

Uut veel boecken vergadert

Compilation-strategy and universality in the late medieval
Kattendijke-kroniek (c. 1491)

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Contents

Introduction	1
Status Quaestionis	5
Chapter 1. The prologue	11
Chapter 2. Compilation in the world-historical chapters	15
Chapter 3. Compilation and layout in the ‘regional’ chapters	22
Conclusion	31
Bibliography	33

Introduction

In his book *De ontdekking van de middeleeuwen* ('*The discovery of the Middle Ages*'; 2011), Peter Raedts stated that, despite scholarly efforts, the humanists' periodization of the past is so deeply engraved in European culture that it still dominates modern historical thinking. Starting with Petrarca, the humanists developed a threefold division of time: old, new and a long period of darkness in between. Though Petrarca himself was still rather pessimistic about his own time, subsequent humanists made it very clear in their writings that they lived in (and were responsible for) a rebirth of classical antiquity and that the barbaric era of cultural stagnation, what in subsequent centuries would become known as the 'Middle Ages', had finally come to an end.¹ Historians for a long time took such contemporary proclamations from intellectuals and artists alike at face value, and were convinced that the millennium between antiquity and humanists' heyday around 1500 clearly formed a culturally demarcated period.² Though it is now commonly accepted among scholars that the years on both sides of this 'benchmark-year' 1500 demonstrate way more continuity between them than the humanists made us believe, and that other years such as 1000 or 1800 show much clearer historical breaks, the periodization created by Petrarca and his followers and the connotations that came with it (negative with regards to the Medieval period), became the foundation of European historiography and, according to Raedts, never really disappeared.³

This humanist perspective of the past can still be discerned, among other domains, in the field of historiography. Scholars focussing on Renaissance-historiography are usually at pains to demonstrate its innovative character, which implies a move away from the medieval historiographical tradition. Not only did the humanists pay significant attention to the stylistic and rhetorical elements from the great writers of classical antiquity, but with regards to topics, the nation and its origins obtained centre stage, and in this way humanist historians would have given rise to a more secular approach to history and the past.⁴ Though it is true that humanist historians adopted several new features, at closer look, it would seem that the underlying view or conception of history went quite unchanged well into the eighteenth century, when a modern historical consciousness was born which enabled people to comprehend characteristic differences between different epochs. Before (roughly) that century, the medieval idea that periods of time did not structurally differ from others, was still prevalent.⁵ The medieval conception of history is perhaps best explained by Hans-Werner Goetz:

“Medieval historical thinking is characterized by a sort of “timelessness”: it lacked an understanding of a structural alterity and individuality of historical epochs, by emphasizing continuities, immediate comparability and structural similarities”⁶

This conception was closely connected to organizing schemes such as the six *aetas* of Augustine or the Four Kingdoms from the Book of Daniel (which in turn was important for the development of the

¹ Peter Raedts, *De ontdekking van de middeleeuwen. Geschiedenis van een illusie* (Amsterdam 2011) 37.

² Bert Roest, 'Rhetoric of innovation and recourse to tradition in humanist pedagogical discourse' in: Idem and Stephen Gersh eds., *Medieval and Renaissance humanism. Rhetoric, representation and reform* (Leiden-Boston 2003) 115-148, q.v. 115-118.

³ Raedts, *De ontdekking*, 37, 355-356.

⁴ Sverre Bagge, 'Medieval and Renaissance historiography: break or continuity?', *The European Legacy. Toward New Paradigms* 2:8 (1997) 1336-1371, q.v. 1336-1350; Bunna Ebels-Hoving, 'Johannes a Leydis en de eerste humanistische geschiedschrijving van Holland', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 100:1 (1985) 26-51, q.v. 27-29; Ernst Breisach, *Historiography. Ancient, medieval & modern* (third edition; Chicago-London 2007), 153-166.

⁵ Raedts, *De ontdekking*, 71; Harry Jansen, *Triptiek van de tijd. Geschiedenis in drievoud* (Nijmegen 2010) 41-43.

⁶ Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Historical writing, historical thinking and historical consciousness in the Middle Ages', *Revista Diálogos Mediterrânicos* 2 (2012) 110-128, q.v. 121.

medieval concept of *translatio imperii*), which solved the discrepancy between apparent changes in the past (the passing of kingdoms and empires), with the idea that all meaningful history (i.e. Biblical history and, most important, the kairotic event of Jesus' life, passion and death) had already taken place and hence nothing really 'new' could happen.⁷ It cannot be emphasized enough, certainly with regards to the thesis at hand, that there was no doubt among medieval historians that it was God who reigned supreme over history. God's working hand guided all events in order to realize His ultimate purpose: the redemption of mankind. Historiography was thus essentially the narration of the unfolding of the providential plan, which in turn meant historiography was per definition universal, for God's concern was the salvation of all of mankind.⁸

Nico Lettinck noticed the discord between modern scholars in literature focussing specifically on late Medieval Dutch historiography.⁹ Lettinck argues that there is confusion with regard to works produced in this period, since new (humanist) features and tendencies in historiography do not necessarily imply a move away from the medieval, Christian worldview and, rather boldly, concludes:

“As I see it, the providential character of universal chronicles is typical for the *whole* [Italics by Lettinck] period we usually designate as the Middle Ages.”¹⁰

A break with the medieval worldview, he stresses, developed gradually and only became manifest in the Enlightenment.¹¹

Lettinck's conclusions are made after analysing five universal chronicles from fifteenth-century the Netherlands. Unfortunately for Lettinck, another fifteenth-century chronicle was rediscovered only a good year later. The Kattendijke-kroniek, a 561-folia-long, richly illustrated chronicle, written in the Middle-Dutch language, was probably completed in 1491 in or close to Haarlem, by a still unknown lay author. Starting with Trojan history and a world-historical section, the chronicle slowly converges into the history of the county of Holland and the bishopric of Utrecht (or, perhaps better, their rulers), by which it perfectly fits in the historiographical tendency of the late Middle Ages of embedding regional histories in the wider framework of universal history.¹² Bunna Ebels-Hoving, in contrast to the editors of the modern edition (which appeared in 2005), sees no impediment in locating the author with certainty in Haarlem. More specifically, she places him within the circle of Johannes a Leydis, a chronicler himself and brother of the city's Carmelite monastery, who might even have assisted our author in the writing process. The monastery as a working place would explain the author's access to historiographical sources and the correct Latin translations can be contributed to Leydis, since the author's Latin was poor.¹³

⁷ Hans-Werner Goetz, 'The concept of time in the historiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in: Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick J. Geary eds., *Medieval concepts of the past. Ritual, memory, historiography* (Cambridge-Washington 2002) 139-165, q.v. 153-163; Nico Lettinck, *Geschiedbeschouwing en beleving van de eigen tijd in de eerste helft van de twaalfde eeuw* (Amsterdam 1983), 25-32; Karl Löwith, *Meaning in history* (Chicago-London 1949) 166-169.

⁸ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Historical thought in medieval Europe' in: Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza eds., *A companion to Western historical thought* (Malden-Oxford 200) 78-98, q.v. 81-82; Goetz, 'Historical writing', 114-118.

⁹ To be clear, 'Dutch historiography' in this thesis refers to works of history produced in the geographical region now known as the Netherlands, but which are not necessarily in the (Middle-)Dutch language.

¹⁰ Nico Lettinck, 'Het karakter van laatmiddeleeuwse wereldkronieken in Nederland', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 16:4 (1989) 393-401, q.v. 400. Here, Lettinck points to one the characteristics Karl Heinrich Krüger ascribed to medieval universal chronicles, which was a *heilshistorische* conception. See: Karl Heinrich Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken* (Turhout 1976), 13.

¹¹ Lettinck, 'Het karakter', 399.

¹² Antheun Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron' in: *Johan Huysen van Kattendijke-kroniek. Die historie of die cronicke van Hollant, van Zeelant ende van Vrieslant ende van den Stichte van Utrecht*. Antheun Janse and Ingrid Biesheuvel eds. (Den Haag 2005) cxx-cxxxix.

¹³ Bunna Ebels-Hoving, '“Kattendyke”, een goed verpakte surprise', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 122:1 (2007) 1-14, q.v. 9-12; Wim van Anrooij, Jos Biemans and Antheun Janse, 'Karakteristiek van de auteur', in: *Johan Huysen van Kattendijke-kroniek. Die historie of die cronicke van Hollant, van Zeelant ende van*

If Lettinck had been able to include the Kattendijke-kroniek in his discussion, this could either have strengthened his argument, or it would have enabled him to propose a more nuanced view with regard to the Renaissance-historians' stand that the medieval providential character faded away during the later Middle Ages. The small body of literature produced on the Kattendijke-kroniek so far, has not scrutinized the work on the historical conception of the author, which leaves the necessity and opportunity to do just that; it can thus serve a great test case for Lettinck's argument. This thesis, therefore, will analyse the Kattendijke-kroniek on the worldview or historical conception it implicitly exposes. Can we still discern the traditional Christo-eschatological writing of history, as was so prevalent in the Middle Ages? Or does the chronicle demonstrate that the medieval worldview slowly started to erode by the influence of new humanist ideas about history and its writing? Analysing this chronicle on its underlying conception of history, can hopefully give new insight for and impetus to the debate about the issue of change or continuity in historiography around 1500. First and foremost however, without being guided too much by the finalistic criterium of 'change' or 'historical development', this source gives us the possibility to gain insight in the conception of history and time, and thus, more general, in the worldview of an lay author around 1500, who had a profound interest in history.

In order to seek the underlying worldview of the author of the Kattendijke-kroniek, this thesis will put his compilation strategy through an in-depth analysis. For long, the compilatory nature of medieval historiography was judged negatively by scholars, who complained that the chroniclers lacked originality. Over the last decades, medievalists have dropped this criterium, and instead try to understand the medieval historian in his own intellectual context.¹⁴ It has since become clear that, from the high middle ages onward, *compilatio* was regarded as a distinct (vis-à-vis the *auctores*, the authoritative texts themselves) and highly valued mode of writing, and it became the primary form of composing historiographical texts. The *compiler* considered his work as something new: compilation (in the words of Bernard Guenée) was not conceived as mere 'repetition', but 'recreation'.¹⁵ The compiler organized the authoritative excerpts into a new whole, and it is this practice that enjoys the interest of present-day scholars: they investigate what choices the medieval historian made with regard to the selection, arrangement and adjustment of the material that he derived from the sources.¹⁶ In turn, the new narrative, which emerges as the result of the author's choices, implicitly demonstrates underlying ideas, perceptions and motives which infused the author's compilation.¹⁷

This brings us back to the Kattendijke-kroniek, for even though this chronicle hardly contains any original material, we can still analyse what sections he wanted to include from the sources at his disposal and the way he has woven these together. This can help us to illuminate the author's worldview. First, however, a more elaborate discussion of the literature on the earlier mentioned debate will be presented. Subsequently, three chapters will scrutinize the author's compilation-strategy, each for different section of the chronicle. Chapter 1 will focus on the prologue, 2 on the more world-historical chapters at the beginning of the work, while chapter 3 is dedicated to the alternating chapters on secular rulers in Holland and bishops of Utrecht which make up the majority of

Vrieslant ende van den Stichte van Utrecht. Antheun Janse and Ingrid Biesheuvel eds. (Den Haag 2005), cxl-cliii, q.v. cxlix-cl.

¹⁴ Anne Huijbers, *Zealots for souls. Dominican narratives between Observant reform and humanism, c. 1388-1517* (Enschede 2015), 39-40; Justin Lake, 'Current approaches to medieval historiography', *History Compass* 13:3 (2015) 89-109, q.v. 96-97.

¹⁵ Alastair Minnis, 'Nolens auctor sed compiler reputari: the late-medieval discourse of compilation' in: Mireille Chazan and Gilbert Dahan eds., *La méthode critique au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout 2006) 47-63, q.v. 47-53, 58-60. For the sake of convenience, this thesis will use the noun 'author' to denote the 'compiler' of the Kattendijke-kroniek.

¹⁶ Gert Melville, 'Kompilation, Fiktion und Diskurs. Aspekte zur heuristischen Methode der mittelalterlichen Gesichtsschreiber' in: Christian Meier and Jörn Rüsen eds., *Historische Methode* (München 1988) 133-153, q.v. 134-140.

¹⁷ Goetz, 'Historical writing' 111.

the chronicle. In the last chapter, rather than the text alone, attention will also be paid to the layout, for this had consequences for the selection of text material in this part of the chronicle. At the end we will summarize the results, and conclude what worldview has emerged from the Kattendijke-kroniek and briefly discuss what this can add to the ongoing debate.

As a final note, this thesis relies heavily on source-references which appear in margins of the modern edition and which were added by Antheun Janse. Abbreviations and page-numbers show where a certain passage from the chronicle originates from. This made it possible not only to look up the original sources and compare them with the text in the Kattendijke-kroniek, but also at which points our author turns to a different source; both were invaluable for analysis at hand. While Janse at times will be criticized, this thesis was not possible without his work.

Status Quaestionis

Since the 1970s scholarship on medieval historiography, the ‘Rankean’ tradition of using medieval literature purely as *Quellenmaterial* in order to reconstruct the Middle Ages has given way to a tendency in which the historiography and its authors are analysed in combination with their immediate historical context, be it social, literary (as discussed above with regards to compilation) or political.¹⁸ By drawing in the political context in the analysis of historiography, for example, scholars have demonstrated that most works were written as a direct result of political circumstances, in which they functioned as legitimation for a specific political claim, or in which they helped to foster bonds of identity (which of course in some sense is also a social function), and of course these functions were at times closely intertwined. The perceived agenda’s in the historical texts, is also closely related to matters such as the audience and reception, patronage, transmission, and literary strategies.¹⁹ The general notion behind these functions which scholars have discerned, is that historiography had a ‘present-centered’ nature: the interest in the past grew from specific historical circumstances.²⁰ Goetz has investigated the medieval historical consciousness in order to show how the notion that the past could serve as legitimation for the present, was connected to medieval historical thinking – which attests to a more anthropological approach in current research into the Middle Ages.²¹

Just when in the 1970s medievalists started investigating topics such as the medieval conception of the past and history, new publications emerged that rekindled the idea of a specific Renaissance historical consciousness and form of history-writing. Though it is of course Jacob Burckhardt who in 1860 classified the Renaissance as the birth of modernity, the idea that the historiography from the Renaissance demonstrated an abrupt and clear break with the works by Medieval historians is perhaps most strongly expressed by scholars such as Peter Burke and Donald Reed Kelley in several influential publications from the 1970s.²² For Burke, the modern sense of history, characterized by a sense of anachronism, awareness of evidence, and causal explanation, originated with the Renaissance historians; a sense of history which Burke sharply contrasts with the one implicitly expressed in Medieval historiography.²³ Kelley, in his tellingly titled work *Foundations of modern historical scholarship*, draws similar conclusions and sees the Renaissance humanists as the forerunners of historicism.²⁴ These conceived origins of historicism did not go uncontested, and in the 1980s Reinhart Koselleck argued that an incomprehension of structural alterities between past, present and future existed far into the eighteenth century, which is attested by the persistent usage of history as *magistra vitae*, a topos which implies “an apprehension of human possibilities in a general historical continuum.”²⁵ Only from the 1770s onwards would scholars grasp the uniqueness of past events (which implicated an unknowable, indeed ‘unprecedented’ future as well), or, in Koselleck’s terminology, history became temporalized.²⁶ With regard to the Renaissance, Koselleck reminds us that: “The thinkers of the Renaissance [...] did consider the question of whether a *mittlere Zeit* would by negation produce a *neue Zeit*, but none of them actually formulated this as a theoreticohistorical

¹⁸ Lake, ‘Current approaches’, 89-90, 92.; Matthew Innes, ‘Introduction: using the past, interpreting the present, influencing the future’ in: Idem and Yitzhak Hen eds., *Uses of the past in the early middle ages* (Cambridge-New York-Melbourne 2000) 1-8, q.v. 2-3.

¹⁹ Lake, ‘Current approaches’, 90.

²⁰ Lake, ‘Current approaches’ 92-94; Goetz, ‘Historical writing’ 128.

²¹ Goetz, ‘The concept of time’, 139.

²² Raedts, *De ontdekking*, 280-281.

²³ Peter Burke, *The Renaissance sense of the past* (London 1969) 1-18.

²⁴ Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of modern historical scholarship. Language, law, and history in the French Renaissance* (New York 1970) 7-8.

²⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time*, transl. K. Tribe (Cambridge-London 1985) 23.

²⁶ Koselleck, *Futures past*, 26-36. Many more scholars could be mentioned in this debate about the origins of historicism, such as John Pocock, Friedrich Meinecke, Piet Blaas, or, specifically about the Renaissance, Donald J. Wilcox, Eric W. Cochrane, Robert Black to name but a few.

concept”, an idea which he borrows from Herbert Grundmann.²⁷

Noteworthy for this thesis is that Grundmann also had argued that the humanists did not deny the concept of world-ages, one of the characteristic features of medieval historiography, until the time Jean Bodin (1530-1596).²⁸ Zachary Schiffman argued in connection with this that authors like Kelley have mistaken historical scholarship for historical consciousness. Schiffman argues in line with Koselleck that it was not until the eighteenth century that historians used an explanatory model based on historical development. This means that authors like Kelley have wrongly equated the alleged methodological innovations of the humanists with this sense of historical process and development.²⁹ From a rather different angle, Janet Coleman attacked the works of Kelley and Burke by saying that the features of historical sense (especially the sense for anachronism) as attributed to the Renaissance humanists can already be discerned in works stemming from the Middle Ages. Coleman does not argue that the medieval sense of the time and history can be seen as the forerunner of the modern historical consciousness, but that the same could be stated about the historical sense attributed to the humanists by Burke and Kelley since they based their own conclusions on features of Renaissance historiography that were not really revolutionary.³⁰ Bernard Guenée has also pointed to a certain critical historical approach of medieval writers, some of whom even demonstrated this critical acumen more clearly than their humanist counterparts.³¹

The above is only a brief overview of the debate raging in the fields of medieval and Renaissance historiography. Naturally though, the question arises about the relevance of this debate for research into a late medieval chronicle like the one central in this paper. It is already remarkable that the term ‘late medieval’ is absent in the discussion sketched above, but that is precisely the nexus at stake in the debate in question: the obsession with finding the cradle of our modern historical consciousness in the works of the Renaissance humanists from let’s say the 14th to the 17th century has led modern historians to overlook the historiographical literature that was still rather ‘traditional’, i.e. medieval. There is, in the words of Ernst Breisach, a tendency among modern historians to designate various persons or years in this period as the start (of the development to) the modern age.³² According to Breisach however, the medieval Christian model showed itself capable of absorbing many adjustments, before finally collapsing in the 18th century. Moreover, the genre of the medieval universal chronicle did not fade into the background of historiographical activity because of an alleged secular approach by the humanists, who still viewed the world around them and its history through a Christian framework: they just had different aims in their works focussing on human deeds and motives for which the medieval model was not very suitable. Other authors simply continued to write universal chronicles in the traditional way. It was only with the geographical discoveries and Reformation that the innovations of the humanists could lead to a transformation of sacred history, into ecclesiastical history and thus merely another aspect of human history in general.³³

In the same vein, Jozef IJsewijn, in his study of humanism in the Low countries, already in the 1970s pointed to the long-lasting resistance of more conservative intellectuals toward the novelties of the humanists.³⁴ Partly, however, the blame for neglecting more ‘traditional’ forms of late

²⁷ Koselleck, *Futures past*, 237; Herbert Grundmann ‘Die Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsanschauungen’ in: Walther Lammers ed., *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1933 bis 1959* (Darmstadt 1961) 418-429, q.v. 426-427.

²⁸ Grundmann, ‘Die Grundzüge’, 424-428.

²⁹ Zachary S. Schiffman, ‘Renaissance historicism reconsidered’, *History and Theory* 24:2 (1985) 170-182, q.v. 170-172, 182.

³⁰ Janet Coleman, *Ancient and medieval memories. Studies in the reconstruction of the past* (Cambridge etc. 1992), 562-567.

³¹ Ebels-Hoving, ‘Johannes a Leydis’, 28.’

³² Breisach, *Historiography*, 153.

³³ *Ibidem*, 153-160.

³⁴ Jozef IJsewijn, ‘The coming of humanism to the Low Countries’ in: Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady eds., *Itinerarium Italicum. The profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*.

medieval/early Renaissance historiography lies with medievalists themselves, who for a long time have regarded late medieval historiography as inferior compared to the works produced in the High Middle Ages, for example the chronicles of Otto of Freising. From this scholarly perspective, only impulses from the vernacular and the classical tradition (i.e. humanism) could revive historiography, and thus make it an interesting object of study once more.³⁵ Indicative of these developments, is that now many textbooks on western historiography end their chapters on medieval works well before the later middle ages, while the subsequent chapter in such textbooks usually starts with descriptions of the great names of humanism who (allegedly) changed historiography, such as Petrarch, Biondo, Bruni, Guicciardini, Macchiavelli etc, thus leaving a gap in between.³⁶ Illustrative is an article by Sverre Bagge, which is temptingly titled ‘Medieval and Renaissance historiography: break or continuity?’ but really is only about humanists (in his case Compagni, Villani, Bruni and Macchiavelli).³⁷ Even Breisach, despite all his prudence, only casually mentions a Schedel, a Rolevinck, or a Foresti, who still used the traditional universal-Christian framework for their world-chronicles from the second half of the fifteenth century.³⁸

Scholarship on late medieval historiography from the Netherlands suffers from the same finalistic approach: scholars are mostly occupying themselves with tracing humanist origins, and neglect the more traditional modes of writing which took place simultaneously. A perfect example of this is Ebels-Hoving’s characterization of Dutch historiography produced between 1350 and 1530. Despite providing a rich overview of the literature and useful insights, she cannot help but conclude the article (which in turn is the very end of a whole volume on late medieval historiography) with a rather negative, or at least disappointing judgment, since what these works demonstrate above all is that the historians did not yet fully take up the humanist fashion of the day, and so an overview of the literature from that period rather demonstrates what had *not* changed. For example, and very interestingly with regard to this thesis, she argues that there is no critical, historical sense in these late medieval works, despite earlier assumptions in the 1950s most notably by Waterbolck, but tellingly this is presented as a shortcoming.³⁹ In line with this and with Breisach’s observation (above), most Dutch scholars have busied themselves mostly with finding the crucial link between old and new approaches to history. So in a different article, Ebels-Hoving proposes Johannes a Leydis (d. 1504) as the first humanist historian within the Dutch territories; Antheun Janse points to an untitled work from 1440; Karin Tilmans to Cornelius Aurelius (1460-1531).⁴⁰ Like Ebels-Hoving’s gloomy conclusion above, Janse sounds equally disappointed when in one of the introductory articles to the modern edition of the *Kattendijke-kroniek*, he states that the anonymous author “cannot hold a candle to Cornelius Aurelius.”⁴¹ In this line of thought it seems that only when an medieval author shared some humanistic features he can count as a historian worthy of the name.

Though the humanist/finalist framework has dominated investigation into late medieval historiography, several publications have appeared which analyse such works and their authors on

Dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday (Leiden 1975) 193-301, q.v. 208, 213, 223-225.

³⁵ Bert Roest, ‘De orde van het betoog: Paulinus van Venitië (ca. 1274-1344) als geschiedschrijver’, *Millennium. Tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse studies* 9:2 (1995) 99-116, q.v. 99-100.

³⁶ See for example: Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of history. Historical inquiry from Herodotus to Herder* (New Haven 1998).

³⁷ Sverre Bagge ‘Medieval and Renaissance historiography’.

³⁸ Breisach, *Historiography*, 159, 178.

³⁹ Bunna Ebels-Hoving, ‘Nederlandse geschiedschrijving 1350-1530: een poging tot karakterisering’ in: Idem, Catrien G. Santing and Karin Tilmans eds., *Genoechlicke ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland* (Hilversum 1987) 217-242, q.v. 234-242.

⁴⁰ Bunna Ebels-Hoving, ‘Johannes a Leydis’; 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; Karin Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiechroniek van 1517. Histografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus* (Hilversum 1988).

⁴¹ Janse, ‘De *Kattendijke-kroniek* als historiografische bron’, cxxxix.

their own, late medieval merits. The majority of literature focusses on Holland, but works on other principalities have been written as well. Slightly out of our chronological scope of this thesis, Jan Davidse analyses the view on history in Jan van Boendale's work from the 14th century, while Frits van Oostrom has written various works on Jacob van Maerlant, who wrote influential works on history in the 13th century, from which historians would copy extensively for centuries to come, even the humanists. Maerlant translated Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, and Boendale equally stood in the *speculum*-tradition.⁴² It is interesting that while the *speculum*-tradition is usually associated with the medieval works, humanists did find it odd to continue copying these works, and so perhaps they still shared some of the medieval views on world history, or at least these views did not seem wholly out of place. More closely to our own times, Jacob Tigelaar shows for the *Die alder excellenste cronyke van Brabant* that the author firmly tries to place the history of Brabant in a salvation historical framework, and the same applies, according to Steven Vanderputten, about the works of Petrus Treckpoel (both authors wrote their works around the year 1500).⁴³

This brings us back Lettinck (see introduction), who equally demonstrated that several late medieval world-chronicles from the Netherlands - despite the fact that the geographical scope in these works gradually narrows to the author's own region - were still imbedded in the universal-Christian framework and so lost none of their salvation historical character. His article was indeed a response to what he sees as a misunderstanding of late medieval historiography, because of certain expectations (i.e.: of development). In short then, again, Lettinck's argument is aimed against those scholars who equal the development in late medieval historiography toward regionalization in universal chronicles with a secularization of the medieval worldview. It is most likely for the very same reason as above – namely a finalistic approach applied to medieval historiography – that scholars have tended to highlight certain aspects of late medieval historiography that are considered important for the development toward modern historiography, in this case secularization. Thus, František Graus argues that secular groups (*Gemeinschaften*) – be it cities, royal lineages or entire nations – and their origins and prestige arrived at the centre-stage of historiography, and historians no longer sought to unravel God's working hand in history; Liebertz-Grün argues that the eschatological dimension in historiography (in her case, the works of Jans Enikel and Ottokar von Steiermark) faded away in favour of a more pragmatic approach to history. This is illustrated with various examples, such as in the narration of Christ in Enikel's work, which is not presented as a turning-point in history and in the presentation of Old-Testament figures, who no longer function as prefigurae of persons living in the period after Christ, while at the same time both authors did not attach eschatological meaning to the time-schemes. Jeanne Verbij-Schillings follows Liebertz-Grün's argument almost verbatim in her analysis of the Middle-Dutch, *Wereldkroniek* (one of the sources of the anonymous author of the Kattendijke-kroniek) written in the first decade of the fifteenth century the 'Herald Bavaria'. The Incarnation is presented, according to Verbij-Schillings, as just a historical event in the reign of Augustus rather than a sacred historical turning point, and the author could not grasp the meaning of the world historical schemes.⁴⁴

⁴² Jan Davids, 'Denken over de geschiedenis in veertiende-eeuws Brabant: Jan van Boendales *Der Leken Spieghel*' in: Nico Lettinck en Jaap J. van Moolenbroek eds., *In de schaduw van de eeuwigheid. Tien studies over religie en samenleving in laatmiddeleeuws Nederland aangeboden aan prof. dr. A.H. Bredero* (Utrecht 1986) 11-27, q.v. 13-27; Frits van Oostrom, *Maerlants wereld* (Amsterdam 1996).

⁴³ Jacob Tigelaar, *Brabants historie ontvouwd. Die alder excellenste cronyke van Brabant en het Brabantse geschiedbeeld anno 1500* (Hilversum 2006), 62-63, 152-153; Steven Vanderputten, 'Reconstructie van een laatmiddeleeuws historiografisch oeuvre. Het voorbeeld van de Loonse priester Petrus Treckpoel (1442 - circa 1508)', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 83:4 (2005) 1059-1075, q.v. 1073-1075.

⁴⁴ František Graus, 'Funktionen der spätmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung' in: Hans Patze ed., *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen 1987) 11-55, q.v. 24-25; Ursula Liebertz-Grün, *Das andere Mittelalter. Erzählte Geschichte und Geschichtskennntnis um 1300. Studien zu Ottokar von Steiermark, Jans Enikel, Seifried Helbling* (Munich 1984) 91-92, 100, 140-141; Jeanne M.C. Verbij-Schillings, 'Die ieesten der princen: de wereldkroniek van de Heraut Beyeren (ca. 1405-1409)' in: Bunna

Lettinck, however, states that regionalization and secularization do not necessarily go hand in hand.⁴⁵ Even the chronicle of a single Dutch city (Kampen) was provided with an opening page with an summary of the world history from Creation up to the fourteenth century: the medieval chronicler simply could not comprehend the history of his city (or any territory for that matter) without the universal framework of history, and a focus on the historian's own region was a feature of *every* universal chronicle.⁴⁶ Karl Heinrich Krüger, in his seminal work from 1976 on the characterisation of medieval universal chronicles, already discussed regionalization in universal chronicles, while more recently Peter Johanek and Rolf Sprandel also paid attention to this phenomenon of embedding regional history in a world-historical frame. In contrast to Liebertz-Grün, Graus and Verbij-Schillings, however, these authors do not speak about secularization of the medieval, Christian worldview, and instead stress that, despite regionalization, the salvation historical foundation abided in late medieval chronicles.⁴⁷

Lettinck also agitates against the arguments of Richard Vaughan, who questions essentially all characteristics usually ascribed by scholars to medieval historical thinking:

“it has often been maintained that certain attitudes to the past were held in common between 500 and 1500 A.D. A sort of medieval vision of the past has been conjured up which is alleged to have been providential, [...] universalizing, Christocentric and strongly periodized.”⁴⁸

Rather than Christianity and its God, Rome was the focal point which arranged all events of the past. If one thumbs through the works of Bede, Otto of Freising, Matthew of Paris and Higden, Vaughan argues, one does not come across structural breaks in their narratives; the various theological periodizations of history according to the famous six-, four-, or threefold schemes – which the authors knew very well through their monastic backgrounds and theological education – were not put into (historiographical) practice. The past was perceived as a continuous linear succession of years without definite caesura.⁴⁹ Thus Vaughan creates a sharp dichotomy between the medieval theoretical theologian and the more practical medieval historian, who conceived his task as to explain the present by the past rather than analysing this past in order to understand the working of God's hand in history. What is more, biblical, ecclesiastical and other religious events hardly make up the chronicles content-wise: the authors firmly fitted their ‘national’ histories in the great monarchies and kings of old, especially Rome and its empire, and so only historical actions of these secular entities were recorded. This ‘omission’ of religious affairs is however precisely Lettinck's point: the singular focus of modern historians on the content of medieval chronicles has not taken into account the authorial intentions of medieval chroniclers, and only combined with these intentions can the content illuminate a medieval author's worldview which is always expressed implicitly.⁵⁰

Considering the studies of scholars on late medieval chronicles such as Johanek, Sprandel and Lettinck, it seems the medieval universal approach to the writing of history was still very much alive at least until the very end of the fifteenth century, the point in time where the Kattendijke-kroniek was written as well. The debates and scholarly insights as described above will be the framework through which this chronicle on the history of Holland and Utrecht will be analysed. The question as to

Ebels-Hoving, Catrien G. Santing and Karin Tilmans eds., *Genoehlicke ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland* (Hilversum 1987) 35-59, q.v. 35-36, 42, 52-53.

⁴⁵ Lettinck, ‘Het karakter’ 394.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, 399-400.

⁴⁷ Peter Johanek, ‘Weltchronik und regionale Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter’ in: Hans Patze ed., *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen 1987) 287-330, q.v. 293, 325-330; Rolf Sprandel, ‘World historiography in the late middle ages’ in: Deborah Maukopf Deliyannis, *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden-Boston 2003) 157-179; Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken*.

⁴⁸ Richard Vaughan, ‘The past in the middle ages’, *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986) 1-14, q.v. 1.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, 2-4.

⁵⁰ Lettinck ‘Het karakter’, 394.

whether this chronicle shares the salvation historical characteristics of medieval historiography implies two things. The first implication is that the focus will indeed be on these features we usually encounter in the medieval (universal)chronicles as summed up in the introduction. Second, though finalistic approaches have been repudiated above, the fact that this chronicle will be investigated on more traditional modes of writing implies that there *was* development. The changes in historiography are themselves not denied (which would be absurd). Rather this thesis hopes to bring nuance to the idea, still widely accepted by many scholars, that historiography written before and after 1500 demonstrate sharp contrasts and that historical writing around this time period demonstrated sudden change. In order to avoid disappointments when analysing medieval literature, it is best to judge medieval historiography on its own merits, not with certain (finalistic) expectations in mind. By doing so, a late medieval source such as the Kattendijke-kroniek can prove a valuable source for investigating the worldview of an author writing at the close of the Middle Ages.⁵¹ This, in turn, provides modern scholarship with a more refined understanding of late medieval culture in general, regardless of whatever changes occurred at that point in time.

⁵¹ Lettinck 'Het karakter', 400.

Chapter 1

The prologue

If our goal is to decipher the anonymous author's worldview through his literary work, the best place to start is the chronicle's prologue. There, authors usually presented the outline of the book and stated their intentions; both already demonstrating certain elements of their conceptions of history.⁵² This first chapter then, is devoted to the Kattendijke-kroniek's prologue. The author copied the majority of it from Jan Veldener's Middle-Dutch edition of the *Fasciculus Temporum* (originally by Werner Rolevinck, published in 1474; henceforward 'Veldener'). Again, this should not bother us since, as has been shown, we should still be able to unravel something about our author's views on history through analysing what exactly he compiled from this source. In fact, this chapter will focus primarily on this copied section, though the remainder cannot be left out, if only because it seems to be written by the author himself.⁵³

The reproduced phrases of Veldener's prologue reveal our author's attitudes with regard to the purposes of historiography. First, history is the *magistra vitae*: the reader should observe the good deeds of men in order to emulate these, while misconduct should be dismissed. We have briefly touched upon this moral-exemplary function of history in the Status Quaestionis in its connection to the sense of history and anachronism in western historiography, and certainly we see that this 'medieval' purpose of history was still appreciated by our late fifteenth-century author (and by Veldener and Rolevinck for that matter). The employment of the past for moral-edification in the present, or indeed any practical usage of the past for the present (e.g. the medieval practice of political legitimation on the basis of historical precedents), implies a view on history where past and present were not regarded as characteristically different and thus made direct comparison possible.⁵⁴ The medieval historian conceived of his task in such practical utilitarian manner, particularly moral and political, rather than analysing historical reality in the modern sense.⁵⁵ Our author thus fully shared medieval notions about the purpose of history.

Second, history is the observation and praise of God's works, which the author enforces by starting the prologue with a citation from Psalm 144:

"That generation after generation will laud your works and proclaim thy might"⁵⁶

The chronicle (or historiography in general) enables one to praise God by reading about God's working hand in the past, which is as merciful as it is mysterious. Not only can historiography pass on the accounts of God's deeds to future generations, but the people in the present who read history and praise God are already themselves the anticipated future generations from the perspective of even earlier generations. This is how Matthew Champion has interpreted Rolevinck's prologue. By merging the past, present and future in this single phrase as well as all with the chronicle as a whole, Champion continues, Rolevinck makes his reader 'ascent' in order to contemplate time and God.⁵⁷

However, Rolevinck was a schooled theologian, while our author was perhaps a lay city-clerk; sophisticated theological intentions such as 'contemplative ascent' as Rolevinck might have had, should perhaps not be ascribed to our author. Nonetheless, our author seems to have taken seriously the idea of observing history in order to praise God, for not only does he repeat the earlier psalm verse, but the prologue continues with another two psalm-verses (psalm 72, verses 25 and 28) and an

⁵² Lettinck, 'Het karakter', 394.

⁵³ In general, the editors of the modern edition ascribe this section to the author himself, but Antheun Janse remarks the similarity of the first sentence in this section with a phrase in the *Gouds kroniekje*. See: Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron', cli.

⁵⁴ Goetz, 'Historical writing', 121-126.

⁵⁵ Spiegel, 'Historical thought', 79.

⁵⁶ The numbering of psalm-chapters is according to the Vulgate. Translations are my own.

⁵⁷ Matthew Champion, *Fullness of time. Temporalities of the fifteenth-century Low Countries* (Chicago-London 2017) 174-175.

explanation of how these psalm verses together demonstrate this important purpose of history. The observation of how history leads to the necessary devotion to God, as history shows the transitory nature of all worldly things, should encourage the reader to cling to and place his hope in God, who is eternal. So, while we should perhaps not ascribe the in-depth theological intentions of Rolevinck (or as Champion ascribed to him) to our author, he still was very much concerned with the praise of God through the medium of history.

The third function of history is that the contemplation of history can also lead to additional insights. Rather than merely showing *why* one should praise God, interpretation of the events can also help understanding *how* God's providence is at work on earth. The author refers to Augustine who, the author writes, had described that interpretation of Scripture should not rely on solely literal reading of the words: the words could carry a different meaning than what they seem to suggest at first sight. Therefore, he continues, seemingly 'fruitless points' (in the Bible) should be taken into consideration as well. This is a reference to the medieval exegetical method, in which the (biblical) past was approached from a typological perspective, of course in the framework that *all* events were part of God's plan. During the Middle Ages, this method was applied to history as well: apart from the biblical past, secular events could also contain hidden, typological or allegorical meaning.⁵⁸ Thus historiography in the Middle Ages was also understood as an exegesis of past events, which could demonstrate God's will.⁵⁹ This function is openly subscribed to by our author, who states that it is for this reason that the patristic authors considered historical education important:

"Therefore the holy doctors regard it a great necessity that the education in holy scripture and the administration of the holy church is done with reference to the flow of history"⁶⁰

Interestingly, in Veldener's original, this passage appears at the end of the description of the exemplary purpose of history (above), but our author has transferred it to the end of the passage about Augustine's vision concerning the typological and exegetical method, which in turn suggests the author's beliefs about what was the most important function of historiography.

Seeing the prologue then, it seems that with regards to the appreciation of historiography, the author of the *Kattendijke-kroniek* stood fully in the medieval tradition. From the description of these utilities of reading writing and reading the past, then, he diverges from his source. Of course, this is because of the different themes they want to address, but where the *Kattendijke-kroniek*'s prologue only contains another small section on the content of his chronicle, the *Fasciculus* elaborates on patristic attitudes toward history and their controversies regarding chronology and time-reckoning. This omission of passages from Veldener's prologue seems worthwhile to remark, since it features one of the fundamental characteristics of medieval historiography. As several scholars have shown, medieval historians were much concerned with a correct chronological order: historiography was per definition a diachronic narration of past events and in this way it demonstrated the sequence of time (*series temporum*). Even in order to distinguish between 'facts' and 'fiction', one of the essential aspects of a true event was that it had 'a time' (*tempora*) in which it had taken place. Since chronological order was a fundamental aspect of the medieval representation of the past, historians were at pains to place events in the correct temporal frame, which is demonstrated by thorough calculations of dates in prologues; time tables, lists of (ecclesiastical) rulers or other visual tools (either as appendices or throughout the text as in the *FT* itself), including certain chapter arrangements.⁶¹

Veldener's prologue, then, describes various patristic and medieval statements regarding the reckoning of years and the ages of the world, and ultimately presents the time span of these epochs

⁵⁸ Spiegel, 'Historical thought', 84.

⁵⁹ Goetz, 'Historical writing', 116.

⁶⁰ *Johan Huysen van Kattendijke-kroniek. Die historie of die cronicke van Hollant, van Zeelant ende van Vrieslant ende van den Stichte van Utrecht*, Antheun Janse and Ingrid Biesheuvel eds. (Den Haag 2005) 3.

⁶¹ Goetz, 'The concept of time', 140-153.

according to the calculations of Bede. Our own author omits this, which could indicate that our author attached less value to the computation of time than his earlier medieval counterparts. However, our author was in fact very much concerned with placing events in the correct temporal framework, for example by making cross-references about reigning years in the chapters on bishops and counts to other chapters in distinctive formula, for example: bishop *x* ruled in the countship of *y*, who had then be ruling for *z* years. Rather, it seems that the content of the *Kattendijke-kroniek* made the earlier calculations on the years and durations of the *aetas* not relevant for our author. The author starts with the history of Troy rather than Creation and Biblical history, which means he already skips about two world-ages; a treatise on the time-calculations of these ages seems thus rather pointless. And indeed, whenever he needs to, for example in the histories of Brutus or Aeneas, he still mentions the exact year in a certain world-age or *anno mundi* (usually copied from the *Wereldkroniek*). Correct temporalization was still significant in the eyes of our author, but perhaps we also see an example of rejecting to pass on the tradition of obsessive time-reckoning which was so prevalent among earlier medieval historians.

In the second part of the prologue the author explicitly states his intentions and design: he intended to write a history of Utrecht and Holland, which ‘many people have wished to read’. He will start with the origins of these territories, as well as those of Rome, France, England, Frisia and ‘all those Low Countries’, since all have sprouted from the same seed: Troy. The lords of the aforementioned lands will be described, most specifically those of Utrecht and Holland, from the earliest ones until emperor Maximilian and bishop David of Burgundy.⁶² From the outset, it is clear that the geographical scope will be broad, universal even, since many kingdoms found their origins in the Trojan diaspora.

“we first want to start with the origins and beginning from where Holland first sprouted from, as well as Utrecht. For where Rome, France, England, Holland and Utrecht and Frisia and all those Netherlands all sprouted from Trojan blood, we first want to describe shortly the origins of all these lands”⁶³

We directly see the importance our author attached to the historical origins of these countries. Yet what is more: since the origins lie in Troy, the author somehow feels obliged to write about the early histories of these lands, rulers and people as well. This is connected with the importance of the *origo* in medieval notions on historiography, which is clearly explained by Hans-Werner Goetz, who states that medieval historians found it of the utmost importance to trace back their origins to the earliest time possible.⁶⁴

Scholars who studied the *Kattendijke-kroniek* in general agree on two points: first, the author wanted to present a genealogical line from Troy to the counts of Holland; second, the histories of other European kingdoms and empires could shed a light on the earliest history of Holland, Utrecht and their inhabitants (long before the foundation of the bishopric or the time of the first counts). For both of these purposes the employment of a wide geographical scope was essential.⁶⁵ These postulates will be elaborated in chapter 2, but we can already scrutinize to some extent the second point, as at first sight it does not seem to fully correspond with the author’s own words in the prologue. After all, he states that his reason to employ a wide scope is the common ancestor these lands shared, not to provide insight on the distant past of Holland. More likely, the author opted for a more universal approach from the start, which is demonstrated by the following sentence:

⁶² *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 3-4.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, 4.

⁶⁴ Goetz, ‘Historical writing’, 122-123.

⁶⁵ Janse, ‘De *Kattendijke-kroniek* als historiografische bron’, cxx-cxxxviii.

“And also about all the lords who founded, inhabited and ruled these lands and specially about Holland and Utrecht”⁶⁶

The chronicle pays special attention to Holland and Utrecht, but the fact that he says ‘specially’ implies a wider approach for these other countries’ own sake, not solely for providing information on the early Dutch past. While the chronicle remains first and foremost a history of Holland and Utrecht, the author wanted to briefly describe other regions as well, again for their own sake. This seemingly apparent ‘international’ or even ‘universal’ approach demonstrated in the prologue, will be addressed further in the next chapter on other sections of the chronicle.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the prologue of the *Kattendijke-kroniek* showed some very typical characteristics of medieval historical thinking and writing. With regards to the purposes of history, he places himself in the tradition of his immediate medieval predecessors Veldener and Rolevinck, though he most likely did not have any sophisticated theological intentions or interest in the computing of years and ages. His own words demonstrated a concern for remote origins, as well as a broad geographical approach. Though not mentioned earlier, we conclude this chapter by pointing to the conclusion of the prologue, where the author very humbly apologizes himself for his stupidity and possible errors in the work – perhaps the most typical topos in medieval prologues.

⁶⁶ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 4.

Chapter 2

Compilation in the world-historical chapters

In the prologue the author continued a tradition of what in the Middle Ages were assumed to be history's primary functions: appraisal of God, exegesis, and edification. Furthermore, we have seen he opted for a wide geographical approach, but with special attention to Holland and Utrecht. In the end, however, about 80% of the *Kattendijke-kroniek* is dedicated to the histories of Utrecht and Holland, implying that the author's primary focus was indeed on these regions. Antheun Janse observed that the remaining one-fifth, the more world-historical orientated chapters which narrate the time before the establishment of the countship in Holland and the episcopal see of Utrecht, present crucial data on the early history of Holland. What seem to be chapters about Trojans, glorious kings and Roman emperors, in fact view the Low Countries 'from outside'.⁶⁷ For example, Nero's troublesome reign is narrated, in order to tell the story about two senators who fled across the Alps, one of them founding Utrecht; the invasion of Albion by the Trojan Brutus led to the emigration of people into the Netherlands, thus providing insight into the earliest inhabitants of Holland and Utrecht; both King Arthur and emperor Claudius were powerful rulers, but were not able to conquer the territory of the Slavs permanently etc. More than just exposing the earliest history of the 'Slaven' and 'Wilten' (the earliest inhabitants of the Dutch territories), these sections also demonstrate the (often successful) struggle for independence against foreign powers. Thus Janse argues that in these chapters on world-history "the Slaven appear to remain the true subject."⁶⁸

Such statements have consequences for how we interpret the author's compilation-strategy; namely, that he solely reproduced those world-historical passages from his sources that could elucidate the reader on the early history of Holland, Utrecht and its inhabitants. If the chapters on world-history were exclusively meant for this purpose, it would indeed seem our author's regionalizing focus is accompanied by a secular approach (the notion Lettinck argued against), i.e.: he is only interested in his own region and people, and drops the universal-Christian approach to history, for he shows no interest in these world-historical events and persons for their own sake and meaning. Though Janse himself already made some nuances to this vision – mentioning that the author kept informing the reader about all kinds of unrelated international events throughout the chronicle, and that the chapters on the 'prehistory' do not very clearly demonstrate a selection-procedure – it still seems worthwhile to take a closer look at the world-historical chapters with Janse's belief in mind. This chapter will therefore analyse the compilation-strategy in what will be called the 'world-historical section'. In this way we can further scrutinize the author's view on history and see if the universal-Christian approach to the past indeed fades away. The scope of this thesis necessitates a limitation on how many chapters can be analysed. Therefore, those chapters will be taken into consideration which demonstrate most clearly the author's practice of compilation: the chapters on Italy and Rome, Alexander the Great, Augustus, Claudius, and Nero.

At first, it seems we do not have a chapter on Italy's history as such. After the chapter on Trojan history, we read a title which suggests a chapter on Aeneas and his descendants:

"how Aeneas became king in Italy. And from his seed Holland originated and from his lineage Rome will be founded"⁶⁹

In combination with the preceding chapter on the Trojan past, this clearly shows the author wanted to establish a genealogical line from Troy to Holland. This was, of course a far from uncommon practice in medieval Europe, where many dynasties, in their quest for prestige and legitimacy of power, employed historians who neatly constructed genealogies which would prove that the family could be

⁶⁷ Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron', cxx-cxxiii.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, cxxi-cxxii.

⁶⁹ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 62.

traced back to one of the mythical heroes of Troy.⁷⁰ Many scholars have emphasized this genealogical feature in the *Kattendijke-kroniek*, thus demonstrating that our author was no exception to this historiographical fashion. By doing so, however, they tend to overlook other elements in chapters in which Aeneas appears, i.e.: they, as said before, analyse such chapters solely in the light of a perceived authorial intention of narrating the origins of the counts of Holland.

Let us take a closer look. The chapter is largely extracted from Veldener, but after the title the author first inserts a small passage from the *Wereldkroniek*. Here we are informed on the exact year – both in Ante Christi and Anno Domini – not of Aeneas’s arrival, but of Noah and his companions who arrived in Italy after their journey across the sea: the “first notion of Rome”.⁷¹ Not only does the author show his concern for an exact dating of the event, but he links the early history of the Italian peninsula first with biblical history rather than the Trojan diaspora. The story proceeds with an overview of the early kings of Italy all the way down to Romulus, starting with Janus, the supposed son of Noah, who becomes Italy’s first king, which is accentuated by a red title which precedes the section on Janus.⁷² Aeneas on the other hand, is not presented with any extra visual features and only appears seventh.

We hear that many kings were (mistakenly) held for gods, which the author often ridicules. The same applies to Janus, but our author also elaborates on the origins of his pagan feast-day and the name of the month January: the people had given him two faces, hence his feast-day and month are at the turn of the new year.⁷³ Combined with the fact that the author presented Janus as the first Italian or ‘European’ king, the elaboration on Janus’s two-facedness and feast-day could also be interpreted as symbolically representing two periods in time: an old, heathen period and a new epoch of the true faith, with Noah and Janus as its portents, though perhaps this is stretching the evidence too far.

Another striking aspect of this chapter is that for some kings the author has added (copied from Veldener) the corresponding reigns of the Israeli and Judean kings. In this way he places the rule of the Italian monarchs in the temporal framework of the years of the Biblical kings. Thus, of king Latinus Silvius it is said that he ruled “a year in David’s time”, Carpentus during Josaphat’s reign, Aeremulus in Joas’s etc.⁷⁴ The origins and early history of Italy and Rome are thus firstly linked to Biblical history rather than Troy, with Italy’s first king – of whom it is supposed he was Noah’s own son – perhaps conceived as a harbinger of faith in the true God into ‘Europe’. The references to the reigns of Biblical kings and of Noah’s arrival also demonstrate the author’s concern for correct dating, while it simultaneously places these kings in a broader, sacred historical framework.

This is not to say that the genealogical line, as presented in the title, is overlooked: Aeneas’s kingship as well as the names of other important Trojans such as Turcus, Francion and Brutus all pass in review. To regard the chapter however solely as a narrative on Aeneas and his descendants, overlooks the elements which attest a more universal approach to the past. Furthermore, the chapter also, in a typical medieval fashion, dwells on all sorts of trivial historical information: the origins of Latin, manure, and of the name ‘Tiber’. In short: the genealogical line was an important, underlying feature of this chapter, but investigating the chronicle from this perspective ignores some characteristics of universal history as it was written in the Middle Ages, where much of the content went way beyond the past of the author’s own region.

The chronicle proceeds with the mystical origins and upbringing of Romulus and Remus, and the subsequent story of Rome’s founding as described by Livy (though our author extracts this story from the *Wereldkroniek*). Slowly the chapter turns to the more negative side of Rome’s rise. As Livy had stated, Rome had been most devout, holy and wise when it was poor, but the people lost these virtues as soon as they became flooded with riches, turning them into indecency and greed.⁷⁵ Only a

⁷⁰ Wilma Keesman, *De eindeloze stad. Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen in de (laat)midleleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum 2017), 94-104.

⁷¹ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 62.

⁷² *Ibidem*.

⁷³ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 65.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 68.

little further, the author cuts short the *Wereldkroniek*'s narrative, and turns to a different source (Veldener) in order to inform the reader about how Augustine had denounced Cicero's approval of the Roman veneration of Romulus as a god, "by which they do the most sin, as Paul says".⁷⁶ In this way, the author very neatly returns to the issue presented with the early Italian kings, who were also wrongfully venerated as gods. It is already in itself striking enough that our author inserts Veldener's section, since the chronicle slightly strays from the story-line of Rome: while the sections from the *Wereldkroniek* narrate Rome's origins, Veldener's section is a purely moral discourse on idolatry, which, apparently, the author found important enough to include in his chronicle.

This leads to the question what lay behind in this insertion, about which we can only (seeing the scope of this thesis) briefly speculate. In combination, the two sections perhaps demonstrate that Rome's early history was most of all a pitiful one. Once a devout and wise people, perhaps already glimpsing something of the true wisdom which is the Christian faith in God. This last aspect again draws back at the medieval search for typological parallels in history. Most famously shown by German scholar Friedrich Ohly, in this typological interpretation of history, the great figures of history before the epoch of the New Testament – be it kings, sages or philosophers from the Old Testament as well as mythological and heathen characters (called semi- or half-biblical figurations by Ohly) – could be interpreted as pre-figurations of certain persons in the New Testament or subsequent secular history. Following from this interpretative framework, some ancient kings were perceived as having fulfilled a role in sacred history (most notably in the scheme of the Four Kingdoms), while part of the divine truth had already been revealed to ancient philosophers.⁷⁷ Our author seems to have operated from such a framework: the history of the early Romans testifies to their great wisdom and piety (and Rome's founding and rise itself anticipates their future role as world kingdom), while it simultaneously brings to light their heathen condition by showing their sinful behaviour. The topic of idolatry is taken up again in the chapter on Augustus, but first, let us turn to another great, but heathen ruler.

After Romulus, the author proceeds with chronological lists of Roman kings, senators, and emperors and popes – a list which, despite the fact that the data are derived from Veldener, is a unique creation of our author –, before writing a small chapter (1 folium-side) on Alexander the Great.⁷⁸ The section is largely borrowed from the Veldener, reporting about Alexander's conquests, which were "evidence of God's wrath" since several miracles assisted the king (e.g. "like the Red Sea before", God made it possible Alexander was able to cross a river as well).⁷⁹ However, Janse has detected in these passages a sentence from the *Gouds kroniekje* (hence *GK*), which reads that despite the fact that Alexander had conquered the whole world, he did not know the Slaven. Based on this insertion Janse argues that, the world-historical information notwithstanding, the underlying focus is still on the earliest Dutch inhabitants. Indeed, the chapter as such is rather small and the author consciously copied this phrase from the *GK*, demonstrating the importance our author attached to this information, which would have made the earliest inhabitants of Holland seem rather unique.⁸⁰

Janse's argument that even in this world-historical chapter the author is predominantly concerned with the early Dutch people would have been convincing, if only for the fact that (after chapters on French, English and Dutch history) there is second chapter on Alexander, this time more extensive (5 folia; borrowed from the *Wereldkroniek*). Though again the passage from the *GK* about Alexander's ignorance of the Slaven is added, it would be misrepresentation to ascribe the purpose of the two chapters to this sole passage, or at the very least it seems rather odd to think that the author

⁷⁶ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 69.

⁷⁷ Keesman, *De eindelozes stad*, 75-77.

⁷⁸ Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron', cxx-cxxi. Janse simply speaks of a very short narration on Roman rulers, passing by the fact that this a unique creation of the author which should be of interest to the modern scholar. On the use of visual chronological tools in medieval chronicles: Goetz, 'The concept of time', 145-153.

⁷⁹ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 80.

⁸⁰ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 80; Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron', cxx-cxxi.

added copied another section on the Macedonian king simply to repeat the information from the *GK*. Let's therefore investigate this second part more closely. We learn that Alexander was born in the reign of the Persian king Darius and Judean king Manasses, in the fifth *aetas*, 331 years before God's birth. So with regard to the medieval periodization-schemes, we know exactly where we stand.⁸¹ We read that after his father's death, Alexander marched to 'Hebron', which in the *Wereldkroniek* was called 'Thebe', meaning the author changed the city's name to its Biblical equivalent.⁸² The story then turns to a dream or vision of Alexander, where a man with the appearance of a 'Jewish bishop' promises Alexander the whole world, but if the king would encounter someone with the same appearance as the man, he should "do no harm, [for] those are my people" (the twelve stones on the man's chest, as well as his name written with four letters on his forehead could indicate the man was perceived to be Christ or God himself).⁸³ As Alexander was about to lay siege to Jerusalem, a group of Jews approached him among which was 'bishop Jadus', who showed striking resemblance to the man of Alexander's dream. Alexander gets off his horse and honours the bishop, after which the pair proceed toward the Jewish Temple. Jadus shows Alexander the Book of Daniel, where it was prophesized that:

"a Greek would be born, who would overthrow the two horns of the ram"⁸⁴

This is nothing less than the transfer of power from the second world-empire (Persian and Median; the ram's two horns), to the third, as outlined in the scheme of the Four Kingdoms. Alexander realizes he is the Greek in question, and in return bestows many rights and gifts on the Jews, before indeed defeating the Persian king Darius. The addition of a second chapter on Alexander thus enabled the author to portray the translation of power and Alexander's role in salvation history.

Despite his importance, however, the author emphasizes Alexander is not a true Christian. The king shows his vanity when he wishes a statue of himself in the Jewish Temple, by which author again brings up the issue of idolatry. The Jews refuse, for they only venerate the one God, and instead propose to call all new-born children Alexander, to which the king agrees. Furthermore, at two moments we hear that Alexander 'prayed to God', and while God answers his prayers and assists the monarch (showing yet again the pivotal role Alexander played in God's plan in history), the author also inserts another interesting phrase. The author of the *Wereldkroniek* already wondered that if God does all this for Alexander, a heathen, what would he then do for a Christian, to which our own author adds: "who is virtuous":

"what would he [God] then do for a Christian's prayer, who is virtuous"⁸⁵

This small extension written by our author has been explained by Janse as the author's opinion, who believed God only answered the prayers of the righteous Christian.⁸⁶ Perhaps we can read the author's words differently, namely that he tried to make clear that Alexander was not a truly Christian king. The reader would by now have understood that the king still demonstrated un-Christian behaviour (like his vanity), while at the same time it was clear to that same reader that the king played a pivotal role in salvation history, attested by omens and miracles surrounding his birth, visions and dreams, and divine assistance in his expeditions. Karin Tilmans has argued that the conquering abilities of Alexander as portrayed in the *Kattendijke-kroniek* were not to be regarded exclusively as positive.⁸⁷

⁸¹ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 101. For the importance of the placement of events in these periodization schemes, see: Lettinck, *Geschiedbeschouwing*, 27-32.

⁸² Wim van Anrooij et al., 'Karakteristiek van de auteur', cxlix.

⁸³ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 101.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 103.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron', cxxxv.

⁸⁷ Karin Tilmans, 'Koningen in kronieken' in: René E.V. Stuip and Cees Vellekoop eds., *Koningen in kronieken* (Hilversum 1998) 181-205, q.v. 191-194.

With the addition of text, the author wonders, or perhaps rhetorically asks his audience, what God (seeing what He had done for Alexander, who was not even a just Christian) would do for a truly Christian king?

The issue of idolatry is again raised in the chapter of Augustus. However, Augustus seems to succeed where others failed: the people want to worship Augustus as a deity, but this time the ruler discards such veneration. Instead, he is presented as a most pious emperor, for which our author demonstrates some clever copy-and-paste work with regard to his sources. We read that Augustus discards the people and their wish to venerate him, and consults a sibyl, who prophesizes that “a king of the whole world” will appear. In a moment of astonishment the emperor sees a virgin in the sky with a child in her arms, on which the sibyl comments: ‘See that child who is bigger than you, worship it’.⁸⁸ At this point, the author turns to a different source (the *Wereldkroniek*) in order to continue with a section which narrates how “Augustus fell down to earth in prayer”.⁸⁹ After this the author returns to his earlier source (Veldener), where it is said that Augustus wished not to be called ‘lord’ any longer and, as a show of dedication to the new faith, builds an altar.⁹⁰

Even though Veldener’s section alone suffices to demonstrate the pious character of Augustus, the textual evidence that the emperor himself prayed to Christ (which the author seems to have found important) had to be taken from a different source. Reading the whole, and keeping Tilman’s argument in mind that sections on secular rulers were most probably meant as mirrors, we can conclude the author was at pains to compile a picture of a Christian emperor, in contrast with earlier kings, who rather saw themselves venerated instead of God. Though, as we have seen, Alexander the Great also was said to have prayed to God on several occasions, the difference is that Alexander did this for aid in his conquests (“He prayed to God, *so that...*”⁹¹ [Italics by the author of this thesis]) or because he was promised the world (hence his paying homage to the bishop); Augustus’s devotion seems more unconditional: we do not read about anything being ‘rewarded’ to him in return. Another comparison: while Augustus after his vision decided to build an altar, Alexander, after he realizes he is the foretold Greek king, orders a statue of himself to be build in the Temple. At least to the reader, Augustus must have seemed more like a prefiguration of a true Christian than Alexander, even though both had been an integral part of God’s plan in history.

The salvation historical conception is indeed attested only slightly earlier, where the author displays a similar compilation technique. First, in a section derived from the *Wereldkroniek*, we hear that Augustus ruled the whole world and, equally important, he did so in a state of peace. The author here inserts a passage from Veldener which states, in an Orosian manner, that God himself created the pre-conditions of Christ birth by making sure the whole world was obedient to Augustus, so Christ could be born in times of peace. The insertion of this phrase makes apparent that the author wanted to demonstrate God’s hand at work in earthly history, for which he needed the phrase from Veldener. While the author continues with the narrative started by the *Wereldkroniek*, it becomes clear that there indeed a momentous change had taken place in history. The Nativity is followed by a miracle: a statue which Romulus had ordered to build where the words “I shall not perish before a virgin gives birth to a son and recovers” were inscribed, falls down the same night as Christ was born.⁹² This “statue of peace” stood in the “temple of eternity”, thus the falling statue could have represented the advent of a ‘new peace’ and a ‘new eternity’ in Christ, and in line with this: the destruction of the statue also symbolically represented the fall of idolatry, the veneration of statues of monarchs and pagan gods. Anyway, it must have been clear to the reader that there was a turning point in history, since the virgin birth is attested by the destruction of the statue, making clear this newborn child indeed is Christ, indicating history had set its course to a world where there was no longer a place for any worship but to God and his Son.

⁸⁸ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 111.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 103.

⁹² *Ibidem*, 110.

While the chapter on Romulus ended rather sadly with a narration on the Roman people falling victim to avarice and a firm judgement by Augustine on the worship of Romulus as a god, the author presents Augustus's reign as some kind of turning point in fortune. God has not abandoned humanity after all and has instead prepared the world for the spread of Christianity, a duty which the emperor himself took up as well by demonstrating his devotion. Verbij-Schillings however, sees a narration of Christ portrayed as such (i.e. *in* a chapter on a secular ruler) as one of the symptoms of an ongoing secularization in late medieval historiography: Christ is no longer seen as a turning point in history in the sense of the six world-ages and his birth, life and Passion are 'just events in the reign of Augustus'.⁹³

On the one hand, the author indeed makes no (literal) mention whatsoever about a start of the sixth world-age or a turning point in sacred history (though at the very end of the preceding chapter on Julius Caesar, we read: "here the fifth age comes to a close").⁹⁴ Thus, to wonder whether the author wrote his work in the framework of sacred history is a fair question. Why, for example, did he not present Christ more extensively with a chapter solely devoted to him, as for example Veldener and Rolevinck still did? Perhaps this is indeed an indication of loosening the periodizing frameworks in the later Middle Ages. On the other hand, considering the content and the author's compilation-strategy it goes way too far to speak of a certain secular tendency in this chronicle. In fact, this strategy demonstrates profound interest in the (sacred) correlation between God, Christ and empires, as well as effort to present Augustus as an exemplary, Christian ruler who discards idolatry.⁹⁵ Furthermore, this modest, almost secret introduction of Christ could also implicitly attest to a universal-Christian worldview, for this resembled Christ's own birth as a poor man. In turn, this emphasized the contrast with the end of historical time (indeed the absolute end) when Christ, despite his modest origins, would stand above even the mightiest earthly monarchs.⁹⁶

So far, we have seen that plenty of text in the *Kattendijke-kroniek* was not concerned with the early origins of Holland, which attests to the author's universal approach to history. A concern about historical events of a wider significance is again shown in the subsequent chapters on Claudius, Nero, and on the founding of Aachen and Utrecht, both by senators who fled from Nero's regime. Some neat copy-and-paste work respectively demonstrates the author's concern for matters such as Peter's journey to Rome (which foreshadows the establishment of the Roman Church) and Nero's evil nature – attested by his persecutions, executions of Peter and Paul and countless other martyrs – making him appear like the Antichrist (we should note that it is written the emperor also perceived himself as a god). In the chapter on the foundation of the two cities, the author inserted a report on Simon Magus, who is of course known as the name-giver of simony, a practice haunting the church all through the Middle Ages. In these stories we discern a profound interest in the early history of the Church and its adversaries: simony and Antichrist.

It should indeed be conceded that these sections also present events in early Dutch history: Claudius's battles with the Slaven, the alleged foundation of Utrecht indirectly because of Nero's troublesome rulership. In this case, it seems to give an ever deeper meaning to Janse's argument. While Nero's destroys everything that had been build up in history, something of the true Roman spirit lives on in cities like Utrecht and Aachen (the latter of course the city where the Carolingian emperors were crowned). Since Rome had burned "as had Troy", we perhaps could understand the two senators as a 'Roman diaspora', as an equivalent to the Trojan one, but in the very least it is clear that the cities had origins which went back to Roman times. Janse's focus however is on the subsequent conquest and destruction of Antonina, in turn placing the section in the light of a liberation of the Slaven and Wilten from Roman oppression. His argument is convincing, for the same rhetorical twist is apparent when emperor Valentinian conquers the same territory, only to be chased away by the same people

⁹³ Verbij-Schillings, 'Die iesten der princen', 35-36, 42.

⁹⁴ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 108-110.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, 108.

⁹⁶ I thank my supervisor Bert Roest for this suggestion.

shortly after. However, this perspective on the Kattendijke-kroniek does not attest to the compiled texts as we have seen them: it is hard to see why the report on Simon Magus was included in order to demonstrate something on Dutch history. Most probably, sections as these show us that an author who wrote a chronicle which slowly narrows down to the author's own region, did not necessarily imply that the universal-Christian approach to the history faded away.

Conclusion

Because of the several references to the Dutch territories in the chapters on the grandiose persona of world-history, it tempting to see all these chapters as merely a prelude to the histories of Holland and Utrecht, their function being only to shed a light on the earliest origins of these principalities and their people. Considering however the compilation-strategy and the narrative following therefrom, this was most probably not the only intention of our author for writing these extensive sections on the histories of foreign countries and rulers. The author did not just copy large portions of text, but has consciously woven together his sources, sometimes on the level of inserting a single sentence, which shows his profound concern for world-history. In the chapter on Alexander, he indeed compiled his text very neatly in order to add a detail about the early Dutch past. In other parts of that chapter and in the other chapters, however, the author had wholly different purposes with his compilation-work, for example to discuss idolatry, to demonstrate how God intended for Christ's birth to happen in time of the *Pax Romana*, or to connect early Italian history with biblical history. Not only did these sections not solely focus on the early origins of Holland, but they were also far from secular. They pay attention to some of the most pivotal moments in universal history, like the transition from the second to the third empire, or the birth of Christ in the reign of Augustus. We will see in the next chapter if the regionalization towards Holland and Utrecht in the remainder of the chronicle, does show a more secular approach to history.

Chapter 3

Compilation and layout in the ‘regional’ chapters

Considering the grand scale of the *Kattendijke-kroniek*, we are, like the author himself, compelled to select certain parts for our analysis. Though the dual-history of Holland and Utrecht does not directly start at the place we left off in chapter 2, we should at this point turn to that part of the chronicle where we have more or less arrived in the author’s own region. The general structure of this part consists of alternating chapters on the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht; before the establishment of the countship, the episcopal chapters were alternated with the Frankish rulers of Holland.⁹⁷ Like the first chapters, we will scrutinize the author’s compilation-strategy, where our primary focus will be whether or not our author exposes a secular approach to history. Unlike the first chapters, the layout of the chronicle will be taken into consideration as well. Rather than the visual aspects of heraldry and genealogy (which have already been thoroughly examined by the editors of the modern edition), we will focus on other aspects of mise-en-page, which had serious consequences for the practice of compilation, but which simultaneously can show us more clearly some of the author’s interests. Justin Lake recently pointed to the renewed interest among scholars in the medieval manuscripts themselves rather than modern text editions, because these allow us to see more clearly the medieval practice of composing texts.⁹⁸ As we will see, the manuscript indeed reveals interesting clues for deciphering the author’s selection of material.

From the very start of this part of the chronicle it is obvious that the author does not solely focus himself on historical events in Holland and Utrecht, or even their dealings and relations with the other cities or principalities in the Netherlands. Consistently throughout the remainder of the chronicle, various international historical facts and anecdotes are briefly reported. This is already crucial for answering our main question, for it is this inclusion of all sorts of seemingly unrelated events that is so typical of medieval historiography, and very much attests to a universal, providential approach.⁹⁹ This appearance of a wide variety of seemingly unrelated events in many chronicles, stemmed directly from the medieval conception of the past and the writing of history. This framework through which the events were interpreted consisted of two distinct layers: the literal and the allegorical; or history as ‘facts’ and as ‘meaning’ (we have touched upon this subject earlier, see chapter 1). It was the latter that made every event relevant in the eyes of the medieval historian, for it could contain a hidden allegorical meaning, which could shed light on God’s will. In turn, what from a modern perspective may seem a motley collection of unrelated, miscellaneous historical events, could in fact have been intended by the medieval historian as an overall allegorical message: there was thus a certain coherence between the events on the level of allegory.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the digressions on ‘trivial’ (from a modern view) matters were carefully ordered by the author, rather than randomly inserted: the chronicles were not plotless narratives, but structured to convey a certain message.¹⁰¹

In Lettinck’s analysis of the *Chronicon Tielense* – a world-chronicle from the Dutch city of Tiel, written between 1450-1455 – he observed that text is full of all kinds of ‘international’ historical facts and anecdotes, even in the section where the chronicle has narrowed down from universal history to the author’s own territory. Lettinck has demonstrated that these digressions often carry moral messages with them, even if they seem to be about worldly matters, and that reported natural

⁹⁷ Unless stated otherwise, if a ‘bishop’ or ‘count’ is mentioned, followed by a name but without any further additions, were are pointing to a bishop of Utrecht or a count of Holland.

⁹⁸ Lake, ‘Current approaches’, 95-97.

⁹⁹ Breisach, *Historiography* 127-128.

¹⁰⁰ John O. Ward, ‘‘Chronicle’ and ‘history’: the medieval origins of postmodern historiographical practice?’ *Parergon* 14:2 (1997) 101-128, q.v. 107-108; Elizabeth Freeman, ‘Meaning and multi-centeredness in (postmodern) medieval historiography: the foundation history of Fountains Abbey’, *Parergon* 16:2 (1999) 43-84, q.v. 57, 82-83.

¹⁰¹ John O. Ward, ‘Some principles of rhetorical historiography in the twelfth century’, in: Ernst Breisach ed., *Classical rhetoric and medieval historiography* (Kalamazoo 1985) 103-165, q.v. 106, 111-116.

phenomenon or calamities symbolically represent omens or God's punishments. In this way, Lettinck argues, the author of the *Chronicon* places himself in the world-chronicle tradition and does not demonstrate a secularization of his perspective.¹⁰²

More than merely edifying by showing how God punishes the sinful, Lettinck suggests that the alternating stories of natural disasters, miraculous phenomena and intellectuals can also be interpreted as a consoling tale for the reader: in the midst of all this misery, there were still some exemplary, pious, often intellectual figures, or signs of God's care for humankind. At the same time, some of these reports also provide some light-heartedness between the narratives of secular-political and ecclesiastical affairs. All in all, Lettinck concludes, the distinction between the historiographical genres of *chronica* and *historia* blurs, and authors did not contrast main and side-issues as modern historians would do.¹⁰³ In the words of Ernst Breisach:

“the conversion of one man could outweigh whole battles; the deeds of a humble woman could outrank the deeds of kings; and miracles, omens, visions [...] could hold their own among the most impressive secular events”¹⁰⁴

The Kattendijke-kroniek, also full with such brief passages, has not been analysed greatly on this aspect. Janse merely mentions the presence of miscellaneous, international historical events, and states he has not discovered a clear-cut selection procedure when it comes to the content of these events.¹⁰⁵ In another introductory article to the modern edition, Wim van Anrooij, Jos Biemans and Janse himself have discussed the relation of these small anecdotes with the layout of the Kattendijke-kroniek. A brief explanation of their findings is necessary. For all chapters on the Counts of Holland (and for most earlier secular rulers as well), the author reserved a whole folium-side for an image - in which we see an (mythical) animal or human carrying the corresponding banner, and a knight - in order to provide the chapter with a spectacular opening. Since most chapters in the chronicle end precisely at the bottom of a folium-side, the three authors have concluded that the author of the Kattendijke-kroniek had envisaged a certain layout beforehand: folium-side images for the chapters on counts, while in the preceding page no space was to remain blank. It was however almost impossible to make sure a long piece of copied text would precisely finish at the bottom of a folium-side. The author solved this problem by attaching small portions of text from his sources (usually Veldener) to the running text to make sure the remaining space would be filled. In short: the author adjusted the text at the bottom of a page in order to create a neat arrangement of text and image.¹⁰⁶

It is usually at the end of the chapters, then, that we find the miscellaneous events: brief reports or anecdotes in the sources were most useful to fill up a page. Janse therefore suggests that the author's main criteria for selecting these passages from his sources, was perhaps only their length, so that they would neatly fill the folium-side.¹⁰⁷ On one instance we see that a large portion of text derived from Beke did end precisely at the bottom, by which we could conclude that if this (hypothetically) happened in all chapters the author would not have included many reports on international events. Seeing the overall layout this indeed seems convincing, and we could therefore argue that the author did not have much interest in the international events for their own sake. In turn, that would mean the medieval, universal perspective is substantially eroded in this chronicle. On the other hand, even if it were for solely pragmatic concerns of layout, the author still does not show to have been unfamiliar to this medieval historiographical feature of including brief reports on a variety of events, or at least he expected that his readers would not find this strange. We will start by making a few remarks about this suggested 'pragmatic' use of historical anecdotes. These remarks can in turn

¹⁰² Lettinck, 'Het karakter', 395-396.

¹⁰³ Lettinck, 'Het karakter', 395-396; Breisach, *Historiography*, 127.

¹⁰⁴ Breisach, *Historiography*, 128.

¹⁰⁵ Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron', cxxxvi.

¹⁰⁶ Van Anrooij et al., 'Karakteristiek van de auteur', cxlii-cxliv.

¹⁰⁷ Janse, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek als historiografische bron', cxxxvi.

demonstrate that the author in fact did have a sincere interest in international events, and, furthermore, that even though his geographical scope is narrowed, his perspective does not secularize. References to folia in the manuscript will be made, for the modern edition alone is not always able to visualize the layout.

First, the author sometimes preferred an international event to history which was more related to his storyline. A good example can be found in the chapter on bishop William Berthout (r. 1296-1301), which our author borrows from a continuation of Johannes de Beke's *Chronographia*.¹⁰⁸ At fol. 268v it indeed seems the author simply wanted to fill his page by attaching two brief passages to the running text: a biography of the Franciscan theologian Nicholas of Lyra, "a doctor in the Godhead", and a note on the introduction of the first Jubilee Year by pope Benedict VIII (both copied from Veldener).¹⁰⁹ However, the author has in fact cut short the narrative on the bishop as is originally appeared in Beke's chronicle, where the chapter continues with a report on an expedition of the Frisians into Holland.¹¹⁰ The latter is far more related to our author's Utrecht-Holland storyline than Nicholas of Lyra is. It is difficult to say whether that remaining portion of text in Beke would have fitted on the space that was left on the folium-side: the report on the Frisian expedition might have been slightly too long. Still, in stead of adjusting the length of this report, the author deliberately decided to insert a story about Nicholas of Lyra. We thus see that the authorial concern for layout did not exclude the availability of multiple options, and the famous theologian Nicholas of Lyra was apparently that important that the author decided to stray from his storyline.

Another problematizing aspect about the author's supposed pragmatism with regard to the insertion miscellanea, is the fact that our author occasionally fails to stick to his intended layout. On several occasions the text continues on the side which was reserved for illustration, meaning the illustration had to be shortened. At fol. 149r, which is part of the chapter on emperor Louis the Pious (r. 813-840), a report is inserted on a gift which the Byzantine emperor had send to Louis, consisting of a Latin translation of the books of (pseudo-)Dionysius, after which suddenly many sick man recovered.¹¹¹ Consequently, the sentence on the death of the emperor had to be partly written on the next page.¹¹² The same applies to some other chapters: a report on a rainfall of blood in Italy, pestilence and famine during the reign of emperor Louis II (r. 855-875); the story of "sweet smoke" ascending from the grave of Count Arnoud (r. 984-993) which filled "all the churches"; an account on the great fire in Utrecht in 1279 is completely narrated on the page which was reserved for a miniature.¹¹³ Combined with the fact that sometimes the author simply left some space open at the bottom (e.g. fol. 203r and 311r; already observed by Van Anrooij et al.), these examples show that it was not solely the layout that determined the text: sometimes he decided against his self-proposed arrangement of text and image, in order to narrate about a certain 'unrelated' historical event.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, his sources, especially Veldener, contained plenty of options for our author, so he simply could have chosen a shorter passage if layout was indeed his only concern. All this shows that these anecdotes were not mere filler and enjoyed the author's interest for different reasons.

This interest is however already attested by the fact that some of these passages appear at places in the chronicle where the layout was not at stake, i.e.: where the passages were inserted on a page which not directly preceded a new chapter. On these occasions, the author cuts off his narrative on Utrecht and/or Holland in order to insert a passage about a wholly different event, and afterwards

¹⁰⁸ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 309.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁰ Johannes de Beke, *Croniken van den stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*. Hettel Bruch ed. (Den Haag 1982) 155-156.

¹¹¹ *Kattendijk-kroniek*, 165.

¹¹² *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 165; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, KW 1900 A 008, 'Kattendijke-kroniek', f. 149v.

¹¹³ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 170, 196, 303; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, KW 1900 A 008, 'Kattendijke-kroniek', f. 153r-v, 173r-v, 262v-263r.

¹¹⁴ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, KW 1900 A 008, 'Kattendijke-kroniek', f. 203r, 311r.

continues with his main subject. For example, in the reign of bishop Adelbold II (r. 1010-1026), the author turns to a report on a year-long ‘dancing mania’ in a Saxon village. This supposedly happened after the prayers of the local priest, who wanted to punish those people who were dancing in front of his church while he gave a sermon on Christmas Eve. Some of these dancers, we read, did penance and even got canonized later on.¹¹⁵ In the chapter on bishop William I (r. 1057-1076), the author inserted the story of a Roman priest called Palumbus, “learned in necromancy”, who could communicate with the Devil. Subsequently, the priest had to do penance and died shortly after.¹¹⁶ Another example shows that while sticking to his own region, the author nonetheless shows no sign of a more secular approach. The daughter of count Floris IV (r. 1222-1234), Margaret, had supposedly given birth to 364 children, “as many days as come in a year”, who all died after their baptism.¹¹⁷ A poor woman had prayed to God for this childbirth to happen, since she had been denied alms by Margaret. The author even inserted an image on this mysterious incident. In all three examples the layout was not at stake. Nonetheless, the author inserted these anecdotes, which shows he included them for their own sake, by which he firmly stood in the medieval historiographical tradition as described earlier.

Moreover, the large portions of texts derived from his sources are already themselves full of miraculous events, omens, and natural disasters. We read that after the victory in 1304 of the Franco-Holland alliance in the battle of Zierikzee against the Flemish army, many had observed a large cross in the sky, which was interpreted as a sign of celebration of Holland’s victory.¹¹⁸ In the chapter on bishop John IV (r. 1342-1364) there is a brief report on an earthquake in Holland in the year 1342, which was an omen for the “horrible plague” that would take place a few years later (most likely pointing to the Black Death, about which the author narrates shortly after).¹¹⁹ The same formula is applied in an earlier section, where the author writes about the sighting of “a star which is called comet”, a portent for a subsequent famine (the Great Famine of 1315-1317). In the latter case, the author mentions how God came to the people’s aid by providing “so many great fruits on the whole earth”, so that the price of rye could decrease.¹²⁰

Sometimes we can suggest, like Lettinck, certain edifying or consoling relations between these small reports and the main storyline. The translation of the works of Dionysius was preceded by a section on the sack of Rome by Saracens.¹²¹ Thus this tale could be interpreted as comforting the reader: despite no matter how trouble the times, Christian scholarship abides, in this case by the translation and spread of treatises on the Christian faith. In the same vein, the biography of Nicholas of Lyra is inserted just after the introduction of bishop William Berthout, whose reign is portrayed negatively: he took up arms against the count of Holland and was in debt to the Vatican. The same goes for the earlier mentioned stories which took place in the reigns of bishops Adelbold II and William I: these are inserted in those chapters where the bishops were at war with the county of Holland. Nevertheless we should be careful by drawing such connections. It is possible to link the fire of Utrecht (see above) to some ‘sinful’ event (of which there were plenty) so it could be read as God’s punishment, but it is equally possible that the author merely included this story simply because Utrecht was the subject of the running text. In short: sometimes there is some ground for proposing connections between the anecdotes and the running text, but at the same time we should be careful with proposing far-fetched connections that were perhaps not intended by the author.

Even though the short historical anecdotes were used to create a neat layout, we have also seen

¹¹⁵ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 200. For more on the phenomenon of ‘dancing manias’, see: Kathryn E. Dickason, ‘Decadance in the late Middle Ages: the case of *Choreomania*’ in: Philip Butterworth and Katie Normington eds., *Medieval theatre performance. Actors, dancers, automata and their audiences* (Cambridge 2017) 141-160.

¹¹⁶ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 210.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 266-268.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 324.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 349, 359.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, 333.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, 164-165.

that the author used them at places where the layout was not at stake. More than this, sometimes he decided to report on an event despite the fact that this could harm the intended arrangement of text and image. With this, we see that the author had interest in these events for their own sake and meaning, which could be moral, exegetical, or perhaps he inserted them merely to provide some light-heartedness. At the very least, the insertion of anecdotes about miracles, theologians, saints, natural disasters etc., did not seem strange to him. This is already ample evidence to argue that despite the author's main focus in this part of the chronicle is on the history of Holland and Utrecht, he still at times employed a wider geographical scope, and in these events we hardly see a secular approach to history.

Unfortunately, within this thesis it is not possible to examine all these sections for their meaning or relation to other parts of the text. Therefore in the remainder of this thesis we will give just one suggestion for a certain overarching interest which is attested by various separately inserted events. This is not to say that this is the underlying motive behind the insertion or choice of all deviant passages: it could be merely one of multiple authorial concerns.¹²² We will start with two chapters which stand out and we will try to connect these to other brief passages about international events. In turn this assumed concern that was behind the compilation, can help us to illuminate an aspect of the author's view on history.

The general structure of alternating chapters is sometimes interrupted by a chapter which subject is not a bishop of Utrecht or count of Holland. Often, their relevance is clear: they narrate on the origins of conflicts (e.g. the origins of the Hook and Cod wars), or of cities and principalities (Delft, Brugge, Vlaanderen etc.), events which were within the geographical area in which the counts of Holland or the bishops operated. However, two chapters are not directly related to the main storyline: their topics are respectively the legendary female pope Joan and pope Hadrian III.

Before turning to these chapters themselves, it is important to discuss the visual aspects which show that the sections on the popes were indeed meant to be regarded as separate chapters. There are three visual elements that we find at the beginning of all the chapters on counts and bishops which would have communicated to the reader that he had arrived at a new section. First, the title is written in red ink; second, the initial letter is coloured red or blue and has the height of two lines; third, the opening is decorated with an illustration (the banner-miniature for counts; an image of a 'bishop' on the episcopal chapters) and an image of the ruler's coat of arms.¹²³ The beginnings of chapters on counts were also provided with an illustrated genealogy: circles with names in them, connected with lines. Though we see hundreds of enlarged initials in red or blue throughout the chronicle, these are only the size of one line and usually indicate that the chapter merely entered a new paragraph, by which they would communicate to the reader that he was still in the same chapter.

This clarification of the visual aspects is not so much discussed for their own sake, but rather because they show the sections on Joan and Hadrian were meant as distinct chapters, which in turn shows the author reserved special attention for the two historical figures. The sections on popes Joan and Hadrian indeed have all three mentioned aspects, though they lack a papal coat of arms. Despite the absence of heraldry, it is still most probable that the author meant the sections as distinct chapters: other passages on international historical events do not have such visual facets (except the usual enlarged coloured initial, see above), while the chapters also stray content-wise.

The question now is: why did he want to discuss these popes so extensively compared to other international events? To be sure: no other pope has a whole chapter dedicated to him— though of course they are mentioned in some of the chapters when they, for example, had to consecrate a bishop of Utrecht, or called for a crusade in which a count of Holland would participate, as well as in the earlier mentioned list of Rome's rulers. Let us have a closer look. First, we observe that both chapters

¹²² Justin Lake rightly warns against what he calls 'tightly focused readings' of medieval historiography, and points to the possibility of reading medieval works holistically. See: Lake, 'Current approaches', 94.

¹²³ For an elaboration of these images, see: Wim van Anrooij, 'Illustraties in de Kattendijke-kroniek' in: *Johan Huysen van Kattendijke-kroniek. Die historie of die cronicke van Hollant, van Zeelant ende van Vrieslant ende van den Stichte van Utrecht*. Antheun Janse and Ingrid Biesheuvel eds. (Den Haag 2005) xcvi-cxiv.

(both copied from Veldener) narrate a rather unusual or even disturbing time in the Church. First, a woman called ‘Jut’, who was schooled in Scripture “in which she was unequalled”, was unanimously chosen pope.¹²⁴ Her death revealed her true identity: she died while giving birth. This occurred en route, “around St. Clement’s church” and henceforth papal processions would take a different route so as to avoid the spot where this disgraceful event happened. Since Joan was a woman, she was “not counted among the popes” and it is also remarked she was the “sixth person who bore the holy papal title without doing any works”, which seems to be a rather negative feature: Veldener mentions some popes “of bad reputation” and Joan appears in his chronicle as the sixth in this line.¹²⁵ In the Middle Ages, the story of Joan was used by Dominicans and Franciscans to reflect on the papacy, where Joan symbolized an incompetent pope, whose election brought the orders or Church itself in danger. The story was thus used as a way to reflect on papal elections.¹²⁶

At the second chapter, we read the title “Hadrian pope the III”, but soon we discover that the chapter is not so much about Hadrian himself, as on a change in the papal election-procedures. Hadrian, we read, had once decreed “a statute”, in which it was ordained that the emperor should not interfere in papal elections. This decree was not obeyed and eventually modified by Leo VIII, which is lamented heavily by the author:

“Oh, oh, oh, Lord God, how has the gold darkened [...] what great scandal, we read, had occurred around this time in the holy pope’s see [...] the holy and the truths have diminished among the children of men [...] Oh what convention or what gathering and what people shall now be free as we observe that this first holiness perished”¹²⁷

Though the section does not explicitly mention what pope Leo had changed in the legislation, it seems the author certainly thought the papacy had changed for the worse. We do know that in the Middle Ages forgeries circulated, through which many believed that some popes, including Leo VIII, had confirmed earlier papal ordinations and issued new decrees which permitted far-reaching imperial interference in and approval of papal elections.¹²⁸ With regards to Rolevinck, where the passage stems from, Laviece Ward has shown the Carthusian monk clearly places papal authority above the power of emperors, who wielded the secular sword for the church, but, even more, only held secular power by the grace and permission of the popes since the time of the Donation of Constantine.¹²⁹ The message of this section is clear: Leo had given the emperors authority which was not supposed to be theirs. What is more however, humankind itself seems to be in danger, for “the truths have diminished among the children of men”.

What do the inclusion of these chapters tell us about the author? First we hear that a woman unrightfully sat on the papal throne, second that Leo brought danger to the Church and people by altering the traditional election-legislation. Together, both chapters seem to expose a profound care of the author for a stable and well-organized Church, of which a proper papal election-procedure was essential so that the right person would be the head of the Church. Otherwise, how are were the people to be sure that the Church was able to fulfil its foremost task of spreading God’s Word and eradicate heresy?

Two other short anecdotes, which were inserted at the end of chapters, do attest to this

¹²⁴ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 168. Though she is called ‘Jut’ in the *Kattendijke-kroniek*, henceforward the anglicized name ‘Joan’ will be used, as is customary in scientific literature on this legendary she-pope.

¹²⁵ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 168; Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 1369 C 11, ‘Fasciculus temporum’, f. 140r. See e.g. 134v of Veldener on the ‘fifth pope of bad reputation’.

¹²⁶ Thomas F.X. Noble, ‘Why pope Joan?’, *The Catholic Historical Review* 99:2 (2013) 219-238, q.v. 230-231.

¹²⁷ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 186. Cf. Psalm 11:2.

¹²⁸ Walter Ullmann, *The growth of papal government in the Middle Ages* (third edition; London 1970), 353-354.

¹²⁹ Laviece C. Ward, ‘A Carthusian view of the Holy Roman Empire: Werner Rolevinck’s *Fasciculus Temporum*’ in: James Hogg, Alain Girard and Daniel Le Blévec eds., *Die Kartäuser und das Heilige Römische Reich* (Salzburg 1999) 23-44, q.v. 37-43. To be sure: our author did not copy this directly from Rolevinck, but through the edition of Veldener.

importance of ecclesiastical leadership and organization. Even though these were likely inserted for the concerns regarding layout, the author perhaps specifically chose these passages from his sources rather than others, which indeed brings us back to the question whether there was a selection-procedure in these insertions. The first event takes place in the year 1114, when (we read):

“there were seen two suns. And there were two popes chosen.”¹³⁰

This could be a reference to the papal election in 1118, where Gelasius II was chosen pope but the German emperor elected his own antipope Gregory VIII (though the chronology would be slightly off). Much later, in the chapter on bishop Rudolf of Utrecht (r. 1432-1455) we again read of an observation of multiple suns in the sky, this time three. The story continues by narrating that shortly afterwards, at the eve of the Council of Basel (1431-1449) the Church found itself with three contesting powers, namely pope Eugene IV (r. 1431-1447), the council, and the clerics who regarded neither the pope nor the council as superior. Thus in both cases, the multiplicity of suns symbolized the lack of order: just like there should be one sun, there should be one undisputed leader in the Church.¹³¹

With the help of another section from Veldener, the author is able to elaborate on the Council of Basel, where we hear that despite its good intentions for reform and renewal, the convention ultimately resulted in a fiasco, in contrast to the earlier Council of Constance:

“The council of Constance had a woeful beginning, but a glorious end, but the council of Basel had a glorious beginning and a woeful end.”¹³²

In Constance, we read, the participants had been capable to end a quarrel between three rival popes (effectively ending the Western Schism) and appointed a fourth candidate, and was not even arranged by a pope; the second council, on the other hand, was organized at the instigation of a preceding pope (Martin V) and ended without an uncontested pope.¹³³ Again, the author reported on a moment in time when the Church was in turmoil, since there was no undisputed leader.

The author earlier on had inserted two sections on the Council of Constance, where we can find a reason why he had regarded it to be so successful. First, we read that it ended the schism between three rival popes. At the instigation of emperor Sigismund (r. 1433–1437; King of Germany since 1411) the council had been arranged “for there were many errors in the holy church”. The three popes who were contesting each other’s claims were deposed and Martin V (r. 1417-1431) was (“in concord”) elected pope.¹³⁴ Second, the Church could now act against heresy, which we read about in a rather remarkable section. The author follows Beke for about thirty folia, narrating about countess Jaqueline (r. 1417-1436) and her conflicts in the Netherlands. In Beke, this section is interrupted by a chapter “On the unbelief of Bohemia”, and our author strictly follows his source: he takes over the title, which he has written in red ink, again demonstrating the narrative will take a turn.¹³⁵ This brief ‘chapter’ is about the uprising of the Hussites in Bohemia, who were “set on ... destroying and

¹³⁰ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 231.

¹³¹ During the reign of bishop Godebold (r. 1114-1127) there is also a reported sight of two suns, and we know that there was a disputed election with antipope Celestine II claiming the title from 1124 onward, though the author does not mention the papacy here. For the two suns representing two claimants, see: Damian J. Smith, ‘Alexander III and Spain’ in: Peter D. Clarke and Anne J. Duggan eds., *Pope Alexander III (1159-81). The art of survival* (London-New York 2012) 203-242, q.v. 203-204.

¹³² *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 528.

¹³³ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 525, 528; Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, ‘De papegaai van de paus en de kameel van de kardinaal. Van Rome naar het Babylon aan de Rhône en weer terug. De tijd van ballingschap, schisma en concilies (ca. 1300-ca.1460)’ in: Frans W. Lantink and Jeroen Koch eds., *De paus en de wereld. Geschiedenis van een instituut* (Amsterdam 2012) 131-151, q.v. 146-149.

¹³⁴ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 459-460.

¹³⁵ Beke, *Croniken*, 349-350; *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 494-495; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, KW 1900 A 008, ‘Kattendijke-kroniek’, f. 475r-v.

undoing the holy Christian faith”.¹³⁶ Pope Martin V is angry about the failure of the secular rulers to quell the uprising and their failure to inform him on the matter, and admonishes the lords to take action, for this a matter “for which the worldly sword should be put to use”.¹³⁷ The pope who had been elected unanimously at council could now take the lead in arranging resistance against the Hussites by summoning the secular lords.

Thus we see how eradication of heresy was only possible at all, if there was a undisputed leader in the Church. In this way, the author comes back to the point already made in the chapter about Hadrian, where it was said that the people themselves were in danger if the Church was not governed properly. Most likely, we should interpret the inclusion of the report on Simon Magus (see chapter 2), in the same light. The compilation work of the author thus shows he envisaged an important role for the Church in history. On the several instances he praises or criticizes the Holy Roman emperors, it is because they respectively helped or destabilized the Church. So Sigismund, who instigated the Council of Constance, is praised:

“He has come to the aid of the holy church, which suffered greatly [...] and to bring the holy church to harmony has spared neither himself, nor his friends nor his belongings”¹³⁸

Sigismund is subsequently compared with the likes of Constantine, Theodosius, and Charlemagne. The narrative on emperor Louis IV (r. 1328-1347), which again is a patchwork of passages compiled from various sources (thus showing the attention the author paid to this section), tells about the monarch’s excommunication by pope John XII. Louis is, tellingly, portrayed as follows:

“A beneficiary of the gods, protector of the unbelievers, a champion of the heathens, friend of the heretics, an enemy of the holy church [...] he has laboured to tear apart and break the harmony of the holy church”¹³⁹

The emperor is thus excommunicated because he tried to break the unity in the Church. The same formula is applied in the section about the excommunication of emperor Frederick by pope Honorius.¹⁴⁰ These sections are not so much meant to show, in a polemical sense, that in the past the popes yielded more authority than secular rulers, but that excommunication of an emperor is justified and necessary if the Church’s unity is at stake, which could have universal consequences.

There are more examples (the inserted reports on the Turkish invasions of Christendom, other reports on heretical movements, or the harmonious imperial-papal relation par excellence as demonstrated in the chapter on Charlemagne), but the point is clear: the way the author compiled his text, demonstrates he had a serious interest in the papacy. Unity and stability within the institution was of the utmost importance, for humankind would be in danger if it was not under the wings of an undisputed and competent leader. This was not merely an interest in the history of the papacy as an institution, but in its role in the world, which was the conversion of heathens, and the safeguarding of Christians by eradicating heretical movements. In concordance with this, the secular rulers who assisted the Church in this task, are presented as exemplary. In the author’s eyes, these were the roles popes and emperors had to play in history. Indeed, these were universal roles, for, if done accordingly, they helped in the salvation as many men as possible, which in the end was God’s plan for history.

Conclusion

This chapter has showed that in a very medieval way, the author inserted a wide variety of historical events which were not necessarily related (content-wise) to the dual-history of Holland and Utrecht. Though the scholars who worked on the edition showed the relation between these passages and the

¹³⁶ *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 494.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, 444.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, 346.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 275-276.

overall layout, it has been demonstrated that this layout was not compulsory, which implies the brief reports on miscellaneous events held a significance of their own. These events, furthermore, do not expose a secular worldview, for they are full of the miraculous or (indirectly) show God's wrath or care for humankind. One theme stood out, which was the papacy, or, more general, the Church. In the overall compilation of the sections on the Church, we see a profound care for stability and unity, which was necessary for the church had an important, universal role to play.

It should however be stated that these are the exceptions. When Janse says 80% of the whole chronicle is devoted to this part of alternating chapters on Utrecht and Holland, we can without hesitation say that 95% of that part is indeed dedicated to regional history. The exceptions, do however show two things. First, how certain medieval features were still apparent in a chronicle written at the close of the fifteenth century, and second, that regionalization does not imply secularization.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the author's worldview and conception of history. Particularly, we tried to see if Lettinck's argument – that regionalization in late medieval chronicles does not imply secularization - applies to the Kattendijke-kroniek. As shown in the *Status Quaestionis*, this is part of a larger debate on late medieval/early Renaissance historiography concerning the question as to whether the works from this period demonstrate profound changes in thinking about history, or if traditional worldviews showed themselves capable of adapting to new intellectual developments. It is commonly accepted that one of the most important developments in late medieval historiography is the increasing regionalization of chronicles, where the chroniclers' own region is embedded into a wider universal framework, and the Kattendijke-kroniek was no different in this respect. Many scholars, however, have equated his development with another alleged legacy of Renaissance humanism, namely a more secular approach to history. The question for this thesis was whether the author of the Kattendijke-kroniek, through the way he compiled his chronicle, also attests to this second development.

The prologue showed the author's concern for the traditional medieval purposes of history, but we have also seen he omitted a section from his source which focused on patristic computations of chronology, one of the most recognizable features of medieval universal historiographical works. The second chapter was mostly focussing on the idea whether the more world-historical orientated chapters at the beginning of the chronicle were merely meant as a 'prelude' to the subsequent histories of Holland and Utrecht, or if they were compiled for their own sake. We are indeed reminded in this section about how Aeneas was the forefather of the counts of Holland, while other chapters have some information on the earliest inhabitants of the Dutch territories. However, these chapters also demonstrate how the author has carefully woven together passages from various sources in order to create some new narratives which do not provide any insight in the early Dutch at all. Rather, they show us that the author had great concern for events of universal significance, where God, Christ, biblical history, and Christian moral teachings were never absent. In the final chapter, it was argued that the brief reports about international events and miscellaneous were not solely inserted for concerns of layout, and even when they were, the author sometimes favoured a certain excerpt instead of keeping a neat arrangement of text and image. It should however be emphasized that even if the author solely used these small passages for the concerns of layout, this inclusion did not seem that odd to him. Finally, some remarkable sections on the papacy and church suggest that the author envisioned an important universal role for them, which of course was the spread of Christianity as well as eradicating heresy. Stability and unity were essential in order for the church to fulfil its task, as were pious emperors. Even though the focus in that part of the Kattendijke-kroniek which was discussed in chapter 3 is primarily about Utrecht and Holland, we have still seen many features scholars usually ascribe to medieval universal-Christian historiography.

It would not be fair however to ignore other elements of medieval historiography which are clearly lacking in the Kattendijke-kroniek. One has only to glimpse at the *Fasciculus Temporum* of Rolevinck/Veldener to see how many of the traditional aspects of a universal-chronicle are omitted in the Kattendijke-kroniek, such as an elaborate biblical history or a papal-imperial chronological structure. It can simply not be denied that the author's main subject is his own region, and that he mostly focuses himself on political conflicts between local lords and bishops. Rather than completely denying the fading of the universal-Christian framework, then, this thesis has hopefully been able to show what elements we can still discern in a late fifteenth-century chronicle, if for a moment we abandon the search for historiographical elements which fit with developments in the writing of history elsewhere in both space and time. Then we see that a chronicle such as the one examined here, still features many traditional medieval aspects of historiography, which somehow abided while the Kattendijke-kroniek as a whole perhaps was not a traditional, universal-Christian chronicle in the medieval sense. In turn, continuation of many medieval features can help us to get a better understanding of the (humanistic) changes that occurred in historiography. For changes did occur, but this chronicle, like many other late medieval historiographical works, shows that these mutations

were only very gradual, and not as abrupt as the proclamations of the humanists of the early Renaissance made us believe.

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