

**The Kattendijke Chronicle (ca. 1491):
a unique manuscript, possibly from Haarlem**

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In 1991 Mrs A. Frank-van Westrienen drew my attention to a very rare manuscript which was in the possession of the family of her son-in-law, Baron Huysen van Kattendijke, in London. The manuscript, which had been unstudied while in the family's possession, contains a chronicle in the vernacular dating back to the late 15th century, entitled *Die historie of die cronicke van zeelant ende van vrieslant ende vanden stichte van wtrecht en de van veel landen diemen hier na nomen sal* (The history of this chronicle of Holland, Zealand and Friesland and of the founding of Utrecht and of many lands which will be mentioned later)¹. In this article I give a first impression of this 'new' chronicle, which is of great interest to our late medieval notion of historiography and the production of books, and formulate cautious suppositions about its intended destination and the quality of its author.

My hypothesis is that the manuscript is a *copy* designed for a Dutch publisher. There are two clear indications of this. Firstly, the layout is similar to that of another copy from the late 15th century: the first part of the *Jason-Scaecspel* manuscript² appears as a copy in Jacob Bellaert's edition of *Historie vanden vromen ridder Jason* (1485). Secondly, the manuscript contains section marks and double dash-marks, such as those indicating a new paragraph or the end of a line.³

¹ In: M. Carasso-Kok (The Hague 1981), *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen, Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen* is also missing. (Repertory of historical sources from the Middle Ages, of holy lives, annals, chronicles and other narratives written in the Netherlands) (= *Bibliografische Reeks van het Nederlands Historisch Genootschap 2*) (Bibliographical Series of the Dutch Historical Society). A microfilm of the manuscript is now kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in The Hague.

² London, British Library. Add. 10.290. See the contribution to this bundle by Rineke Nieuwstraten. pp. 111-124.

³ According to L. Hellinga Querido, *Methode en praktijk bij het zetten van boeken in de vijftiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1974, pp. 46, 69-75, 96-101. The double dash-marks (// or =) are written in thin ink and appeared to have been inserted later. Next to it are the known single dash-marks in the same thickness as the rest of the manuscript: fol. 6r.24r. 49r. 71r. 80r. 538r. The paragraph marks (=|) were inserted later: see fol. 112r. Another indication of the original copy-character of the chronicle can be found in the plain text corrections and the underlining: both are contrary to the later appraisal of the manuscript.

However, the manuscript was never used as a copy and the chronicle was never printed. It seems that preparations for the Kattendijke chronicle (the manuscript's provisional title, as the author's name is not known) began around 1480, when the publication of books in the vernacular and of extensive chronicles like this one seems to have been possible in Holland. Perhaps there was a change of plan after the sudden collapse of the Dutch printing industry in the mid-1480s, and as a consequence an attempt was made to make the chronicle a finished product. This second hypothesis could explain the detailed finishing touches, viz. pen drawings, coloured decorations and heraldic motifs.

With these hypotheses in mind, I give below more details about the appearance and contents, mode and sources of text and illustrations, with the purpose of portraying the author (was he a clergyman or a layman, and will it be possible to identify him?) and determining the final destination of the manuscript. These first findings are presented cautiously, since each of the mentioned aspects requires further, detailed examination.

APPEARANCE, CONTENTS AND ORIGIN

The Kattendijke chronicle consists of 562 pages (150 x 220 mm), watermarked with a Gothic P. The manuscript is not complete: one page is missing between fol. 50 and fol. 51 and, probably with the new binding, others have been lost. Two pages are in the wrong position: fol. 320 should be between 92 and 93, and fol. 220 should be between 105 and 106. The manuscript is bound in calf leather over polished wooden book plates and rolling press (imperial lockets and *palmettes*), dating back to 1560-1580.⁴ This is not the original binding: the flyleaf paper (one sheet at the front and one at the back) differs from that of the book block; even the small needle stitches can be seen and many of the pages have been cut off. The first page has rust spots on the right-hand side and a hole, indicating that the manuscript was earlier bound with a clasp, halfway up the book plates.

The chronicle is written by the same hand. The unnumbered chapter titles are in red ink, though some are in undulating red and blue lines in relief, in order to fill up the line. The layout of the text has red and blue initials and blue paragraph marks. The text has been corrected by the writer himself, with correction marks occasionally covering the incorrect text. He also left behind, in a careless combination, suggestions for the later make-up, mostly listed under illustrations; and places where the illustrations had faded away became visible. More detailed

⁴ I thank Dr. Jan Storm van Leeuwen for the information provided.

pen drawing is found on the eight lines above G on fol. 1r (Fig. 1). These are North Holland marks (cotyledons, pearlim with little thorns) which recall the previous pen-drawers from Haarlem (the structure of long vertical lines and small stars in between).⁵

The chronicle begins with a prologue (fol. 1r-2r), in the already mentioned red title (Fig. 1). After describing the three occasions on which Troy was destroyed (fol. 3r-63r) there are various stories about the founding of Rome and the establishment of the Roman empire, which are concluded with a list of emperors and their intermissions till 1491 (fol. 63v-78v). A brief account of the realm of Alexander the Great is given (fol. 79r; continued on fol. 92v-97r), focussing on the origins of France (fol. 79v-86r) and England (fol. 86v-92r). It continues with the well-known founding of cities in Holland and Utrecht, and offers for the first time an illuminated description of the Wilde Woud without Genade (fol. 107v-112v). Much attention is paid to King Arthur before the Christianisation of the Netherlands by Willibrord (fol. 112v-129r). The stories of the Utrecht bishops are associated with the Carolingians and the Flemish counts, but from fol. 158r onwards the Dutch counts become dominant and the history of the bishopric is subordinate to that of Holland (fol. 129v-162v). The Dutch lineage of counts is exhaustively covered (100 pages, fol. 163r-262v); only 40 pages were assigned to the Hainault genealogy (fol. 263r-311r). However, more than 200 pages describe the Bavarian counts (fol. 311v-514r), while the Burgundians are only mentioned in the last 50 pages (fol. 514v-561v).

As it appears from marginal notes by Pieter Cornelisz Borkenberg, the manuscript was in his possession between 1548 and 1617, and he was an historian and the author of a history of Holland and the Brederodes (1587).⁶ Later the manuscript became the property of Pieter Hanneman ([ca. 1596 before 23 June 1669 = ???]),⁷ who put his signature on fol. 1r on the right at the top. The number of the book on the edge ('no. 116') and the description 'Gheschreven Chronijck van Holland' (Written Chronicle of Holland) presumably comes from the

⁵ Thanks to *drs.* Margriet Hülsman. According to A.S. Korteweg (ed.) *Crumbs, egg-plants and faggots. Ornaments of margins in North Netherland manuscripts from the fifteenth century*, Zutphen 1992, p. 86, 88. rand

⁶ On fol. 156r, Johan Huysen van Kattendij (late 16th century) in a marginal note wrote: 'This is written by Bockenbergh himself'. The hand of the writer could be identified with an autograph of Bockenbergh: The Hague, Royal Library 74 J 12, a Latin history of the earlier Bishopric of Utrecht, On Bockenbergh: E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier & G.A.C. van der Lem, *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800*, The Hague 1990 (= *Bibliographical Series of Dutch Historical Society*, 7) p. 50-51.

⁷ *Die Haghe. Jaarboek 1937*, p. 40; *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 65 (1948), col. 20-21.

library of one of these two owners.

Pieter Hanneman was related to Elisabeth Hanneman, mother of Johan Huyssen van Kattendijke (1566-1631), a celebrated and successful politician in Zeeland, ennobled by the French King, a learned man and a Maecenas of literature.⁸ The manuscript was acquired in 1614 by Johan Huyssen van Kattendijke, as appears from this comment next to Hanneman's signature: '*et anno 1614 titulo emptionis factus Joh: Huyssen Cattendijckij Patris. - in margine scripta sunt ipsius Alpheni annuali*'. At the beginning, the current owner notes down a (hardly readable) genealogy of his mother's family (fol. II-IV). From 1614 onwards the manuscript remained in the possession of members of the family Huyssen van Kattendijke.

GENRE, SOURCES AND AUTHORSHIP

Although the Kattendijke chronicle bears the title of a Dutch chronicle, in reality it is a combination of three genres: a history of Troy,⁹ a world chronicle and a Dutch chronicle. This remarkable combination of genres not only illustrates the vague notion of style in the late Middle Ages,¹⁰ but is a search for a new scope and models for Dutch history. We know this in a more humanist-oriented way from Cornelius Aurelius's *Divisiiekroniek* (1517), in which the combination is between the world of the regions and the national chronicle.¹¹ But most of the claims and pretensions of *Divisiiekroniek* are already present in the Kattendijke chronicle. A consistent fusion of Dutch and world history is to be found in both, a great impulse for the Dutch history (in one only Troy, in the other both Troy and the ancient Insula Batavorum) and an illustration of the account running up to the present time. In both prologues, the same mode is used when speaking about the great interest in the history of one's own country and the necessity to go back to very ancient sources. The author of the Kattendijke chronicle

⁸ J.H. Scheffer. *Genealogie van het geslacht Huyssen van Cattendyke*, Rotterdam 1879, p. 45; *Nederland's Adelsboek* (Dutch Peerage Book) 30 (1942), p. 671.

⁹ Comp. W. Keesman, 'Troy in the mediaeval literature. Ancient past engaged in its own time', *Literatuur* 4 (1987), p. 257-265; and, general, A.E. Cohen, *De visie op Troje van Westerse middeleeuwse geschiedschrijvers tot 1160*, Assen 1941.

¹⁰ Com. B. Ebels-Hoving, 'Dutch historiography 1350-1530. An attempt at characterizing'. B. Ebels-Hoving et al., *Genoechlicke ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland*. Hilversum 1987, p. 217-242; 227-229.

¹¹ K. Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiiekroniek. Historiografie en Humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus*, Hilversum 1988 (=Hollandse Studiën 21), pp. 90-97.

formulates it as follows: (fol. 2r):

"Ende also alser veel menschen sijn die historie of cronicke van Hollant ende van Utrecht begheren te lesen, so willen wij eerst beginnen vanden oerspronc ende beghinsel waer dat Hollant eerst uut ghesproten is ende Utrecht. Want Romen, Vrancrijck, Enghelant, Hollant en Utrecht ende Vrieslant ende alle dese Nederlanden uut den bloede van Troijen ghesproten is, so willen wij alle dese landen hoer eerst begrip opt corte bescriuen."

Hereupon follow 60 pages of Trojan history. The Kattendijke chronicle prologue is a summary and a partial adaptation of that in the Dutch edition of Warner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Jan Veldener of Utrecht in 1480 (CA 1479), but from the latter the quotation on the origin of Dutchmen is missing. The literary motivation of the Kattendijke chronicle with such remarkable attention for the Trojan lineage of Dutchmen is rather exceptional among all known Dutch world chronicles of the late Middle Ages which flow into regional chronicles.¹²

The fusion of genres is connected with the diversity of sources the author had at his disposal. He even writes – the only information he provides about his work – '*uut veel boecken vergadert is*' (fol. 2r). Two important sources for the national history are already mentioned, viz. the publication of *Fasciculus temporum* – from which has been taken much of world history and the prologue – and the world chronicle of Heraut Beyeren, which was consulted by the Kattendijke author according to a manuscript found in the Haarlem Magdalena cloister, which was made for the nuns in 1476 by the Municipal Secretary of Haarlem, Scheen Wissenz de Kerckwerff.¹³ On fol. 35v of this Van Wisse manuscript there is an annotation, unmistakably from the Kattendijke author, in King Arthur's account which was taken over in the Kattendijke chronicle. The Trojan story is copied from Jacob Bellaert's translation, made in Haarlem in 1485, from Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie*,

¹² Comp. N. Lettinck, 'The character of late medieval universal histories in the Netherlands', J.P. Genet (ed.), *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris 1 du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*, Paris 1991, pp. 321-329.

¹³ Leiden. University Library, BPL 76c, fol. 1r-61v. See Carasso-Kok 1981 (note 1), p. 219; J.P. Gumbert: *Manuscrits datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas. Catalogue paléographique des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date II: Les manuscrits d'origine néerlandaise (XIVe-XVIe siècles)*, Leiden, 1988, pp. 144-145 (no. 534), pl. 773. About the world chronicle of the Herald: J. Verbij-Schillings, 'Die iersten der princen. The world chronicle of the herald Heyeren (ca. 1405-1409)', Ebels-Hoving et al., 1987 (note 10), pp. 35-60.

under the title *Die vergaderinghe der historien van Troyen* (ca. 1095).¹⁴ For the history of the Netherlands the Kattendijke author used data from Veldener's edition, a manuscript of the late 15th century with an extended version of the Dutch Beke chronicle (the origin of which has not yet been established)¹⁵, and of *Oude Goudse kroniekje* (Old Chronicle from Gouda) (also of unknown origin), and of both the Arnoldus manuscript from about 1478¹⁶ and the Goudse edition of Gheraert Leeu from 1478 (CA 505). These five mentioned sources, all in the vernacular, do not cover the whole chronicle. Further research on sources will prove that the Kattendijke author also used other chronicles or charters.

The author was probably not a clerical scholar but a layman who had a limited knowledge of Latin. This supposition is based not only on the language of the sources so far traced, but particularly on some remarkable Latin passages which suggest that they were misunderstood by the person who rewrote them. The author narrates the signs of the birth of Christ, explained to Emperor Augustus by a sibyl, in this way: 'Indicii signum tellus sudore madecet [corrected *madescit*] / E celo rex adveniet per secula futrus' (fol. 103r). While copying this simple Latin quotation, the author made two mistakes: he used *madecet* instead of *madescit*, and *futrus* instead of *futurus*, according to sources. When Augustus has a vision of Maria with the child Jesus appearing in the sky, the sibyl says: 'Ecce puwer maior est te Siet dat kindekijn is groter dan ghij sijt, aenbedet hem'. In addition, the author [fills up = ???] his translation, for example, he spells *puer* in the way a Dutchman speaks it: *puwer*. Did the author let somebody else read his sources?

The assumption that the chronicle had its origin in a laity milieu is supported by the mistakes made by writer and illustrator concerning spiritual or ecclesiastical matters. The picture of H. Bonifacius, bishop of Utrecht, wearing a tiara is one example of this. The author appears not to know who the Pope was in 1491: he wrongly assumed it was Sixtus IV, due to his source for the list of popes and emperors, viz. Veldener's edition of

¹⁴ Over Jacob Bellaert: W. & L. Hellinga, *The fifteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries I*, Amsterdam 1966, pp. 73-74, and the unpublished thesis by Wilma Keesman and Rineke Nieuwstraten.

¹⁵ The Hague, Royal Library, 130C 10. In H. Bruch edition this ms. is J 1: Johannes de Beke, *Chroniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, ed. H. Bruch, The Hague 1982 (= *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën*, large series, 180).

¹⁶ Leiden, University Library, Ltk. 1564. See H. van der Marel, "'Op een tijt street dese Coninc Artur ieghen die wilde wrede slauen die men nu Hollanders hiet.'" Koninh Artur in de laat-middeleeuwse Hollandse Kroniekschrijving', EBELS-HOVING et al. 1987 (note 10), pp. 177-190: 180 (note 3).

Fasciculus temporum (1480) when the Pope was indeed Sixtus.¹⁷ And when ecclesiastical historians criticised the vilified legislation on the amortisation of Charles the Bold, the author shows no mercy concerning the fate of the cloisters and speaks in favour of Charles's act.¹⁸

He pretends to be erudite by referring to great masters – Virgil (fol. 62v), Dares Phrygius (fol. 63r), the mysterious Roman historian Estodius (fol. 64r),¹⁹ Orosius (fol. 68v), Livius (fol. 69v), Augustin (fol. 70r), Julius Caesar (fol. 97v), Seneca and Lucanus (fol. 160r), and the *Speculum historiale* by Vicentius of Beauvais (fol. 232r) – but all these references are second-hand, since they are taken over from vernacular sources.

Despite his poor knowledge of Latin, the Kattendijke author mentions the events that the Carmelite from Haarlem, Johannes Gerbrandius a Leydis (Jan Gerbrandsz. van Leiden, † 1504), describes in his Latin chronicle. The similarities are so great that Pieter Bockenberg – who was well up in late Middle Age historiography – attributed the Kattendijke chronicle to Johannes a Leydis and wrote at the end 'Jan Gerbrandius auctore' (roughly, 'Jan Gerbrandsz the author').²⁰ However, he could not have written the Kattendijke chronicle: his own Latin chronicles were inaccessible even to the Kattendijke author. It has to be assumed that Leydis made use of an informant who passed him verbal evidence on all the occurrences related in his chronicle,²¹ which produces a new confirmation of the author's Haarlem origin.

In spite of his insufficient knowledge, the author works meticulously to elucidate his subject and allows his own interests and preferences to emerge: he propagates the Trojan descent of Dutchmen, pays full attention to six of the Nine Best (Alexander the Great, Hector, Caesar, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfried van Bouillon), admires the knightly virtues and life at court, and takes the Hoekse standpoint on Dutch politics. This emphasis

¹⁷ 'Paus Sixtus sat ende sit anno xci' (fol. 78v). Sixtus IV died on 12 August 1484. He was followed by Innocentius VIII (1484-1492) and Alexander VI (1492-1503).

¹⁸ 'Mer ic vermoede nochtans dattet uut zijn edel hart niet en quam mer uut quader informacien van sijns raets luden om hoer eyghen profijts' (fol. 555v). Comp. with the tirade of Cornelius Aurelius in *de Divisiekroniek*: TILMANS 1988 (note 11), p. 79 (note 13).

¹⁹ Also quoted in *Divisiekroniek*: TILMANS 1988 (note 11), p. 114 (note 100).

²⁰ Since the humanist Bockenberg makes this annotation, *Joannis* has to be nominative and we interpret *auctore* as an ablative agent. (?) It remains odd Latin.

²¹ So the author could have obtained the information about Brittenburch (fol. 112v) from Johannes a Leydis. He seems to be the most suitable informant for some striking examples in the account on the siege of Delft by Albrecht van Beieren in 1359 (fol. 327r-331r).

gives the author a double point of departure. By the Trojan lineage, coupled to the origin of Dutch towns and the glorification of the Hoekse intrepid deeds, he addresses the middle classes. By the cult of the Nine Best and the stress on chivalrous courtliness, he arouses the feelings of his Dutch noble readers. The author ensures two sides of interest and admits more than an aristocratic tint only, on behalf of the new civil élite.²² The Trojan subject and the theme of the Nine Best were and remained aristocratic, but the Trojan story became clear (for the first time in Dutch historiography) to readers who were not nobles, and made it relevant, by saying they were of Trojan descent. It is regretted that each of the six Nine Best ignored everything about the Dutch, and this can be considered an attempt to establish a relation with common readers. Hoekse engagement of the author worked out equally on two sides: Hoeks represents the municipal middle classes, and the Brederode, too. A pedagogical judgement on the prologue shows that the author had considered that the chronicle would be read by a large number of literary men belonging to the middle classes and the nobility. If the chronicle was not printed, this was certainly not due to the author's qualities.

In 1491 the author, who refers to himself as "*ic*" (the first-person singular), was engaged in writing the text, as it appears from the following remark: *'Keyser Fredericus regneert noch ende het beghinsel van sijn regnaci was doe hij out was XXVI iaer. Want dat iaer M CCC XCI is dat een ende vijchtichste iaer sijns rijcks'* (fol. 78v). This commentary gives also a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the text: 19 August 1493, the day of Frederic III's death. However, the chronicle was not revised until 1491 and finishes with an open sentence: *'Ende int selve iaer [1478] wast iaer van gracien inden Hage gheleit bij den paus Sixtus wegghen bij een legaet ende ghinc op Sinte Marcus dach Ewangeliste'* (fol. 561v). It is obvious that the author locates the use of Van Wisse's manuscript in Haarlem, while the other four mentioned sources (Veldener's edition of Rolevinck's *Fasciculus*, Bellaert's edition of Lefèvre's *Recueil*, Beke's Dutch chronicle and the *Oude Goudse Kroniekje*) ought to have been within reach.

²² Comp. Keesman 1987 (note 9); J. Pleij, *Nederlandse literatuur in de late Middeleeuwen*. Utrecht 1987, pp. 141-143.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations lend a certain prestige to the Kattendijke chronicle. Two categories can be distinguished: the first consists of pasted woodcuts (not yet as a collage), many of which are completed and coloured by pen drawings. In total there were a hundred designs, but many woodcuts became entirely or partially torn. The second category comprises painted coats of arms.

Of the first category, 44 illustrations were cutaways from the crusade novel *Die historie van hertoghe Godevaert van Boloen*, printed by the Goudse Collacie brothers and dated between 1486 and 1489 (CA 968). Most of these have disappeared; however, there are some reverse-image imprints on the back of the text. For the rest, many are torn, unfastened woodcuts, so that one can read the text on the reverse side (fol. 35r.) and establish its origins. Woodcuts have been fully used in the lines, with some little trims here and there. The manuscript presents the same phenomenon the Collacie brothers do: the same picture (a siege, a town panorama, an embassy) is regularly reproduced to illustrate various events.

A number of collages of groups of figures appear not to have been made from woodcuts of an existing print, but with the help of wood blocks familiar to us through a print of Antwerp by Fheraert Leeu from 1487, namely Ludolfus van Saksen, *Dat boeck vanden leven ons lief heeren Ihesu Christi* (CA 1181), later used again in an identical print by his brother Claes Leeu. A good example is the collage which introduces '*Dat eerste begrip van Enghelant*' (Fig. 3). The original comprises a combined scene of Christ preaching from a boat to people on the banks of a lake, and the written parable of the sower (Fig. 4). However, the Kattendijke illustrator cut Christ and both disciples from the boat, and from the group of listeners made a new gathering of passengers and crew.²³ The three added female heads – two on the right in the background and one at centre front – come from the Collacie brother's incunabula. The cutaways from the lake banks and a part of the lake were coloured again according to the original woodcut. Considering there are no residues on the back of the collage and the illustrator did not make use of an existing print, it is easy to suppose that he had the original woodcuts at his disposal. If my hypothesis that the initiative for the Kattendijke chronicle was mentioned by Jacob Bellaert (see hereafter) turns out to be correct, then it will shed a special light on the exchange of printing material between Leeu and

²³ On the left side of the open space in the boat was pasted the head of the standing figure at the left side of the original woodcut; nowadays this is kept in an envelope with single little parts.

Bellaert; this traffic did not flow only towards Antwerp after the closure of Bellaert's printing shop.²⁴

Under the collages which appear to be new woodcuts designed for the *Kattendijke* chronicle, there is the stirring fancy of Countess Hennenberch's posterity (Fig. 5). Mechteld van Hennenberch, daughter of Count Floris IV, was punished by God for offending a poor country-woman who had twins (she accused the poor woman of promiscuity), and simultaneously gave birth to 364 children (according to the *Kattendijke* author, but this number varies) each of which was the size of a mouse. The children were live-born and were taken to the church of Loosduinen in two 'beckens' (basins), where they were baptised by the bishop of Utrecht. Afterwards, all of them died. The *Kattendijke* illustrator probably depicts the moment when the children were piled up in the basins and presented at the baptismal font. Part of the flagstone floor is still visible, the right- and left-hand figures have disappeared, and it is likely – considering the remaining fragments – that they came from the Collacie brothers. This is the oldest known illustration of these baptisms.²⁵

In a third woodcut, a group of bishops is depicted, each one in a different way: wearing a tiara, sitting with a book and a pastoral staff; the same figure with a drawn mitre; standing with a crosier and a book; and sitting with a crosier and making what appears to be a blessing gesture.²⁶ The best preserved illustration of H. Bonifacius, bishop of Utrecht, again with a tiara on his head, is probably a replica of a wooden figure of Gregorius de Grote used as a model (Fig. 2). These illustrations are not cut from an existing pattern and seem to be inspired by the world chronicle by Werner Rolevinck and quite possibly by that by Hartmann Schedel, though the origin of the blocks from which they were printed is uncertain. The source of inspiration for the world chronicle might have been the history of a pope, since the illustrator began with this figure, which in later cases was touched up or replaced by the illustration of a simple bishop. 'Touched up' means that the tiara was cut off and a mitre drawn in its place. Thus a drawn mitre and a part of the crosier can still be seen where previously

²⁴ See K. Goudriaan, 'Een drukker en zijn markt. Gheraert Leeu (Gouda 1477 -Antwerp 1492/3)', *Madoc, Tijdschrift voor Mediëvistiek* 6 (1992), pp. 194-206: 198.

²⁵ A similar scene with all the children shown in the basins might have been in the church of Loosduinen and been visited as a place of pilgrimage by childless women; H. van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschieduitbeelding 1500-1800. een iconologische studie*. I-II, Den Haag 1952, pp. 287-289, Figs. 118-119

²⁶ Drs. Ina Kok has told me that supposedly these bishops originally carried in their hand something either marked with ink or cut away. Quite possibly it was the genuine H. Augustinus, who generally holds as attribute a heart in his hand. Among the Dutch woodcut books before 1501, the subject of Kok's thesis, the bishops do not appear in the *Kattendijke* chronicle.

there was a woodcut of the bishop elect of Utrecht, Gijsbrecht van Brederode (Fig. 6).

A fourth group of illustrations comprises portraits of sovereigns, which consist of a combination of two woodcuts, suggesting a horseman whose horse is covered with pen-drawn heraldic designs. All that remains of these woodcuts, besides glue leftovers, are very small fragments (of what appears to be a horse's leg) and a few outlines. The outline drawings and sketches are grounds for considering the chronicle a copy: the copy of *Liber chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel from 1493 has a comparable layout.²⁷ Since no fragments of printing text in reverse image were left behind after the removal of the woodcut, it suggests that they do not come from an existing print but were made for the Kattendijke chronicle. Horses could have been suggested by those in *Le chevalier délibéré*, also by the Collacie brothers, from 1496-1490 (CA 1083), but it is likely that the illustrator of the Kattendijke chronicle modelled them after the horses of the previously referred to Jasonmeester from Haarlem, who provided Bellaert with a manuscript. Some of the animals (i.e. birds and a unicorn) look like woodcut imitations of Leeu's edition of *Dialogus creaturarum*. As for the dragon, which is doing battle with a knight, the important inspiration seems to have been Jansonmeester.²⁸

The collage technique and drawing replacements often make the woodcuts look like design features; the illustrations and especially its detailed heraldry make the Kattendijke chronicle appear to be a finished product. Coats of arms were later placed by each sovereign and each bishop at the same time as the illuminations; room had been reserved for these arms while still in the form of a project. An exception to the layout in this scheme is the detailed heraldic decorations by Willem VI van Beieren and Jacoka van Beieren, and further by the Burgundians and Gijsbrecht van Brederode. They cover all margins round the text and parts inside the margins. Decorations by the Burgundians and Gijsbrecht van Brederode were completed with banderoles and iconographic figures in the top margins (Fig. 6). At times, coats of arms interfere with the text; in the page dedicated to Philip the Good an essential piece of text has come away. Nevertheless, the author remains closely involved with the illustrations: he mentions the family names by means of the various coats of arms (Fig. 6).

²⁷ Comp. A. Wilson, *The making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, Amsterdam 1976, p. 54.

²⁸ Comp. Fig. 5 in R. Nieuwstraten, 'The Jason Master as a narrator: the illustrations to Raoul Lefèvre's "Historie vanden Vromen Ridder Jason" (London B.L. Add. MS 10.290)', K. van der Horst & J.-Chr. Klamt (eds.), *Masters and Miniatures. Proceedings of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands, Utrecht, 10-13 December 1989*, Doornspijk 1991 (= *Studies and Facsimiles of Netherlandish Illuminated Manuscripts*, 3), pp. 201-210: 209.

The most beautiful pages are those with the coats of arms of the Burgundian dukes and, strikingly enough, of Gijsbrecht van Brederode. In the top margin of these Burgundian pages, a colourful Golden Fleece has been pencilled, as well as the flint and steel with a little triangular flint and the fire flecks scattered over the whole page. The flint and steel had the link shape of which the Golden Fleece chain was made.²⁹ In the top margins, Gijsbrecht van Brederode added his family emblem: pigs' heads with burning faggots spreading flames over the whole page (Fig. 6). This same emblem appears in the luxurious books of Hours of Gijsbrecht van Brederode³⁰ and Yolande van Lalaing,³¹ wife of Reinoud II van Brederode, Gijsbrecht's brother.

PURPOSE OF THE CHRONICLE

The two heraldic pages devoted to the Brederodes are significant for the political programme and the purpose of the chronicle. The coats of arms are the sixteen quarter-towns of Gijsbrecht van Brederode, on his father and mother's side, and gave rise to a genealogical family tree. Five generations of gentlemen Van Brederodes are framed in an heraldic model: Willem (fourth gentleman, + 1316) and his wife Elsebee van Kleef Bruynswijk; Dirk (fifth gentleman + 1377) and his wife Beatrijs van Valkenborch; his brother Walraven and his wife Beerte van Egmond/ Ijselstein; Reinoud I (sixth gentleman, + 1390) and his wife Jolande van Gennep / Der Eem; Walraven I (eighth gentleman, + 1417) and his wife Johanna van Vianen / Herlaer and, finally, their son Gijsbrecht.³² It is

²⁹ Two examples of South-Holland manuscripts where all mentioned figures in the ornamental border can be found: Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. W.v.VI, I, fol. Ir, and Vienna, Austrian National Library, 2583, fol. 340v and 349v. See respectively A. de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits A peintures conservés dans l'ancienne bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg II*, Paris 1938, pl. XLIII, en G. Dogaer, *Flemish miniature painting in the 15th and 16th centuries*, Amsterdam 1987, Figs. 27-28. Comp. also figs. 1 and 4 by the contribution of Cyriel Stroo to this bundle, pp. 285-298. See for three northern Dutch (probably Haarlem) breviaries - The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library), 130 H 30; idem, 133 E5; Cracow, Museum Narodowe, Czartoryski 3091 - with the flint and steel as margin pattern: K. van der Hoek, 'The North Holland illuminator Spierinck: some attributions reconsidered', *Masters and miniatures* 1991 (note 18), pp. 275-286: 278-280, 282.

³⁰ Liege, Bibliothèque Universitaire, Wittert 13. See H.L.M. Defoer, A.S. Korteweg & W.C.M. Wüstefeld, introduction by J.H. Marrow, *The golden age of Dutch manuscript painting*, Stuttgart/Zürich 1989, pp. 210-211 (no. 65), pl. 65, Figs. 114-117.

³¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 93. See A.W. Byvanck, *La miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux*, Paris 1937, pp. 88, 152, Figs. 208-210.

³² Comp. A.V.E. Dek, 'Genealogie der heren van Brederode', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 13 (1959), pp. 1-42.

significant that Gijsbrecht – '*die liiii.ste biscop ghecoren van Utrecht*', according to the author – had been assigned, as the only contemporary bishop, to such an honourable genealogical-heraldic page. This homage applies not only to Gijsbrecht himself, who in the meantime had died, but to his whole family. The persons depicted in the coat of arms are the great political heroes of the Brederode lineage, many of whom were killed in the cause of the Hoeken.

The second purpose of the chronicle has to be sought in the context of the Brederode clan and their political concerns, at a time when publishing appears not to have been possible and was promoted by means of heraldic illustrations. Gijsbrecht was an opponent of David of Burgundy, pawn of the Burgundian dynasty and the real bishop of Utrecht. Although Gijsbrecht was chosen by the dean and chapter bishop of Utrecht in 1455, Philip the Good succeeded in installing his bastard son David. Gijsbrecht laid his claim to the bishopric by courtesy of Adolf van Kleef for a costly payment, but he had a pretty strong Hoekse supporter in Utrecht. This event was the cause of the antagonism between David of Burgundy and the Brederodes.³³

Ijsbrecht's brother, Reinoud II van Brederode, was an important political figure under the government of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. He led Hoeken actions against the Burgundians and as Viscount of Utrecht lent support to his brother against David of Burgundy. The conflict with the Burgundians ended with the imprisonment of both brothers in Wijk bij Duurstede castle, residence of the bishop in 1470. They were formally accused of plotting against the duke Charles the Bold, as well as Adolf van Gelre and the French king. They were discharged in 1472. Reinoud, who had been viciously tortured, died shortly afterwards. Gijsbrecht, banished from Utrecht, died in 1474. The wife of Reinoud, Yolande, Countess of Lalaing (1422-1497), who had negotiated with the duke for the release of her husband, cared for his descendants (five daughters and two sons). In the late 1470s, she exchanged her castle (Batestein) in Vianen, where she had lived in retirement for security reasons, for the Brederodes' family castle in Santpoort (north of Haarlem), where she lived till her death on 15 August 1497.³⁴

In the second instance, the *Kattendijke* chronicle could have been intended for Yolande van Lalaing.

³³ S.B.J. Zilverberg, *David van Bourgondië, bishops van Terwaan en Utrecht, ca. 1427-1496*. Groningen/Djakarta, pp. 30-37.

³⁴ M. Lulofs, "*Die van Brero heeft men eens gezien*". The Brederode chronicle of Jan van Leyden (ca. 1485), EBELS-HOVING et al. 1987 (note 10), pp. 90-94.

From a dedicated Brederode chronicle to her, written by Johannes a Leydis in the 1480s,³⁵ it appears that she had a great love for magnificent books of Hours as well as an interest in 'common' historiography. Johannes a Leydis wrote this chronicle in Dutch and we can assume that she and her family could read this language.³⁶ Among the preserved manuscripts of the Brederode chronicle are illuminated copies which possibly came from a workshop in Haarlem.³⁷ Further investigation of these manuscripts could bring to light similarities in form and content between Leydis's Brederode chronicle and the Kattendijke chronicle. Perhaps clues can be found in the Brederode archives.³⁸ Was the Kattendijke chronicle offered to Broderode's wife as a complementary chronicle to the one of her own family? One thing and another could mean that the Kattendijke chronicle in its previous form was completed before the death of Yolande on 15 August 1497. This is in line with the *terminus ante quem* postulated for the completion of the text, viz. 19 August 1493. This certainly is the text which harmonised in form and content with the aristocratic lady's interest. Yet we want to consider her as the intended owner of the Kattendijke chronicle.³⁹

³⁵ On the date problem of Leydis's Brederode chronicle: B. Ebels-Hoving, 'Johannes a Leydis en de eerste humanistische geschiedschrijving van Holland', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 100 (1985), pp. 26-51: 36-37. Concerning various manuscripts and versions of this chronicle: LULOFS 1987 (note 34).

³⁶ The Dutch version is published in: A. Matthaeus, *Veteris aevi analecta II*, Lugduni Batavorum 1698, pp. 279-427.

³⁷ Detmold, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv, L3 Holland 429, fol. 5r-58r (ca. 1490-1510, with coats of arms and portraits); Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert 1, 19217 (17th century, illuminated); and Haarlem, Rijksarchief Noord-Holland, Collection Aanwinsten 1040 (16th century, illuminated).

³⁸ An important part is to be found now in Detmold, Nordrhein-Westfälische Staatsarchiv. In the prologue of the Dutch version of the Brederode chronicle, the reader is referred to a chronicle in the Brederode archives which would run till 1465: CARASSO-KOK 1981 (note 1), p. 330. Does this concern one of the 'Vorlagen' of the Kattendijke-authors?

³⁹ Alas, there is no known inventory of the content of the library of Santpoort castle. There is one from Batestein castle, made after the death of Reinoud III van Brederode in 1556, published by Laboranter [unknown pseudonym], 'Inventaris van den Heer van Brederode 1556', *De Navorscher* 22 (1872), pp. 329-341, 593-599; 23 (1873), pp. 273-284. In the library of this castle, there are historical books in French and Dutch, but no Brederode chronicle or Dutch chronicle. These books must have been in Santpoort castle, since they date back to the time when Yolande van Lalaing stayed there. Nearly a century later, Bockenbergh could have found in Brederode's library the Kattendijke chronicle while he was doing research for his own *Historia et genealogia Brederodiorum; illustrissimae gentis Hollandie*, which appeared in Leiden in 1587.

CONCLUSION

Jacob Bellaert, a publisher in Haarlem, had the excellent idea of producing a copy of the Kattendijke chronicle. The preliminary work of collecting texts and illustrations could have taken place during the active period of Bellaert in Haarlem, i.e. before August 1486, the date of his last known edition.⁴⁰ A text attributed to Bellaert's printing shop explains how the illustrator of the Kattendijke chronicle acquired the woodcuts from Bellaert's Hollandse predecessor, Gheraert Leeu,⁴¹ and how he was able to see the copy with the drawings of Jasonmeester of Haarlem. It makes more comprehensible the cutaway from *Die historie van hertoghe Godevaert van Boloen* by the Collacie brothers of Gouda: already since the time of Leeu, in Gouda there had been commercial relations with the publishers of this town, and for the final printing Bellaert would undoubtedly have had the woodcuts at his disposal.⁴² Moreover, the text attributed to Bellaert's printing shop makes it clear how the author came up with the Trojan subject. By locating the copy in the middle of the 1480s, during Bellaert's active years in Haarlem, one is in a better position to understand why the Dutch sources of the Kattendijke chronicle do not go back further than 1480.⁴³ In conclusion we could explain why the Kattendijke chronicle has never been used as a copy and has remained in its present form, viz. because Bellaert's business went bankrupt towards 1486. The manuscript was further 'upgraded' in view of a particular purchaser: the Kattendijke copy became the Kattendijke chronicle.

The Kattendijke chronicle: is it a unique book from Haarlem? The Haarlem pencilled work which through the woodcuts of Leeu suggested a connection with Bellaert's printing shop, the affinity with the illustrations of Jasonmeester of Haarlem in the *Jason-Scaecspel* manuscript, the use of the Van Wisse manuscript from the Magdalena cloister in Haarlem, and of Bellaert's *Die vergaderinghe der historien van Troyen*, in addition to the contacts with Johannes a Leydis and the heraldic propaganda for the Brederodes, is sufficient reason to consider

⁴⁰ CA 1376. Comp. *De vijfhonderste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden. Tentoonstelling in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I. Catalogus*, Brussels 1973, pp. 379-381.

⁴¹ Bellaert ingeniously applied a collage method with woodcuts. For his edition of Jacobus de Theramo, *Der sonderen troest* from 1484 (CA 1656) he sawed logs of wood for a new 'triptych': *De vijfhonderdste verjaring* 1973 (note 40), p. 378. Are the collages in the Kattendijke chronicle considered the previous phase of 'triptych'?

⁴² *De vijfhonderd verjaring* 1973 (note 40), p. 442.

⁴³ When the author writes about Maria of Burgundy he leaves an open space by announcing: 'Ende sij regierde ... iaer lanck' (fol. 559r). Once more he has not revised his text here.

Haarlem its original location. A comparative palaeographical examination could reveal who the author was: his writing is much like that of the Scheen Wissensz's of Kerckwerff, and perhaps he or one of his successors in the Haarlem chancellery could be visualised.⁴⁴ A further identification for this Haarlem origin could be the watermark of the paper used.

The second part of the question can be reasonably settled from what has been stated above. The first part can be answered in the affirmative, not only because a person's handwriting is unique, but because no manuscript designed and illuminated like the Kattendijke chronicle is known from the second part of the 15th century. There are more examples of such copies as this one, but after being used they were probably thrown away. In any case, they were not upgraded nor did they reach aristocratic circles as this one did. The phenomenon of an illuminated chronicle, entirely hand-written or printed with coats of arms and illustrations is, of course, not unique to the Netherlands in the period 1450-1500. The Kattendijke chronicle had the necessary examples amongst its sources: Veldener's chronicle and the 'Oude Goudse little chronicle', of which a hand-written example with pencilled drawings and arms is known.⁴⁵ If the Kattendijke author did receive information from Johannes a Leydis, then he could have seen his autograph on the first edition of his Dutch chronicle, with pencilled drawings and decoration.⁴⁶ The Brederode chronicle Leydis offered to Yolande van Lalaing contains pencilled drawings, but improved examples are not the cited ones and in this respect the Kattendijke chronicle is a unique product in the transition from writing to the printing culture in the late Middle Ages.

Viewed in this light it can be said that the chronicle came to us in this form.⁴⁷ For historiography, the transition from writing to printing is considered to have occurred slowly and progressively while the printing press worked initially in a preserving way. The influence of humanism is not to be found before 1500 in printed historiographical works; chronicles seem not to have enjoyed public interest as a different kind (namely, as

⁴⁴ Unfortunately it is not known till when Scheen Wissensz. de Kerckwerff was active in Haarlem. If the archive research would prove that he was still active in 1491, he could be considered for the authorship of the Kattendijke chronicle.

⁴⁵ The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, 10 E 10.

⁴⁶ London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E VI. See CARASSO-KOK 1981 (note 1), p. 327; EBELS-HOVING 1985 (note 35), p. 33.

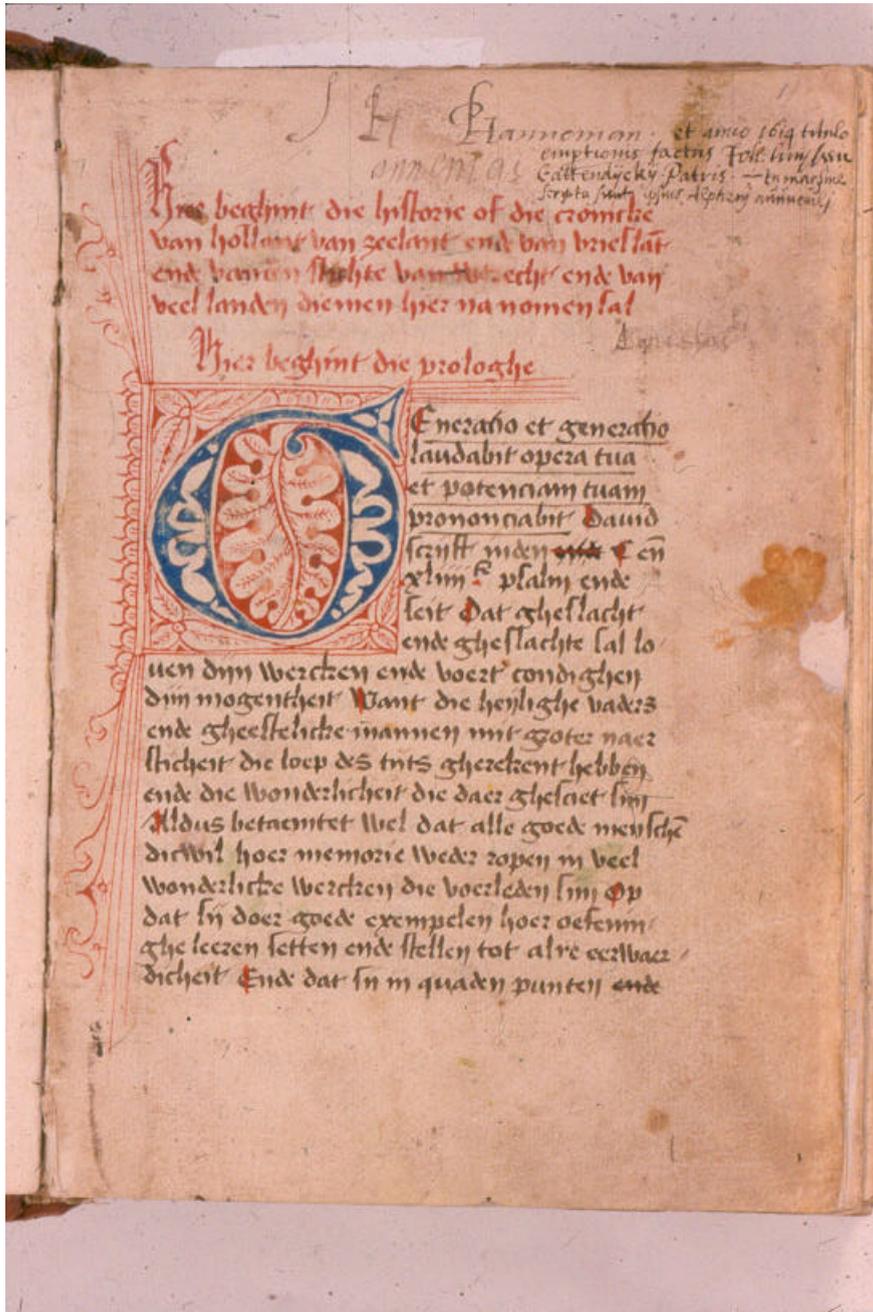
⁴⁷ Comp. B. Ebbels-Hoving, 'Nederlandse geschiedschrijving 1350-1530', EBELS-HOVING et al. 1987 (note 10), pp. 237-242.

edifying and exemplary) of vernacular literature. There was great demand for illustrated world chronicles, such as those of Rolevinck and Schedel, and in this vogue the author tried to pitch his. Although the 'Hollandse drukkerslente'⁴⁸ and Bellaert's career were to last but briefly, and with the publications of Veldener and Leeu the historical market was provisionally saturated, people with enterprise had not been able to foresee this chronicle. Bellaert's Janson and Troy editions of 1485 turned out to be a financial feat of strength but after that all room to experiment vanished from his printing shop.

The manuscript of the Kattendijke chronicle was quickly put away in a private library. But ideas had taken form. Although this chronicle with its cutting and pasting work has caused many modern researchers to shake their head, the lines expanded by the author – Dutch history placed within the framework of world history and the great start for Dutchmen – were taken up in the Dutch historiography of the early 16th century. Namely, Cornelius Aurelius worked out the starting-points of the Kattendijke chronicle in his *Divisiekroniek*, in a more humanistic sense: well-considered and based on a larger arsenal of sources. His chronicle fascinated the Dutch middle classes. Aurelius was then able to have at his disposal the glorious Batavians as ancestors of the Dutchmen: the Trojan account was presented in his work with a more moralist character. It is not inconceivable that Aurelius knew about his Kattendijke predecessor. Johannes a Leydis was one of his most important informants and he had various other contacts in Haarlem. Perhaps he drew from this work direct inspiration for his own chronicle. The imagination of the past is strikingly related in both works.

The Kattendijke chronicle is not only a unique book from Haarlem, but also what for a long time was the missing link in late mediaeval North-Netherlands' historiography. Students who struggle to search for new dimensions for Dutch history issued into the *Divisiekroniek* of 1517 suddenly find themselves in much clearer daylight.

⁴⁸ H. Pleij, 'Drukkers, literatuur en geestelijkheid in het laat-middeleeuwse Holland', *Madoc, Tijdschrift voor Mediëvistiek* 6 (1992), pp. 3-19: 3.



(Proloog)



(Boven: Begin Engeland) – (Onder: Bonifacius)



