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Forty-three Studies in Bibliography
presented to Prof. Dr. Wytze Hellinga
on the occasion of his retirement
from the Chair of Neophilology
in the University of Amsterdam
at the end of the Year 1978



Wytze Hellinga aetatis suae LXIII



Nico Israel, Amsterdam, 1980

e. twenty-three names appear in sufficiently accurate and full forms in Ledeboer (and in the *Cat. Hoorn*).

Besides a short biography of Ledeboer, the authors give an account of the researching and writing of his chief bibliographical works and a survey of how they were received at the time.

The conclusion is that there is a serious need of a new list of Dutch printers and booksellers and that such a list must be based first of all on *all* books (in other words: an STCN), possibly supplemented by further data from other sources, so far as they can be checked.

J. P. GUMBERT

The sizes of manuscripts

Some statistics and notes

In the middle of the fifteenth century a Carthusian monk of Utrecht complained that the *formacio* of two older booklets was bad, being *longa et non secundum exigenciam eius lata*: tall and not so wide as it ought to be.¹ Evidently this monk knew things about book sizes which modern codicologists do not know. After all, the sizes of manuscript books have often² been considered of little importance; there even exist catalogues of MSS. which do not mention measurements, and monographs about MSS. from which it is impossible to discover their size.

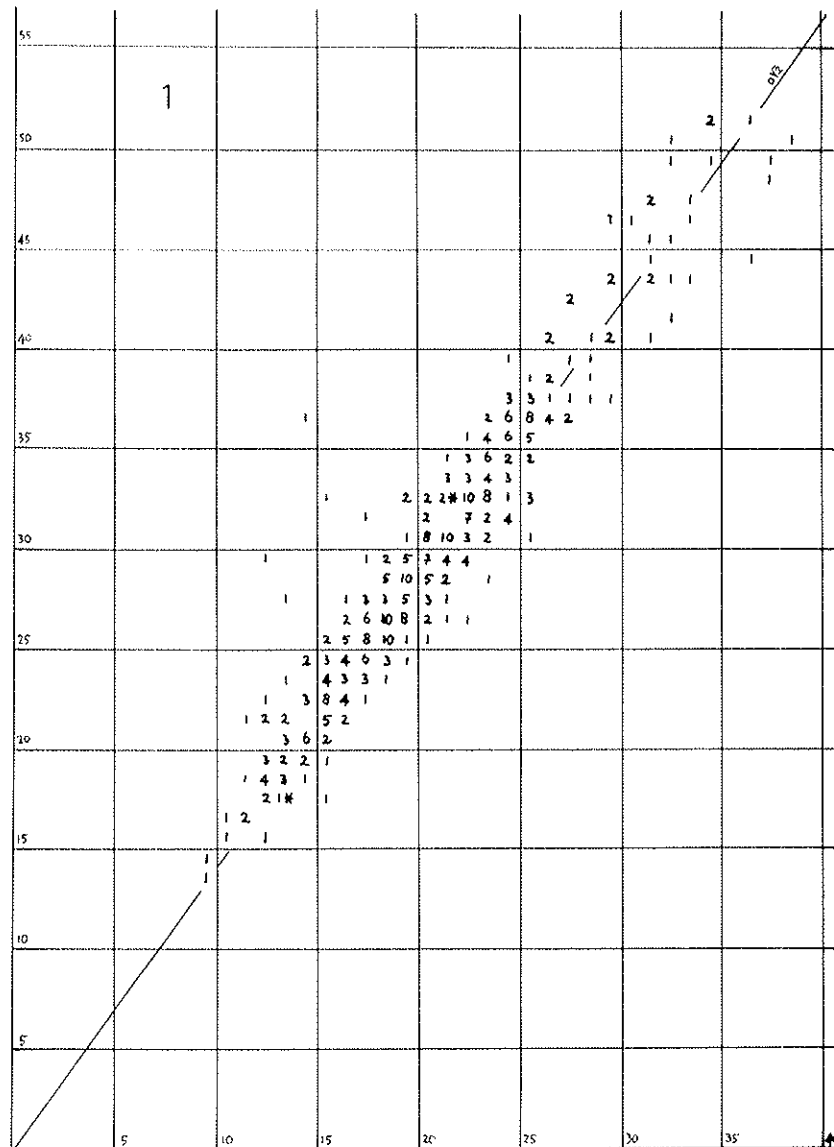
For an experimental research into the sizes of manuscripts I decided to limit myself to the dimensions of the page: the dimensions of the written space and their relations to those of the page are important, but I saw no easy way of handling them. To find a large sample of varied material from the whole of the Middle Ages with sufficiently reliable and precise dates I naturally turned to the collection of *Manuscripts Dated*, of which I used five volumes:³ Ch.Samaran - R.Marichal, *Catalogue des mss. en écriture latine portant des indications de date*, vol.ii (1962): Paris, Bibl. nat., Fonds latin nos. 1-8000; idem, vol.iii (1974): Paris, Bibl. nat., Fonds latin nos. 8001-18613. F. Unterkircher, *Die datierten Hss. der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol.i (1969): ... *bis zum Jahre 1400*; idem, vol. ii (1971): ... *von 1401 bis 1450*; idem, vol. iii (1974): ... *von 1451 bis 1500*.

I shall quote MSS. from these collections with abbreviated shelf-marks. Also I shall refer to them as 'Parisian' or 'Viennese' MSS.; and in fact, although of course not every MS. now in Paris was written in France, still a large proportion of them was; in the same way Vienna provides an abundant sampling of Austrian and Bohemian MSS., with MSS. from France and elsewhere in a decidedly minor role. For all their mobility MSS. have stayed in their country of origin more often than not.

My assistants⁴ collected and sorted the data of altogether 2395 MSS. The diagrams for specific periods give, for every size, the number of MSS. from that period having that size — thus, in the first diagram, there is one MS. of 14 x 9 cm., there are six of 20 x 14 cm., and ten of each of the sizes 25 x 18, 26 x 18, 28 x 19, 30 x 21, 32 x 22. To arrive at these figures I have rounded the measurements given for the MSS. down to the nearest full centimetre — thus I have treated everything from '30.0' to '30.9' as 30 cm. Greater precision seemed to be unnecessary in view of the fact that there are several more important sources of imprecision in the material:

1. The MSS. themselves

- The leaves of a book are often of unequal size.
- Parchment has a tendency to shrink slightly (paper seems to be much more constant in size; in MSS. containing both materials the parchment leaves have often become noticeably smaller than the others).
- Most MSS. have been cropped by binders, sometimes repeatedly. But I should



1. Sizes of parchment MSS. from the eight to the thirteenth centuries (* = two paper MSS.)

think that the resultant loss is in most cases not more than one, or perhaps two, centimetres. The result is that, of MSS. originally measuring 30 x 20, most are now probably to be found at 29 x 19; some at the original size; a few at 28 x 18 or other adjacent sizes. This introduces a certain 'fuzziness' into our statistics; but if we do not take our diagrams too literally, it does not seriously distort the whole picture.

2. The authors of the *Manuscripts datés*

— In measuring so many thousands of MSS. they must inevitably have made some errors.

— They certainly made some errors in reporting their findings. Thus P. 12385 is said to be '28,2 x 13,8 cm.'; but as the written space is 23,2 x 15, we probably must read '28,2 x 23,8'. P. 12422 '39,5 x 20 cm.', written area 1,20 x 13; the MS. is said to be very similar to P.12423, which is 30 x 21 (written area 20 x 13) and to P.12424, which is 26 x 17 (written area 19 x 13); so we must read '29,5 x 20'. W.91 '279 x 82 [mm.], Schriftspiegel 204 x 37'; the plate shows one of the columns to be 60 mm. wide, so we must probably read '279 x 182 (204 x 137)'. W.4253 '195 x 220, Schriftspiegel 210 x 155' — read 295 x 220?

3. The makers of the present article

— In writing and counting so many tiny index cards some errors must have occurred, not all of which will have come to light during further work.

— In arranging, copying and recopying the diagrams I certainly made errors. The fact that my totals seldom seem to add up quite correctly is proof of that. But I checked most of the more extraordinary findings.

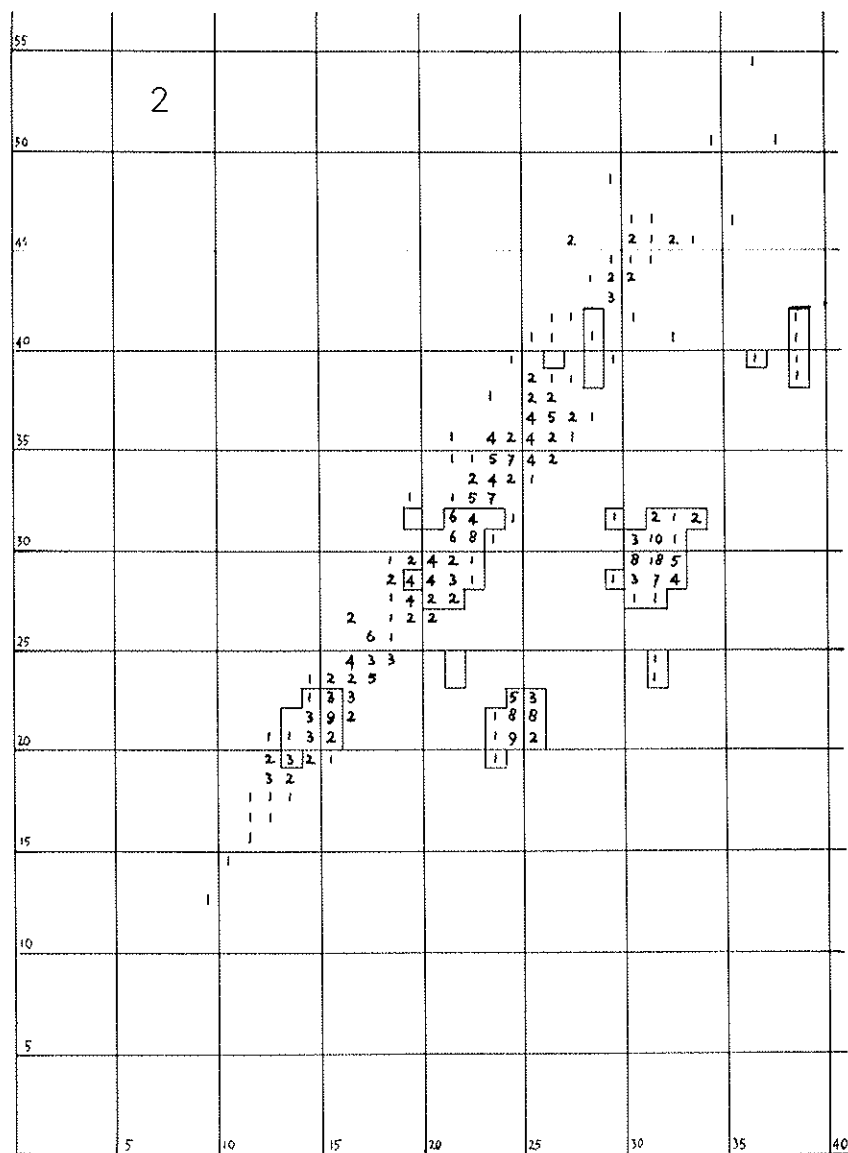
Notwithstanding these imperfections (some of which are inherent in the material, while others could be overcome by the use of a small computer) I am confident that the results are substantially reliable.

The FIRST DIAGRAM shows the sizes of 390 MSS.: 227 from the 8th to the 12th century, 163 from the 13th. (By far the majority of them come from Paris; Vienna contributes a mere 10-13 %).

The most striking aspect of this diagram is, that the MSS. are aligned so nicely along a straight line, and that this line virtually coincides with the line corresponding to the famous proportion $a\sqrt{2} : a$ (i.e. the points on that line correspond with MSS. where the proportion of height to width = $a\sqrt{2} : a = a : \frac{1}{2}a\sqrt{2}$). It is not a matter of course for books to have this proportion (even though it still governs our standard sizes and may seem natural to us); if one looks at Greek papyrus codices,⁶ one finds surprisingly different results.

We can express the proportion as a decimal fraction (for a book 30 x 21 the value width: height would be 0.70; this value will be *greater* if the book is (relatively) *broader* and *smaller* if it is *narrower*). Almost all the MSS. of our period will be found to have proportions between 0.60 and 0.80, and the majority of them between 0.67 and 0.72.⁷

Few of the MSS. at the 'broad edge' of our field (0.80) are from the 13th century; and the few (relatively) even broader examples are older: 26 x 22 (0.84) P. 9376, 1005; 30 x 25 (0.83) P. 12302, 989; the broadest is 17 x 15 (0.88) P. 13989, 836.⁸



2. Sizes of parchment and paper MSS. of the fourteenth century (Paper sizes within pairs of boxes)

Older MSS. show more divergence at the 'narrow edge' as well. For the 13th century 21 x 12 (0.57) P. 15143, 1270, is the slenderest specimen; the five isolated instances to the left of the field are:

- 31 x 17 (0.55) W. 743, before 800;
- 27 x 13 (0.48) P. 9449 (troper), 1059;
- 32 x 15 (0.47) P. 9448 (troper), 986;
- 29 x 12 (0.41) P. 10477 (computus), 1182;
- 36 x 14 (0.39) P. 6898 (ritual), 1094.

Tall MSS. (of 44 cm. and over) are not frequent in the 13th century, where they are descendants of the giant books from the abbeys of the 11th and 12th centuries (like 51 x 34 P. 3853, St.-Amand 1154) — although there are older specimens (like 49 x 37 P. 1 (the Vivian bible), Tours 845).

Small MSS., however (of 16 cm. and less), are slightly more frequent in the 13th century than before (although 14 x 9 P. 7474 dates from 841).

Finally two MSS. on *paper* are marked on the diagram by an asterisk:

- 32 x 21 P. 3348A (Raym. Lullus, author's original), before 1298;
- 17 x 13 P. 3416 (Boethius de Dacia), c. 1295.

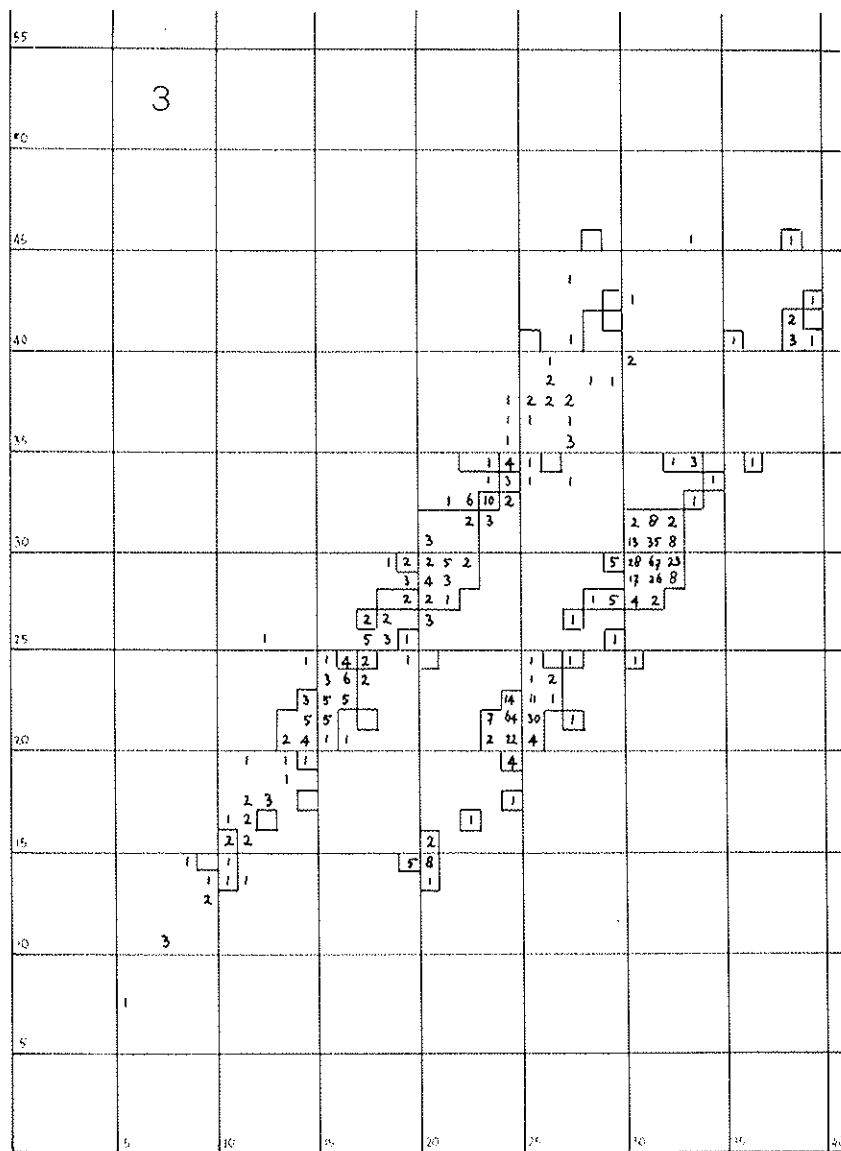
Both are typical early 'students' books', in current hands.

The SECOND DIAGRAM contains 366 MSS. of the 14th century: 148 from the first, 218 from the second half. (Thus there are more than twice as many MSS. from the 14th as from the 13th century, though it is probable that less MSS. were produced in the 14th, at least in France. There are two reasons for this. In the first place a higher percentage of MSS. was now provided with a date, so that out of a smaller total a larger proportion can be described in *Manuscripts Dated*. In the second place Vienna now contributes more to the total (30% in the first, 55% in the second half of the century); the Parisian MSS. in themselves do not show such a spectacular growth.)

Manuscripts on *paper* now begin to be numerous. They call for two remarks.

- We have treated MSS. composed from parchment and paper as MSS. on paper.
- In order to distinguish between parchment and paper MSS., we have noted the sizes and numbers of parchment MSS. as in the preceding diagram; the *sizes* of paper MSS. are marked with a *box*; in a similar box repeated to the right (shifted by ten units), the corresponding *numbers* of paper MSS. are given. Thus, in the second diagram, three parchment MSS. are noted at 19 x 13; the box calls attention to the fact that there are also paper MSS. of that size; in the corresponding box to the right it is seen that the number of these is one. Similarly, there are in all twenty MSS. of 29 x 21: two on parchment, and — as is clear from the repeated box at the right — 18 on paper.

Considering parchment MSS. first, the first half of the century is hardly to be distinguished from the preceding century in its close adherence to the 'main line' and its avoidance of large sizes (small books, down to 14 cm., do occur — they are mostly French scientific or theological books, like 15 x 11 P. 13967 (logic), France 1318). In the second half of the century there is a wider spectrum: there is a MS. as (relatively) broad as 0.80, and there are several quite slender ones (32 x 19 (0.59) P. 7880 (Homerus), Italy 1369).⁹ Of large sizes, many come from Southern Europe (including



3. Sizes of parchment and paper MSS. from the first half of the fifteenth century

Italian legal folios); but the largest is 54 x 36 W.s.n.2643 (Wolfram v. Eschenbach), Prague 1387. Of small sizes, the smallest is 12 x 9 P. 1380r (Comm. on Rule of Benedict), France 1354.

It should be noted that the distribution of MSS. along the 'axis' has become somewhat uneven. Up to the middle of the century all heights (implying suitable widths) had been more or less equally well represented; now 'thin spots' begin to occur, sizes which seem to be avoided. But the evidence does not (yet) allow us to discern favourite size groups.

Paper MSS. are growing fast in importance. Up to 1340 there are only five; after that date, 109 — 93 of which in Vienna, where they constitute a majority of 67%, whereas only 20% of Parisian books of that period are on paper. The five oldest paper MSS.¹⁰ are:

- 38 x 28 P. 11796 (Templar law-suit, not a real book), Paris 1311;
- 31 x 23 P. 6320 (Aristotle), Italy 1321;
- 31 x 19 W. 5098 (Benedictine constitutions), Austria 1337;
- 20 x 14 W. 3586 (sermons), Austria 1339;
- 30 x 21 W. 5329 (philosophical reportata), Germany 1340.

This sample already suggests the most striking feature of paper MSS.: their distribution into distinct format groups.

At the top there are several MSS. of 38-41 x 26-28. Evidently these are folios from sheets of c.54 x 40 (theoretical size; probably the sheets were actually somewhat larger before binding, but still distinctly smaller than the 61 x 44 known as the Bolognese *realle*). These MSS. are all in Paris: one (dated 1311) has been quoted above, one is an Italian Livy of 1388 (P. 5727) and three are legal MSS. from Spain and Southern France, 1386-96 (P. 4572, 15414, 15417).

The largest group has its centre of gravity at 29 x 21. These must be either quartos of the preceding size, or (more probably) folios from sheets ca. 42 x 29 (Briquet already gave 43 x 30 as the most frequent paper size; the *regule*, 45 x 31, is slightly larger). A smaller group centres on 20-21 x 14; they must be the quartos of the preceding size, and are found almost exclusively in Vienna.

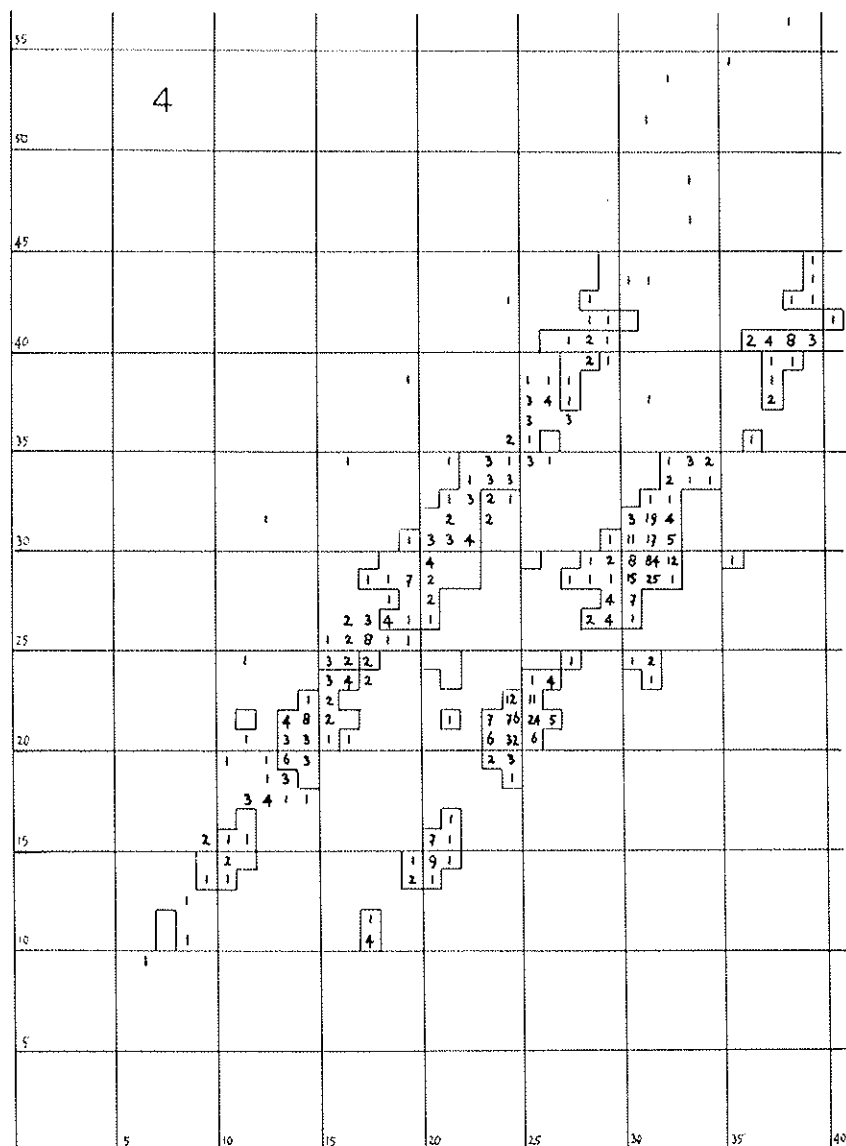
Two isolated, unusually broad MSS., 23-24 x 21 (c.o.90) W. 2921 (chronicle), W. 3754 (sermons), Austria 1397-8, must be on paper of an unusual make.

The THIRD DIAGRAM presents 647 MSS. of the first half of the 15th century. The share of Viennese MSS. is still growing: it is now nearly 70%.

Parchment MSS. are even more unevenly distributed than in the preceding half century. A few are broader (33 x 27 (0.81) P. 15837, Paris 1410) or narrower (25 x 12 (0.48) P. 6708, France 1425) than the main body; few are large. Small sizes are coming into vogue, mainly for breviaries, books of hours, and theological texts; the smallest is 7 x 5 W. 2037 (diurnale), Austria 1450.

The first thing to be remarked about paper MSS. is their large number. In Paris their share grows, from 38% in the first quarter of the century to 48% in the second; in Vienna it is (in both quarters) no less than 83%.

The division into format groups is particularly clear in the first quarter; later it becomes less distinct through the increasing use of intermediate sizes.



4. Sizes of parchment and paper MSS. from the third quarter of the fifteenth century

A lone MS. is 45 x 28 P. 4548 (legal), Italy (?) 1419 (its sheet size of 56 x 45 fits in with the *realle*). The group of c.40 x 28 (folios from 56 x 40) is continued from the preceding century; they are, again, Southern or Austrian MSS.

The groups around 29 x 21 and around 21 x 14 (presumably mainly folios and quartos from sheets 42 x 29) are present in strength; there even emerges (only in Vienna) a group around 14 x 10, evidently the octavos of the series (the oldest specimen is 14 x 9 W. 3013 (poetry), Germany 1404).

These groups, however, have a considerable 'fringe'; and further there are MSS. which definitely do not fit into these groups and therefore must derive from sheets of less common sizes. The MSS. of 33-4 cm. height (sheet size c.46 x 34, not far from the *meçane*) as well as those of 24-6 cm. (quartos from 52 x 40?) are almost exclusively Italian (whereas in the main groups Italian MSS. are a small minority among our material). It is apparent that Italy had its own habits concerning sizes. A closer look into the large clusters of the main formats would probably reveal more detail there as well.

In the FOURTH DIAGRAM we see 692 MSS. from the third quarter of the 15th century alone. Vienna is losing some of its position: it provides only 55% of the total.

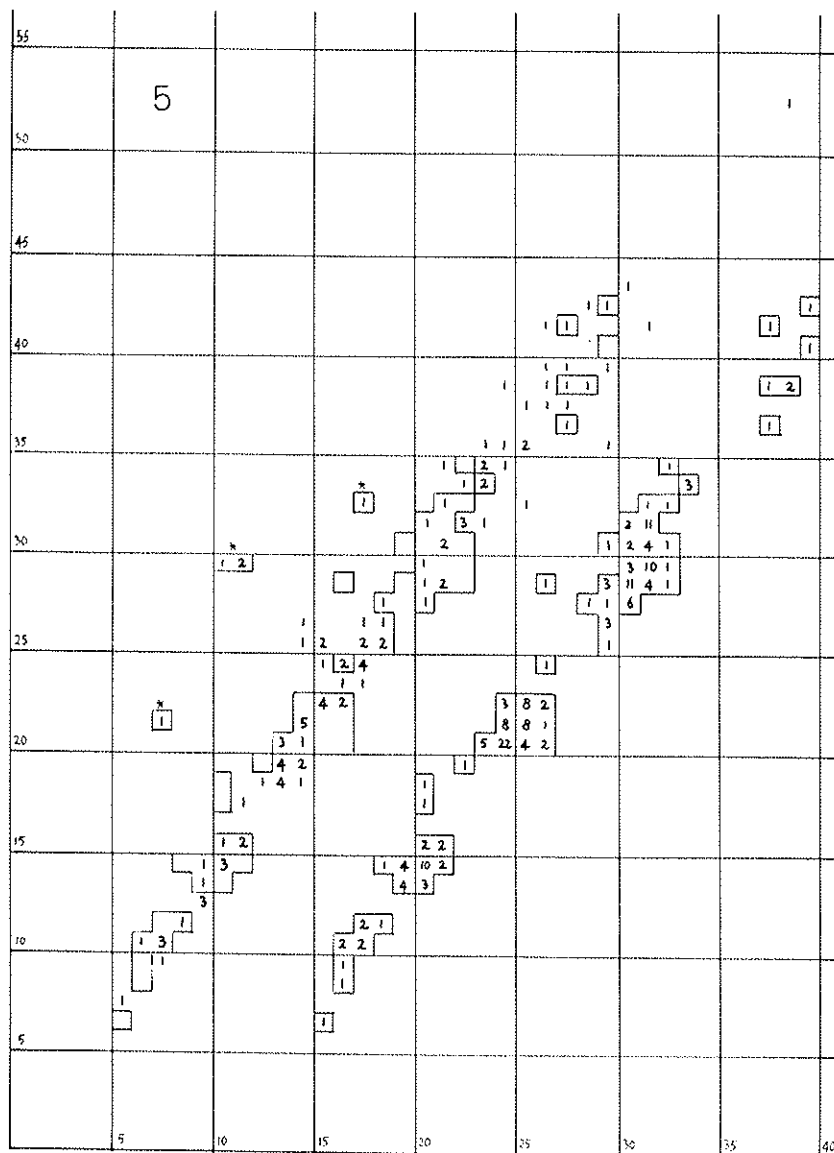
Of parchment MSS., it is to be noted that there are again a few quite narrow books, with proportions down to 24 x 11 (0.45) P. 6568 (Plato), Florence 1472; they are all Italian (except the narrowest, 31 x 12 (0.38) P. 16020 (Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*), Netherlands 1469; but this is an extraordinary text). Both large MSS. (up to 56 x 38 W.s.n.12333 (chronicle), Austria 1451) and small ones (down to 9 x 6 W. 2011 (breviary), Austria 1455) are present.

Paper now has the upper hand even in Paris (55%; in Vienna it is still 84%). The main series of formats is still evident: c.40 x 28 (folio from 56 x 40; still almost exclusively Southern or Italian), 29 x 21 (quarto from same, or folio from 42 x 29), 21 x 14 (this and the preceding group are represented by hundreds of specimens, one third to one fourth of which are in Paris), 14 x 10 (the octave — mainly in Vienna) and even 10 x 7 (this would be the sedecimo; in Vienna only, for prayer books). But the intermediate sizes take a larger share, blurring the picture; the groups c.44 x 29 and c. 34 x 23 are, again, mainly Italian-Austrian, but the group c. 26 x 19 is not. There are some strikingly broad MSS. (29 x 25 (0.91) P. 4929 (Annals), Belgium 1462).

Finally the FIFTH DIAGRAM shows the retreat of the hand-written book in the fourth quarter of the 15th century: a mere 300 MSS. (60% from Vienna).¹¹

Parchment MSS. continue much the same: very narrow MSS. are mostly Italian; there are more large MSS. (outside our diagram there are 63 x 42 and 65 x 44, W.s.n.2657 and 2658 (both Graduals), Bohemia 1490, 1499) and there is a continuing trend towards smaller sizes.

Paper is going down relatively, in Vienna to 75%, in Paris even to 46%. Again the main series (now continued downward to 6 x 5 W.s.n.3254 (prayers), Germany 1482 — a 32°?) and various groups of intermediate sizes (those around 34 and around 26 cm. high are again Italian) are seen. There are a few particularly narrow paper MSS.¹²:



5. Sizes of parchment and paper MSS. from the last quarter of the fifteenth century
 (* = paper MSS. within single boxes)

32 x 17 (0.53) P. 7404 (astronomical tables), Paris 1498;
 29 x 11 (0.38) W. s.n.3800 (accounts, not a real book), Austria 1483;
 29 x 11 (0.38) W. 2853 (Bible commentary), 1482;
 29 x 10 (0.34) W. 3699 (Bible excerpts), 1483;
 21 x 7 (0.33) W. 3618 (Pharetra), 1485 — the last three being autographs of Joh. Hauser in Mondsee.¹³

At the end of our search, can we understand the Carthusian's complaint? The first of the MSS. he censured is from the 13th century; it measures 25 x 16 (0.64) and is perfectly normal for its time. The second, from the 14th, measures 26 :: 16 (0.61) and is somewhat slenderer than most. For the 15th century as well, when the complaint was made, they seem to be nothing really out of the way. Yet, by that time, books of 25 x 17 are very much more frequent than those of 25 x 16; of the latter size, there are in Paris, against 4 specimens from the 9th-12th centuries, one from the 15th, and that from Italy (P. 5805; in Vienna there is one in all, W. 2446, also Italian). Similarly, of books measuring 26 x 16, there are in Paris three French books, the latest dating from 1380, and three Italian volumes from 1375 to 1462. A Southerner might have liked the volumes in question better than the monk of Utrecht did.

Evidently our diagrams in their present state are not sufficient to understand the finer points of medieval book sizes. But the fact that we have been able (on the basis of our card index, not of the diagrams as printed) to point more than once to a particular position of Italian books among the others suggests that an analysis on the lines of the present enquiry, incorporating more material and, especially, introducing regional differentiation, will be very rewarding. Our impression that scribes (or paper manufacturers) in Italy preferred other sizes of paper than did those in France may be confirmed, or modified. The shifts in taste which we seem to observe (the avoidance of large sizes from the 13th to the mid-15th century, except for the late 14th; the fact that narrow books, after the 14th century, appear to be mainly Italian¹⁴) will be seen in more relief. It will be possible to look deeper into the relation between parchment and paper sizes. Perhaps also an answer may be found to the question why printers (according to Haebler) preferred the sheet size 50 x 30-35 (which makes folios 30-35 x 25 and quartos 25 x 15-17), a size which is certainly not prominent among the manuscript books here presented.

1 J. P. Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser* (Leiden 1974), pp. 139, 141.

2 Not always; as instances of pertinent remarks I mention G. Pollard in *The Library*, 4th S., 22 (1942), pp. 110-15; N. R. Ker, *English MSS. in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford 1960), pp. 40-1; B. Bischoff, *Paläographie ...* (1979), pp. 38-42. Sometimes sizes have even been used in argument, as by G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins* (Turnhout 1977), pp. 37-8. A novel, thorough and illuminating treatment of various problems of sizes of MSS. will be found in a chapter of the forthcoming work of C. Bozzolo and E. Ornatò, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge: trois essais de codicologie quantitative*.

3 I regret that I was unable to use the Dutch volume(s), because there the dimensions of the written area alone are given, not those of the page.

4 M. W. M. Hekker and E. A. Overgaauw, whom I thank for their labours.

5 Note that many MSS. of the Vienna volumes (especially of vol. i) cannot be used because their dates are unreliable. — Note also that the Paris volumes describe the whole MS. even if only a part is dated; thus, one is easily misled into thinking that P. 14907 is on 'papier encarté parch.', whereas the dated part is on parchment only.

6 As it is now possible to do, thanks to E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977).

7 a: $a\sqrt{2}=0.71$. A single cm. of difference can mean a difference of 0.03 in the proportion. For instance: a book of exactly 30 cm. height would have to be 21.21 cm. wide to have the proportion a: $a\sqrt{2}$ (0.71); it would be treated in my material as 30 x 21 (0.70). Should it be 8 mm. broader, it would become 30 x 22 (0.73); if it was 3 mm. narrower, 30 x 20 (0.67). One should not attach undue importance to differences in the second decimal digit. — The Golden Section corresponds to a proportion of 0.62, which would be at the extreme left edge of our collection of MSS.; evidently Medieval book designers were not generally guided by this proportion in their choice of page size (there is, e.g., not a single MS. of 30 x 18, which would fit this proportion).

8 This is the 'square format' said to be characteristic for many Carolingian MSS. There are too few MSS. from that period in the *Manuscripts Dated* to substantiate this belief; but a test among the Vossius MSS. in Leiden confirms that MSS. with proportions from 0.80 to 1.00 are frequent in the 9th century, rare thereafter.

9 38 x 21 (0.55) P. 11969, 1355, is a dated text written into the margins of an older, undated book; so this size belongs to the 12th (or rather 13th?), not the 14th century.

10 Note that the dates of W. 4394 '1329', W. 4753 '1315'-1329', W. 13842 '1316', W. 15016 '1324' must all be rejected.

11 There is little to be gained by adding the 16th-century material.

12 For these the numbers could be accommodated in the box corresponding to the size itself, not in a second box at the right; on the diagram these boxes are marked with an asterisk.

13 The Austrian volume of *Manuscripts dated* records ten other MSS. of this scribe (from 1473 to 1491; but he died only in 1518), all on paper, c. 14 x 10 or c. 10 x 7. His narrow MSS. are easily derived from the same standard sheet of 42 x 29.

14 This seems to be confirmed by a test among MSS. from British libraries.

WILLEM HEIJTING

De boeken uit het klooster van de Wilhelmieten te 's-Hertogenbosch

Van de vele kloosters die zich tot het begin van de zeventiende eeuw in of nabij de stad 's-Hertogenbosch bevonden, was het bij de orde van de Wilhelmieten aangesloten klooster Baseldonk of Porta Coeli een van de oudste. Het had bij de opheffing van deze vestiging na de protestantisering van de stad in 1629 ruim vier eeuwen deel uitgemaakt van de Bossche samenleving, zij het op een weinig opvallende wijze. Het aantal kloosterlingen is nooit groot geweest, en de monniken waren niet gewoon door culturele of wetenschappelijke activiteiten op de voorgrond te treden. Mede als gevolg hiervan vertoont onze kennis van de geschiedenis van Baseldonk grote lacunes. Daar komt nog bij dat de meeste boeken en documenten uit Baseldonk al in de tijd van de beeldenstorm verloren zijn gegaan. Toch bevindt zich onder de restanten nog interessant materiaal, vooral met betrekking tot de periode van ongeveer 1500 tot 1566. Ons onderzoek is daarom vooral gericht op de plaats van het klooster in de Bossche cultuur tijdens de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw, en hier in het bijzonder op het boekenbezit van Baseldonk en de rol die het boek er verder heeft gespeeld. Ter inleiding volgt eerst een summier overzicht van de geschiedenis van de orde, toegespitst op de lotgevallen van het klooster in Den Bosch, en met speciale aandacht voor de persoon die ons het meest interesseert, prior Simon Pelgrom.

Wilhelmus van Malavalle, de patroon van de orde, was een van de vele kluisenaars die zich in de twaalfde eeuw hadden gevestigd in de Italiaanse landstreek Toscane.¹ Na zijn dood in 1157 ontstond op de plaats van de kluis, gelegen in een zeer onherbergzaam gebied, een gemeenschap van heremieten die wij als het eerste Wilhelmietenklooster kunnen beschouwen. De orde die hieruit voortkwam, de 'Ordo Eremitarum S. Guilielmi', verbreidde zich in de loop van de dertiende eeuw over Italië, Frankrijk, België en Duitsland. Ten noorden van de Alpen was Baseldonk de eerste vestiging. Van hier uit stichtte men kloosters in Biervliet (1249) en Huijbergen (1278). Andere vestigingen in het gebied van Noord-Frankrijk tot Brabant waren de kloosters van Aalst, Beveren, Walincourt en Bernardfagne.²

De officiële naam van het convent in Den Bosch luidde Porta Coeli, maar men sprak meestal over Baseldonk naar de naam van de stichter Winand van Basel. Deze had omstreeks 1200 een groep Brabantse kluisenaars bijeengebracht, die zich in 1244-5 zou aansluiten bij de orde van de Wilhelmieten. De kloostergebouwen lagen aanvankelijk buiten de stad, niet ver van de St. Teunispoort, en hier bereikten de Wilhelmieten, hoewel zij begonnen waren als een heremieten-gemeenschap met een strenge levenswijze, een tamelijk grote welstand. Aan deze vestiging kwam een eind toen in 1542, uit vrees dat de in Brabant rondtrekkende benden van Maarten van Rossum de gebouwen als steunpunt zouden gebruiken, alles tot op de grond moest worden afgebroken. Nu vestigden de Baselaars zich onder de energieke leiding van prior Simon Pelgrom binnen de stadswallen op een gedeeltelijk bebouwd terrein op de