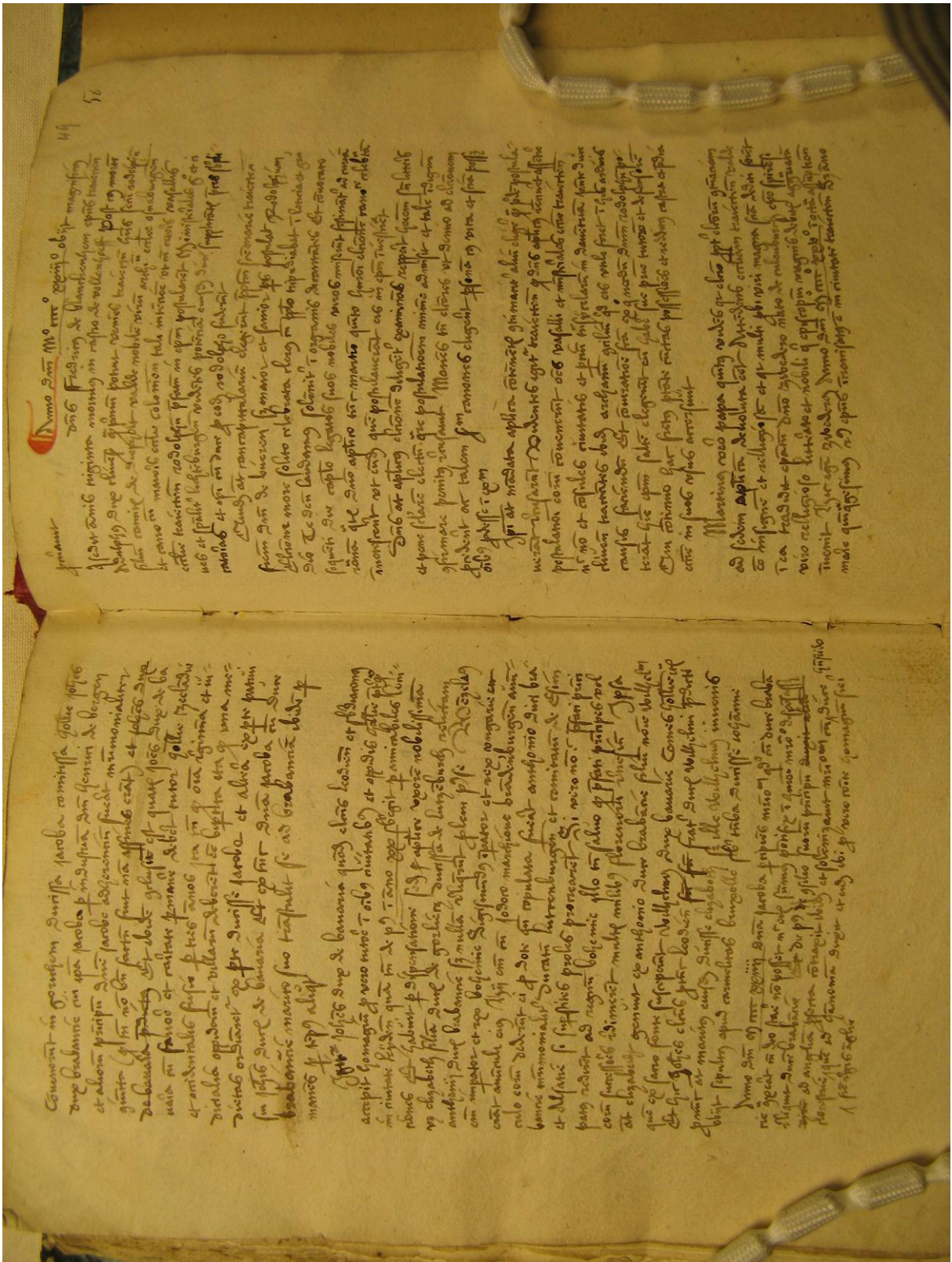


Figure 9. Pages from the Brussels manuscript of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, ff. 49v-50r.

## 6.2. The relationship between the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and A Leydis I

With these results previous comments on the *Chronicon Hollandiae* have to be reconsidered seriously. The first important preliminary conclusion is that the *Chronicon* is not a mere abstract and not even that closely related to A Leydis II, but that it might just as well be an independent work, composed from a number of sources. But yet more interesting is the relationship with the autograph of A Leydis I. Entries of the *Chronicon* that occur in both editions of A Leydis are in most cases word for word the same as A Leydis I whereas they show differences with A Leydis II. In addition to this very close relationship between the first version of Johannes a Leydis' chronicle and the anonymous *Chronicon Hollandiae* it has also been concluded that the *Chronicon* can not simply be a collection of the marginalia from A Leydis' autograph; just as the marginalia are not a complete copy of the *Chronicon*. It contains more stories and comments than found in those marginalia. However, because of the remarkable parallels between the *Chronicon* and the marginalia of the autograph the *Chronicon Hollandiae* it is also not likely to be a simple abstract of A Leydis I. A large number of stories from the *Chronicon* can be found in the margins rather than in the main text of the autograph of A Leydis I. The maker of an abstract would be expected to pay most attention to the main text of the chronicle instead of focusing on later additions. Also, seeing it as an abstract does not account for the use of other sources and the few passages of the *Chronicon* that cannot be traced back to A Leydis. A Leydis I, however, can not without further research simply be put in the list of sources that the *Chronicon* made use of, next to Beke and the Chronicle of Gouda, because the order of influence and nature of the connection between the two chronicles is not yet clear. Levelt has even argued the other way around and mentioned the *Chronicon* as a source of A Leydis.

Also important to consider in this context is that the first three and a half pages of the *Chronicon* appear in the same manuscript in London and precede the A Leydis I autograph. Carasso-Kok already noted that the occurrence of this fragment of the *Chronicon* undermines the idea of the *Chronicon* as an abstract of A Leydis. It does, however, strengthen the impression of a close relationship between the first version of A Leydis and the *Chronicon*. What this relationship entails is at this point not yet clear. Let us take a closer look and examine this relationship before we try to interpret the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. Can we use these two chronicles to deduce the order of occurrence? Which one is most likely to have served as a source for the other?

### ***Not identical***

More detailed examination of the two chronicles is necessary to see how close they actually are and what their relationship entails. It has become clear from comparisons that the *Chronicon* is closer to A Leydis I than to A Leydis II. However, we have also come across stories that differ in A Leydis I and the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. An example of this is the story of the siege of Damiata during one of the crusades. Jaap van Moolenbroek has conducted extensive research on this particular

story.<sup>136</sup> In the article on his research a paragraph is dedicated to the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, which starts as follows:

That not everyone was completely satisfied with the version of Jan van Leiden is shown by the adaptations made in an anonymous Latin work from the late fifteenth-century which is known by the name *Chronicon Hollandiae*.<sup>137</sup>

The A Leydis version he refers to is based on both versions of Johannes a Leydis which are almost exactly identical on this story according to Van Moolenbroek.<sup>138</sup> Interestingly enough, these versions differ, in the opinion of Van Moolenbroek, significantly from the *Chronicon*. The differences in the Damiata story can be reduced to two aspects of the story.<sup>139</sup> Firstly, a few words here and there in the story from the *Chronicon* are missing in the version of A Leydis. This does not concern a large number of words, but it seems significant that in three out of circa five cases it involves the people of Haarlem. The *Chronicon Hollandiae* adds ‘consilio Hairlemensium’ and ‘adiutorio Hairlemensium’ and gives ‘cum Hairlemensibus precipue ac aliis militibus electissimus’ [together with especially the people from Haarlem and other elected soldiers] instead of ‘cum armigeris electissimus’ [together with elected guards] in A Leydis I.<sup>140</sup> The contribution of the people of Haarlem seems to be significantly more important to the compiler of the *Chronicon* than to A Leydis.

The second variation in this story is the description of the coat of arms of Haarlem, which is assigned to the people of Haarlem by the emperor and the patriarch of Jerusalem. The symbols and colours of the coat of arms differ greatly in all the Damiata stories in Dutch chronicles and is also a significant variation between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis. The *Chronicon Hollandiae* has:

Insuper tribuit Hairlemensibus in vexillo rutilo argentei coloris deferre gladium. Patriarcha vero Jherosolimitanus con donat eciam *ipsis* deferendum triumphale signum crucis eiusdem coloris, *et quattuor precipui cardinales eisdem addiderunt quattuor stellas adhuc eiusdem coloris* eo quod tantam honorificenciam consecuti sunt in terra promissionis.<sup>141</sup>

The main text of A Leydis I is different:

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<sup>136</sup> Jaap van Moolenbroek, ‘De ketting van Damiatta, een Haarlems zaagschip en Willem I van Holland: Over de wording en standaardisering van een kruistochtmythe’, *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 14 (2011) 113-149.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 126. My translation. [Dat niet iedereen volkomen vrede had met Jan van Leidens versie, blijkt uit aanpassingen in een anoniem laatvijftiende-eeuws Latijns werkje dat bekend is onder de naam *Chronicon Hollandiae*.]

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 123, 145.

<sup>139</sup> When the texts of both the first and second version are studied in detail, there are some additional minor differences on word level, but in this comparison only A Leydis I is used, both to stay close to the article of Van Moolenbroek and because the *Chronicon* seems closest to that version in other aspects as well.

<sup>140</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 14-16. Van Moolenbroek, ‘Damiatta’, 145-146.

<sup>141</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 14-16.

Insuper attribuit Haerlemensibus *quatuor stellas* in vexillo rutilo *pridem deportantibus* argentei coloris deferre gladium. Patriarcha vero Iherosolimitanus condonavit eciam *Haerlemensibus* deferendum triumphale signum *sancte* crucis eiusdem coloris, eo quod tantam honorificenciam consecuti sunt in terra promissionis.<sup>142</sup>

Whereas A Leydis presumes the four stars had been part of the coat of arms for a while, the *Chronicon* takes the view that the stars are only granted to the people of Haarlem on this occasion, and that this is done by four prominent cardinals.

The irregularities between the Damiata story in the chronicles of Johannes a Leydis and in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* show that the relationship between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis I is not a simple one. The first version of A Leydis and the *Chronicon* are not identical. Besides a close relationship between the two chronicles this passage also shows the complicated nature thereof and the possible influence of other sources.

Despite an exciting number of similarities between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis I the *Chronicon* still contains a number of comments and phrases gained from other sources or possibly added by the author himself. Some of them might occur in the Chronicle of Gouda or the chronicle written by Beke, but some pieces cannot be assigned to any source yet. This partly concerns entries in the *Chronicon* which contain very short accounts of stories known in length from other places, like the two lines that summarise the poisoning of the emperor Henricus in 1313, or a simple summary of some lords' posterity.<sup>143</sup> Most of these could very well be summaries from other sources instead of exact copies of some unknown chronicle. The mentioning of the murder of emperor Henry VII (1275 – 1313) is in this case especially interesting because it mentions a source for more information itself:

Anno Domini 1313 Imperator Henricus a penitenciaro suo, fratre Barnardo ordinis Predicatorum, intoxicatur et moritur, veneno immisso in calice. Vide latius compendium cronicarum de eo in ecclesia sancte Catherine ante castrum Egmondense.<sup>144</sup>

[In the year 1313 emperor Henry was poisoned by his confessor, brother Barnardus of the Dominican order, and died, after the poison was put into his cup. See a more elaborate overview of the chronicles about him in St Catherine's Church in front of the castle of Egmond.]

Also, the *Chronicon* frequently contains phrases for clarification which are missing in A Leydis I. At the beginning of the narrative of the swimming woman near Edam for example, duke Albert is named in A Leydis I. The previous word is

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<sup>142</sup> A Leydis I, ff. 80v-81r.

<sup>143</sup> See for the story on the emperor *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 20. Another example of this is the account of the countess of Hennenberch which is known in many forms from A Leydis and other sources, p.19. For two examples of lists of children of emperor Wenzelaus and John of Burgundy, see p. 25.

<sup>144</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 20.

unfortunately illegible, but is very likely to have been something like ‘in the time of duke Albert’, just as we know ‘temporibus ducis Alberti’ from the *Chronicon*.<sup>145</sup> This story has a comparable start in the *Chronicon*, but with a small addition to explain who this duke was, namely Albert of Bavaria, count of Holland: ‘Temporibus ducis Alberti de Bavaria, comitis Hollandie’. Another example of these explanatory phrases can be found in the story of the founding of the Carthusian monastery near Utrecht in the year 1392.

**Beke:**

Ende als men screef ons Heren jaer m ccc xcii op sinte Petronillen dach leide men den eirsten steen van der Sartroysen cloester beneden der stad van Utrecht bi der Vecht, dat haer Zweder heer van Gaesbeke stichte.<sup>146</sup>

**Marginalia of A Leydis I:**

Anno M ccc xcii in die sancte petronille ponitur fundamentum monasterium carthusiensium ordine propre traiectum per [...] gaesbeek.<sup>147</sup>

**A Leydis II:**

Eodem anno in die S. Petronellae locatus est primus lapis fundamentalis de domo Carthusiensi in boreali parte civitatis Traiectensis per Swederum Dominum de Gaesbeek, Putta & Strenen.<sup>148</sup>

**Chronicon Hollandiae:**

Anno Domini 1392 in die sancte Petronille in ultima maii ponitur fundamentum monasterii Carthusiensis propre Traiectum per domicellum de Gaesbeek.<sup>149</sup>

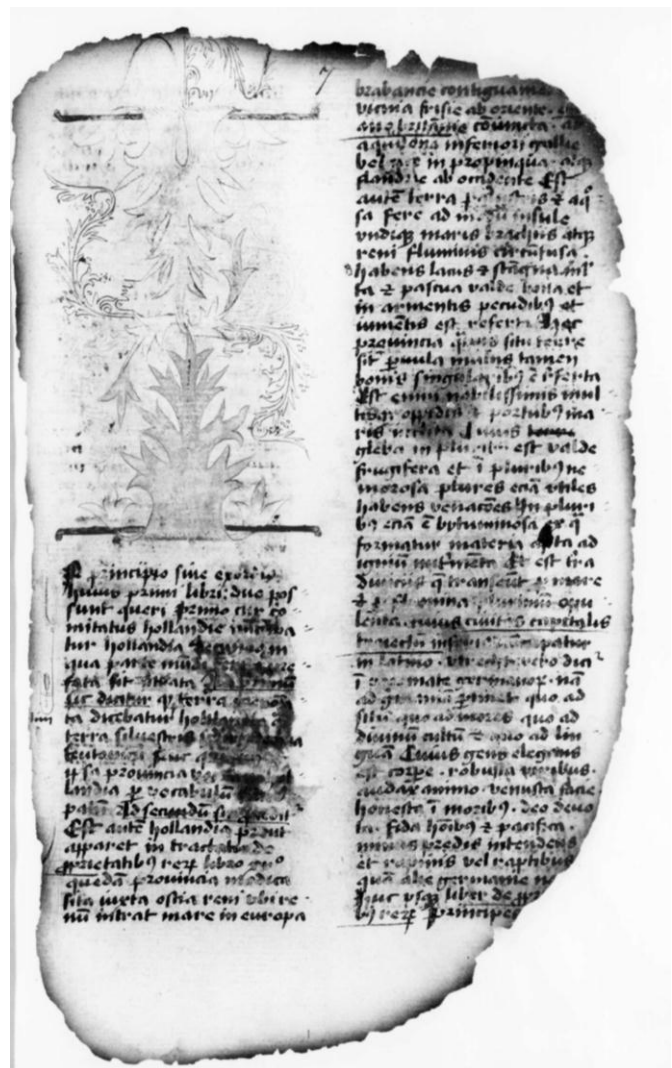


Figure 10. The start of the first book of the first Chronicle of Holland by Johannes a Leydis, London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E IV, f. 7r.

<sup>145</sup> Chronicon Hollandiae, p. 28.  
<sup>146</sup> Beke, *Croniken*, LXXXVIII, 146-151.  
<sup>147</sup> A Leydis I, f. 146r.  
<sup>148</sup> A Leydis II, XXXI, XLII, 7-9.  
<sup>149</sup> Chronicon, p. 26.

Beke, the marginalia of A Leydis I, and the second version of A Leydis all mention that the founding took place on the day of St. Petronella, but the *Chronicon* is the only one that adds ‘in ultima maii’. The day of Saint Petronella is indeed at the end of May, on the thirty-first.

These small explanatory remarks show the author took care in creating the *Chronicon* and did not slavishly copy pieces of other chronicles without being aware of their selection and presentation. Despite the close relationship between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis I some parts do not exactly resemble A Leydis I; perhaps they are more primarily based on the chronicle of Beke, the Chronicle of Gouda or maybe even on some other unknown sources or perhaps they are additions of the author himself.

### ***The order of the chronicles***

When we began this search, comparisons with A Leydis II seemed to prove the direct use of multiple sources, among which were the chronicle of Johannes Beke and the Chronicle of Gouda, for the creation of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. Based on the assumption, which was supported by Ebels-Hoving’s article on the two versions of A Leydis’ chronicle, that A Leydis II and A Leydis I would not be very far apart for most stories, A Leydis I was not included in this initial comparison. Now the relationship between the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and A Leydis I turns out to be remarkably close a reconsidering of a few of those early conclusions might be necessary. A Leydis I and the *Chronicon* are almost word for word the same for many stories, but examples above have shown they are not identical. It is therefore very interesting to see whether the passages from the *Chronicon Hollandiae* that we have considered for the use of Beke or the Chronicle of Gouda are word for word the same in A Leydis I or show minor differences which can lead us to a hypothesis on an order.

When we return to the example below, a passage first known from the chronicle of Beke and used for comparison in chapter 5.1, we see how different the picture is that the comparison with the main text of A Leydis I provides. The occurrence of the sentence ‘que tradicionem Hugonis comitis de Tripolis per soldanum Babilonie expugnata est’ in the *Chronicon* that served to identify Beke as a source over A Leydis II is now less important than the missing sentence that follows it in A Leydis I. ‘[E]t restauracione benedictae crucis que per agarenos ad barbaras naciones et regiones educta est’ is the rather literal translation of the sentence in the Dutch Beke that has not been included in the *Chronicon*. The logical order that derives from this is a Latin translation of Beke made by Johannes a Leydis and later almost word for word copied by the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. This view is supported by the names of the princes listed in this example. Some of the names added to the original main text of A Leydis I have been incorporated in his text by the writer of the *Chronicon*. The minor changes in the order the names occur in and the omission of ‘Odo dux Burgondie’ and ‘Wilhelmus rex Sicilie’ can not yet be fully explained. But such an omission is more probable

than the addition of those two names into marginalia of A Leydis I copied from the *Chronicon*. This comparison now indicates Beke has not been used directly by the *Chronicon Hollandiae* after all, but is copied word for word from A Leydis I.

### **Dutch Beke:**

Inden jaer ons Heren m c lxxxviii bi goetduncken des paeus Alexander ende bi ghebode Vrederix des gloriosen keisers, so hebben der kerstine een ongetallic volc dat cruce ghenomen te Mense van den cardinael Henric, dien die paeus daer ghesendt hadde, *alse om dat Heilighe Lant* te vercrighen ende die stat van Jherusalem, die de soudaen van Babiloniën ghewonnen hadde alse bi verrade des graven Hughen van Tripoli, *ende mede om dat heilighe cruce te versamenen dattie Agareni hadden ghevoert in die conincrike van Barbariën.*

Van wilker onghetalliker heervaert die hooftprincen waren Frederic die Roemsche keiser, Philippus die coninc van Vrancrijk, Rikardus die coninc van Engellant, Vrederic hertoghe van Zwaven, Conraet hertoghe van Oesterrijk, Florens grave van Hollant, Philippus grave van Vlandren ende anders vele groter heren ende princen.<sup>150</sup>

### ***Chronicon Hollandiae:***

Anno Domini 1188 decreto Alexandri Romani pontificis et edicto gloriosi principis cesaris Fredrici inestimabilis exercitus Christiane professionis cruce signatus est apud Maguntiam ab Henrico legato sedis apostolice pro recuperatione sancte civitatis Jherosolim que tradicionem Hugonis comitis de Tripolis per soldanum Babilonie expugnata est.

Cuius innumerabilis exercitus capitanei principes erant: Fredricus Romanorum imperator, Phillipus rex Francie, Richardus rex Anglie, Fredricus dux Zwevie, Conrardus dux Austrie, *Henricus dux Brabancie, dux Saxonie, dux Bavarie*, Florencius comes Hollandie, *Theodericus comes Clivie*, Phillipus comes Flandrie, *Otto comes Gbelrie* cum aliis magnatibus multis et proceribus infinitis.<sup>151</sup>

### **Main text of A Leydis I (with added marginalia in *italics*):**

Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> lxxxviii<sup>o</sup> decreto Alexandri Romani pontificis et edicto gloriosi principis cesaris Friderici inestimabilis exercitus christiane professionis cruce signatus est apud Magunciam ab Heynrico cardinali sive legato sedis apostolice pro recuperatione sancte civitatis Jherusalem que tradicionem comitis Hughonis de Tripoli per soldanum Babilonie expugnata est *et restauracione benedictae crucis crucis que per agarenos ad barbaras naciones et regiones educta est.*

Cuius innumerabilis exercitus capitanei principes erant Fredericus Romanorum imperator, Phillipus rex Francie, Richardus rex Anglie, Fredericus dux Swevie, Conrardus dux Austrie, *dux Bavarie, dux Saxonie, Heynricus, dux Brabancie, Theodricus comes Clivie, Odo dux Burgondie, Wilhelmus rex Sicilie*, Florencius comes Hollandie, Phillipus comes Flandrie, *Otto comes Gbelrie* cum aliis magnatibus multis et proceribus infinitis.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Beke, *Croniken*, LV, 43-54.

<sup>151</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 14.

<sup>152</sup> A Leydis I, f. 80v.



Also the many small explanatory phrases in the *Chronicon* mentioned above can better be explained when it is assumed that the *Chronicon* made use of A Leydis I rather than the other way around. It is less likely that a writer would omit all these extra few words that explain names and functions of persons or the locations of places or holy days than that an author will add them himself. Most of the passages in the *Chronicon* that could not be matched with entries in A Leydis I are stories that can easily be summarised from a more elaborate description or even added from the general knowledge of the author himself.

However, the first few pages, which are almost entirely traced back to the Chronicle of Gouda and appear before the text of the autograph of A Leydis I in its London manuscript, and the dissimilarities in the story about Damiata are thus far less easy to fully clarify from this supposed order of the chronicles. Jaap van Moolenbroek assumes the version of the Damiata story in the *Chronicon* is written after and to some extent based on A Leydis I. This is, however, partly based on a late fifteenth-century date of the Brussels manuscript, which is not precisely known. The missing sentence ‘et quattuor precipui cardinales eisdem addiderunt quattuor stellas adhuc eiusdem coloris’ (see above, p. 69) could be explained from a copyist’s mistake if we argue A Leydis I was copied from the *Chronicon*. The copyist could have mistaken the second occurrence of the words ‘eiusdem coloris’ for the first and continued the sentence from that point on (a so-called *Augensprung*). However, the additions on the people of Haarlem in the first part of the story and the differences in the first sentence of the aforementioned description of the coat of arms of Haarlem can not be easily clarified in this order. It is therefore equally likely to follow the order established in the previous example and assume, as Van Moolenbroek has done, that the *Chronicon*’s author has used A Leydis as its source for this story and changed it slightly due to another source or the author’s own knowledge.

Another passage that might support the hypothesis that A Leydis I has been used as a source of the *Chronicon* is the start of the section about the possessors and wars of Huesden. The *Chronicon Hollandiae* begins the story like this:

*Circa annum Domini 1356 Wilhelmus de Bavaria, cognomento bonus, comes Hollandie, incorporavit eidem comitatu Hollandie oppidum Huesden cum suo castro, quod taliter evenisse dinoscitur.*<sup>153</sup>

[Around the year 1356, William of Bavaria, count of Holland, who was called ‘the Good’, incorporate into this county of Holland the town of Heusden with its castle, which is recognised to have occurred in this way.]

The marginalia of A Leydis I show minor dissimilarities in the first sentence:

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<sup>153</sup> *Chronicon Hollandiae*, p. 22.

[...] *istis temporibus dux* Wilhelmus de Bavaria, incorporat Hollandie comitatus oppidum Huesden cum castro suo [...]liter evenisse dinoscitur.<sup>154</sup>

The year 1356 is mentioned in A Leydis I in the first column of folio 139v where this story is added to the bottom of the page. This can be the origin of the reference to that year in the *Chronicon*. When we follow the order assumed above, the phrase ‘cognomento bonus’ must be added by the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. The name ‘William the Good’ had been given to William III of Holland, who had died in 1337. This phrase, added to clarify, is therefore wrongly inserted by the author of the *Chronicon*. However, this example is again no watertight evidence for the order A Leydis I – *Chronicon Hollandiae*. When one wants to argue the opposite, it can be said the year is not included in the marginalia of A Leydis I, because the writer has added it deliberately on the page where that year was already mentioned. Also, the writer of the marginalia might have noticed, as we did, that the inclusion of the phrase ‘cognomento bonus’ was misplaced and could therefore have left it out.

It can be concluded that the *Chronicon Hollandiae* has evidently been written after the main text of A Leydis I. Because of the many similarities with the marginalia the *Chronicon* can not be considered a source of the main text of A Leydis’ first chronicle. The order of the addition of the marginalia into A Leydis’ autograph from unknown sources and the creation of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is not yet clear though. Is the *Chronicon* based on the autograph including its marginalia or is it rather one of the sources used to add to the main text of A Leydis I? Above, the hypothesis that the *Chronicon* is a copy of A Leydis I including its marginalia is proposed and some examples have been given to advocate this view. Those examples have shown this is indeed a likely possibility, but not a proven point yet.

The damaged state of the autograph of A Leydis I makes comparisons difficult. Some passages from the *Chronicon* could not yet be traced back to A Leydis I, but because a part of the marginalia has been lost, this does not provide any evidence. Also, a closer study is necessary because the above hypothesis on the order of the chronicles is based on mere crumbs of evidence. To prove a source has been used can be done with one or two examples, but to ascertain the chronicle of Beke and the Chronicle of Gouda have never been used as a source over A Leydis I is not possible without detailed study of the entire texts of them all. The close connection between A Leydis I and the *Chronicon Hollandiae* has been confirmed and a preliminary conclusion on the order has been given. However, the differences in some stories, like the Damiata story, and the balance between copied passages from the main text and the marginalia are not yet explained. An even more detailed study into the textual similarities and differences between the two chronicles is needed.

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<sup>154</sup> A Leydis I, f. 139v. A number of words are illegible due to the damaged edges of the A Leydis I manuscript.

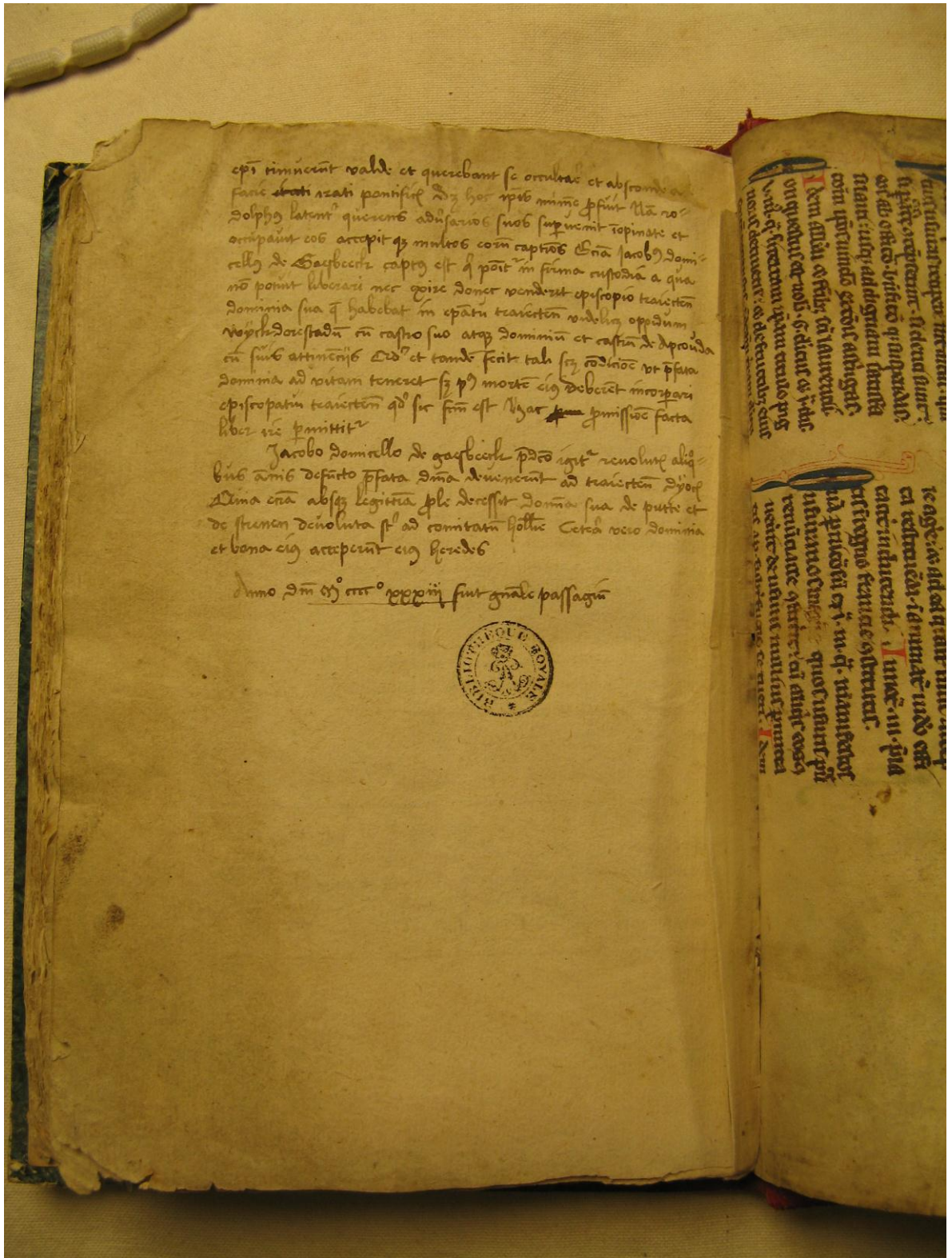


Figure 11. The final page of the Brussels manuscript of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, f. 51v.

### 6.3. Independent chronicle or working document of A Leydis?

It is hard to unveil the precise nature of the relationship between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis I. This makes an interpretation of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* difficult. One possible interpretation that came up during this study is that it is a working document, maybe even of A Leydis himself. Because of the close relationship and especially the similarities with the marginalia, which are said to have been used in the revision of A Leydis' chronicle, it is tempting to consider the *Chronicon* as a document written and used in between A Leydis I and II. However, not only the marginalia play their part in the relationship between the two chronicles, also the main text of A Leydis I has featured in the comparisons above. We already know not all information in the *Chronicon* can be found in the margins of A Leydis I and not all marginalia are in the *Chronicon*. Next to that, the main text of A Leydis I and the *Chronicon* also mention the same stories and show remarkable similarities on a number of occasions. Another interpretation would therefore be to consider the *Chronicon* as an independent chronicle of Holland and Utrecht and to explain the close relationship with A Leydis I from the fact that one has been used as a source by the other. The hypothesis examined above that the *Chronicon* is based on A Leydis I could be used to correspond with either of those views. Both an independent chronicle and a working document can be based on A Leydis I.

What are the arguments to claim this is indeed a working document of Johannes a Leydis rather than an independent chronicle of Holland and Utrecht? We can consider several aspects that point in the direction of this hypothesis.

In the description of the *Chronicon* we have seen that a number of different subjects and types of information are collected in this one chronicle. There is no obvious emphasis in subject matter and it is hard to say what exactly the focus of this chronicle is, for on the one hand an emphasis on Holland can be detected, but at the same time some elaborate stories about Utrecht or foreign countries are recounted, especially in the last pages of the chronicle. Political and military facts are commented upon, but ecclesiastical and miracle stories also receive a significant amount of attention. For such a short chronicle it contains some lengthy stories on miracles or, for example, on the origin of the Stedinger war. It is hard to determine what subjects the author meant to write on or what area the author focused on particularly with this *Chronicon*. Furthermore, it also misses a clear structure that carries the narratives in the chronicle. Many passages start with the year in which the event took place, but there is no overarching structure of names and reigns of counts of Holland or bishops of Utrecht which many other medieval chronicles use. Several counts and bishops are mentioned, but certainly not all of them and no order or apparent logic is observed in their occurrence. This could count in favour of the hypothesis that the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is a working document instead of a coherent independent chronicle. However, not every medieval chronicle is provided with a very clear structure or focus, so this is not enough to base conclusions on.

Another point in favour of this hypothesis is the manuscript in Brussels in which the oldest complete version of the *Chronicon* has survived. The *Chronicon Hollandiae* is found in a manuscript together with a Brederode chronicle and a chronicle on the lords of Egmond. Johannes a Leydis is known to have written a Brederode chronicle and a chronicle about the Egmond monastery. The chronicle of the lords of Brederode in the Brussels manuscript is definitely connected to A Leydis. Although the chronicle on the lords of Egmond is not from A Leydis, its contents are closely connected to his work.<sup>155</sup> The context in which the *Chronicon Hollandiae* has survived therefore strengthens the argument that it is related to Johannes a Leydis. Also the comment on other chronicles in Egmond, that the author of the *Chronicon* suggests as a source on the story of the poisoned emperor Henricus VII, connects it to the environment of Egmond.

If it is assumed that the *Chronicon* is a working document in the transition of the first version of the chronicle of Johannes a Leydis to the second version, one would expect substantial similarities between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis II. But comparison shows that not the entire *Chronicon* can be found in the revised chronicle of A Leydis. Although the majority of the *Chronicon*, except the very beginning and the part after 1417, can be recognized in A Leydis II, a small but significant number of stories have no parallel in A Leydis II. We also have to account for a substantial amount of stories that appear in both, but show considerable differences when the texts are compared in detail, even when we know that Johannes a Leydis has changed stories significantly for his second version. This hypothesis does also not agree with the large similarities between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis I because one would not expect to find so many passages from A Leydis I verbatim in a working document. The *Chronicon* not only includes many stories from the marginalia of A Leydis I, but also contains some passages from the main text of A Leydis' first version, which is hard to explain from the point of view of a document used in the transition to A Leydis II. The many parallels between the two chronicles can maybe better be understood when we think of the *Chronicon* and A Leydis I as two independent chronicles where one served as a source for the other.

There are additional characteristics of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* that seem contradictory with the hypothesis of a working document discussed above. The hypothesis of an independent chronicle can be supported by several arguments as well. Another point in favour of the proposition that the *Chronicon* is an independent chronicle is the unity that can be seen in some parts of the chronicle and the neat chronological structure. The chronology is maintained throughout the chronicle, although some minor irregularities occur, which can be related to different types of sources or subjects. Also, a focus on Holland and a preference of legendary or miracle stories can be seen throughout the chronicle, although there is no truly convincing focus in the work. It is definitely not a working document in the form of a scrap book or a random collection of interesting bits and pieces from several sources.

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<sup>155</sup> Van Moolenbroek, 'Damietta', 126, nt. 51.

The care taken to create the *Chronicon Hollandiae* can also be seen in the explanatory notes in many stories, as in the aforementioned example of Saint Petronella's day. The *Chronicon* is not a random collection. The first and last sentences of stories often differ from the source the story is copied from, whether that is A Leydis I or another source, because the compiler of the *Chronicon* took effort to fit the passages into the chronicle he composed. In passages summarised from other sources he took care of naming and clarifying the main characters.

Neither of the above two options seem to fit the circumstances and features of the *Chronicon* satisfactory. The remarkable connection with A Leydis, the similarities with A Leydis' marginalia and a probable order in which the *Chronicon* is derived from A Leydis I argues for a working document or an abstract of A Leydis I. Furthermore the occurrence of the work in a single binding with two other chronicles linked to A Leydis relate the *Chronicon* to him. The intriguingly close relationship with both the marginalia and pieces from the main text, however, contradict this hypothesis. Also, the *Chronicon* holds some other features of an independent chronicle, such as the neat chronology and the explanatory additions. But because the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is extremely close to and maybe almost entirely based on A Leydis I, it can not be regarded as a proper independent chronicle at all. The work does not contain much original information and is very possibly constructed from just one source.

This means the status of the work is not very high; it is not a new chronicle of Holland and Utrecht, although the old view of the work, as an abstract of A Leydis II, is also decisively contradicted. Unfortunately the *Chronicon* does not look as a missing link between Johannes a Leydis' first and second version. For a working document one would expect more change with and less information exactly copied from the main text of A Leydis I. It could still be a short chronicle or abstract by A Leydis later used to add to his first version or summarise parts from it, but no real evidence is revealed that proves A Leydis to be the author. Therefore, while the order has not definitely been accounted for, yet another author is still possible as long as the close connection with A Leydis I is taken into consideration. Also, a summary of A Leydis I including marginalia can be made by another contemporary of his as well.

Because of the remarkable connection to the marginalia of the autograph of A Leydis I the *Chronicon* can cautiously be dated in between the two versions of A Leydis. The *Chronicon* can not have been a source for the main text of A Leydis I, because the many parallels with the marginalia are then unexplainable. It is also clearly connected to the autograph with marginalia of A Leydis' first version and not to A Leydis II, which suggests it has originated before the second version came into existence. When the *Chronicon* has to be placed in between A Leydis I and II, it would have been written between circa 1469 and circa 1480, although the date of the second chronicle is debated.<sup>156</sup> Unfortunately we have nothing to check this with except for the fact that it is indeed written after 1459 and before the late

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<sup>156</sup> See above, note 105.

fifteenth or early sixteenth-century dating from the manuscript in Brussels. The nature of the text, with its resemblance to both marginalia and main text, is not yet clear.

### ***On the marginalia***

A final clue we turn to before trying to conclude what has been discovered on the authorship of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* is the marginalia in the autograph of A Leydis I. They are an intriguing feature of the relationship between the *Chronicon* and A Leydis I because the resemblance between the chronicles is mostly but not exclusively in stories from the margins. This makes an interpretation of the order and connection between the two chronicles complicated. Whether the *Chronicon* is an abstract of A Leydis I including the marginalia or a chronicle used to add the marginalia to A Leydis' autograph in which case the stories resembling the main text are obviously left out, is not decisively proven. However, the above comparisons of the marginalia of A Leydis I and the *Chronicon* show that it is improbable that the *Chronicon* is used as a source for A Leydis I. The nature of the *Chronicon* and the correlation between pieces from the main text of A Leydis I, its marginalia and the parallel texts in the *Chronicon Hollandiae* might also be more easily understood when there is an improved comprehension of the nature of the marginalia in A Leydis'. To examine these points we have to take a closer look at what has been said about the marginalia.

The marginalia have been commented on above mainly using Ebels-Hoving's article. She mentions that the current view on them is that they have been used in the transition to the revised edition. The marginalia have been described by her as additions and improvements written by A Leydis himself, based on unknown sources which might include, but are not exclusively from, a chronicle of Holland by Pauli.<sup>157</sup> Theodoricus Pauli, known to us as the author of some chronicles from the end of the fifteenth century, was slightly older than A Leydis and they had very probably met, or at least were familiar with each other's work. Ebels-Hoving acknowledges that the marginalia occur in different hands but considers it proven that most of them are A Leydis'. An article by Van der Werf however gives a different story. He emphasises the use of Pauli by A Leydis for the second version of his chronicle of Holland. At the same time Van der Werf describes the use of A Leydis I in Pauli's chronicle of Holland and his role in the revision of A Leydis I.

What we can ascertain based on evidence from the content is that Pauli has used the manuscript known as the autograph of Jan van Leiden for his reworking of Leydis I, while we can also recognise Pauli's hand in several places in the marginalia of that manuscript.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Ebels-Hoving, 'Johannes a Leydis', 34, 40.

<sup>158</sup> E. O. van der Werf, 'Twee Egmondse abtenlijsten in de werken van Theodoricus Pauli (ca.1417-1493)', in G. N. M. Vis and Marco Mostert (eds.), *Heiligenlevens, annalen en kronieken: Geschiedschrijving in middeleeuws Egmond*. Egmondse Studiën 1 (Hilversum 1990) 145-168, 161. My translation. [Wél kunnen we aan de hand van inhoudelijke argumenten vaststellen dat

Therefore, as both Ebels-Hoving and Van der Werf recognise different hands in the margins the marginalia of Pauli and A Leydis are probably both present. However, both articles represent different views on who is responsible for those marginalia and what they are based upon. The view of Bruch, who wrote thirty-four years earlier, is closest to Ebels-Hoving, because he argues the marginalia come from Pauli's chronicle but are in A Leydis' hand because A Leydis simply copied parts of Pauli's chronicle of Holland into the margin of his first chronicle. Based on the views above, Pauli and A Leydis seem to have had a mutual influence on each other.

This does not provide a decisive answer on the order or the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* in relation to A Leydis I. It does, however, clearly guide us in the direction of two more points that have to be researched further and might lead us to answers on those questions. Firstly, the conflicting statements on the authorship of the marginalia ask for a closer examination of the hands in which they are written. The hands of the autograph of A Leydis, its marginalia and also the *Chronicon Hollandiae* should be compared. This might clarify who has been responsible for the marginalia and, for we have seen that the marginalia were written in more than one hand, especially who can be appointed as the writer of the marginalia that resemble passages in the *Chronicon*. Because the *Chronicon Hollandiae* in the Brussels manuscript has the appearance of a work in progress, as was mentioned above, comparisons of the hands of A Leydis and Pauli with the hand of the *Chronicon* in this manuscript can also lead to very interesting conclusions.

A second issue that is brought up by the debate on A Leydis' marginalia is the involvement of Theodoricus Pauli. Pauli has not been mentioned by Obreen, Romein or other commentators in relation to the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and therefore it has not been involved in the comparisons above. The presumed relationship between his work and A Leydis' marginalia however now calls for this comparison after all. Unfortunately, the above two points are beyond the scope of this thesis. Before any definite conclusions can be drawn, those two issues have to be examined thoroughly.

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Pauli voor zijn bewerking van Leydis I het als autograaf van Jan van Leiden bekende manuscript heft gebruikt, terwijl we bovendien op diverse plaatsen in dat manuscript Pauli's hand kunnen herkennen in de marginalia.]





## 7. Authorship of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*

Now we have studied the description of the chronicle and some research into the sources of the work, what can be deduced from all that concerning the author? Although more research is necessary to reach a decisive answer on the context and author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* some steps towards the identification of the *Chronicon's* author can already be undertaken. As seen before for other anonymous chronicles in part one of this thesis, several features can be considered to collect information on the anonymous author. The modern secondary literature was the suggested starting point of any such search. In the case of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* this means that we can build on studies of the sources, which have provided a preliminary image of the type of chronicle we deal with and the period it has to have originated from. To elaborate on the picture we have of the compiler of the *Chronicon* some more aspects will be taken into consideration. In this case the goal is not only to try to create a profile of the author, but also to determine whether Johannes a Leydis would be a likely candidate or not. Information from external factors, such as secondary literature and knowledge of the location of the author has already been presented above and we will now look at internal information. This internal evidence is also previously provided in the chapters on the description of the *Chronicon*. However, this information has not yet been interpreted in relation to the anonymous author.

From the geographical focus of the *Chronicon* it is possible to assume the author had a particular connection with Holland. He either came from Holland or was mainly interested in Holland for a particular reason, for example because he held an office in the administration of Holland or at a noble court or was moving in high circles in the county. The lack of particular focus in the subjects commented upon in the chronicle make it hard to suggest something more definite about this. It is not particularly probable that the author wrote from a position in the administration or leading nobility in Holland, because the counts of Holland do not receive a significant amount of attention in the *Chronicon*. Besides, more attention is given to Haarlem and Leiden than to The Hague, which traditionally had been one of the main seats of power in the county of Holland. Although the author seems to favour information about Leiden and Haarlem the differences in focus are too marginal to provide conclusive answers on the geographical origin. The only other geographical clue is the mentioning of some chronicles in a church in Egmond. When it is assumed that this is information only given in the *Chronicon* and not copied into it from another source, this would lead us to an author with at least some contacts in Egmond, the place where a well-known monastery was located. Johannes a Leydis has written a chronicle on the monastery of Egmond and almost certainly spent some time there.

The slight preferences found in the subjects and types of information collected in the chronicle also, at the most, give hints. There is a relatively large amount of attention on ecclesiastical history in the form of the founding of monasteries,

churches and collegiums and miracle stories. A background of the author with some connection to the church is very well possible, but also not at all proven. No church councils are commented upon for example, and not many popes are mentioned. But a member of the secular clergy, for example a secular canon like A Leydis was, who lived in one of the cities in the county of Holland would possibly fit the profile. Another aspect that could shed light on A Leydis' presumed authorship in this respect is the language used. Writers with an ecclesiastical education and background would be more inclined to write in Latin. The vernacular had made its appearance in history works and official accounts and charters already by the thirteenth century and was firmly established in those fields in the time this chronicle can be dated. Although Latin was still known in other sectors, such as intellectual circles, the church was one of the main users of Latin by the time the *Chronicon* came into existence. The comparison of A Leydis' use of Latin in the two chronicles attributed to him with the *Chronicon* might bring further and more detailed information. Unfortunately the time and expertise to include such research in this thesis has been lacking.

For some chronicles it is possible to check a likely candidate by comparing the location of origin of the chronicle or the place and date of some personal comments with the whereabouts of the hypothetical chronicler. Unfortunately this is not possible in the case of the *Chronicon*. Not only are the location and date of the creation of the chronicle very vague, the information about Johannes a Leydis' life is very minimal as well. In most descriptions of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* it is suggested the Eggert family might have been related to the author, because of the rather lengthy story about Willem Eggert and his son Johannes. Wilhelmus Eggert was the treasurer of count William of Holland, whose death in 1417 is mentioned in the *Chronicon*. This Wilhelmus, so tells the *Chronicon*, loved his master so much that he died of grief himself two days after count William. He left a daughter and a son, Johannes, behind. Johannes Eggert then sold the castle of Purmereyndt, which was built by his father, to Gherardus van Zijl, his brother-in-law, and moved to Flanders. This relatively elaborate entry on the Eggert family has given rise to the suggestion in secondary literature that the author must have been related to this family. But because this passage is also known from the marginalia of A Leydis I and maybe also from other sources and not proven to be a specific addition of the *Chronicon's* author it does not help us along in the search for authorship.

Another aspect to look at is the number and collection of used sources. The range of sources can reveal a specific environment of the author, but again, this is not very revealing in the case of the *Chronicon*. The chronicle of Johannes Beke, the Chronicle of Gouda and the chronicles of A Leydis, which are all mentioned above in relation to the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, were among the most well-known and widespread medieval history works in the Low Countries. They were used very regularly as sources for fifteenth-century chronicles. The only noteworthy aspects about the list of sources is the very close relationship to the autograph with marginalia of Johannes a Leydis' first chronicle of Holland and the minor reference to the chronicles in Egmond, which is already commented upon above.

The order of the works has shown to be very important in this search. When a close interrelationship is discovered between medieval chronicles prominence and date can help to establish which one is the original and which one is a copy or has used the former as a source. Until recently the large similarity with A Leydis II has brought commentators to suggest the *Chronicon* was an abstract from or at least based on this chronicle, because of the reputation of A Leydis' work. However, research has brought to light that the relationship, if there is one between A Leydis II and the *Chronicon*, has to be the other way around. Furthermore, even in the connection with A Leydis I it should not be assumed that the *Chronicon Hollandiae* simply has to be a copy from the more famous chronicle of A Leydis. The order of those two chronicles can cautiously be determined on the comparison of sources and the dating of the respective documents. I am inclined to believe the *Chronicon* has been written after the main text of A Leydis I and very probably also later than the marginalia. The close connection with the marginalia and the suggested later date of the Brussels manuscript, which looks like a work in progress and might therefore even be the autograph of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, make an origin later than and therefore based on A Leydis I most probable, as is confirmed by the textual comparisons. These results provide us with an unfortunately rather unspectacular image of the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. The chronicle does not give a lot of new information and is very likely mostly based on a single source, which means it does not reveal much about its author, his vision and his skills. Some important elements of the *Chronicon* still have to be studied though and new evidence might make adaptations to this view necessary.

An easily made mistake in the use of information from a chronicle for the purpose of identification of an author is the assumption the information belongs to the compiler instead of to his sources. An example of this is the aforementioned connection repeatedly made between the writer of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* and the Eggert family, because of the relatively lengthy passage about William and Johannes Eggert, while this passage is known almost verbatim from the first and second versions of A Leydis. The same authors who assume the *Chronicon* was an abstract of A Leydis value the occurrence of the passage about the Eggerts as evidence for authorship, without paying attention to the striking resemblance of this passage to A Leydis' text.<sup>159</sup>

For medieval chronicles it can not be stressed enough that the sources are immensely important in the construction of the chronicle. I certainly do not want to preach against the development of the last decades that made scholars value compilations as independent and meaningful works, because I do fully agree with the fact that even a compiler who does barely write a few sentences himself in a chronicle can still show a focus, purpose and meaning in the selection and structure

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<sup>159</sup> For example Bruch, *Supplement* and Romein, *Noord-Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*. Levelt, 'Chronicon Hollandiae' also mentions the possibility of a link to the Eggert family, but because he considers the *Chronicon* as a source rather than an abstract of A Leydis, this seems a more sensible point of view.

of his work. However, compilers tend to also use simply what is available to them. To continue the example of the Eggert family; that passage could just be copied because it occurred in one of the important sources of the *Chronicon* and the compiler knew or had heard of the family. His focus was on Holland and to read that William Eggert is praised as the treasurer of Holland might have been enough reason to incorporate the story into his *Chronicon Hollandiae*. A connection to the Eggert family is not impossible, however, the passage itself is not evidence enough to suggest this relationship. There are also, for example, two places where the city of Liege is mentioned explicitly, when a list of the order of Saint Lambert in that city is provided, and later on in the chronicle, when duke John of Bavaria was in conflict with the city of Liege because of a controversy about the bishop's see. In addition to this a much longer passage than the passage about the Eggert family about the city and land of Huesden can be found as well. However, no significance is ascribed to any of these stories, and rightly so, because these passages are neither remarkable nor original enough to be decisive evidence in the discussion about the *Chronicon's* authorship.

The focus on Holland, a relatively large number of references to the city of Haarlem, the combination of political and ecclesiastic information and the choice of Latin as a language all can be explained in favour of the identification of Johannes a Leydis as the author. He was a secular canon and prior of a monastery in Haarlem, an important city of the country of Holland, for a large part of his life. Unfortunately no more can be said about this information than that it does not undermine the argument of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* as a document of A Leydis, closely connected to the revision of the first version of his chronicle. It does not prove anything though, because there are other people, canons, monks or lay intellectuals, who can fit the geographical focus, the interests and opportunity and the date. Also, the connection with Pauli has to be further researched and his profile has to be held against the information on our anonymous author as well. Profiles of anonymous medieval authors drawn from indirect information such as the focus of their chronicles are always uncertain and based on assumptions and probabilities. In this case the clues found in the chronicle are also not very revealing, making the above profile not more than the best possibility at this moment. Maybe A Leydis, maybe some other chronicler known by name to us, maybe an unknown canon at A Leydis' monastery who could access his autograph in the monastery library; the identity of the *Chronicon's* author is still unknown.

## Conclusions

The author of many medieval chronicles is unknown. To identify the person behind these chronicles is an interesting, but complicated and time consuming operation. In a large number of cases this search will also never be successful. Unfortunately it is often impossible to discover the name and person that wrote a certain medieval chronicle. However, there is still a lot that can be done in the meantime. Next to exact identification of the author, we have also discussed the creation of a profile of an author. Even though a chronicler remains recorded as 'anonymous', several tools can be used to discover as much information about this person as possible. By doing this the aims of the search for identification are still met. Because the study on the identification of an anonymous author is undertaken not so much out of curiosity for an exact name, but because we want to know as much as possible about the context and background of the author, his purposes, his ideas, his environment. All these elements influence the meaning and purpose of the chronicle, and knowing them better enables us to read and understand these history works in their own context. Every medieval chronicle is unique and has a unique history of creation, copying and surviving into the modern era, therefore every search for an anonymous chronicler is different. This thesis has shown, however, that formulating general rules for these individual searches is not impossible and is indeed very useful.

The first part of this thesis ended with some rough guidelines for use in research on anonymous medieval chronicles. Several aspects of a medieval history work can be studied in detail to detect as much information as possible about its writer. It is suggested to look at both external and internal evidence. External information includes secondary literature, both contemporary and modern, knowledge from other sources about suggested authors for a chronicle and palaeological and codicological information. Internal evidence covers everything that can be deduced from the content of the chronicle itself, such as information about the geographical location of the author; the time it was written in; the sources used and the environment the text appears to come from. Not every chronicle will direct the researcher in a certain direction on every one of those points. Sometimes none of them seem answerable with certainty. But, on the basis of the above, in the majority of cases a suggested author for an anonymous chronicle can be confirmed or rejected, or a profile of the anonymous author can be drawn.

The interpretation of the abovementioned information, and especially of the internal evidence, is complicated and can be subjective. The nature of the medieval chronicle, usually strongly based on other sources and possibly copied verbatim for large parts, is very different from our modern way of history writing. As shown in chapter 2, authorship often had the character of compiling, but, as was argued, a compiler leaves a mark on his work as well and shows preferences and purpose in the process of selection. However, to study these chronicles necessitates both the awareness of the copied, and therefore less significant, nature of the text and the

understanding of the process of deliberate selection. Some personal comments or preferences in the type of information or persons mentioned can therefore hold a lot of information, but can also be insignificant, depending on the originality and the source of the passages.

The incredible importance of the study of the sources of every passage of the text is also shown in part two of this thesis. The search for the author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* was directed by the secondary literature available and led to, first of all, a study of the sources. The context of the origin of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* can be deduced partly from the sources it made use of. In the case of the *Chronicon* the connection with the well-known medieval chronicler Johannes a Leydis made this origin especially interesting. It is proven that the original suggestion by Obreen and other commentators was not true. The *Chronicon Hollandiae* is not an abstract of the second version of Johannes a Leydis' Chronicle of Holland. It is very closely related to, not the second, but the first edition of this chronicle. The described associations with the later additions in the margins of this manuscript contribute to the intriguing character of this search. As part two of this thesis has shown in length, the question on the author of this chronicle has not yet fully been answered, although Johannes a Leydis himself, or someone from his close environment, have proven likely candidates. The search so far has ruled out previous suggestions and shown some interesting relations. However, it has also revealed a number of elements that need further research, such as the possible involvement of Theodoricus Pauli, the handwriting in the manuscripts and the layers of text in the Brussels manuscript of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*. A decisive answer on the authorship of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* can therefore not yet be given.

The process of research described in the second part of this thesis has been a good example of the often time-consuming and complicated nature of such a search. To study the authorship of a, until now, anonymous medieval chronicle is in every case a very detailed and meticulous study in which one word or phrase can tip the scales in favour of a hypothesis. Whether an author can be named or not, a study of this character informs us in all cases about the context, sources and focus of the author, which can bring us one step forwards in the research on the role of history writing in the Middle Ages. It has also been an example of a process built on evidence, and I have taken care to demonstrate every step of the argument with comparisons and hypotheses.

In the last century comments have been made on the *Chronicon Hollandiae* as well as on many more anonymous medieval chronicles. However, those comments were often isolated and not always covered in an academic and evidence-based debate, because each search was seen as requiring very specific knowledge. Every anonymous medieval chronicle is in need of an individual method and study, because every medieval chronicle, as well as the circumstances of its research and preservation, is unique. However, this thesis has listed and demonstrated several guidelines to achieve this by, enabling scholars in this field to build on each other's work and contribute to each other's search.

## Appendix:

### **The *Chronicon Hollandiae* with references to parallel texts in Beke, A Leydis I and A Leydis II.**

The left column shows the text of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* as published by H. Obreen in 1925.

The right column lists references to parallel texts:<sup>160</sup>

- Beke (in roman)
- *A Leydis II (in cursive)*
- A Leydis I (underlined)

The passages in the text of the *Chronicon Hollandiae* which are similar to A Leydis I are also underlined.

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<sup>160</sup> This document shows the similarities already established between those chronicles in the course of this research and is meant as a tool for further research. It does not claim to be exhaustive.



CHRONICON HOLLANDIAE

[fol. 37]. Hollandie primordialis civitas dicitur Vlaer-  
dinck, ubi Slavi magnum castrum erexerant, quod  
Slavenburch nominabant. Hii quidem Slavi de Saxonia  
venerant primo in terram que nunc dicitur Frisia, ubi  
quamplurimos

P. 1-7: Before text A Leydis I

gigantes, per Brutum de Britannia, que nunc vocatur Anglia, expulsos, in ore gladii crudeliter perimerunt. Hic Brutus fuit tempore David regis, Troiano genere natus.

Prenominato quidem castro Slavenburch coniunctum fuit silvestre desertum, quod vulgariter dicebatur dat wilde wout sonder ghenade. Per annos plurimos Slavi circa mare victitabant in Vlaerdinck (sed illa vetus Vlaer- dinck pro nunc est in Mosa, qui nimis multiplicati in Zuythollandiam sunt dispersi; quidam vero insulam Zelandiam sunt ingressi longe ante Christi nativitatem.

Alexander magnus per tricentos et triginta unum annos ante nativitatem Domini natus, dum<sup>1</sup> quasi totum mundum suo subiugasset, imperio hos tamen vagos et indomitos Slavos non subiugavit<sup>1</sup>, quia forsitan eorum famam nondum audierat, nam et ipsi ignorabant ullam esse terram hominibus inhabitatam preter Britanniam et vagam Saxoniam, id est Frisiam.

Deinceps ante nativitatem Domini xiiii annis regnabat Julius Cesar, qui, per Renum descendens, Novimagium venit et ibidem castrum construxit et ulterius proficiscens cum prefatis silvestribus Slavis horrible bellum commisit, in quo prefatus Cesar quamplurimos de suis occisos reliquit. Tandem, habito cum Julio colloquio, quesierunt ab eo quisnam esset et unde veniret. Qui cum respondisset se ab urbe Roma, *que est caput mundi* descen-

disse ut omnem terram Romanis posset subiugare, indixerunt ei Slavi prelium in quo Julii cognatus cecidit, nichilominus tamen Slavorum capitaneus nomine Rabon, mire magnitudinis gigas, etiam ibidem peremptus est et sic devicti sunt et se Romanis subiectos fore sponderunt.

Hoc etiam tempore Treveris devastatur a Julio, que civitas temporibus Abrahe condita fuisse probatur.

Subiectis Slavis, Julius in Flandriam est profectus cum cognato suo Gaijo, qui quidem Gaijus ibidem civitatem Gandensem famosissimam construxit, vocans eam nomine suo Gaijnt. Recedente tamen Julio, Slavi ferociter contra [fol. 37 v<sup>o</sup>.] quoscunque venientes preliabantur terra marique, nec sinebant quemquam preterire cum pace.

Imperante Octaviano Augusto, cum universalis pax esset per orbem universum, silvestres Saxones nitebantur infestare Slavos, videntes eos quietos. Cum venissent igitur occulte cogitantes eos debellare a Slavis repentine et ipsi debellati sunt et Slavi ab eis magnam predam adepti sunt.

Octavianus factus Augustus Hispaniam personaliter bello aggreditur. Alias etiam terras per diversos duces oppugnat. Illis temporibus Pannoniam, ubi modo sunt Ungari, per Tiberium, prevignum) suum, delevit; et Germaniam, que a Pannonia usque ad Renum extenditur, per Tiberum aggressus est cum duodecim legionibus militum, bellans per triennium. Quod bellum preter

Cartaginense Romanis fuit periculosissimum, nam tres legiones Romanorum delete sunt.

Anno 44 post Christi nativitatem imperavit Claudius annis 14. Britannicus intulit bella, quasdam eciam insulas ultra Britanniam in oceano positas Romano subiugavit imperio; qui cum venisset de Britannia, que nunc est Anglia, flante vento venit Slavenburch, ubi scilicet nunc stat Vlaerdinck, quos quidem Slavos eciam Romano subiugavit imperio, non tamen sine gravi suorum periculo.

Quibus ut premittitur subiectis, processit idem ad illam antiquam silvam contiguam Slavenburch, ubi horridos rugitus atque varios diversarum ferarum, leonum, aprorum, boumque silvestrium et aliorum mugitus audivit. Qui cum percepisset silvam illam 9 miliarium in longitudine et trium in latitudine nec transmeabilem fore propter feras silvestres et adhuc ultra silvam habitare Saxones silvestre respondit. Bene dici potest hoc silvestre desertum sine venia ubi pertranseuntes sua non possunt defendere corpora. Audivit enim et credidit seipsum et suos perimendos a bestiis vel ultra desertum a bestialibus hominibus, nam erant hii Saxones et Slavi homines silvestres, hirsuti crine, et robusti corpore.

Anno Domini 67 imperavit Nero qui duos venerabiles senatores ab urbe Romana expulit, videlicet Granum et

II, 25-37

2, 12-24

Anthonium, quorum primus cum populo suo Galliam pertransiens urbem construxit quam Aquisgranum nominavit, [fol. 38] alter vero per Germaniam et Teutonium veniens ad silvestrem Saxoniam nunc scilicet Frisiam, construxit super rivum Reni turrem cum menibus et hanc Anthoniam appellavit, et nunc Traiectum dicitur. Dum hoc autem percepissent Slavi et Wilti, homines scilicet Zuythollandiam inhabitantes, convenientes adversus Anthonium et interfecerunt eius populum eurnque fugaverunt, et sic Wilti ibidem permanentes turrem que dicta fuit Anthonia deinceps Wiltenburch vocaverunt.

Anno Domini 368 Slavi scilicet Hollandrini, Saxones Frisones et Wilti, qui nunc sunt Traiectenses, navibus Renum ascendentes Almaniam favillatenus succenderunt multo sanguine ipsos volentium se opponere in terram miserabiliter effuso. Quod cum Valentinianus imperator percepisset ad eos veniens eorum naves spoliavit et per Renum descendens Wiltenburch devastavit. Qui cum eos Romano subiugasset imperio descendens ad silvestrem Saxoniarum hanc nominavit Frisiam, propter frigiditatem nimiam.

Demum Frisones predicti quamvis Romano imperatori subiecti Christiano tamen principes gentiles habebant et ydolis vanis serviebant per annos 300 usque ad tempus Pupini principis qui fuit primus dux Brabancie et

*Lib. I, II & III*

III, 12-15  
3, 8-10

*Lib. I, VIII*

III, 19-25  
3, 12-27

pater sancte Geertrudi. Interim post Valentiniani imperatoris tempora predicti Slavi et Frisones ac Wilti profecti sunt in multitudine gravi ad Brabanciam, Hanoniam, Flandriam et eciam Franciam qui post multorum perniciem habentes spolia quamplurima reversi sunt ad propria in regionem suam.

Annis 416 post Christi nativitatem transactis Frisones cum rege suo Egisto et fratre eius Horso adiunctis Slavis silvestribus profecti sunt in Angliam expellensque ex ea Brittones et ordinaverunt ibidem reges secundum eorum voluntatem. Quo quidem ibi permanserunt quidam vero reversi sunt.

De huius progenie dicuntur processisse, scilicet regis Egisti, sanctus Willibrordus, Albertus et sanctus Jeron.

Frisones vero cum Slavis ex Anglia reversi nescientes quid manu pretenderent unanimiter declinaverunt ad desertum silvestre sine venia expellendo ab eo animalia silvestria factoque monte in loco quo nunc stat Leydis. Statuerunt inibi castellanum cum multitudine populi ad custodiam deserti.

[fol. 38 v<sup>o</sup>.] Huius castellani multi fuerunt filii, quorum precipuus Lem dictus in dominum de Wiltenburch a Wiltis est electus. Hic Lem dominus scilicet de Wiltenburch genuit filium nomine Dibbout qui factus est rex Frisonum. Hic rex Dibbout ex uxore gigantea habuit multos filios scilicet precipue unum egregium virum nomine Lem qui fuit miles in armis et construxit oppidum vocans illud nomine suo Hairlem vel Heerlems stad.

Ex isto domino Lem ortus est filius nomine Aurindilius, teutonice Ezeloir, quia habuit aures asininas multum longas. Qui fuit vir magnus et longus et habuit uxorem giganteam

*Lib. I, IX*

*Lib. I, IX, 44-47*

*Lib. I, X, 1-10*

*Lib. I, XI, 1-7*

*Lib. I, XII, 1-5*

ex qua genuit multas proles quarum una facta est regina Frisonum.

Iste rex Aurindilius erat dictus teutonice coninck Ezelor et fuit rex Slavorum, hoc est Hollandrinorum nunc nominatorum, et extruxit castrum mire magnitudinis circa villagium Voirburch cui castro non inveniebatur simile in magnitudine, latitudine et altitudine. Hic post longam et diuturnam vitam mortuus est et habebat filium nomine Valc quia ad instar talis avis oculos habebat.

Igitur hic Valck castrum construxit magnum et amplum ad partem aquilonarem silve nominans illud nomine proprio Valckenburch. Verumptamen iste gentes omnes prescripte gentili detinebantur errore, eciam deinceps plus quam per centum annos scilicet ad tempus sancti Willebrordi.

Item tempore sancti Bonifacii archiepiscopi Traiectensis orta est magna discordia inter eundem Bonifacium et Hilgerum archiepiscopum Coloniensem propter castrum et ecclesiam Traiectenses que idem Hilgerus pertinere dicebat ad suam diocesim Coloniensem ratione donationis Dagoberti Francorum regis. Vide laciis de illa discordia in cronica Johannis Beeck. Que quidem discordia vivente sancto Bonifacio nondum est terminata. Post mortem vero

*Lib. I, XII, 6, 12-16,*

*Lib. I, XII, 21-23*

XVII, 6-10  
16, 4-7

*Lib. III, XIV*

*Lib. III, XIV*

Bonifacii pii presulis ecclesia Traiectensis per Danos et Normannos spoliata tam egestuosa facta est ut contra archiepiscopum Coloniensem visitare, curiam Romanam et suum ius pro archiepiscopale benedictione prosequi non valerent. Et sic episcopi Traiectenses paupertate compulsi sunt accipere simplicem benedictionem ab archiepiscopo suo proximiori sicut abbates. Ac longo tempore missam celebraverunt sine infula episcopali usque ad tempora Godewaldi episcopi qui suis Humilibus supplicationibus ab Alexandro III eandem infulam pro se, et suis. Successoribus, episcopis Traiectensibus impetravit. Fuit namque ipse vicesimus quartus episcopus.

[fol. 39.] Anno Domini 909 Adelboldus proconsul Henrici cedaris electus est episcopus Traiectensis. De hinc anno 1017 cometa grandis in modum trabis omni sero longo tempore in Hollandia apparuit. Et eodem anno post Martinum(?) bellum inter episcopum Adelboldum Traiectensem et Theodericum III Hollandie comitem initium et exordium habuit ut lacuis ... in cronicis Joannis Beeck.

Porro hic Adelboldus episcopus conscribi fecit nomina principalium vasallorum ecclesie Traiectensis cum eorum feodalibus bonis ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

De quibus dux Brabancie primus, et habuit in feodum ab ecclesia Traiectense oppidum Tijelense cum suis attinenciis et ipse dicebatur drossatus episcopi.

Secundus vero fuit comes Flandrie et habuit in feodum quattuor oppidula cum suis villagiis prope Gandavum.

Tercius fuit comes Ghelrie et habuit in feodum comitatum Zutphanie et hic dicebatur venator pontificis.

Quartus fuit comes Hollandie et ipse habuit in feodum Zeelandiam et partem Hollandie ac Waterlandiam et dicebatur marscalcus tocius episcopatus.

XVIII, 54-62; 17a, 43-48

*Lib. IV, II, 1-13*

XXXIX, 7-8; 42a, 1-3

*Lib. IX, IIX, 1-3*

XXXIX, 70-98

*Lib. IX, X*



Quintus erat comes Clivie et possidebat iure feudali Wouderichem cum suis comdependenciis et dicebatur camerarius presulis.

Sextus fuit comes de Benthem et ipse fuit iure feudali burchgravius Traiectensis et dicebatur janitor episcopi.

Septimus fuit comes de Kuijck et habuit in feodum multa officia in episcopatu et dicebatur pincerna antistitis.

Octavus fuit comes de Ghoer qui fuit portarius episcopi et habuit more vasallorum quasi omnia bona que possidebat.

Nonus vero et ultimus fuit nobilis dominus sive baro de Arkel et habuit in feodum dominium de Ameijda cum suis attinenciis et dictus est vexillifer antistitis.

Actum anno Domini 1027, V kal, Decembris.

[fol. 39 v<sup>o</sup>.] Anno Domini 1061 occiso Florencio Hollandie comite sexto sub unbra salicis in Hamert Wilhelmus de Pont episcopus Traiectensis impetravit comitatum Hollandie et abbaciam Egmondensem ab Henrico rege Romanorum, nam Theodericus filius eiusdem Florencii erat adhuc minorennis et habuit tutorem Robbartum filium iuniorem comitis Flandrie, maritum scilicet matris sue.

Hic Wilhelmus de Pont episcopus Traiectensis vicesimus primus contulit comitatum Hollandie Godefrido gibboso duci Lotringie iure feudali et rexit Hollandiam quattuor, annis, qui edificavit infra Rijswijck et Ouwerscie quoddam oppidum in quo extraxit castrum fortissimum ad inhabitandum illud, quod Delff nominavit. Obiit autem occisus in Traiecto letaliter sauciatus in Antwerpia anno 1075.

Hic itaque Godefridus dux Lotringie habebat sororem sanctam Ydam nomine que erat matrimonialiter coniuncta Eustachio comiti Bononiensi, cui genuit tres filios, scilicet Godefridum de Bullion, Baldewinumque, reges

XLIII, 9-10  
46, 6,7

XLIV, 1-10  
47a, 1-9

*Lib. XIV, I-II*

*Lib. XIV, III, 1-2*

*Lib. XIV, IV 1-5*

*Lib. XIV, IV, 5-12*

Jherosolimorum et Eustachium. Godefrido gibboso duce defuncto successit ei Godefridus de Bullion, filius sancte Yde, sororis sue, in ducatu Lothringie seu Brabancie, nam Brabancie nomen nondum assumpserant sibi duces illius patrie, sed postea Henricus III scripsit primo se ducem Brabancie circa annum Domini 1251.

Hic Godefridus de Bullion nobilissimus per maternum genus ad Karoli Magni lineam spectabat et reputatur inter novem optimos et meliores unus. Imperatori Henrico IV militavit quondam contra papam Gregorium VII qui prius dicebatur Hildebrandus, et in oppugnando Romam partem muri quem sibi obtigerat primus irrupit. Postea pre nimio labore et nimia siti vinum nimium hauriens febrem quartanam nactus est. Audita autem fama vie Jherosol(o)mitane illuc se iturum vovit si Deus ei pristinam reddiderit sanitatem. Quo voto emisso mox vires eius penitus refluoruerunt.

Is namque inclitus dux votum suum implens et capiens terram sanctam civitatem Jherosolim optinuit feria sexta in festo divisionis apostolorum,[fol. 40] die vero obsidionis 39 anno Domini 1099, fecitque quam plurima bona. Virgo tota vita permansit. Eo autem defuncto frater eius Baldewinus successit ei in Jherosolimorum regno.

Anno Domini 1076 Theodericus filius Florencii supradicti factus est septimus comes Hollandie, nam antea per suos inimicos sua paterna hereditate privatus fuerat.

Hic Theodericus comes fuit avonculus Ludovici regis

A Leydis I, f. 71r, marginalia

*Lib. XIV,IV,12-13*

*Lib. XV,IX, 12-16.*

*Lib. XV,IX*

Francie, filii Phillippi regis, et avonculus Baldewini securis et felicis Karoli martiris et Theoderici comitum Alsatie et Flandrie. Habuit eciam duas sorores, reginas Francie videlicet et Dacie, et quattuor fratres, scilicet Robbertum Frisonem iuniorem comitem Flandrie ex parte matris tamen, ex parte autem patris et matris simul habuit fratres Albertum, Florencium et Petrum, canonicos Leodienses.

Hoc tempore in collegio Sancti Lamberti in Leodio erant corporaliter residentes ut canonici: Karolus, frater Ludovici regis Francie, Henricus, filius regis Anglie, Ogerus, filius regis Dacie, Endo, filius regis Scilie, Limpoldus, filius ducis Austrie, Wenzelaus, filius ducis Bohemie, Nalinus, filius ducis Bavarie, Henricus, filius ducis Saxonie, Gherardus, filius ducis Lotringie, Hugo, Johannes et Eustacius, filii ducis Burgundie, Hermannus, Fredricus et Phillippus, filii ducis Suarie, Godefridus, filius ducis Aurelianensis, Ogerus, Godefridus, Humfridus et Eduwardus, filii ducis de Lancastria, Henricus et Hermannus, filii comitis de Angou, Lambertus, Gherardus et Andreas, filii comitis Ghelrie, Albertus, Florencius et Petrus, filii comitis Florencii Hollandie, Wilhelmus, Bruno et Nicolaus, filii comitis Julie, Ogerus, Gwido et Bruno, filii comitis Lovaniensis, Ganfridus et Parchevalus, filii comitis Flandrie, Paulus, Jacobus et Eustachius, filii comitis de Fojjda, Aoust, filius

*Lib. XV,III,5-10*

A Leydis I, f. 71v, marginalia

*Lib. V,III, 10-25*

comitis de Lamerche, Engoranus, filius comitis Sancti Pauli, Swido, Wilhelmus, filii comitis Namurcensis, Servatius, Ogerus, Baldewinus filii comitis Sabandie, Ludovicus et Brisse, filii comitis de Poitiers, Conrardus filius comitis Blesensis, Adulphus et Arnulphus, filii comitis de Vianden id est Viennensis.

[fol. 40 v<sup>o</sup>.] Anno Domini 1121 ecclesia sancti Petri in Leyden est primo consecrata.

Circa annum Domini 1122 Petronilla comitissa Hollandie, uxor scilicet Florencii crassi et filia Theoderici ducis Saxonie, soror Lotarii imperatoris huius nominis quarti, post mortem mariti sui monasterium puellarum ordinis sancti Benedicti condidit ad honorem beate Virginis Marie et sancti Laurentii in allodio castri sui, quod Reijnsburch appellatur.

Anno Domini 1138 Theodericus huius nominis sextus, nonus Hollandie comes, Jherosolimam peregre proficiscens ac anno sequenti per Ytaliam revertens domini Pape presenciam adiit, ubi sub annuali tributo quattuor solidorum Frisingensium beato Petro tam Egmundense monasterium, quam Reynsburgense optulit que sui primogenitores a fundamentis superedificaverunt et regalibus prediis multum honorifice ditaverunt.

Dominus autem apostolicus Innocencius secundus extunc eadem venerabilia loca cum suis possessionibus, habitis et habendis in proprietatem ecclesie Romane accepit et ea sub speciali libertatis et exemptionis privilegio com. . . . . sub hac que sequitur forma. *Volgt dan een*

A Leydis I, f. 72v, marginalia  
*Lib. XVI, IX, 10-11*

*Lib. XVI, I, 4-5*  
XLVIII 32-4; 51, 27-30

*Lib. XVII, V, 1-4*

LI 81-92; 54d, 1-9

*Lib. XVII, XVI, 1-8*

afschrift van de bul naar het origineel uitgegeven bij Van den Bergh, Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland, I, no. 122.

[fol. 41.] Herdbertus vero, episcopus Traiecterisis, hoc privilegium exemptionis postmodum in anno Domini 1143 confirmavit et insuper fratribus monasterii Egmondensis concessit ut sint in omnibus vol quo emunt vel que vehunt edificiis monasterii vel suis usibus necessaria in civitate Traiectense seu cunctis locis eius ditioni subiectis a theolonaria exactione omnino liberi.

[fol. 41 v<sup>o</sup>.] Circa annum Domini 1165 Fredericus imperator obsedit civitatem Mediolanensem cum multis episcopis, ducibus, comitibus et principibus. Capta autem civitate quidam ditissimus civis Reijnoldum archiepiscopum Coloniensem secreto convenit ut vita sibi incolumis et res se hoc pacto conservarentur ut scilicet idem civis archiepiscopo predicto tres sanctos reges magos ad manus resignaret et quomodo abducerentur nullo civium vel extraneorum sciente consilium daret. Promisit episcopus et suscepit magos.

Igitur quia integri erant, nec facile abduci vel abscondi poterant, hoc consilium inierunt ut factis tribus feretris simularet tres amicissimos suos cognatos peste mortuos et se coniuratum ab eis ut per seipsum reduceret eos ad patriam suam. Divulgata igitur hec fama de cognatis archiepiscopi mortuis in populo, acceptaque imperatoris licencia, equis velocibus atque cursatilibus lecticas trahentibus et aromatibus mirre et thuris aerem circum circa permulcentibus Coloniā pervenit.

Appropinquantibus autem civitati Reijnoldus clericis et civibus omnibus quid afferret intimavit. Tota igitur civitas occurrit cum maximo gaudio et religiosa processione et in medio templi beati Petri apostoli susceptas reliquias immo integros sanctos collocaverunt.

A Leydis I, f. 76v-77r, marginalia

Lib. XVII, XVII, 1-2

A Leydis I, f. 77r, marginalia

A Leydis I, f. 78v, marginalia

(LII, 31-34)

Lib. XVIII, III, 1-20

In quibus hoc mirabile est quod tanta temporis diuturnitate pellis eorum qui consumptis carnibus adherere videretur ossibus eorum non poterat putrefieri. Quorum etiam crines capitis colorem suum pristinum non amiserunt tanta fuit vis balsami et pigmentorum quibus antiquitus condi solebant corpora principum. His itaque completis festinus episcopus Mediolanum ad imperatorem rediit.

Anno Domini 1188 decreto Alexandri Romani pontificis et edicto gloriosi principis cesaris Fredrici inestimabilis exercitus Christiane professionis cruce signatus est apud Maguntiam ab Henrico legato sedis apostolice pro recuperatione sancte civitatis Jherosolim que tradicionem Hugonis comitis de Tripolis per soldanum Babilonie expugnata est.

Cuius innumerabilis exercitus capitanei principes erant: Fredricus Romanorum imperator, Phillipus rex Francie, Richardus rex Anglie, Fredricus [fol. 42] dux Zwevie, Conrardus dux Austrie, Henricus dux Brabancie, dux Saxonie, dux Bavarie, Florencius comes Hollandie, Theodericus comes Clivie, Phillipus comes Flandrie, Otto comes Ghelrie cum aliis magnatibus multis et proceribus infinitis.

Imperator ergo monitionibus eversis Damiatam urbem pulcherrimam atque fortissimam terre Egipti circumobedit ad quam subvertendam multa tormentorum genera diversis ingeniis adaptavit. Sed hoc minime profuit presertim cum et eadem urbs humanis quasi viribus fuit inexpugnabilis et ex omni parte preterquam ad portum inaccessibilis.

LV 43-48  
58b; 1-5  
*Lib. XVIII, XX, 1-4*  
A Leydis I, f. 80v

LV, 50-54  
58b; 7-10  
*XVIII, XX, 4-10*

A Leydis I f. 80v-81r

(LV 78-79  
58b, 32-33)

Ab utraque parte maritimi portus castra proicere celsitudinis prominebant que cunctis navigantibus introeundi securum aditum denegabant. Turres etenim alterutrum ex adverso cum vectibus eneis et cathenis ferreis subter aquam latentibus combinabantur ita quod civitatenses nec assaultum urbis nec hostiles incursiones aliquomodo verebantur.

Interea Wilhelmus de Hollandia, filius prefati Florencii comitis Hollandie minor natu, cum Hairlemensibus federatus est qui coaptata nova classe patrem suum ad terram sanctam cum Hairlemensibus precipue ac aliis militibus electissimis assecutus est.

Intelligens autem idem Wilhelmus situm et statum urbis Damiatensis ex consilio Hairlemensium fecit in modum sarre navi sue dorsum ferreum expectans ad tempus ventum sibi prosperum; demum adoptato flante vento prefatus Wilhelmus ratem aptavit, vela tetendit et portum expetivit. Et ecce, mole navis itaque velificantis et a cacumine sarre corrodentis vectes enee disrupte sunt et cathene ferree dissolute sunt, ita quod Damiatensis urbis patefactus sic est aditus et Christianorum navalis intromissus est exercitus.

Fredricus autem imperator intelligens quod tam eximiam urbem per industriam Wilhelmi de Hollandia adiutorio Hairlemensium captivassent ac inestimabiles opes in eadem invenissent ex imperiali munificencia largitus est principibus Hollandie sub vexillo cesaris habere propugnatorium. Ac eciam ipsum Wilhelmum militem ordinavit. Insuper tribuit Hairlemensibus in vexillo rutilo argentei coloris deferre gladium. Patriarcha vero Jherosolimitanus con-

*Lib. XVIII, XX, 20-39*

A Leydis I f. 80v-81r

*Lib. XVIII, XX, 41-48*

donat [fol. 42 v<sup>o</sup>.] eciam ipsis deferendum triumphale signum crucis eiusdem coloris, et quattuor precipui cardinales eisdem addiderunt quattuor stellas adhuc eiusdem coloris eo quod tantam honorificenciam consecuti sunt in terra promissionis.

Anno Domini 1234 Henricus dux Brabancie, Florencius IV, 13<sup>us</sup> comes Hollandi, Theodericus comes Clivie et Wilhelmus dominus de Egmunda iussu domini Gregorii pape noni terram Stadinge, Bremensis dyocesis, cum viris, mulieribus et parvulis omnino depopulatus est pro eo quod idem populus expulsis sacerdotibus et clericis ad prophanam ydolatrie sectam est reversus, in quo quidem conflictu idem d(ominus) de Egmunda occisus corruit.

Huius igitur certaminis causam et occasionem breviter proponimus tangere, et quare predicti principes hanc terram invaserant explicare. Noveritis itaque mulierem quandam nobilem et in dicta patria cuiusdam militis uxorem in die sancte Pasche oblationem denarii ad manum sacerdotis facere qui contra eam propter denarii insufficientiam stulte non timuit murmurare. Completo autem ex more officio dicta mulier cum ceteris ad communicandum progreditur, cui a sacerdote stultissimo non oblata dominici corporis hostia sed denarius per ipsam oblatus presentatur, qui clausis ab ipsa oculis cum summa devocione suscipitur, quoniam vera suscipi eucharistia credebatur. Illa vero masticare incipiens et in masticando duriciam senciens dolore tangitur, mente confunditur, metuens culpae propriis causam existere quare

LXV, 18-24; 69a, 16-20

*Lib. XXII, XIV, 38-48*

A Leydis I, f. 94r, marginalia



susceptam a sacerdote substantiam non poterit deglutire. Hec itaque clauso ore ab ecclesia subito recedens nec non cum festinatione ad hospitium veniens lintheum mundissimum accepit et in illud quod susceperat apertis labiis reclinavit. Que mox viso denario magis timuit quam in pascali gratia proficere desperavit. Huius igitur tristitia pullulante et coloris facie mutante (difficile enim quod corde geritur vultu non cernitur) ecce, vir nobilis dicte videlicet mulieris coniugatus proprie domui aderat quo faciem sue coniugis mutatam solito percunctabat unde et ipsam severius studet inspicere et causam tristicie inquisivit cuius petitionem variis negationibus nititur flectere et vultus imaginem excusare. Porro prefata militis matrona contra virum excusationibus declinante ipsoque questionem questionibus cumulante ipsa ad confessionem compellitur dictusque tenor coram marito per singula denodatur. Qui audito negocio sepe dictam iubet refici et doloris materiam a mentis sue terminis elongare. Et quoniam dictus presbiter in eius ecclesia erat vicarius sibi que extitit [fol. 43] prelatus, dictus miles maiorem suum studet allicere et in eius presencia dicti negligenciam accusare. Quorum uterque non ad emendationem humiliter flectitur sed verbis minus decentibus contumaciter elevatur. Quapropter dicti militis iracundia magis accenditur, ad amicos procedit quorum consilio dictus presbiter suffocatur. Quo facto dictus miles ab ecclesia ad emendationem impetitur, excommunicationi subditur et hec omnia ab ipso amicorum suorum consilio diridentur, prefato itaque milite anno et amplius in damnationis sententia perdurante totaque illius patria ipsum in stulticia confortante. Tandem provincia illa ad tantam pervenit demenciam ut hereticam pravitatem sumeret et, proch dolor, unusquisque in prefata terra neptem,

A Leydis I, f. 94r-94v, marginalia

*Lib. XXII, XIV, 1-38*

alius, quod peius est, sororem propriam vel ipsam genetricem in matrimonium duceret. Insuper eciam, quod nephas est, homines predicti non utentes ratione reversi sunt ad ydola vana, surda et muta, perpetrantes ydolatriam, peccantesque cum diis alienis. Et parura curabant de mandatis summi pontificis et imperatoris. Miserat enim ad eos dominus apostolicus legatum cum multis sacerdotibus virisque honestis pro eorum conversione, sed illi pertinaciam in maliciis ostendentes apprehenderunt eos et contumeliis affectos occiderant. Igitur dicte transgressiones domino apostolico Gregorio scilicet nono rescribuntur, a quo ad Bremensis episcopi instanciam, qui eciam personaliter aderat, omnibus dicti militis patriam infestantibus transmarina indulgentia tribuitur crucisque ignominia contra illam publice patitur sic itaque a dictis principibus ad sepedictam terram manu armata tenditur que per ipsos licet non gratis in maiori parte destrui perhibetur.

Anno 1267, XI kal. Januarii, nobilis Machteldis, filia Henrici primi ducis Brabancie, uxor Florencii comitis Hollandie, mater Wilhelmi regia Romanorum, Florencii presidis, Adelheidis comitisse Hannonie et Margarete comitisse, uxoris Hermanni comitis de Hennenberch, migravit a seculo, tumulata apud puellas cistercienses Lousdunensis monasterii, quod ipsa construxit et abiectis prediis honorifice consummavit.

Hec Machteldis comitissa Hollandie fuit matertara sancte Elizabeth, filie regis Ungarie, uxorisque lantgravii Thuringie, que quidem sancta Elizabeth habuit quandam ymaginem beate Marie Virginis in maxima reverencia et devocione. Igitur beata Elizabeth ab hoc seculo migrante

LXIII, 3-6 & LXV, 92-94;  
66a, 2-4 & 69b, 58-61

*(Lib. XXIV, IV)*

A Leydis I, f. 95r, marginalia

legavit eandem ymaginem Machteldi comitisse Hollandie, matertere sue, que detulit predictam ymaginem ecclesie parochiali in 's Gravezande, ubi propter presenciam eiusdem ymagnis omnipotens Deus totidie varia operatur miracula.

Margareta comitissa de Hennenberch, filia comitis Hollandie prenominata, per Dei gratiam una vice peperit in die parasceues trecentos LXV pueros quos omnes episcopus [fol. 43 v<sup>o</sup>.] manu propria in pelvibus baptizavit, qui statim baptismo suscepto omnes mortui sunt<sup>4</sup>). Obiit autem hec comitissa circa annum Domini 1277, sepulta cum omnibus prolibus prefatis in monasterio monialium Lousdunense, quod eius mater comitissa Hollandie fundaverat, ut prefatur .

Anno Domini 1249 fratres beate Virginis de monte Carmeli receperunt in Hollandia suum conventum in civitate de Hairlem et hoc per donationem illustris domini de Hairlem.

Anno Domini 1262, ipso die sancte Agnetis, venerunt ad Hollandiam, ad locum qui vulgo Lee dicebatur prope Noertwijck, sed nunc Lewenhorst dicitur, duodecim moniales, quas adduxerat dominus Arnoldus persona de Hairlem ad construendum monasterium de ordine Cisterciense, de Valle sancte Marie prope Traiectum. Post hoc, anno Domini 1272, obiit idem dominus Arnoldus et tertio anno post eius obitum incorporatus est dictus locus

*Lib. XXIV, XI,*

A Leydis I, f. 108v, marginalia

*Lib. XXIV, III, 1-7*

sacro ordini Cisterciensi et abbati Campensi ad visitandum perpetue commissus.

Anno Domini 1279, in die sancti Greorgii, quasi tota civitas Traiectensis combusta est unde ecclesie sanctorum Johannis, Petri, Buerkerck, fratrum minorum et sancte Katherine totaliter sunt ignibus consumpte.

Circa annum Domini 1300 extitit quidam Nicolaus, minimis parentibus apud villam que Sparnewou dicitur prope Hairlem est procreatus. Cuius magnitudo comparationem non suscipit. Sub extento namque ipsius brachio maximus hominum illius temporis se divertit. Poterant etiam, si membrorum queratur species, sub privato ipsius calcio maiorum hominum quattuor pedes latitare. Scholares etiam, a scholis venientes vel ad scholas euntes, ipsum a dorso aspiciebant, nam ante oculos eius accedere multum formidabant. Tamen idem Nicolaus non malignus fuerat, sed valde benignus, mitis et patiens. Si isti Nicolao secundum eius quantitatem vires fuissent inimicorum acies solius eius utique presencia formidassent.

Anno Domini 1313 Imperator Henricus a penitenciaro suo, fratre Barnardo ordinis Predicatorum, intoxicatur et moritur, veneno immisso in calice. Vide latius compendium cronicarum de eo in ecclesia sancte Catherine ante castrum Egmondense.

Anno Domini 1315 ecclesia sancti Pancracij Leydensis consecratur, dominica ante Nativitatis gloriose Virginis Marie.

[fol. 44 r<sup>o</sup>.] Anno Domini 1316 venerabilis dominus .Jacobus, Zudensis episcopus, commendator domus sancti

LXX 141-444  
*Lib. XXIV, XII, 20-23*

A Leydis I, f. 114v, marginalia

*Lib. XXV, XIII, 1-10*

(LXXXVI, 120-121)  
*(Lib. XXVII, VIII)*

*Lib. XXVII, VII, 8-10*

Johannis in Traiecto, regalem aulam apud Hairlem fabricavit.

Anno vero sequenti predictus Jacobus eodem loco in Hairlem decoratam ecclesiam ornato ambitu fabricari fecit et in sequenti anno perficitur. Quo loco Deus cum sanctissima Virgine, nec non sanctissimo precursore per militem piissimum Theodericum, videlicet dominum de Bredenrode, oblatione calicis purissimi auri veneratur.

Anno Domini 1319 informatione diaboli cuius invidia mors orbem intravit infectio Johannis pape a quibusdam Minorum ordinis proponitur quorum ars nequissima nec non occultissima brevi carmine peroratur.

Sciendum itaque quod dicti minores crucifixi ymaginem auro gemmisque contextam pulcherrime fecerunt fieri et illam a suis fratribus apostolico domino presentari. Que crux per papam benigne recipitur et dictis fratribus recedentibus explicatur. Interea papa suis astantibus magna cordis devotione ob dominicam passionem compungitur et ad pedum oscula dicte ymaginis incurvatur. Quod cum a sibi astante non patitur, et investigandi species requiritur: canis apponitur ariesque iungitur, qui mox in summi pontificis presencia veneno discernuntur. Quod cum dominus papa (gaudens de sua evasione) aspexisset (fratrum nichilominus traditione dolens) suosque consuleret, nuncii mittuntur quorum quattuor fugientibus tutaque petentibus solum duo reperti ad locum ymaginis adducuntur et humiliari compelluntur ad pedum oscula quibus osculatis repentine ut supra canis et aries moriuntur.

Anno Domini 1347 in die sancti Odulphi fuit civitas Harlemensis quasi totaliter combusta, sic quod parum remansit illesum ab ignis incendio.

Anno Domini 1351, in profesto divisionis Apostolorum, dimidia pars et ultra civitatis Hairlemensis ab incendio concrematur.

*Lib. XXVII, IV, 15-21*

A Leydis I, f. 122v, marginalia

*Lib. XXIX, VI, 1-3*

A Leydis I, f. 133r, marginalia

A Leydis I, f. 137r, marginalia

*Lib. XXX, I, 18-20*

Circa annum Domini 1356 Wilhelmus de Bavaria, cognomento bonus, comes Hollandie, incorporavit eidem comitatu Hollandie oppidum Huesden cum suo castro, quod taliter evenisse dinoscitur. Antiquis enim temporibus dominus de Huesden tenebat iure feudali dominium predictum a comite Clivensi, sicut et quamplura alia dominia in terra Zuythollandie recipiebantur eodem iure a prefato comite. Accidit ergo una dierum pro eo quod iam dictum, dominium situatum erat circa fines Brabantinorum ut lites orirentur inter ducem Brabantie [fol. 44 v<sup>o</sup>.] et dominum de Huesden. Propter istud ergo litigium et alias difficiles causas emergentes orie sunt inimicitie inter eosdem principes unde et bellum subsecutum fuit. Dominus igitur de Hoesden audacter se opponens duci Brabantie petiit auxilium et subsidium a comite Clivensi domino suo. Sed quia idem comes in remotis partibus consistebat ideo non commode valuit ferre auxilium vasallo suo. Ea propter predictus dominus de Huesden necessitate, compulsus optulit atque donavit dominium de Huesdem Wilhelmo bono, comiti Hollandie, pro eo quod vicinus suus erat et eum contra ducem Brabantinorum adjuvare poterat. Accipiensque iterum dominium prenarratum feudali iure de manu Wilhelmi boni, comitis Hollandie, auxilio iam fati comitis restitit fortiter duci Brabantie unde et pax firmata est inter predictos principes. Tandem dominus de Huesden obiit sine liberis quamobrem dominium de Huesden devolutum est ad sororem suam comitissam de Sasbergen ipsaque petiit homagium ab oppidanis de Huesden. Rectores autem predicti oppidi respuentes Hollandiam et etiam comitissam de Sasbergen perduxerunt Huesden sub ditione ducis Brabantie eo quod magis erant inclinati ad Brabantiam quam ad Hollandiam. Demum

A Leydis I, f. 139v-140r, marginalia

comes de Sasbergen maritus sororis domini de Huesden defuncti vendidit dominium de Huesden pro quadam summa pecunie Wilhelmo bono, comiti Hollandie, atque dedit ei totum ius quod sibi et uxori sue devolutum fuerat per mortem domini de Huesden.

Sed antequam idem Wilhelmus bonus, comes Hollandie, sepredictum dominium de Huesden vendicaverat sue potestati obiit. Et Wilhelmus filius eius sibi succedens in comitatum Hollandie habens filiam ducis Brabantie in uxorem aliisque multis negotiis implicatus etiam adhuc permisit dominium de Huesden manere sub potestate ducis Brabantie. Hic occisus prope Stauriam sine liberis anno

....

Sed nunc anno Domini 1356 gubernante duce Wilhelmo de Bavaria Hollandiam, Ludovicus comes Flandrie contentionem gravem cum duce Brabantie habuit. Quapropter idem comes Flandrie cum infinitis bellatoribus intravit Brabantiam atque potenter obsedit oppidum Bruxellense, quod tandem armata manu optinuit atque intravit. Interea dux Brabantie quesivit amicitiam ducis Wilhelmi de Bavaria, comitis Hollandie, et petiit ab eo ut amicitiam et concordiam inter se et comitem Flandrie reformaret. Wilhelmus dux igitur recusavit acceptare onus predictum nisi prius sibi redderetur ab eodem duce Brabantie dominium de Huesden quod usque in illam diem dux Brabantie iniuste possederat. Igitur dux Brabantie omnia ista consensit et anno sequenti facta est concordia inter Ludovicum comitem Flandrie prefatum et Brabantinos [fol. 45 r<sup>o</sup>]. Cui Ludovico ad tempus tantum determinatum in compositione pacis per duces Wilhelmum de Bavaria et alios principes attributa fuit Antwerpia cum suis dependenciis et comes Hollandie hoc est et dux Wilhelmus predictus attribuit sibi ipsi de consensu ducis Brabantie et predictorum principum pro expressione pacis

A Leydis I, f. 140r, marginalia

*(Lib. XXX, XVI)*

composite oppidum cum castro de Huesden. Et sic Huesden de cetero permansit ad comitatum Hollandie.

Anno Domini 1365 celebrata est prima dedicatio ecclesie beate Marie in Leyden, Dominica prima scilicet post Assumptionis Marie.

Anno Domini 1366 fundatum est collegium apud sanctum Pancratium in oppido Leydensi cooperante et adiuvante quodam venerabili et litterato viro Philippo Leydensi in quo quidem collegio ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis et beati Pancratii prebendati sunt viginti quattuor canonici.

Huius collegii primus prepositus fuit dominus Gysbertus de Walenborch qui obiit anno Domini 1387.

Collegii sancti Pancratii fundatores fuerunt dominus Gysbertus de Walenborch, pastor de Leyderdorp, primus prepositus, Phillippus de Leydis, doctor, dominus Volperdus de Wouda, dominus Nicolaus de Bleeswijck, dominus Hugo van der Hant, dominus Phillippus Gherardi, dominus Rutgerus de Poel, dominus Gherardus Jacobi, dominus Wilhelmus Heerman, dominus Petrus Huesch, dominus Hugo curatus in Scoerl, dominus Johannes Wilhelmi, dominus Francko Zefridi, dominus Johannes Goeth, dominus Theodericus Robberti, dominus Francko Gherardi, sacerdotes, Wilhelmus de Naeltdijck, marscalcus Hollandie, Johannes Arnoldi, Wilhelmus Wilhelmi, Michael Gherardi, Theodericus Tierloet, Katherina Gherardi.

Anno Domini 1368 Albertus dux Bavarie ad perhennem laudis sue memoriam fundavit collegium in capella curie Hagensis in quo largiflui prebendati sunt tredecim canonici, qui ibi iugiter Deo devote servirent et pro anima domini de Angia per eundem decollati anno 66° in Kaynout pro eo quod ut ipse dux asseruit ipse dominus de Angia instrumenta et scalas preparaverat in castro suo ad capienda castra ipsius ducis Alberti. Post cuius necem tumultus ingens in Hannonia exortus est. Quia idem dominus de Angia reliquit post se sex fratres animosissimos qui in tantum elaboraverunt [fol. 45 v<sup>o</sup>.] cum Ludovico de Malen, comite Flandrie, qui perduxerunt

A Leydis I, f. 142r, marginalia  
*Lib. XXXI, XIII, 1-3*

LXXXVI, 22-24

A Leydis I, f. 142r, marginalia  
*Lib. XXXI, XV, 1-13*

LXXXVI, 31-33

*Lib. XXXI, XVI, 14-17*

*Lib. XXXI, XVI*



ipsum ducem Albertum ad hoc ut pro occisione domini de Angia iniit cum ipsis pacis compositionem et fuit expressum in compositione quod dux Albertus fundaret collegium ut dictum est, quod et fecit.

Anno Domini 1368 mortifera pestis in tantum inhorruit quod in civitate Traiectensi mortui sunt<sup>1</sup>) undecies mille homines.

Anno Domini 70 in die beate Marie Virginia Nativitatis Imperator Wenzelaus, filius Regis Bohemie, duxit in uxorem filiam Alberti, ducis Bavarie et vicecomitis Hollandie, etc., nomine Johannam; huius regine fratres et sorores fuerunt Wilhelmus comes Hollandie, Albertus dominus de Strubingen, Johannes episcopus Leodiensis, Margareta ducissa Burgundie et Johanna archiducissa Austrie, procreati omnes ex Margareta, filia ducis de Briga, qui ducatus consistit propre Polonos.

Johannes dux Burgundie qui habuit in uxorem Margaretham, filiam dicti ducis Alberti de Bavaria, genuit ex ea octo proles videlicet seniore, que fuit comitissa de Rutzemont, 2<sup>a</sup> fuit regina Cecilie, 3<sup>a</sup> ducissa Bethfordie, 4<sup>a</sup> comitissa de Peutener, 5<sup>a</sup> ducissa Olivensis, Maria nomine, 6<sup>a</sup> Agnes ducissa Borbonie. Una puella virgo que obiit iuvenis et Phillippus ille magnus dux Burgundie, qui postmodum effectus est comes Hollandie, etc.

Anno Domini 1378 accidit in civitate Traiectensi

LXXXVI, 51-52

*Lib. XXXI, XVII, 16-17*

A Leydis I, f. 142v, marginalia

quod circa festum Translacionis Sancti Martini natus est puer masculus, qui perfecte loquebatur nondum etatis quadraginta dierum, dicens una vice: Aperite ianuam, pater meus adest, et alia plura. Nichil tamen dixit relatione dignum et vicinis notum forte quia parentes noluerunt eius verba publicare. Ex hiis parentes mirabantur et rogaverunt quendam sacerdotem devotum ut secrete veniret et puerum coniuraret. Qui missam celebravit, qua finita, in sacris ornamentis permansit, desuper toga coopertus ne sacra viderentur vestimenta, ad puerum ingressus, ipsum multis coniurationibus et orationibus adiuravit qui nichil ei respondit. Tandem proprio motu puer vertebat caput suum inspiciens sacerdotem visu horribili quo [fol. 46 r<sup>o</sup>.] ipsum multum terruit. Sacerdos videns se nichil proficere coniurationibus nec orationibus recessit ad propria. Hec ille sacerdos multis retulit. Vixit autem puer ille ab hoc anno usque annum 93 et si supervixit plures annos nescio.

Anno Domini 1382 consummatur et perficitur turris Sancti Martini in Traiecto sub Florencio de Wedelichoven, episcopo Traiectensi, que fuit incepta temporibus Fredrici de Zirck, episcopi Traiectensis, scilicet anno 1320.

Anno Domini 1392 in die sancte Petronille in ultima maii ponitur fundamentum monasterii Carthusiensis prope Traiectum per domicellum de Graesbeeck.

Anno sequenti initium habuerint monasteria Carthusiensia prope Amsterdam et Regularium prope Hoern, dictum Blocker.

Anno Domini 1392 erat in civitate Traiectensi quidam sacerdos de ordine fratrum minorum qui dicebat se esse episcopum, quod falsum tamen erat, cuius nomen erat frater Jacobus Juliacensis quia de Juliaco fuit oriundus.

A Leydis I, f. 145r, marginalia

LXXXVII, 285-301 (in Latin in Dutch Beke)

§7, 1-11

*Lib. XXXI, XXX, 8-21*

LXXXVIII, 149-151; V §15, 9-11

*Lib. XXXI, XLII, 7-9*

A Leydis I, f. 146r, marginalia

LXXXIX, 19-21

*Lib. XXXI, XLV, 28-30*

Florencius de Wedelichoven autem Traiectensis episcopus acceptaverat hunc fratrem Jacobum pro suo suffraganeo, quapropter et idem Jacobus sepius temporibus congruis celebravit ordines et ordinavit seu consecravit in eodem episcopatu clericos, accolitos, subdiaconos, dyaconos et presbiteros. Etiam et altaria ac ecclesias multas consecravit et dedicavit. Quibus sic miserabiliter peractis tandem Deo disponente manifestatur eius malitia quia bulle ipsius invente sunt false omnibusque manifestatum est ipsum esse episcopum fictum. Quapropter quidam sacerdotum et clericorum ab eodem ordinati acceperunt uxores permanentes in habitu seculari. Ceteri vero de novo ab aliis episcopis sunt ordinati. Florencius autem Traiectensis episcopus istum sceleratum in vinculis ponens de consilio summi pontificis fecit in Traiecto congregationem septem episcoporum in quorum presentia eduxit de carcere Jacobum prenarratum indutum vesti- [fol. 46 v<sup>o</sup>.] mentis sacerdotalibus statuens eundem in medio ipsorum, qui passim spoliaverunt eum primo exuentes casulam deinde stolam manipolam et cingulum et sic consequenter albam et amictum. Quibus sic peractis abraserunt crines de capite eius insuper etiam cum fragmentis vitri abraserunt pellem de eius corporis parte ubi aliquando appositum fuerat sacrum eucharistie. Hiis itaque gestis reinduerunt eum vestimentum vareii coloris et sic tradiderunt eum curie seculari hoc est sculteto et scabinis civitatis Traiectensis. Qui accipientes predictum Jacobum statuerunt eum in iudicio seculari et deputantes eum morti sententiatus est ad cacabum et sic positus est in balneo sed nondum bullienti. Sed quia lacrimabiliter petebat misericordiam et gratiam ideo moti misericordia super eum acceperunt ab huic et decollaverunt

LXXXVIII, 172-192  
V §16, 1-22

*(Lib. XXXI, XLIII)*

eum. Et Florencius episcopus dedit licentiam ut sepeliretur in quodam cimiterio quamobrem sepultus est in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis sancti Jacobi Traiectensis.

Temporibus ducis Alberti de Bavaria, comitis Hollandie, validissima ventorum intemperies inhorruit in qua quidem tempestate per maris violentiam quedam mulier indomita ex longinquis partibus propulsa est ad latitudinem australis maris infra oppidum Campen et Edam, que natando venit Purmer ije, ad congregationem aquarum que vulgariter appellatur Purmermeer; in prenominatam ergo aquam natando perseveravit dormiendo vigilandoque insuper et victum ex aquarum profundo sibi acquisivit. Erat enim nuda vestimentis, nichilominus tamen corpus eius tegebatur ex materia aquatica sibi adherente. Perseveravit nempe natando ibidem per dies multos quia unde exiret nescivit pro eo quod agger novus breviter post eius ingressum fundatus fuerat per Purmer ije ubi intraverat. Deinde accidit ut puelle Edammensis oppidi cum naviculis pergentes per eandem aquam ad vicina prata pro lacte vaccarum cernerent prefatam mulierem ibidem natantem, unde et admiratione nimia replete obstupuerunt. Tandem ex consueta visione minus formidantes habuerunt [fol. 47 r<sup>o</sup>.] predictae puelle colloquia ad invicem et consilium inientes extraxerunt eam vi ex aquis et sic navigio perducta<sup>s</sup>) est ad oppidum Edammense. Loquelam autem eius nemo novit nec intellexit sed nec ipsa intellexit nostram ydioma. Mundata quippe est a maris sordibus et vestimenta muliebria induta nostroque cibo utebatur, semper tamen ad aquas redire desiderans sed propter eam custodientes nequivit. Magnus igitur concursus fit in Edam ex remotis locis propter prefatam mulierem cernendam unde et fama eius pervenit usque Hairlem. Tunc Harlemenses accedentes propter rei novitatem pecierunt ab Edammen-

A Leydis I, f. 148v, marginalia

*Lib. XXXI, LXII, 1-26*

sibus illam mulierem sibi dari, quod et factum est. Ab Edam ergo perducta est Hairlem ubi et nere didicit et ad tempus plurimum annorum supervixit. Tandem mortua sepelitur in eodem civitate. Igitur nostris temporibus fuerunt in Hairlem probi viri et fide digni qui dixerunt se eam multociens vidisse quare presentibus dignum duxi annotari.

Anno Domini 1411 Johannes de Wouda miles et dominus de Warmonda fundavit monasterium ordinis Cisterciensium apud Warmondam.

Anno Domini 1407 in festo sancti Clementis martiris Johannes dux Burgundie interfecit Parisiis ducem Aurelianensem fratrem regis Francie.

Anno igitur<sup>1)</sup> Domini 1409 Wilhelmus dux de Bavaria cum debita honorificentia profectus ad Franciam atque omnem belli tumultum inter regem Francie et Johannem ducem Burgundie sue sororis maritum sapienter interceptit occasionem quod ducis Aurelianensis fratris regis quam dictus Johannes dux Burgondie perpetraverat pacificavit et ordinavit inter utramque partem amicitiam, sed indurabilem quia immediate postquam idem dux Johannes curiam regis Francie exierat rex rumpens pactum Johannes ducem occidet.

Quo occiso Phillippus magnus filius eius factus est pro eo dux Burgundie qui dolosam sui patris occisionem ulcisci desiderans regnum Francie multis vicibuscum armatorum copiis crudeliter invasit [fol. 47 v<sup>o</sup>.], villas exussit ac

*Lib. XXXII, XIII, 12-13*

A Leydis I, f. 151r, marginalia

*Lib. XXXII, IX, 1-3*

*(Lib. XXXII, XII)*

terram Francie ex magna parte devastavit, nam oppida, vicos et pagos bellicosa manu capiens desolatos dereliquit.

Anno Domini 1415 Phillippus dux Burgundie iniit cum Henrico rege Anglie validam conspirationem adversus regem Francie predictum qui pariter cum innumerabili exercitu intraverunt Franciam. Econtra vero rex Francie infinite multitudinis exercitum congregavit cum quo adversariis armipotenter occurrit et commiserunt prelium cruentissimum ipso die sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani, cecideruntque ibidem interfecti gladio principes ac nobiles absque numero et estimacione, de quibus ex parte regis Francie hii fuerunt principales: Anthonius dux Brabancie, Philippus comes de Nyvers, fratres Johannis ducis Burgondie, dux de Baer, dux de Halentzon, dominus de Baer, dominus Johannes de Borbonia, dominus de Weveryn cum filio suo, dominus de Ameye, dominus Engbertus de Angia, dominus de Lyckercke cum fratribus suis, senescallus Hannonie, dominus de Crouwy, dominus de Ronck, dominus Anthonius de Cranvordia, prepositus Parisiensis, Rolandus de Gruythusen, dominus de Rasen.

Captivi vero deducti sunt multi probi viri cum plerisque nobilibus et principibus, videlicet dux Aurelianensis, cum duobus fratribus eius, filii Ludovici ducis Aurelianensis quondam occisi a Johanne duce Burgondie, dux Borbonio, comes de Wandome pro tunc supremus magister curie regis Francie, comes de Engholesme, comes de Oen, comes de Rutzemont, marscalcus de Borstont, dominus Ludovicus de Ghistel, dominus de Lingen cum filio suo, dominus de Helgikaer, dominus de Zavengie, dominus Hugo de Lannten cum fratre suo, dominus de Brunon cum multis aliis armigeris laude dignis quorum nomina longum esset enarrare.

Henricus autem rex Anglie optenta victoria misit captivos principes ad Angliam.

Eodem eciam anno in die sancte Catherine captivatur apud Arpenbrugge Johannes domicellus de Arckel per

(§24, 15-16, 24)

(*Lib. XXXII, XX*)

dominum de Sevenbergen et Theodericum de Marwen ac Philippum de Leoke et presentatur duci Wilhelmo qui iussit [fol. 48 r<sup>o</sup>.] eum poni in firma custodia, in qua permansit captivus ad obitum ipsius ducis Wilhelmi prefati.

Anno Domini 1416 Sigismundus gloriosus imperator Romanorum cum Wilhelmo duce de Bavaria transfetavit ad Angliam ut componeret pacem de bellis habitis inter reges Francie et Anglie. Rex autem Anglie induratus non potuit perduci ad pacis unionem cui tunc Wilhelmus dux fertur dixisse: Si tu de cetero ausus fueris movere bellum contra regem Francie videbis vexillum meum stare contra te. Quibus dictis imperator Sigismundus cum duce Wilhelmo reversus est ad Germaniam ubi et comitem Clivensem nobilitavit et ordinavit atque solemniter creavit eum ducem sue patrie.

Anno Domini 1417 2<sup>a</sup> feria post penthecostes obiit Wilhelmus dux Bavarie comes Hannonie, Hollandie etc. sepultus in Kaynout provincie Hannonie, prefuit hic illustris dominus annis 13.

Habuit nempe iste dux Wilhelmus filium bastardum nomine Everardum militem egregium, qui fuit primus dominus de Hogentwouda, qui edificavit in eodem dominio habitationem satis bonam. Hic dominus Everardus genuit ex nobili uxore sua, scilicet filia Florencii domini de Kyfhoeck, Anthonium sibi succedentem, dominum de Hoechtwouda qui duxit in uxorem Sophiam filiam Johannis de Poelgeest, de qua genuit Baldewinum<sup>7</sup>), Wilhelmum, Gherardum, Cornelium, Everardum monachum Egmondensem et Juttam sanctimoniam in Poel.

[fol. 48 v<sup>o</sup>.] Porro temporibus huius predicti ducis

*(Lib. XXXII, XXII)*

*(Lib. XXXII, XXIII)*

§24

§26, 81-84, 92

*Lib. XXXII, XXVII*

*(Lib. XXXII, IX)*

Wilhelmi claruit in Hollandia quidam vir famosus Wilhelmus Eggert vocabulo dictus qui magnus in conspectu predicti principis extitit, nam per eundem ducem thesaurarius tocius Hollandie est ordinatus. Hic ut memoriam sui nominis in terra post se relinqueret, coadunavit omnes villanos in fine ville Purmerlant circa aquam, vocatam vulgariter die Weer, in unum cuneum edificatque ibi castrum forte et extunc illud oppidulum cum suo castro appellavit Purmeryndt, cuius dominium pro se et sua posteritate a duce Wilhelmo optinuit sicque iste fuit primus dominus de Purmeryndt absque tamen militari ordine.

Is igitur Wilhelmus Eggert cum audisset mortem ducis Wilhelmi carissimi domini sui doluit vehementer nimis, unde et infra biduum et ipse obiit in castro suo quod sibi edificaverat. Reliquit autem post se Johannem Eggert filium suum et Aleydim filiam suam quam accepit uxorem Gherardus de Zijl miles. Itaque Johannes Eggert considerans quod pax in parva vigore per totam Hollandiam constituenda foret propter obitum ducis Wilhelmi vendidit patrimonia patris sui personis diversis, dominium vero de Purmerynd cum Nech, Ylpendam et Purmerlant vendidit Gherardo de Zijl militi predicto sc. socero suo. Assumptisque pecuniis declinavit ad Flandriam et venit Gandavum ibique suam habitationem constituit cum tota sua posteritate. Fundavit nempe iste Johannes Eggert monasterium canonicorum regularium prope Oudenaerden, oppidum Flandrie, et monasterium monialium eiusdem ordinis in Gandavo.

Cum autem Gherardus de Zijl miles dominium de Purmerynde postaliquorum annorum curricula possedisset tandem illud vendidit Johanni burchgravio de de Montfoord.

A Leydis I, f. 151v, marginalia

*Lib. XXXII, XXX*



Anno Domini 1420 vel circiter Phillippus burchgravius Leydensis dominus de Wassenaer deposuit dignitatem burchgraviatus Leydensis nomine et re, quia sibi non retinuit in civitate Leydensi nisi castrum, theoloneum et adhuc parvam annalem exactionem dictam die gruit, cum prius tamen consueverat ibidem ordinare schultetum, burgimagistros et scabinos. Et filius eius etiam resignavit hanc dignitatem pro se et tota sua posteritate, sicut littere desuper confecte plenius testantur etc.; burchgravii Leydenses cessaverunt qui prius magnipotentes principes in Hollandia consueverant esse. Hic autem Phillippus cum destitutus esset a burchgraviatu etiam per proprium filium [fol. 49] suum profugatur a dominio suo de Wassenair, auxiliante Johanne duce Bavarie, tutore Hollandie.

Prefatus namque Johannes dux Bavarie, filius Alberti ducis Bavarie comitisque Hollandie, frater Wilhelmi ducis Bavarie, patris Jacobe ducisse comitissequae Hollandie tali modo factus fuit tutor Hollandie: anno Domini 1408 idem dux Johannes fuit electus in episcopum Leodiensem, sed nondum confirmatus subdiaconus existens, expulsus fuit a civitate Leodiense ex eo quod noluit ordinari in sacerdotem. Electores ergo electionem de novo celebrantes elegerunt in episcopum filium Henrici domini de Parvis unde postea maximum bellum subortum est, quod iam breviter pertranseo. Wilhelmus tamen dux Bavarie, frater eius Leodienses subegit ita quod de Leodiensibus <sup>1)</sup> ceciderunt occisi adiutorio Johannis ducis Burgundie, mariti sororis ducum Wilhelmi et Johannis de Bavaria, dominus de Parvis magister militum cum triginta quinque militibus et octingentis electis ad bellum. Sic quod idem dux Wilhelmus bellicosa manu Johannem fratrem suum duxit in possessionem episcopii Leodiensis; demum aliquibus annis transactis idem Johannes dux de consensu domini

(§16)

pape cessit oneri et honori ac renunciavit episcopatu pro eo quod noluit promoveri in sacerdotem ut dictum est.

Deinde anno Domini 1419 postquam idem Johannes dux de Bavaria ducissam Jacobam, filiam fratris sui unicam, multis ac variis insultacionibus ac iniuriis cum Dordracensibus et domicello de Erckel infestasset in tantum quod oppidum de Gorichem latenter per insidias obtinuerunt preter castrum quod castrenses fortiter ad libitum ipsius domine Jacobe custodiebant. Quamobrem grande bellum in Gorichem inde subsequutum est in quo multi nobiles viri interempti sunt et specialiter domicellus de Erckel, post cuius necem dominium de Erckel incorporatum est totaliter comitatui Hollandie.

[fol. 49 v<sup>o</sup>.] Convenerunt in Gorichem ducissa Jacoba comitissa Hollandie, Johannes dux Brabantie, cui ipsa Jacoba per industriam domini Henrici de Bergen et aliorum principum domine Jacobe adherentium, fuerat matrimonialiter coniuncta (quod tamen non bene factum fuit nam affines erant). Et ibidem conclusum est quatinus Johannes dux de Bavaria cum favore et caritate permanere deberet tutor Hollandie, Zeelandie et occidentalis Frisie per tres annos, ita tamen quod omnia regimina et iudicialia oppidorum et villarum deberent esse bipartita, ita quod una medietas ordinaretur ex parte ducisse Jacobe et altera ex parte patris sui Johannis ducis de Bavaria. Et extunc domina Jacoba cum duce Brabantie marito suo transtulit se ad Brabantiam ibidem permanens per tempus aliquot.

Igitur Johannes dux de Bavaria quondam electus Leodiensis et subdiaconus accepit homagium pro vero tutore in omnibus civitatibus et oppidis Hollandie preterquam in civitate Leydense quam tamen de post in anno 20 subegit per amicales locutiones. Et habuit per dispensationem sedis apostolice uxorem nobilissimam videlicet Elizabeth

(§31 ff.)

(§ 35 & 43)

filiam ducis de Gorlietz, ducissam de Lutzenburch, relictam Anthonii ducis Brabantie, sed nullam relinquerunt prolem post se. Wenzelaus enim imperator et rex Bohemie, Sigismundus imperator et rex Ungarie erant avunculi eius. Hii enim cum Jodoco marchione Brandenburgense, avunculo eorum, dederunt ei pro dote quum copulata fuerat Anthonio duci Brabantie matrimonialiter ducatum Lutcenburgensem et comitatum de Esim et Alsatie si superstites proles procrearent, si vero non prefati principatus redirent ad regnum Bohemie, illo tamen salvo quod prefati principes vel eorum successores redimerent multis milibus florenorum renensium. Ipsa autem Elizabeth genuit ex Anthonio duce Brabantie filium nomine Wilhelmum quem ex sacro fonte susceperunt Wilhelmus dux Bavarie, comes Hollandie, etc. et Johannes electus protunc Leodiensis, frater ducis Wilhelmi predicti, pronunc autem maritus eiusdem ducisse Elizabeth. Sed ille Wilhelmus iuvenis obiit sepultus apud Carmelitas Bruxelle sub tumba ducisse Johanne.

Anno Domini 1424 domina Jacoba percipiens matrimonium quod cum duce Brabantie contraxerat cum Deo stare non posset nec etiam summus pontifex in honori matrimonio..... reliquit ducem Brabantie et de post de consilio suorum principum ad Angliam profecta contraxit ibidem et solemnizavit matrimonium cum Humfrido duce Glocestrie, fratre regis Anglie, quem ad Hannoniam duxit et eidem ibi pro vero comite homagium fieri [fol. 50] procuravit.

Anno Domini 1423 obiit magnificus dominus Fredricus de Blanckenhem, episcopus Trajectensis, qui sedit annis triginta, mortuus in castro de Vollenhoeff. Post cuius mortem Adulphus dux Clivensis quam primum potuit veniens

A Leydis I, f. 152v, marginalia

(§ 43)

§ 58, 1-3

Trajectum, habens secum Rodolphum, filium comitis de Diepholt, valde nobilem virum, archidiaconum ecclesie Osnaburgensis et canonicum maioris ecclesie Coloniensis, tali intentione ut cum ceteris vasallis ecclesie Traiectensis Rodolphum prefatum in episcopum postularent. Ministeriales ergo et cives et specialiter Lichtenburgenses videntes potenciam eiusdem ducis supplicantes preces subplicato- rias et ipsi cum duce pro eodem Rodolpho suderunt.

Quidam autem concapittularium elegerunt prepositum sancte Marie Traiectensis, fratrem domini de Bueren, sed maior et sanior pars postulat Rodolphum. Electione more solito celebrata clerus cum populo tripudiabat in leticia et gaudio, Te Deum laudamus solemniter in organis decan- tantes et convocato sequenti die capitulo legatos suos nobiles viros miserunt festinanter ad curiam Romanam quatinus domino apostolico tunc Martino quinto huius- modi electionem canonicè celebratam innotescerent ut eundem quem postulaverant eis in episcopum investirent.

Dominus autem apostolicus electionem diligenter exa- minans repperit hominem sine litteris et pene secularem electum, quare postulationem minime admisit et talem indignum confirmare penitus recusavit, monens tamen electores ut denuo ad electionem procederent ac talem secundum canones eligerent personam cuius vita et scientia possent omnibus prodesse in exemplum.

Ipsi autem mandata apostolica contemnentes contuma- citer alium eligere quam pridem postulaverant recusarunt. Videntes igitur Traiectenses quod dominus apostolicus rennueret assentire postulationi eorum convenerunt omnes vasalli et ministeriales ecclesie Traiectensis nec non et consules civitatis et partium Transycularum in Daventria presente duce Clivense tractantes ibidem archanum

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concilium quid eis utile foret in his arduis causis faciendum, et coniuratione facta ex quo necdum dictum Rodolphum poterant hinc episcopum saltem elegerunt eum habere sue patrie tutorem et defensorem qui continuo hac fretus potestate cunctas possessiones et redditus, castra et predia ecclesie in suos usus accersivit.

Martinus vero papa quintus videns quod electio propter clericorum contumaciam ad sedem apostolicam devoluta esset, attendens ecclesiam Traiectensem valde esse insignem et relligiosam et quod multi probi viri magna scientia dediti forent, in ea tradidit episcopatum domino Zwedero nato de Culenburch, episcopo Spirensi, viro relligioso, litterato et nobili, qui episcop(at)um magnis debitis aggravatum invenit. Hic igitur Zwederus anno Domini 1425 in octava assumptionis Marie quinquagesimus 2<sup>us</sup> episcopus intronisatus est in civitate Traiectensi. Sed anno [fol. 50 v<sup>o</sup>.] sequenti adversanto sibi Rodolpho de Diepholt postulato, idem Zwederus episcopus cum quibusdam canonicis in vigilia Penthecostes expellitur a civitate Traiectensi et mansit expulsus quoad vixerit. De eo postea lacius patebit in anno 32.

Anno Domini 1426, 27<sup>a</sup> Januarii, per sentenciam diffinitivam indicatum est per dominum Ursinum cardinalem et cardinalem de Venetia cum ceteris cardinalibus auditoribus causarum curie Romane quatenus duxissa Jacoba de Bavaria non haberet Humfridum ducem Glocestrie in maritum eo quod Johannes dux Brabancie esset eius verus maritus. Insuper iudicatum fuit ut ipsa Jacoba propter pericula que intervenire possent honeste habitaret et de commissis penitentiam ageret apud Amelium ducem Sabaudie, cuius ducis matertera fuit Margareta, mater duxisse Jacobe. Habitaretque ibidem expensis propriis. Quam sentenciam Humfridus dux percipiens dimisit eam et contraxit postmodum cum alia. Johannes eciam dux Brabancie ista percipiens approbavit sentenciam et stetit contentus.

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Porro Jacoba ducissa nullo modo volens exulare ad partes alienas peciit suam habitacionem in terra Brabantinorum, sed Johannes dux Brabancie, maritus eius, noluit hoc admittere quare prefata Jacoba ad tempus mansit Scoenhovie. Attamen Phillippus dux Burgundie retinuit regimen tocius Hollandie adversus eam. Johannes vero maritus eius predictus obiit anno 27°.

Anno Domini 1428, quarta mensis Maii, concordatum est inter Phillippum ducem Burgondie, et Jacobam ducissam, comitissamque Hollandie, etc., fecitque ipsa duci Phillippo homagium prestari<sup>1</sup>) in omnibus civitatibus et oppidia Hannonie, Hollandie, Zeelandie et occidentalis Frisie pro vero tutore. Qui dux tunc ordinavit rectorem Hollandie Franckonen de Borsalia militem, filium Florencii de Borsalia, militis.

Anno Domini 1432, circa festum sancti Lamberti, exploratione facta per totam Traiectensem dyocesim per dominum Johannem episcopum Vatisconensem de clenodiis et reliquiis sanctorum eiusdem dyocesis, factaque relacione ad dominum apostolicum Eugenium de prefatis, Zwederus de Culenburch absolvitur ab episcopatu Traiectense, factusque est episcopus Cesariensis.

Quo deposito fautores eiusdem Zwederi omnino nolentes recipere Rodolphum de Diepholt inierunt consilium et tandem interloquio completo adhererunt Walramo de Moirsa, venerabili et litterato viro. Fuerunt etenim eiusdem Walrami fratres carnales Theodericus archiepiscopus Coloniensis et comes Moirsensia, quorum auxiliante potencia qui erant de sorte Walrami fecerunt eum succedere in iure Zwederi pontificis absoluti. Qui videns se hac auctoritate fretum [fol. 51] cepit aspirare ad Traiectensem pontificium instanciasque magnas fecit pro episcopatu pre-

(§ 76)

A Leydis I, f. 156v, marginalia

fato sed nequivit optinere. Unde guerra non parva nec non et dissentio magna in clero per totam dyocesim excrevit. Cum ergo error iste ad tempus durasset tandem Walramus ab episcopatu destituitur et Rodolphus de Diepholt postulatus, quinquagesimus tercius episcopus Traiectensis ordinatus est. Nichilominus tamen Walramus minime contentus inimicabatur adhuc Rodolpho unde eius favore ac intuitu oppida Hollandie (et) Zeelandie per aliquos annos absentaverunt se ab obediencia Rodolphi pontificis. Anno tamen Domini 1441 circa festum omnium sanctorum de precepto Phillippi ducis Burgundie comitisque Hollandie etc. civitates et oppida Hollandie Zeelandieque submiserunt se obediencie Rodolphi de Diepholt, episcopi Traiectensis.

Pacificati sunt autem Rodolphus de Diepholt et Walramus de Moirsa tali videlicet condicione ut Rodolphus operosus auxiliator fieret Walramo in acquisitione episcopii Monasteriensis. Quod et idem Rodolphus promisit, obierat enim pro tunc episcopus Monasteriensis et a nonnullis electoribus Walramus prefatus ibidem in episcopum electus est. Quapropter Rodolphus episcopus Traiectensis congregavit expeditum exercitum et castra metatus est contra Monasteriensem diocesim. Sed cum post multos labores nichil profecisset rediit ad terram Traiectensem.

Civitatem vero Traiectensem intrare non potuit quia Jacobus domicellus de Gaesbeeck cum plerisque principalioribus civitatis prefate Rodolpho apud Monasteriensem dyocesim constituto colligationem firmavit ut eum expulsus a civitate Traiectensi tenerent. Quod et fecerunt usque ad annum Domini 1449.

Cum ergo Rodolphus episcopus Traiectensis usque predictum tempus expulsus esset a civitate propria fecit amicos et congregavit eos occulte. Eciam Amersfordienses

et Henricum burchgraviū de Montford et nonnullos alios armigeros habuit et sibi acquisivit in coadiutores. Quibus sic secreta congregatis venit clanculo sub noctis umbra ad menia civitatis Traiectensis, perfodientesque murum subintraverunt latenter civitatem Traiectensem, et sic Rodolphus episcopus prevaluit adversus inimicos suos. Et ecce prefati inimici antistitis audientes occultum ingressum [fol. 51 v<sup>o</sup>.] episcopi timuerunt valde et querebant se occultare et abscondere a facie irati pontificis. Sed hoc ipsis minime profuit nam Rodolphus latenter querens adversarios suos supervenit inopinate et occupavit eos acceptique multos eorum captivos. Eciam Jacobus domicellus de Gaesbeeck captus est, qui ponitur in firma custodia a qua non potuit liberari nec exire donec venderet episcopo Traiectensi dominia sua que habebat in episcopatu Traiectensi, videlicet oppidum Wijckdorestadum cum castro suo atque dominium et castrum de Apcouda cum suis attinenciis. Quod et tandem fecit tali scilicet condicione ut prefata dominia ad vitam teneret, sed post mortem eius deberent incorporari episcopatu Traiectensi, quod sic factum est. Hac promissione facta liber ire permittitur.

Jacobo domicello de Gaesbeeck predicto igitur revolutis aliquibus annis defuncto, prefata dominia devenerunt ad Traiectensem dyocesim; quia eciam absque legitima prole decessit dominia sua de Putte et de Strenen devoluta sunt ad comitatum Hollandie. Cetera vero dominia et bona eius acceperunt eius heredes.

Anno Domini 1433 fuit generale passagium.



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