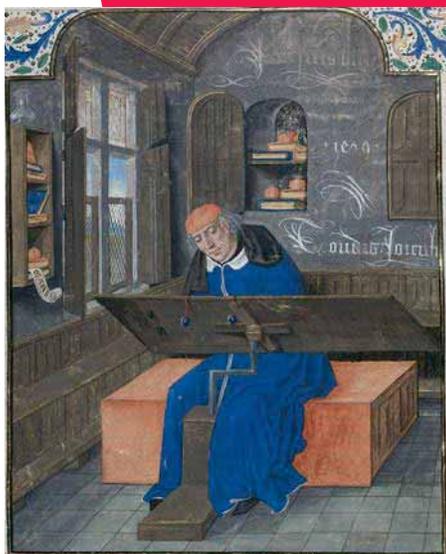


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Textual Traditions in the Medieval Netherlands

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The Scribe as Partisan

Local Markers in Regional Chronicles

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Once upon a time, the study of medieval historiography was clear and simple. There were authors writing texts on the one hand, and there were manuscripts in which these texts had been preserved on the other. In the eyes of most scholars, manuscripts were only physical bodies in which the immortal soul of the author and his text were kept. These days have long passed. It has now become commonplace in medieval studies to consider medieval texts as dynamic entities: no bronze statues, but living organisms that can grow, shrink and change color.

This seems to hold particularly true for historiographical texts. In general, chronicles tend to change because history is a continuing story. Medieval scribes often took the liberty of continuing their source-text with an account of events that were still in the future when the author of the example-text had been writing. History also changes because it is a never-ending discussion. Research will increase our knowledge, and new insights and ideals will change our views on the past. Some medieval scribes, therefore, did not hesitate to modify the texts they were copying by inserting their own stories and opinions. Sometimes they even adapted the main message of their example-text when political circumstances or the intended readership had changed. In this respect, they did not fundamentally differ from the authors themselves. Autograph manuscripts as well as later copies demonstrate that some authors kept editing, rewriting and revising their own works. The fourteenth-century chronicler from Hainault, Jean Froissart, provides the best-known example. The textual tradition of his main work, the *Chroniques* (Chronicles), includes several manuscripts that present different versions of the text, for which the author himself is responsible.¹

In modern editions, both the author's revisions and the scribal changes are now receiving more attention than they have in the past.² In the case of Froissart's *Chroniques*, the nineteenth-century editions of the 'standard text' are now being replaced by editions of all the major manuscripts; together, they represent successive stages of the text and thereby offer insight in the advancing knowledge and changing views of the author as well as in the reception by later readers. Thanks to the opportunities offered by the internet, it is much easier and cheaper now to publish different manuscripts in integral, synoptic editions. *The online Froissart* can serve as a perfect example to show

¹ See for example Diller 1970.

² This is also true for texts that have only survived in one manuscript, see for example Brown & Harrison 2007. They made the archeology of the manuscript's development the basis for their edition, which they call a 'stratigraphic edition'. Brown & Harrison 2007, 29.

these new possibilities.³ A smaller-scaled but still admirable example from the Low Countries is the edition of the so-called *Rhyme Chronicle of Holland* by Jan Burgers, which combines a printed synoptic text edition with a website presenting pictures and transcriptions of all manuscripts and fragments.⁴

This focus on manuscripts and textual transformations of chronicles has proven to be fruitful in many respects.⁵ Burgers, for example, was able to interpret the production of a new version of Melis Stoke's *Rhyme Chronicle of Holland* as a result of the author's deliberate attempt to adapt his text to a new political reality.⁶ A similar political adjustment has already been shown with respect to several versions of Froissart's *Chroniques*.⁷ Froissart seems to have personally supervised the distribution of his texts, which were copied for a particular target audience and sometimes carefully 'personalized'.⁸ Authors in general were eager to meet the expectations of their intended readers both when writing the primary text, and when preparing copies for a specific secondary audience. In a next stage, scribes adopted a similar practice when copying texts for later users or for themselves. They left their marks not only in their handwriting and, incidentally, in a colophon, but also in textual alterations and additions. These – mostly minor and usually neglected – adaptations are important indicators, which can be helpful in establishing the reception and dissemination of a text. Besides the traditionally well-studied data on early ownership and codicological and palaeographical details betraying the manuscript's provenance, textual variation too can shed light on the (re)use and function of historiographical texts. Even slight adaptations and minor additions could reveal the interesting story of an old text attaining new readers.

In this article, I present an example of this process by discussing the textual tradition of the so-called *Goudse kroniekje* ('Little' Gouda Chronicle), a fifteenth-century chronicle of Holland, printed in 1478 by Gerard Leeu in the town of Gouda in Holland, and subsequently reprinted in Leiden and Delft in the 1480s.⁹ I argue that the study of the manuscripts related to this printed text will reveal not only the liveliness of the regional chronicle in Holland, but also its local embeddedness.

The name *Goudse kroniekje*, which our chronicle received only in the seventeenth century, is a misleading one.¹⁰ The text should be regarded as a chronicle of the county of Holland, and definitely not as a town chronicle of Gouda. In fact, the town of Gouda does not play a remarkable role in its contents. As the prologue explicitly states,

3 Website: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/index.jsp>. The last paper edition to my knowledge: Ainsworth 2007. See also Ainsworth 2006 and Ainsworth 2008.

4 Burgers 2004; website: <http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Rijmchroniek> (accessed August 1, 2011).

5 For a summary on this development in the field of Middle Dutch literature, see Van Anrooij 2005.

6 Burgers 1999.

7 Diller 1972; Diller 1981.

8 Croenen 2009.

9 *Chronike of Historie van Hollant, van Zeelant ende Vriesland ende van den sticht van Utrecht*, see *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC), <http://istc.bl.uk>, nrs ic00484800 (Gouda, Gerard Leeu, 30 Sept. 1478); ic00484810 (Leiden, [Heynricus Heynrici], 9 July 1483); ic00484820 (Delft, Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer, between 14 Feb. 1483 and 25 Mar. 1486). On Gerard Leeu as a printer, see Heijting 1999; Klein 2003.

10 *Het oude Goutsche chronycxken van Hollandt, Zeelandt, Vrieslandt en Utrecht door de heer Petrus Scriverius, op nieuws oversien en verbeterd als mede met een byvoeghsel en toet-steen vermeerderd met der graven afbeeldinge in 't kooper verciert*. Amsterdam, 1663.

the chronicle aims at telling the story of Holland, explaining how the county was first discovered and inhabited, and how the founders of the first towns gave them their names.¹¹ It presents stories about the origins of several towns, including Leiden, Haarlem, and Delft, but the text remains silent on the origins of Gouda. In the chronicle as a whole, Gouda is mentioned only twice.

Yet, Gouda is more important in the chronicle than has been assumed. The text printed by Leeu must have been based on a manuscript written in the town of Gouda. This fact becomes apparent only when one takes into consideration the rich and complicated textual tradition of the chronicle. In fact, the printed edition of 1478 represents a final stage of a text that had already had a very lively history during the preceding decades. In these years, several authors and scribes had added to the 'original' chronicle, which must have been written somewhere in the 1430s or 1440s. Moreover, some manuscripts represent a 'local' version in the sense that minor variants reveal a certain local interest and knowledge. This means that, although the chronicle was written by an anonymous author for an equally anonymous audience, the textual tradition enables us to say much more on the use and function of the chronicle than a mere analysis of the 'standard text' would have made possible.

At first glance, the *Gouda Chronicle* is a rather unimpressive text. It is relatively brief: only 40.000 words, not even a quarter of the *Alder excellentste cronyke van Brabant* printed in Antwerp in 1498.¹² Moreover, most information is commonplace and well known from other sources, or mythical and clearly based on historical misunderstandings. The author asserts himself in a few paragraphs, but, unfortunately, these passages lack any consistency. The author's profile, thus, remains very unclear. Paradoxically, in recent decades scholars have appreciated only those paragraphs that were most unreliable from a traditional historical point of view. When the chronicle is mentioned in recent scholarship, it is almost exclusively in the context of myths of origin and of fantastic stories about the distant past.¹³

However, reading the *Gouda Chronicle* from a textual tradition suddenly reveals a rich source of historical culture in the urban society of Holland during the fifteenth century. There are three incunabula and sixteen manuscripts extant today, dating from between 1463 and 1597 (see Table 1). The relationships between these manuscripts, however, suggest that in the second half of the fifteenth century, there must have been dozens more in circulation. Only a small proportion has survived. Apart from the four manuscripts that were copied directly – and slavishly – from the printed version, the other manuscripts contain numerous major and minor differences, revealing a lively interaction of scribe and text. These differences help us to reconstruct the development of the text, which appears to have grown in several phases. Furthermore, it enables us to say something about the scribes and their relation to the text.

¹¹ 'In welke hystorie bescreven is hoe die landen eerst begrepen ende bewoent worden, ende wie si waren die die steden eerst begrepen ende betymmerden ende hoe elc stede eerst hoer name ghecreghen heeft ende hoe dat lant beheert wort ...', *Chronike*, f. a2r.

¹² See on this text Tigelaar 2006; Tigelaar 2010.

¹³ See e.g. Tilmans 1989; Bejczy 1992; Keesman 2007; Levelt 2011, 51–58. In his note 181 on page 56 Levelt suggests that the author expressed some doubts 'as to the reliability of sources', but the passage he refers to is clearly and literally borrowed from Melis Stoke's *Rhyme Chronicle*.

Table 1 The manuscripts of the so-called *Goudse kroniekje* (*Gouda Chronicle*)

<i>Siglum</i>	<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Origin (when known)</i>
A	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 136d	1463	Haarlem
B	Dordrecht, Erfgoedcentrum DiEP, Stadsarchieven, Grafelijke tijd, MS inv. 652	c. 1464	Dordrecht
C	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1179	1467	Haamstede
D	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 71 J 41	c. 1460–1480	
E	The Hague, Museum Meermanno, MS 10 E 10	c. 1540	
F	Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, MS R.88	c. 1475	
G	Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1564	c. 1475	
H	Leeuwarden, Tresoar, MS PBF hs. 466	c. 1600	[copy of a 15th-C. manuscript, which was preserved in Rotterdam]
I	Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1563	c. 1475 / c. 1490	
K	Utrecht, UB, MS 1180	1483	Haarlem
L	London, British Library, MS Cotton Vesp. D.IX	c. 1490	
M	The Hague, KB, MS 75 H 34	early 16th C.	copy of print
N	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS Cod. 588	early 16th C.	copy of print
O	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 6075	early 16th C.	copy of print
P	Leiden, UB, MS Periz. Qu. 44	1597	copy of print
W	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Cod. Guelf. 114.2, f. 199r–207r (only second continuation)	c. 1480	Noordwijk?

In an analysis of the sixteen manuscripts in which (a part of) the text has been preserved, a few major developments stand out clearly. First, the chronological window has changed over time. Whereas the three prints and three of the manuscripts (I, K, L)¹⁴ start with the destruction of Troy and end their story with Mary of Burgundy's marriage to Maximilian of Austria in 1477, four manuscripts cover the Burgundian period only to the siege of Deventer in 1456 (D, F, G, H), while four others expire already with the death of Jacqueline of Bavaria in 1436 (A, B, C, E). It is easy to explain these differences. Originally, there must have been a short chronicle written

¹⁴ Not counting the manuscripts M, N, O and P, which are copied straight from the printed edition.

shortly after Jacqueline of Bavaria’s reign (say, around 1440). In 1456, a scribe decided to continue the story up to his own times. This addition was copied in some manuscripts. Shortly after Charles the Bold’s death in 1477, a second continuation was added which covered the period between 1456 and 1477.¹⁵ This was the text published by Leeu in 1478.

As I have argued elsewhere, the description of Holland’s history before the coming of the first count Dirk in the ninth century was not part of the original chronicle either.¹⁶ Although the early history from the fall of Troy to the first count is included in (almost) all manuscripts and prints, there must have been an original text that lacked this story. This is suggested by some manuscripts that have traces of a prologue, which apparently was part of a shorter text. This basic text was in fact a short history of the counts of Holland, from Dirk I to the advent of the Burgundians in the 1430s.

This means that the text printed by Gerard Leeu in 1478 was the result of at least three successive additions: a.) the addition of a previous history before the reign of the first count, transforming a dynastic history into a history of a territory; b.) a first continuation covering the years 1436 to 1456; c.) a second continuation describing the years 1456–1477 (see table 2 below). There is no evidence that these additions were carried out by one and the same author. In fact, clear difference in style and focus confirm that the stages III and IV were not written by the main author, who was responsible for stage II (and I?).

Table 2 The chronicle with its prologue and continuations

I	II	III	IV
Destruction of Troy	Dirk I, Count of Holland (9th C.)	– Jacqueline of Bavaria’s death (1436)	– Siege of Deventer (1456) – Maximilian of Austria (1477)
Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d			
Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1564			
Leiden, UB, MS LTK 1563			
Print by Gerard Leeu, Gouda 1478			

Apart from the variation caused by dissimilar chronological windows, other differences between manuscripts arose when authors or editors decided to tell the same story in different words. An important intervention, in this respect, was the incorporation of parts of the early fourteenth-century *Rhyme Chronicle of Holland* by Melis Stoke, the edition of which I mentioned above. In four manuscripts of the *Gouda Chronicle* (G, H, I and L) the comital history from the eleventh to the early fourteenth century has been elaborated by the insertion of *Rhyme Chronicle*-fragments, transformed in prose.

¹⁵ Also copied separately as a continuation of an extended *Nederlandse Beke* manuscript, see manuscript W in Table 1.

¹⁶ Janse 2001, 142–147.

Presumably, a single author/editor, working independently from each of the continuators, executed these changes. A similar but less conspicuous editing phase can be discerned in some manuscripts (B, D, F) that basically reproduced the 'original' text, but only in a slightly different form. Several stories were abridged, others extended and elaborated with additional details, whereas many other passages were only rephrased without adding or deleting information.

Given the endemic party struggles in the history of Holland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is not surprising that these adaptations can be explained as the result of competing political views. From the middle of the fourteenth century, political society in Holland was dominated by the struggle between the Hooks (*Hoeken*) and the Cod (*Kabeljauwen*). These two parties, consisting of both noblemen and urban population, were formed around 1350 to favour one of the two competing claimants for the comital power in Holland. From that time onwards, party strife broke out regularly, particularly in times of succession, when comital power was weak. During periods of relative peace, however, the networks of both parties kept determining the political dynamics. From the 1350s until the last decades of the fifteenth century, almost all political conflicts could be – and actually were! – regarded as manifestations of the Hooks–Cod antagonism.¹⁷

It is clear that some passages of the earliest version of the *Gouda Chronicle* warmly support the Hookish party. The story about the origin of the parties is, at least, told from a partisan point of view. It relates that Countess Margareth, who was married to the German Emperor Louis of Bavaria and had ruled the country wisely (i.e. together with the Hooks) for some years, decided to delegate her power to her son, on the condition that William should pay her a large amount of money. If he did not pay, he would return his authority to his mother. Although William could not pay, or, at least, refused to do so, the Cod party nevertheless decided to accept him as their lord, no matter how illegal this was. They promised to help him, even with violence, if necessary. When the Hooks complained about this *coup d'état* to Margareth, she tried to reel her son back to obedience. William, however, did not listen to her. What followed was a fierce and bloody battle, which was won, ultimately, by William and the Cod party.¹⁸

This brief account, which emphasizes the illegal character of William's power, certainly represents the Hookish point of view. Remarkably enough, neither editors nor scribes felt the need to change this. Not a single manuscript contains a more Cod view on this episode in the history of Holland. The Hookish version is maintained in all manuscripts and printed versions. This is surprising, particularly when one realises that the Cod party had the upper hand during the Burgundian period. This means either that all editors and scribes were hardened members of the Hook party, or that they were not bothered by the partisanship in the chronicle and simply adhered to its text. The first option is the least plausible. In fact, it seems highly unlikely that manuscripts of the *Gouda Chronicle* circulated only among Hooks. Moreover, the 'Hookish

¹⁷ In general: Blockmans 2006, 67–68; for a study of the party networks in the last decades of the 15th century, see Ter Braake 2009.

¹⁸ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 136d, f. 57r–59r. The source for this passage was even more Hookish, see The Hague, Museum Meermanno, MS 10 D 37, f. 14r–v.

text' was printed by Leeu, a commercial publisher who could not afford to take the risk of printing a text that would only attract partisan purchasers. We have, therefore, to conclude that the chronicle's partisanship – not to remain unnoticed by attentive readers – did not encourage scribes to intervene and produce a text purged of Hoo-kish views.

This does not mean, however, that the textual tradition is altogether void of any intervention made for political reasons. Interpreting these interventions, though, is a tough job. The story of countess Ada could serve as an example of the difficulties one meets in this respect. Ada was the only daughter of Count Dirk VII, who died in 1203. In fifteenth-century Holland her story had a clear political relevance, first of all because Ada was seen as a kind of prefiguration of Jacqueline of Bavaria, the only child of William VI, who died in 1417. If Ada were accepted as a lawful successor to her father, this would corroborate the legality of female inheritance in general and of Jacqueline's claims to power in particular. And indeed, comital officials actually referred to the story of Ada in the political conflict on Jacqueline's succession to legitimize her position as a countess.¹⁹ In that respect, it is remarkable that the chronicle's oldest version is somewhat ambivalent on Ada's rights. The text does not so much discuss her claims to succession, but rather her husband's. This husband was Count Louis of Loon, whom she had married, as the text states, 'on her mother's advice and without her uncle's consent'.²⁰ According to the author, Louis had no rights to claim the comital power in Holland. In the following fragment, the text is very explicit on that:

Louis, Count of Loon, came to Holland with an armed force and wanted to be accepted as lawful successor after Dirk's death. And he claimed that the country had come in his possession by his marriage to Ada, Dirk's daughter. He visited all the towns of Holland in order to be installed as the new count, but the noble lords of Holland refused to receive him. They did not want to be ruled by a foreign lord who could not legally claim the succession in Holland. *They have always kept to this carefully, but currently it is far from it.*²¹ (emphasis mine)

This final phrase is an explicit reference to the political situation of the author's own times, but as such, it is difficult to interpret. In the 1420s, the most obvious parallel to Louis of Loon would have been Jacqueline's third husband Humphrey of Gloucester, the English duke who had made some efforts to lay his hands on the county of Holland by military means, waging a short but bloody war against Philip of Burgundy.²² After Jacqueline's death, the remark could also have been directed against the Burgundian duke, who had incorporated the county of Holland in 1433, but who could still be seen, just like Louis of Loon, as a foreign lord whose legal rights in Holland were

¹⁹ Janse 2009, 40–41; Blockmans & Prevenier 1999, 86–91.

²⁰ Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 33r: '... bider moeders rade ende buten hoir oems wille ...'.

²¹ Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 35r: 'Lodewijc, graef van Loen, is mit groter macht in Hollant ghecomen. Ende woude an vaten voir recht, na dat graef Dirck doot was. Ende seide dat hi dat lant behilic had met sine wive Ada, graef Dircs dochter van Hollant, na des vaders doot. Ende hi voer in allen steden van Hollant ende had ontfanghen gheweest. Mer die Hollantsche heren en woudens niet ontfanghen. Ende en wouden niet gheregiert wesen van enen vreemden heer die Hollant niet en bestont. Dat si oec altoes wel ghehouden. Mer tijns nu verre vandaen.'

²² Vaughan 2002, 35 ff.

disputable.²³ This problem has been noticed by an editor, who explicitly counted Ada among the legitimate counts of Holland, and, thus, endorsed the theory of female inheritance in Holland, while at the same time rejecting her husband as a foreign usurper. The editor added some details to the story, which made it politically and legally ‘correct’ (additions *in italics*):

Ada, Count Dirk’s daughter, kept Holland, Zeeland and Friesland after her father’s death, but *since she was still very young*, she married Count Louis of Loon, on her mother’s advice and without her uncle’s consent. *Ada was still very young and died in her minority. And when she died, Count Louis was staying in the land of Loon. As soon as he heard the news about his wife Ada’s death, he went with an armed force to Holland, claiming that they should receive him as lawful overlord, since the county rightfully belonged to him because of his marriage. But they told him that his wife, Ada, had died when she was still in her minority, so he could not legally claim the succession to Holland.* They did not want to be ruled by a foreign lord who could not legally claim the succession in Holland. They have always kept to this carefully, but currently it is far from it. *May God change it for the better.*²⁴

On the one hand, by implying that Louis would have been accepted as a count if only his wife would have reached the full legal age, he clearly sustains to the principle of female inheritance. If this copy was made during the reign of Charles the Bold (1467–1477) or the period of political crisis that started after his death, this view could be regarded as a pro-Burgundian voice, supporting the succession of Charles’ daughter Mary of Burgundy (1477–1482). On the other hand, the author seems to strengthen the complaint on foreign usurpers by adding a prayer for political change. After 1482 this could allude to the situation in which several political communities severely disputed the political claims of Mary’s husband, Maximilian of Habsburg.²⁵ In that case, the passage could be interpreted as an expression of anti-Habsburgian sentiments.

Given these uncertainties and the relative scarcity of explicit political comments like the one mentioned above, it seems fair to conclude, again, that editors and scribes copying the *Gouda Chronicle* did not regularly adapt this text to their political views, nor did they make clear statements relevant to the political situations of their own times. This reluctance is even more obvious when compared to the scribes’ apparent enthusiasm in adding details that reveal local patriotism. To this type of textual variants I turn now.

Apart from the layers in the text for which different authors or editors were responsible, there are a lot of minor differences between the manuscripts, resulting from the much smaller and less conspicuous interventions of scribes.²⁶ Some of these differences are the result of the well-known scribal idiosyncrasies: errors, linguistic or orthographic diversity, individual stylistic or idiomatic preferences, or the perceived need to explain words or situations that might be hard for the intended readers to understand. These differences are fairly general in late medieval textual traditions and their significance is self-evident. There is, however, another kind of variation, which can be very

²³ On the legality of his succession rights, see Stein 2010a.

²⁴ Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, MS R. 88, f. 25v–26r.

²⁵ Blockmans 2006, 111, 114; Blockmans & Prevenier 1999, 196 ff; Haemers 2009.

²⁶ I’m fully aware of the elusiveness of these terms in the context of medieval manuscript studies. In my view, the difference is primarily a matter of scale.

informative about the person of the scribe. Some manuscripts contain idiosyncrasies that I would categorise as ‘local markers’: textual interventions that more or less consciously betray the local origin of an editor or scribe. These markers are particularly valuable in the textual tradition of regional chronicles. Whereas many histories of a specific territory or the deeds of a princely dynasty were born at court or originally were patronized by princes and noblemen, in the course of time copies were made and new versions were produced in towns. These texts were written by urban scribes or by their private owners from the urban patriciate themselves. Sometimes, the colophon or information on early ownership reveals the urban origin of these manuscripts, but in some other cases, the texts contain one or more local markers that help us to decide on the place of origin.

An interpolation or variant can be defined as a local marker if it

- has only local significance or interest, *or*
- must have been based on a local source, *or*
- presents the town or village in a favourable light.

To give an example from the Dutch historiography of the fourteenth century: local markers can be found in the so-called *Nederlandse Beke*, a very important, late fourteenth-century Middle Dutch chronicle of the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht. This text was to a large part based on the Latin chronicle by Johannes de Beke from the middle of the fourteenth century. Johannes de Beke is commonly identified as a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Egmond in Holland, but his translator and continuator from around 1400 must have lived in the town of Utrecht. That becomes clear, among other things, by the insertion of a charter given to the town of Utrecht and by added details on church buildings in the same city.²⁷

Local markers also appear in the *Gouda Chronicle*. In all manuscripts and printed versions, the town of Delft plays a remarkable role. The chronicle explains the origin of the town, gives information on the granting of privileges, and provides remarkable and unique details on the siege of Delft in 1359, which were clearly aimed at justifying the city’s behaviour. The chronicle has also a story about the military contribution of Delft to the count of Holland’s campaign against the Frisians in 1398. In that story, the count of Holland seems to explicitly express his preference for the town of Delft over other towns. According to the story, Count Albert of Bavaria said that he would prefer to lose half of the county of Holland rather than to lose the people of Delft. Not surprisingly, the chronicle explains, this made the other towns jealous.²⁸ As these stories are included in all manuscripts and prints, it seems not too bold to conclude that the original version of the *Gouda Chronicle*, or the main source on which this chronicle was built, was written by an author from Delft, or at least by an author using a source from that town.²⁹

Apart from these details from Delft, several manuscripts contain local details from

²⁷ Janse 2006. One manuscript seems to have been written in The Hague, according to the local markers in the continuation, see Janse 2003.

²⁸ See in Leeu’s printed edition *Chronike*, f. d2r (town’s founding), f. f4v (privileges), f. k5v (rioting in Delft in 1350), f. k8v-f. l1v (siege of Delft 1359), f. l4r (Delft’s raid in Frisia 1398).

²⁹ For more details, see Janse 2001.

other towns, which seem to have been added by individual scribes. The most obvious example is found in the oldest manuscript, Leiden, UL, MS BPL 136d, which was written, according to the colophon, in 1463 by a certain Steffen Hendrikszoen. Although this version preserves the Delft accent of the text, some new local markers were added, all pointing to the town of Haarlem. First of all, an interpolated story in the very brief account tells of Count William I's participation in the Fifth Crusade. Steffen Hendrikszoen also added a detailed account of the military contribution of the people of Haarlem, who are said to have played a crucial role in the capture of Damiate in Egypt in 1219. This must have been a popular story in Haarlem in the fifteenth century, and continued to be so up to the seventeenth, as is clear from a painting by the Haarlem painter Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen of about 1625.³⁰ According to Steffen Hendrikszoen, the town of Haarlem was honoured by the emperor who gave the Haarlemmers a new coat of arms, showing an upright sword in a blood-red background, surrounded by four stars that were believed to have been given by the four patriarchs.³¹

This heraldic story is the longest and most explicit local marker in this manuscript. A second is a single sentence interpolated in the story about the reign of William II, the count that was elected Roman King in 1248. After copying a passage stating that King William had given the town of Delft its city charter and upgraded its buildings, Steffen Hendrikszoen could not resist the temptation to note that this king had a special relationship with Haarlem as well: 'And he resided in Haarlem frequently and his court in Haarlem was where nowadays the Dominican convent is.'³²

A similar local pride is obvious from the interpolation of only two words in the story of 1303, when the Flemish had occupied the county of Holland in the aftermath of the Battle of the Golden Spurs at Courtrai.³³ Steffen Hendrikszoen is the only one who mentions the people of Haarlem among those who assisted Witte van Haamstede, bastard son of Florent V, who successfully drove back the Flemish troops. Whereas all manuscripts tell us that Witte van Haamstede arrived in Haarlem in 1303, where he was joined by the people of Kennemerland, Waterland and Frisia, Steffen Hendrikszoen explicitly mentions the people of Haarlem among them. If not for the much larger addition of Haarlem braveries during the crusade, we would hardly have noticed this interpolation. But now that we know that Steffen Hendrikszoen is a scribe who is proud of his townsmen performing military deeds, we can regard his mentioning of Haarlem in the campaign of 1303 as a similar expression of civic pride.

These kind of small interpolations, glorifying the feats of arms of an urban militia, appear in other manuscripts as well.³⁴ I will discuss just a few of them. All manu-

³⁰ Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum. See Frijhoff 2006; Van Moolenbroek 2011.

³¹ Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 36v-37r.

³² Leiden, UB, MS BPL 136d, f. 42r: 'Dese coninc Willem gaf die stede van Delft haer hantvesten. Ende oeck so verbeterde hi zeer die stede van Delft. Ende zijn woenstat was veel tijt te Haerlem ende zijn hof was te Haerlem daer nu dat Jacopinen cloester staet.'

³³ On the political context Sabbe 1951; Verbruggen & DeVries 2002.

³⁴ See also a marginal note in Dordrecht, Erfgoedcentrum DiEP, Stadsarchieven, Grafelijke tijd, MS inv. 652, f. 184v, where the main text says that the people from Dordrecht ended a siege of Haarlem by the duke of Brabant: 'Nota die weldaet ende bijstant van die van Dordrecht haeren heer gedaen in zijnre absencien.'

scripts describe the siege of Schoonhoven in 1425, when the partisans of Jacqueline of Bavaria held the town while it was besieged by the other towns of Holland. The manuscripts all provide us with some details: the siege lasted for thirteen weeks; the people of Schoonhoven organised several raids during which they destroyed the land and killed and ransomed their adversaries; they were particularly successful against Rotterdam, so that they even captured the city banner of Rotterdam and took many prisoners from that town. In the end, the towns of Holland decided to lift the siege and to return home.³⁵ Some manuscripts, however, provide more details. First, a scribe added the name of the nobleman who led the town's defence, and the names of those whom he captured when he took the castle. Afterwards, one of these prisoners (Albrecht Beyling) was buried alive outside the city. This crime was committed by 'some of the people who encamped there, whose names I will not mention.'³⁶ The scribe also added details about the raid on Rotterdam. Some Rotterdam ships were taken from the harbour and brought to Schoonhoven. When townspeople of Rotterdam and Dordrecht tried to intervene, they were defeated in a battle near Schoonhoven. The banner of Rotterdam was taken and their sheriff and many other citizens were killed. The besieging army decided to lift the siege and return home, but they could only do so safely after the count of Cleves had negotiated a truce. This truce lasted for six weeks.³⁷

Do these details on the siege of Schoonhoven provide a sufficient reason to suppose an intervention by a scribe from Schoonhoven? In other words, are these details to be considered as local markers? First, they are not necessarily based on a local source from the town itself. Many towns and noblemen from different parts of Holland contributed to the besieging army, while people from outside Schoonhoven participated in the defence. The interpolations, however, certainly served a Schoonhoven interest. They present the townspeople of Schoonhoven in a favourable light, thereby clearly showing a certain civic pride. In that respect, I regard the addition as a local marker. This is confirmed by a further reference to Schoonhoven, later in the same manuscript. Whereas the most common versions, including the print by Gerard Leeu and

³⁵ See Janse 2009, 236–240.

³⁶ In the nineteenth century, this became a famous story in a national context, see Jensen 2008, 98–100, 149–150.

³⁷ Vienna, HNSA, MS R.88, f. 54v–55r: 'Ende bij consent van vrou Margriet van Bourgongen, soe wort gesent Florijs van Kijffhooc mit die Hoox pertie bynnen Schoenhoven. Ende sij belagen tslot dair op lach als casteleyn Willem van Colster ende Allairt Beyling mit vijftich gesellen. Ende si hildent omtrent zes weken. Ende sij gavent op behouden hair lijff ende guet, sonder alleen Allairt Beyling [f. 55r] most dair gevangen bliven. Want hij wort dair na heymelic bij nacht bedolven buyten Schoenhoven levens lijffs op een molenwerff van enigen die dair lagen, die welc ic niet nomen en wil. Int jair ons Heren M CCCC ende XXV so wort Schoenhoven belegen in die vasten. Ende dair lagen voir die gemeen steden van Hollant, Zeelant ende Vrieslant mit die joncheer van Gaesbeeck sonder Zericzee, Goude, Oudewater ende den Briel. Dese saten stil ende onderwondens hem niet. Ende dit beleg duerde XXIII weken, bynnen welc belec die van Schoenhoven menige stoute reys deden. Ende voeren op een tijt uut Schoenhoven tot Rotterdam in die haven ende namen die scepen dair uut ende voerdense die Lecke op. Ende die van Dordrecht ende die van Rotterdam volgede him luyden na tot voir Schoenhoven toe. Ende dat heer datter voir lach quam oec te samen om jegens die Hoecx. Dair began een starc strijt. Ende die van Rotterdam verlorren hair bannier mit sommige van haren poorteren mit haren scout, die worden verslagen ende gevangen. Ende die steden van Hollant mit die ander die voir Schoenhoven lagen en wisten niet in wat manieren dat sij van daen comen souden ongescent. Ende ontboden hartoech Odulff van Cleeff dat hij comen woude ende dadingen een bestant, dat wesen soude tusschen die heeren die in Schoenhoven lagen ende die gemeente die dair voir lagen, alsoe dat geschiede zes weken lanck.'

others, tell us very briefly that Jacqueline of Bavaria escaped from Ghent in 1425 and arrived in Gouda, the two manuscripts that have the elaborated version on the siege of Schoonhoven state that the countess arrived in *Schoonhoven*, ‘where she was kindly received by her friends’.³⁸ In my view, these few sentences in a text of about 40.000 words indicate that by a scribe from Schoonhoven – or at least by a scribe having close connections to that town – copied a text of the *Gouda Chronicle*.

The final local marker I discuss is the one that, in my view, anchors the *Gouda Chronicle* to Gouda. The text printed by Gerard Leeu in Gouda 1478, as well as three manuscripts,³⁹ all contain a short story about a successful military campaign by the people from Gouda in the village of Alphen aan den Rijn in 1425:

In the year of our Lord 1425, the people of Gouda left the city with all armed men. They came to Alphen, where the armies of Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam were encamped. The people of Gouda launched a surprise attack and killed many adversaries. They managed to capture the banners of Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam. And this happened on Monday after Eleven Thousand Virgins day.⁴⁰

This story most certainly contributed to the local civic pride in Gouda. It is not very likely that a scribe from Leiden, Haarlem or Amsterdam would have wanted to add this episode, which did not put them in a favourable light. Moreover, although the story of this siege was also transmitted by a continuation to the *Nederlandse Beke*, I do not think that it was copied from that source. The *Beke Continuation* does not provide the date on which the battle was fought, whereas the *Gouda Chronicle* does (22 October 1425).⁴¹ Furthermore, the printed edition, together with the three manuscripts that contain this story about the battle of Alphen, are the only texts that also add another detail that is lacking in all other texts. When the anonymous author gives a brief account of a second battle near Alphen in 1426, only the print and the related manuscripts mention the exact location where the two parties joined battle: the sluice of Gouda.⁴² This leads to the assumption that the print has been based on a manuscript copy from Gouda. This is, of course, hardly surprising: why should Gerard Leeu have searched for a copy elsewhere in Holland, when there was one available around the corner?

Not all of these local markers are about military deeds. In the manuscripts that contain the second continuation covering the reign of Charles the Bold, we find an example of a non-military local marker. All manuscripts pay some attention to the English King Edward IV’s stay in Holland in 1470. In that year, Edward had to flee his

³⁸ Vienna, HNSA, MS R.88, f. 55v: ‘Ende sij quam bynnen Scoenhoven, dair sij vriendelic ontfangen wort van hair vrienden.’

³⁹ Or seven, if we include the copies of the printed version.

⁴⁰ *Chronike*, f. m3v-m4r: ‘Int jaer ons Heren dusent vier hondert ende XXV soe toghen die vander Goude uut mit al hoer macht ende quamen tot Alfen. Daer die van Leiden, van Haerlem, van Aemsterdam laghen mit veel volcs. Daer hem die vander Goude onversienlic over vielen, soe dat si daer veel volcs verslaghen ende wonnen drie bannieren, als Leiden, Haerlem ende Aemsterdam. Ende dit was des manendaechs nader Elf dusent Maechden dach.’

⁴¹ Which is correctly, see Vaughan 2002, 40–42.

⁴² *Chronike*, f. m4r: ‘... aen die Goude sluus’.

country. He arrived in Texel, in the northern part of Holland, where the Burgundian governor, Louis de Gruuthuse, kindly welcomed him, accompanied him to The Hague and brought him to his palace in Bruges.⁴³ There is only one manuscript in which this royal journey is elaborated:

On Saint-Victor's day, he [King Edward] passed through the town of Haarlem. He spent the night in Jan van Noordwijk's house in Noordwijk, where he was well received by Jan van Noordwijk himself and by the good village. The next day, he attended mass in Saint Jerome's chapel, where he offered a golden coin to the saint. From there, he continued his travels, passing through Leiden, to The Hague, where he stayed until Christmas.⁴⁴

There is no doubt that this addition can be considered as a local marker. The information on the king's stay in Noordwijk has only local significance, it is probably based on a local source, and, finally, it presents the village of Noordwijk and the noble lord Jan van Noordwijk in a favourable light.⁴⁵

This does not necessarily mean, though, that the manuscript in which we find these words was written in Noordwijk or by a scribe having close connections to the lord of Noordwijk. The problem is that the scribal additions that we consider to be local markers are not treated as such by later scribes. As the example from Delft reveals, local markers inserted by a scribe from one town are simply copied by scribes from another town. We can only be certain that there must have been a manuscript written by someone who had close connections to Noordwijk and/or to its lord.

To sum up, there seems to be enough evidence to assume a widespread reception of the text of the *Gouda Chronicle* in different towns in Holland. I conclude that some scribes did not hesitate to add details from their local perspective. It is clear that they were particularly eager to do so when these details contributed to the glory of their town or village.

This conclusion has some implications beyond the field of the transmission and transformation of texts. As noticed already, most of the local markers discussed above refer to feats of might. At first glance, this may not seem very striking in a chronicle full of wars, battles and skirmishes, but, in fact, it is remarkable, because the focus in these small interpolations is on the *urban* militia. We are very familiar with pride of historic feats of arms in circles of princes and noblemen, who formed part of a culture of chivalry and still held the virtue of *prouesse* in high esteem. National communities also commemorated victories in the past, as the annual commemorations of various famous battles testify.⁴⁶ But evidence for the role of warfare in the self-consciousness of the urban elite is much less well known, especially in the northern Low Countries, where urban chronicles are almost entirely lacking during the middle ages.

Finally, if we define a town chronicle as a history of events and deeds of urban com-

⁴³ Obermann & Schoorl 1981; Huizinga 1949.

⁴⁴ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Cod. Gulef. 114.2, f. 203v-204r.

⁴⁵ In the *Divisiechroniek*, printed in Leiden in 1517, Edward's passing through Noordwijk is only briefly mentioned, see *Die Cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* (Leiden, Jan Seversz, 1517), f. 328r.

⁴⁶ See e.g. Allmand 1988, 138 ff.

munities written for the honour and benefit of communal leaders,⁴⁷ the county of Holland in the fifteenth century has only one example from the late 1490s, not surprisingly concerning the town of Haarlem. It is a brief and clumsy excerpt from a Latin chronicle of the counts of Holland, written by the Haarlem Carmelite Johannes a Leydis, extended with some local details.⁴⁸ The only other town in Holland that can claim to have a medieval historiography of its own is Gorinchem, but this chronicle from around 1480 focuses on the noble family Van Arkel, who were also lords of Gorinchem.⁴⁹ When compared to other parts of Europe such as Northern Italy and the German Empire, but also to the Southern Low Countries where we find urban historiography in various forms,⁵⁰ the evidence in Holland is strikingly meagre.⁵¹ However, the textual tradition of regional chronicles such as the so-called *Little Gouda Chronicle* show, that we should not allow ourselves to be misled by this scarcity. Within the context of the history of the principality, which remained the main focus of historiography in Holland in the fifteenth century, there was enough space for expressing local self-consciousness. Or, to put it differently, the local markers that can be found in manuscripts of regional chronicles betray the existence of a civic pride, especially when it comes to military actions performed by fellow citizens in the past. This civic pride is well known from the interurban rivalry in the form of the shooting competitions in the Low Countries, organized for members of the shooting guilds, the archers and crossbowmen that usually formed the backbone of the town's militia.⁵² I hope to have sufficiently demonstrated that this pride had a historical dimension as well, even in areas where a 'real' urban historiography is lacking.

Samenvatting

In dit artikel worden de overgeleverde handschriften van het *Goudse kroniekje* onderzocht. Deze kroniek werd in 1478 gedrukt door Gerard Leeu in Gouda en werd daarna verspreid in zowel handschrift als druk. Hoewel de naam anders suggereert, is deze kroniek geen stadskroniek, maar beschrijft hij de geschiedenis van het graafschap Holland. De aanvullingen die in sommige handschriften zijn geschreven, geven aanwijzingen (*local markers*) over de plaats van ontstaan van die aanvullingen. Hieruit wordt geconcludeerd dat het *Goudse kroniekje* een grote verspreiding kende.

47 Schmid 2010, 1432.

48 Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Stadsbestuur van Haarlem, Registers met afschriften van keuren en privileges, MS inv. nr. 928 (formerly: MS Rood 21), f. 32r-39r: 'Van den gesten ende daden der inwonachtiger burgers vander stede van Haarlem'.

49 Bruch 1931.

50 Van Bruaene 1998. Vasina 2002 mentions the *Annales Gandenses* (p. 343-344) and the *Annales Cameracenses* (p. 348-349). In France the urban historiography has not flourished because of the dominance of the monarchical history, see Kümmel 1984, 225-226.

51 On the lack of urban historiography in Holland, see Burgers 2008 (<http://dare.uva.nl/document/2/61062>).

52 See for example Arnade 1996, 65-94; Stein 2010b, 52-57.

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