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# The late Fifteenth-Century Utrecht Chronicle of the Teutonic Order : manuscripts, sources, and authorship

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# The Late Fifteenth-Century Utrecht Chronicle of the Teutonic Order:

# Manuscripts, Sources, and Authorship

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Maps of the Teutonic Order

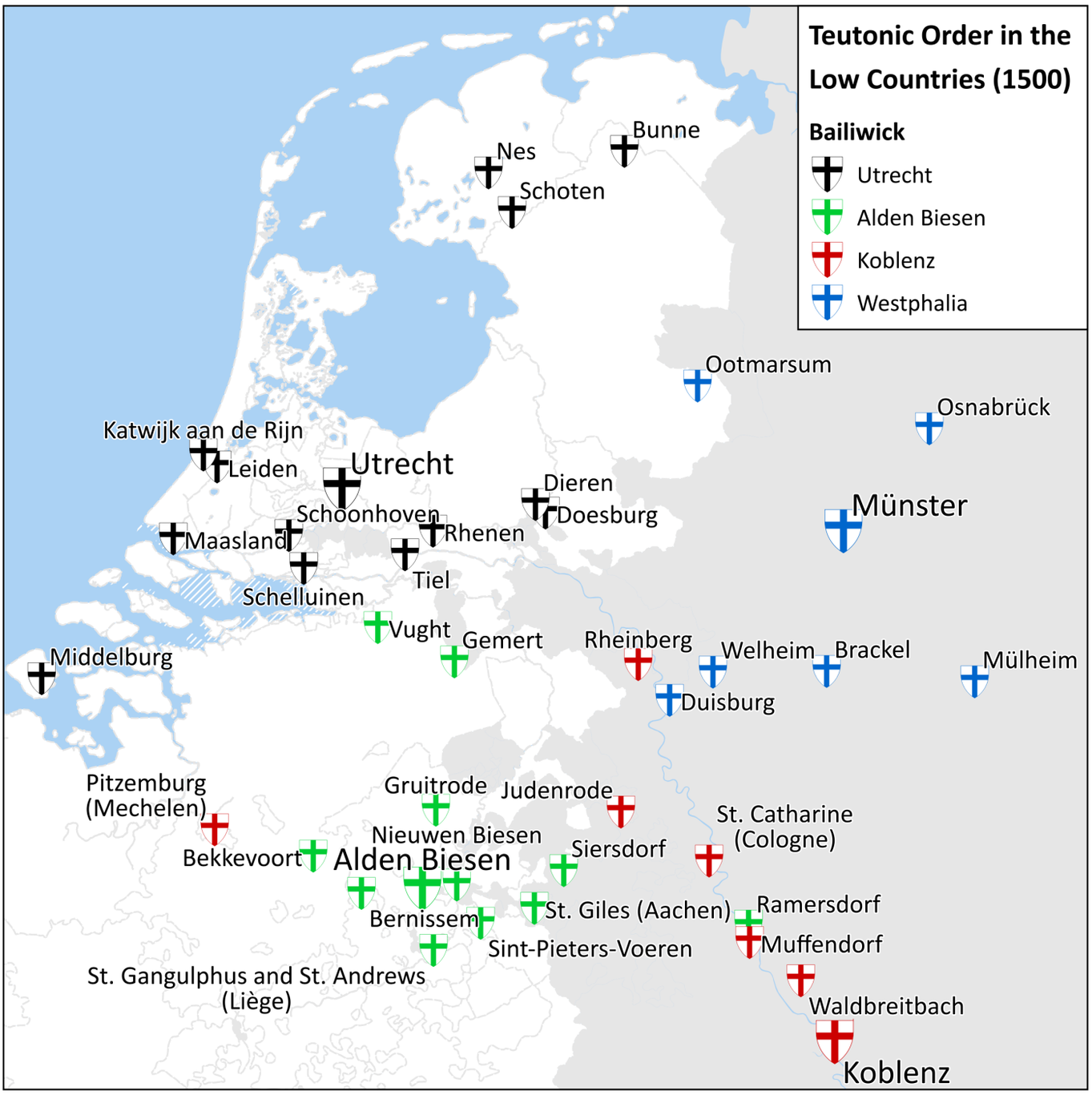


*Figure 0.1 Map of the Low Countries and the commanderies of the Teutonic Order around 1500.*

*Figure 0.2 Map of Prussia and Livonia, after the Second Peace of Toruń (1466).*

# Preface

The work on this dissertation, which was generously funded by the *Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht* and the *Professor Van Winterfonds*, started in 2008. On my first day of work at the Fryske Akademy, my colleague Han Nijdam intervened when I enthusiastically told him I started working on the edition of the chronicle. In Microsoft Word. He handed me a printed introduction to the *Text Encoding Initiative*, which altered the direction of my dissertation more than we both may have thought at the time.

Like this, many have contributed in some way or another to this dissertation – not all can be named. Still, I'd like to mention my colleagues of the Medieval History section at Leiden University, those at the Fryske Akademy, my fellow PhD students in Leiden, and my colleagues at the International Institute of Social History. It has been an enriching experience to work in such different environments.

I am especially indebted to my supervisor, Hans Mol, who, because of our fruitful discussions and his continual enthusiasm played a vital role in the conception of this dissertation. Antheun Janse, who once steered me in the direction of the Utrecht Chronicle of the Teutonic Order during my master's degree, became my initial co-supervisor. His premonition at one of our earliest project meetings, that there might be a greater role for Utrecht Land Commander Johan van Drongelen in the creation of the chronicle, proved to be prophetic. Unfortunately, his health prevented him from continuing as co-supervisor. His role was taken over by Sjoerd Levelt early in 2015. His ability to dissect my argumentation was confrontational in a phase where I – naively – thought I was approaching the finish. However, it was an essential process which improved the dissertation greatly.

Further thanks to Annesietske Stapel for her assistance in the bailiwick archive of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht and to Karina van Dalen-Oskam and Mike Kestemont for introducing me to the digital humanities community.

Finally, I wish to thank my friends and family. Particularly, my parents who fostered my inquiring nature early on and helped me develop an interest in history. Last but not least, Christel. Often it proved difficult to convey my enthusiasm for the nitty-gritty aspects of this dissertation to you, but you were always there to put things in perspective when needed. I am hugely grateful I made this journey with you by my side.

Leiden, January 2017

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

> *"Listen to me"*, Duke Swietopelk on his deathbed told his four sons. *"Eleven years I have fought against the Teutonic Order. I have tried force and I have tried deception. But ever since I opposed them, my honour, power and wealth have dwindled while they grew ever stronger. That is how I know they have God fighting on their side. Their brethren are all of illustrious lineage and come from noble families. All monarchs, princes and lords are favourably disposed towards them and gave them support. So dear children, listen to my advice. I beg you not to fight them, but to stay on friendly terms with them. This I will leave you as a policy and as part of my will."*
>
> *- Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*.[1]

The Teutonic Order had a long tradition of historical writing. From the thirteenth century onwards a long list of historiographical works were produced, describing the order's affairs in the Holy Land and particularly the Baltic region. Such texts were mainly written in Prussia or Livonia, where the order had become engaged in a crusade against pagan powers in the area, and often in the vicinity of the grand master of the Teutonic Order. The last words of Duke Swietopelk II of Pomerania (d. 1266), as presented here, first appeared in a chronicle written by Peter of Dusburg, priest of the Teutonic Order, who finished it in 1326.[2] It resurfaced in almost every subsequent major chronicle of the order.[3] At the end of the fifteenth century, when the historiographical tradition of the order was in an apparent decline, the story appeared in the Middle Dutch *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* ('*Chronicle of the Teutonic Order*').

It will become clear from this study that the author of the *Croniken* – in the German speaking world better known as the *Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik* ('*Younger Chronicle of the Grand Masters*') – had access to almost all the various chronicles that contained the story. In the instance of this particular episode, he drew his information from a short Prussian chronicle that was written perhaps just one or two decades earlier, the so-called *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* ('*Short Chronicle of the Grand Masters*').[4] The author also added his own touches: new are the references to the noble

---

[1] "Ende in't eynde van sijnen leven soe riep hij syn vier sonen bij hem ende seyde hem: 'Lieve sonen, ick hebbe elff jaer lanck krijch ende oirloch gevuert teghens desen Duytschen Oirden mit macht ende mit boser list. Soe segghe ick dij voirwair, sint dat ic mij teghens den Duytschen Oirden settede, soe nam ick altijt off aen eer aen goet ende aen macht, ende sy namen altijt toe ende worden altijt machtigher. Dairom weet ick voirwaer dat Godt mit hem strijt. Ende die broederen sijn alle grote gheboirtighe mannen off van goeden edelen geslachten. Ende alle vorsten, princen, ende heren sijn hem gunstich, ende doen hem grote hulpe ende bijstant. Dairom, mijn lieve kijnder, hoirt mijnen raet ende mijn leer. Ick bid u dat ghy u nyet teghens hem en settet, mer houdtse the vriende. Dit laet ick u tot eenre leer ende tot enen testamente.'": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* c.431.

[2] K. Scholz and D. Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg. Chronik des Preussenlandes*. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 25 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1984) III–128.

[3] For instance, the *Kronike von Pruzinlant* (*'Chronicle of Prussia'*) by Nikolaus of Jeroschin: E. Strehlke, 'Di Kronike von Pruzinlant des Nikolaus von Jeroschin', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* I (Leipzig 1861) 291–648, there vv. 13011–13086; and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (*'Older Chronicle of the Grand Masters'*): 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', in: M. Olivier ed., M. Olivier, *Une chronique de l'ordre Teutonique et ses usages à la fin du Moyen Âge: l'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres et sa réception jusqu'au milieu du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Université Paris XII Val de Marne 2009) I–LXXXVIII, there c. 72.

[4] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 409r–409v.

ancestry of the brethren, and the assistance the order received from powerful secular leaders. Both points are repeatedly stressed in the *Croniken* and reflect some of the transformations the Teutonic Order underwent at the end of the fifteenth century.

With hindsight, we can observe that disruptive wars against the Polish kings and Prussian cities in the fifteenth century marked a transition towards a state of affairs for the order where spilling the blood of pagans became an anachronism, a thing of the past. The lives of the brethren were geared towards different objectives. Especially in the bailiwicks, the territorial divisions of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Roman Empire, the requirement of new knight brethren to produce proof of noble descent was progressively more strictly adhered to. Furthermore, new brethren were recruited from an increasingly select group of (knightly) families. This led to the transformation of the Teutonic Order into a 'hospice for the lower German nobility', as contemporaries called it: a place where younger members of the lower German nobility could maintain a way of life fitting to their noble status.[5] Simultaneously, the order sought ways to strengthen its relationship with princely families in the Holy Roman Empire. This became apparent both in the appointment of grand masters with a princely background in 1498 and 1511, and in the tendency of the land commanders in Utrecht to seek support for their appointment at the Burgundian court. Additionally, around this time the grand master and German master became elevated to the '*Reichsfürstenstand*' (the estate of imperial princes).[6]

The *Croniken* is one of a very limited number of narrative sources originating from the order during this transformational period. It sheds light on how the brethren viewed this new direction taken by the order. In this sense, while narrating the past, the chronicle is essentially about the present. The deeds of the past as described in the text are employed to legitimize the late fifteenth-century status quo. The blood spilled by the Teutonic Order in the long struggle against pagans played a central role in their claims to eternal rule over the lands they had conquered on these nonbelievers. The attention given to the assistance provided to the Teutonic Knights in these past struggles by both secular and ecclesiastical rulers, from dukes and bishops to popes and emperors, serves to emphasize the longstanding association of the order with the high and mighty of medieval society.

At the same time, the *Croniken* offered brethren and their families in a peripheral bailiwick of the order an opportunity to keep the memory of the order's activities in the Baltic region alive. During the Thirteen Years' War (1454–66) between the Teutonic Order on the one hand and the Prussian Federation and the Polish king on the other, many brethren from the Low Countries who served in the Prussian commanderies deserted and returned home. Upon arrival they demanded food and shelter in the commanderies of the Utrecht bailiwick.[7] Besides numerous adverse effects, this will

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[5] J.A. Mol, 'The Hospice of the German Nobility. Changes in the Admission Policy of the Teutonic Knights in the Fifteenth Century', in: J. Sarnowsky ed., *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate 1999) 115–130, there 127–129.

[6] H.H. Hofmann, *Der Staat des Deutschmeisters. Studien zu einer Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation*. Studien zur bayerischen Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte 3 (München: Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte 1964) 109.

[7] J.A. Mol, 'Crisis in Prussia, crisis in the bailiwicks? The case of Utrecht, 1443-1469', in: R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky eds., *Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten*. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica 16 (Toruń: UMK 2011) 173–189.

have provided the regular brethren in the bailiwick with a supply of first-hand information and accounts of experiences from Prussia.

However, only a few years before the *Croniken* was written, the last of the brethren who had returned from Prussia decades earlier had died. There were still brethren from the Low Countries being recruited for military service in the Baltic region, for instance in Livonia, but for various reasons they had become much less numerous, and there were no further cases of returning brethren in this period. For the first time in the bailiwick's history the exchange of brethren between the sphere of influence of the bailiwick and other parts of Europe was by and large suspended. There was, therefore, a real risk that local brethren's memory of the order's military activities would fade away. One of the intended aims of the *Croniken* can have been to address that risk.

There were more functions for the text, many of which I shall address over the course of this study. Significantly, however, while human links between the bailiwick and Prussia and Livonia may have started to grow weaker, the effects of this divergence are not discernible in the processes of production and reception of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*: the text stands firmly within the tradition of history writing in the Teutonic Order that had matured in the Baltic region. It is indebted to a wide selection of earlier texts in this tradition, but it is also a source of inspiration for a completely new variety of texts produced from the sixteenth century onwards.

At the same time, the *Croniken* is unmistakably different from the underlying tradition. It is different because the narrative structure first laid out by Peter of Dusburg was not left intact, further developing the first tentative steps into that direction by the much shorter *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*. It is different because instead of focussing on the Teutonic Order's achievements in either Prussia or Livonia, it encompassed both – and quite prominently the Holy Land as well. And it is different because in order to succeed in bringing together these geographically different focal points it had to involve a much wider selection of disparate sources, often brought together for the first time. These included sources from the Baltic region, but also texts produced locally in the Low Countries. Most importantly, it is different in being a peripherally produced chronicle: while in Prussia and Livonia there was a vibrant historiographical tradition of the order, and authors could consult nearby libraries for earlier examples, the *Croniken* seems to appear out of thin air. There are few records of previous involvement with historiography by any of the brethren of the bailiwicks, and surviving manuscripts of Teutonic Order chronicles before the *Croniken* that show a provenance outside Prussia or Livonia are even more rare. So how was the tradition of writing the Teutonic Order's history introduced into the Low Countries? And how did this change of environment of production influence the message, representation, and purpose of the chronicle?

In the following study I shall examine the conditions of this knowledge transfer between the Baltic region and the Low Countries, and how familiar historical narratives concerning the Teutonic Order were adapted to the needs and interests of the brethren in the Low Countries at the time. The following dissertation is primarily a study of the Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*. It is believed that the *Croniken* was originally written in Middle Dutch. This assumption will be backed by the codicological evidence presented here. Shortly after the creation of the Middle Dutch chronicle, as early as the first decades of the sixteenth century, numerous German adaptations

were written. These adaptations were widely received within and outside the order in the Baltic region and certain parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Although Hirsch has tried to create some clarity in their textual affiliation by dividing them in the so-called Livonian and Prussian branches, their mutual textual affiliations are not yet fully elucidated.[8] These later German adaptations will be dealt with only cursorily here.[9]

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the primary sources containing the text of the *Croniken*. Both the German and Middle Dutch manuscripts will be discussed, though special attention will be given to the interesting nature of the Middle Dutch Vienna manuscript and its genesis. In Chapter 3, I shall discuss the sources and composition of the *Croniken*. The author of the *Croniken* had access to a wide variety of sources, from religious texts to works of an encyclopaedic nature, and from numerous chronicles of the Teutonic Order to archival material. Additional to identifying these sources, the origin of the sources, the author's methodology of handling them, as well as the overall composition and content of the *Croniken*'s will be the subject of analysis. Chapter 4 will present a study of the author of the *Croniken*. A profile of the author is drawn up from the evidence in the *Croniken*, after which possible candidates will be surveyed. One of the ways the authorship of the chronicle is examined, is by using non-traditional authorship attribution techniques. This opens up the possibility to compare the stylistic differences of various parts of the *Croniken* – especially the bailiwick chronicle and the grand masters' part.

In the conclusion we will come back to the outcomes of the previous parts and draw a picture of the context in which the *Croniken* functioned in the Utrecht bailiwick and, later, in other parts of Europe – both within and outside of the Teutonic Order's sphere of influence. By changing the arena in which the historiography of the order was used, the message was inherently altered. Before I shall turn to the first chapter, I shall give an overview of the traditions of historical writing in the military orders leading up to the *Croniken* and provide a survey of the existing literature on the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*.

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[8] Establishing their textual affiliation has become even more problematic by the tragic fate of many of the libraries in Eastern Europe over the course of the twentieth century. See for example: R.G. Päsler, 'Anmerkungen zu den mittelniederdeutschen und mittelniederländischen Handschriften der ehemaligen SUB Königsberg', *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 102 (1995) 6–14; and several contributions in: R.G. Päsler and D. Schmidtke eds., *Deutschsprachige Literatur des Mittelalters im östlichen Europas. Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven* (Heidelberg 2006).

[9] See chapter 2.1.

## 1.2 Narrative traditions in the military orders

### Myths of origin

From the outset, the concept of the military order was an anomaly in medieval society. The orders combined a military function, originally in the Holy Land, with a formal religious life. Their members were required to take monastic vows of chastity, poverty and obedience. Nevertheless, the higher ranks and all fighting members were laymen. Only a minority of members were ordained as priests. This state of affairs attracted praise as well as scepticism. Critics ranged from members of the clergy who questioned the sanctification of knights, to secular and clerical detractors alike who condemned the orders for lack of success in defending or recovering the Holy Land.[10]

The novelty of their situation prompted the orders to legitimize their existence and actively propagate any of their accomplishments as defenders of the Christian faith. Such efforts were not only directed at the orders' critics, but also at essential new recruits and possible benefactors. Conceptually of great importance was *De laude novae militiae* ('In praise of the new knighthood') by Bernard of Clairvaux. Although it was not his most read work, it had a profound influence on scholarly debates regarding the military orders. The treatise, most likely written in 1131, was addressed to Hugh of Payns, master of the Order of the Temple, the first military order, which had been formed in the years just prior to writing. It called on secular knights to direct their energy away from worldly matters and follow a more ascetic life as members of the Order of the Temple – the 'true knights of Christ' – in defence of the Holy Land. By describing the various holy places in the second part of his treatise, Bernard effectively portrayed the Knights Templar as custodians of these pilgrimage sites.[11]

At least in certain ecclesiastical circles, *De laude novae militiae* was disseminated quickly.[12] It came to function as an identity-defining text for the Knights Templar. However, although some Templar brethren are known to have been familiar with its content,[13] little is known about the actual reception of the text within the Order of the Temple. No manuscript containing the text can be connected to a Templar library, and only one has so far been identified in any of the known libraries of the other military orders.[14] Nor was the narrative as laid out by Bernard of Clairvaux, who

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[10] H.J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the military orders, 1128-1291* (Leicester/London/New York: Leicester University Press 1995).

[11] Bernard of Clairvaux, M.C. Greenia (translator), 'In Praise of the New Knighthood', in: *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux* 7, Treatises III. Cistercian Fathers Series 19 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications 1977) 113–174.

[12] J. Schenk, *Templar families. Landowning families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120-1307*. Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 4th ser., 79 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012) 207–209.

[13] Ibid., 208–209; A. Demurger, 'Étourdis ou petits malins? Pourquoi les Templiers n'ont-ils pas eu de mythe d'origine?', in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 73–82, there 76; Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 108; K.J. Lewis, 'A Templar's belt. The oral and sartorial transmission of memory and myth in the Order of the Temple', *Crusades* 13 (2014) 191–209, there 202.

[14] Only one extant manuscript, in the grand priory of the Hospitallers at St. Gilles, can be linked to one of the military orders: K. Elm, 'Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme', in: Z.H. Nowak ed., *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VII (Toruń: UMK 1993) 7–44, there 13; note also the absence from inventories published by Legras and Lemaître (Templars and Hospitallers) as well as Mentzel-Reuters (Teutonic Order): A.-M. Legras and J.-L. Lemaître, 'La pratique liturgique des Templiers et des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem', in: C. Bourlet and A. Dufour eds., *L'Écrit dans la société médiévale. Divers aspects de sa pratique du XIe au XVe siecle.*

also helped to draft the Templars' statutes,[15] used for further textual production by members of the order. Neither *De laude novae militiae*, nor the statutes, for instance, were used as a starting point for official historiography of the order.[16] Rather, the order may have exhorted to non-written traditions in regard to its history.[17]

Whereas *De laude novae militiae*, in combination with the Templars' statutes[18] and their association with and physical presence at the Temple Mount,[19] helped to define and make public the Templars' identity, other military orders adopted different ways of manifesting themselves. Many orders stressed their own achievements and origins, not in the least to favourably compare their own position to that of other military orders such as, perhaps primarily, the Knights Templar. Although in general relations between the military orders were cordial, rivalry and competition between the military orders was not uncommon.[20] The ability of individual military orders to stand out and attract attention to their own successes has justly been considered vital for their survival.[21] Smaller orders that failed to attract enough attention, such as the Order of Saint Thomas of Acre[22] or the Order of Dobrin,[23] languished or were compelled to merge with larger military orders. Publicity was a prerequisite for attracting bequests and gifts and for the recruitment of brethren. The means used for attracting attention differed from order to order and orders rarely limited

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*Textes en hommage à Lucie Fossier* (Paris: Éditions du C.N.R.S. 1991) 77–137; A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden*. Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 47 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2003).

[15] J. Sarnowsky, 'Die Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses in den geistlichen Ritterorden', in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 43–58, there 45; discussing different views on the role of Bernard of Clairvaux with regard to the statutes: Lewis, 'A Templar's belt', 191–192.

[16] Indeed, with only a single, doubtful, exception, no tradition of Templar historiography existed. This exception is the *Templar of Tyre*, who wrote a history of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, became involved in historiography. And although that chronicle is written from the viewpoint of someone close to the grand master of the order, it is not a history of the Knights Templar. Moreover, there is significant doubt whether he was, in fact, a member of the Order of the Temple. P. Crawford ed., *The "Templar of Tyre". Part III of the "Deeds of the Cypriots."* Crusade texts in translation 6 (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate 2003) 2–7; This does not mean that the Knights Templar were not engaged in any form of literature. Regarding the vernacular bible translations associated with the order, see recently: A. Mentzel-Reuters, 'Leseprogramme und individuelle Lektüre im Deutschen Orden', in: B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014) 9–58, there 18–28; The order also produced various reports and letters regarding the Templars' achievements in the Holy Land. For examples: Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 105–107.

[17] Lewis, 'A Templar's belt'.

[18] Sarnowsky, 'Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses', 46.

[19] Demurger, 'Étourdis ou petits malins?', 78ff.

[20] N. Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders: 1120-1314* (Abingdon: Routledge 2014) 60–62.

[21] Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 107.

[22] A.J. Forey, 'The military order of St Thomas of Acre', *The English Historical Review* 92 (1977) 481–503; D. Pringle, 'The Order of St Thomas of Canterbury in Acre', in: P. Edbury ed., *The Military Orders 5: Politics and Power* (Farnham: Ashgate 2012) 75–82.

[23] Z.H. Nowak, 'Milites Christi de Prussia. Der Orden von Dobrin und seine Stellung in der preußischen Mission', in: J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann eds., *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*. Vorträge und Forschungen XXVI (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1980) 339–352.

themselves to a single approach.[24] It is, however, striking that quite a number of the military orders, the Knights Templar being the most notable exception,[25] turned to legendary origin myths to strengthen their spiritual credentials.[26]

Two of the earliest examples of this are the Order of Saint John and the Order of Saint Lazarus. The Order of Saint John, or Knights Hospitallers, produced a set of texts known as the *Legends* or *Miracles*, in which the order's origins are traced back to Maccabean times. The first Latin versions are tentatively dated as early as between circa 1140 and 1160.[27] A generation later, before 1185, an English priest-brother of the Hospitallers translated the *Legends* into Anglo-Norman, perhaps at their regional headquarters in Clerkenwell near London.[28] Various Latin adaptations as well as translations into French, Italian and a rhymed version in German would follow. The *Legends* continued to be well-read into the fifteenth century and were included, in yet another form, in the order's statutes at the statute reform of 1489/1493.[29] In the words of Rudolf Hiestand, the *Legends of the Hospital* "are nothing but an important indicator of an internal insecurity towards other orders that can fall back to a historically and legally verifiable founding document, even if this was closer to the present time."[30] In the thirteenth century the *Legends* appear to have been used in campaigns to sell indulgences and attract benefactors to the order.[31] There is ample evidence that the Hospitallers' origin myths were read by audiences outside the order, such as chroniclers, popes and emperors.[32] In a rare example of a critique of the historical veracity of the *Legends*, a brother of the order, William of San Stefano, stated around 1300: "I reckon that seekers [of alms] invented these things in order to get more…"[33]

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[24] See Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 102–124.

[25] It has been suggested that as Bernard of Clairvaux and others laid focus on the novelty of the Knights Templar, seeking an ancient and legendary origin would be contradictory to the order's self image: Lewis, 'A Templar's belt', 200.

[26] Medieval religious orders regularly claimed ancient origins: F. Cygler, 'Le discours sur les origines dans les ordres religieux au Moyen Âge. Brèves observations liminaires', in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 23–42; K. Elm, 'Die Bedeutung historischer Legitimation für Entstehung, Funktion und Bestand des mittelalterlichen Ordenswesens', in: P. Wunderli ed., *Herkunft und Ursprung. Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation. Akten des Gerda-Henkel-Kolloquiums, Düsseldorf, 13. bis 15. Oktober 1991* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1994) 70–90; G. Melville, 'Geltungsgeschichten am Tor zur Ewigkeit. Zu Konstruktionen von Vergangenheit und Zukunft im mittelalterlichen Religionsentum', in: G. Melville and H. Vorländer eds., *Geltungsgeschichten. Über die Stabilisierung und Legitimierung institutioneller Ordnungen* (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 2002) 75–108.

[27] A.T. Luttrell, 'Préface', in: A. Calvet, *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*. Centre d'Enseignement et de Recherche d'Oc 11 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris Sorbonne 2000) 5–20, there 7.

[28] K.V. Sinclair ed., *The Hospitallers' Riwle. Miracula et Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani*. Anglo-Norman Text Society 42 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society 1984); K.V. Sinclair, 'The Anglo-Norman Miracles of the Foundation of the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem', *Medium Aevum* 55 (1986) 102–108.

[29] Luttrell, 'Préface', 18; A. Küster, *Von dem Spitâle von Jêrusalêm. Ein Gedicht verfasst von einen Angehörigen des Johanniter-Orden* (Wiesbaden: Diss. Phil. Strassburg 1897).

[30] "[Die Legenden] sind aber ein wichtiges Zeichen für eine innere Unsicherheit gegenüber anderen Orden, die sich auf einen historisch und juristisch klar nachweisbaren Gründungsakt stutzen konnten, selbst wenn dieser die eigenen Gegenwart näher lag": R. Hiestand, 'Die Anfänge der Johanniter', in: J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann eds., *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*. Vorträge und Forschungen XXVI (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1980) 31–80, there 32.

[31] K. Borchardt, 'Spendenaufrufe der Johanniter aus dem 13. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 56 (1993) 1–61; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2012) 16.

[32] For some examples, see Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 112–113; S. Schein, 'The Miracula of the Hospital of St John and the Carmelite Elianic Tradition. Two Medieval Myths of Foundation?', in: M. Goodich, S. Menache and S. Schein eds., *Cross cultural convergences in the Crusader period. Essays presented to Aryeh Graboïs on his sixty-fifth birthday* (New York: Peter Lang 1999) 288–296, there 290.

[33] Translation via Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 113.

The Order of Saint Lazarus, a small military order which originated from a leper hospital outside the city walls of Jerusalem, clung on to a pre-Christian origin myth which was remarkably similar to those of the Hospitallers. It is not completely clear at which point in time the myth was developed, but some elements of the legend, including a reference to the Maccabean high priest John Hyrcanus, already appeared in the middle of the twelfth century – around the time the Hospitaller *Legends* were probably first put together.[34] Another small military order, the Order of Saint Thomas of Acre, did not claim an ancient origin, but did claim – perhaps falsely or with some exaggeration – that it was founded by King Richard I of England.[35] Such royal support is also included in the descriptions of the origins of the Spanish Order of Santiago and the Teutonic Order, both as a part of the prologues of their earliest statutes.[36]

There are indications that the military orders were aware of each other's origin myths. Whereas the similarities between the origin myths of the Order of Saint Lazarus and the Hospitallers' *Legends* suggest some form of communication, the Hospitallers' *Legends* itself seem to have been a response to the Knights Templar. The *Legends* were first composed at a time when the Knights Hospitallers, originally founded purely as a hospitaller order, were in the process of becoming militarized. This put them in much more direct competition with the Order of the Temple, which had been military in nature from its conception. Indeed, some of the biblical events mentioned in the *Legends* were more commonly associated with the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, where, in the Temple of Solomon, the Knights Templar had their headquarters. The Hospitallers tried to appropriate these events and associate them with their hospital, located near the Holy Sepulchre.[37]

Nonetheless, the content of the *Legends* is only to some degree related to the order's intensifying military activities, and it does little to suggest a long and illustrious history of defending the Holy Land on the battlefield.[38] In part this can be linked to internal debates regarding the direction of the order. At the time of writing it was by no means clear which of the dual roles of the order, caring for the sick and acting as a military body, was to prevail in a struggle for resources.[39] The apparent downplaying of the military nature of the order could also be an attempt to distinguish it

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[34] K.P. Jankrift, *Leprose als Streiter Gottes. Institutionalisierung und Organisation des Ordens vom Heiligen Lazarus zu Jerusalem von seinen Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1350*. Vita regularis 4 (Münster: Lit 1996) 31.
[35] Forey, 'St Thomas of Acre', 481–482.
[36] Sarnowsky, 'Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses', 45; The origin myths of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, not yet a military order at the time, were remarkably similar to the other military orders mentioned here. However, the earliest texts containing these myths that I have been able to find date from the seventeenth century. G. Ligato, 'L'ordine del Santo Sepolcro. Il mito delle origini', in: F. Cardini and I. Gagliardi eds., *La civiltà cavalleresca e l'Europa. Ripensare la storia della cavalleria (Atti del I convegno internazionale di studi, San Gimignano, 3-4 giugno 2006)* (Pisa: Pacini 2007) 189–213, there 190–191. For the Teutonic Order, see below.
[37] Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 113; Schein, 'Two Medieval Myths of Foundation?', 289–290; For the changing attitudes to the "holy geography" of Jerusalem, see S. Schein, 'Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre. The changing traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages', *Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion* 40 (1984) 175–195.
[38] Sarnowsky, 'Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses', 46.
[39] Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, 32–36.

from the Order of the Temple. After all, the Hospitallers were known for deliberately exploiting their non-military functions whenever it suited the occasion.[40]

The Teutonic Order, too, may have adjusted the official narrative of its origins under the influence of narratives from other military orders. Like the Templars, other military orders and indeed medieval knighthood in general, it explicitly associated itself with the Maccabees. However, initially, and in contrast to the Hospitallers or the Order of Saint Lazarus, the brethren of the Teutonic Order did not claim that any of their order's origins could be traced back that far. Rather they adhered to an account that the order originated from a field hospital set up by citizens of the cities of Lübeck and Bremen during the siege of Acre in 1190 and that this initiative was supported and subsequently maintained by Duke Frederick VI of Swabia, son of Emperor Frederick I, and others who were present at the siege.[41] It has been suggested by Nicholas Morton that this initial reluctance to produce ancient origin myths was intentional: in this way the order could elude the fact that the pre-existing hospital for German pilgrims at Jerusalem, handed over to the Teutonic Order in 1229 and a perfect location for the attribution of an ancient origin, had previously been administered by the Order of Saint John. Any indebtedness to another military order, a potential rival when it came to recruitment of knights and bestowal of goods and goodwill, would not have fared well in a story of the Teutonic Order's origin.[42]

At a much later date, the Teutonic Order shook off its reservations, completely. In the chronicle that stands at the heart of this study, the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, perhaps the most elaborate origin myth of any of the military orders is produced. Several dozens of biblical and Roman/Byzantine actors are mentioned in the text. Many are described as living in the house that would later become the German hospital in Jerusalem, appropriately situated by the author on Mount Zion. Some, such as Moses, King David or the Maccabees, are characterized as direct forerunners of the Teutonic Order. Furthermore, in the prologue of the *Croniken* the order is repeatedly juxtaposed to the other military orders, especially the Order of Saint John. Contrary to historical fact, and contradicting the general consensus at the time, the Teutonic Order's hospital at Jerusalem, described as a precursor of the order founded at Acre in 1190, is even described as being slightly older than that of the Order of Saint John.

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[40] Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 120–122; note also the late medieval role of the hospital at Rhodes as a political tool, aimed at the visiting pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem: J. Hasecker, *Die Johanniter und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem (1480-1522)*. Nova Mediaevalia 5 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress 2008).

[41] M. Perlbach ed., *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften* (reprinted Hildesheim/New York: Olms 1975; Halle a. S.: Niemeyer 1890) 22; The fact that the Teutonic Order was younger than the Order of St John or the Order of the Temple was also stressed in the privilege and indulgence collections of the Teutonic Order. They explicitly stated that the privileges of the earlier military orders were subsequently applied to the Teutonic Order as well: A. Ehlers, 'Indulgentia und Historia. Die Bedeutung des Ablasses für die spätmittelalterliche Erinnerung an die Ursprünge des Deutschen Ordens und anderer Gemeinschaften', in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 227–236, there 234–235; This is also regularly mentioned in the *Croniken*: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.116–118, c.120, c.161–162, c.404.

[42] N.E. Morton, 'The defence of the Holy Land and the memory of the Maccabees', *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010) 275–293, there 290; for the German hospital in Jerusalem and claims of ownership by the Knights Hospitaller, see G. Müller, *Jerusalem oder Akkon? Über den Anfang des Deutschen Ordens nach dem gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung* (2nd edn; Bad Münstereifel: Udo Arnold 1989); M.-L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*. Kieler Historische Studien 21 (Stuttgart: Klett 1977).

The timing of this chronicle is particularly intriguing. New evidence presented in this study suggests that the writing of the chronicle had begun in or around 1480.[43] The work on the text would span well over a decade. In that same decade, but far removed, on the Iberian Peninsula, the Order of Santiago also commissioned two accounts of its origin, with some remarkable similarities to the *Croniken*. The first, the *Compilación de los milagros de Santiago* (‘*Compilation of Miracles of St James’*), was written by the historian and canon Diego Rodríguez de Almela.[44] It was commissioned by a visitor of the order in Murcia on April 3rd, 1481, and finished within just three months. The short text contains many references to the life and miracles of St James and includes a mythical history of the foundation of the Order of Santiago in the early days of the Reconquista. The order’s foundation is also, significantly, placed within the context of the other European and Iberian military orders. At the end follows a brief catalogue of the masters of the order.[45]

Although the master of the order, Alfonso de Cárdenas, welcomed this rushed attempt, soon afterwards, in 1485, he commissioned two commanders of the order, Pedro de Orozco and Juan de la Parra, to write a second, more substantial chronicle on the order’s history, edited as the *Primera historia de la Orden de Santiago* (‘*First History of the Order of Santiago*’).[46] Building further on some of the foundations laid out by Almela in the *Compilación*, they finished it in 1488.[47] However, they omitted the suggestion – apparently controversial at the time – that the order was founded in the ninth century during the early days of the Reconquista.[48] Around the same time the *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem* (‘*Chronicle of the Four Orders of Jerusalem’*) was written in the bailiwick of the Teutonic Order in Franconia. It described the history of four military orders that originated in Jerusalem: the Order of the Holy Sepulchre (not yet a military order when it was founded), the Order of Saint John, the Order of the Temple and – the major part of the text – the Teutonic Order.[49]

This sudden rise in production of similar histories by chroniclers from military orders in disparate European regions is striking. Especially noteworthy are the shared interests of Almela and the authors of the *Croniken* and *Chronik der vier*

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[43] Some elements of the text may, however, have pre-existed, but it is unclear for how long. For more information, see chapter 2.

[44] J. Torres Fontes ed., *Compilación de los milagros de Santiago de Diego Rodríguez de Almela* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia 1946).

[45] D.W. Lomax, ‘The medieval predecessors of Rades y Andrada’, *Iberoromania* 23 (1986) 81–90, there 85–86; Ph. Josserand, ‘L’Ordre de Santiago face au récit de ses origines au tournant du Moyen Âge et de l’Époque Moderne. Variations sur l’espace et le temps’, in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 121–134, there 128–132.

[46] A. de Vargas-Zúñiga y Montero de Espinosa ed., *[Primera] historia de la Orden de Santiago. Manuscrito del siglo XV, de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Badajoz: Institución “Pedro de Valencia” de la Excelentísima Diputacion Provincial 1978).

[47] Lomax, ‘Medieval predecessors’, 86–88.

[48] Josserand, ‘L’Ordre de Santiago’, 125–126.

[49] R. Töppen, ‘Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem’, in: W. Hubatsch and U. Arnold eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit* VI (Reprint/adaptation of 1895; Frankfurt am Main 1968) 106–164; Mathieu Olivier, following a review of the edition by Max Perlbach, dates the chronicle later, between 1516 and 1522. Perlbach found similarities between the *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem* and the world chronicle by Johannes Nauclerus, which was posthumously published in 1516, and assumed it was used as a source. However, a quick examination of some watermarks showed that the date is actually closer to 1491, the date mentioned by the editor Robert Töppen. I have not been able to further study the manuscript and its content. M. Olivier, Une chronique de l’ordre Teutonique et ses usages à la fin du Moyen Âge: l’Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres et sa réception jusqu’au milieu du XVIe siècle (unpublished doctoral thesis under direction of J.-M. Moeglin, Paris: Université Paris XII Val de Marne 2009) 1013; M. Perlbach, ‘[Review: R. Töppen ed., *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem*]’, *Altpreußische Monatsschrift* NF 32 (1895) 348–350.

*Orden von Jerusalem* in describing the histories of their respective orders in the context of that of other military orders. A possible explanation of this sudden rise may lie in the aggressive marketing strategies of the Order of Saint John after it successfully withstood the Siege of Rhodes by the Ottomans in 1480. The report of the attack by the order's vice-chancellor Guillaume Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, was printed within months after the end of the siege in August 1480. Within twenty-two years, no less than twenty different versions by almost as many printers were printed all over Europe, including translations in English, German, Italian and Danish.[50] The text must have increased the order's prestige throughout Europe. The dissemination of the text ran parallel to campaigns by the order to sell indulgences, for instance in the Low Countries.[51] This activity certainly attracted the attention of other military orders. One of the versions of Caoursin's text was printed in Zaragoza in the kingdom of Aragón on March 1, 1481. Only a month later Almela was commissioned to write a history of the Order of Santiago. Seen in this light it is particularly significant that one of the legendary appearances of Saint James in the text by Orozco and De la Parra is set at the Siege of Rhodes.[52] In the *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem*, too, the events at Rhodes in 1480 are given much attention.[53]

The *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* does not mention the Siege of Rhodes. After the fall of Acre to the Mamluk Sultanate in 1291 and the expulsion of the Christians – including the military orders – from the Holy Land, the *Croniken* no longer keeps track of military orders other than the Teutonic Order and its predecessors in the Baltic region. Regarding the Order of Saint John, it only mentions that after a brief stay at Cyprus, the order relocated to the island of Rhodes.[54] The author did, however, as we shall see in chapter 3, have access to one of the Hospitallers' *Legends* as well as other Hospitaller documents. In a similar fashion to that of William of San Stefano in the early fourteenth century, the author criticized the *Legends*' historical value. Instead, he constructed an entirely new origin myth for both orders, one which was much more favourable towards the Teutonic Order – and much less so to the Hospitallers, who happened to be their close neighbours in the city of Utrecht were the *Croniken* was written.

During his work on the *Croniken*, the author may have become aware of other myths concerning the Hospitallers' past, too. For the Haarlem commandery of the Hospitallers in the County of Holland, artist-in-residence Geertgen tot Sint Jans painted an altarpiece, of which two parts survive. They were painted after 1484 and are now two of the masterpieces of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna. In one of these parts, the *Legend of the Relics of St John the Baptist*,

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[50] 'Incunabula Short Title Catalogue' search for keywords "obsid* rhod*" <http://istc.bl.uk/> [accessed 2 May 2016]; for a complete list of all versions see also T.M. Vann, 'Guillaume Caoursin's Descriptio Obsidione Rhodiae and the archives of the Knights of Malta', in: Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky eds., *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. CEU Medievalia 1 (Budapest: Central European University Press 2001) 109–120, there 115–117; an edition and English translation has recently become available: T.M. Vann and D.J. Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety and Crusader Propaganda. Guillaume Caoursin's Description of the Ottoman Siege of Rhodes, 1480* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2015).

[51] P. Fredericq, *Codex documentorum sacratissimarum indulgentiarum Neerlandicarum. Verzameling van stukken betreffende de pauselijke aflaten in de Nederlanden (1300-1600)*. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Kleine Serie 21 (The Hague: Nijhoff 1922) 287–288, 291–293; See also: Vann, 'Guillaume Caoursin's Descriptio Obsidione', 114; H.J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge/Rochester, NY: Boydell 2001) 62.

[52] Lomax, 'Medieval predecessors', 87; De Vargas-Zúñiga y Montero de Espinosa ed., *Primera historia de la Orden de Santiago*, 333 (Lib. I, c. VIII).

[53] Töppen, 'Chronik der vier Orden', 115–116.

[54] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.511.

the Hospitallers are portrayed rescuing the relics of St John from being burned by Emperor Julian the Apostate in the fourth century.[55] The commission of the painting was triggered by a diplomatic gift Sultan Bayezid II made to the order in 1484 as part of a larger settlement.[56] That gift comprised of two relics of of St John – an arm and finger –, both depicted on the altarpiece in the hands of the Haarlem Hospitallers (Figure 1.1).

*Figure 1.1 Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Legend of the Relics of St John the Baptist, after 1484 (detail). Haarlem Hospitallers depicted rescuing the arm and finger of St John the Baptist from being burned by Emperor Julian the Apostate in 362 AD. It is generally considered the first group portrait in the Netherlands.*[57]

For the Hospitallers, the possession of such relics enhanced both their political and especially their religious reputation. Relics were also suitable objects to convey community pride to the outside world, or compete with other religious communities for funds, protection or spiritual standing.[58] No wonder the Haarlem Hospitallers, all priest-brethren, chose to publicize it so soon after the gift was made hundreds of miles away in the Mediterranean. The timing of the propagation in Haarlem of the translation of the relics followed the dissemination of Guillaume Caoursin's account on the Siege of Rhodes and the accompanying indulgence campaigns, also in the Low Countries, shortly. This means that in the span of a couple of years the Order of Saint John greatly intensified the attempts to seek publicity for its actions and improve its standing. Judging from the coinciding appearances of the aforementioned historiographical texts from other military orders, in the Iberian Peninsula, Franconia and in the Low Countries, the Hospitallers' publicity drive

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[55] The painting is also known as *Burning and Restitution of the Bones of the Baptist*: M. Faries, 'The Vienna wing panels by Geertgen tot Sint Jans and his drawing and painting technique', *Oud Holland* 123 (2010) 187–219.
[56] Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 62–63.
[57] Geertgen tot Sint Jans, 'Legend of the Relics of St John the Baptist', *Google Cultural Institute: Art Project* <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/legend-of-the-relics-of-st-john-the-baptist/2wHsU51xGd9knQ> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[58] P.J. Geary, *Furta sacra. Thefts of relics in the central Middle Ages* (revised ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990) 58, 82–86.

provoked competing activities in the other orders. It appears to have created an atmosphere of competition between the military orders lasting about a decade.

While, as as I have indicated, the various narratives of the military orders, and in particular the origin myths, had functions aimed at external audiences – whether they be competing military orders or otherwise – they were also aimed at audiences within the respective orders that produced them. Judging from the dissemination of the texts, internal audiences (i.e., the brethren of the orders) were often the first consumers of such narratives. At first sight, Caoursin's report of the Siege of Rhodes does not suggest such internal consumption: although it was spread widely, it is absent from the order's main archives.[59] This would appear to highlight the external use of the report.[60] However, both Almela's history and the one by Orozco and Parra, as well as the *Croniken*, were accompanied by, or even occasioned by an internal reform programme.[61] They also provided *exempla*, moral anecdotes, for both brethren and prelates, and helped create a corporate spirit based on a sense of a shared, illustrious past. As will become clear over the course of this study, the functions of such texts, and their intended audiences, were often multifaceted and complex.

## Other narrative traditions

These origin myths and the more complex chronicles that contained them were not the only types of narrative sources the military orders produced. Jürgen Sarnowsky has recently categorized the historiographical activity of the military orders.[62] Some categories, such as the legends described above, developed quite early. Another early form of rudimentary historical writing arose from the practice to commemorate the deceased masters and other brethren or benefactors of the orders. In almost all military orders, much like in other religious orders, lists or catalogues of the prelates were available – akin to the popular historiographical genre of *gesta*.[63] In many cases these catalogues were enlarged with additional information about the lives of the masters, ranging from very brief, stereotypical character sketches to more extensive biographical remarks, such as those of the Hospitallers' *Cronica magistrorum defunctorum* ('*Chronicle of the Deceased Masters*') or the Teutonic Order's *Hochmeisterverzeichnisse* ('*Catalogues of the Grand Masters*').[64]

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[59] Vann, 'Guillaume Caoursin's Descriptio Obsidione', 109.
[60] The brethren did play a crucial role in disseminating the text: Ibid., 114.
[61] Lomax, 'Medieval predecessors', 85. For the latter, see in the chapters below.
[62] J. Sarnowsky, 'Historical writing in the Military Orders. 12th-16th centuries', in: I.C.F. Fernandes ed., *As Ordens Militares e as ordens de cavalariza entre o Occidente e o Oriente. Actas do V Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*. Colecçao Ordens Militares 2 (reprinted in: J. Sarnowsky, On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe. Structures and Perceptions, Variorum Collected Studies CS992 (Farnham/Burlington VT: Ashgate 2011) III 109-119; Palmela: Câmara Municipal de Palmela 2009) 109–119; Sarnowsky, 'Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses'.
[63] M. Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum*. Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 37 (Turnhout: Brepols 1981); R. Kaiser, 'Die Gesta episcoporum als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung', in: A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter eds., *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsschreibung 32 (Vienna/München 1994) 459–480; S. Vanderputten, 'Typology of Medieval Historiography Reconsidered: a Social Re-interpretation of Monastic Annals, Chronicles and Gesta', *Historical Social Research* 26 (2001) 141–178, there 152–155.
[64] 'Cronica Magistrorum Defunctorum', in: W. Dugdale ed., *Monasticon Anglicanum. A history of the abbies and other monasteries, hospitals, frieries, and cathedral and collegiate churches, with their dependencies, in England and Wales* 2. 6 (London: Bohn 1846) 796–798; For some short remarks regarding these texts: A.T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities: 1291-1400', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 24 (1966) 126–129, there 128–129; E. Strehlke, 'Verzeichniss der Hochmeister des

As a further category of narrative sources which existed early within the military orders, Sarnowsky further identifies reports and narratives of particular military conflicts. Such reports were used to inform both brethren and outsiders of the order's achievements. They could assume very divergent forms, both in length and in terms of appearance.[65] Gathered together such narratives, existing in most military orders, would form ideal ingredients from which to compose more substantial chronicles of the order's history, but only in the Teutonic Order, and to a lesser degree in the Order of Santiago, did such a substantive historiographical tradition develop. Both will be discussed here.

The number of historiographical texts linked to the military orders was by far the largest in the Teutonic Order.[66] The production of narrative sources within the Teutonic Order commenced in the mid-thirteenth century. Most of the early works were rather short, such as the prologue to the order's statutes and the so-called *Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens* ('Account of Hermann of Salza on the Conquest of Prussia') and *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen über die Vereinigung des Schwertbrüderordens mit dem Deutschen Orden* ('*Account of Hartmann of Heldrungen on the Union of the Order of the Sword Brothers with the Teutonic Order*').[67] There was a strong preference for the vernacular, although Latin was used as well. From the late thirteenth century increasingly substantial texts were produced. The legendary origin myths, together with necrologies and catalogues of grand masters and military reports were aggregated into a full-blown historiographical tradition. Although most military orders combined some or all of these different genres, the Teutonic Order was quite unique in bringing the genres together in comprehensive historiographies.

The first large chronicle was written at the end of the thirteenth century in Livonia: the *Livländische Reimchronik* ('*Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*').[68] It was followed a few decades later by substantial examples from Prussia. From that moment onwards, the historiographical traditions in Prussia and Livonia developed largely independently of each other. The backbone of the historiographical tradition of the order in Prussia was formed by the Latin chronicle by Peter of Dusburg, the popular translation in rhyme by Nikolaus of Jeroschin, and the fifteenth-century prose adaptation, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* ('*Older Chronicle of the Grand Masters*').[69] In Livonia a continuation may have been

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Deutschen Ordens', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* III (Leipzig 1866) 388–397; There are ample other examples. For some of these: Sarnowsky, 'Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses', 48–52.

[65] Nicholson, *Images of the military orders*, 105–107; Sarnowsky, 'Historical writing', 113–114; Sarnowsky, 'Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses', 54–56.

[66] See also the various entries in the Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle. References to the chronicles can be found in the overview article: G. Dunphy, 'Teutonic Order chronicle tradition', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 1412–1414.

[67] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*; Th. Hirsch, 'Hermann von Salza's Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* V (Leipzig 1874) 153–168; Th. Hirsch, 'Hartmanns von Heldrungen Bericht über die Vereinigung des Schwertbrüderordens mit dem Deutschen Orden und über die Erwerbung Livlands durch den letztern', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* V (Leipzig 1874) 168–172.

[68] L. Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik. Mit Anmerkungen, Namenverzeichniss und Glossar* (reprinted Hildesheim/New York: Olms 1963; Paderborn 1876).

[69] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant'; recently translated in English: M.C. Fischer, *The chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin. A history of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190-1331*. Crusade Texts in Translation 20 (Farnham: Ashgate 2010); Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres.

added to the *Livländische Reimchronik* in the mid-fourteenth century; around the same time, Hermann of Wartberge produced a separate chronicle in Latin prose.[70] At a later stage, at least from the early sixteenth century, short chronicles containing biographies of the masters of Livonia started to appear. This type of biographical historiography also became popular in Prussia and in the bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire.[71]

Chronicles were far from the only type of narrative texts created or read within the order. It has been associated with a wide variety of texts, including most notably many bible translations.[72] In the past this corpus of texts has been referred to as 'Deutschordensliteratur' ('literature of the Teutonic Order'), although there is some debate about both the usefulness and scope of this category.[73] It is interesting that, eventually, the narrative traditions which originated in the Teutonic Order formed the basis for traditions that were primarily concerned with the lands they governed: the chronicles of the order found a new readership among the citizens of Prussia and Livonia who were becoming increasingly aware of their own history and its connection with that of the order.[74]

The historiographical tradition of the Teutonic Order has been attracting academic study for well over a century and a half. In the second half of the nineteenth century many of the chronicles were edited in the impressive *Scriptores*

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[70] A. Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke. Ein Historiograph zwischen Überlieferung und Fiktion', in: M. Thumser ed., *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 18 (Berlin: Lit 2011) 11–58; E. Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge. Chronicon Livoniae', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* II (Leipzig 1863) 9–178.

[71] A. Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen des Mittelalters. Kleine Meisterchronik - Rigaer Bischofschronik - Series episcoporum Curoniae', in: M. Thumser ed., *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 18 (Berlin: Lit 2011) 201–253.

[72] An example of how the use of literature in the Teutonic Order had a much wider influence outside is provided by the poet Augustijnken, who visited the Teutonic Order's court in Prussia in the company of his lord: G. Warnar, 'Augustijnken in Pruisen. De drijfveren van een Middelnederlandse dichter en literatuur binnen de Duitse Orde', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 8 (2005) 101–139; in general see also: A. Mentzel-Reuters, '"Deutschordensliteratur" im literarischen Kontext', in: J. Wenta, S. Hartmann and G. Vollmann-Profe eds., *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen: Leben und Nachleben*. Sacra Bella Septentrionalia 1 (Toruń: UMK 2008) 355–368; R.G. Päsler, 'Bedingungen für Literatur. Literaturförderung durch Mitglieder des Deutschen Ordens im Preußenland im historischen Prozess', in: B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014) 59–78.

[73] For discussions regarding the terms "Deutschordensliteratur" and "Deutschordensdichtung", including references to literature, see: F. Löser, 'Literatur im Deutsche Orden. Vorüberlegingen zu ihrer Geschichte', in: J. Wenta, S. Hartmann and G. Vollmann-Profe eds., *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen: Leben und Nachleben*. Sacra Bella Septentrionalia 1 (Toruń: UMK 2008) 331–354; E. Feistner, M. Neecke and G. Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier. Bibelepik und Chronistik im Deutschen Orden als Modell korporativer Identitätsbildung*. Hermaea. Germanistische Forschungen. Neue Folge 114 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer 2007) 21–25; for a bibliography of scholarly studies regarding medieval literature used by the brethren of the Teutonic Order and in Prussia: R.G. Päsler, 'Überlegungen zu einer Literaturgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Preussenlandes', in: J. Wenta, S. Hartmann and G. Vollmann-Profe eds., *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen: Leben und Nachleben*. Sacra Bella Septentrionalia 1 (Toruń: UMK 2008) 369–392, there 385–391.

[74] A key publication regarding sixteenth-century Prussian historiography and its roots in the Teutonic Order's historiography is: U. Arnold, *Studien zur preussischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn 1967); see also: A. Mentzel-Reuters, 'Von der Ordenschronik zur Landesgeschichte - Die Herausbildung der altpreußischen Landeshistoriographie im 16. Jahrhundert', in: K. Garber, M. Komorowski and A.E. Walter eds., *Kulturgeschichte Ostpreußens in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer 2001) 581–637; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, particularly 1059–1146.

*Rerum Prussicarum*.[75] In the current century scholarly interest in the historiographical tradition of the Teutonic Order has grown substantially.[76]

Three recent studies give a good and systematic overview of the wide variety of narrative sources written, copied and read in the order. In his dissertation on the fifteenth-century *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, Mathieu Olivier has examined one of the major chronicles, its sources and its possible use as a source to further chronicles – including the *Croniken*. As such, because of the central role of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* within this tradition, Oliver's dissertation presents an extensive study of all historiography in the Teutonic Order. A particularly valuable feature of Olivier's study is its inclusion of a systematic examination of codicological aspects of the manuscripts containing these texts; codicological analysis has been lacking in most previous studies of the literature in the Teutonic Order.[77]

Two other recent studies examined the texts, with a stronger focus on their functionality. Edith Feistner, Gisela Vollmann-Profe and Michael Neecke investigated the role of the textual production of the Teutonic Order in creating a corporate identity; they focused not only on historiography, but also on religious literary works such as bible translations.[78] On a related subject, the dissertation of Marcus Wüst examined the self-perception of the Teutonic Order. He also explored both historiographical and religious works, but with a markedly different approach, covering a much wider selection of (types of) medieval texts associated with the order, and even including non-textual sources such as architecture in his analysis. His study, therefore, provides a survey of the types of texts available in the order.[79]

The historiography produced by the brethren of the Order of Santiago in the Iberian Peninsula has been studied much less.[80] Besides the *Compilación de los milagros de Santiago* by Diego Rodríguez de Almela and the *Primera historia de la Orden Santiago* by Pedro de Orozco and Juan de la Parra, also two sets of annals, a short chronicle, and a biography of one of the masters of the order have been preserved. The earliest of these texts, the *Anales viejos de Uclés* ('*Old Annals of Uclés*'), may date back to the late thirteenth century. By contrast, the other Spanish military orders do not appear to developed any substantial historiographical activities, at least until the late sixteenth century, when Francisco de Rades y Andrada, member of the Order of Calatrava, published his *Chronica de las tres Ordenes y Cauallerias*

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[75] Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* I-V (Leipzig 1861-1874).

[76] Note for instance these recent volumes: J. Wenta, S. Hartmann and G. Vollmann-Profe eds., *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen: Leben und Nachleben*. Sacra Bella Septentrionalia 1 (Toruń: UMK 2008); M. Thumser ed., *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 18 (Berlin: Lit 2011); B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014); Also noteworthy is the work on the order's libraries and non-fiction texts in medieval Prussia, particularly by Arno Mentzel-Reuters and Ralf Päsler: Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia*; R.G. Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur im Preußenland bis 1500. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung* (Köln 2003); Päsler and Schmidtke eds., *Deutschsprachige Literatur*; A. Breith et al. eds., *Manuscripta germanica. Deutschsprachige Handschriften des Mittelalters in Bibliotheken und Archiven Osteuropas*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 15 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2012).

[77] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres.

[78] Feistner, Neecke and Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*.

[79] M. Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 73 (Weimar: VDG 2013).

[80] There is in fact only one article, from 1986, that provides an overview of the historiographical activities of all Spanish military orders: Lomax, 'Medieval predecessors'; regarding the origin myths of the Order of Santiago, see recently Josserand, 'L'Ordre de Santiago'.

*de Sanctiago, Calatraua y Alcantara* ('*Chronicle of the Three Orders and Knights of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcantara*').[81] This does not mean, however, that these other orders did not feel the need to write their own history. Within the Order of Saint John (the Hospitallers), for example, this need was expressed several times.[82] Although many brethren expressed a high level of literacy,[83] the historical activities of William of San Stefano, whose work has been briefly mentioned, were not continued by later brethren. In addition, his texts can not be considered a continuous history of the order.[84] Juan Fernández de Heredia, grand master between 1377 and 1396, is known for commissioning an impressive scheme of translating numerous historiographical works into Aragonese. But as far as we know, he did not show a specific interest the history of his own order.[85] Apparently, the only attempt to write a continuous history of the Order of Saint John before the late sixteenth century was conducted between 1437 and 1454 by Melchior Bandini, chancellor at Rhodes. He wrote a history of the order until his own times, but little is known of its fate and historical value.[86] Only with the writings of his vice-chancellor, Guillaume Caoursin, a large audience was reached.[87] The consequences of Caoursin's account for competing historiographical activities in the other military orders have been discussed in much detail above.

It remains unclear why the Hospitallers did not, during the Middle Ages, appear to have written a history of their order. Perhaps tackling the archival material turned out to be too much of a challenge for most brethren with a historical

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[81] Lomax, 'Medieval predecessors'; D.W. Lomax, 'A lost mediaeval biography: the "Corónica del Maestre Pelayo Pérez"', *Bulletin of Hispanic studies* 61 (1961) 153–154; F. de Rades y Andrada, *Chronica de las tres Ordenes y Cauallerias de Sanctiago, Calatraua y Alcantara* (Toledo: J. de Ayala 1572); the following article is (mostly) concerned with modern historiography of the military orders in the Iberian Peninsula: D.W. Lomax, 'La historiografiá de las ordenes militares en la Península Ibérica. 1100-1550', *Hidalguía* 23 (1975) 711–724.

[82] E.g.: A.T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities: 1400-1530', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 25 (1967) 145–150, there 149; some of the order's libraries did contain historical texts, showing at least some interest in history by the brethren: Luttrell, 'Historical Activities: 1291-1400', 129; Legras and Lemaître, 'Practique liturgique', 122, 136; J.J. Witter ed., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum, in bibliotheca sacri ordinis Hierosolymitani Argentorati asservatorum* (Strasbourg: Kürsner 1746) 45.

[83] A particularly interesting example of the intellectual level of some Hospitaller commanderies is the commandery "Zum Grünen Wörth" at Strasbourg. From the fourteenth century onwards is became a meeting place for mystics in the Rhineland, known as the "Gottesfreunde": K. Borchardt, 'Wirtschaft und Ordensreform im späten Mittelalter. Das Beispiel der Johanniter in Straßburg (mit Ausblick auf Breslau)', in: R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky eds., *Die Ritterorden in der europäischen Wirtschaft des Mittelalters*. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica XII (Toruń: UMK 2003) 35–54; B. Fleith, 'Remotus a tumultu civitatis? Die Johanniterkommende "zum Grünen Wörth" im 15. Jahrhundert', in: S. Mossmann, N.F. Palmer and F. Heinzer eds., *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*. Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2012) 411–468; S. Mossmann and N.F. Palmer, 'Ulrich der Johanniter vom Grünen Wörth and his Adaptation of the "Liber amoris". A Critical Edition of the "Hoheliedpredigt" and of its German Precursor "Die Höhenflüge der Seele"', in: S. Mossmann, N.F. Palmer and F. Heinzer eds., *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*. Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2012) 469–520; For many other examples: Luttrell, 'Historical Activities: 1291-1400'; Luttrell, 'Historical Activities: 1400-1530'; A.T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities: 1530-1630', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 26 (1968) 57–69.

[84] Luttrell, 'Historical Activities: 1291-1400', 125–126.

[85] Ibid., 128; For one of Heredia's historiographical projects, including references to other literature: A.T. Luttrell, 'Juan Fernández de Heredia's History of Greece', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 34 (2010) 30–37.

[86] Luttrell, 'Historical Activities: 1400-1530', 146, 150.

[87] A few decades later, following the loss of Rhodes in 1522, a wide range of chronicles and short texts were produced by the brethren of the Order of St John, including no less than four chronicles that were printed between 1523 and 1525. M. Mager, *Krisenerfahrung und Bewältigungsstrategien des Johanniterordens nach der Eroberung von Rhodos 1522* (Münster: Aschendorff 2014) 36–68.

interest. The presence of existing narratives could function as a catalyst for further historiographical production, creating a tradition of history writing. Such a tradition was clearly absent in the Order of St John. There are, nevertheless, ample examples of independent monastic, courtly and urban traditions based on local archival collections – thus there is no reason the Hospitallers could not get involved in history writing. The multilingual nature of the Order of Saint John may also have been a deterring factor, both in terms of access to sources and in terms of reaching non-Latinate audiences. In order to understand why in the Teutonic Order such a strong tradition in writing historical (and religious) texts emerged and how these texts functioned within the institutional structures of the order, it can be hugely valuable to study the lack of such a tradition in similar institutions.

To some extent, the Hospitallers' *Legends* did function as an historical account of the order, but they remain just a first step towards a grander historical narrative. However, especially if we count the legendary texts in the same category as the more straightforwardly historiographical production of the military orders, one observation can be made which may be an explanatory factor. It appears that the orders that carried out a dual role of fighting for the faith and caring for the sick, rather than those focussed on military activities alone, were also more likely to engage in creating historical narratives. The Teutonic Order, the Orders of Santiago, of Saint John and of Lazarus, who all administered hospitals, each appear to have been more occupied with writing their own history than for instance the Templars or the Spanish military orders such as those of Calatrava and Alcántara.[88] Perhaps the hospitaller orders were overall better equipped for such writing activities, in terms of the background of their personnel, especially the priest-brethren.[89] Whereas, crudely put, the Order of the Temple had to assert itself primarily on the battlefield, the hospitaller orders could use the pen *and* sword. It enabled them to be more flexible and pro-active in publicizing the achievements of their orders. Perhaps ironically, examples such as the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* show that these publicized achievements remained predominantly military.

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[88] The exception is the late sixteenth-century chronicle by Francisco de Rades y Andrada, member of the Order of Calatrava. It encompasses the history of the three main military orders in Spain: De Rades y Andrada, *Chronica de las tres Ordenes*.

[89] This, of course, cannot be anything more than a generalization of the different military orders, as all orders, including the Order of the Temple, had priest-brethren amongst their midst. Regarding the priest-brethren in the different military orders: J. Sarnowsky, 'The priests in the military orders - a comparative approach on their standing and role', in: N. Bériou, Ph. Josserand and L.F. Oliviera eds., *Élites et ordres militaires au Moyen Âge* (reprinted in: J. Sarnowsky, On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe. Structures and Perceptions, Variorum Collected Studies CS992 (Farnham/Burlington VT: Ashgate 2011) XVIII 1-14; Madrid: Casa de Velázquez 2012) 1–14; A. Gilmour-Bryson, 'Priests of the Order of the Temple: What Can They Tell Us?', in: J. Burgtorf, P.F. Crawford and H.J. Nicholson eds., *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)* (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2010) 327–338; R.J. Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders. A prosopographical survey of the priest-brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick of the Teutonic Order (1350-1600)', in: K. Toomaspoeg ed., *Analecta Theutonica. Studies for the History of the Teutonic Order 1*. Acta Theutonica 10 (Galatina: Congedo 2014) 99–149.

## 1.3 The *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*

### Editorial history

While ever since chronicles became subject of antiquarian research, there has been no lack of interest in the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, no substantial studies have been dedicated to it. In the process, there have been many ways in which the chronicle has been referred to. In the early sixteenth century, (an adaptation of) the text was referred to as "Preuschen cronica", a Prussian chronicle.[90] Later that century, the *Croniken* may perhaps be identified with "an old handwritten chronicle of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia", mentioned by Livonian chronicler Moritz Brandis.[91] Christoph Hartknoch, who in 1679 first published the *Chronica Terrae Prussiae* ('*Chronicle of the Prussian Land*') by Teutonic Order's priest Peter of Dusburg, referred to the *Croniken* simply as "Chronicle of the order, commonly called *Ordens-Chronick* ['*Order's Chronicle*'] or *Hohemeister-Chronick* ['*Grand Masters' Chronicle*']."[92]

In 1710, Antonius Matthaeus (1635-1710), professor of law at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden, published the *Croniken* as part of his monumental edition series of medieval Dutch chronicles, *Veteris aevi analecta*.[93] He edited both the main chronicle and a part of the *Croniken* that covers the history of the Utrecht bailiwick, treating them as separate works, and referred to them as *'Chronicon Equestris Ordinis Teutonici, incerti auctoris*' ('*Chronicle of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, by an unknown author*') and *'Libellus de vitis Praefectorum Trajectensium, cum ejusdem observationibus'* ('*Booklet of the Lives of the Governors of Utrecht, with observations thereof*'). Extracts on Livonian history taken from the chronicle (on this occasion simply titled *'Deutsch-Ordens Chronik'* ('*Teutonic Order's Chronicle*')) were published by Karl Rußwurm in 1839 and Carl Napiersky in 1840 and in 1853. Both Rußwurm and Napiersky relied on Matthaeus' edition and a couple of (now apparently lost) Livonian manuscripts.[94] Also in 1853, Max Töppen published his

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[90] See note 152.

[91] "Ein altt geschrieben Cronicon deß Duutschen ordens in Preussen und Lifflandt": Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 264v.

[92] "Chronic[on] Ordinis, vulgo appellatur *Ordens-Chronick* seu *Hohemeister-Chronick*." Hartknoch made use of a sixteenth-century adaptation of the *Croniken* by Christoph Jan of Weissenfels (see the following chapter). C. Hartknoch, 'Selectae dissertationes historicae de variis rebus Prussicis', in: C. Hartknoch ed., *Petri de Dusburg, Ordinis Teutonici sacerdotis, Chronicon Prussiae. In quo Ordinis Teutonici origo, nec non res ab ejusdem Ordinis Magistris ab An. MCCXXVI usque ad An. MCCCXXVI in Prussia gestae exponuntur, cum incerti auctoris continuatione usque ad annum MCCCCXXXV* (2nd, Jena: Nisius; Frankfurt am Main/Leipzig: Hallervord 1679) 1–456, there 4; Pisanski used similar terms: G.C. Pisanski, *Entwurf der Preußischen Litterärgeschichte. Mit einer Vorrede vom Leben, Character und litterarischen Verdiensten des Verfassers*. L.E. Borowski ed. (Königsberg: Hartung 1791) 93.

[93] A. Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta, seu vetera aliquot monumenta, quæ hactenus nondum visa* X (1st edn; Leiden 1710) 1–284, 343–360; Reprinted: A. Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta, seu vetera aliquot monumenta, quæ hactenus nondum visa* V (2nd edn; Den Haag 1738) 631–818, 857–890.

[94] K.F.W. Rußwurm, 'Notiz über die Handschrift einer Chronik des Deutschen Ordens', *Das Inland. Eine Wochenschrift für Liv-, Esth- und Curländische Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik und Litteratur* 4 (1839) 497–503, 513–522; C.E. Napiersky, 'Zur livländischen Chroniken-Kunde. Eingegangen unde verlesen den 8. November 1839', in: *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland's, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der russischen Ostsee-Provinzen* I (Riga/Leipzig 1840) 419–449; C.E. Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik des Ordens vom deutschen Hause zu St. Marien in Jerusalem, soweit solche auf Livland Bezug nimmt, mit einer Einleitung, abweichende Lesarten, Anmerkungen und einigen Worterklärungen', in: *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum* 1 (Riga/Leipzig: Frantzen 1853) 829–906.

*Geschichte der preußischen Historiographie*. He wrote quite extensively on the chronicle under the heading *'Hochmeisterchronik'*, following the example set by Hartknoch almost two centuries earlier.[95]

Some years later, Töppen, together with Theodor Hirsch and Ernst Strehlke, contributed to an impressive compilation of historical texts that were concerned with Prussia before its secularisation in 1525, the *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* (SRP). The *Croniken*, edited by Theodor Hirsch, was included in its fifth volume, bringing together, for the first time, all manuscripts known at the time. Hirsch's edition became the standard edition, and is still in use today.[96] In the substantial introduction accompanying his edition, Hirsch introduced a new title for the *Croniken*: the *Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik* (Younger Grand Master's Chronicle).[97] The addition 'younger' was necessitated by the existence of a somewhat similarly structured chronicle, written a few decades before the *Croniken*. It had been edited in one of the earlier volumes of the SRP as the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*.[98] The name *Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik* became the most commonly used name for the *Croniken*, despite being chosen somewhat unluckily. The similar sounding titles came to carry some implication of a close and above all subsidiary relationship between the two chronicles in terms of form, structure and origin.[99] This does little justice to the basic differences between the two chronicles. Furthermore, the qualifier 'younger' also carries a silent assumption that the text is less historically accurate or relevant, emphasizing the chronological distance between the *Croniken* and the events it describes; events already described by many authors with greater chronological proximity. It framed the *Croniken* as an afterbirth of the Teutonic Order's chronicle tradition.

There is a persistent tendency in all available (partial) editions of the *Croniken* to regard the work as consisting of two or more separate parts.[100] As I have pointed out above, Matthaeus was the first to do so in his *editio princeps* of the text. The first part (the prologue and the part containing the lives of the grand masters) is generally regarded as the main chronicle. It is this part which has been edited as *the* chronicle by Matthaeus, Napiersky and Hirsch. The second part, the so-called 'bailiwick chronicle' covering the Utrecht bailiwick and its land commanders, was edited as an appendix by Matthaeus, who did not give any indication of its relationship to the other part of the *Croniken*.[101] It has

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[95] Apart from the given title "*Hochmeisterchronik*", Töppen attested the use of the names "*Chronik des deutschen Ordens*" and "*Ordenschronik*" as well. Konstantin Höhlbaum referred to the text as "*grosse Hochmeisterchronik*". M. Töppen, *Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schütz. Oder Nachweisung und Kritik der gedruckten und ungedruckten Chroniken zur Geschichte Preussens unter der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens* (Berlin 1853) 55–87; K. Höhlbaum, *Joh. Renner's livländische Historien und die jüngere livländische Reimchronik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1872) 10.

[96] Th. Hirsch, 'Die jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* V (Leipzig 1874) 1–172.

[97] Ibid., 42.

[98] M. Töppen, 'Die ältere Hochmeisterchronik', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* III (Leipzig 1866) 519–730.

[99] Hirsch himself always made clear that both texts had little direct relation to each other. He assumed - erroneously - that the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, apart from perhaps its so-called "First Continuation", was not a source for the *Croniken*. Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 19.

[100] As shown in its most extreme form in the *Narrative Sources* database. The main part of the Croniken (NL0402) is separated from the bailiwick's chronicle that itself is divided into three (NL0403; NL0404; NL0405). Matthaeus' edition is given a fifth separate record (C043). 'The Narrative Sources from the Medieval Low Countries' (2009-2016) <http://www.narrative-sources.be> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[101] Matthaeus indicated in a note that a different manuscript in his possession contained part of a text that can now be identified as part of the bailiwick's chronicle. Possibly, this second manuscript contained the abovementioned appendix as well, although this remains unclear. Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (2nd ed.)* V, 765 (note 1); J.J. de Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven der Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balie van Utrecht* I (Utrecht 1871) nr. 193.

more recently been edited by Jan Jacob de Geer van Oudegein, who was aware of the plans to include a new edition in the SRP series and only edited the parts of the *Croniken* that Matthaeus or Hirsch left out of their editions of the text.[102]

The fact that none of the later German adaptations of the *Croniken* included the bailiwick chronicle has been seen as evidence to argue that it was not part of the original organization of the *Croniken*.[103] In many of these German adaptations other – regionally significant – texts were added at the end of the chronicle, in the location where the bailiwick chronicle is found in the Middle Dutch version. For a long time only one extant copy of the Middle Dutch text was known; it was therefore possible to think of the bailiwick part as a later addition to the *Croniken*. With the recent discovery of two more Middle Dutch copies – which both include the same bailiwick chronicle – this view is becoming increasingly hard to maintain. Rather, the bailiwick chronicle should indeed be conceived as part of the original organization of the *Croniken*, and both parts should be studied in connection to each other. In Prussia and Livonia, where the German adaptations were made, the Utrecht bailiwick chronicle had lost its significance due to its provincial interest, and was omitted or replaced by other texts.

The result of the tendency to separate the parts of the *Croniken* is that there is a certain ambiguity in recent scholarly literature as to what the name *Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik* refers to exactly. More often than not the bailiwick chronicle, absent from the standard edition prepared by Hirsch, is omitted from the analysis. The name *Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik* has become widely established, and will not easily be replaced. However, since I will study the original Middle Dutch chronicle as a whole, thus including the bailiwick chronicle, I have found it more appropriate to refer to the chronicle using a name more closely related to the medieval dissemination of the work, and one which provides an unambiguous nomenclature for the purpose of this study. In order to do this we have turned to the title given by the author himself: 'Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden van der ridderscap van den huse ende hospitael Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem' (Chronicle of the Teutonic Order of the Knighthood of the House and Hospital of Our Lady in Jerusalem)[104] or *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* in short.[105] The various parts of the *Croniken* will be referred to as prologue, grand masters' part and bailiwick chronicle.

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[102] J.J. de Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven der Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balie van Utrecht* II (Utrecht 1871) 238, 244 (nr. 193).
[103] Discussing this issue: J.A. Mol, *De Friese huizen van de Duitse Orde. Nes, Steenkerk en Schoten en hun plaats in het middeleeuwse Friese kloosterlandschap* (Leeuwarden 1991) 148–153.
[104] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.1, c.75.
[105] Ibid., c.121; Marijke Carasso-Kok has previously used this same title in her *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen*, a register bibliography of medieval Dutch medieval narrative sources: M. Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen. Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen* (Den Haag 1981) nr. 137; Note the missing "n" in *Cronike* in the exact title provided by Carasso-Kok (*"Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden"*). This comes down to spelling variations in the different manuscripts of the *Croniken*. We have adhered to the spelling of the newly discovered Vienna manuscript, which is generally more accurate. Confusingly, I have myself on a previous occasion also used the alternative spelling by Carasso-Kok's alternative spelling: R.J. Stapel and G. Vollmann-Profe, 'Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden (Chronicle of the Teutonic Order)', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* I (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 328–329.

## Scholarly interest

Despite the fact that the *Croniken* has so far not received a dedicated study, the chronicle is included in almost every survey of the Teutonic Order's medieval historiography. Devoting around thirty-three pages to an analysis of the *Croniken*, Töppen's work on the medieval historiography of the Order contains one of the most extensive studies on the chronicle to date.[106] He based himself on both Matthaeus' Middle Dutch edition and one of the later German translations, a manuscript written by a certain Peter Schwinge in 1542.[107] Töppen provided an overview of the chronicle: its genesis, contents, sources and importantly – as dictated by the interests of nineteenth-century historical scholarship in general – its reliability. Although lacking both a clear picture of the *Croniken*'s textual tradition and an awareness of the existence of the bailiwick chronicle, Töppen made some remarkably good observations. On the basis of a closer affiliation of the Middle Dutch text to one of its sources, the *Livländische Reimchronik*, Töppen concluded that the Middle Dutch text was conceived before the German version. He also added, correctly, that the text edited by Matthaeus was either faulty or that Matthaeus edited a good manuscript in an arbitrary way.[108]

Töppen paid most of his attention to the factual accuracy of the content, however. Regarding the chronology of the lists of grand masters and masters of Prussia and Livonia in the *Croniken*, Töppen showed his intention to correct some persistent errors in the text: "We must examine the results of the author's calculations closely, as these are the main cause for the disastrous confusion of a long line of subsequent chroniclers."[109] The final verdict of the *Croniken* by Töppen is therefore downright negative: "As a whole, we can describe the chronicle, as it is presented to us now, only as a sad concoction."[110] His contemporary Napiersky was much more positive in his verdict, even if he, too, was mainly concerned with the factual significance of the contents. This is shown most clearly in his choice of extracts, inspired by his interest for the Livonian history only.[111]

A big step forward in the study of the *Croniken* was taken in the 1870s. De Geer van Oudegein and Hirsch, independently, but aware of each other's efforts, each prepared editions of the parts of the *Croniken*.[112] De Geer's transcription of the bailiwick's chronicle is of good quality, but he neglected to provide a detailed introduction to the text, giving only a couple of remarks on the manuscript and on the differences between Matthaeus' and his own edition. He had concluded – on which grounds remains unspecified – that both parts of the chronicle were written by the same person, as can be deduced from this remark: "After the unknown author of the manuscript concludes the preceding chronicle of the Teutonic Order with the words 'Et sic est finis laus Deo', he commences, on the next page and with

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[106] Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 55–87.
[107] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242.
[108] Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 56–61.
[109] "Wir müssen die Resultate seiner Rechnungen ausführlich vor Augen legen, da er die Hauptursache zu der heillosesten Verwirrung für eine lange Reihe de späteren Chronisten gegeben hat": Ibid., 69.
[110] "Als Ganzes betrachtet können wir die Chronik, wie sie uns einmal vorliegt, nur ein trauriges Machwerk nennen": Ibid., 87.
[111] Napiersky, 'Livländischen Chroniken-Kunde'; Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik'.
[112] Factual reliability still is a major theme in both editions. One of the key questions Hirsch asked himself was "what credibility can therefore be given to his work?" ("welcherlei Glaubwürdigkeit is demgemäss ihrer Arbeit zu schenken?"): Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 4; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nr. 193.

new pagination, the history of the bailiwick of Utrecht in particular as follows".[113] Hirsch, by contrast, believed both parts to have been written by different authors and later brought together. He, too, however, fails to substantiate this claim.[114] On firmer grounds, Hirsch concluded that the author was "quite evidently" a member of the Teutonic Order, probably a priest-brother, and indeed from one of the bailiwicks in the Lower Rhine region, likely Utrecht.[115] Agreeing with Töppen's initial conclusions, Hirsch considered the *Croniken* to have been written in Middle Dutch originally, and consequently translated into a Low German dialect in Livonia. In turn, he concluded, these Livonian manuscripts provided the basis for subsequent High German translations in Prussia. [116]

Hirsch's edition is marred with inaccuracies. His transcription was based primarily on the somewhat faulty manuscript copy still held in the archives of the Utrecht bailiwick.[117] Hirsch correctly observed this could not have been the same manuscript as the one Matthaeus consulted in the house of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht a century and a half earlier.[118] He compared the Utrecht manuscript, which he considered to be the oldest existing copy, to the edition by Matthaeus and several German translations. In his apparatus, he provided a reasonably complete list of variants between the different texts, but on occasion he silently made significant emendations to the text of the Utrecht manuscript.[119] Another peculiarity of his edition is that for the Livonian tradition, he did not consult any manuscripts but relied on the edition of excepts by Napiersky, without declaring this. As a consequence, Hirsch's edition only provides textual variations in the Livonian manuscripts for the excerpts included in Napiersky's.[120] The extensive remarks Hirsch made on the sources of the *Croniken* should also be handled with care, as my analysis of the sources will show.[121] Nonetheless, until a few years ago Hirsch's introduction from 1874 remained the most recent study of the *Croniken* that incorporated a direct examination of its sources. It is still the main source of information for all further analysis.

Despite the absence of a dedicated study, the significance of the chronicle has been widely acknowledged. Among the respectable number of studies in which the *Croniken* is addressed in some detail,[122] a few recurring areas of attention

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[113] "Nadat dan de onbekende auteur van het handschrift de voorafgaande algemeene kronijk der Duitsche orde met het onderschrift 'Et sic est finis laus Deo' heeft besloten, vangt hij op een volgend blad en onder een nieuwe paginatuur de bijzondere geschiedenis der balie van Utrecht aldus aan": De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 244 (nr. 193); Hans Mol suggested that it might also be possible that by "author" De Geer meant only "copyist": Mol, *Friese huizen*, 366–367 (note 114).

[114] "Ausgelassen habe ich ferner die den Holländischen Texten vorgesetzte Einleitung oder vielmehr Inhaltsangabe, da sie ersichtlich nicht von dem Verfasser der Chronik angefertigt ist, sondern von demjenigen, der dieselbe mit der Chronik der Ballei Utrecht zu einem Ganzen verband": Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 42.

[115] Ibid., 9.

[116] Ibid., 16.

[117] Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balie van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181.

[118] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 6–7.

[119] E.g.: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.311; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', c. 158.

[120] The manuscripts involved may now be considered lost: Riga, Stadtbibliothek, Fol. 2316 (Hirsch: "R"); Birkas (Estonian: Pürksi), private collection of Baron Rudolf van Ungern-Sternberg (Hirsch: "E"). On the fate of these manuscripts see also: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 995 (notes 101, 102).

[121] Recently, Hirsch's edition has come under criticism by Mathieu Olivier too: Ibid., 994–1012.

[122] In chronological order: E. Maschke, 'Quellen und Darstellungen in der Geschichtsschreibung des Preußenlandes', in: P. Blunk ed., *Deutsche Staatenbildung und deutsche Kultur im Preußenland* (Königsberg 1931) 17–39, there 26–27; Edited and reprinted as: E. Maschke, 'Die ältere Geschichtsschreibung des Preussenlandes', in: W. Hubatsch and U. Arnold eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit* VI (Frankfurt am Main 1968) 1–21, there 12–13; E. Maschke, 'Die inneren Wandlungen des deutschen Ritterordens', in: W. Besson and F. Hiller von Gaertringen eds., *Geschichte und Gegenwartsbewusstsein; historische Betrachtungen und Untersuchungen. Festschrift für Hans Rothfels zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen,*

can be distinguished. First is the position of the text within the larger tradition of history writing in the order, as "keystone in the building that is the official historiography of the order", in the words of Udo Arnold.[123] Secondly, the *Croniken* has been seen as a unique expression and reflection of the self-consciousness of the order's brethren in the late fifteenth century.[124] Thirdly, the *Croniken* has been recognized as one of the very few texts of the Teutonic Order that did not originate in Prussia or Livonia, but in the Holy Roman Empire.[125] This change of perspective also contributed to the fact that – for the first and only time – a history of the entire order was written, rather than one limited to the order in Prussia or Livonia.[126] More than in any other of the order's histories, Jerusalem became the focus of the

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*Freunden und Schülern* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1963) 249–277, there 271–272, 275–276; O. Engels, 'Zur Historiographie des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 48 (1966) 336–363, there 339–342, 358–360; Arnold, *Studien zur preussischen Historiographie*, 26–28; U. Arnold, 'Geschichtsschreibung im Preussenland bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 19 (1970) 74–126, there 90–91; W. Wippermann, *Der Ordensstaat als Ideologie. Das Bild des Deutschen Ordens in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung und Publizistik*. Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin 24. Publikationen zur Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen 2 (Berlin 1979) 64; U. Arnold, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', in: K. Ruh et al. eds., *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter 1983) 922–923; H. Boockmann, 'Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter und Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Preußen. Entstehungsbedingungen und Funktionen', in: K. Stackmann and L. Grenzmann eds., *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart 1984) 80–92; U. Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie im Deutschen Reich', in: Z.H. Nowak ed., *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur*. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica III (Toruń: UMK 1985) 65–89, there 78–81; H. Boockmann, 'Die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Ordens. Gattungsfragen und „Gebrauchssituationen"', in: H. Patze ed., *Geschichtschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*. Vorträge und Forschungen XXXI (Sigmaringen 1987) 447–469, there 468–469; Mol, *Friese huizen*, 148–153; U. Arnold, 'Die Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', in: U. Arnold ed., *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden. Ausstellung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg in Zusammenarbeit mit der Internationalen Historschen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens* (Gütersloh 1990) 41–42; P. Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow als Humanist und Geschichtsschreiber. Aus dem Nachlaß ergänzt und herausgegeben von Heinz von zur Mühlen*. Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 14 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 1996) 13–21; J. Sarnowsky, 'Identität und Selbstgefühl der geistlichen Ritterorden', in: S. Kwiatkowski and J. Małłek eds., *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Toruń: UMK 1998) 109–130, there 118; J. Sarnowsky, 'Das historische Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 110 (1999) 315–330, there 327–329; Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur*, 302; R.J. Stapel, Cronike vander Duytscher Oirden. Motieven voor het schrijven van de zgn. "Jongere Hoogmeesterkroniek" (Utrecht, ca. 1500) (unpublished research seminar thesis under direction of dr. A. Janse, Leiden: Universiteit Leiden 2006); A. Kuz, La Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik. L'autoreprésentation littéraire de l'ordre Teutonique (unpublished master thesis under direction of J.-L. Sarrazin, Nantes: Université de Nantes 2007); J.A. Mol, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik (Kat.-Nr. III. 3.89)', in: J. Trupinda ed., *Imagines Potestates. Insignien und Herrschaftszeichen im Königsreich Polen und im Deutschen Orden. Katalog der Ausstellung im Schlossmuseum in Marienburg 8. Juni - 30. September 2007* (Malbork: Museum Zamkowe w Malborku 2007) 301–302; Sarnowsky, 'Historical writing', 118; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 994–1012; Stapel and Vollmann-Profe, 'Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden'; S. Foidl, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', in: W. Achnitz ed., *Deutsche Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter. Autoren und Werke nach Themenkreisen und Gattungen* 3: Reiseberichten und Geschichtsdichtungen (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2011) 1055; J. Sarnowsky, 'The Military Orders and the Idea of Holy Wars', in: J. Sarnowsky, *On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe. Structures and Perceptions*. Variorum Collected Studies CS992 (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2011) V 1–24, there 21–22; Sarnowsky, 'Entwicklung des historischen Selbstverständnisses', 56–57; R.J. Stapel, 'Layer on layer. "Computational archaeology" in 15th-century Middle Dutch historiography', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 28 (2013) 344–358; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 132–137; R.J. Stapel and J.D.E. de Vries, 'Leydis, Pauli, and Berchen revisited. Collective history writing in the Low Countries in the late fifteenth century', *The Medieval Low Countries. An Annual Review* 1/2014 (2015) 95–137; R.J. Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe', in: O. Duntze, T. Schaßan and G. Vogeler eds., *Kodikologie und Paläographie im Digitalen Zeitalter 3 / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age 3*. Schriften des Instituts für Dokumentologie und Editorik 10 (Norderstedt: Books on Demand 2015) 67–86.

[123] "Schlußstein im Gebäude der offiziösen Historiographie des Ordens": Arnold, 'Geschichtsschreibung im Preussenland', 91.

[124] For example by Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen'; Sarnowsky, 'Identität und Selbstgefühl'; Sarnowsky, 'Historische Selbstverständnis'; Mol, *Friese huizen*, 150–153; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 132–137.

[125] Especially: Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie'.

[126] Engels, 'Historiographie', 342.

historiographical enterprise: the place from which the Teutonic Order but also the other military orders had supposedly originated.[127]

Following Hirsch, scholars have generally accepted that the chronicle was written in the 1490s, or shortly after 1492.[128] This *terminus post quem* is based on the bailiwick chronicle, which mentions the date of death of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen (15 August 1492). Using it as a date for the *Croniken* as a whole implicitly acknowledges both parts to form a single entity. Hans Mol was the first to review this relationship explicitly. On close examination of the text he concluded both parts were indeed the work of a single author; that is not necessarily to say that the two were written consecutively and conceived as a single work – Mol posed the exact relation between the parts of the chronicle as a subject for further discussion. Mol showed the orthography of the two parts to be identical, as are the choice of words, rhetoric and structure of the content, including the programme of coloured heraldic arms in the margins.[129] He also directed attention to some curiosities in the bailiwick chronicle that could link Land Commander Johan van Drongelen to the production of the *Croniken*.[130] The significance of this will be discussed in detail later.[131]

### New material and new research questions

There are two important factors which justify a new study at this point. First and foremost, two more copies of the Middle Dutch chronicle – unknown to Hirsch – have surfaced in recent years. One of these is kept in the Teutonic Order's central archive in Vienna.[132] The other manuscript is now held in the city archive of Ghent.[133] In the most recent inventory from 1983 this manuscript is absent, which suggests that it is a relatively recent accession.[134] The two manuscripts offer many alternative readings to the Utrecht manuscript used by Hirsch and De Geer van Oudegein as well as the text presented by Matthaeus. The texts of the Ghent and Vienna manuscripts have considerably fewer flaws such as scribal errors. In some places, entire passages can be found that are unavailable in the Utrecht and Matthaeus copies. Many of the 'improvements and additions' that Hirsch thought belonged to the German versions of the *Croniken*, are in fact already found in the Middle Dutch version represented by these manuscripts. Moreover, the fact that both the Vienna and Ghent manuscript include the bailiwick chronicle may help in understanding the original composition of the chronicle.

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[127] E.g.: Sarnowsky, 'Historische Selbstverständnis', 327–329.

[128] Arnold, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik (1983)'; recently, another possibility was put forward – independent of each other – in two student theses. There a *terminus post quem* has been suggested of 1494. In c.257 and c.728-730 the *Croniken* mentions that the German master was considered a sovereign. He was recognized as such in the Holy Roman Empire from 1494 forward. Other evidence, however, contradicts this suggestion. Stapel, Cronike vander Duytscher Oirden (research seminar thesis), 25; Kuz, Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik, 32 (note 132). The issue will be addressed in more detail in section 2.3.

[129] Mol, *Friese huizen*, 148–149.

[130] Ibid., 149–150.

[131] See chapter 4.

[132] Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 392; F. Lackner, *Katalog der Streubestände in Wien und Niederösterreich. Nichtarchivalische mittelalterliche Handschriften und Fragmente in Korneuburg, Mistelbach, Retz, St. Pölten, Tulln, Waidhofen an der Thaya, Weitra, Wien, Wiener Neustadt und aus Privatbesitz* I. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe II, Verzeichnisse der Handschriften österreichischer Bibliotheken 5/1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2000) nr. 62.

[133] Ghent, Stadsarchief, Ms SAG/2.

[134] J. Decavele and J. Vannieuwenhuyse, *Archiefgids* I: Oud Archief (Ghent: Stadsbestuur, Dienst voor Culturele Zaken 1983).

The newly surfaced Ghent and Vienna manuscripts provide an excellent opportunity to reconsider the genesis of the *Croniken*. Codicological inspection of the manuscripts has proven to be a particularly fruitful approach, opening up new opportunities for the study of the context of the genesis of the *Croniken*. The discovery of the manuscripts also justifies a new edition of the chronicle. With the aim of providing the materials for such an edition, this study is accompanied by diplomatic transcriptions of all four available complete Middle Dutch copies of the *Croniken* (i.e., the Vienna, Ghent and Utrecht manuscripts, and Matthaeus' edition). They have been written in an XML (eXtensible Markup Language) format using the P5 guidelines provided by the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI).[135] A normalized transcription of the Vienna manuscript is also provided. The choice for this specific manuscript is justified by the codicological analysis.[136]

The second factor justifying a new study of the *Croniken* is that although the historical significance of the *Croniken* has been widely accepted, most scholarly attention to date has remained superficial. The studies that cover the *Croniken* review either a larger part of the medieval historical tradition of the Teutonic Order, or explore a particular angle of their content such as signs of self-consciousness of the brethren; in all cases the *Croniken* is just one of many texts analysed. As a result, although many aspects of the *Croniken* have been dealt with superficially, few underwent deeper scrutiny. Without any serious attempt at primary source criticism, there is also a tendency of reiteration without introducing fundamentally new insights about the text. Especially the author's use of sources can be considered a *terra incognita*, since Hirsch's preparatory work has proved to be far from conclusive. Who wrote the *Croniken* and how did he attain the skills to do so? How could someone in the Low Countries get access to texts often thought to be confined to libraries in Prussia and Livonia? How is the text related to historiographical traditions in both the Low Countries and the Teutonic Order? Surprisingly little is known about the circumstances in which the *Croniken* was written and the particular context(s) in which the work functioned. In order to answer these questions, we will first turn to the manuscripts that contain the text of the *Croniken*.

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[135] 'TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange' <http://www.tei-c.org/P5/> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[136] See chapter 2.

# 2 Manuscripts

## 2.1 Dissemination of the *Croniken*

### General overview

While Theodor Hirsch, the man responsible for the edition of the *Croniken* still in use today, only listed six manuscripts – two of which in Middle Dutch –, it was already noted by historian Max Töppen in the nineteenth century that the chronicle was "found in almost every old library in Prussia and Livonia, often in multiple copies, and occasionally in other places too."[137] Indeed, a more systematic search in present-day archives, inventories, and literature shows a completely different prospect, although numerous manuscripts referred to in historical catalogues have not survived, or contain only incomplete copies of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*. Nonetheless, in my research, I have been able to expand both the list of manuscripts of the Middle Dutch *Croniken* and that of its German adaptations greatly since their first tallies in the nineteenth century.

It is generally accepted, following Töppen and Hirsch, that the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* was originally written in Middle Dutch. Certain content and remnants of Middle Dutch words in German adaptations point in this direction.[138] The evidence presented in this chapter and the next supports this view. From the updated tally of Middle Dutch manuscripts we may also conclude that the Low Countries was one of a couple of distinct geographical areas in Europe where the *Croniken* was most actively disseminated (Table 2.1 and Table 2.2). Although the list will in all likelihood contain some duplicates, the impression is that almost every commandery in the Utrecht bailiwick owned a copy at one point, either partial or complete.

Each of these *Croniken* manuscripts was produced for an audience that understood Middle Dutch. As most of them contain local information about the Utrecht bailiwick, we can assume that this audience will have consisted mostly of members of the Utrecht bailiwick, in some cases perhaps including members of the neighbouring bailiwicks of Westphalia, Koblenz and Alden Biesen. Although the possibility of ownership outside the Teutonic Order cannot be excluded in each individual case, there is no evidence to suggest that any one of the manuscripts has been privately owned until the late seventeenth century. The only exception is perhaps manuscript **Ut$_1$**, which in the sixteenth century may briefly have circulated outside the bailiwick.[139] All original ownership that *is* traceable, however, points at the Teutonic Order.

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[137] "Sie hat von allen bisher genannten Chroniken die weitesten Verbreitung erhalten; man findet sie fast in jeder alten Bibliothek Preussens und Livlands, und zwar oft in mehreren Exemplaren nebeneinander, in einzelnen Exemplaren auch anderwärts.": Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 56; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 4–16.
[138] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 9, 11–12, 14–15.
[139] One of its owners, "A. Lienen, 1587", cannot be linked to any member of the bailiwick. Before 1600 it may have been returned to the bailiwick though and in the seventeenth century the manuscript was used as an exemplar in Utrecht (see below).

| Signature | Location | Date | Hirsch | Chapters | Localization |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **We$_1$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 392 | **Around 1480, 1491, (1496?)** | - | c.1–774 | Utrecht |
| **Ge** | Ghent, Stadsarchief, Ms SAG/2, ff. 2r-148r | **Around 1508** | - | c.1–774 | Utrecht |
| **Ut$_1$** | Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balie van Utrecht (ARDOU), inv.nr. 181 | **Around 1509–10** | U | c.1–774[140] | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **[Ut$_2$]** | *Olim*: Utrecht, ARDOU | **1597** | - | Extracts, at least: c.750–74 | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **As** | Assen, Drents Archief, Familie Van Heiden Reinestein, inv.nr. 1623 | **Late 16th / early 17th c.** | - | c.75–100; c.728–48 | Eastern (?) Netherlands |
| **[Mx]** | *Olim*: Library of Maximilian III, archduke of Austria, K. 62 | **Unknown, <1618** | - | - | Netherlands |
| **Ut$_3$** | Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181-bis | **Between 1675–93** | - | Abridgement: c.242–72; c.234–716; c.728–74 | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **[Al-Sc]** | *Olim*: Collection Van Alkemade & Van der Schelling | **Unknown, <1699** | - | Complete (c.1–774)? | Utrecht bailiwick? |
| **[Ma$_1$]** | *Olim*: Utrecht, ARDOU (possibly multiple manuscripts or parts thereof) | **Unknown, <1710** | M | c.1–727; c.728–30; c.731; c.750–74, excluding privileges | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **Ma$_2$** | Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. 1253 vol. 13 | **<1710** | - | ? | Utrecht |
| **[Wa]** | *Olim*: Utrecht, ARDOU<br>*Olim*: "Library of Wach(t)endorff" | **Unknown, <1732, between 1732–44** | - | - | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **Ut$_4$** | Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181-ter | **18th c.** | - | c.728–74 | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **[Ws$_1$]** | *Olim*: Collection Van Westreenen<br>*Olim*: Utrecht, ARDOU | **Unknown, <1809** | - | - | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **[Ws$_2$]** | *Olim*: Collection Van Westreenen<br>*Olim*: Utrecht, ARDOU | **Unknown, <1809** | - | - | Utrecht bailiwick |
| **Ut$_5$** | Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181-quater | **19th c.** | - | c.728–74 | Utrecht bailiwick |

*Table 2.1 Manuscripts of the* Croniken *in Middle Dutch. The list may contain some duplicates; signatures in square brackets present lost manuscripts. For more detail: Appendix, A.5.*[141]

| Signature | Location | Date | Hirsch | Chapters | Language variant | Localization |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ha$_2$** | Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2396-1, ff. 64v–72r | **Around 1620** | - | n/a (coats of arms) | Dutch | Utrecht |
| **Ha$_1$** | Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2393, ff. 150r–159v | **Around 1650** | - | c.731? (coats of arms) | Dutch | Utrecht |
| **Ka** | Cambrai, Médiathèque municipal, CGM : 868, ff. 31r-39v | **17th c.?** | - | c.731? (coats of arms) | French | Cambrai |
| **We$_2$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 103 | **Between 1710–80** | - | c.75–727, excl. privileges | French | Alden Biesen bailiwick? |
| **Ha$_3$** | Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2400-2, ff. 10a–20 | **Around 1748–53** | - | n/a (coats of arms) | Dutch | Utrecht |

*Table 2.2 Derivative texts of the Middle Dutch* Croniken *manuscripts (armorials and French translation of Matthaeus' edition). For more detail: Appendix, A.5.*

[140] The following chapters are missing: **c.328**, c.482, **c.513**, **c.570**, **c.670**, **c.672**, **c.674**, c.684-694 (**c.688**), c.701-710, c.712, c.714. The chapters indicated in bold are also lacking from the Matthaeus edition, which means that they were not known to Hirsch.
[141] See also: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 995–996.

Very soon after its conception the *Croniken* travelled eastwards. It is unclear how many German manuscripts of the *Croniken* once circulated and how many now survive. According to the statement by Töppen cited above, there must have been an impressive number. Indeed, if we count all adaptations of the *Croniken*, we arrive at just under forty extant manuscripts that are recorded in recent surveys (Tables 2.3–2.5). Given the turbulent twentieth-century history of many Eastern European archives (where a large proportion of these manuscripts were kept), this number could well once have been much greater.[142]

| Signa-ture | Location | Date | Hirsch | Chap-ters | Language variant | Localization |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **St** | Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamml., E8722, ff. 1-255r | **First half 16th c.** | Sk | c.75-727 | Low German | Livonia |
| **Be** | Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, ff. 1r-206r | **1542** | Schw | c.75-727 | High German | Prussia, Königsberg? |
| **Pr** | Prague, Národní Museum, Cod. XVII C 8, ff. 1r-257v | **Before 1548 (1544-1548?)** | - | c.75-727 | High German | Prussia?, Königsberg? |
| **[$Fu_1$]** | *Olim?*: Collection Johann Funck | **Unknown, <1552** | - | - | - | Prussia? |
| **[$Fu_2$]** | *Olim?*: Collection Johann Funck | **Unknown, <1552** | - | - | - | Prussia? |
| **Ta** | Tartu, Ülikooli Raamatukogu, Mscr. 154, ff. 1r-267r | **Middle 16th c.?** | - | c.75-726 | Low German | Livonia |
| **$Vi_1$** | Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-5 | **16th c.** | - | c.75-? | High German | Prussia? |
| **$Vi_2$** | Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-1 | **16th c.** | - | c.107-? | High German | Prussia? |
| **[Pü]** | *Olim*: Pürksi, Collection Baron Rudolf von Ungern-Sternberg | **2nd half 16th c. (<1595)** | E | c.75-727? | Low German | Livonia |
| **[Kö]** | *Olim*: Königsberg, Königliche und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Hs. 1569, ff. 1r-137v, ff. 199r-283v | **Late 16th c.** | - | c.75-727 | High German | Prussia? |
| **Gd** | Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, rps 1262, ff. 1r-112r, ff. 195r-198v | **Late 16th c. (1584-1595?)** | - | c.75-727 | High German | Prussia? |
| **[Ri]** | *Olim*?: Riga, Stadtbibliothek, Fol. 2316 | **1592** | R | c.75-727? | Low German | Livonia (Riga) |
| **Up** | Uppsala, Carolina Rediviva, H. 152, f. 1r-53r | **End 16th c., first half 17th c.** | - | Without privileges | - | Stralsund? |

*Table 2.3 Manuscripts of the* Croniken *in German. The list may contain some duplicates; signatures in square brackets present lost manuscripts. For more detail: Appendix, A.5.*[143]

How individual German *Croniken* manuscripts correlate to each other is another question altogether. Hirsch identified three groups of *Croniken* manuscripts: a) the Middle Dutch manuscripts, b) Livonian manuscripts and c) Prussian manuscripts. According to him, the Middle Dutch text was translated into a Low German dialect in Livonia. He identified

[142] E.g.: A.E. Walter, 'Das Schiksal der Königsberger Archive und Bibliotheken - Eine Zwischenbilanz', in: A.E. Walter ed., *Königsberger Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte*. Aus Archiven, Bibliotheken und Museen Mittel- und Osteuropas 1 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 2004) 1–68.

[143] Compare: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 995–996; The following manuscripts of the Deutschordenszentralarchiv (DOZA) in Vienna have been identified as not being extant copies of the *Croniken*: Hs. 155 (short grand masters' chronicle with their coat of arms; bailiwick Austria, Linz and Gumpoldskirchen commandery, 1710); Hs. 352 (polemic text in connection with the dispute between Poland and the Order; draft manuscript by Leonhard von Egloffstein; around 1510); Hs. 445 (short chronicle on the grand masters and other officials in Livonia and Prussia; 18th century); Hs. 447 (short chronicle on the history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and a list of the land commanders in the Alden Biesen bailiwick; perhaps related to the work of syndicus Paul Schreiber; around 1680?); Hs. 517 (short chronicle on the grand masters until 1835; 19th century). It could be that some of these manuscripts had used the *Croniken* or the adaptation by the Waiblingen brothers as a source. F. Vogel and F. Bayard, Findbuch Handschriften des Deutschordenszentralarchivs (2010); For manuscript DOZA, Hs. 352 see also: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1022, note 202.

the Skokloster manuscript (**St**) as the most important representative of this group. Subsequently, according to Hirsch, a copy of this Livonian manuscript group was translated into a High German dialect. Specific Livonian appendices (which substituted the 'local' Utrecht bailiwick chronicle; which is omitted in all extant German manuscripts) were in turn supplanted by local Prussian information, such as a list of Bishops of Warmia (a later addition to manuscript **Be**), forming the 'Prussian' group. This group contained, according to Hirsch's classification, the manuscript written by a certain Petrus Schwinge (manuscript **Be**; dated 1542) and the closely related adaptations by the brothers Waiblingen (1528; I shall return to this adaptation shortly) and Christoph Jan von Weissenfels (1550), both available in numerous copies.[144] In both cases it is rather unclear to what extent the text of the *Croniken* was actually adapted – it may encompass only small adjustments –, as no attempts have been made to compare the texts with the various manuscripts – Middle Dutch, Low German and High German – of the *Croniken*. Unfortunately, such an examination of the sources is beyond the scope of this study as well. The Weissenfels adaptation is sometimes referred to as the *Fahrenheit Chronicle*, after its sponsor Bernard Fahrenheit, who was probably a mayor of Kneiphof in Königsberg.[145] At least thirteen manuscripts containing the Weissenfels adaptation are currently known (Table 2.5). Much of the *Croniken* was also incorporated in the Prussian chronicles by Paul Pole (1530) and Johannes Freiberg (1544/45).[146] Each of these chroniclers – Pole, Freiberg, Weissenfels as well as the Waiblingen brothers – worked and lived in or near the city of Königsberg, making this a major centre of reception and dissemination of the *Croniken* and its adaptations.[147]

Notably, a large number of these 'Prussian' manuscripts can be linked to sixteenth-century Lutheran academic circles, not only in Königsberg but also in Wittenberg. Manuscript **Pr**, for instance, was owned by Melchior Fasolt, who would later become rector of the University of Wittenberg. Its leather binding is stamped with medallions of Erasmus, Melanchthon, Luther, Charles V, and John Frederick I, the Elector of Saxony.[148] It and manuscript **Be** appear to have been written by the same person, who identified himself in the colophon as Petrus Schwinge, of whom very little is known.[149] Like Fasolt, Schwinge also appears to have been a Lutheran.[150] Other examples include the two manuscripts owned or used by Lutheran theologian Johann Funck (**[Fu$_1$]**, **[Fu$_2$]**). The Lutheran pastor and historian Balthasar Rüssow, who

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[144] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 4–16; The Weissenfels chronicle was also used by Christoph Hartknoch, including in his edition of the Chronicon Terrae Prussiae by Peter von Dusburg: Hartknoch, 'Selectae dissertationes historicae', 4–5, passim; Regarding Christoph Jan von Weissenfels: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1124–1130.

[145] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1125; Hirsch stated that Schwinge, in a marginal note, called the chronicle he copied "Farenhei(n)ds Cronica," which would cause some serious problems with the chronology. However, the note is a later addition and the handwriting suggests that it is probably not the hand of Schwinge. Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 60v; The same hand is responsible for a different note that Hirsch referred to as being written by Schwinge. This note compares manuscript **Be** to the Weissenfels adaptation. Based on textual comparison Hirsch argued that rather it should be the adaptation by the Waiblingen brothers than that of Weissenfels (or both). However, we should be careful of Hirsch's assumptions on this matter. Ibid., f. 11v (note f. 28r as Hirsch suggested); Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 14 (note 6).

[146] M. Töppen, 'Paul Pole's Preussische Chronik', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* V (Leipzig 1874) 173–288; F.A. Meckelburg, *Preussische Chronik des Johannes Freiberg. Aus den auf der Königsberger Stadtbibliothek befindlichen Handschriften* (Königsberg: Bornträger 1848).

[147] Arnold, *Studien zur preussischen Historiographie*, 31–33; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1124. For the Waiblingen brothers, see below.

[148] See Appendix, A.5, **Pr**.

[149] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 201v.

[150] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 14.

worked mainly in Tallinn, was part of Johann Funck's social circle. He too used the *Croniken* for his writings, but he did not mention any manuscript.[151] Other use of the *Croniken* in intellectual circles in Prussia and Livonia can be found in the writings of Heinrich von Tiesenhausen, who was employed by the Archbishop of Riga and wrote a rebuttal to Rüssow. He referred to the *Croniken* as the "Preussischen Cronica."[152] A small section of the *Croniken* was transcribed by Dionysius Runau, a Lutheran pastor in Dirschau (Polish: Tczew), in his *History and modest description of the great Thirteen Years' War in Prussia, which started in 1454 and ended in 1466* that was published in 1582 in Wittenberg.[153] Perhaps manuscripts **$Vi_1$**, **$Vi_2$** and **[Kö]** originate in similar circles, given that Lutheranism was the ruling religion in Prussia at the time they were written.

The adaptation of the *Croniken* of which most manuscripts survived was the aforementioned chronicle by the Waiblingen brothers.[154] It was the foundation for the *Croniken*'s dissemination in German-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Leo, Adrian and Faustin von Waiblingen, originally from Franconia, were knight brethren in Prussia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, working in the area around Königsberg. Confronted by the secularization of the Prussian territory by Grand Master Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach in 1525, they were forced to lay down their habits and leave the order. However, they kept close contact with Walter von Cronberg, German master and "administrator of the office of grand master" and notified him of the situation in Prussia. In order to obtain mercy for leaving the Teutonic Order, Adrian von Waiblingen travelled to Mergentheim, in Franconia, where Walter von Cronberg resided. In the period after the secularization the brothers completed their chronicle. The chronicle consists of a translation of the *Croniken* with some added information and a continuation to 1525. It was dated 1528 and dedicated to Heinrich von Knöringen, land commander of the bailiwick On the Adige and in the Mountains, present day Italy, from 1503/04 to 1534.[155] It remains unclear what circumstances surrounded this dedication and how the Waiblingen brothers came into contact with Heinrich von Knöringen, who resided mostly in Innsbruck.[156]

The visit of Adrian von Waiblingen to Mergentheim in 1530 is of particular interest for the dissemination of the chronicle of the Waiblingen brothers, since most of its manuscripts can be located as originating in Mergentheim or the bailiwick Franconia. Its distribution in Prussia was negligible or non-existing (see Table 2.4). At the same time as

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[151] Johansen suggested that Rüssow may have used a Prussian manuscript of the *Croniken* via his connections to Johann Funck: Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 18–21.

[152] Ibid., 20 (note 13), 253–257; H. von Tiesenhausen, 'Begangene irrthümbe und Fehler dess liefländischen Chronickenschreibers Balthasaris Russouwens', in: C.C.G. Schirren ed., *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv- Esth- und Curlands* VIII (Reval: Kluge 1861) 287–313, there 296–297.

[153] It concerns a description of the Battle of Konitz (Polish: Chojnice) in 1454: D. Runau, *Historia und einfeltige Beschreibung der grossen dreizehenjerigen Kriegs in Preussen* (Wittenberg: Kraffts 1582) 48–51 (counting from the title page); *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.705–710.

[154] For a more comprehensive biography of the three brothers: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1031–1037.

[155] For a transcription of the dedication in manuscript **Wb.Up**: L. Prowe, *Mittheilungen aus schwedischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* (Berlin 1853) 48.

[156] As can be deduced from the place of origin of numerous of Knöringen's letters to and from the grand master in Prussia: E. Joachim (†) and W. Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525* 1.3: 1511-1525 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1973); Heinrich von Knöringen started off his career as "Pfleger" of Neidenburg (Polish: Nidzika) in Prussia. D. Heckmann, Amtsträger des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen und in den Kammerballeien des Reiches (oberste Gebietiger, Komture, Hauskomture, Kumpane, Vögte, Pfleger, Großschäffer) (2014) <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/264901590> [accessed 2 May 2016].

Adrian's visit, Mergentheim was also the residence of the chancellor of the German master, Gregor Spieß, who in his *Chronica der teutzchen maister* (Chronicle of the German masters), completed in 1531, made use of either the *Croniken* or its adaptation by the Waiblingen brothers. Interestingly, like Heinrich von Tiesenhausen he referred to the chronicle as a *Preuschen cronica* (Prussian chronicle).[157] Perhaps he was one of the first to obtain a copy of the Waiblingen adaptation, through the hands of Adrian von Waiblingen himself.[158]

| Signa-ture | Location | Date | Localization |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Wb.We$_1$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 148 | **1528–38** | Bailiwick Franconia |
| **Wb.We$_2$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 129, ff. 3r-270r | **2nd quarter 16th c.** | Mergentheim? |
| **Wb.Sg$_1$** | Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB V 74, ff. 3v-414v | **1554–6** | Germany; Mergentheim? |
| **Wb.We$_3$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 465 | **2nd half 16th c.** | Southern Germany? |
| **Wb.Ze** | Zeil (Schloß), Waldburg-Zeil'sches Gesamtarchiv, ZAMs 51 | **1570** | Mergentheim |
| **Wb.Ko** | Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS, 326 2° | **<1575 (?)** | ? |
| **Wb.Up** | Uppsala, Carolina Rediviva, H. 151 Fol., ff. 1r-212r | **Around 1575** | Mergentheim? |
| **Wb.Be** | Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, StUB Königsberg, nr. 1 | **Around 1577–9** | Bailiwick Franconia?; Mergentheim? |
| **Wb.We$_4$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 443 | **2nd or 3rd third 16th c.** | Southern Germany |
| **We.Lu$_1$** | Ludwigsburg, Staatsarchiv, B 236 Bü. 106 | **2nd half 16th c.** | ? |
| **Wb.We$_5$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 144, ff. 1r-230r/234v | **2nd half 16th c. (>1557)** | Franconia |
| **Wb.Sg$_2$** | Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB V 75 | **1592–5** | Germany |
| **Wb.Sg$_3$** | Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB V 76 | **1599–1601** | Germany or Austria |
| **Wb.We$_6$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 442 | **End 16th c.** | ? |
| **Wb.Lu$_2$** | Ludwigsburg, Staatsarchiv, B 236 Bü. 107 | **End 16th c.** | ? |
| **Wb.St** | Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, D 1453, ff. 1r-30v | **18th c.** | Sweden |
| **Wb.We$_7$** | Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 477 | **18th c.** | ? |

*Table 2.4 Manuscripts of the* Croniken *adaptation by the Waiblingen brothers, based on a survey by Mathieu Olivier.*[159]

[157] Heinrich von Tieshausen, writing in Livonia in 1578, also referred to the Croniken as "Preussichen Cronica": Von Tiesenhausen, 'Begangene irrthümbe', 296–297; For the identification, e.g.: Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 20, note 13.
[158] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1042–1050, especially 1049–1050.
[159] Based on Table 52 by Mathieu Olivier: Ibid., 1030–1031.

| Signature | Location | Date | Localization |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Wf.Je** | Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. Bos. f. 2 | **Around 1550** | ? |
| **Wf.To$_1$** | Toruń, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna i Książnica Miejska, rps 95 | **2nd half 16th c. (<1564)** | Königsberg |
| **Wf.Be$_1$** | Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 175 | **2nd half 16th c.** | Königsberg? |
| **Wf.Be$_2$** | Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, StUB Königsberg, nr. 3 | **2nd half 16th c.** | Königsberg? |
| **[Wf.Kö$_1$]**[160] | *Olim*: Königsberg, Staatsarchiv, Msc. A 1 2° | **1571** | Königsberg |
| **[Wf.Kö$_2$]** | *Olim*: Königsberg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Nr. 1545 | **4th quarter 16th c. (>1572)** | Königsberg? |
| **Wf.To$_2$** | Toruń, Archiwum Państwowe, Kat. II-XIII 3a | **1579** | Heilsberg (Polish: Lidzbark Warmiński) |
| **[Wf.Kö$_3$]** | *Olim*: Königsberg, Stadtbibliothek, Nr. 24 Fol. | **1582** | Königsberg? |
| **Wf.Be** | Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 592 | **End 16th c.** | ? |
| **Wf.Co** | Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 697 2° | **End 16th c., begin 17th c.** | ? |
| **Wf.To$_3$** | Toruń, Archiwum Państwowe, Kat. II-XIII 5 | **1st half 17th c. (<1657)** | Königsberg? |
| **Wf.Wm** | Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Cod. Fol. 104 | **17th c.** | ? |
| **Wf.Kr** | Kraków, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, rps 1330 | **18th c.** | ? |

*Table 2.5 Manuscripts of the* Croniken *adaptation by Christoph Jan von Weissenfels, based on a survey by Mathieu Olivier.*[161]

Both manuscripts written by Petrus Schwinge (**Be** and **Pr**) and the Waiblingen chronicle have matching interpolations from (at least) *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant* by Nikolaus of Jeroschin or the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (briefly mentioned in the introduction; see especially chapter 3).[162] The opening stages of the prologue are near identical in manuscripts **Be**, **Pr** and the Waiblingen adaptation.[163] Mathieu Olivier was not able to view manuscript **Pr**, but by comparing manuscript **Be** to the Waiblingen chronicle he argued that the two texts had a common ancestor – he excluded the possibility that Schwinge used a copy of the chronicle by the Waiblingen brothers.[164] Olivier speculated this 'ancestor' could even be the unidentified chronicle mentioned in Lochstädt (in present-day Kaliningrad Oblast) around the time that Leo von Waiblingen was *Bernsteinmeister* (amber master) there, although I think this is by no means certain.[165]

Hirsch argued that the basis for this Prussian *Croniken* tradition was formed by the Livonian manuscripts, with the Skokloster manuscript (**St**) as its principal example. According to Hirsch, the two manuscript traditions had peculiarities

[160] R.G. Päsler, 'Kurzverzeichnis der Handschriften des Königsberger Staatsarchivs', *Kurzverzeichnis der Handschriften des Königsberger Staatsarchivs* (2004) <http://diglib.bis.uni-oldenburg.de/kbg_hss_archiv/> [accessed 2 May 2016]; See also: C.E. Napiersky, *Index corporis historico-diplomatici Livoniae, Esthoniae, Curoniae; oder: Kurzer Auszug aus derjenigen Urkunden-Sammlung, welche für die Geschichte und das alte Staatsrecht Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands* 2 (Riga/Dorpat 1835) nr. 3275; Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik', 834–835.

[161] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1125–1126, 1205ff.

[162] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 83 (variant l); Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1037–1042; Prague, Národní Museum, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 97r; There are several other texts integrated in manuscript Be, including *Rhapsodiae historiarum ab orbe condito* by Diodorus Sabellicus (1504) and *Libri XVI antiquitatum variarum* by Joannes Annius Viterbiensis (1497): Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 65v; There is also a reference to a "Chronika der Welt": Ibid., f. 7r.

[163] Lackner, *Streubestände* I, Kat.nr. 74 (reproduction f. 3r); Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 465, f. 3r; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 1r; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 1r.

[164] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1038–1039.

[165] Based on a letter dated ca. 1520-1523 (Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, OBA nr. 26598): Ibid., 1039 (note 288).

in common when compared to the Middle Dutch texts, such as additions, some recurring deletions and scribal errors.[166] From our study of the text we now know that these 'additions' are almost all original readings preserved in manuscript **We$_1$** of the Middle Dutch *Croniken*, absent from its two manuscripts available to Hirsch: **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**. The identical deletions and scribal errors point to a common ancestor. This is further confirmed by the chronogram at the end of the chronicle in some German manuscripts, both Prussian and Livonian, just after the chapter describing the death of Ludwig von Erlichshausen in 1467 (c.716; Table 2.6). The roman numerals add up – in most cases – to 1467. As the chronogram is included in manuscripts of both the Prussian (e.g. manuscripts **Be**, **Gd**) as well as Livonian traditions (manuscript **St**; in slightly aberrant form[167]), it also presents a link between the two traditions and it may be that a common ancestor of the Prussian and Livonian manuscripts first added the chronogram. Another instance can be found in two manuscripts of the so-called *Ferber Chronik* (Table 2.6) and a longer version is added to a Königsberg copy of the fifteenth-century *Nuremberg Chronicle* by Hartmann Schedel. The origin of the chronogram is unclear.[168]

| Manuscript | Motto |
|---|---|
| **St, f. 251v** | Luce cras luce pacatur rege magister |
| **Ta, f. 262r** | *[absent]* |
| **Be, f. 201v** | LVCe Cras LVCe pLanatVr regI MagIster |
| **Pr, f. 249v** | *[absent]* |
| **Gd, f. 112**[169] | Luce cras Lucae planatur regi magister |
| **Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, rps 1277, Bl. 525;**<br>***Ibid.*, rps 1278, Bl. 488b.**<br>(Both manuscripts belong to group B of the *Ferber Chronik*)[170] | Luce cras luce planatur regi magister |

*Table 2.6 The use of a chronogram at the end of some German manuscripts.*

However, the hypothetical common ancestor of both the Prussian and Livonian tradition of the *Croniken* was not necessarily Livonian of origin. On close inspection, there are few arguments that justify a reception of the *Croniken* in Prussia via Livonia. In fact, in some respects the Prussian manuscripts resemble the Middle Dutch manuscripts more than the Livonian ones. This is the case with the layout of the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies at the end of the *Croniken*. The Prussian manuscripts **Be** and **Pr** (and in lesser extent the Livonian manuscript **Ta**)[171] follow **We$_1$** much more closely than **St** does (see Figures 2.1-2.5).

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[166] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 15.

[167] Note that the Roman numerals in manuscript St add up to 1516. This could be a mistake by the copyist, or 1516 is a significant date of some sort – perhaps the date of the manuscript?

[168] The original chronogram, "Luce cras Luce planatur rege [sic] magister" seems to refer to the Second Peace of Toruń, which was signed on 19th October 1466 – the day after St. Lucas' day (Luce cras Luce). A longer version was written in a copy in Königsberg of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* by Hartmann Schedel. It states: "Arma prutenica plebs sibi bellica plangit / Inclita plebs albos eya compescit tyrannos / Luce cras Luce planatur rege magister." The chronostichon signifies the years 1410, 1454 and 1466. It is accompanied by the following explanation: "Primus versus significat bellum in Tannenbergk, / Secundus initium belli magni / Tercius complanatio ejusdem belli magni". Töppen, 'Paul Pole's Preussische Chronik', 191 (note 3).

[169] O. Günther, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*. Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek 2 (Gdańsk: Saunierschen Buch- und Kunsthandlung 1903) 184–185.

[170] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1230–1231; J. Dworzaczkowa, *Dziejopisarstwo gdańskie do połowy XVI wieku*. Seria monografii 7 (Gdańsk 1962) 30.

[171] Of the Livonian manuscripts, **Ta** is generally more akin to the Middle Dutch text than manuscript **St** – even though manuscript **St** is probably older. Compare for instance the readings in Table 2.17 and Table 2.18.

Fitting with this state of the evidence, there is a possibility that the Prussian tradition was based on a Livonian manuscript which was closer to the Middle Dutch text than the Livonian manuscripts that are currently known. Such a scenario is supported by an addition in both the Prussian and Livonian *Croniken* traditions, which is lacking in all Middle Dutch manuscripts, including **We$_1$**. It concerns a list of cities and castles owned by the archbishop of Riga in Livonia.[172] In contrast, improvements of the list of Prussian commanderies are only found in the Prussian manuscripts. These two observations suggest that the author-scribe of the common ancestor of the Prussian and Livonian traditions was more knowledgeable of (or interested in) Livonian localities than those in Prussia. Furthermore, although no precise date was found for any of the Livonian manuscripts, manuscript **St** may still be the oldest extant *Croniken* manuscript in German: a date between 1500 and 1540 seems probable (see Appendix, A.5).

Juhan Kreem has recently suggested that the *Croniken* was already being read and used in Livonia as early as 1508. There are indeed some interesting apparent echoes in a pamphlet written in Livonia in that year which accompanied an indulgence campaign to support the war in Livonia against the Russians: *Eynne schonne hysthorie van vunderlyken gescheffthen der heren tho Lyfflanth myth den Rüssen unde Tartaren* ('A Fine History of Wondrous Dealings of the Lords of Livonia with the Russians and Tatars'). These echoes concern both the pamphlet's content (i.e., the story of the order's coat of arms) and general setting (e.g., the focus on the order's knightly and German character).[173] The arguments seem convincing, but a common source cannot be ruled out altogether. If Kreem's assumption is correct, however, it is among the earliest evidence for the reception of the *Croniken* – and certainly the earliest in Livonia. Cumulatively, the evidence therefore suggests a strong possibility of an early dissemination of the *Croniken* in Livonia, although a more comprehensive comparison of the texts would be necessary to confirm the exact affiliation of the German manuscripts. This however goes beyond the scope of this study.

Before I shall turn to the dissemination of the *Croniken* in the Low Countries, there is one aspect with regard to the dissemination of the *Croniken* in general which should be noted first. In manuscript **We$_1$**, the oldest known copy of the Middle Dutch *Croniken*, there are some corrections made to the text (Figure 2.1). All German manuscripts, of both the Livonian and Prussian traditions, have adopted these corrections (Figures 2.2-2.5), whereas the other Middle Dutch manuscripts did not, and instead follow the original, unedited reading in **We$_1$**, as can be seen when comparing, for example, the second oldest extant manuscript, **Ge** (Figure 2.6). Other examples will be discussed below (e.g., Tables 2.16–2.20). There are a number of possible reasons for this, which I shall discuss in detail at a later stage. For now, it is important to note that already with manuscript **We$_1$**, the Middle Dutch and German *Croniken* traditions had started to diverge.

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[172] However, note that the archbishopric of Riga also incorporated the Prussian bishoprics. Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 204r–204v; Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 253v; Tartu, Ülikooli Raamatukogu, Mscr. 154, f. 265v; Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 177r.

[173] J. Kreem, 'Crusading traditions and chivalric ideals: The mentality of the Teutonic Order in Livonia at the beginning of the sixteenth century', *Crusades* 12 (2013) 233–250, there 245–246; 'Eynne Schonne hysthorie van vunderlyken gescheffthen der heren tho lyfflanth myth den Rüssen unde tartaren', in: C.C.G. Schirren ed., *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv- Esth- und Curlands* 8 (Reval 1861) 113–265, there 175ff.

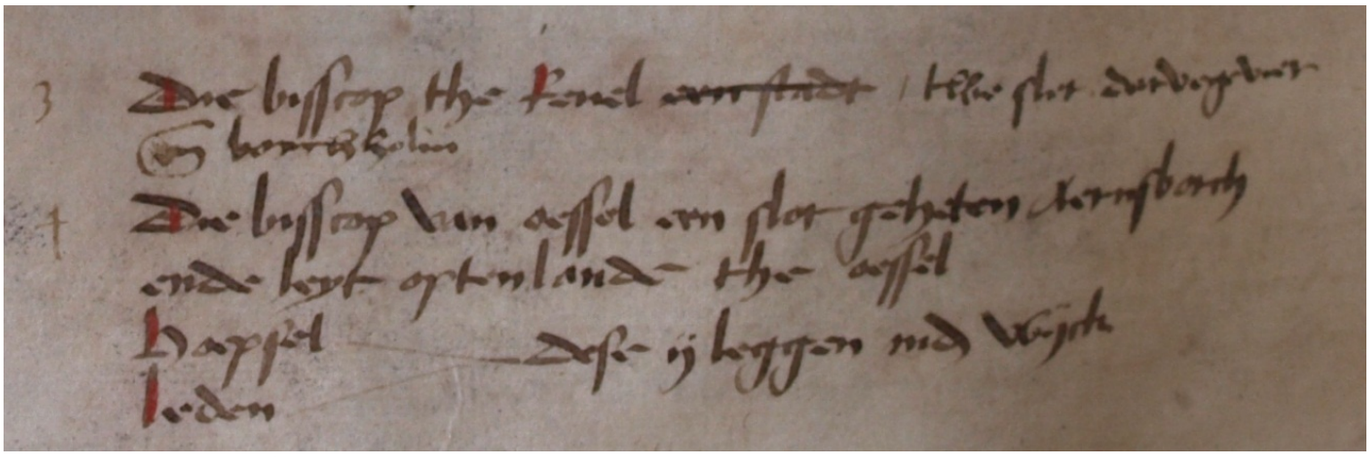

*Figure 2.1 Manuscript **We₁**, f. 177v.*

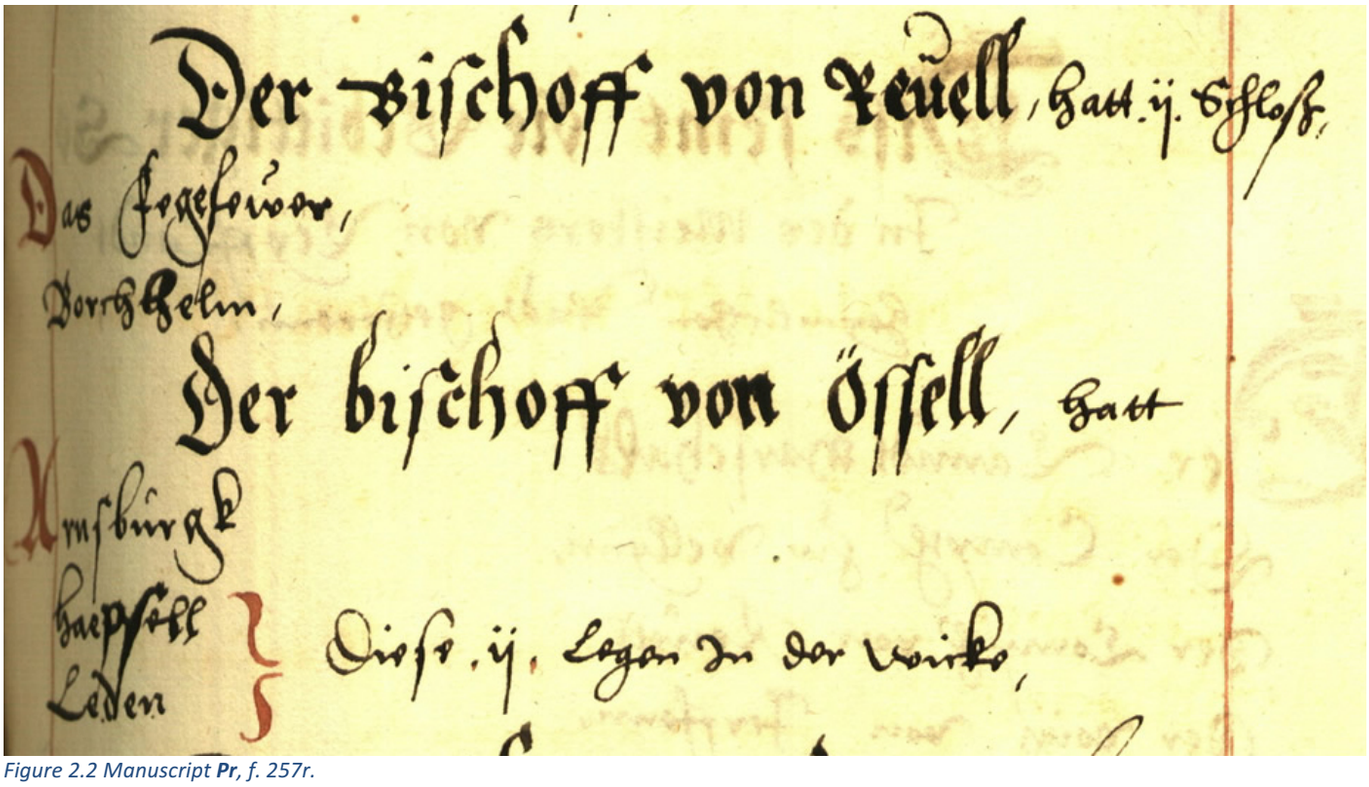


*Figure 2.2 Manuscript **Pr**, f. 257r.*

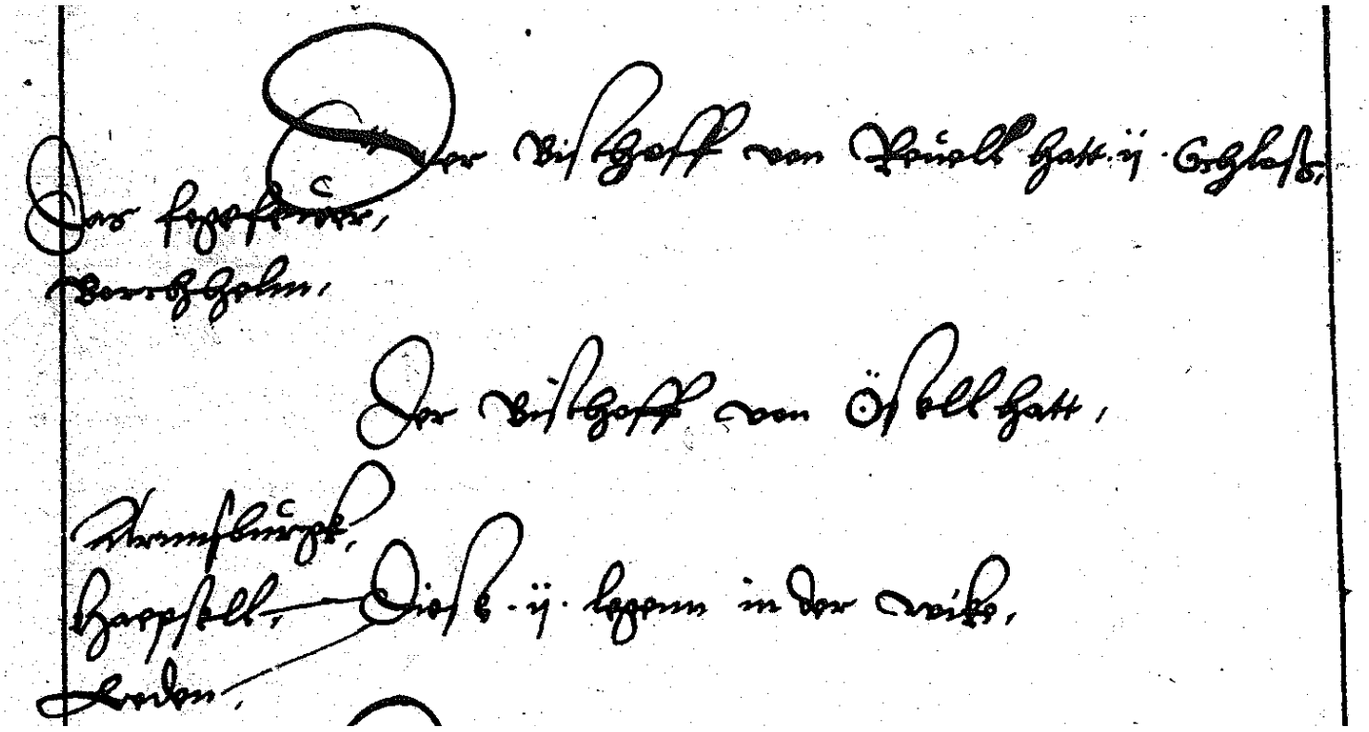

*Figure 2.3 Manuscript **Be**, f. 205v.*

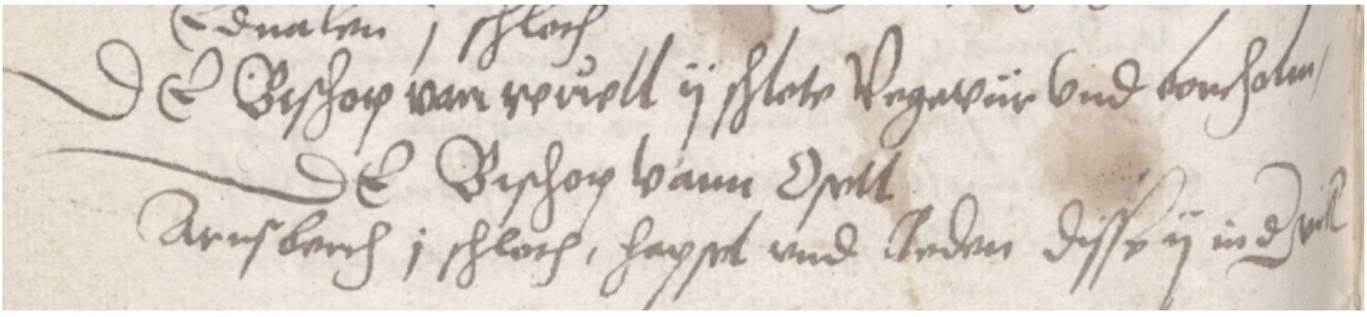

*Figure 2.4 Manuscript **Ta**, f. 266v.*

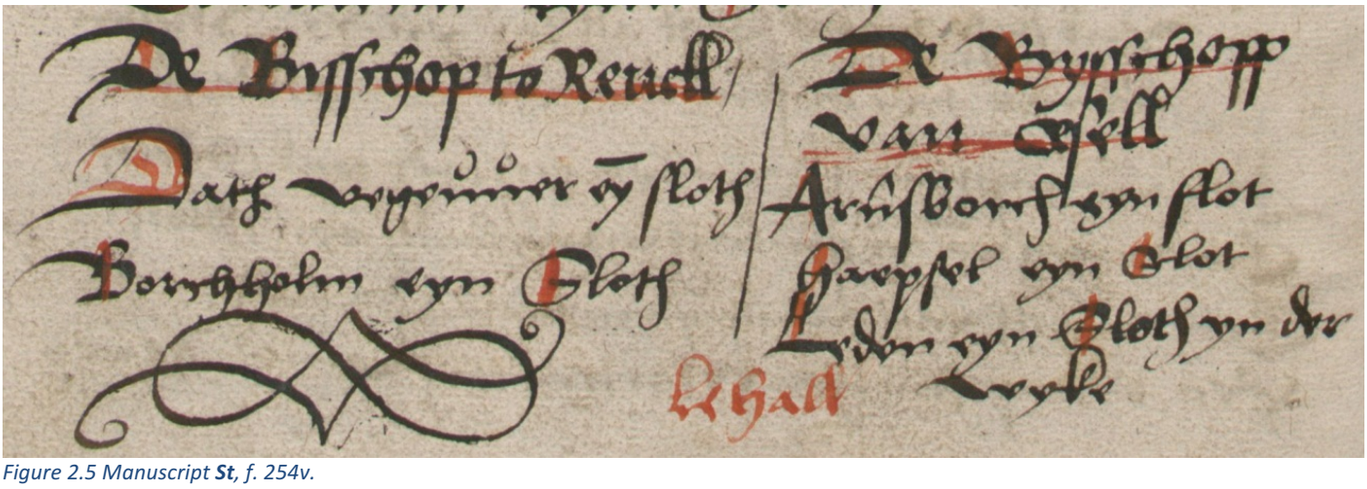

*Figure 2.5 Manuscript **St**, f. 254v.*

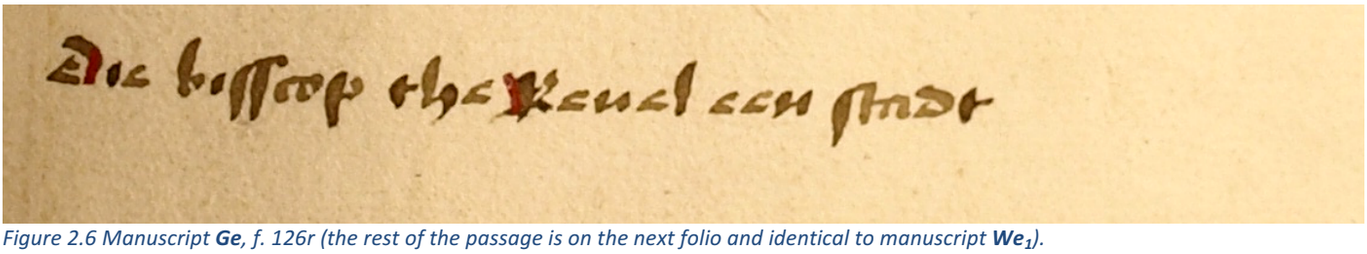

*Figure 2.6 Manuscript **Ge**, f. 126r (the rest of the passage is on the next folio and identical to manuscript **We$_1$**).*

## Dissemination in the Low Countries

After manuscript **We$_1$** itself, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, the second oldest copy (**Ge**) was discovered just prior to the beginning of this study in the City Archive of Ghent, Belgium.[174] It is one of the most carefully executed and illustrated manuscripts of the *Croniken*. The provenance of this manuscript is uncertain. It was almost certainly written in the city of Utrecht, perhaps by the Brethren of the Common Life of St Jerome's House in Utrecht. These brethren were responsible for producing the pen-flourished initials on folios 2r, 9r, 137r and 137v, dated around the beginning of the sixteenth century (see Figure 2.7 and for comparison Figure 2.8).[175] With the single exception of manuscript **We$_1$** (see below), all other surviving Middle Dutch copies of the *Croniken* ultimately derive from this manuscript, This means that the manuscript will have been in the Utrecht bailiwick for at least some time, after which nothing is known about its whereabouts. In 1980 the codex was restored in Oostende, Belgium (Figure 2.9; the restorer could not be identified), but it is still absent in the catalogue of the Ghent City Archive in 1983.[176] How and when the manuscript came to Ghent is unknown.

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[174] Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2.

[175] Personal correspondence with Anne Korteweg based on suggestions made to her by Margriet Hülsmann and Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz: A. Korteweg, to R.J. Stapel, 'RE: Pentekeningen' (4 April 2008); See also: G. Gerritsen-Geywitz, 'Hieronymuspenwerk en andere Utrechtse penwerkstijlen in handschrift en druk', *Spiegel der Letteren* 49 (2007) 123–142.

[176] Decavele and Vannieuwenhuyse, *Archiefgids* I: Oud Archief.

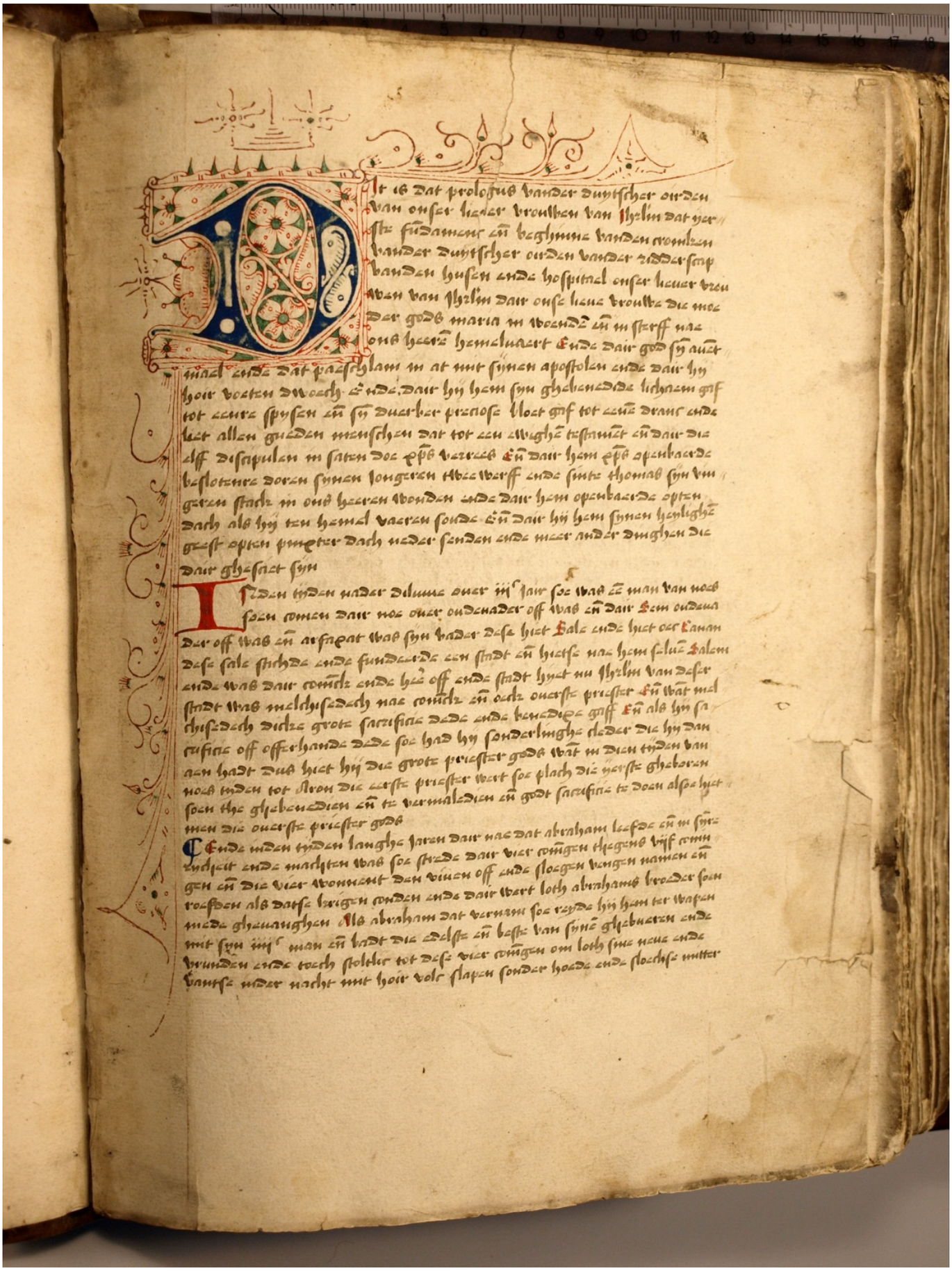

*Figure 2.7 Manuscript **Ge**, f. 9r.*

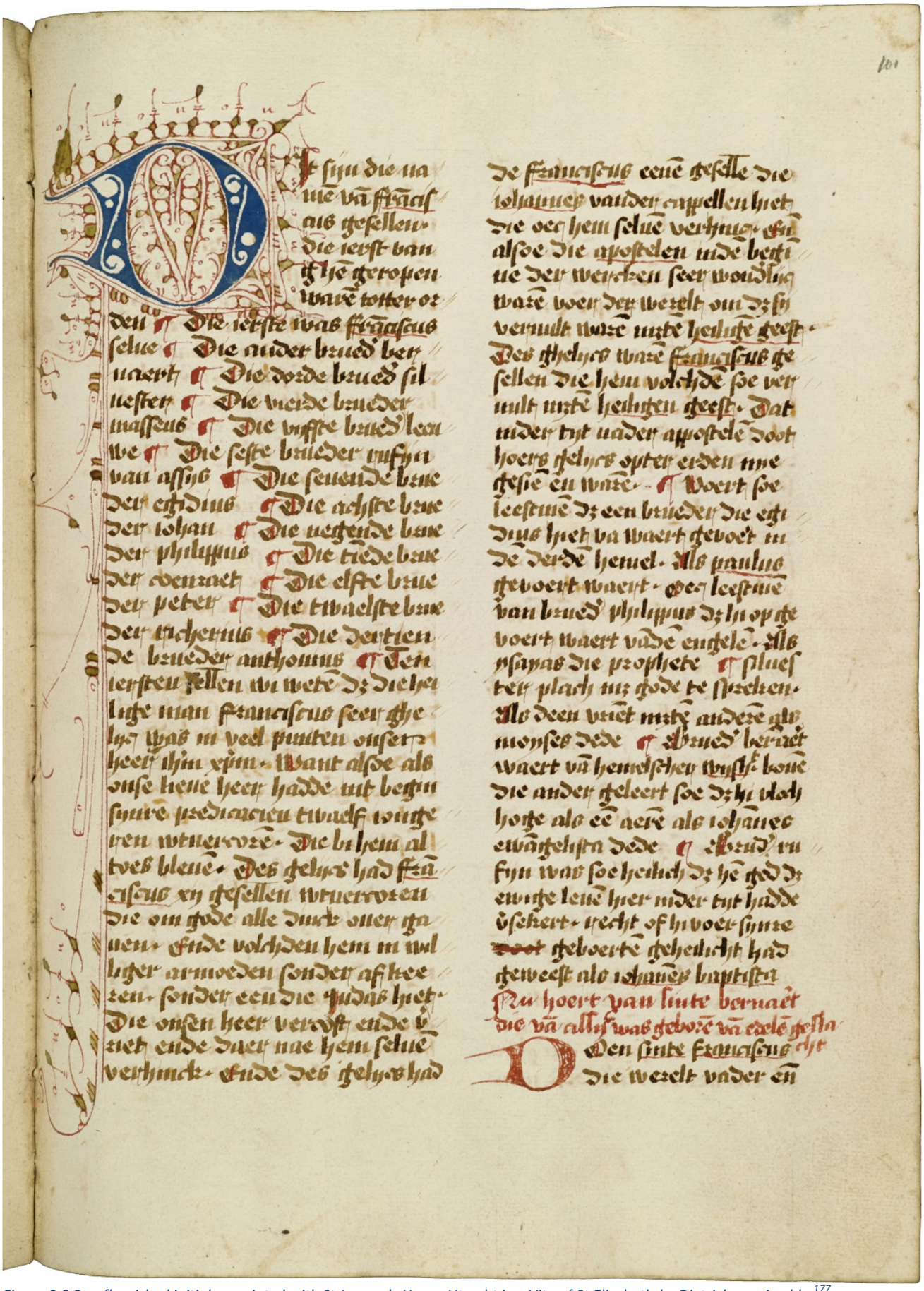

*Figure 2.8 Pen-flourished initial associated with St Jerome's House Utrecht in a* Vita of St Elisabeth *by Dietrich von Apolda.*[177]

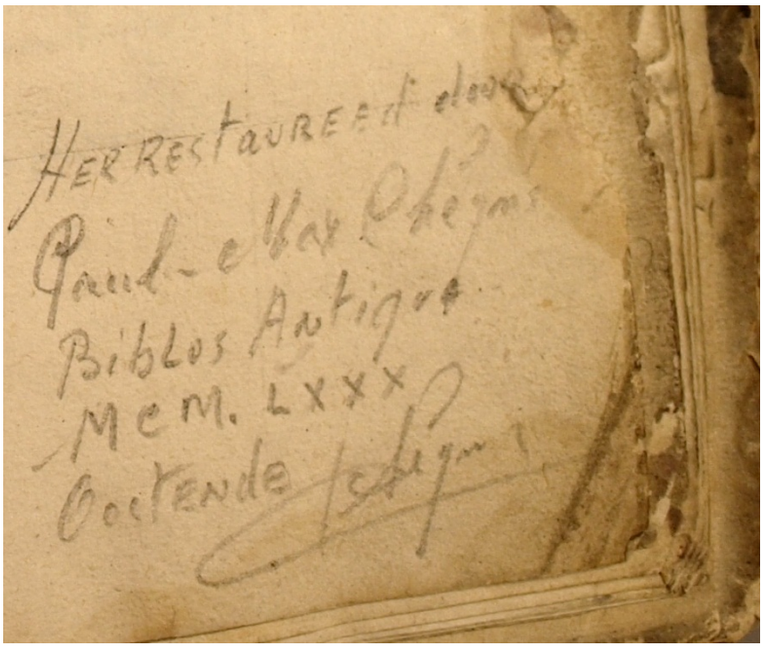

*Figure 2.9 Restoration notice in manuscript **Ge**, f. 1r.*

Manuscript **Ge** also contains – in a different hand – a collection of Middle Dutch summaries of indulgences presented to the Teutonic Order, which is a type of text regularly connected to chronicles of the Teutonic Order in the manuscripts.[178] The collection of summaries in **Ge** was unknown to Axel Ehlers when he published his dissertation on the use of indulgences in the Teutonic Order, but he has since confirmed that it had a late medieval, Utrecht origin.[179] Watermark analysis (see Appendix, A.5) shows that the paper used for these indulgences in **Ge** can be dated around the same time as the paper used for the chronicle. Codicological examination of the book and its leather binding suggests that the current, heavily restored binding could be contemporary. Shortly after, perhaps even simultaneous to, the creation of the *Croniken* copy, the indulgences were added; identical paper was also used to create two new quires of guard-leaves. The combined quires were then trimmed (Figure 2.10) and both parts were bound together.[180]

[177] The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 73 E 34, f. 101r; See also another Vita by Dietrich von Apolda containing these pen-flourished initials: Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 7917; M. Werner, 'Die Elisabeth-Vita des Dietrich von Apolda (Kat.-Nr. 281)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 429.

[178] Take these examples of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* and the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*: A. Ehlers, *Die Ablaßpraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 64 (Marburg: Elwert 2007) 196, 576ff; Töppen, 'Ältere Hochmeisterchronik', 713–719; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 967.

[179] Personal correspondence: A. Ehlers, to R.J. Stapel, 'Re: New summary indulgences Teutonic Order' (7 April 2010); Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*.

[180] Thanks go out to Prof.dr. Jos Biemans for examining these hypotheses. Personal correspondence: J.A.A.M. Biemans, to R.J. Stapel, 'Band / afgesneden pagina's' (25 April 2008).

*Figure 2.10 Trimmed page with coat of arms of Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia in manuscript **Ge**, f. 52v.*

Manuscript **Ge** is very closely related to manuscript **We$_1$** but it is difficult to say whether it is a direct copy. Later on in this chapter we will return to this issue (section 2.4). All other known Middle Dutch copies of the *Croniken*, however, derive from **Ge**, either directly or indirectly. This becomes most apparent in the table of contents of manuscript **Ut$_1$** where the folio numbers are – for the first two thirds; the last third is almost consistently five or six folios off – copied exactly from **Ge** and do not correspond to the correct folios in **Ut$_1$** itself. They are therefore completely useless for its readers.[181]

Further evidence for the position of **Ge** at the basis of most of the Dutch *Croniken* tradition is provided by comparison of textual variants in the manuscripts, including those caused by scribal errors such as haplography, where an eye-skip occurs when a word or phrase appears twice in close proximity in an exemplar. Sometimes, a scribe, dividing his attention between the exemplar and his copy, looking up and down again, mistakes the second occurrence of the word in the exemplar for the first and skips the words between the two occurrences (Table 2.7 to Table 2.10). Occasions of haplography can be used to determine the affiliation of manuscripts, by looking at whether or not they occur in other copies of the text.[182] All such peculiarities and textual variants in manuscript **Ge** – in comparison to manuscript **We$_1$** that we will discuss in section 2.2 – can also be found in **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**. One example can be found in Table 2.7, but further evidence is provided later on in Table 2.18 to Table 2.20, and Appendix, Table A.1. On the other hand, it can

[181] The folio numbers in the first two thirds of the table of content are near identical to **Ge**. From the last third, the folio numbers in **Ut$_1$** are starting to shift 5-10 folios from **Ge**. Both manuscripts provide no folio numbers for the bailiwick chronicle; not in the table of contents nor in the actual manuscript.

[182] In theory, two copyists can make the same mistake. Collecting a range of evidence rather than just one observation can minimize the chance of a false affiliation between manuscripts.

be excluded that **Ge** was based on either **Ut$_1$** or **[Ma$_1$]**, as haplographies in the latter manuscripts would then have been transferred into **Ge** (see Table 2.9 and Table 2.10). This confirms that all extant Middle Dutch manuscripts are indeed derived from **Ge**. A haplography in **Ut$_1$** caused by two occurrences of the phrase "keyserlicke hof" shows that the manuscript cannot have been a direct copy of **We$_1$** (see Table 2.8): in **We$_1$** the two occurrences of "keyserlicke hof" are – in contrast to other manuscripts – not within *physical* proximity of each other: the second occurrence is on the next page from the first. **We$_1$** can therefore not have been the exemplar used by the scribe of **Ut$_1$**, as the conditions that would be able to cause an eye-skip were not met. Manuscript **We$_1$** has had a minimal and at most indirect impact on the rest of the Middle Dutch *Croniken* tradition.

This brings us to the relationship between **Ut$_1$** and the conjectural manuscript used by Antonius Matthaeus for his edition of the *Croniken* (**[Ma$_1$]**). Both have many corresponding textual errors, suggesting either a direct affiliation or a common ancestor (Table 2.10). A complicating factor is that it is difficult to determine to what extent Matthaeus made editorial interventions to the text and – not unimportantly – whether he had used only one manuscript, as he claimed, or combined several manuscripts.[183] From what we have been able to gather though, **[Ma$_1$]** does not appear to derive from **Ut$_1$**. It does not replicate one of the haplographies in **Ut$_1$** (Table 2.9) and an analysis of specific spelling variations in the different witnesses of the *Croniken* supports that **Ut$_1$** was not used as an exemplar for Matthaeus' edition (Appendix, A.5, **[Ma$_1$]**). Two other options stand out. First, that **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]** shared a common ancestor that can account for their similarities. This ancestor must, as I have argued above, have derived from manuscript **Ge**. The second option is that manuscript **Ut$_1$** was copied from the manuscript that at a much later stage became at the disposal of Antonius Matthaeus for his edition. At first it seems to be in favour of the first option that substantial passages in **Ut$_1$** are absent in its supposed exemplar **[Ma$_1$]** (i.e., chapters 468–9; the second half of chapter 373).[184] However, these silent omissions may very well be part of standard eighteenth-century editorial fair and therefore not reminiscent of the actual state of manuscript **[Ma$_1$]**.[185]

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[183] This question is addressed in more detail in the manuscript description in Appendix, A.5, **[Ma$_1$]**. Similar issues were found in the editions of hagiographies by the Bollandists: J.M. Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch*. Frühe Neuzeit 131 (Tübingen: Niemeyer 2009) 475–479.

[184] Note also §152 in Matthaeus' edition that can be regarded as a short "summary" of c.304-323. These chapters are not summarized in **Ut$_1$** or any of the other *Croniken* manuscripts. Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (2nd ed.)* V, 707–708.

[185] For other examples: S. Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*. Hollandse studiën 37 (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 125, 133, and the appendices 1 and 2; Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus*, 472–627, especially 492–501.

| We$_1$, f. 82v | Ge, f. 59v | Ut$_1$, f. 69v | [Ma$_1$], § 199 |
|---|---|---|---|
| ende venck alte veel volcs, ende verwoesten ende **branden** veel van den landen, ende toghen ende **branden** omtrent des conincs Mondouwen borch | ende venck alte veel volcs, ende verwoesten ende branden […] omtrent des conincs Mondouwen borch | ende venck alte veel volcs, ende verwoesten ende baernden […] omtrent des conincks Mondouwen borch | ende vinck al te veel volcks, ende verwoesten ende barnden […] omtrent des Conincks Mandouwen borch |

*Table 2.7 Eye-skip in* Croniken *c.374,* ***We$_1$, Ge, Ut$_1$*** *and* ***[Ma$_1$]*** *manuscripts.*

| We$_1$, ff. 45r-45v | Ge, f. 35v | Ut$_1$, f. 36r | [Ma$_1$] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ende dat die meister soe dick ende menichwerf hij comende is in 't **keyserlicke hof** soe sal hij wesen een huis [f. 45v] gesin des **keyserlicken hoefs** | Ende dat die meister soe dick ende menichwerff hij comende is in 't **keyserlicker hof** soe sal hij wesen een huisgesin des **keyserlicken hoefs** | Ende dat die meister soe dick ende mennich werff hy comende is in 't […] keyserliker hoijffs | *[Absent: privilege]* |

*Table 2.8 Eye-skip in* Croniken *c.227,* ***We$_1$, Ge, Ut$_1$*** *and* ***[Ma$_1$]*** *manuscripts.*

| We$_1$, f. 65v | Ge, f. 48v | Ut$_1$, f. 54r | [Ma$_1$], § 143 |
|---|---|---|---|
| ende sloegen **den man** doot ende twijf sloech mede over den man ende sy sleepten **den man** in 't bosch ende lieten hem daer leggen | ende sloegen **den man** doot ende twijf sloech mede over den man ende sij sleepten **den man** in 't bosch ende lieten hem daer leggen | ende slogen den man […] in 't bosch ende lieten hem dair liggen | ende sloeghen **den man** doet, ende twyf sloech mede over den man, ende sy sleepten **den naecten man** in 't bossche, ende lieten hem daer leggen. |

*Table 2.9 Eye-skip in* Croniken *c.297,* ***We$_1$, Ge, Ut$_1$*** *and* ***[Ma$_1$]*** *manuscripts.*

| We$_1$, f. 9r | Ge, f. 9r | Ut$_1$, f. 7r | [Ma$_1$], § 1 |
|---|---|---|---|
| van deser stat was **Melchisedech** na coninc ende oic overste priester. Ende want **Melchisedech** dicke grote sacrificie dede ende benedixie gaf | van deser stadt was **Melchisedech** nae coninck ende oeck overste priester. Ende want **Melchisedech** dicke grote sacrificie dede ende benedixe gaff | van deser stadt was Melchisedech […] dije dicke grote sacrificy dede ende benedixie gaff | Van deser Stadt was Melchisedech, […] die dicke grote sacrificie dede, ende benedixie gaff. |

*Table 2.10 Eye-skip in* Croniken *c.76,* ***We$_1$, Ge, Ut$_1$*** *and* ***[Ma$_1$]*** *manuscripts.*

Both scenarios, the existence of a common ancestor of **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]** or the fact that **Ut$_1$** derived from **[Ma$_1$]**, lead to the conclusion that in the very short time span between the production of **Ge** (ca. 1508) and **Ut$_1$** (ca. 1509–10; see Appendix, A.5) a third manuscript containing the *Croniken* was written. This was a great stimulus for the dissemination of the Middle Dutch *Croniken*, as it was possibly intended to be. All other known copies and excerpts of the text (**As**, **Ma$_2$**, **Ut$_3$**, **Ut$_4$**, and **Ut$_5$**) derive from this set of manuscripts (**Ge**, the possible common ancestor of **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**, and **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]** itself).

This sudden production of several copies of the text begs the question why there was an apparent concerted effort to disseminate the *Croniken* in this particular period. One particular event stands out as a possible catalyst: between 1507 and 1510 a large-scale indulgence campaign was held in the Holy Roman Empire, including the Bishopric of Utrecht, aimed to garner support for the war against the Russians in Livonia.[186] Perhaps the *Croniken* copies were

[186] Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, 392–402; Some documentation of this campaign still exists in the bailiwick archive, including account books, receipts and charters. Both the careful preparations as well as the execution of the indulgence campaign are recorded: from purchasing coloured banners and moneybags to finding a printer for the indulgences in Amsterdam and exchanging the various

especially made to mould a historical justification of the indulgence campaign. A pamphlet, *Eynne schonne hysthorie*, briefly mentioned above as possible evidence for the early reception of the *Croniken* outside the Low Countries, was in 1508 specifically written for this cause as it states in the prologue:

> *So that no-one shall doubt, because of their own shortcomings, this present and most complete Roman indulgence of the joyful golden year and the crusade […] to support and salvage the threatened Christians in Livonia and the high worthy lord Wolter of Plettenberg, master, with his honourable commanders and brethren of the knightly Teutonic Order against the nefarious heretics and schismatic Russians together with some infidel Tartars […] we offer a short and fine presentation of rare and wondrous events in the aforesaid lands, of the Russians, the Tartars, and of their pursuits […] in order to ensure that no-one can create arguments based on false information.*[187]

The pamphlet includes a description of Livonia, Russia and the land of the Tartars; a historiographical account of the achievements in Livonia between 1492 and 1506; a passionate argument against critics of indulgences; and an appraisal of the Teutonic Order. It has been suggested that the text was printed and that the current manuscript was copied from such a print, but the indications for this are wafer-thin and no copies of such an edition survived.[188] Whether or not *Eynne schonne hysthorie* accompanied the campaign in the Bishopric of Utrecht cannot be determined, but it and the *Croniken* may well have been used together. Alternatively, or perhaps in addition, the indulgence campaign may well have sparked interest in the history of the Baltic region and the Teutonic Order's interests there. The *Croniken* was perfectly suited to meet such demand and it may be possible that the text was used by people involved in the sale of indulgences, to provide them with information they needed to answer questions: similar to the purpose of *Eynne schonne hysthorie*, as its author laid out in its prologue.

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types of currency. The "commissioners" mentioned in these documents rode to towns primarily in the area around Utrecht: Montfoort, Asperen, Leerdam, IJsselstein, Culemborg, Vianen, Wageningen, Amersfoort, but also commandery towns such as Doesburg, Rhenen, Tiel and those in Friesland. Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balie van Utrecht, inv.nr. 134, passim.

[187] "Up dat nemanth tho syner eygener vorkorthynge twyvelen dorffe an dyssen yegenwardygen aller-vullen-komensthen Romensken afflathe des ffreuderyken gulden yares und der crusse-ffarth [...] tho under-stande unde reddinge unde reddynge der bedruweden chrystenheyt yn Lyfflant dem hoch-werdygen heren Wolter van Pleththenbarch meyster myt synen achtbarn gebedygren unn broderen des rytterlyken Dutschen Ordens darsulvest thegen de snoeden kettersken unde aff-ge-sunderden Russen myt sommygen ungelovygen Tartaren [...] ys hyr eyne korthe unde schone uth-fferyng vorrameth van selsemen unde wunderlyken umsthendycheyden der gedachten lande Russen Tartaren unde eren gescheffthen [...] also dat des nemanth thor ffalscheyth straven mach": 'Eynne Schonne hysthorie', 115–116.

[188] A key argument seems to be that the manuscript of *Eynne schonne hysthorie* contains a drawing which appeared earlier as a cover illustration in a different text, with a similar topic, printed in 1507 in Cologne. Kreem, 'Crusading traditions and chivalric ideals', 239–240; M. Thumser, 'Antirussische Propaganda in der "Schönen Historie von wunderbaren Geschäften der Herren zu Livland mit den Russen und Tartaren"', in: M. Thumser ed., *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 18 (Berlin: Lit 2011) 133–153, there 135–138.

*Figure 2.11 Land Commander A.C.J. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye (1868–77).*

The only complete manuscript of the *Croniken* presently in the possession of the chapter of the Utrecht bailiwick is manuscript **Ut$_1$**. This manuscript, written around 1509–10, must have been in the bailiwick at least by the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century, as it was very likely the source of a collection of extracts (**Ut$_3$**, dated between 1675 and 1693).[189] However, the accession of the manuscript into the collection of the order occurred much more recently. In July 1868, Alexander Carel Jacob Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, soon to become land commander, wrote to an anonymous fellow member of the bailiwick that he addressed as "Your Excellency" to thank him for presenting a gift to the bailiwick's general chapter. He described it as "a chronicle containing the history of our bailiwick, published to a learned audience by Matthaeus, of which a copy is however no longer present in our archive". The anonymous recipient of the letter should likely be identified as Land Commander Hendrik Rudolph Willem van Goltstein van Oldenaller (1865–8), who recently obtained the manuscript according to the letter "by accident" and who died just months later.[190] Goltstein's gift, "the return of a lost sheep," as Schimmelpenninck put it, should be an example to others: Schimmelpenninck pleaded with Goltstein and other members of the bailiwick to return books to the bailiwick and to properly investigate and catalogue the archive.[191] During his time as land commander, Schimmelpenninck actively sponsored the work of De Geer van Oudegein, resulting in the latter's publication of a collection of edited sources of the bailiwick in 1871.[192] How Goltstein came to be in the possession of manuscript **Ut$_1$** remains unknown. Earlier owners were a certain "A.

[189] Note the number of years in office for Land Commander Nicolaas van der Dussen (four) instead of three-and-a-half ("vierdehalff"; **We$_1$**, **Ge**, **[Ma$_1$]**). This misreading is likely caused by the representation in **Ut$_1$** "IIIJ", where "J" represents ½ instead of the Roman numeral I. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 155v; Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balie van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-bis, f. 26v.

[190] "Met groote belangstelling heb ik vernomen dat de Kronijk der geschiedenis onzer Duitsche Balije, in de geleerde wereld door professor ... [left blank; i.e. Antonius Matthaeus] aangehaald en geraadpleegd, maar in ons archief niet meer te vinden, noch ook op de oude en nieuwe inventaris, door een toeval van buiten af Uwer Excellentie eigendom is geworden alsmede dat het uw voornemen is dat document als geschenk aan het archief der Balije aan te bieden, alwaar het primitief thuis behoorde." Utrecht, ARDOU, NA, inv.nr. 79.

[191] "Een dubbel voordeel zal daar uit ontstaan: 1. Een edel voorbeeld ter navolging, casu quo, voor andere verdwaalde schapen. 2. Het bewijs van het groote nut van het opmaken zoo wel van Catalogus, als van Inventaris": Ibid.

[192] The project was instigated and prepared by Schimmelpenninck's predecesor, the aforementioned Hendrik van Goltstein. De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, x.

Lienen" in 1587, a name that cannot be associated with any known member of the bailiwick,[193] and "Ja. de Linden" in 1600: possibly Jasper van Lynden, land commander of Utrecht from 1619–20, who entered the order in 1569.[194]

The manuscript used by Antonius Matthaeus for his 1710 edition of the chronicle is now considered lost, and very few specific details about it can be gleaned from the edition. It can, for example, not be dated with any degree of certainty; while it is continued up to Land Commander Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579–1612), Matthaeus himself may have added the short remarks after 1579 by using documents from the order's archive.[195] If the continuation was present in the codex, there is no way of knowing whether the continuation was written by the same hand as the rest of the chronicle. Matthaeus writes that he had used a manuscript from the Utrecht bailiwick archive, and added that it was the only manuscript of the chronicle that he could find there at that time.[196] A footnote in his edition, followed by excerpts of the bailiwick chronicle, suggests that he was aware of other manuscripts: "In several handwritten pieces of paper, from my possession, and followed here…"[197] Elsewhere, moreover, Matthaeus mentions the existence of a different excerpt of the bailiwick chronicle, which he had also found in the bailiwick archive.[198] It is therefore unclear how many manuscripts exactly Matthaeus used, and whether or not the respective manuscripts included the bailiwick chronicle (which he published in the same volume under a different name).[199] It is however also unclear to what extent Matthaeus realized that the main part of the *Croniken*, the bailiwick chronicle and the different excerpts he included in two footnotes were all part of the same text. No *Croniken* manuscript is listed among the books owned by Matthaeus that were auctioned after his death in 1710.[200] A manuscript produced by Matthaeus, presumably in preparation for his edition, survives in the Utrecht University Library (**Ma$_2$**).[201] The French translation of the *Croniken* in the eighteenth-century manuscript **We$_2$** was based on the edition published by Matthaeus.[202]

Both Hirsch and De Geer mention a separate leaf in eighteenth-century writing (now lost) inserted in the Utrecht manuscript (**Ut$_1$**), containing a description of a further manuscript of the *Croniken* that was once present in the bailiwick archive in Utrecht (**[Wa]**). That manuscript is described as having been of a later date than manuscript **Ut$_1$**, and the decoration of the coats of arms as much less attractive. A later hand continued the list of grand masters and Utrecht land commanders up to Clemens August of Bavaria (grand master from 1732 to 1761) and Evert Jan Benjamin van Goltstein (Utrecht land commander from 1732 to 1744). The codex ended with notes on the land commanders of

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[193] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 1r (with the motto: "Auxiliari ne differas"); The name is absent from the extensive database of brethren of the bailiwick. For details regarding this database: Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders'.
[194] However, the reading "Jan de Linden" is also possible: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 156v; Entry of Jasper van Lynden in the Teutonic Order: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 11, f. 9r.
[195] Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (2nd ed.)* V, 889 ("Sic habet Matth.").
[196] Ibid., 617.
[197] "In schedis aliquot manuscriptis, quae aliunde penes me sunt, sequebatur hic ita...": Ibid., 765–766.
[198] Ibid., 857–858.
[199] Ibid., 855–890.
[200] Matthaeus did own a "Privilegia Ordinis Fratrum Theutonicorum Hierosolymitanoum, in Membrana," a "Statuta Hospitalis Hierusalem" and a manuscript that could be related to the Croniken manuscript from the Van der Schelling-Van Alkemade collection (see below). J. van der Linden ed., *Excellens nitidissimaque bibliotheca, continens varii generis exquisitissimos theologicos, juridicos, historicos ... libros, cura Antonii Matthaei...* (Leiden 1717); See also: A. Honkoop and J. Honkoop eds., *Catalogus librorum, in omni genere scientiarum ... quibus sedulo, dum viveret, usus est ... Antonius Matthaeus...* (Leiden 1781).
[201] Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. 1253 vol. 13.
[202] Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 103.

Alden Biesen. The continuations should therefore be dated between 1732 and 1744, while the rest of the manuscript probably predated 1732. Hirsch hypothesized that Matthaeus used this manuscript for his 1710 edition, but this assertion can neither be confirmed nor discarded.[203]

According to the note this manuscript was preserved in the "library of Wachtendorff".[204] This probably refers to a member of the Utrecht family Van Wachendorff. The most likely candidate is Cornelis Antony van Wachendorff (1737–1810), an avid manuscript collector and co-founder of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Society of Dutch Literature).[205] However, the manuscript is absent in the book sales catalogues both of Cornelis van Wachendorff and of his family member Evert Jacob van Wachendorff (1703–58), who was a botanist and professor of medicine in Utrecht.[206] This means either that a different collection is meant, or that the manuscript changed hands before the death of Cornelis van Wachendorff, or sold off separately from the auction. Unfortunately, attempts to locate the note in the bailiwick archives have yet remained fruitless.

Two further probably complete Middle Dutch *Croniken* manuscripts have been known to exist but are currently unaccounted for. Archduke Maximilian III of Austria, grand master of the Teutonic Order between 1585/1590 and 1618, owned one of these copies (manuscript **[Mx]**). His book catalogue, under 'K. 62', lists a "Chronick des Teutschen Ordens auf niderlandisch geschrieben."[207] The manuscript may have been presented to the grand master by the knight brethren of the Utrecht bailiwick who joined his campaign against the Ottomans in 1594, or it was already part of the collections at Mergentheim were he resided until 1602.[208] None of the surviving manuscripts show signs of his ownership.

The second is a manuscript belonging to the collectors Cornelis van Alkemade (1654–1737) and his son-in-law Pieter van der Schelling (1691–1751) (**[Al-Sc]**), that was mentioned by both collectors in various of their writings. The title page stated in large red letters: "These are the chronicles of the Emperors of Rome, the Kings of England, the Bishops of Utrecht, the Counts of Flanders, of Holland, Guelders, Cleves, Mark, and of the Teutonic Knights and the Order of Prussia." The spine of the codex mentioned "Kronyk van Veldenaar" (Chronicle of Veldener).[209] The latter chronicle

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[203] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 244 (nr. 193); Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 8–9.

[204] "Bibliotheek van Wachtendorff": De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 244 (nr. 193); Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 8.

[205] 'Cornelis Antony van Wachendorff', in: A.J. van der Aa, K.J.R. van Harderwijk and G.D.J. Schotel eds., *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt* 20. 20 (Haarlem: Van Brederode 1877) 12, there 12 <http://www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/vdaa/> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[206] Amsterdam, Bibliotheek van de Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels, Nv 822; Amsterdam, Bibliotheek van de Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels, Nv 259; W. Kroon and A. van Paddenburg eds., *Bibliotheca Wachendorfiana. Sive Catalogus librorum bibliothecae instructissimae E.J. van Wachendorff...* (Utrecht 1759).

[207] Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 128, f. 8v; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 996.

[208] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nrs. 457–458; U. Arnold ed., *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190-1994*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 40 (Marburg: Elwert 1998) 191–197; A manuscript of the Waiblingen adaptation in the possession of Maximilian of Austria was previously owned by the land commander in Franconia. This could indicate that Maximilian also collected books that circulated in the region around Mergentheim. Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1265.

[209] "Dit syn die Croniken van den Keyseren van Rome, van den Koningen van Engelant, van den Biscopen van Utrecht, van den Grave van Vlaanderen, van Hollant, Gelre, Cleves, Marck, ende van den Duitscher Heeren ende oirden van Prussen": A. Pars and P. van der Schelling, *Catti aborigines Batavorum. Dat is: de Katten de voorouders der Batavieren, ofte de twee Katwijken, aan See*

can be identified as the *Fasciculus temporum*, which was printed by Johan Veldener in Utrecht in 1480. It combined a Middle Dutch translation of Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum* with several local chronicles, although it did not normally contain a chronicle of the Teutonic Order.[210]

Alkemade first mentioned that he owned a manuscript copy of Johan Veldener's chronicle in an appendix of his edition of the *Rhymed Chronicle of Holland* by Melis Stoke (1699). He published a small section of the chronicle that contained the murder of Count Floris V of Holland in 1296: "Here is used, not the printed chronicle from 1480, but the manuscript of the author himself, nowadays in the possession of the publisher [i.e. Cornelis van Alkemade]".[211] The excerpt, except for some spelling variations, is identical to the *Fasciculus temporum* printed by Veldener.[212]

In 1745, Schelling described the content of the codex as follows:

> *In the manuscript, after the history of the Counts of Cleves, I find a description of the knightly order of the house of Our Lady in Jerusalem, of the grand masters of the Teutonic Order, and a description of the order itself. Then follows a description of the land commanders of Utrecht, bearing this title: "These are all the land commanders of the bailiwick of Utrecht that have existed, how long they were in office and in what year they began to govern". Alongside are their coats of arms and their colours, drawn with a pen.*[213]

There is little doubt this must have been a complete *Croniken* manuscript, including a prologue, descriptions of the grand masters and a bailiwick chronicle. The mentioned title of the bailiwick chronicle is identical to the opening lines of chapter 750 of the *Croniken*.

Both the fact that the *Croniken* and the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* were bound together as well as the fact that it is a handwritten copy of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* should raise some eyebrows. No other handwritten copies of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* have been known to exist at all, let alone survive.[214] Perhaps the *Fasciculus temporum* from the Louvain University Library – lost in the First World War – was handwritten, although the catalogue entry is ambiguous and rather concise.[215] A codex owned by Antonius Matthaeus was described as being

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*en aan den Rijn... Met aantekeningen; nevens een verzameling van Katwyksche, Rynsburgsche, en andere Nederlandsche oudheden...* (New augmented edition; Leiden/Amsterdam: Langerak/De Groot 1745) 562; see also: G.D.J. Schotel, *Leven, gedrukte werken en handschriften van Cornelis van Alkemade en Pieter van der Schelling* (Breda: Sterk 1833) 313.

[210] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum* (Utrecht: Veldener 1480).

[211] "Hier is gevolgd, niet de gedrukte Kronijke van den Jare 1480, maar het Handschrift van den Schryver selfs; tegenwoordig onder den Uitgever berustende." C. van Alkemade ed., *Hollandse jaar-boeken of Rijm-kronijk van Melis Stoke. Behelsende de geschiedenissen des lands, onder de Princen van het eerste huis, tot den jare 1305...* (Leiden: Du Vivie and Severinus 1699) [Quire sign.: Cccc–Cccc2].

[212] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 295r–296v.

[213] "Waar in ik, agter de Historie van de Graaven van Cleev, een beschryving vind van de Ridderorde van onze lieve Vrouwe huis te Jerusalem. Als ook van de Hoogmeesteren der Duitsche Order, en een beschryving van de Orde zelve. Mitsgaders een beschryving van de Landcommandeurs van Utrecht, onder dezen titel: Dit syn alle die Lantcommandeurs van der balyen van Utrecht, die gheweest syn, ende hoe langhe dat si elc gheregiert hebben, ende in wat jaer dat si begonde te regieren. Nevens de Wapenen der zelve en hunne couleuren, met de penne geteekend." Pars and Van der Schelling, *Catti aborigines Batavorum / Katwyksche, Rynburgsche oudheden*, 562–563.

[214] Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 339–346 (nrs. 311–319).

[215] É. de Moreau, *La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain. 1636-1914* (Louvain: Fonteyn 1918) 70 (nr. 81).

handwritten, although this seems to refer to the continuations only. The catalogue of his book collection, auctioned in 1717, included the following codex:

> *Fasciculus temporum with continuation, handwritten in 1585. Plus: Old Chronicle of Brabant and Holland. Plus: Description of Livonia with a written continuation up to the year 1585.*[216]

The *Description of Livonia* is of special interest here. It is unlikely to have been a copy of the *Croniken*, nor should we assume that Matthaeus got hold of the Alkemade-Schelling codex, in spite of the fact that Matthaeus was a 'mentor and lifetime companion' of Cornelis van Alkemade, with whom he shared an interest in manuscripts and history.[217] However, besides the obvious differences between the respective manuscripts' descriptions, the Alkemade-Schelling manuscript of the *Croniken* can be traced among the possessions of Cornelis van Alkemade and his direct beneficiaries in 1699, 1745 and 1751, that is both before and after the auction of Matthaeus' library. It is therefore unlikely that the two descriptions concerned the same manuscript. This means, in turn, that there existed at least two codices that contained a combination of the *Fasciculus temporum* and some history or description of lands along the Baltic Sea. It is entirely possible that both codices were linked to the Teutonic Order.

As will become clear in the following chapters 3 and 4, the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* and the *Croniken* have an entangled history extending far beyond their combined inclusion in the Alkemade-Schelling codex. Nothing is known about the fate of the codex or of the *Fasciculus temporum* manuscript owned by Matthaeus. The Alkemade-Schelling manuscript is included in the sale catalogue of 1751, but nothing is known of its subsequent fate.[218] Book sales catalogues of Van Alkemade and Van der Schelling occasionally contain handwritten remarks about a manuscript's buyer, but not in this case. It is absent from the subsequent auctions of (presumably) unsold items in 1848 and 1859.[219]

Last but not least, a series of manuscripts have survived which contain excerpts of the *Croniken*. Manuscript **As**, for instance, contains the opening stages of the prologue and the part of the bailiwick chronicle that describes the organizational structure of the Teutonic Order and the commanderies of the Utrecht bailiwick. The manuscript can be linked to the Ootmarsum commandery, which had become part of the bailiwick of Westphalia. Its date suggests that it may have been produced in response to the secularization of church goods by the Ridderschap (Knighthood) of Overijssel,

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[216] Among the "Libri Miscellanei in Folio" is found: "Fasciculus Temporum cum Continuatione manuscript ad ann. 1585. Item Oude Chronijk van Braband en Holland. Item Beschrijving van Lijfland met geschreven vervolg tot het jaar 1585": Van der Linden ed., *Excellens nitidissimaque bibliotheca*, 18.

[217] "Mattheus, Leidens roem, geleide hem op dit pad, // Aan wien hij tot zyn dood een medehelper had.": Schotel, *Leven, gedrukte werken*, 329.

[218] The catalogue description is slightly aberrant, but undoubtedly this is the same manuscript: "Manuscripten in Folio, nr. 65. Chronijk van J. Veldenaar over de Keizeren van Romen, Koningen van Engeland, Bisschoppen van Utrecht, Graven van Vlaendre en Holland, Geldre, Kleef en Mark, en beschrijving van de Duitsche Gotten [sic], met verscheide Genealogische Wapenen, een weinig defect." Amsterdam, Bibliotheek van de Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels, Nv 208, 106.

[219] *Catalogus van handschriften, oudheden, penningen en munten, in de 17e en de eerste helft der 18e eeuw bijeenverzameld door Korn. van Alkemade en Pt. van der Schelling, verkocht den 17 jan. 1848* (Amsterdam 1848); *Catalogus van autographen, bijeenverz. door C. van Alkemade, Pt. van der Schelling en M. van der Houve, ..., verkocht 12 apr. 1859* (Amsterdam 1859).

who confiscated goods of the commandery in 1600.[220] Further excerpt copies include **[Ut$_2$]** (now presumed lost), **Ut$_3$**, **Ut$_4$**, **Ut$_5$** (an armorial that is based on the coats of arms in the *Croniken* (**Ka**)), and the aforementioned **Ma$_2$**. They all date from the sixteenth century or later (see Table 2.1 and Table 2.2).

[220] B. J. Finke, *Heerscopinc. De geschiedenis van de erven en geslachten Heerspink, 1325-2000* 1: Echteler, Klein-Ringe, Rheeze. Genealogische reeks 2 (Hilversum: Verloren 2008) 323.

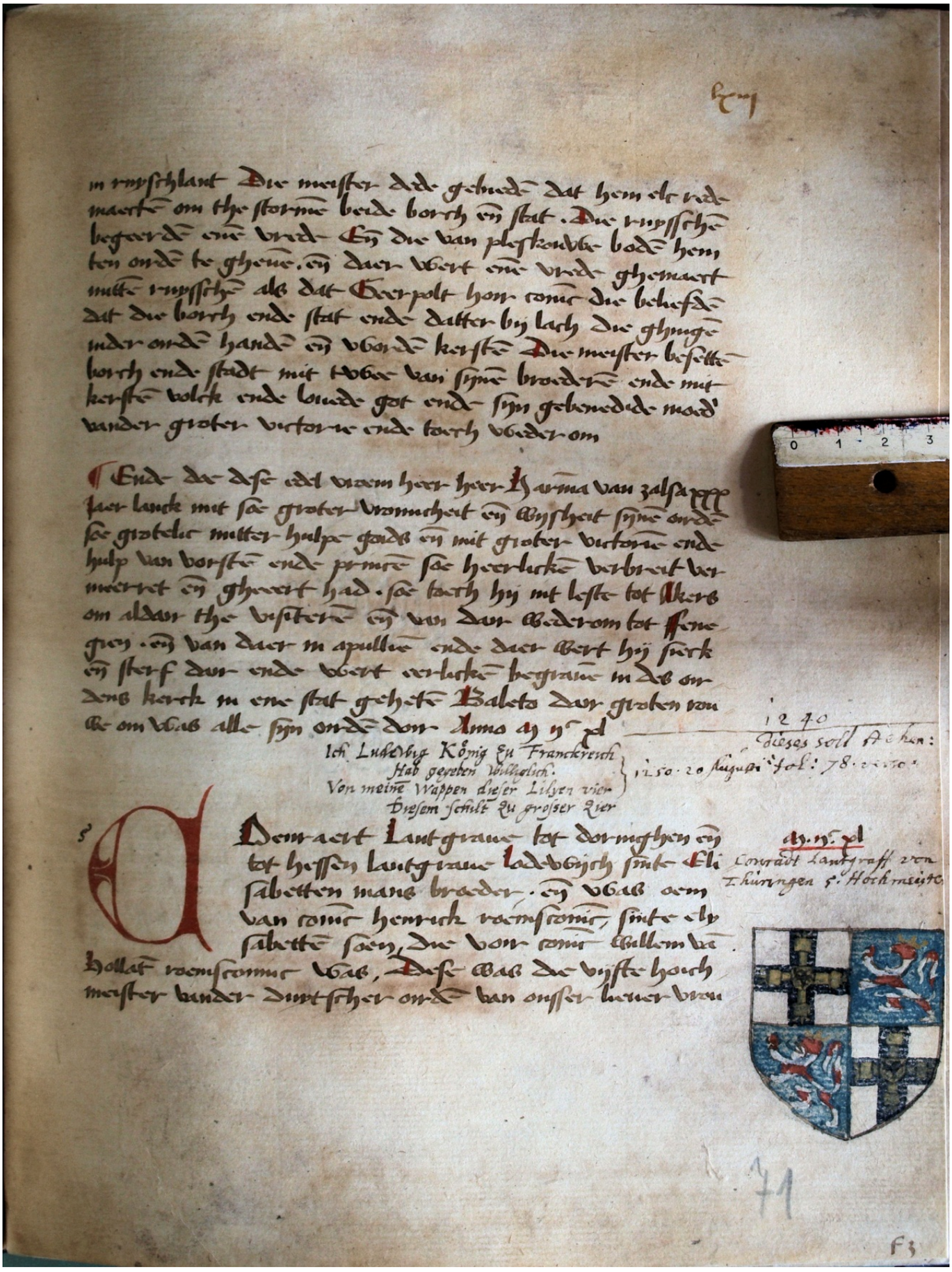

*Figure 2.12 Manuscript **We₁**, f. 71r.*

## 2.2 Manuscript **We$_1$** (Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 392)[221]

Manuscript **We$_1$** contains the oldest extant witness of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*. Like almost all of the *Croniken* manuscripts its margins contain numerous coloured coats of arms of the Teutonic Order, the kings of Jerusalem, the grand masters, the first German master and the Utrecht land commanders. Some of its leaves are badly damaged, and it has been comprehensively restored in 1960. Throughout the manuscript, several sixteenth- to nineteenth-century hands have added notes or short texts. One of these later additions is a sixteenth-century continuation of the *Croniken*, describing the lives and coats of arms of the grand masters up to Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach who turned Prussia into a secular duchy under the Polish crown in 1525.[222]

### Writing material

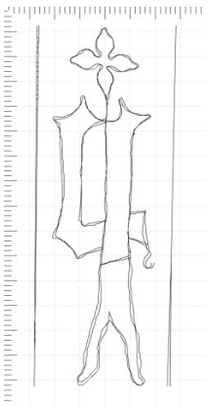

*Figure 2.13 P1.*

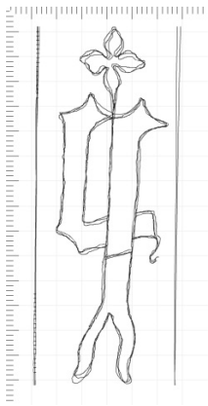

*Figure 2.14 P2.*

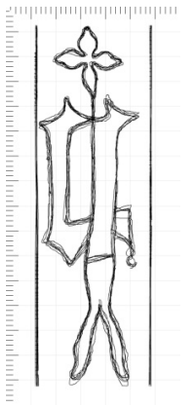

*Figure 2.15 P3.*

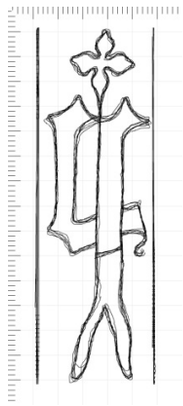

*Figure 2.16 P4.*

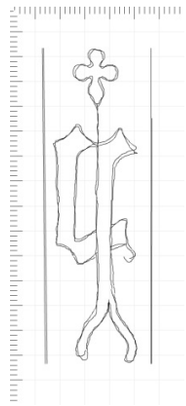

*Figure 2.17 P5.*

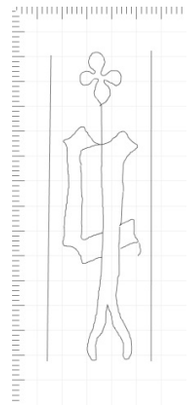

*Figure 2.18 P6.*

The manuscript was written on paper, bound in quires. Ten different watermarks can be distinguished. Six have a gothic letter P with split tail and a quatrefoil (P1–6; Figures 2.13–2.18, displayed from the side of the paper that was in direct contact with the mould) four of which also contain a small horizontal slash within the descender of the letter (P1–4). All six have a small loop at the end of the lobe which extends behind the stem. The other watermarks include a shield and a crosier with the letters 'iado' or 'jado' (J1–2) and a pitcher with a crown, a quatrefoil and an ear composed of two lines (K1–2) (Figures 2.19–2.22). Several appear to be so-called twin watermarks: two rather similar watermarks from two moulds that were used simultaneously by the paper makers to quicken the process of creating a batch of paper. Only a few of thousands of watermarks in the database *Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries* (WILC) have been identified as twins, so many remain to be classified.[223]

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[221] The following report should be considered as an extension – and in certain areas improvement – to the manuscript description by Franz Lackner: Lackner, *Streubestände* I, nr. 62; The structure of the manuscript description is copied from the edition of the Kattendijke chronicle: A. Janse and I. Biesheuvel eds., *Johan Huyssen van Kattendijke-kroniek: die Historie of die Cronicke van Hollant, van Zeelant ende van Vrieslant ende van den Stichte van Utrecht*. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën. Kleine serie 102 (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis 2005) LXI–XCIV; The English terminology has derived from: D. Muzerelle, 'Vocabulaire codicologique. Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits, avec leurs équivalents en anglais, italien, espagnol, édition hypertextuelle', *Glossaires codicologique* (2011) <http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[222] Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 179r–184r.

[223] According to the introduction on their website, the identification of twin watermarks is still "under construction". Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'Watermarks in Incunabula printed in the Low Countries' (2000-2007) <http://watermark.kb.nl/> [accessed 2 May 2016].

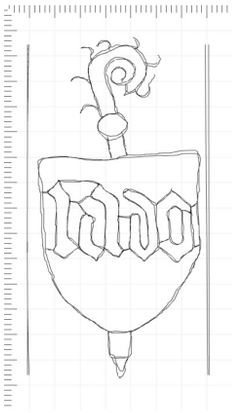

*Figure 2.19 J1.*

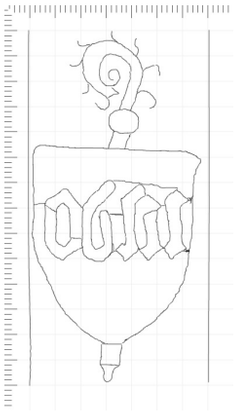

*Figure 2.20 J2.*

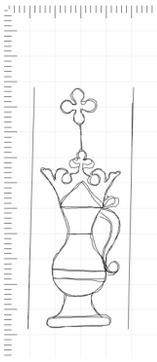

*Figure 2.21 K1.*[224]

*Figure 2.22 K2 (partially).*

The pairs P1 and P2, P3 and P4, P5 and P6, and J1 and J2 are probably such twins. Not only do they appear together in the quires of manuscript **We$_1$**, they are regularly found together in other books as well, judging from the WILC database.[225] Watermarks K1 and K2, which occur less frequently in the manuscripts, could be twins as well, but they have not previously been identified as such.[226] Not only the twins occur together in other books; P1–2 and P5–6 are also present in combination in an incunable printed by Jacobus de Breda (Deventer, 8 March 1491). This could mean that both sets of paper were sold together. Indeed, all of the watermarks identified in manuscript **We$_1$** reappear at least once in a book produced in Deventer, a town in the eastern Low Countries; of the incunabula that contain at least one of the watermarks identified in **We$_1$** no less than 34 of 49 were printed in Deventer. The other provenances of the paper point at a wider use in the Low Countries and the Lower Rhine region: Antwerp, Düsseldorf, Schloß Hambach (Jülich), Cologne, Leuven, Mechelen and Utrecht (Table 2.11).

[224] It could be possible that K1-2 should be mirrored. Due to the present, heavily restored condition of the manuscript (the leaves are covered with glassine paper on both sides) is it very difficult to determine the mould- and felt side of the paper. It is therefore difficult to decide whether the ear of the pot should be on the right or left side: a watermark should always be presented from the mould side. Since K1 and K2 could not be identified, it was not possible to choose the right side using the watermark in the database as reference.

[225] Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'WILC'. See Table 2.11 for the concerning watermark numbers.

[226] Ibid.; Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Wasserzeichensammlung Piccard Online' <http://www.piccard-online.de/> [accessed 2 May 2016]; C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Facsimile ed.; Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society 1968); Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters and Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris, 'Briquet Online' (2009) <http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/BR.php> [accessed 2 May 2016].

| Name | h. | w. | c.l. | d. | WILC | EG | Pic-card | Date range | Location | Folio | Quire |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **P1** | 73 | 21 | 27 | 19 | 53139,61302,59705, 51571,57547,58924, 50326,50997,59182, 53277,58490,56821, 59992 | 0921 | 113062, 113063 | 1489/90–1491 | Antwerp, Deventer, Düssel-dorf, Hambach | 112,146,147, 150,153,154, 159,163,174, 175 | 11,14,15, 16 |
| **P2** | 72 | 22 | 28 | 17 | 53219,59704,51554, 50959,58923,50324, 50995,59180,53276, 52698,56818,59991 | 0755 | 113053 | 1490–1 | Antwerp, Deventer, Ham-bach | 104a,108,140, 142,143,155, 157,170,173, 176 | 11,14,15, 16,17 |
| **P3** | 72 | 20 | 23 | 17 | 61132,59545,56179 | 1720 | 113059 | 1491–4 | Deventer, Meche-len | 6,7,97,99,101, 105,109,116, 122,123,128, 131,168,182, 183,195,196, 197 | 2,10,11, 12,13,16, 17,18,19 |
| **P4** | 71 | 21 | 24 | 18 | 61131,59811,59546, 55522 | 1721 | 113055, 113056 | 1491–3, [1493–4] | Antwerp, Deventer, Co-logne | 3,113,120,124, 125,127,129, 136,172,184, 187,193,194, 200 | 2,11,12, 13,16,17, 18,19 |
| **P5** | 64 | 17 | 21 | 18 | 58807,56817 | | | [1489–91], 1491 | Antwerp, Deventer | 93,102 | 10 |
| **P6** | 63 | 16 | 21 | 17 | 58806,50982,56816, 54493 | 1757 | | [1489–91], 1491 | Antwerp, Deventer | 103 | 10 |
| **J1** | 68 | 33 | 36 | 25 | 02464,55793,58827 | 2116 | | [1479–80], 1480–1 | Deventer, Leuven | 11,15,16,17, 20,31,32,47, 48,49,66,67, 68,71,73,74, 77,81 | 3,4,6,7, 8,9 |
| **J2** | 70 | 33 | 36 | 26 | 02172,00072 | 0354 | | 1480 | Deventer, Utrecht | 10,23,24,25, 26,33,36,39, 40,42,43,45, 46,50,60,61, 62,69,70,84, 86,88,90,91 | 3,4,5,6, 7,8,9 |
| **K1** | 48 | 16 | 20 | 16 | No identical match | | | mid-1490s, 1496? | | 134,185 | 13,17 |
| **K2** | ? | 17? | 20 | 16 | No identical match | | | mid-1490s, 1496? | | 1 | 1 |

*Table 2.11 Watermarks in manuscript* ***We₁***.[227]

Table 2.11 shows that the watermarks P1–6 can be dated to the early 1490s, with dates ranging from 1489/90 to 1494. A significant majority of the incunabula that included one of these six watermarks were printed in 1491 (77%), especially in the months January-March (65%). The watermarks J1 and J2, however, have a significantly different dispersion: their paper is used from 1479 to 1481, but mostly 1480. Then there are the two watermarks K1 and K2. None of the watermarks in WILC, Piccard or Briquet were identical to these two. They correspond the most with a couple of watermarks used in or around 1496, although in some cases some extra procedures (see also Figures 2.23–2.24) are necessary to get a match.[228] On these grounds, the paper can tentatively be dated to the mid-1490s, perhaps 1496.

[227] Explanation of the columns: Name of the watermark; Size of the watermarks in millimetres (take into consideration a certain margin of around 5%): height, width, distance between the chain-lines, density of the wire-lines (distance between twenty wire-lines); Identification number of the corresponding watermark in the *WILC* database; Identification number of the 'equivalents group' in the WILC database; Identification number of the corresponding watermark in the *Piccard Online* database; The high and low range of the dates in *Piccard* and *WILC* (years presented in square brackets are uncertain dates from the *WILC* database); Geographical locations where the paper was used; Folios in **We₁** containing the watermarks; Quires in **We₁** containing the watermarks.

[228] K1 corresponds the most with the WILC watermark nr. 50208 (Deventer 1496) and the WILC equivalent group nr. 1152 (Deventer, between 1496 and 1497). In both cases the chain-lines do not exactly match and in the case of nr. 50208 some extra procedures are necessary. Watermark WILC nr. 50208 is found in a quarto-sized incunabulum and consists therefore of a combination of an upper and lower half (the "middle" is hidden in the folding). Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam, Ned. Inc. 232, f. g4v–g4r; If one of these sides had been accidently mirrored in the WILC database, the watermark

The paper containing these watermarks has only been used occasionally in **We₁**. The first occurrence is a bifolium (ff. 1–2), which was originally left blank. The two bifolia ff. 133/134 and ff. 178/185 do contain some text in the original handwriting of the *Croniken*. The importance of the watermarks K1–2 for the history and realisation of the manuscript will be discussed in more detail at a later stage (section 2.3).

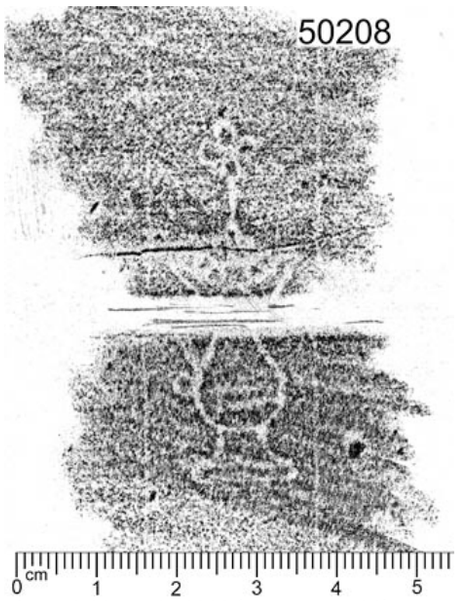

*Figure 2.23 WILC 50208 (Deventer 1496).*

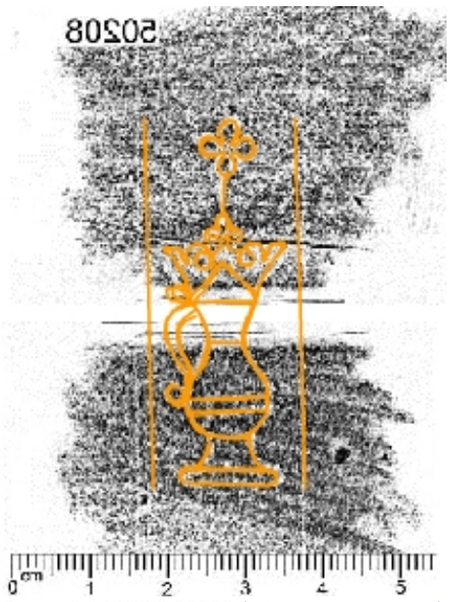

*Figure 2.24 WILC 50208 (mirrored upper half); K1 as overlay (see note 228).*

The condition of the manuscript has deteriorated much throughout the years. Especially the quires 1, 17, 18 and 19 are quite badly damaged. The outer edges are badly worn, often leading to loss of text as well. The text on the final folio ends abruptly, mid-sentence. Readings of other manuscripts suggest that a number of lines would have been written on the (now lost) subsequent leaf. The numerous, mainly seventeenth-century, notes in the margins were also affected by wear of the paper's edges. The paper must therefore have eroded more recently. In 1960 the folios were encased in glassine paper, as part of the restoration of the manuscript.

## Collation

The present manuscript contains I + 201 + I folios.[229] Two sets of foliation are present: one contemporary, written in the same and as the *Croniken*, and one modern, added following the restoration of the manuscript in 1960. Unless specifically mentioned, all folio numbers hereafter refer to the modern foliation, numbered from 1 to 200, whereby ff. 104a and 117a were initially skipped. Folio 132 contains a small letter from the commandery Gruitrode in the bailiwick Alden Biesen, dated 12 April 1664.[230] It too is covered by glassine paper and was bound together with the rest of the manuscript at the time of the restoration.

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would be identical to K1. Only the chain-lines are 2 to 3 millimetre more apart. WILC nr. 01963 (Zwolle, 1495) and Piccard nr. 031689 (Arnhem, 1492) are similar, apart from – again – the chain-lines. The identification of K2 is especially difficult, since the integrity of the paper has been compromised. It is barely visible that it is a different watermark to K1. The shape of the pitcher is similar to WILC equivalent group nr. 1539 (Deventer, between 1495 and 1497; twin of equivalent group nr. 1152), nr. 57598 (Deventer 1495/96), and Piccard nr. 031569 (Copenhagen 1493). Examination of the watermark collection of Briquet was not successful. The most similar watermark was nr. 12623, used between 1488 and 1497 (Châlons-sur-Marne, Mézières, Nancy, and Sens). Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'WILC'; Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online'; Briquet, *Filigranes*.

[229] That is excluding f. 132 (see immediately hereafter).

[230] The letter contains some biographical information in Latin on Grand Masters Heinrich Walpot and Hermann von Salza.

Disruptions in the contemporary foliation, for which Roman numerals were used,[231] show that at least one complete sexternion (twelve folios) and at least two separate singletons have been lost. folios CLXXXI to CXCII) is missing between ff. 186 and 187. This does not necessarily mean that there is content missing as well, as the missing quire was located in a part of the manuscript that was presumably left empty. One folio is missing between CLXXVI (f. 183) and CLXX (f. 186). The exact location of this missing folio cannot be determined using the contemporary foliation, since damage to the paper affected the margins in these folios, eroding the foliation. Based on the location of the watermarks in the quire, however, the singleton must have been present between ff. 185 and 186. This leaf too was in all likelihood originally empty. Finally, the interrupted end of the chronicle shows that at least one folio has gone missing after f. 200.

[231] The foliation in Roman numerals runs from I (f. 9) to CCVI (f. 200). Due to damage to the paper of f. 200, the foliation ('CCVI') has been lost, but can be reconstructed from earlier foliation.

## Quire structure

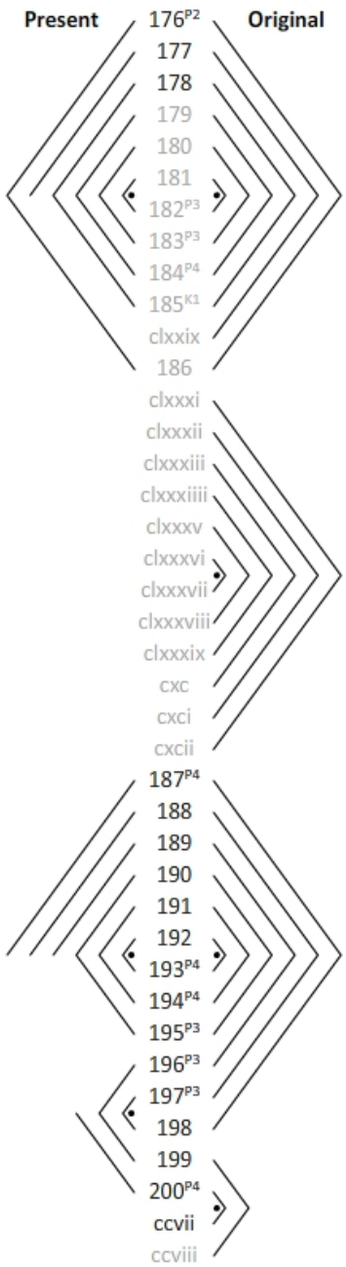


*Figure 2.25 Most likely composition of the quires 17, 17a, 18 and 19.*[232]

The composition of the quires in manuscript **We₁** is highly regular. Almost each quire comprises a sexternion, containing six bifolia, folded once. A reconstruction of the original collation of the manuscript reveals the strong preference of the composer for regular quires. The present quire structure, omitting the inserted letter of f. 132, is as follows: $1^{I}$ (2), $2^{III}$ (8), 3-$16^{VI}$ (175), $17^{VI-1}$ (186; a missing leaf between ff. 185 and 186), $18^{III+3}$ (195; singletons: ff. 187, 188, 189 (?)), $19^{II+1}$ (200; singleton: 199 or 200).[233]

The present structure of the final three quires is rather opaque (Figure 2.25). This is partly caused by the restoration works which have masked much codicological information of the manuscript. Based on the distribution of the watermarks and the distance between the chain-lines of leaves without a watermark, the original composition would have been: $17^{VI}$ (CLXXX=186), $17a^{VI}$ (CXCII), $18^{VI}$ (CCIIII=198), $19^{II}$? (CCVIII?). That final quire, 19, could have been much larger, since we cannot be certain of the number of lost pages at the end of the codex.[234]

The first quire of the manuscript, a single bifolium containing watermark K 2, has no content written by the hand which wrote the original chronicle. It is, however, covered with seventeenth-century notes. It may originally have been a quire of guard-leaves. Taking into account that watermark K 2 can probably be dated a little later than the rest of the paper (around 1496?), this quire can very well have been added some time after the production of the rest of the chronicle. Quire 2, a ternion, contains the table of contents of the *Croniken*. This part is not foliated, but it was written by the same hand as the chronicle. Most of folio 6, and the entirety of folios 7 and 8 were originally left blank. The first part of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* is written on quires 3 to 17 (to folio 178r). Then follows a long section that was at first left blank (ff. 178v–186v). The bailiwick chronicle is located on folios 187r to 200v (quire 18 and 19).

[232] The lost folios are represented by Roman numerals; folios that were presumably left blank originally are presented in grey; the locations of the present watermarks are presented in superscript.
[233] See also: Lackner, *Streubestände* I, Kat.–Nr. 62.
[234] Strictly speaking, $19^{I+1}$ (CCVII) is also a possibility, where CCVII is added as a singleton.

## Quire and leaf signatures

The quires were marked using quire signatures on the first six folios of each quire: starting with *a1* (f. 9r, quire 3) up to *l6* (f. 133r, quire 13). The letter forms suggest that the quire signatures were written by the same person who wrote the *Croniken*. Many were lost due to trimming of the paper, but twenty-nine of probably sixty original signatures survive. There is no evidence of quire signatures in any of the quires at the end of the codex (14–19). This could mean that the composer of the codex added the quire signatures before these additions were made, but it is also possible that these signatures were lost during the trimming process.

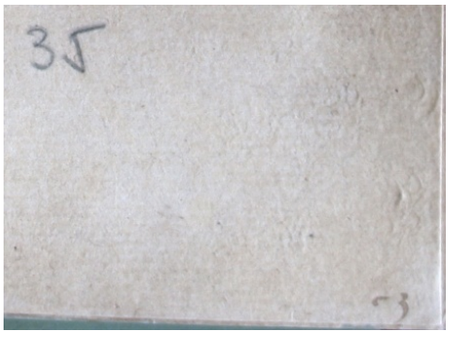

*Figure 2.26 Quire and leaf signature* c3 *(f. 35r).*

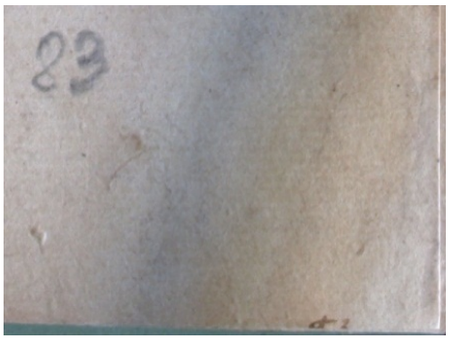

*Figure 2.27 Quire and leaf signature* g3 *(f. 83r).*

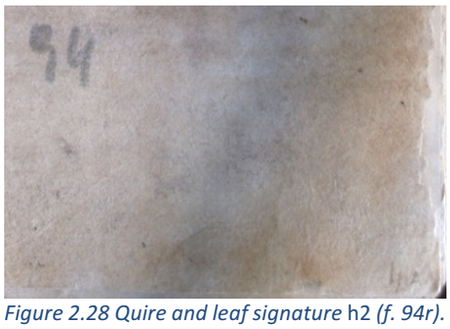

*Figure 2.28 Quire and leaf signature* h2 *(f. 94r).*

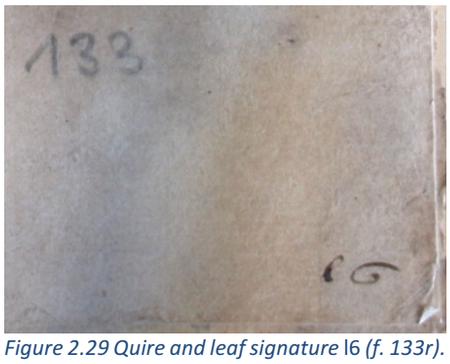

*Figure 2.29 Quire and leaf signature* l6 *(f. 133r).*

There are variations in the appearance of the quire signatures throughout the manuscript. Quires 3 to 9 (*a1–g6*) have quite homogenous signatures: both in their position, size, and colour of the ink (Figure 2.26 and Figure 2.27). Due to their position on the page, further away from the page edge, many of these signatures have avoided trimming. The signatures in quires 10 to 13 (*h1–l6*) have more regularly been cut off, and the colour of the ink is more variable. Thus, the letter *h* (*h1–h6*) is barely visible due to the faintness of the ink (Figure 2.28), while *l6* stands out very prominently in a blackish colour (Figure 2.29). Moreover, *l6* is positioned particularly high on the page, especially in comparison to the (often trimmed) signatures in its immediate surroundings. This change in the appearance of the quire signatures between quire 9 (*g1–g6*) and quire 10 (*h1–h6*) coincides with a transition in the paper used: quires 3 to 9 are written on paper dated around 1480 (J1–2), while quires 2 and 10 to 19 can be dated around 1491 (P1–6) (with the exception of the folios with watermark K1–2: ff. 1–2, 133–4, 178, 185).

Catchwords occur on one occasion in manuscript **We$_1$**: on the bottom of folio 56v (the last page of quire 6) the first two words of the following quire, "Inde*n* tijde*n*", are written, in the same hand as that of the chronicle text. Since a new chapter with a different subject (c.258) started on the first page of the next quire, the text of the chronicle did not provide sufficient aid to ensure correct ordering of the quires; the catchwords were therefore considered necessary to avoid mistakes in the binding process.

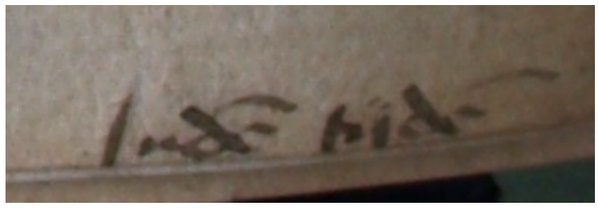

*Figure 2.30 Catchword "Inden tijden" (f. 56v).*

### Dimensions

The dimensions of the book block are 285 by 215 millimetres. As evidenced by the pruned quire signatures, the edges were trimmed, but ruling pricks are occasionally still visible. On f. 126r the pricking is 6 to 7 millimetres away from the current edge of the paper. The primary prick holes are difficult to spot through the encasing glassine paper. The painted coat of arms on f. 16r is trimmed at the top, while those on f. 17r and perhaps f. 71r are slightly trimmed on the right side. Most annotations, dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, but mainly from the seventeenth, are unaffected by the trimming of the paper, except for a series on ff. 144r and 150v that can be dated between 1658 and 1662, and will be subject of discussion below.[235] This means that the trimming of the paper to its current dimensions occurred at a later date.

### Page layout

The text block covers approximately 185 by 135 millimetres.[236] The text is written in one column of 31 lines. In some places, including some of the blank folios, drypoint or pencil frame lines are partially visible.[237] Both the vertical and horizontal frame lines extend to the edge of the paper.

### Script

The text of the *Croniken* is written in a clearly legible *littera hybrida* (see Figure 2.12 above). The *littera hybrida* can be defined as "either a *textualis* with a 'simple' *a* and descending hastes of *f* and long *ſ*, or otherwise as a cursive without loops but with straight hastes of *b*, *h*, *k* and *l*."[238] After 1425 this script became very popular in the Low Countries.[239] However, every now and then some loops appear to the letters.[240] The writing has a slant to the right, on average of 77 degrees, ranging between 65 and 85.[241] The letters with descending hastes are at the lower end of that spectrum. The writing angle varies between approximately 43 to 50 degrees. The weight is rather pronounced and the strokes are generally regularly drawn. Only in the first couple of folios of the prologue (starting from f. 9r) the script is less

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[235] The majority of these annotations have been made by a certain Paulus Schryber, syndic of the Alden Biesen bailiwick. See the section 2.2, "History of the manuscript, ownership, and user marks".

[236] In contrast, Lackner measured 180-185 by 130-135 millimetres, which is really the lower half of the estimate. Lackner, *Streubestände* I, Kat.Nr. 62.

[237] Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 5v–6r. The lines are also visible on blank pages, for instance f. 7r.

[238] Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'Littera Hybrida', *Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections* <http://mmdc.nl/static/site/research_and_education/palaeography/palaeography_scripts/1158/Littera_hybrida.html> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[239] J.P. Gumbert, 'Iets over laatmiddeleeuwse schrifttypen, hun onderscheidingen en hun benamingen', *Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België* 46 (1975) 273–282; P.F.J. Obbema, 'De opkomst van een nieuw schrifttype: de littera hybrida', in: P.F.J. Obbema, *De middeleeuwen in handen. Over boekcultuur in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren 1996) 69–76.

[240] See for instance "Capellanen" (f. 134v), "veel" (f. 148v) and "ansprake" (f. 163v).

[241] Here is followed the methodology developed by Jan Burgers. Some of the thirteen aspects he proposed, such as decoration and structuring the text, will be discussed elsewhere in this manuscript description. An aspect not included by Burgers that can sometimes be used to distinguish between scribes, orthography, will also be of importance later on. J.W.J. Burgers, *De paleografie van de documentaire bronnen in Holland en Zeeland in de dertiende eeuw* 1. Schrift en Schriftdragers in de Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen I (Leuven: Peeters 1995) 32–38; English translation of the various aspects (and references to other quantifiable methodologies) via: P.A. Stokes, 'Computer-Aided Palaeography, Present and Future', in: M. Rehbein, P. Sahle and T. Schaßan eds., *Kodikologie und Paläographie im Digitalen Zeitalter 1 / Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age 1*. Schriften des Instituts für Dokumentologie und Editorik 2 (Norderstedt: Books on Demand 2009) 309–338, there 313–314.

regular.[242] Most strokes are not drawn very rhythmically.[243] The 'modulus', the proportion of the height of the letters between the head- and baseline (valued at one), letters with ascending hastes, average width of the letters, and the distance between the baselines, is 1 : 2.7–3.4 : 1.5–1.8 : 3.9–4.7.[244] Over the course of the manuscript, there is a certain development in the width of the letters that will be discussed in more detail later.[245]

The scribe uses an array of abbreviations, some associated with Latin (part of a few Latin sentences in the chronicle), some with Middle Dutch. Most frequent are the customary tildes to signify a nasal consonant (*n*/*m*) or *-de* in "en*de*" (Middle Dutch for 'and'). These are followed at some distance by the contraction 'ihrlm' for Jerusalem, an ascending loop representing *re*/*er*, a mark in the form of a sharp s (ß or ſz) at the end of the word "voirs." ("voirs*eit*": aforementioned) or a *r* rotunda with a cut at the end of "voirscr." ("voirscr*even*": afore-written), and numerous others that are only used occasionally. On average in manuscript **We$_1$** one abbreviation is used for every 30 characters, but the abbreviations are not evenly distributed. This too will be discussed below. Around 72% of the letters make contact and the cursiveness between letters (whether two subsequent letters are drawn without lifting the nib) is around 19%. The letters *b*, *c*, *d*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *r*, *s*, *ſ*, *u*, *v*, *z* are generally drawn without lifting the nib from the paper, often *x* as well. Some of the characteristic letter forms, for example the various forms of the letters v and w and Roman numerals, will be discussed in section 2.3, "Phased genesis". The form of the letter *e* is written in two separate, unattached strokes that carry some rhythm (see note 243) and point toward the right. The capital letters *I*/*J* have a very pronounced contrast between the horizontal hairline and the haste, and the capital letters *H*, which sometimes have a serif below the left haste, is similarly distinctive. Both capital letters also occasionally have two added dots in the middle of their shafts (Figure 2.36). Especially towards the end of the manuscript, the scribe occasionally adds an otiose stroke or loop to the left of the ascenders of *b* (Figure 2.41), *k* and *l* (Figure 2.33), the stem of *p* and – most notably – the initial minims of *v* and *w* (e.g. f. 144v, line 4, "witten"). The letter forms used for the letters *e*, *d*, and *g* correspond with a date in the second half of the fifteenth century.[246]

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[242] A hand is considered regular when strokes in the same direction have more or less the same thickness and are the product of an equal pressure distribution. Burgers, *Paleografie van documentaire bronnen* 1, 36.

[243] A hand is considered rhythmical when strokes in a certain direction show an identical course or pattern in the thickness of the line. Ibid.

[244] These are within the ranges found in the specimens examined by Burgers. On average he found a modulus of 1 : 3 : 1.0-1.5 : 3.5-4.5. Ibid., 315–317.

[245] See section 2.3, "Phased genesis".

[246] The following types can be identified: g (type 9 and 6/6b, subtype f); d (type c and d); e (type c). J.W.J. Burgers, 'Palaeography and Diplomatics. The Script of Charters in the Netherlands during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *Quaerendo* 38 (2008) 9–31, there 23–24, 26, 28.

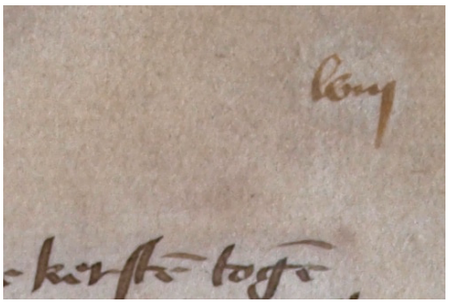

*Figure 2.31 Use of loops in foliation (f. 66r).*

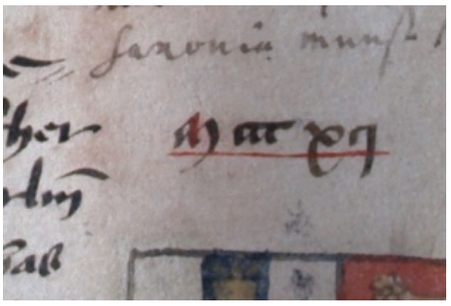

*Figure 2.32 Intermediate form of the use of Roman numerals (f. 143r).*

*Figure 2.33 Start of term in office in the margins (f. 104v).*

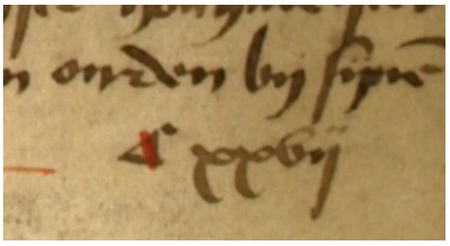

*Figure 2.34 Use of Roman numerals in the running text (f. 4v).*

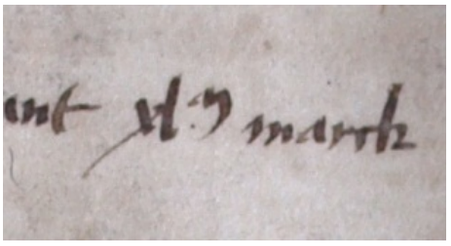

*Figure 2.35 Use of Roman numerals in the main text (f. 177r).*

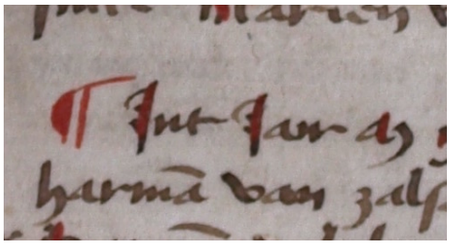

*Figure 2.36 Two added dots to the shaft of the letter I/J.*

A further characteristic aspect of the script is formed by the otiose strokes attached to some of the Roman numerals, especially L and V. This occurs particularly in the – perhaps quickly written – foliation (Figure 2.31). Comparison with Roman numerals elsewhere in the *Croniken* (e.g. Figure 2.34), however, confirms that the manuscript was foliated by the scribe of the chronicle. Visually different Roman numerals are regularly found in the margin of the text to denote the start of the term in office of a grand master or Utrecht land commander (Figure 2.33). They are characterised by long elegant strokes of the X and a more stylized capital letter M. They too are written by the same hand,[247] and the cursive X which generally occurs in the text is also used in one of the years in the margins (Figure 2.32).[248] We can conclude, therefore, that the same person was responsible for all these written elements, ranging from the text of the *Croniken* to catchwords and the foliation.

[247] This is corroborated by the fact that these years in the margins were copied in some of the German manuscripts, most notably manuscript Ta and occasionally Pr and Be. The years are absent from all other Middle Dutch *Croniken* manuscripts. Moreover, these years, as well as other dates and sequences, were a rather important element for the author of the *Croniken* as we will show in the next chapter.

[248] Note for instance within the main body of the text: XV (f. 120v) and XXIIII (f. 149v) and XL$^{M}$ (f. 177r; Figure 2.35).

## Corrections

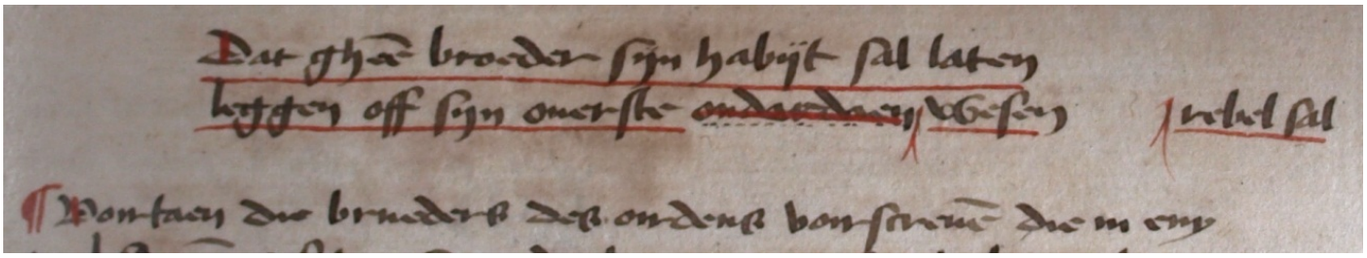

*Figure 2.37 Content related correction in the margin (f. 42r).*

The original scribe employed a number of fairly customary correction techniques. Often he used a combination of crossing through and expunction, sometimes using red ink (Figure 2.37 and Figure 2.38). Every now and then a corrected or inserted word was written in the margin or above the line, accompanied by a wedge-shaped pen stroke (Figure 2.37). A few times corrections were written directly over the original text, on occasion causing the reading, both original and corrected, to become poorly legible (Figure 2.41). On other occasions, a correction was written over an erasure (e.g., Figure 2.40).[249] Several corrections were made immediately after an error was made, that is before the subsequent words were written (Figure 2.38).[250] This, together with the identical handwriting, indicates that the main scribe was responsible for the corrections as well. Some of the amendments to the text were evidently editorial. The scope, nature, and significance of these types of amendments will be addressed in detail in section 2.4 below.

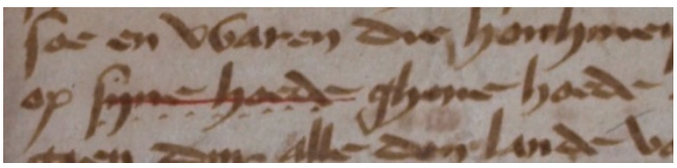

*Figure 2.38 Immediate correction (f. 168v).*

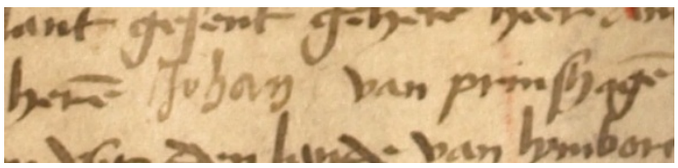

*Figure 2.39 Left open space, later filled in by different hand (f. 188r).*

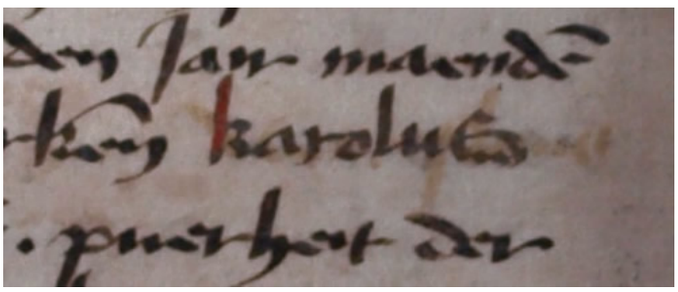

*Figure 2.40 Erased and superimposed correction: "Wenceslaus" becomes "Karolus" (f. 141r).*

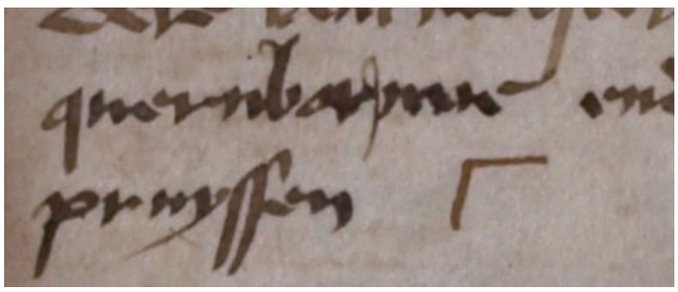

*Figure 2.41 Superimposed corrections make the text hard to read (f. 114v).*

The scribe also took measures to avoid including errors in his text. On at least seven occasions, he left a small space open, to be filled in later (e.g., Figures 2.39, 2.55, and 2.68).[251] Each of these cases concerns either a names or a date:

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[249] This example shows the use of a razor to scrape the original text ("Wenceslaus") and rewrite the corrected form ("Karolus"). Both German and Middle Dutch manuscripts copied the corrected "Karolus": Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 100v; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 119r; Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 205r; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 165v; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 199v; Tartu, UR, Mscr. 154, f. 207v; Another example can be found in c.599, changing "voirlenen" into "voirleden": Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 139v.

[250] See also Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, ff. 58v, 120v, 135v and 168v.

[251] See also Ibid., ff. 92r, 160v, 172v and 196r.

factual information that apparently required verification.[252] A few times the missing information was added at a later stage (Figures 2.55 and 2.68)[253], but on other occasions the spaces remained empty (Figure 2.39; Table 2.17). That the scribe did not consider the chronicle to be a finished product can also be deduced from the folios in the manuscript that were intentionally left blank; they are found at the end of the table of contents, at the end of the part of the chronicle describing the lives of the grand masters, and possibly after the bailiwick chronicle as well. Thus the manuscript in its organization reserves space for a continuation to the lives of subsequent grand masters and land commanders. Some copies of the *Croniken* do indeed contain such continuations, and in manuscript **We$_1$** itself a sixteenth-century hand continued the lives of the grand masters between 1467 and 1525, including meticulously executed coloured coats of arms.

## Hierarchy and textual structure

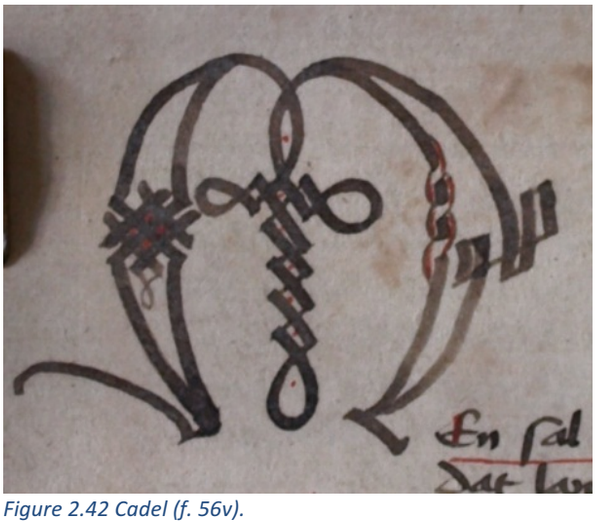

*Figure 2.42 Cadel (f. 56v).*

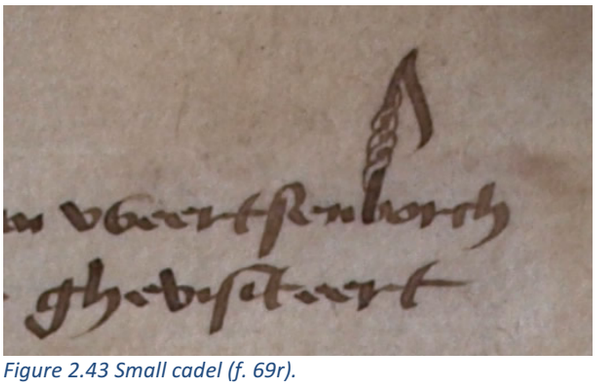

*Figure 2.43 Small cadel (f. 69r).*

To make the hierarchical structure of the text visible, manuscript **We$_1$** has a programme of structural markers consisting of illustrations of coats of arms, rubrication (for both, see the next sections), paragraph marks (both rubricated and in brown ink), capitals, initials, and cadels: decorative capital letters consisting of elaborately woven pen strokes (Figure 2.42). These were written by the same person who wrote the text of the *Croniken*, who also included a small cadel in the main text (Figure 2.43).

That same person may also have been drawing the initials. The red ink on ff. 148v–162r has been transferred onto the opposite pages (Figures 2.44–2.45). This affected not only the rubrication, but also the initials and the coloured coats of arms. The brown ink of the text was not affected. It is not entirely clear what caused this staining, but that all forms of decoration were affected appears to suggest that all these decorative elements were executed in a single run. The rubrication, as we shall see in the next section, was done by the scribe of the main text, which suggests that he probably was responsible for the other embellishments as well. Guide letters for the initials are rarely visible, but a few, in pencil, can still be detected.[254]

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[252] The same practice can be found in the autograph of book VI of the Brabantsche Yeesten: A. Houthuys, *Middeleeuws kladwerk. De autograaf van de Brabantsche yeesten, boek VI (vijftiende eeuw)*. Schrift en Schriftdragers in de Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen IV (Hilversum: Verloren 2009) 231–235.
[253] See also Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 160v ("Thoren"; c.654).
[254] For example Ibid., ff. 56r, 71r.

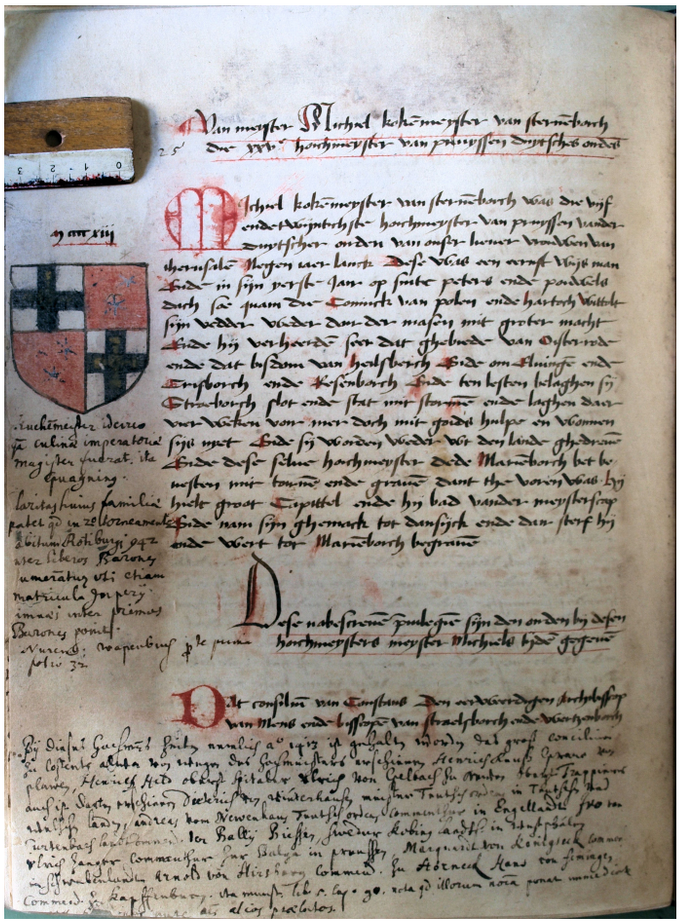

*Figure 2.44 Transfer of red ink: manuscript **We₁**, f. 150v.*

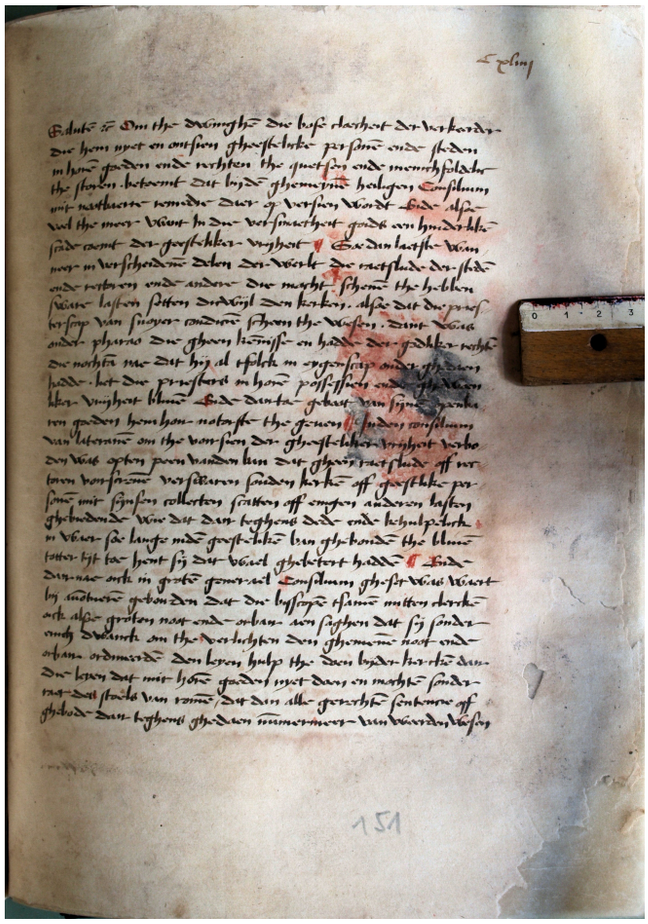

*Figure 2.45 Transfer of red ink: manuscript **We₁**, f.151r*

The initials (in red) are very simple in design and vary in height between two and eight lines. The height of the initials was a common method to designate the hierarchical structure of a text in the Middle Ages. A network graph of the internal structure of the *Croniken*, based on the distribution of these hierarchical markers (Figure 2.46), shows that the *Croniken* is divided into the table of contents and four parts which are each assigned an initial of five lines and higher. The first part, immediately following the opening chapter (c.75; eight-line initial) is structured less consistent than the other parts of the *Croniken*. The size of the initials highlighting privileges for instance, if initials are even used, varies[255], and some of the initials used in the regular narrative appear seemingly out of nowhere. I suspect that many of these discrepancies in the use of initials in the first part of manuscript **We₁** are unintentional. The second part is solely dedicated to events during Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia (c.325; five-line initial). It is positioned just before the boundary between quires 9 (ca. 1480) and 10 (ca. 1491). Immediately after this boundary the third part begins (c.416; six-line initial). The hierarchy that is shown by the initials in this part usually follows a fixed pattern. Each grand master starts off with a three or four-line initial, accompanying privileges and underlying stories, such as the one regarding the Siege of Acre (1291), are assigned a two-line initial. The final part contains the bailiwick chronicle (c.728; five-line initial).

[255] See also chapter 3.4, "Privileges and indulgences" and Appendix, Table A.6.

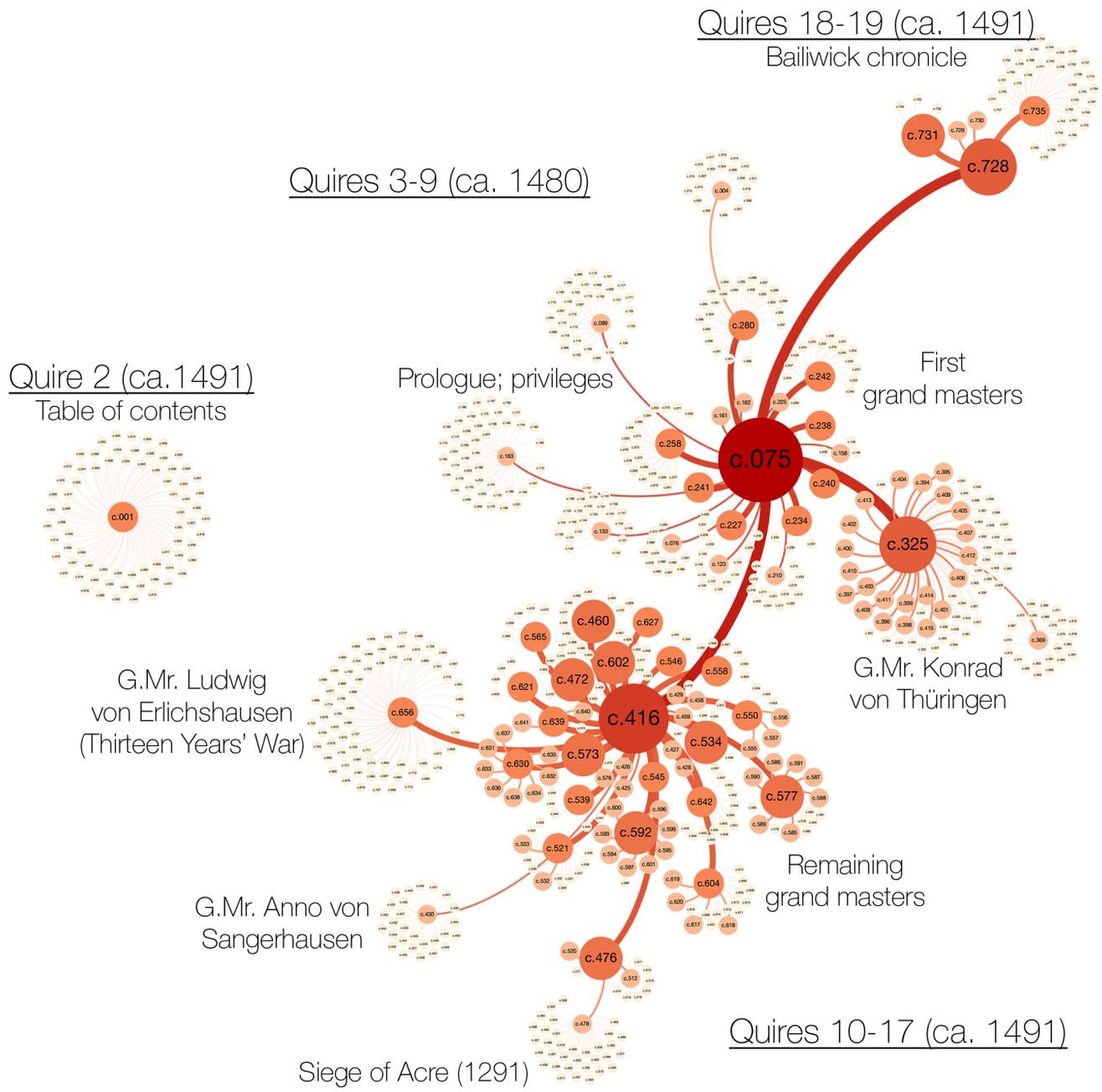


*Figure 2.46 Network graph of the hierarchal structure of the* Croniken *based on the size (line height) and location of the initials. The larger the initial is, the higher its hierarchy. Chapters without an initial have a value of one.*

## Rubrication

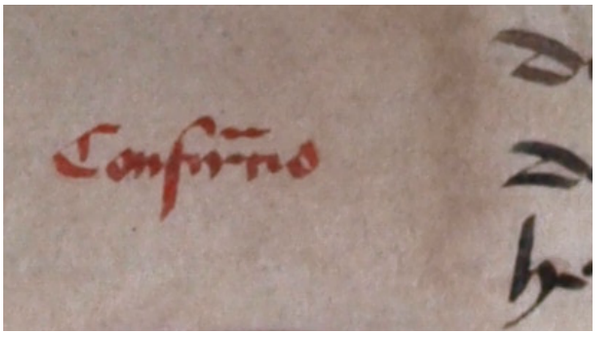

*Figure 2.47 Rubrication by the hand that wrote the chronicle (f. 141v).*

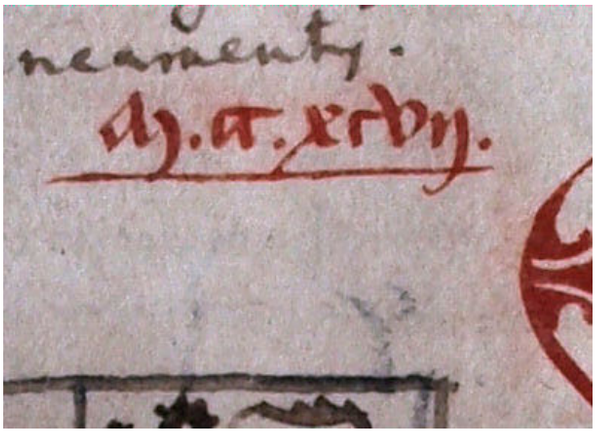

*Figure 2.48 Rubrication by the hand that wrote the chronicle (f. 114v).*

Throughout manuscript **We$_1$**, red ink was used to signify the importance of particular words or sentences. In medieval manuscript production, writing the text and rubricating are two different tasks, sometimes performed by different persons. The latter is not the case in this manuscript. There are a handful of words that were written completely in red ink, which were executed in the same handwriting as the rest of the *Croniken* (Figures 2.47–2.48).[256] The same red ink was also used for corrections (Figures 2.37–2.38). This indicates that the processes of rubrication, writing and correcting were intricately linked.

Capital letters, names, places, years and Roman numerals were rubricated, and most paragraph marks are written in red. Their location may have been indicated by two thin brown lines, which occasionally are still visible. Red ink was also used to underline chapter titles (e.g., Figure 2.37) and for line fillers.[257] The last preserved leaf, which contains the description of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen (f. 200v), is the only leaf that contains no rubrication at all.

## Illustration

Each grand master, Utrecht land commander, and king of Jerusalem mentioned in the *Croniken* is adorned with his presumed coats of arms. Also included are various stages of the coat of arms of the Teutonic Order itself. In the concise sixteenth-century continuation these grand masters' coats of arms are continued from Heinrich Reuß of Plauen (1467–70) up to Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1510–25). All coats of arms are approximately 47 millimetres high and 42 millimetres wide. The consistency in shape and size suggests that possibly a fixed template was used. The coats are drawn in four different colours: yellow/gold, blue, red, green and black, which together with white/silver (left blank) comprise the heraldic colours or tinctures. The coats of arms of the continuation were made using different shades of brown/grey ink as well as red ink. Their size is around 52 by 48 mm. The last coat of arms in the manuscript, that of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen, is different in execution. The dimensions are identical, but the black cross of the Teutonic Order is much less wide than that of all previous land commanders (Figure 2.49 and Figure 2.50).

[256] See also Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, ff. 34r, 81v, 158v.
[257] Note that in Figure 2.37 the order of the work processes was as follows: 1) writing the text in brown ink; 2) recognizing a mistake; 3) correcting; 4) rubrication.

*Figure 2.49 Coat of arms of Johan van Drongelen (1469–92), f. 200v.*

*Figure 2.50 Coat of arms of Johan van Haeften (1456–63), f. 199v.*

All coats of arms have a crude pencil drawing underneath or just outside the colouring (Figure 2.51 and Figure 2.52).[258] The colours are represented by guide letters (e.g., Figure 2.50: *g* for 'geel' (yellow) or 'goud' (gold)). As was discussed above, the coats of arms may have been coloured by the scribe of the text at some stage of the manuscript's production.

*Figure 2.51 Three lions pre-drawn in the upper corner (f. 96r). A guide letter 'r' (red) is visible beneath the colourings.*

*Figure 2.52 Star pre-drawn in the upper corner (f. 150v). A guide letter 'r' (red) is visible beneath the colourings.*

[258] See also Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 150v.

## History of the manuscript, ownership, and user marks

*Figure 2.53 Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–62), grand master (1641–62). © Wikimedia Commons.*

The manuscript has many annotations dating from the sixteenth century onwards, in Dutch, German and Latin. Some of the more substantial notes have been described by Franz Lackner and are also included in the Appendix, A.5.[259] One particular sixteenth-century hand, alternating German and Middle Dutch dialects, wrote a continuation up to 1525 (ff. 179r–184r) and some notes in the margins (f. 114r; f. 174r). This means that some time in or after 1525 the manuscript was in the hands of a scribe who operated at the crossroads of the Dutch and German language areas.

Most notes are written by a certain "Paulus Schryberus", syndic of the Alden Biesen bailiwick and canon of St Cunibert in Cologne.[260] He dedicated the work to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–62; Figure 2.53). Leopold Wilhelm was grand master of the Teutonic Order (1641–62) and governor of the Spanish Netherlands. There are also ownership marks of Edmund Freiherr von Bocholtz und Orey, Land Commander of Alden Biesen (1658–90).[261] Paulus Schryber referred to Edmund von Bocholtz as his superior, which means that his notes must be dated after Edmund took office (1658) and before Leopold Wilhelm died (1662). It could be possible that Leopold Wilhelm of Austria never received the manuscript due to an untimely death. In 1664 the manuscript is still linked to the Alden Biesen bailiwick, as becomes clear from the aforementioned letter from the Gruitrode commandery, now bound in the manuscript (f. 132). According to a note written by Edmund von Bocholtz (f. 1v), the manuscript was returned to the Teutonic Order's archive in Mergentheim in that same year.[262] Together

[259] Lackner, *Streubestände* I, Kat.–Nr. 62.
[260] Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 1r.
[261] Ibid., f. 1v.
[262] Even though the manuscript may have only stayed in the bailiwick for a short period, its content influenced other works of art in the Alden Biesen bailiwick. The large engraving by Romein de Hooghe, which includes all the commanderies of Alden Biesen in 1700, also makes numerous references to the history of the order. Some of these references are directly related to the *Croniken* (note for instance the history of how the order's coat of arms came into being and reference to the order's involvement in the siege of Damietta in 1218–9). M. Kossmann, 'Een zeldzame prent van Romein de Hooghe', *Oud Holland* 66 (1951) 186–189.

with other archival material of the Teutonic Order from Mergentheim it will have arrived in Vienna in the beginning of the nineteenth century.[263] In 1960, according to a note on a separate leaf kept in the manuscript, the manuscript was restored: "Foliated, brushed, disinfected in alcohol and encased in glassine paper on both sides, then taken, stitched and bound in linen by conservator Herbert Havranek (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna)."[264] Barely visible are two similarly shaped stains which could be library marks – although it cannot be ruled out that they are merely dirt (f. 8v; Figure 2.54).

*Figure 2.54 Possible library marks, or just two similarly shaped stains? (f. 8v).*

## Binding and guard leaves

Both the binding and the guard leaves, mentioned in the restoration report, are from 1960 and provide no further information about the original manuscript.

[263] M. van der Eycken, 'Het Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv (DOZA) in Wenen en de Belgische geschiedenis', in: J. Mertens ed., *Adel, ridderorde en erfgoed in het Land van Maas en Rijn*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Duitse Orde in de Balije Biesen 10 (Bilzen 2012) 45–57, there 46–48.

[264] "Von Konservator Herbert Havranek (HHuStA, Wien) foliert, abgebürstet, in Alkohol desinfiziert u. zwischen Pergaminpapier beiderseits eingebettet, sodann gefasst, geheftet und in Ganzleinen eingebunden."

## 2.3 Localization and date

### Key parameters

Manuscript **We$_1$** can be dated and its origins located in various ways. The primary method for dating is through the use of the watermarks. To recapitulate, the watermarks P1–6 were used in incunabula published from 1489/90 to 1494, but predominantly in the first quarter of 1491. The paper with watermark J1–2 can be dated around 1480. K1–2 were not identified, but there are similarities to watermarks found in the mid-1490s, particularly around 1496. All watermarks were used in the Low Countries and Lower Rhine region. The script, a *littera hybrida*, is of little help to further specify the age of the manuscript, since it became much used in the Low Countries after 1425, although some of the letter forms point at a date in the second half of the fifteenth century.[265]

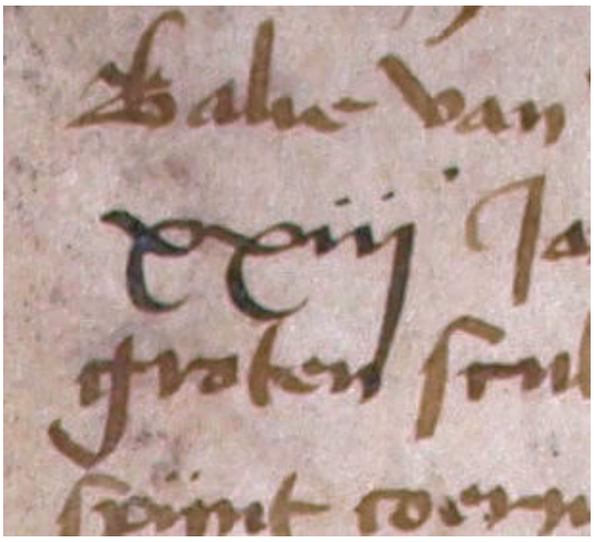

*Figure 2.55 Difference in ink colour of the number of years in office of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen (1469-1492) and surrounding text (f. 200v).*

Two sets of editorial amendments may help to further date the manuscript. The chronicle ends with a description of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen, who died on 15 August 1492. This date is mentioned in all Middle Dutch copies of the *Cronikken*, although it is lacking from **We$_1$** because of aforementioned damage to the manuscript that resulted in textual loss. Even when we assume the date was originally included in manuscript **We$_1$**, however, this would provide a *terminus post quem* only for this chapter of the chronicle; but there are reasons to suspect it was a later addition, and that we should approach the evidence from a different perspective.

As has been mentioned above, the folio containing the description of Johan van Drongelen is the only folio in the manuscript that does not have any rubrication. Furthermore, the execution of his coat of arms is distinctly different from the previous ones. This raises suspicion that this folio may not have been written at the same time as the rest of the chronicle, but added later by the same hand. This is indeed corroborated by further evidence. The number of years that Johan van Drongelen was land commander in Utrecht, twenty-three, seems to have been left blank at first and added at a later stage. This can be deduced from the different ink colour and slightly misjudged spacing (Figure 2.55). The first couple of sentences only concern events associated with Drongelen taking up office and do not make any reference to future occasions:

> *Lord Johan van Drongelen was the twenty-fourth land commander of the bailiwick of Utrecht of the Teutonic Order for a period of* ***[twenty-three]*** *years. He found the house laden with debts and there was not a single bag of grain in the attic, nor did anyone own him any grain. There were also no provisions for the winter. The house was 3.700 Rhine guilders in debt, but many honourable prelates,*

[265] See section 2.2, “Script”.

> *canons, lords and other good individuals and friends, in Utrecht, Holland and Zeeland, faithfully assisted the land commander by borrowing him money and making sure that he could relief the debt-burden.*[266]

The first sentence is clearly the same as the other chapters in the bailiwick chronicle, which means that there is no shift in style. Compare for instance with the first two sentences of the preceding chapter:

> *Lord Hendrik van Hackfort was the twenty-third land commander for a period of two-and-a-half years. He as an honourable, peaceful and virtuous man and very weak and had a good nature.*[267]

All this means that for this and all previous[268] parts of the *Croniken* 15 August 1492, the day Drongelen died, is not a *terminus post quem*, but a *terminus ante quem*: the *Croniken* is written before the death of Johan van Drongelen. For the first part of the chronicle, written on paper dated around 1480, this may not come as a surprise. For the second part of the manuscript, written on paper current circa 1491, this further narrows down the chronology of the production of the text. In the next section I will examine the composition of the chapter on Johan van Drongelen more closely.

It also means that the manuscript was continued after the death of Drongelen – even if the text was nearly finished. Later changes to the manuscript include the editorial amendments to the list of Livonian commanderies, briefly mentioned earlier (see Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.67). They show that the writer of the manuscript included recent news from Livonia into the text and was well aware of the geographical situation there.[269] These amendments include additions such as the fortress Tolsburg (Es.: Toolse), erected in 1471; Borkholm (Es.: Porkuni), erected in 1479; the assertion that Wenden (Latvian: Cēsis) was the new headquarter of the master of Livonia, which can be dated to 1480; as well as numerous other corrections and additions.[270] However, not all information was amended to reflect the most up-to-date state of affairs; a list of members of the secret council of the master of Livonia still included a commander of Dünamünde (Latvian: Daugavgrīva). After 1483 no more commanders of Dünamünde were appointed.[271]

Most significant, however, is an addition to the text which mentions a new fortress built by the Russians across the river Narva on the present-day border between Estonia and Russia. This fortress, Ivangorod Castle, was built in the

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[266] "Heer Johan van Dronghelen was die vierendetwijntichste lantcommenduer van der balie van Utrecht van der Duytscher Oirden XXIII jair lanck. Hij vant dat huys in groten sculden, ende daer en was nyet een spijnt coerns opten solre, noch men was hem gheen koern sculdich. Oick en was in den huse gheen provisie teghens den wijnter. Ende thuis was sculdich over sevenendedertichhondert Rijnsche guldens. Mer veel eersame prelaten, canoniken, heren ende ander goede luden ende vrunden, bynnen Utrecht, in Hollant ende in Zeelant, hebben desen lantcommenduer seer truwelick bijghestaen ende pennyngen geleent ende geholpen dat hij allencken die sculden vervallen heeft." *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.774.

[267] "Heer Henrick van Hackfort was die drieendetwijntichste lantcommenduer derdehalff jair lanck. Hij was een eerbaer vreedsam duechtlick man ende seer slap ende goedertyeren." Ibid., c.773.

[268] There is no reason, not in terms of content, codicology or otherwise, to question the order the manuscript was written in.

[269] Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 176v–177r.

[270] A. Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland*. Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft XXXIII (Dorpat: Dorpater Estnischer Verlag 1942) 314, 302, 327.

[271] B. Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 16 (Berlin/Münster: Lit 2011) 151, note 426.

summer of 1492 (Figure 2.56). It will have taken some time before news of a new Russian fortress would have reached the writer of the manuscript. This could potentially have taken months, possibly even years.

*Figure 2.56 Ivangorod Fortress, along the river Narva, opposite the white tower of Hermann Castle of the Teutonic Order (present-day border Estonia and Russia). © Wikimedia Commons.*

So far, we have been dating manuscript **We$_1$** of the *Croniken*. However, the text itself also holds some clues regarding its date, and it would be interesting to compare these to each other to see whether the dates differ or concur. First we may look to the references to recent popes and emperors in the text. Emperor Frederick III (1452–93) is thrice referred to as "our most merciful lord".[272] Two recent popes Nicholas V (1447–55) and Paul II (1464–71) – the most recent popes mentioned in the text – are also spoken of as "our holy farther".[273] No other dignitaries are similarly referred to. This is a possible indication that the author of the *Croniken* was or had been active during their years in office.

Elsewhere, parts of the text were used in a different chronicle whose publication can be firmly dated. A paragraph of a chronicle on the Bishopric of Utrecht, part of the Middle Dutch translation of Werner Rolevinck's world chronicle *Fasciculus temporum*, consists solely of excerpts of the *Croniken*.[274] The text was printed by Johan Veldener in Utrecht, with a colophon dated 14 February 1480. These excerpts, some of which are copied with practically no changes, were taken from four chapters in the *Croniken*: c.114, c.117, c.234 and c.390. However, these excerpts cannot easily be used

[272] Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, ff. 163r–163v (c.667–668), 166r (c.679).
[273] Ibid., ff. 5r (c.58), 162v–163r (c.663–664), 173v (c.716).
[274] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 260r.

as evidence for the dating of the *Croniken* or its manuscripts since the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* was also a source to the *Croniken* (e.g. c.244, c.325). The relation between the two texts, therefore, is a complex one, where possibly draft versions of one or both texts were available to the author of the other. This issue, partly addressed in the description of manuscript **[Al-Sc]** (2.1, "Dissemination in the Low Countries"), will be further explored below, in chapter 4.3.

The language evidently points at an origin in the Low Countries or Lower Rhine region, and so does the content. This region is the point of reference for the mental landscape; the city of Acre, for instance, is described as being "situated with one side along the coast, just as Cologne is situated along the Rhine."[275] The prologue sums up the crusaders of the Fifth Crusade, including "the bishop of Utrecht, the bishop of Münster and seven other bishops." [276] The source for this passage, Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina*, explicitly mentions all these seven bishops: Nicosia, Raab, Erlau, Hungary, Bayeux, Bamberg and Zeitz;[277] the author of the *Croniken* chooses only to highlight the participation of local rulers. Elsewhere the *Croniken* sides with the brethren from the Low Countries and Rhine Land who in Prussia came into conflict with brethren from Swabia, Franconia, Bavaria and Austria.[278] A couple of chapters further down the *Croniken* mentions the brethren who, without permission, fled from war-torn Prussia and returned to the bailiwicks and caused many nuisances.[279] Although not exclusively relevant to the Utrecht bailiwick, it is known from other sources that their return caused a severe crisis in Utrecht, and the *Croniken* may have been referring to this episode.[280]

The bailiwick chronicle, describing the Utrecht bailiwick and its land commanders, must have been written by someone with good geographical knowledge of the city of Utrecht and its surroundings. This becomes clear, for example, in its description of the first endowment to the Utrecht commandery. Where the original charter describing the endowment mentions a house "ad sanctam Geertrudem in Trajecto", i.e. near the (old) Church of St Gertrude in Utrecht, the bailiwick chronicle changes this to "many goods and premises located outside the city of Utrecht at the west side, near the city," where the church was indeed located until the mid-thirteenth century.[281] The bailiwick chronicle is based on numerous archival sources from the Utrecht bailiwick archive such as this charter. For the privileges and indulgences included in the main part of the *Croniken* texts were also used that were – and in some cases still are – available in the Utrecht bailiwick. In addition, many of the narrative sources point at an origin in the Dutch speaking region, particularly

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[275] "Ende leghet mitter eenre syden op dat meer gelyck Colen op den Rijn doet" (c.480): Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 105v.
[276] "Die bisscop van Utrecht, die bisscop van Munster ende seven ander bisscopen" (c.146): Ibid., f. 24v.
[277] H. Hoogeweg ed., *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*. Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 202 (Tübingen 1894) 162–163.
[278] "Mar die Rijnlander, Doringen, Mijssen, Sassen, Westvelinge, Cleefs, Marcks, Berchs, Gulickers, Ghelresch, Brabander, Hollander, Vlamynghen, Lotrikers, Lymborchs, Valkenborchiere ende ander landen ende bisdommers stichten, dit hieten al Rijnlander ende Nederlander" (c.645): Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 158r.
[279] "Oick syn dair sommige oirdens broeders geweest ende hadden wel op Marienborch ghecomen, mer sij syn heymelick sonder oirloff uten lande ghetogen in anderen balien in Duytschen landen, daer sy tot veel plaetsen nyet veel duechden in der balien ghedaen en hebben als men hem in dien landen overseit." (c.701): Ibid., f. 170v.
[280] Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?'.
[281] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nr. 194; "Veel goeden ende erven liggen buten der stadt van Utrecht aen die westsyde bij der stadt" (c.731): Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 188r.

the Northern Low Countries, and possibly specifically the city of Utrecht. The sources will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.[282]

## Phased genesis

From the above description becomes clear that manuscript **We$_1$** was written in more than one phase. Part of the text was finished before Johan van Drongelen had died, whereas the description of his life and achievements was continued thereafter and the list of Livonian commanderies was improved further. This process left its mark on the manuscript and on the last folio of the manuscript, which included the description of Johan van Drongelen, in particular. Normally, the description of each land commander is presented as one comprehensive entity, but with Johan van Drongelen the description consists of several short statements, hopping from one subject to another and lacking a clear organization. Unusually, the sentences in this section regularly start with a paragraph mark or are preceded by some blank space (10 to 15 millimetres). The first part of the folio describes the appointment of Johan van Drongelen (hereafter: sentence 1), the enormous debt he found the Teutonic Order's house in Utrecht burdened with (sentences 2–3), and how he brought the bailiwick back to organizational and financial health with the help of many of his friends (sentence 4). Then a paragraph mark signals a new section describing how Johan van Drongelen improved the religious inventory: ornaments, clothes, monstrances and trinkets (sentences 5–6). A third section describes the renovation of the house in Utrecht which was completed under his administration in 1475 (sentence 7), followed by a remark about a second renovation in 1490. The text then reverts back to 1483 and the partial destruction of the Utrecht house during the siege by Emperor Maximilian of Austria, again burdening the bailiwick with debts (sentence 8). This is where manuscript **We$_1$** breaks off abruptly, as at least one folio is missing.

The impression that these sections give is that some of them were added occasionally, on an *ad hoc* basis, not conceived as one comprehensive text. This impression is corroborated by measurements of the slant of the letters (Figure 2.57). The graph shows how much the slant varies throughout the page. The slant of the letters *b*, *E*, *f*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *M*, long *ſ*, *t*, *g* and *p* is rather consistent in sentences 1-3 and 7-8 – and, importantly, they are in line with the average slant elsewhere in the manuscript –, but decreases sharply in the sentences in the middle.[283] Especially the variation of the slant of the letter *d* (between 123 and 154 degrees, on average 142°) seems to be linked to the sentence boundaries. The slant of other letters, such as the *v*, *w*, and *y*, also varies between the sentences, but their number is too low to produce an uninterrupted trend. Together with the noted inconsistencies in the content, decorative appearance and chronology of the chapter, this seems to indicate that this chapter was written in several phases, each time adding one or two sentences, and each time showing some variation in the script.

[282] Chapter 3.
[283] The average slant in sentences 1-3 and 7-8 is 78.4° (ranging from 70-87°). In sentences 5-6 the average slant has dropped to 72.4° (ranging from 57-84°), whereas the slant in sentence 4 is somewhere in between: average 75.7° (range 66-84°).

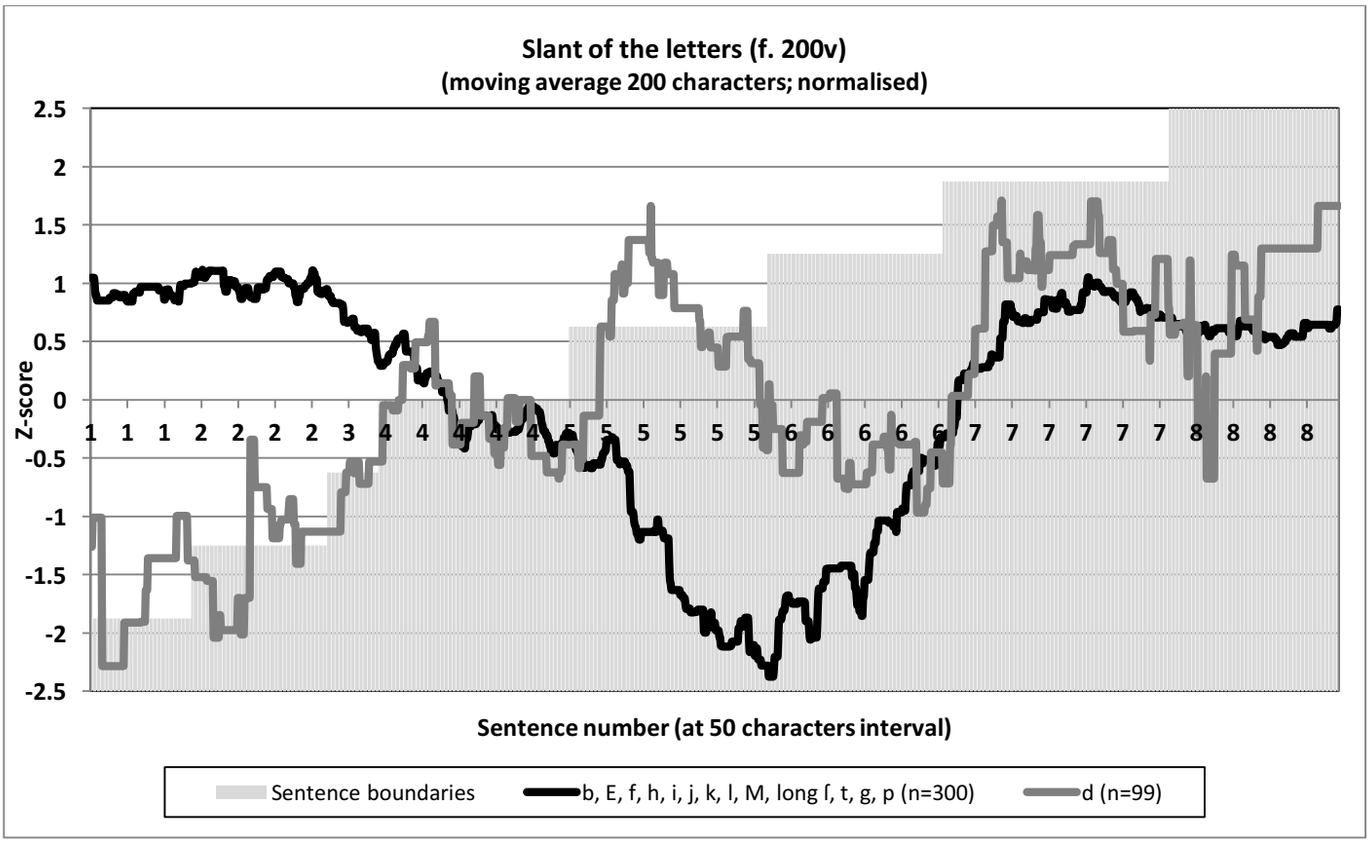


*Figure 2.57 Slant of the letters (manuscript **We₁**, f. 200v).*

In fact, the description of Johan van Drongelen is not the only area in the *Croniken* that shows signs of a phased genesis. Quires 3 to 9 (ff. 9-92) consist of paper that can be dated, based on the aforementioned watermark evidence, a complete decade before the paper used for the rest of the manuscript (quires 1–2 and 10–19; ff. 1–8, 93–200). Although it is possible that six quires of blank paper were either bought around 1480 to be left unused in a corner of the Utrecht commandery for more than ten years before they were given a new purpose in the early 1490s, or had lain dormant at stationers, these are not the most likely scenario. Moreover, other evidence, for instance particular characteristics that coincide with the change in paper, supports a phased production of manuscript **We$_1$**. As has been seen above,[284] the position, homogeneity and ink colour of the quire and leaf signatures change after the ninth quire – perfectly aligned with the change of paper used. Other evidence is provided by the changes in the script and writing conventions of the scribe of manuscript **We$_1$**. Above I have argued that minor changes in script on the final folio are evidence of phased textual production; the same can be said for the manuscript as a whole, where throughout, but especially around the aforementioned change of paper between the ninth and tenth quire, the scribe's preferences for certain letterforms, abbreviations, and orthography were shifting.[285]

[284] See section 2.2, "Quire and leaf signatures".
[285] The following theme is also explored further in Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe'.

One of the most decided of these shifts is related to the use of different graphic forms of the letter *w* and the related *v*. Three (or four) different forms of the letter *w* can be distinguished in the manuscript:

1. The 'disjointed' *w*, consisting of two loose strokes of the pen, positioned diagonal alongside each other (Figure 2.58: "wan[t]").
2. The 'closed' *w*, consisting of two connected and inward facing, looped pen strokes (Figure 2.58: "wert"; Figure 2.59: "wael", "wt").
3. The 'open' *w*, consisting of two parts that open at the top, pointing away from each other, with a slight touch at the bottom (Figure 2.59: "wijsen").
4. Finally, there are various intermediate forms, hybrids of the above categories.

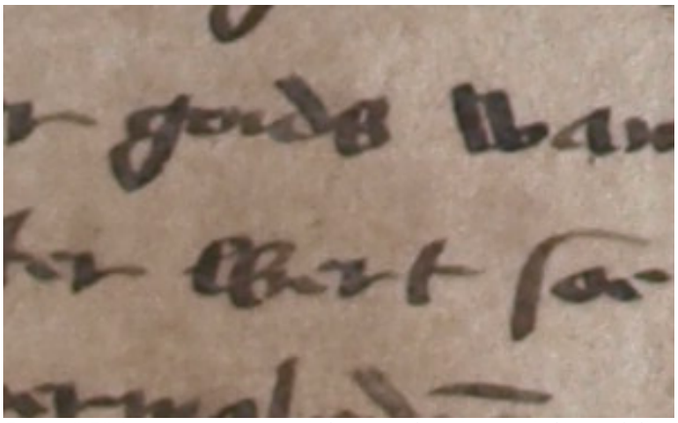

*Figure 2.58 Letter* w*: 'disjointed' ("wan[t]") and 'closed' ("wert") (f. 9r).*

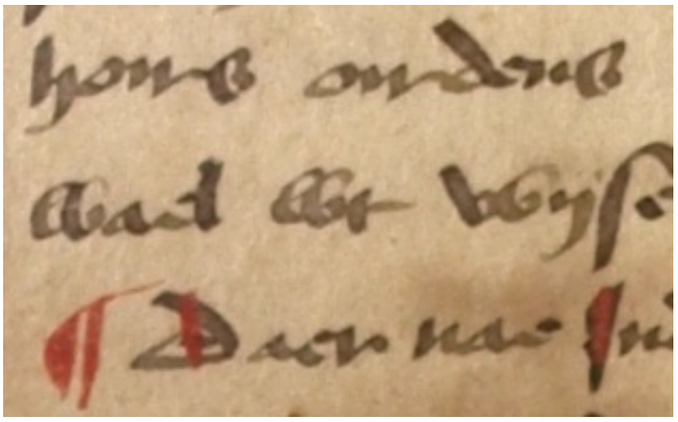

*Figure 2.59 Letter* w*: 'closed' ("wael", "wt") and 'open' ("wijsen") (f. 15v).*

When plotting the occurrence of these letter forms throughout the manuscript (Figure 2.60), it becomes clear that the 'open' *w* becomes the dominant letterform halfway through manuscript **We$_1$**. In the table of contents (second quire, ff. 3r–6v) this 'open' *w* is also by far the most frequent form of the letter *w*, all but suppressing the alternatives. Note that the second quire is written on the same paper as quires 10–19, dated around 1491. We can therefore safely assume that the entire table of contents – not just the folio numbers – was added after the *Croniken* was written and finalized.[286]

[286] The example of manuscript **Ut$_1$** shows that this is not as straightforward as one may suspect. See note 181.

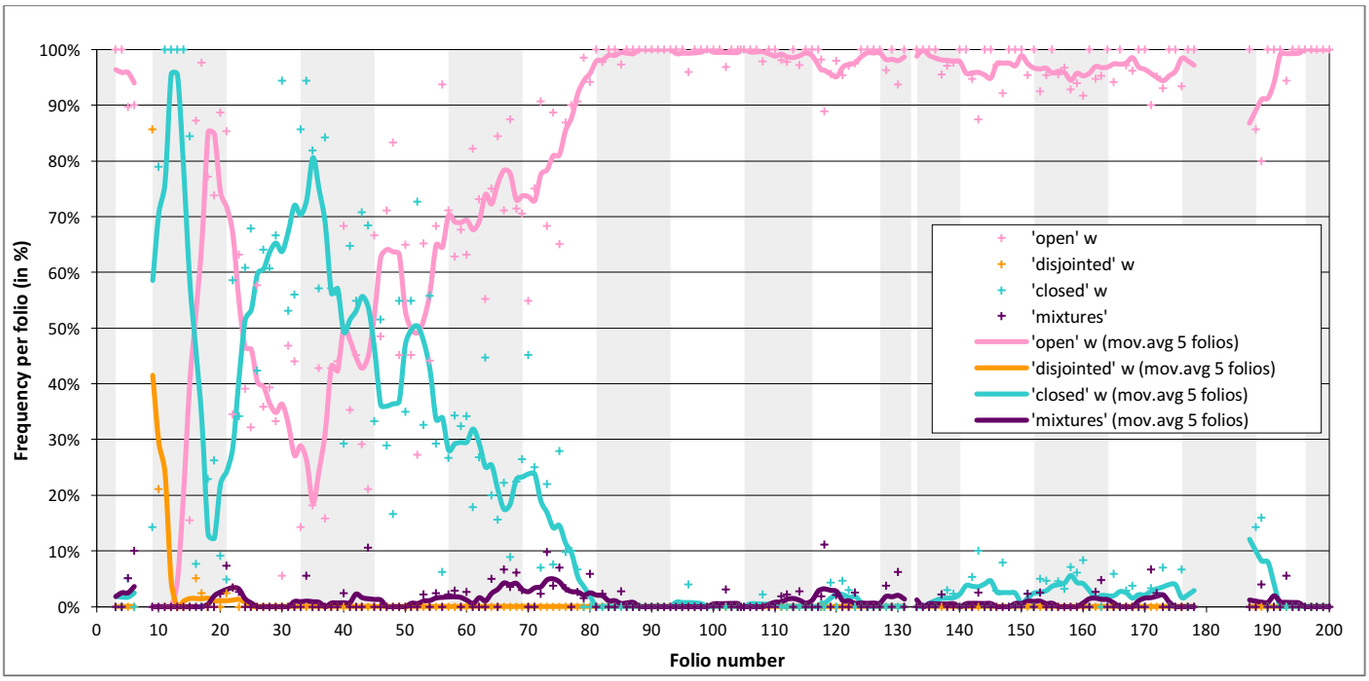


*Figure 2.60 Letterforms of w in manuscript **We₁**. The quires are indicated in the background.*

Starting from quire 3 (the beginning of the prologue; f. 9) the three different letterforms are highly fluctuating. On the first two folios the 'disjointed' *w* is prevalent, but it soon disappears. The 'open' and 'closed' *w* then alternate in frequency, until the 'open' *w* gradually gains ground from roughly the fifth or sixth quire onwards (ff. 33–56). From the ninth quire on (ff. 81–93) the 'open' *w* overshadows all other letterforms. After a short period of complete dominance of the 'open' *w*, around quire 11 or 12 the 'closed' *w* and mixtures return to stay at a constant level of around 5% of all letters *w* on a folio. Especially for the letter combination 'sw' and 'tw' the 'closed' *w* is used regularly. On the first page of the bailiwick chronicle (f. 187r) there is a short revival of the 'closed' *w*, but quickly the 'open' *w* regains its dominance again.

What causes the substantial fluctuation in the first half of the manuscript remains unclear. The writer of **We₁** clearly had not yet developed a persistent writing style.[287] It seems likely that the most eye-catching fluctuations bare witness of different phases in the production of the manuscript. Some of these fluctuations correlate to the use of specific sources in the *Croniken*. Folios 45 to 51 for instance, an area where the 'open' *w* is used more frequent than in the immediate surroundings, coincides exactly with a list of imperial privileges.

The marked contrast between the first and the second half of the chronicle is evident. And it is not only the letterforms of *w* that show this trend. The use of abbreviations for the word "ende" (English: and) provides an excellent example. It is the most frequently used word in the *Croniken* and often abbreviated, using the conventional abbreviation of a tilde above the letters "en"; it is therefore very suitable for quantitative analysis (Figure 2.61). The similarities with the trend in letter forms of *w* are evident: a high amount of variability in the first half of the manuscript followed by much

[287] See in this regard also Appendix, A.5, "Quantifying palaeographical preferences in the *Sachsenspiegel* and land charters".

more consistency in the second. The table of contents matches, again, the second half of the text. This stands in sharp contrast, to take one example, to manuscript **Ut$_1$** (Figure 2.62). Is that the consistency of a well-trained scribe?

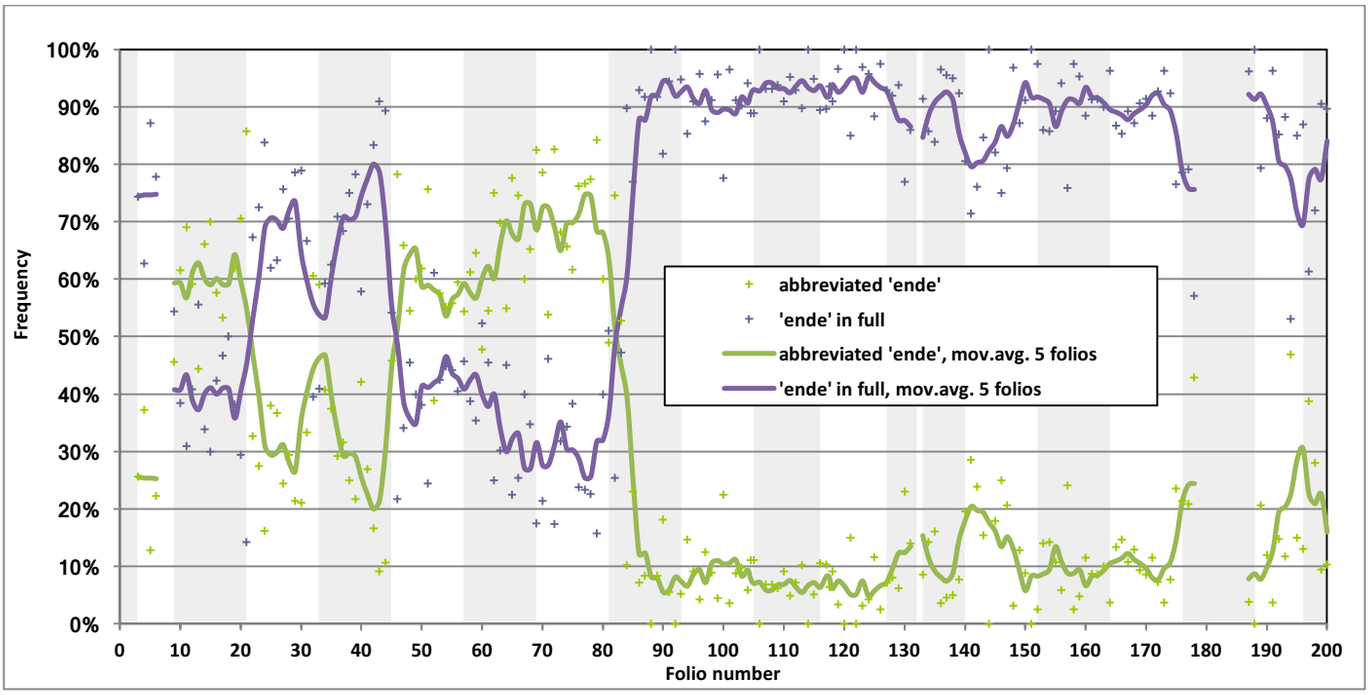


*Figure 2.61 The use of abbreviations in "ende" (and) in manuscript **We$_1$**. The quires are indicated in the background.*

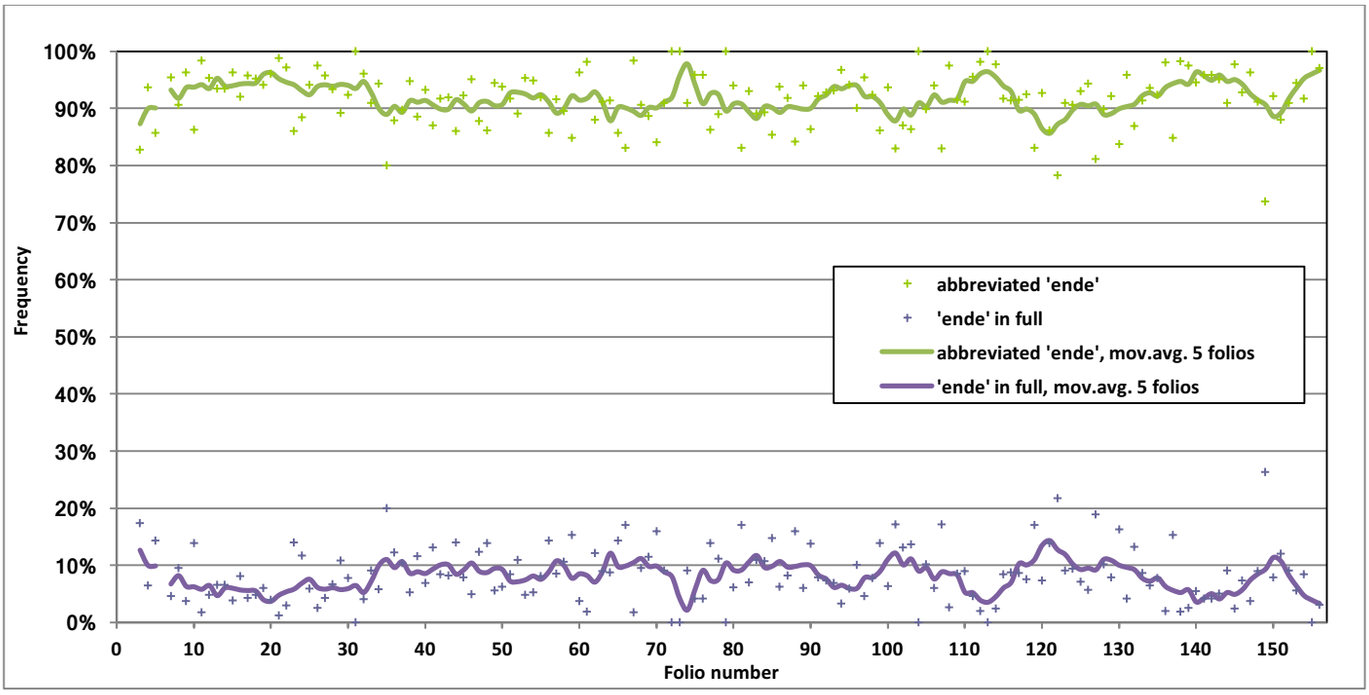


*Figure 2.62 The use of abbreviations in "ende" (and) in manuscript **Ut$_1$**.*

The figures below show many other shifts in the writing which occur halfway through the manuscript (Figure 2.63 to Figure 2.66). They cover spelling conventions, the use of abbreviations, and the width of the characters. In order to compare these graphs with each other, the relative frequencies (all in comparison to a mutually exchangeable comparable form, not related to content) were standardized using z-scores. The different graphs are grouped based on the similarity of their trends. Most of these changes, some of them very abrupt, happen in or around the ninth quire

(ff. 81–92). However, there are some conventions that change more gradually and that are initiated much earlier than the ninth quire. By the time the text arrives at the ninth quire, the letter combination “ghe” (relative to the combination “ge”) has already become the dominant form (Figure 2.63). This is even more evident for the progressively decreasing use of the abbreviation for the letters “er” and the letterforms of *w* that are not ‘open’ (Figure 2.65).

Other aspects are only temporarily affected, but nevertheless usually in or around the ninth quire. This trend can, for example, be witnessed in the two spellings of the word for brother: “broeder” or “brueder” (Figure 2.66).[288] Even the number of the characters per line shows a short-lived deviation from its normal downward trend at this point (Figure 2.66). In other words, the width of the characters (and/or word spacing) temporarily increased – by around 0.1 millimetre per character[289] – in the ninth quire. In general, the width of the characters fluctuates throughout the manuscript. At the beginning of the prologue, in the third quire (ff. 9–20), the number of characters per line reaches its highest point in the entire manuscript (the width of the characters lies around 2.2 to 2.3 millimetres). This section ends around the quire boundary, where also the content of the prologue changes (see chapter 3). From that moment on, the width slowly increases to 2.5 to 2.6 millimetres. However, the bailiwick chronicle at the end of the manuscript is written in a more compact script again, just above 2.4 millimetres.[290]

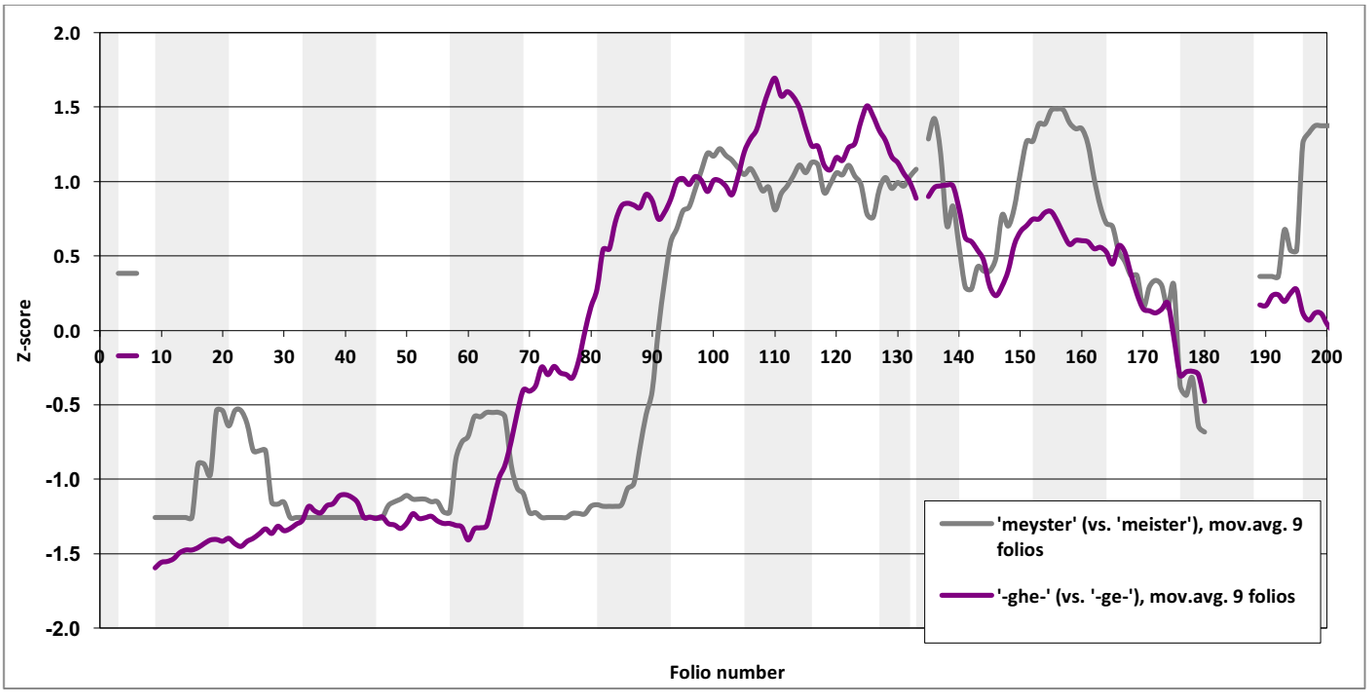


*Figure 2.63 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript **We₁** (“meyster” vs. “meister”; “-ghe-” vs. “-ge-”). The quires are indicated in the background.*

[288] This also includes the plural forms “broeders”, “brueders”, “broederen” and “bruederen”.
[289] Such increase in width equals to around seventy to eighty fewer characters per page.
[290] A graph showing the width of the characters instead of z-scores can be found here: Stapel, ‘The development of a medieval scribe’, 72.

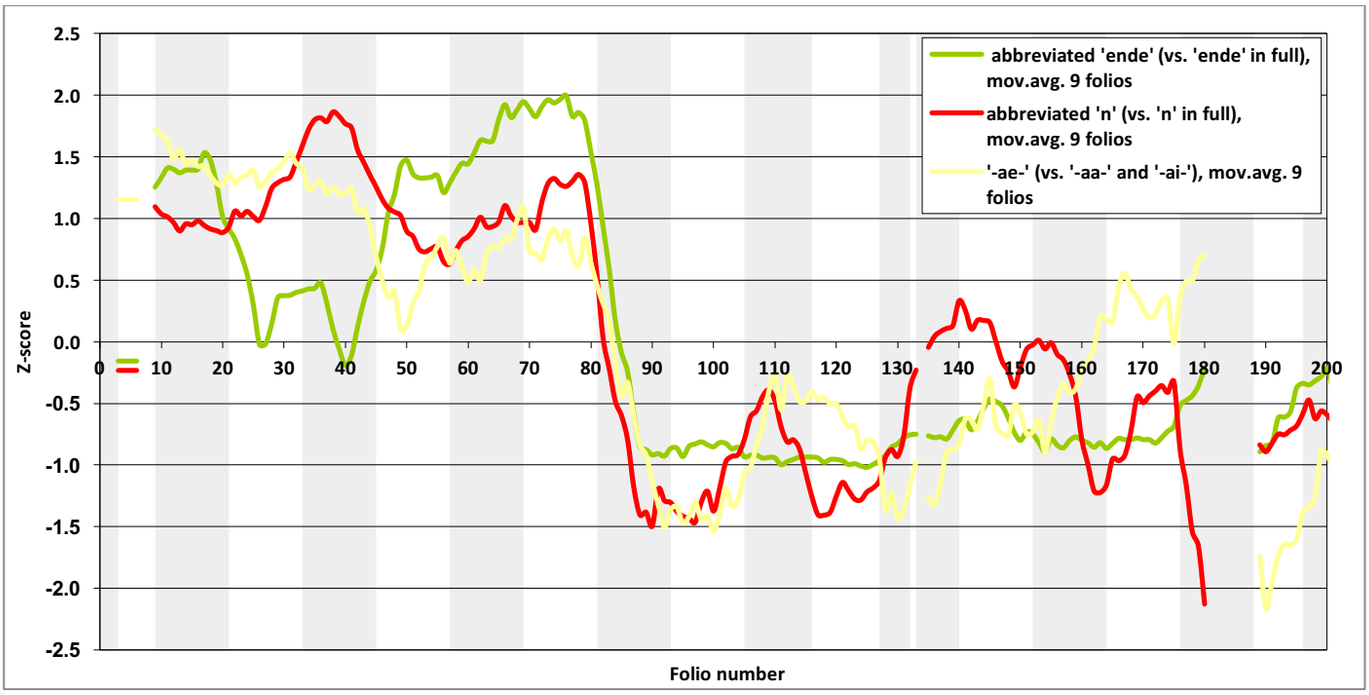


*Figure 2.64 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript **We₁** (abbreviated "ende" vs. "ende" in full; abbreviated "-n-" vs. "-n-" in full; "-ae-" vs. "-aa-" and "-ai-"). The quires are indicated in the background.*

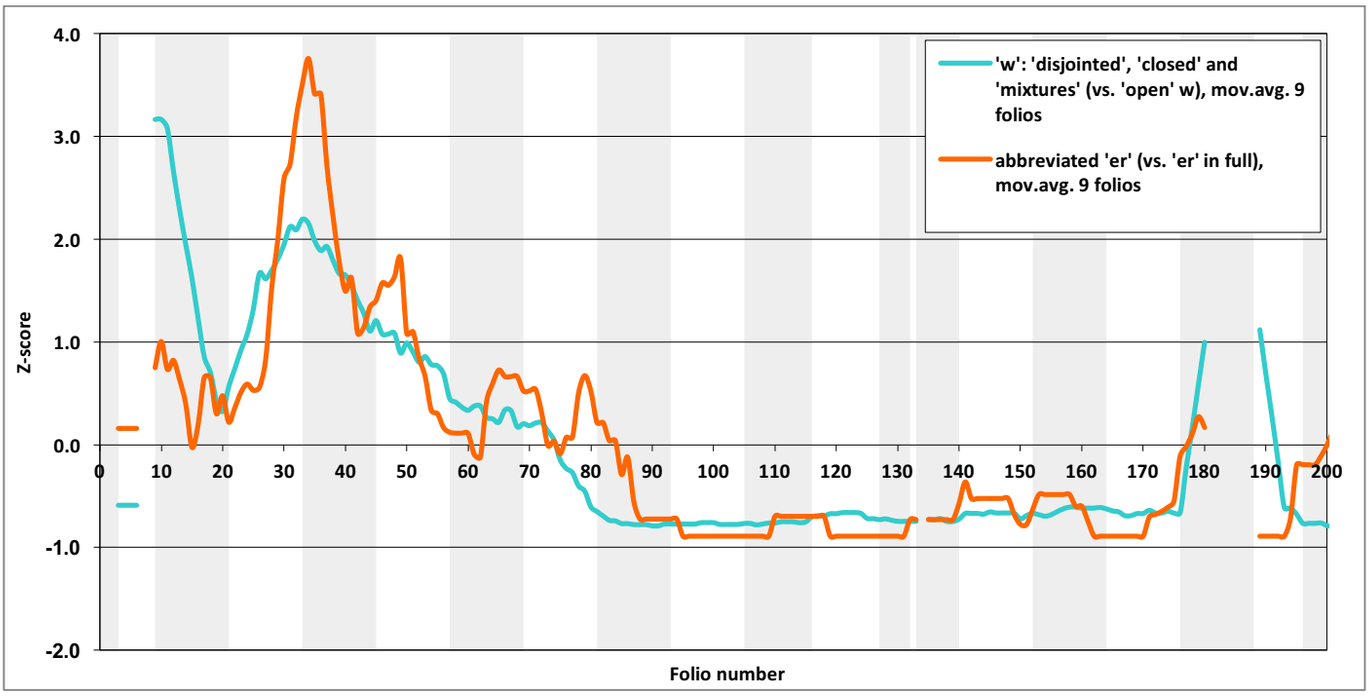


*Figure 2.65 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript **We₁** (letter* w *('disjointed', 'closed' and 'mixtures' vs. 'open'); abbreviated "er" vs. "er" in full). The quires are indicated in the background.*

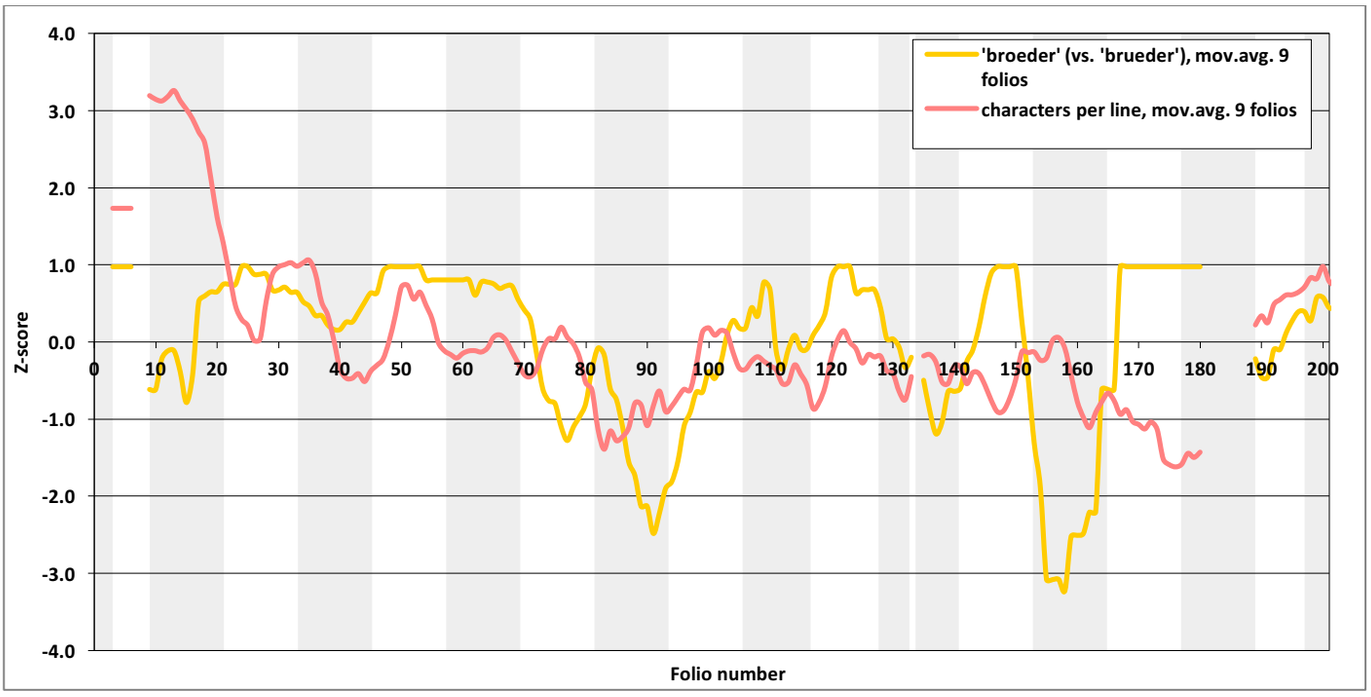


*Figure 2.66 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript **We₁** ("broeder" vs. "brueder"; characters per line). The quires are indicated in the background.*[291]

All in all, such changes in writing conventions occur throughout the manuscript – some slowly, some abrupt. Moreover, the ninth quire presents an area in the manuscript in which these changes especially manifest themselves. Note that the ninth quire is the last quire of the paper dated around 1480. It appears, therefore, that somewhere halfway in the ninth quire the writing process halted, leaving some of the remaining folios of the quire blank until the work was picked up again at a later stage.

Perhaps we can pinpoint this moment around f. 83v: between c.379 and c.380 the colour of the ink changes slightly, as does the overall appearance of the script. The number of abbreviations – of all types – drops instantly. Small and stylized cadels appear at the beginning of many of the chapters shortly thereafter (c.381–93). This coincides with some interesting developments in the text as well: at the end of c.380, the author states that the chronicle will henceforth depart from Livonian history, to pursue the history in Prussia again. The chapters that follow, however, nevertheless continue to describe events in Livonia. One folio later – f. 84v (c.384) – a new set of sources is introduced which describe the Seventh Crusade. The introduction of these sources causes the chronology of the text to be disturbed (c.383: 1258, c.384: 1245), which happens only very rarely in the *Croniken*. The privileges in c.393–400 are not ordered chronologically as well. Starting from c.401 to c.415 the order of the privileges is restored.

Shifts in spelling preferences are generally more gradual, and even when they do occur suddenly, the location of the shifts varies. The shift from "ae" to "ai" (compare "daer" and "dair"; English: 'there') is located between c.398 and

[291] The number of characters is automatically retrieved for each line of the *Croniken*. To account for lines that do not fill the entire width of the page, the lines that have a number of characters outside one standard deviation have been excluded. The spacing between words is regarded as one character; abbreviated characters and additions in the margins or between the lines were not included in the calculations.

c.400 (c.399 is written in Latin). The shift from the diphthong "ei" to "ey" (compare "meister" and "meyster"; English: 'master') occurs between chapters 415 and 416.[292] This is the final strong shift in the manuscript. As has been shown above,[293] from c.416 onwards the hierarchy of initials receives a new and more consistent system (Figure 2.46).

This all makes it likely that the writing process was halted – possibly on more than one occasion – between c.379 (f. 83v) and c.416 (f. 93r). After some time, enough for the scribe to have developed a slightly different but also more consistent writing style, he picked up the pen again and finished the manuscript. Judging from the date of the remaining paper (around 1491) and the *terminus ante quem* presented in the description of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen (before 15 August 1492), the lime lapse between the first and second phase of writing can well have been around a decade. On a later occasion we will investigate further what possible reasons could have caused this substantial delay in the writing process.

One final issue regarding the date of the manuscript **We$_1$** requires an explanation. It concerns the paper with the watermarks K1-2 (three bifolia ff. 1/2, 133/134, 178/185). These watermarks cannot be identified with any in the available repertories, but they are most similar to watermarks in paper used in 1496. Only ff. 133, 134 and 178 contain text written by the scribe of the *Croniken*, with no apparent disruption in the text from the surrounding folios. If the paper should indeed be dated to approximately 1496, thus somewhat later than the surrounding text and paper, a problem presents itself: either the hypothesized date of the paper is incorrect, or the text on these folios was added or replaced at some later stage. Are there traces in the text that could provide an answer?

One reason for the scribe to replace these folios could be that he wanted to make changes to the text, without disturbing the clean and tidy look of the manuscript; a substitution of the folio would make extensive deletions unnecessary. On f. 134 there is indeed some reason to suspect that there were editorial amendments to the text. A summary of a privilege issued by Pope Boniface IX on 25 February 1399 is written on ff. 134r–134v (c.594).[294] It allowed priest-brethren of the Teutonic Order to preach to the people, or appoint preachers, and give indulgence to the audiences of their sermons. The privilege is chronologically displaced, presented between two other privileges issued by Boniface IX on 11 May 1396 (c.593) and 7 April 1397 (c.595), which is unusual, although not unique, for the text. In the margin the Latin abbreviation for "conceptus" is written ('physical conception' or 'thought, idea'). The privilege that immediately follows (c.595) is reduced to just four lines. In one of the following privileges (c.596), a reference is made to the privilege of 1399 (c.594). This reference, underlined in red, is located on f. 136v on paper that can be dated to circa 1491. It is possible that the writer of manuscript **We$_1$** copied that reference from his source and at some point realized that he had not included this particular privilege. He then replaced an entire bifolium, rewrote the chapters that did not need any adjustments, inserted the forgotten privilege, and reduced the immediately following privilege in c.595

[292] See also: Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe', 76.
[293] See section 2.2, "Hierarchy and textual structure".
[294] Medieval transcripts of the privilege are still present in the bailiwick's archive in Utrecht: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 89; Ibid., inv.nr. 118, f. 14r; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nr. 146; E. Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici. Ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum* (Berlin: Weidmann 1869) 442 (nr. 696).

to a bare minimum. This abridgment was necessary because he could not afford to use more space than before the substitution: the end of the inserted bifolio still needed to lead up seamlessly to the subsequent text.

It is worth bearing in mind that the final quire signature of the manuscript that has not been trimmed (*l6*) can be found on this bifolio (f. 133r; Figure 2.29). None of the immediately preceding folios show remnants of these quire signatures. This indicates that the position on the page of this particular signature deviated from other quire signatures in its close surroundings and suggests that it was not created simultaneously with the others. It corroborates the suspicion that the bifolio was inserted at some later stage to facilitate editorial amendments. If indeed changes were made to the text by substituting a few folios, all of these changes are also found in both the German and the Middle Dutch manuscript traditions of the *Croniken*.[295] Note that the editorial amendments made to the list of Livonian commanderies have to be dated after the possible insertion of these leaves, since some of these editorial amendments were included on f. 178r (watermark K1).

| Date | Folios (estimation) | Chapters (estimation) | Remark |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Around 1480** | ff. 9r–83v | c.75–113/122<br>c.114/123–379 | Prologue (separate phase?)<br>Remainder prologue; First part of *Croniken* |
| **Between around 1480 and around 1491** | ff. 83v–93r | c.379–416 | Shifts in scribal preferences |
| **Around 1491, before 15 August 1492** | ff. 93r–186v<br>ff. 187r–200v<br>ff. 3r-8v | c.416–727<br>c.728–74<br>c.1–74 | Remainder of *Croniken*<br>Bailiwick chronicle (separate phase?)<br>Table of contents |
| **After 15 August 1492** | f. 200v | c.774 | Remainder Land Commander Johan van Drongelen |
| **Around 1496 (?)** | ff. 1, 2, 133, 134, 178, 185 | c.590–6; c.726–7 | Paper with watermark K1-2 |
| **After around 1496 (?)** | ff. 176v–178r | c.719–26 | Amendments to list of Livonian commanderies (all added at once?) |

*Table 2.12 Provisional reconstruction of some of the production phases of manuscript **We$_1$** (hand of the main text only).*

[295] Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 96r; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 113r; Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 196r; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 158v; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 189r; Tartu, UR, Mscr. 154, f. 199r–199v.

## 2.4 An author's copy

During the codicological examination the possibility that manuscript **We$_1$** was created in direct proximity to the author of the *Croniken* gradually gained ground. The presence of content related editorial interventions; the fact that all these interventions were adapted by other manuscripts of the *Croniken*; evidence that the manuscript was produced in direct connection to the original sources; evidence from the manuscript production itself and most of all the aggregate value of these indications point into the direction that the author of the text was directly involved in creating manuscript **We$_1$**.

How then should we define 'authorship' in this context? St Bonaventure in the thirteenth century famously identified four ways of writing a book, only one of which worthy of the label *author*.

> *"The method of making a book is fourfold. For someone writes the materials of others, adding or changing nothing, and this person is said to be merely the scribe* (scriptor)*. Someone else writes the materials of others, adding, but nothing of his own, and this person is said to be the compiler* (compilator)*. Someone else writes both the materials of other men, and of his own, but the materials of others as the principal materials, and his own annexed for the purpose of clarifying them, and this person is said to be the commentator* (commentator)*, not the author. Someone else writes both his own materials and those of others, but his own as the principal materials, and the materials of others annexed for the purpose of confirming his own, and such must be called the author* (auctor)*."*[296]

However, the medieval reality often proved to be much more erratic. Indeed, one thing scholarship has made clear in the past decades is that authorship is a troublesome concept for the medieval period and that scribes had considerable creative agency.[297] Scholars have to deal with medieval texts that were inherently unstable in terms of their language as well as their content and structure. Rather than evading these issues, early adopters of what has been labelled 'New' or 'Material Philology' embraced this variable nature of medieval texts.[298] The unstableness became a research topic,

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[296] "Quod quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando; et iste mere dicitur scriptor. Aliquis scribit aliena, addendo, sed non de suo; et iste compilator dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur commentator, non auctor. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tanquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem; et talis debet dici auctor": Bonaventure, 'Procemii Sancti Bonaventurae in Librum Primum Sententiarum', in: Studio et Cura PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura ed., *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia iussu et auctoritate Reverendissimi Pater Bernardini a Portu Romatino* I (Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae 1882) 1–15, there 14–15; The English translation is provided by: A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (reissued 2nd edn; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2010) 94.

[297] Regarding the roles of scribes as authors: D. Wakelin, *Scribal correction and literary craft. English manuscripts 1375-1510*. Cambridge studies in medieval literature 91 (New York: Cambridge University Press 2014); M. Fisher, *Scribal authorship and the writing of history in medieval England*. Interventions. New studies in medieval culture (Columbus: Ohio State University Press 2012); L.R. Mooney and E. Stubbs, *Scribes and the city. London Guildhall clerks and the dissemination of Middle English literature, 1375-1425* (Woodbridge/Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press/Boydell 2013).

[298] E.g.: S.G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum* 65 (1990) 1–10; S.G. Nichols, 'Why material philology? Some thoughts', in: H. Tervooren and H. Wenzel eds., *Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und neue Horizonte*. Sonderhefte der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 116 (Berlin: Schmidt 1997) 10–30.

rather than a hindering complication. This meant that studies – if still in existence – that were looking for a perhaps idealised version of the text originally conceived by an equally idealised author-person, rapidly turned out of fashion. Instead, every manuscript copy of a certain text – with all of its unique quirks and adaptations – should be judged on its own merits.[299]

New Philology was presented in some ways – rather provocatively – as a radical change in the scholarly field. Not surprising, this elicited strong opposite reactions as well. Not everyone was prepared to relinquish interest in the medieval author. The decade following the introduction of the term saw the emergence of fierce debates, as well as attempts to come to a middle ground.[300] For one, there have been efforts to come to a more nuanced stance on the role of the author. Rüdiger Schnell for instance argued for a distinction between the author as text producer and the author as biographical subject.[301] It is in this more narrow capacity, as text producer, as presenter of words (thus defined by an activity), that the author is used in this study. This in turn can be distinguished from the writing activity usually attributed to a scribe. At no point does this mean that both activities could not blend into each other and in chapter 4 the complex question of authorship of the *Croniken* is further addressed.

The terminology for manuscripts created by or in close vicinity to an author varies greatly, but following the nomenclature established by Astrid Houthuys, we can classify manuscript **We$_1$** as an author's copy. In her view, an author's copy should be defined as a manuscript created in direct proximity and under the direction of the author. The category includes autographs, written by the author, but also manuscripts associated with the author that were (partially or as a whole) physically written by someone else, such as dictations and apographs.[302]

Manuscript **We$_1$** is not a draft copy: it shows no signs (see, e.g., Figure 2.12) of the thorough and frequent editorial amendments such a copy would be expected to entail.[303] Instead, the presented text is a neat copy with only a few interventions. Nor is there evidence that the text was indeed written by the author himself. Broadly speaking a number of characteristics can indicate whether a manuscript can be associated with the original author of a text or whether it was copied by a scribe without such authorial supervision. The most apparent indicators for an author's copy are a strongly altered nature of the text and the presence of meaningful alterations – that is adjusting the meaning of the

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[299] An excellent introduction and bibliography to the subject is provided by Martin Schubert: M.J. Schubert, 'Der Schreiber im Mittelalter. Einleitung', in: M.J. Schubert ed., *Der Schreiber im Mittelalter*. Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 7.2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2003) 3–8; Also compare: J. Bumke, 'Autor und Werk. Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur höfischen Epik (ausgehend von der Donaueschinger Parzivalhandschrift Gδ)', in: H. Tervooren and H. Wenzel eds., *Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und neue Horizonte*. Sonderhefte der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 116 (Berlin: Schmidt 1997) 87–114.

[300] E.g.: K. Busby ed., *Towards a synthesis? Essays on the new philology*. Faux titre. Études de langue et littérature françaises publiées 68 (Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA: Rodopi 1993).

[301] R. Schnell, '"Autor" und "Werk" im deutschen Mittelalter. Forschungskritik und Forschungsperspektiven', in: J. Heinzle, L.P. Johnson and G. Vollmann-Profe eds., *Neue Wege der Mittelalter-Philologie. Landshuter Kolloquium 1996*. Wolfram-Studien XV (Berlin: Schmidt 1998) 12–73, there 72.

[302] An apograph is a neat copy, made from the autograph or the author's notes by a professional scribe, with the author overseeing the production. Houthuys, *Middeleeuws kladwerk*, 65–67.

[303] Which are, actually, quite rare: Ibid., 89–92.

text – written in the same hand as the main text.[304] As Astrid Houthuys has pointed out, for some types of autographical manuscripts, neat copies without signs of re-editing, identification as an author's copy can be difficult,[305] and a range of cumulative arguments are required. In the case of manuscript **We$_1$**, that evidence consists of the presence of particular types of editorial amendments showing an author working directly from source texts, the extent to which these changes were incorporated in all different traditions of the *Croniken* (indirect evidence that the text in **We$_1$** stood at the top of the stemma of manuscripts), and codicological observations.

It is impossible to tell from the mere presence or absence of scribal errors whether a particular manuscript is or is not an autograph, as Houthuys has rightly argued. After all, even authors could – and usually did – work with earlier drafts of their work as exemplar for the production of a 'neat' copy. During that process, scribal errors could occur.[306] Nonetheless, a lack of scribal errors can be an indication that the scribe felt a particular attachment to the narrative and was not merely mechanically copying. In itself it is no evidence of authorial agency, but in combination with other types of evidence it can be seen as pointing in that direction.

## Editorial amendments

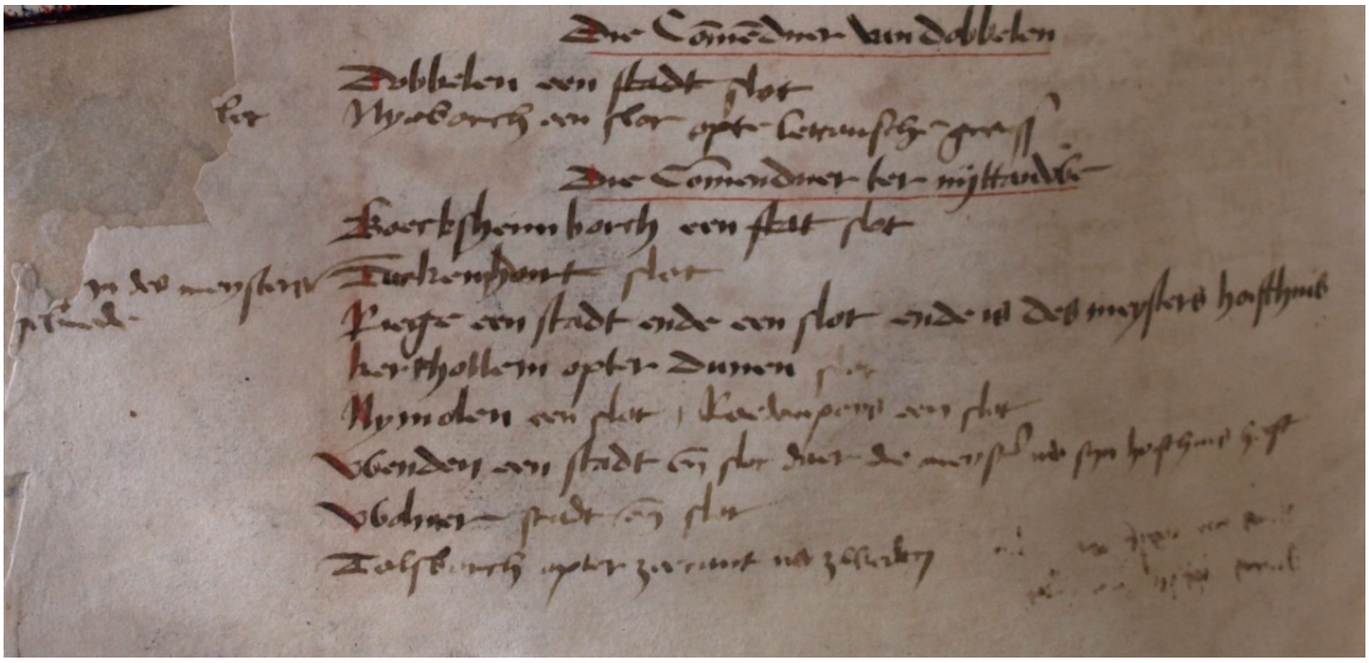

*Figure 2.67 Editorial amendments to the list of Livonian commanderies (f. 176v). See also Figure 2.1.*

As I pointed out earlier, the number of editorial amendments in manuscript **We$_1$** is limited. The most substantial and significant alterations to the text, namely the continuations on f. 200v, the list of Livonian commanderies, and the possibly added folios with watermarks K1–2, have already been discussed. The amendments regarding Livonia were written in an irregular *littera hybrida*, but are by the scribe of the main text.[307]

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[304] Ibid., 68.
[305] Ibid., 70.
[306] Ibid., 72.
[307] Compare for instance the word "slot" (fortress) and the capital letter *R* (Figure 2.67).

There are, however, further significant editorial interventions in the text, impacting on its meaning. Most of the corrections that I have mentioned in the description of the manuscript above are examples of such significant amendments.[308] Thus, for example, the scribe of the *Croniken* changed "none of the brethren shall be obedient" to "none of the brethren shall be rebellious" (Figure 2.37); "he was on his guard" to "he was not on his guard" (Figure 2.38); and "Wenceslaus" to "Karolus" (Figure 2.40; see below). In some cases, as I have noted, the scribe completed the information in spaces which had initially been left blank.

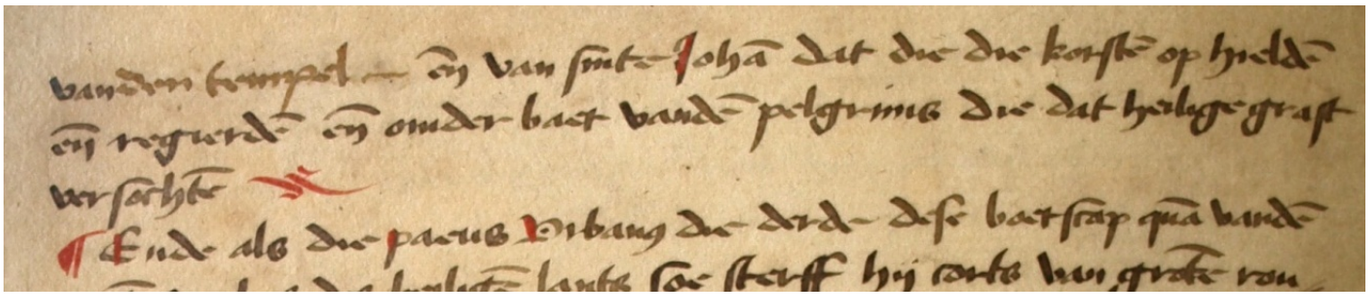

*Figure 2.68 Scraped and superimposed reading in manuscript **We₁**, f. 17v.*

In the prologue (f. 17v; c.111) the scribe erased a short phrase by scraping the letters off the parchment, and replaced it with "den tempel": "the two hospitals of <the Temple> and of St John" (Figure 2.68). It appears from the different colour of the ink that this was probably not done immediately after the original words were written, which may be supported by the readings in other manuscripts of the *Croniken*, some of which have the presumed erased variant, while others have incorporated the editorial intervention in **We$_1$** (Table 2.19). What the original reading was is difficult to tell. Just above the letter *n* the haste of what could be a long *ſ* can be detected. Possibly, the erased words were "onser vrouwen" (Our Lady), referring to the hospital of the Teutonic Order as one of the two Jerusalem hospitals that were – according to the *Croniken* – kept in working order after the conquest of the city by Saladin in 1187, whilst paying tribute. The principal source for this chapter, James of Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*, does not provide any details about the fate of the hospitals in this period and the information seems to be an autonomous addition by the author of the *Croniken*.[309] It remains unclear why the hospital of the Teutonic Order – if we assume that was indeed the original reading – was changed into a hospital of the Knights Templar. The Templars played an important role in the remainder of the chapter and in the description by Vitry, which may have caused some confusion, although we should not rule out that the writer had a different, unknown, reason for the change.

[308] See section 2.2, "Corrections".
[309] James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale de Jacques de Vitry*. M.-G. Grossel ed. Traduction des classiques français du Moyen Age 72 (Paris: H. Champion 2005) c. 94–95; Compare (regarding the tribute): Ibid., c. 64.

| Manuscript | Messengers sent to the pope (c.549) |
|---|---|
| **We$_1$, f. 120v** | ende seynden aenden ~~paeus~~ heilighen vader den paeus van Romen |
| **Ge, f. 87r** | ende senden aenden heiligen vader den paeus van romen |
| **Ut$_1$, f. 102v** | Ende senden aenden hieligen vader den paeus van romen |
| **[Ma$_1$], § 302** | ende senden aen den heiligen vader den Paus van Romen |
| **St, f. 180v** | und senden an den hilligen vader den pauest |
| **Ta, f. 179r** | Unnd sanden an den hilgene vater dem Pauest van Rome |
| **Be, f. 144r** | und schickkenn gen Rome zu Bapst |
| **Pr, f. 167r** | und schickten gen Rome zu Babst |

*Table 2.13 Different readings of a passage in **We$_1$** (c.549).*

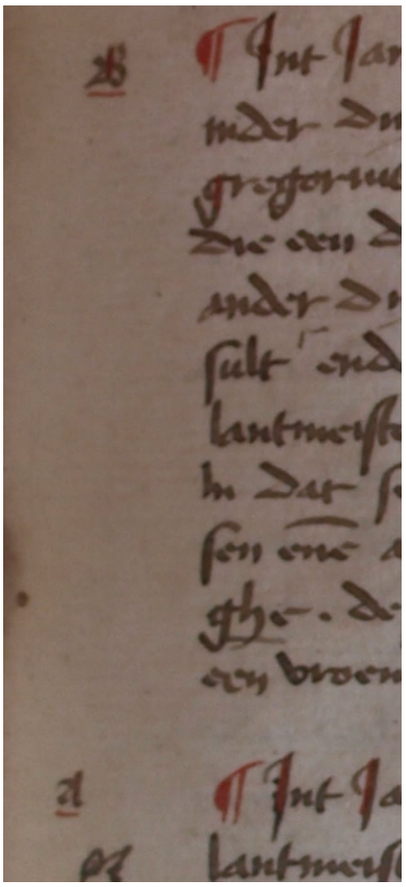

*Figure 2.69 Editorial amendment, changing the order of two chapters (f. 61r).*

In another case of consequential alteration, the scribe in first instance wrote that messengers "were sent to the pope," but changed this immediately into "were sent to the Holy Farther, the pope of Rome" (Table 2.13). Normally, this could have been a fairly meaningless interference with the text, but the specific content of the chapter in which it occurs adds significance to the editorial amendment. The chapter describes the aftermath of the death of Grand Master Werner von Orseln in 1330. He was murdered by one of the brethren, reportedly because the brother owned two more horses than he was allowed and became angry when the grand master confiscated them. The *Croniken* describes the deliberations about the punishment of the brother in detail. According to a council of elders and university-trained legal experts, tells the *Croniken*, he had killed his spiritual father, which was at least as iniquitous as killing one's 'carnal' father.[310] The father figure, therefore, is central to the chapter, and by referring to the pope as the Holy Father this theme was further stressed. Following the pope's advise the brother was locked up in prison for life.

Finally, on one occasion the scribe made changes to the order of the chapters (c.277–8; f. 61r). To indicate the right order, two capital letters A and B were placed in the margin (Figure 2.69). Chapter 277 (B) is situated in the year 1239, whereas the event in c.278 (A) is dated 1237. It appears the scribe wanted to retain the chronological order. The corrected order of the chapters is followed in all German manuscripts, however not in any of the Middle Dutch copies.[311]

A list of editorial amendments in manuscript **We$_1$** can be found in the Appendix (Table A.1).

[310] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.549.
[311] Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 45v; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 50r; Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (2nd ed.)* V, 698–699; Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 94v–95r; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 75v–76r; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 72r–72v; Tartu, UR, Mscr. 154, f. 84v–85r.

## Working direct from the source

The text of manuscript **We₁** is, on occasion, remarkably close to that of the source texts on which it is based, especially in comparison to the other manuscripts of the *Croniken*. This suggests that the scribe was not merely copying a text from an exemplar, but actively worked – at least in some places[312] – from the sources of the *Croniken*. Such, for example, appears to be the case for the papal and imperial privileges included throughout the *Croniken*. The source for the imperial privileges is a collection issued by Louis III, Count Palatine of the Rhine, in Heidelberg on 21 March 1428. The collection includes both Latin and German privileges of the Teutonic Order, which were translated into Middle Dutch for the purpose of the *Croniken*. A notarised copy of the original Latin and German version is still available in the bailiwick archive in Utrecht.[313] On thirteen occasions German spelling conventions found in the original privileges survived the process of translation: "unde" and "unsen" for the usual Middle Dutch "ende" and "onsen" (c.588; c.590; c.619).[314] In other Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Croniken*, most of these German remnants were revised into the Middle Dutch equivalents. Only manuscripts **Ge** and **Ut₁** occasionally (three times and once, respectively) retained this German spelling; each of those instances places where manuscript **We₁** also reads "unde" or "unsen". This demonstrates that manuscript **We₁** stood nearest to the source of the *Croniken* tradition.

There are also striking similarities between the punctuation of the privileges in **We₁** and their notarised copy of 1428 (Figure 2.70 and Figure 2.71; Table 2.14). By contrast, this punctuation was not replicated in manuscripts **Ge**, **Ut₁**, and **Ta**.[315] Manuscripts **St**, **Be** and **Pr** do contain more or less the same punctuations plus added ones, but their scribes used commas with such regularity that little value can be attached to this agreement.[316] Overall, punctuation, rubrication, capitals, and cadels in manuscript **We₁** corresponds closely to the sources of the *Croniken*, and is therefore subject to repeated change influenced by transitions between source texts. This will be further addressed in the chapter on the author's use of sources (chapter 3).

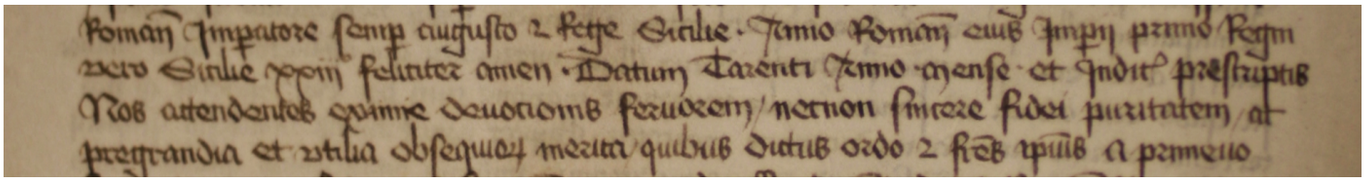

*Figure 2.70 Original reading in authenticated imperial privilege collection (see Table 2.14).*[317]

[312] The writer will have certainly had draft versions of the text or of certain passages at his disposal too.
[313] Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balie van Utrecht, inv.nr. 121.
[314] Also notice the remnants of the Latin privileges, as expressed in the personal names ("Arnoldus", "Bertoldus") or place names ("Tridentinensis"). E.g.: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.230.
[315] Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 100v; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 119r; Tartu, UR, Mscr. 154, f. 207v.
[316] Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 205r; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 165v; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 199v.
[317] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 121, f. 16v; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nrs. 131, 138; Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 283.

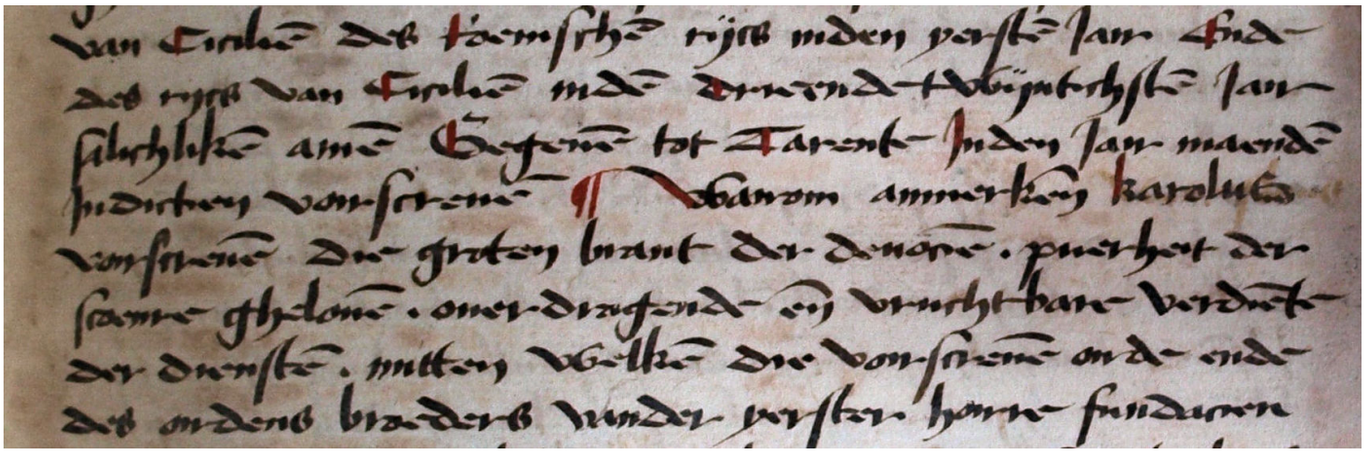

*Figure 2.71 Adaptation of the privilege in manuscript **We₁**, f. 141r.*

| Manuscript | Confirmation by King Wenceslaus (1383) of a privilege issued by his predecessor Charles IV (1355), who in turn confirmed a privilege by Frederick II (1221) (c.599) |
|---|---|
| **ARDOU, inv.nr. 121, f. 16v** (Figure 2.70) | Regni vero Sicilie XXIII° feliciter amen · Datum Tarenti Anno · mense · et Indictione prescriptis **Nos** attendentes eximie deuocionis feruorem, necnon sincere fidei puritatem, ac pregrandia et utilia obsequiorum merita, quibus dictus ordo et fratres ipsius a primeuo fundacionis |
| **We₁, f. 141r** (Figure 2.71) | Ende des rycs van Cicilien inden drieendetwijntichsten Iair salichliken amen Gegeuen tot Tarente Inden Iair maenden Indictien voirscreuen ¶ Wairom anmerkende **~~wenceslaus~~ karolus voirscreuen** die groten brant der deuocien · puerheit der scoenre ghelouen · ouerdragende ende vruchtbare verdiente der diensten · mitten welken die voirscreuen oirde ende des oirdens broeders vander yerster hoirre fundacien |

*Table 2.14 Translation of imperial privilege in manuscript **We₁**, f. 141r (c.599).*

Most revealing, however, are a couple of editorial interventions in manuscript **We₁** that can be linked directly to the sources. One such amendments occurs in the passage discussed above, containing a confirmation of an earlier confirmation of an even earlier privilege, with King Wenceslaus of the Romans (issued in 1383), Emperor Charles IV (1355), and Emperor Frederick II (1221) as actors of the successive stages (Table 2.14). The text as presented in the *Croniken* is a close, literal translation of the Latin original, except for its treatment on this occasion of the word "nos" ('we'). Initially, the scribe of manuscript **We₁** represented 'we' with the words "Wenceslaus voirscreuen" (Wenceslaus aforementioned). Due to the very complex structure of the privilege, however, 'we' in this passage did not mean Wenceslaus but Charles IV. The scribe erased the name Wenceslaus by scraping it away, and replaced it with "Karolus" (Figure 2.40; Figure 2.71). Only someone who was working directly from the Latin source text would have made this error. All subsequent manuscripts that I have been able to study contain the version of the text with the correct translation.[318]

There are more of such examples, although less conspicuous and more open to interpretation (Table 2.15). The first example contains the word "hiet" twice, which was noticed and corrected. The word can mean both 'to name' and 'to be called.' In the original source, the so-called *Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens*, the word is used to signify the name of the fortress of Dobrin (Polish: Dobrzyń nad Wisłą): "it is called Dobrin." In the *Croniken* it is used, just by changing the word order, to indicate that the duke "named the fortress Dobrin." The fact that initially

[318] See note 249.

the word was written twice may have been caused by the original word order in the source text. Again, all subsequent manuscripts present the corrected version of manuscript **We$_1$**.

This is also the case for the second example in Table 2.15. In the original source a certain "he" is mentioned, who "had found the best advice". The *Croniken* correctly identified this person as Duke Konrad I of Masovia. At first however, the scribe wrote the first four letters of the Middle Dutch word for 'bishops.' These bishops were mentioned in the preceding sentences as being the most important members of the general council ("gemeynen rade") mentioned in the sentence. This in all likelihood triggered the initial confusion. Like the example of Wenceslaus and Charles IV it was caused by an undefined personal pronoun in the source text.

| **Manuscript We$_1$** | | ***Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens***[319] | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **We1, f. 58r (c.262)** | Dese voirseit hertoch bouwede doe ene borch op die Wisscel **ende hiet die borch ~~hiet~~ Dabrijn**. | **c. 2** | Das erfur der herczogk und bawete eine burgk uff dy Weyssel, **dy hyes Dobrien**. |
| **We1, f. 58v (c.266)** | Si […] spraken wt enen gemeynen rade dat die **~~biss~~ hertoch** den besten raet selve had gevonden. | **c. 3** | Do sprachen sy alle mitte einem gemeinem rathe, das **her** den besten radt selber het funden. |

*Table 2.15 Possible evidence of working directly from the source (c.262; c.266).*

## We$_1$ and the various *Croniken* traditions

If manuscript **We$_1$** was indeed produced under the auspices of the author of the *Croniken*, this should also be reflected by its position in the stemma of the *Croniken* manuscripts. You would expect to see unique characteristics of manuscript **We$_1$** being transferred in some way or another to all branches of the *Croniken* manuscripts, both German and Middle Dutch. Alternatively, if some of these unique characteristics **We$_1$** influenced only a specific part of the stemma, this could be explained as evidence that an earlier version of the text was used as an exemplar for other manuscripts. To pursue this line of enquiry we will again look at the editorial amendments in manuscript **We$_1$**, both meaningful and otherwise, and how they were implemented in the other manuscripts of the *Croniken*.

| **Manuscript** | **Correct: Meinhart von Querfurt (c.521)** |
|---|---|
| **We$_1$, f. 114v** | Mencke van quernb[orma]e |
| **Ge, f. 82v** | mencke van quernbor[u]ve |
| **Ut$_1$, f. 96v** | mencke van quernbrou[v]e |
| **[Ma$_1$], § 287**[320] | Mencke van Overbrouwe |
| **St, f. 172r** | Mencke van quernborne |
| **Ta, f. 167v** | Menken van querenborne |
| **Be, f. 137r** | Meynke von quernffort |
| **Pr, f. 156r** | Meynke von qwernfortt |

*Table 2.16 Different readings of a hardly legible passage in **We$_1$** (c.521).*

[319] Hirsch, 'Bericht Hermann von Salza's', 159–160.
[320] The strongly aberrant name "Overbrouwe" is possibly made up by Matthaeus, who sometimes 'normalized' names and other readings to a more modern spelling.

Take for instance the name of one of the masters of Prussia, Meinhart von Querfurt (1288–99).[321] In manuscript **We$_1$** his name had become illegible due to a superimposed correction mentioned earlier (Figure 2.41; Table 2.16). Many scribes apparently struggled to understand what was intended by the text as presented in manuscript **We$_1$** and opted for widely divergent and often equally unsatisfactory solutions; compare, for example, the text presented in manuscripts **Ge** and **St**, quite distinct from both the original and the correct reading (Table 16). Petrus Schwinge, who used both the chronicle by Nikolaus von Jeroschin as well as the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* to interpolate his copies of the *Croniken* (manuscripts **Be** and **Pr**), may have resorted to these sources to correct the unsatisfactory reading in his exemplar. Crucial for our inquiry, however, is the observation that the ambiguity present in manuscript **We$_1$** translates into different readings in the various *Croniken* manuscripts. The undetermined text forced future scribes to diverge from the intended reading and come up with their own solutions.

| Manuscript | Loot captured by Teutonic Order after the Battle of Konitz, 1454 (c.710) |
|---|---|
| **We$_1$, ff. 172r-172v** | Ende alle sijn tenten, pouwelyoenen, artelrije ende al datter was behielden zij, ende ouer ___ wagen mit vitalie ende provande.[322] |
| **Ge, f. 122r** | Ende alle syn tenten, pauwelijonen, artelrije ende al datter was behielden sij, ende ouer ___ wagen mit vitalie ende provande. |
| **Ut$_1$** | *[absent]* |
| **[Ma$_1$], § 377** | En al syn tenten, pavellioenen, artillerie, ende al datter was behielden sy, ende over de . . . . waghenen mit proviande. |
| **St, ff. 249r-249v** | Unnd alle syne tenten, unnd paulunen, artelrijs, und allent dath dar was behelden se, unnd overwogenth mith vitalie, unnd provande. |
| **Ta, f. 259v** | Und all syne tenten, und paulunen, altelrie, und allent dat daer wass behelden se, und over ___ wagen mit vitalie und provande. |
| **Be, f. 199v** | Und alles das do war behild sie von profianndt. |
| **Pr, f. 246r** | Unnd alles das do war behild sie von profianndt |

*Table 2.17 Different readings of a blank space in manuscript **We$_1$**, ff. 172r–172v (c.710).*

Another example is provided in a passage where manuscript **We$_1$** describes the loot captured after the successful Battle of Konitz on 18 September 1454: "tents, pavilions, artillery and all that was offered they kept, including over … wagons with food and provisions" (Table 2.17). The scribe was perhaps unclear of the correct reading or he may well have intended for the number of wagons to be added after it could be verified, either by himself or by a well-informed reader.[323] A later user (not the main scribe) indeed added the number "xx", but this was not copied into other manuscripts. Indeed, **Ge**, **[Ma$_1$]** and – importantly – one of the German *Croniken* manuscripts, **Ta**, left the space open just as **We$_1$** had done, while the scribe of manuscript **St** tried his best to construct an understandable sentence. He succeeded only partially. Manuscript **Be** and **Pr** had altered the reading too much to compare with **We$_1$**. Although from this example alone it cannot be concluded that **We$_1$** was the primary exemplar of all extant manuscripts, both the Middle Dutch and German manuscript traditions correspond with **We$_1$**.

On a few occasions such open spaces could more easily be ignored by scribes copying the *Croniken*. Such is the case, for example, in a place in a charter where manuscript **We$_1$** again left a space open, exactly as he encountered it in his

[321] M. Dorna, M. Faber (translator), *Die Brüder des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen 1228-1309. Eine prosopographische Studie* (Köln: Böhlau 2012) 314–315.
[322] A later hand filled in the blank space with 'de xx'.
[323] Compare Wakelin, *Scribal correction and literary craft*, 61–63, 253–274.

direct source, the aforementioned notarised imperial privilege collection (Table 2.18; see also c.732 and c.761). Both the collection and the original charter in Mergentheim left a blank space for the first name of the Bishop of Liège (Hugh de Pierrepont, 1200–29).[324] Manuscripts **Ge**, **Ut$_1$**, **St** and **Be** however ignored the open space and avoided any interruption of the flow of the text. Note that manuscript **Ta** came up with a different solution: the insertion of the letter "N.", perhaps for *Nescio nomen*. The peculiarities of the source text and of manuscript **We$_1$** were at the basis of the readings in the other *Croniken* manuscripts, and not the other way around.

| Manuscript | List of witnesses in papal privilege (c.414) |
|---|---|
| **ARDOU, inv.nr. 121, f. 5r** (Figure 2.72) | Henricus Basiliensis, ___ Leodiensis |
| **We$_1$, f. 92r** | Henricus bisscop van basiliensis, ___ bisscop van leodiensis |
| **Ge, f. 66r** | henricus bisscop van basiliensis bisscop van leodiensis |
| **Ut$_1$, f. 77v** | Henricus ~~van~~ bisscop van basiliensis, bisscop van leodiensis |
| **[Ma$_1$]** | *[absent from edition]* |
| **St, f. 139v** | henricus bisschop van Basiliensis, Bisschop van ludick |
| **Ta, f. 131r** | henricus Bischop van Basilien, N. Bischop van Ludick |
| **Be, f. 110v** | Heinrich Bischoff zu Basell, der Bischoff von Luttich |
| **Pr, f. 118r** | Heinrich Bischoff zu Basell, der Bischof von Luttich |

*Table 2.18 Different readings of a passage in **We$_1$**, originally left open (c.414).*

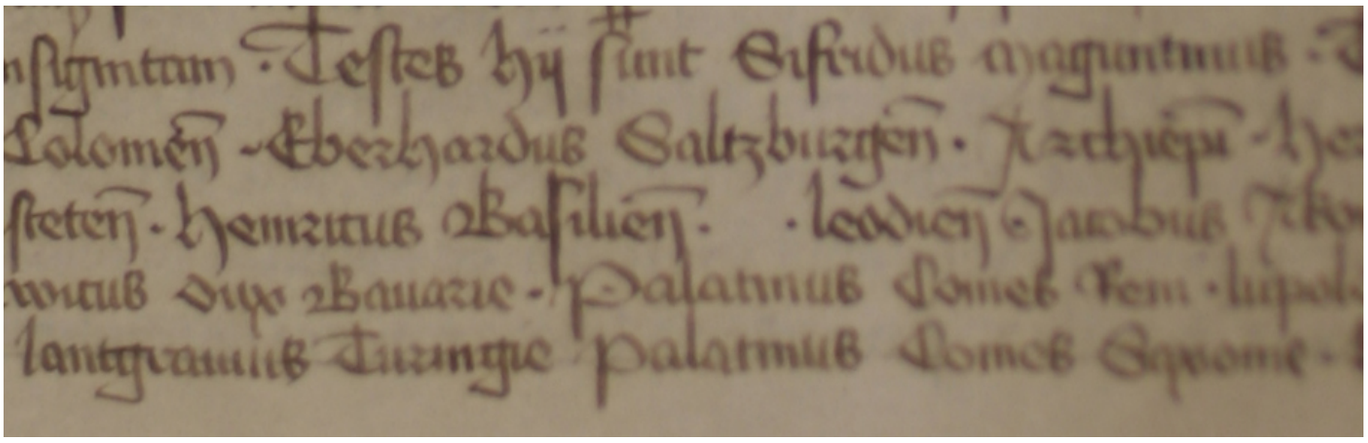

*Figure 2.72 Left open space in notarised imperial privilege collection.*[325]

Not all characteristics and editorial amendments of manuscript **We$_1$** were adopted in each individual *Croniken* manuscript, however. The alterations to the hospitals in Jerusalem that, according to the *Croniken*, were kept in function during the occupation of the city by Saladin after 1187 were treated differently in the Middle Dutch and German traditions. All Middle Dutch manuscripts (probably following manuscript **Ge**) stated that the Teutonic Order instead of the Knight Templars owned the first hospital in question, perhaps identical to the original reading in **We$_1$**, which is barely visible (Figure 2.68). Manuscripts **St**, **Ta**, **Be** and **Pr** follow the amendment in **We$_1$** (Table 2.19). It could mean that manuscript **We$_1$** was used as an exemplar before this change was made to the text. The copy made at that point,

[324] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 121, f. 5r; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nr. 47; Copied from the original charter in Mergentheim: J.M.J. von Kleudgen, *Brandenburgische Usurpazions-Geschichte in den Fränkischen Kreis-Landen insbesondere in dem Reichs-Ständisch Landes-Fürstlichen Gebiete des Hohen Deutschen Ritter-Ordens* (1797) 100–101 (nr. 47); See also: R. Duellius, *Historia Ordinis Equitum Teutonicorum Hospitalis S. Mariae V. Hierosolymitani* (Vienna: Monath 1727) App., 18 (nr. XIX); Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 262.

[325] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 121, f. 5r.

in turn, formed the basis for all other extant Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Croniken*. The first German adaptation will have been written, based again on manuscript **We$_1$**, after the changes were made.

| Manuscript | Hospitals in Jerusalem that remained open after conquest by Saladin in 1187 (c.111) |
|---|---|
| **We$_1$, ff. 17r-17v** *(see Figure 2.68)* | die twe hospitalen van ~~onser vrouwen~~ (?) **den tempel** ende van sinte Iohan |
| **Ge, f. 15v** | die twee hospitalen onser vrouwen ende van sente Iohan |
| **Ut$_1$, f. 14v** | die twe hospitalen Onser lieuer vrouwen ende van sinte Iohan |
| **[Ma$_1$], § 36** | die twe Hospitalen onser Liever Vrouwen ende van Sinte Johan |
| **St, f. 17v** | de twe hospitalenn, van dem tempel, und van Sancti Johann |
| **Ta, f. 15v** | de twe hospitalen van den Tempell unnd sunte Johannes |
| **Be, f. 14r** | die II hospitall vonn dem Tempell und das von Sankt Johans Orden |
| **Pr, f. 12v** | die II hospitall von dem Tempel und das von Sant Johans Orden |

*Table 2.19 Different readings of an altered passage in **We$_1$** (c.111).*

| Manuscript | Promises by King Casimir IV of Poland (c.654) |
|---|---|
| **We$_1$, f. 161r** | dair in geloefden gelijck * voir ghelooft hadde<br>*) sijn broeder |
| **Ge, f. 114r** | daer hij in gheloefden ghelijck voir ghelooft hadde |
| **Ut$_1$, f. 135r** | daer hij in gheloefden ghelijck voir gheloefft hadde |
| **[Ma$_1$], § 352** | daer hy in geloefden gelyck voir geloeft hadde |
| **St, f. 233r** | dar in he lauede, gelick synn broder vor gelauet hadde |
| **Ta, f. 240v** | Dar inne he gelavede glick syn broder vorgeloveth hadde |
| **Be, f. 187r** | darzum her gelabet gleichformig seinen Bruder |
| **Pr, f. 229r** | Darzum er gelobet gleichformig seinen Bruder |

*Table 2.20 Different readings of a passage in **We$_1$**, with two words added in the margin (c.654).*

A similar scenario appears from other evidence. In one location (Table 2.20), the writer of manuscript **We$_1$** forgot two words ("sijn broeder") and added these in the margin of the text. Manuscripts **St**, **Ta**, **Be** and **Pr** (that is, the manuscripts of the German tradition) each contain the corrected version. The Middle Dutch manuscripts, however, present the uncorrected original reading of manuscript **We$_1$**. The substantial amendments to the list of Livonian commanderies likewise, as I have pointed out earlier,[326] were adopted in throughout the German manuscript tradition, but in none of the other extant Middle Dutch texts (Figure 2.1 to Figure 2.6).

Without pretending to exhaust all possibilities, a number of explanations can be offered. One is that the manuscripts bear witness to contrasting choices by scribes how to handle the corrections and additions made by the scribe of manuscript **We$_1$**. The added words "sijn broeder" may have been ignored, and with regard to the Livonian commanderies, one of the Dutch scribes may have stuck to the original reading of **We$_1$**, which can still be read today – and thus will also have been visible to sixteenth-century eyes. Scribes in the Baltic region, more familiar with Prussian and Livonian localities and thus acknowledging the changes as improvements, *did* choose to implement these changes. The fact that the Middle Dutch manuscripts follow (what appears to be) the original reading of **We$_1$** regarding the Jerusalem hospitals (Figure 2.68; Table 2.19) contradicts such a scenario. Here, the new reading cannot have been (mistakenly) ignored, since the original reading is all but invisible.

[326] See section 2.1, "General overview".

Another possibility is that manuscript **Ge** used **We$_1$** as an exemplar before the additions were made. Theoretically this is possible. As we will see in chapter 4, the last evidence of activity of the writer of manuscript **We$_1$** was in July 1509,[327] whereas manuscript **Ge** was probably written around 1508. Yet, the modifications to the list of the order's possessions in Livonia are linked to various events ranging from the 1470s to 1492, and in one case written on the paper with watermarks K1 and K2, tentatively dated around 1496. No later events were included in the text. This would mean that the alterations were probably made in the mid to late 1490s, rather than after 1508.

A final, more likely scenario is that the exemplar of **Ge** was not **We$_1$**, but a different copy of the *Croniken*. This copy would have been produced soon after **We$_1$**, before some of the changes were added. This would explain the divergence of the Dutch and German traditions of the *Croniken*: whereas the former reflects the readings of this early copy of **We$_1$**, as transmitted through manuscript **Ge**, the German tradition ultimately derives from the corrected and amended manuscript **We$_1$**.

It is important to note that there are still numerous editorial changes to manuscript **We$_1$** that did find their way into the other extant Middle Dutch *Croniken* manuscripts.[328] It is therefore evident that manuscript **We$_1$** laid the foundation for all manuscript traditions of the *Croniken* (at least all extant manuscripts), ranging from the Middle Dutch manuscripts to the Prussian and Livonian traditions and subsequent adaptations by the Waiblingen brothers or Christoph Jan Weissenfels. Evidence of the opposite would challenge the case that the manuscript was produced under the auspices of the author of the *Croniken*.

### Evidence from the manuscript production

Further indications of authorial presence in the manuscript are provided by looking at the allocation of tasks in the production of manuscript **We$_1$**. As we have seen above, one person was responsible for writing the text, correcting and editing, rubrication, foliation, placing quire and leaf signatures, drawing the cadels and possibly also the initials. He might have even been responsible for the creation, preparation, and perhaps colouring of the coats of arms. In other words, one person was responsible for almost all procedures that comprise the manuscript production. The binding is the only process that cannot be linked to this person, in principal of course because the present twentieth century binding contains no codicological information. The possibility of a well-organized team of professional manuscript producers, dividing the tasks, can be excluded.

This mode of production of the manuscript, while in itself not ruling out alternative scenarios, does fit in with the picture of an author maintaining control over all aspects of the creation of the text. Taking into account all the cumulative evidence, the phased genesis of manuscript **We$_1$** seems to further corroborate such a hypothesis of authorial control. A scribe would normally not be expected to postpone work for over ten years. While this is also perhaps an unexpected situation for an author, an author could potentially have had to face situations such a delay, such as the challenge of collection of source materials. We will see in the next chapter that this could well have been a serious

[327] Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Huisarchief Almelo, inv.nr. 1836.
[328] See the numerous examples in Appendix, Table A.1.

obstacle, given the sheer size of the amount of texts gathered. Moreover, as noticed above,[329] shifts in scribal preferences in the manuscript are seldom entirely at random; they coincide with shifts in content and attempts to structure the text. Therefore we should consider them in conjunction with the content, the author's domain.

The overall appearance of manuscript **We$_1$** may not necessarily reflect a popular image of an autograph or author's copy filled with corrections and additions. It is clearly a neat copy; the alterations to the content of the *Croniken* are – in general – few and far between. It is, however, equally clear from the evidence presented in this chapter that there is an authorial presence in the manuscript.

These observations place the two eye-skips occurring in manuscript **We$_1$** into a different perspective. If an eye-skip appears in a manuscript associated with the author, this means that the source of that eye-skip was either an original source text which was copied literally, or a draft of the author. Chapter 472 (f. 104v) contains the following lines: "In desen tyden hadde die lantmeyster vele the doen tegens die Barten ende teghens der Barten hooftman wert doot geslaghen. Ende die Berten vloghen weder uten lande" (In these times the land master was involved in numerous affairs against the Bartians and against the Bartians' chief was slain. And the Bartians fled again from the lands).[330] In a regular sentence, a couple of words should have been included just after the word "hooftman" (chief). All other manuscripts give either the same reading as **We$_1$** or have adjusted it in order to repair the broken sentence.[331] The passage is not found literally in any of the sources of the *Croniken*. It is a digest of information extracted from the chronicles by Peter von Dusburg, Nikolaus von Jeroschin and/or the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*.[332] Another eye-skip, in an imperial privilege on f. 146v, was immediately corrected.[333] Here too, the eye-skip cannot have been caused by transcribing the original source text.[334]

This shows that in all likelihood, drafts of chapters were used to write the manuscript. This is also a possible explanation of the inclusion of material from the *Croniken* in the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* (see section 2.3, "Key parameters"). The nature, extent, and degree of cohesion of these drafts cannot be determined anymore, but there is no evidence that they influenced any existing manuscripts of the *Croniken* other than **We$_1$** itself.

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[329] See section 2.3, "Phased genesis".
[330] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.472.
[331] Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 102r; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 87v; Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 156v; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 125r; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 139r; Tartu, UR, Mscr. 154, f. 150v.
[332] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, III–165; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 14843–14898; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 87.
[333] "Tsestich marck lodiges golds, halff tot be[hoef synen cameren ende half tot be]hoeff des meisters ende den oirden": Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 146v (c.617); The change was adopted by other Middle Dutch Croniken manuscripts: Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 114r; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 123v.
[334] The words "behoef" or relevant equivalents are not present in the original privilege: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 121, f. 19r.

## 2.5 Conclusion

The *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* was one of the most popular chronicles about the Teutonic Order in the sixteenth century. It was widely read and copied in Prussia and Livonia and in different forms also in the Holy Roman Empire, especially Southern Germany. The ultimate source of this dissemination was manuscript **We$_1$**. It is possible that it was transported from the Utrecht bailiwick soon after the final stages of its production, to be translated and adapted elsewhere in Europe. In the seventeenth century manuscript **We$_1$** resurfaced, in Mergentheim and Alden Biesen, but it could easily have arrived in Mergentheim from Prussia or Livonia, via the same route the Waiblingen adaptation and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*[335] reached the Holy Roman Empire short after the secularisation of Prussia in 1525. This watershed moment for the Teutonic Order set a range of events in motion, which included the transfer of the seat of the leadership of the order from Prussia to Mergentheim in Franconia. This in turn propelled the relocation of both people and archives and had a lasting effect on the dissemination of Prussian texts and culture. It may have brought back a piece of Middle Dutch culture from Prussia to the Holy Roman Empire as well.

In the Utrecht bailiwick almost every commandery owned a complete manuscript or substantial excerpts. The text originated in that bailiwick, during the years of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen (1469–92). The manuscript that would stand at the basis of all other copies of the *Croniken* was created throughout the last decade of his life. The start of the project may well have been earlier, as drafts of the text will have been available before 1480.

The establishment of manuscript **We$_1$** as an author's copy creates a whole new set of opportunities to study the text of the *Croniken* in the context of its production. This is the context of the Teutonic Order as a whole, of the Utrecht bailiwick, of Johan van Drongelen's leadership, but also the context of a late medieval historiographer working in the Low Countries. Who was he? Did he work alone? Who were his contacts? What were his sources? How did he include them, how did he collect them? What was his intended readership? These are some of the questions that will be addressed in the subsequent chapters.

And while we may accept that there is an authorial presence in manuscript **We$_1$**, its extent is not yet clear. An obvious disadvantage of the fact that evidence of the extent of authorial agency is few and far between – even though cumulatively the evidence produces a convincing argument for an author's copy – is that it is hard to determine whether or not the scribe of manuscript **We$_1$** was the author of each individual chapter of the chronicle. Can we conclude, for instance, that the prologue, the lives of the grand masters and the bailiwick chronicle were each conceived by the same person, or do we witness an author who on occasion combined his own work with that of others? We may also examine the possibility that manuscript **We$_1$** is the product of a collaborative effort between an author, who supplied drafts and supervised the work, and a scribe who produced the manuscript. First though, we shall investigate the composition and sources of the *Croniken*.

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[335] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 904–907; M. Olivier, 'Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Preußen und historiographischer Wissentransfer (13.-15. Jahrhundert)', in: A. Klammt and S. Rossignol eds., *Mittelalterliche Eliten und Kulturtransfer östlich der Elbe. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Archäologie und Geschichte im mittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag 2009) 151–168, there 163–167.

# 3 Sources and Composition

## 3.1 Introduction

The Teutonic Order produced an impressively wide range of texts over time, especially when compared to other military or even some monastic orders. Within this large corpus of dozens of texts, historiographical works made up at least around half of this.[336] This abundance of different individual historiographical works did not, however, lead to a variety in composition and structure. Instead, most of these works follow one of two structural blueprints, being modelled either on Peter of Dusburg's *Chronica Terrae Prussiae* (written between 1326 and 1331)[337] or – in the case of the 'Livonian' chronicles – on the *(Ältere) Livländische Reimchronik* (written around 1290).[338]

Take for instance the two most widely distributed Teutonic Order chronicles in Prussia: Nikolaus of Jeroschin's *Kronike von Pruzinlant* (written between 1331 and 1341)[339] and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (between 1431 and 1440, probably between 1437 and 1440).[340] Immediately after Dusburg completed his work, Jeroschin was commissioned by the grand master to transform the Latin prose of Dusburg into a High Middle German rhymed chronicle. The few changes that Jeroschin made to the text while translating made it more suitable for reading aloud, for instance during supper, to a predominantly lay audience; structural changes are rare.[341] Dusburg's organization of the text was left almost entirely intact.[342] In the fifteenth century, Jeroschin's *Kronike* itself was subject of an adaptation, this time back into prose. The anonymous composer of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* shortened and abridged the text, but at the same time added a

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[336] Marcus Wüst in his study of the self-image of the Teutonic Order, for instance, covers a selection of thirty-one texts associated with the order, of which fourteen are historiographical in nature (the others are religious texts). Especially his list of historiographical texts can be expanded with many more texts such as the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, the *Kleine Meisterchronik* or the *Liège Commandery Chronicle* (who will all be commented on in this chapter). Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*; see also Dunphy, 'Teutonic Order chronicle tradition'.

[337] Hereafter we will refer to this chronicle as *Dusburg*. For a full list of short references to the narrative sources used throughout this study, see Table A.2 and Table A.4 in the Appendix. M. Neecke, 'Peter of Dusburg', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 1202–1203.

[338] M. Neecke, 'Ältere Livländische Reimchronik', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 33–34.

[339] M. Neecke, 'Nikolaus von Jeroschin', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 1150.

[340] With of date of ca. 1433-1440: G. Vollmann-Profe, 'Ältere Hochmeisterchronik', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 32–33; Olivier places the chronicle between 1431 and 1440, probably closer to the end of that period: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 676.

[341] G. Vollmann-Profe, 'Ein Glücksfall in der Geschichte der preußischen Ordenschronistik: Nikolaus von Jeroschin übersetzt Peter von Dusburg', in: H. Brunner and W. Williams-Krapp eds., *Forschungen zur deutschen Literatur des Spätmittelalters: Festschrift für Johannes Janota* (Tübingen 2003) 125–140, there 131; For a discussion of contrasting views on the differences between *Jeroschin* and *Dusburg*, also in terms of their intended public, see M. Neecke, *Literarische Strategien narrativer Identitätsbildung. Eine Untersuchung der frühen Chroniken des Deutschen Ordens*. Regensburger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft. Reihe B/Untersuchungen 94 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2008) 24–26.

[342] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 98.

continuation to include more recent events. Even so, the end result was essentially a "*Kronike* in prose";[343] the sequence of events remained as Dusburg once conceived them.[344]

There are some Prussian chronicles that do not strictly follow Dusburg's narrative. Especially around the turn of the fifteenth century the Teutonic Order's historiographical tradition diversified and started to produce offshoots.[345] The chronicles of Johann of Posilge (circa 1376 to 1405, after 1419)[346] and Wigand of Marburg (around 1409)[347] illustrate these changes. Posilge was a judicial vicar (*officialis*) for the Prussian diocese of Pomesania and was not a member of the Teutonic Order. He and his anonymous continuator did not have the order at the heart of their interest. They wrote a chronicle that was in essence a *Landeschronik*, a history of the land of Prussia, and the foundation of the order in the Holy Land was no longer taken as its starting point. Wigand of Marburg, too, was not a member of the order, although he did serve the order as a herald. His rhymed chronicle, apart from a few fragments and a shortened Latin translation in prose, is now deemed lost. In a sense it can be regarded as a continuation of the rhymed chronicle of Nikolaus of Jeroschin. Both are written in rhymed vernacular and both place a great emphasis in their narratives on the *Reisen*, the military adventures.[348] There was, therefore, no need for Wigand to reproduce the sequence of events in Dusburg's *Chronica* and Jeroschin's translation; he could simply build on the existing texts.

The *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* is decidedly distinct from this historiographical model. Although it is an order history in the strictest sense, and the work is heavily indebted to the work of Dusburg and his 'successors', to the reader who takes the work at hand it soon becomes clear that the *Croniken* is not just another variation on the format established by Dusburg. In his introduction to the edition of the text published in 1874, Theodor Hirsch already identified a substantial number of sources, many of which were rarely, or never, used for other chronicles of the Teutonic Order.[349] The sheer length of this list is remarkable. Never before had anyone connected to the Teutonic Order been able to gather and digest so many materials regarding the order. Several scholars have therefore noted that the *Croniken* was the first and only attempt to compose a history of all branches of the order with Jerusalem and the Holy Land at the centre of attention;

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[343] Ibid., 481, passim.

[344] This is also the case with the *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem* (written in the bailiwick of Franconia at the end of the fifteenth century). The chronicle was based largely on *Dusburg* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, but did not attract a particularly large audience on its own. R. Töppen ed., *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem* (Marienburg: L. Giesow 1895).

[345] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 133–135 (and the preceding chapter).

[346] Posilge's authorship is sometimes disputed. Since the content extends well after Posilge's year of death, it is possible that another judicial vicar from Pomesania (Johann of Redden) authored the text. However, usually a dual authorship is assumed, with Posilge being responsible for the first part of the text. In the following, his name will therefore be used to designate the chronicle. G. Vollmann-Profe, 'Johann von Posilge', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 922.

[347] G. Vollmann-Profe, 'Wigand von Marburg', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 1506.

[348] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 118.

[349] Th. Hirsch, 'Die jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* V (Leipzig 1874) 1-148, there 16-23.

combining the historiographical traditions of the Teutonic Order in Livonia as well as Prussia.[350] Each of these two traditions primarily focussed on their own region and cross-pollination was uncommon or at best superficial up until this point.[351] Moreover, from Hirsch's examinations of the sources it becomes clear that the sequence of events presented in the tradition centred around Dusburg's *Chronica* is often rearranged in the *Croniken*, sometimes substantially.

Such aspects of the composition of the *Croniken* – the unusually large number of sources, the practical implications involved in such an enterprise, for instance in terms of gathering the materials and the rearrangement of their contents – did not receive much attention from Hirsch, nor from subsequent scholars. Hirsch remained highly negative in his judgement of the chronicle, since he was primarily interested in the significance of the chronicle as a source of factual information. His main goal was to strip the text from all its consecutive additions, so one could determine "its lack of value" from its "original appearance".[352] A reinvestigation of the sources and the heuristic method employed by the chronicler, however, produces a much more positive image of his work and abilities. In fact, as I shall show in this chapter, the work can more appropriately be characterized as innovative and very ambitious. The following sections also reveal obvious flaws and especially crucial shortcomings in Hirsch's analysis of the sources.[353] But above all, a new and comprehensive examination of the sources is urgently needed because all previous research has been based on incomplete and defective manuscripts of the *Croniken*. Within this context the discovery and the exposure of an authorial presence in the Vienna manuscript provides a unique opportunity to re-examine the chronicler's use of sources.

The present chapter aims to provide an insight in the use of sources by the author of the *Croniken*, the scope of his library, and his methods in constructing his narrative. It soon became clear to me that a comprehensive list of texts used in the chronicle was impossible to establish within the timeframe of this study. Firstly, the number of sources was far greater than expected. Secondly and most significantly, unravelling the elaborate way in which they were combined proved time consuming. The result therefore is a combination of various aspects regarding the sources and composition of the *Croniken*. Certain sections of the text have been examined very thoroughly, other parts more superficially, focusing on particular themes instead. It needs to be stressed that not all sources that make up the *Croniken* have been identified.[354]

The first part of the chapter focuses on the composition of the *Croniken*. I will examine which texts were chosen to provide structure to the chronicle and what the consequences are of these choices. In this section I shall also discuss some general

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[350] E.g. Engels, 'Historiographie', 342; Sarnowsky, 'Historische Selbstverständnis', 327–329.
[351] E.g. Feistner, Neecke and Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*, 79–83.
[352] "[E]ine richtige Erkenntniss ihres Unwerthes aber nur zu gewinnen ist, wenn sie aller ihrer Zusätze entkleidet und auf ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt zurückgeführt wird." Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 41.
[353] All recent literature on the *Croniken* is primarily based on Hirsch's groundwork. Exception in this case is the recent doctoral thesis by Mathieu Olivier. His thesis however is mostly limited to the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* and its reception. Thus, there is no intention to provide a comprehensive list of sources for the *Croniken* itself. Arnold, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik (1983)'; Stapel and Vollmann-Profe, 'Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden'; Kuz, Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik, 37–38; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 994–1012.
[354] Regarding the unidentified narrative sources see Table A.3.

aspects of the methodology of the author in how he treated his sources. In the remaining parts of this chapter the sources are divided by type and/or theme. Firstly, I shall focus on the prologue to the *Croniken*, for which a wide range of religious texts as well as chronicles on the crusades in the Holy Land were used. Many of these circulated in Northwest Europe or even exclusively in the Low Countries. Secondly, I shall address the historiography and documents of the Teutonic Order that were included in the *Croniken*. Successively, the narrative sources from Prussia, from Livonia, and the archival sources used in the *Croniken* (especially regarding the privileges and indulgences, history of the Thirteen Years' War, and bailiwick chronicle) are considered. Thirdly, I shall look into how themes first presented in the prologue are continued throughout the *Croniken*, creating strong links between the prologue and the rest of the text. One of the aims of this section, arranged in three case studies, is to draw out the profile of the author – in anticipation of the subsequent chapter on the *Croniken*'s authorship.

At the end of the chapter the availability of all these sources will be studied. In which parts of Europe were these sources disseminated, and which particular libraries may have been accessed by the author of the *Croniken*? It soon becomes clear soon that modest or even extensive libraries in the Low Countries would not have sufficed. In a more extensive case study of the sources used to describe Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia and his sister-in-law, St Elisabeth of Hungary, I will present the hypothesis that the author visited and collected source texts in Marburg in Hesse. Furthermore, there is evidence that some of the sources came directly from Prussia and Livonia and did not necessarily circulate in the Holy Roman Empire. This, as well as the rapid dissemination of the *Croniken* in Prussia and Livonia, will be studied as one system of exchanges within the Teutonic Order.

## 3.2 Concept and method of the author

### A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history

The *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* as it is presently known to us consists of almost 800 paragraphs or small chapters. The chapters are structured by using differently sized initials, as we have shown in the previous chapter (chapter 2.2). The chronicle begins with a table of contents that is present in all extant (complete) Middle Dutch manuscripts, though absent from all the German translations I have examined. The rest of the chronicle can be divided into a rather extensive prologue, a part that includes a history of the Teutonic Order arranged by the lives of the grand masters – the bulk of the chronicle – and a part that describes the history of the Utrecht bailiwick. Inserted between the lives of the various grand masters are numerous privileges and indulgences, and at the end an inventory of Prussian and Livonian commanderies is listed. The so-called bailiwick chronicle can, in turn, be divided in two or three parts: first there is the short "Ordinance of the Teutonic Order", or: "how one is placed above the other in dignities by the See of Rome and the Emperor."[355] It describes the organizational structure of the order, including its different branches in Livonia, Prussia and the Holy Roman Empire. This is followed by a *fundatio* of the Utrecht bailiwick and its commanderies and churches, and finally by the lives and deeds of the land commanders up to Johan van Drongelen (1469–92). As I have shown above, Drongelen's account was added shortly afterwards by the same scribe in the manuscript which is the origin of the subsequent dissemination of the *Croniken*; thus an earlier (draft) version of the text probably ended with the death of his predecessor Hendrik Hackfort (1467–69). All Middle Dutch manuscripts include the bailiwick chronicle, including the life of Johan van Drongelen. The German translations do not contain the part specifically applicable to Utrecht. They do often contain various other regional-specific narratives, however.[356]

The template of the part of the *Croniken* which contains the lives of the grand masters was provided by what Hirsch described as "numerous histories of the order, the core of which are catalogues of grand masters of some sort."[357] In the third volume of the *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* (*SRP*) series, two short lists of the grand masters, appendices to the chronicle of Johann of Posilge, were published by Ernst Strehlke under the title *Verzeichniss der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens* (Catalogue of the grand masters of the Teutonic Order).[358] The accounts offer specifics about their years

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[355] "Dit is die Ordinancie van der Duytscher Oirden, hoe die ene boven den anderen in digniteiten gheoirdineert is bij den stoel van Romen ende bij den keyser hier nabescreven": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.728.

[356] For instance, manuscript **Be** includes a short list of bishops of Warmia in Prussia (in a later hand): Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 206r–208v; Manuscript **St** also contains the so-called Livonian *Kleine Meisterchronik*, some Livonian privileges and a history of the Üxküll family: Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, ff. 261r–264r, 265r–267v, 270r–272v; Manuscripts **Pr**, **Ta**, **Gd** and **Up** also contain various appendices to the *Croniken*: Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8; Tartu, UR, Mscr. 154; Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, rps 1262; Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek (Carolina Rediviva), H. 152. Of the other manuscripts it was not possible to verify their exact contents.

[357] "Zahlreiche Ordensgeschichten, deren Kern Hochmeisterverzeichnisse solcher Art sind": Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 19; Hirsch later referred to these chronicles as "Danziger Ordenschronik" and "Wiener Ordenschronik": Ibid., 19, 32.

[358] Strehlke, 'Hochmeisterverzeichniss'; See also: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 131–132; 408–415; W. Kętrzyński, 'Magistri generales ordinis Teuthonicorum fratrum', in: *Monumenta Poloniae historica = Pomniki dziejowe Polski* IV (Lwów 1884) 53–

in office, sometimes their place of burial, and – though rarely – some other historiographical notices. In their original, non-extended form they end with the installation of Grand Master Michael Küchmeister in 1414 (*Posilge* ms. B) and Grand Master Paul of Rusdorf in 1422 (*Posilge* ms. A). The 'numerous histories' which Hirsch referred to belong to the group of manuscripts that have been described as the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, or, after Mathieu Olivier *Petite Chronique des Grands-Maîtres*.[359] The editors of the *SRP* series described these shorter texts in rather vague terms, but on various occasions mentioned existing manuscripts in their footnotes.[360] The *Hochmeisterverzeichnisse* provided a skeleton for the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* to which historiographical content was added from sources such as the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. In this way, the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* advanced well beyond the level of the brief biographical listings that accompanied Johann of Posilge's *Chronik des Landes Preussen*.

The process of expanding and interpolating the *Hochmeisterverzeichnisse* did not stop with the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*. According to Mathieu Olivier, the chronicle that has been dubbed in the *SRP* series as the *Danziger Ordenschronik* can in fact be considered an interpolated version of the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*.[361] The *Croniken* too uses the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* as a template, a framework for the order's history. Especially what Olivier referred to as the "Berlin tradition" of the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* closely resembles the *Croniken* (Table 3.1).[362] Furthermore, the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* may originally have concluded with the death of Grand Master Konrad of Erlichshausen (1467), like the *Croniken*, as the content of its different textual traditions of the chronicle started to diverge from this moment onwards.[363] It can be ruled out that the *Croniken* – whose extant manuscripts are older – was used as a source for the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*.[364]

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56 <http://kpbc.umk.pl/publication/9073>; J. Wenta, 'Pelplińska modlitwa za dusze mistrzów zakonu krzyżackiego', in: A.M. Wyrwa and J. Dobosz eds., *Cystersie w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 2000) 205–219.

[359] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 967–977.

[360] Ibid., 967.

[361] Ibid., 969; The text that Hirsch prepared for publication in the *SRP* series and named the *Danziger Ordenschronik*, is in fact the first part of the larger *Ferber-Chronik*. Hirsch assumed it was originally conceived as a separate text, which led him to publish a reconstruction of the text. Olivier, convincingly, is rather critical of Hirsch in this regard. Ibid., 1064–1077; Th. Hirsch, 'Die Danziger Ordenschronik', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* IV (Leipzig 1870) 357–383; See also: A. Mentzel-Reuters, 'Stadt und Welt. Danziger Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts', in: S. Beckmann and K. Garber eds., *Kulturgeschichte Preußens königlich polnischen Anteils in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Frühe Neuzeit. Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext 103 (Tübingen: Niemeyer 2005) 99–128; Mentzel-Reuters, 'Ordenschronik zur Landesgeschichte'; Dworzaczkowa, *Dziejopisarstwo*.

[362] For more resemblances between the *Croniken* and the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1004–1007; Olivier distinguishes two different traditions: one from the bailiwick of Franconia (after its current manuscript location, the "Berlin tradition"), and one from the bailiwick of Austria (the "Viennese tradition" after its three manuscripts, all contained in cartularies of the Austrian bailiwick). Apart from the Utrecht bailiwick where the Berlin version of the text was used for the *Croniken*, the text must also have been known in Gdańsk (probably the Viennese tradition): Ibid., 967–977; For the identification of the cartularies: Vogel and Bayard, Findbuch Hss. DOZA; The manuscript that contains the "Berlin tradition": Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 407r–424v.

[363] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 968.

[364] Note for instance some of the details in c.431 of the *Croniken* and in the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, absent from *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. However, many details of the *Croniken* are not present in the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* and the latter follows its source, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, much more closely than the *Croniken* does. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*,

| *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* (Berlin), f. 407r | *Croniken*, ms. $We_1$, c.238–9 |
|---|---|
| **Der annder Hoemeister was Otto vonn Kreppin genannt. Der was ein geistlich man unnd diente mit grossem vleiß den Pilgern unnd Sichen im Spittal.** *Ehr hielt das Ampt gar loblich mit Gottes tracht unnd seine werdere Mutter Marien* **sechs Jar unnd starb der unnd leit zu Ackers begraben.** | **Die anderde Hoichmeister** van der Duytscher Oirden **die hiet heer Otto van Carpen**, ende was een vrij edel man ende was des heren soen van Carpen. **Hij was een seer geestlic man** van goeden leven. Hij hadde grote myn tot syns oirdens broederen. **Hij dede seer neerstlic die pelgrum ende sieken in sinen hospitael besorgen ende bewaren** ende plachse dick selve te visiteren. […] *Hij was oic een vroem man ter hant.* **Hij regneerde sess jaer lanc ende sterff tot Akers ende wert daer eerlicken begraven** van synen broederen in syns Oirdens kerck. |

*Table 3.1 Comparison of the* Kurze Hochmeisterchronik *(Berlin) and the* Croniken*, ms.* ***$We_1$*** *(c.238–9). Emphasis added.*

The *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* provided the *Croniken* with a ready-made sequential list of the grand masters, with the number of their years in office, year of appointment and death or resignation, as well as some basic biographical data. However, the *Croniken* also includes various other sequences of officeholders, all showing a similar pattern. There is a list of the (early) bishops of Livonia (from the *Livländische Reimchronik*), kings of Jerusalem (primarily the chronicle by William of Tyre), and a list of all Utrecht land commanders. The land masters of Prussia were available from *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, although the inclusion of some family names unknown to *Dusburg* et al. suggests the (additional?) use of a separate series.[365] Such an additional series may also have been used for the masters of Livonia in the *Croniken*, in which case, too, numerous family names which were not provided by the *Livländische Reimchronik* are present in the *Croniken*.[366] In both cases the years of appointment were calculated by adding up the number of years in office mentioned in the sources. When necessary, alterations were made to create uninterrupted chronological sequences. Furthermore, the lists were aligned with each other in those cases in which a brother appeared in more than one list of officeholders (see Figure 3.1). One can imagine the complexity of aligning all dates mentioned in various source texts to each other. More than once the author of the *Croniken* resorted to rather artificial interventions to correct the chronology.[367]

c.431; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 409r–409v; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, III–128; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 13011–13086; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 72.

[365] The last names of land masters Mangold ("van Steynborch") and Helmerich of Würzburg ("van Rijcsberch") are absent from the older chronicles. For their family affiliation: Dorna, *Brüder des Deutschen Ordens*, 236–238, 311–313.

[366] These last names (such as Ernst of Ratzeburg ("van Rasberch")) have also been absent from Hermann of Wartberge's chronicle as well as the sixteenth century chronicle of the masters of Livonia, the so-called *Kleine Meisterchronik*: Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge'; Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen'; For the list of masters of Livonia: Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung*, 245–246.

[367] One of the more notable occasions concerns the appointment of Conrad of Feuchtwangen as land master in both Prussia and Livonia in 1279. By adding up the years in office of both the list of land masters of Prussia, as well as those of the masters of Livonia, his appointment should have taken place in 1289, but the *Croniken* simply changed the year – silently – to a decade earlier (1279): *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.463, c.466–467.

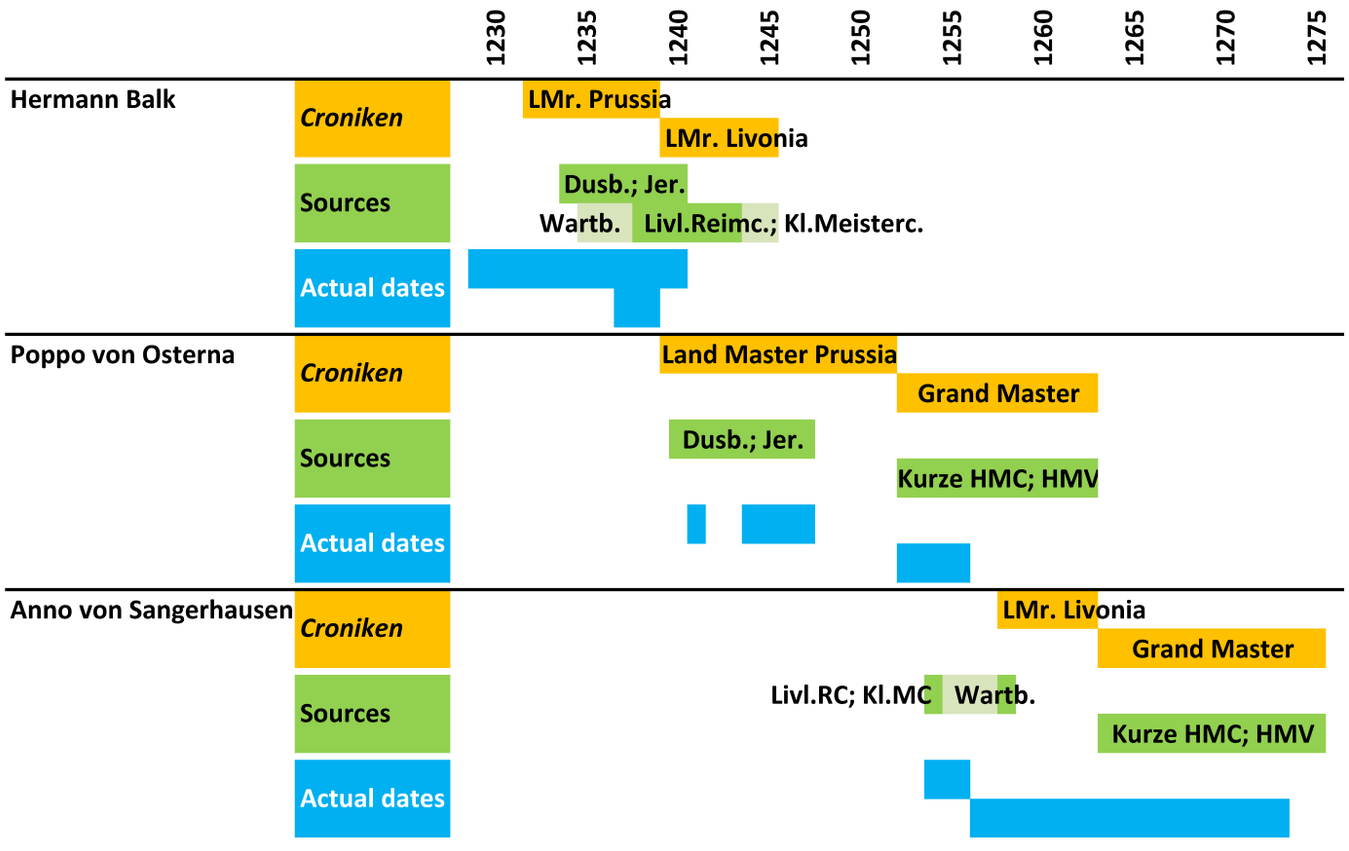


*Figure 3.1 Visualization of years in office, comparison between* Croniken*, other chronicles, and actual dates.*[368]

Perhaps the author of the *Croniken* used a catalogue of grand masters integrated with a list of land masters in Prussia and/or Livonia. One such catalogue is found in a sixteenth-century leaflet in Berlin, although this particular example may also have been comprised using the *Croniken* instead of the other way around.[369] The leaflet also contains a separate sketch, of an older date, of the coats of arms of the grand masters (Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3).[370] Marie-Luise Heckmann boldly dated the sketch "around 1485".[371] The coats of arms are identical, in number and in execution, to those present in the *Croniken*. Of special note is the isolated coat of arms of the first grand master of the Teutonic Order, Heinrich Walpot, at the bottom of the page. In the *Croniken*, too, his coat of arms is separated from the other grand masters, as it is included in the prologue. All in all, the sketch is closely related to the *Croniken*, although the nature of this relationship remains

[368] The following chronicles are compared: *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin*, *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, *Hochmeisterverzeichnisse*, *Livländische Reimchronik*, *Kleine Meisterchronik*, *Wartberge*. The latter two were probably not used by the author of the *Croniken*.

[369] The catalogue includes - amongst others - a list of all grand masters until Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1512-1525) together with the land masters of Prussia in one chronological sequence: Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haubtabteilung, XX., Ordensbriefarchiv, 29095, ff. Iv–2r.

[370] Ibid., f. 4r–4v.

[371] The date, made with help of Dieter Heckmann, is based on the script and may be a little bit premature. I would date the work more cautiously end of fifteenth or beginning of sixteenth century. Unfortunately, it lacks a watermark. M.-L. Heckmann, 'Überlegungen zu einem heraldischen Repertorium an Hand der Hochmeisterwappen des Deutschen Ordens', in: M. Thumser, J. Tandecki and D. Heckmann eds., *Edition deutschsprachiger Quellen aus dem Ostseeraum (14.-16. Jahrhundert)*. Publikationen des Deutsch-Polnischen Gesprächskreises für Quellenedition 1 (Toruń: UMK 2001) 315–340.

unclear. If the sketch is drawn using the illustrations in the *Croniken*, and given the content of the sketch this is a real possibility, it could very well be one of the earliest pieces of evidence of reception of the *Croniken*.

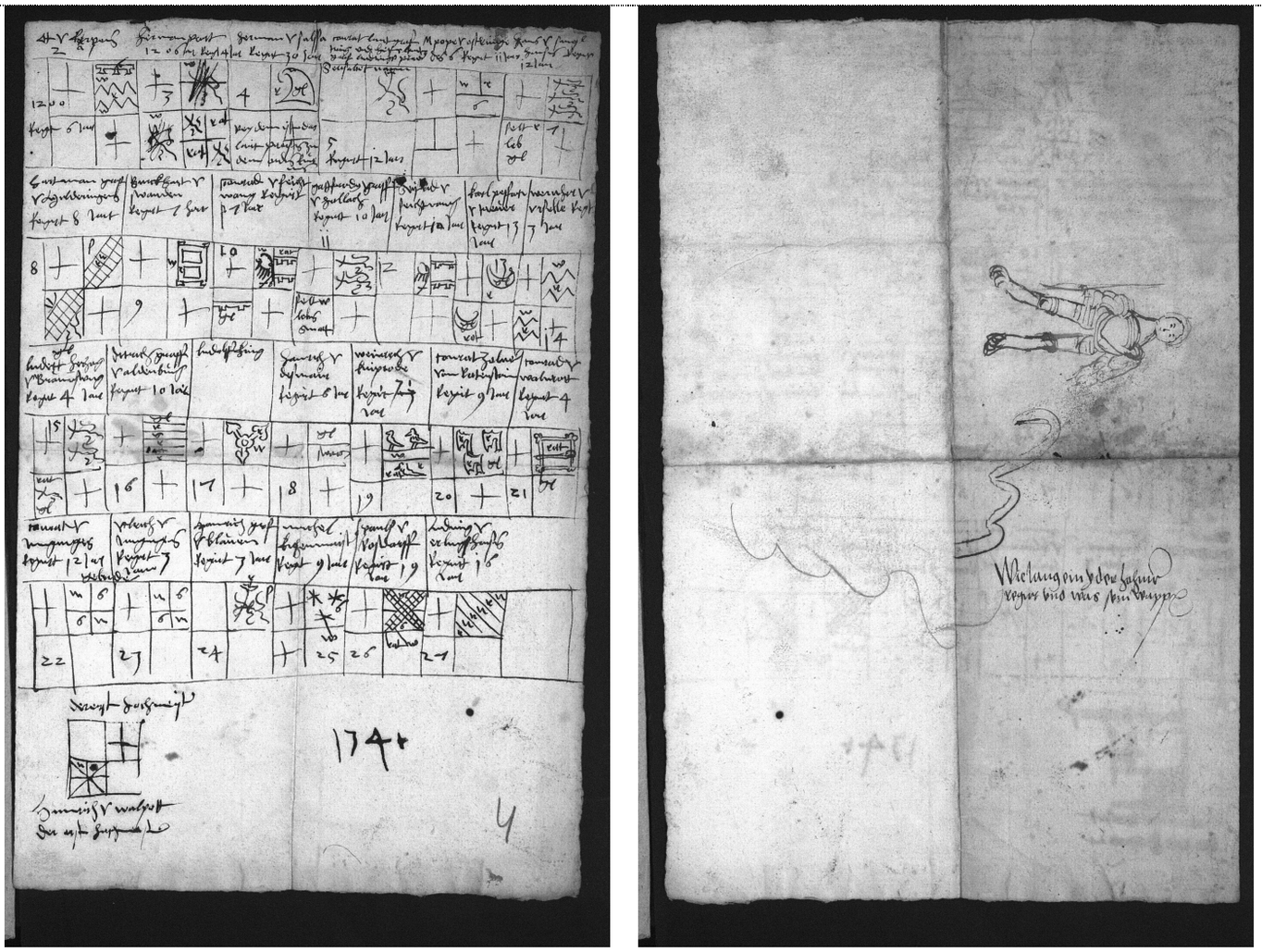

*Figure 3.2 Sketch of the coat of arms of the grand masters up to Louis of Erlichshausen (1450–67) including their years in office: "Wie lang ein ydre hohmeister regirt und was sein wappen."*[372]

[372] Berlin, GStA, HA, XX., OBA, 29095, f. 4r–4v.

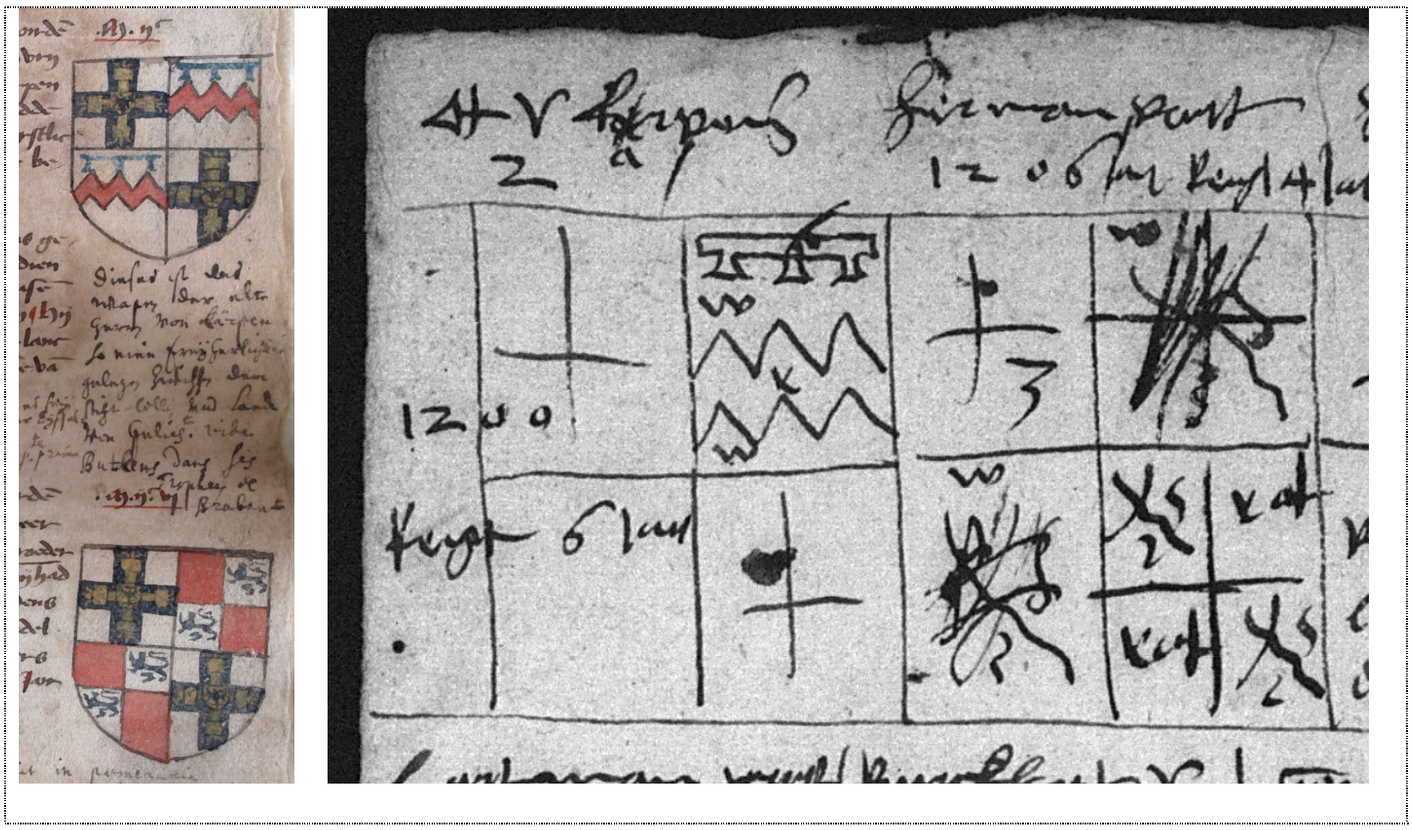

*Figure 3.3 Detailed view of the coat of arms of grand masters Otto of Kerpen and Heinrich Bart in the* Croniken *(ms.* ***We₁****) and the sketch found in Berlin. Note the crudely drawn lions and guide letters to designate the colours.*[373]

Why did the author of the *Croniken* choose to structure his narrative by succeeding grand masters and other officeholders? Was this merely driven by the availability of sources or an intentional choice by our author? When we compare the prominence of the grand masters in the *Croniken* and *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* to previous histories of the order, such as *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin*, and the *Livländische Reimchronik*, there are some marked differences. In the earlier works, the grand masters are merely actors on the stage that is the order's history; hugely important actors, but their office is not at the centre of the chronicles' interests. Thus, for example, the election and retirement of many of the grand masters are mentioned only in the final – and much shorter – fourth book of Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, which describes various events in Europe occurring at the time of the conquest of the land of Prussia by the Teutonic Order. So it can happen that the election and death of Grand Master Hartmann of Heldrungen (1273–83) is found somewhere pinned between two chapters on the election of King Rudolph I (1273) and the Council of Lyon (1272–74), respectively, which are hardly related directly to the history of the Teutonic Order.[374]

Since it pursues the design laid out in *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin*, even the fifteenth-century *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, in spite of expectations raised by the name that was given to it, does not bring the uninterrupted sequence of the grand

[373] Ibid., f. 4r; Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 52r.

[374] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–55, 56, 57; *Jeroschin* placed the chapters of *Dusburg*'s fourth book in their right chronological order, but Hartmann von Heldrungen can still only count on eight lines: Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', 485–486, 511.

masters to the centre of attention.[375] Many grand masters are squeezed together in brief paragraphs, before the chronicle returns to the much more lengthy Prussian history.[376] Burchard of Schwanden and Konrad of Feuchtwangen are even completely absent. This is especially noteworthy since the author of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* knew of a text similar to the *Hochmeisterverzeichnisse* and made use of it in certain instances.[377] Apparently, the authors of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* and *Croniken*, who were active in the same century but operated from very different perspectives, made contrasting choices in how to present their work. It may also help explain why the (Prussian) manuscript tradition of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* appears to have had a more enthusiastic reception outside the order's commanderies than within.[378]

Many of the Teutonic Order chronicles were primarily directed at the region in which they were conceived, that is first and foremost Prussia and Livonia. In the texts by Peter of Dusburg, Nikolaus of Jeroschin, and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, the land of Prussia was placed at the centre of their attention. As a consequence, in these chronicles the land masters of Prussia are much more prominently presented than the grand masters. Similarly, the *Livländische Reimchronik* is concerned with the land of Livonia; framing the narrative account is a sequential list of the masters of Livonia rather than one containing the names of the grand masters.[379] For the *Croniken*, as well as for other chronicles from the bailiwicks, the point of view had to be changed to encompass the entire order rather than one branch or region. After all, if their authors wanted to describe the active fighting role of the Teutonic Order, they could not revert back to the German master or land commanders of the bailiwicks. They had to turn to Prussia, Livonia, and the Holy Land where the order was engaged in military activities. By creating a narrating structure around the office of the grand master the author of the *Croniken* effectively formed a text that suited this change of view.[380]

This change of perspective fits into a broader picture. First of all, after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Teutonic Order started to refer more often to its historical role in the Holy Land in their correspondence.[381] Secondly, from the fifteenth century onwards, the focus of the order's historiography slowly shifted away from the lands of Prussia of Livonia towards describing the various officeholders, whilst the ever more self-confident citizens of the Hanse appropriated the

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[375] Regarding this topic, although expressing different nuances of thought: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 920–923, 953.
[376] Ibid., I–LXXXVIII (edition), there c.2, c.92, c.129, c.155.
[377] Ibid., 408–415.
[378] Ibid., 907–908 ff.
[379] Compare: Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 73–74.
[380] The German masters could never postulate such a role for various reasons. Note how only after the secularization in 1525 the German masters – who became administrators of the office of grand master from 1527 onwards – became the subject of historiographical interest in Gregor Spieß' *Chronica der teutzchen maister* (Chronicle of the German masters) written in 1531: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1042–1050.
[381] A. Souhr, '"Von jeher *fredeschilt* der Christenheit." Rückgriffe auf die eigenen Ursprünge im auswärtigen Schriftverkehr des Deutschen Ordens in Krisenzeiten', in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 237–268, there 262.

*Landesgeschichtschreibung* in the lands once ruled by the Teutonic Order.[382] It is remarkable how many works were conceived in the fifteenth and especially sixteenth centuries, which in essence descend from catalogues such as the *Hochmeisterverzeichnisse*. Apparently there existed a growing audience in the Teutonic Order that was drawn to what Reinhold Kaiser called "zählende Geschichtsschreibung," ("enumerative historiography") which is closely linked to the popular historiographical genre of *gesta*.[383] Contemporary chroniclers of the Low Countries often resorted to the genre and included catalogues of counts, abbots, genealogies of noble families, and other continuing lists of persons in their texts.[384] Chronicles such as the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, the *Liège Commandery Chronicle*,[385] and of course the *Croniken* itself are examples of its popularity in the Teutonic Order in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. After the secularization of the Order's Prussian territory in 1525, the number of manuscripts containing texts – both short and long – which are primarily concerned with sequences of officeholders grew substantially. Amongst those are, apart from the aforementioned texts, the *Kleine Meisterchronik* from Livonia (probably composed between 1494 and 1535)[386], the adaptation of the *Croniken* by the Waiblingen brothers (1528)[387], the *Chronica der teutzschen maister* by Gregor Spieß (1531)[388] and the short *Compendium Historiarum Prussicarum* (before 1536 or 1533).[389] It should be noted that the reception of the *Croniken* in German dialects must also be (at least largely) dated after 1525.

Emphasizing the uninterrupted sequence of officeholders served a clear purpose. The template stood for continuity in itself and gave a sense of old age – and thus legitimacy and authority – to the order.[390] The *Croniken* accentuated the continuity even more than most other Teutonic Order chronicles and extended the continuous lineage directly to the local brothers by placing a history of the Utrecht bailiwick and its land commanders at the end. The colourful coats of arms in

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[382] E.g.: Mentzel-Reuters, 'Ordenschronik zur Landesgeschichte'; Mentzel-Reuters, 'Stadt und Welt'; Arnold, *Studien zur preussischen Historiographie*.

[383] Kaiser, 'Gesta episcoporum', 462; Regarding the genre of gesta: Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*; Vanderputten, 'Social Re-interpretation', 152–155.

[384] One example is a well-known chronicler from the Low Countries, Theodericus Pauli, who vigorously compiled all sorts of lists of abbots and members of noble families: E.O. van der Werff, 'Twee Egmondse abtenlijsten in de werken van Theodericus Pauli (ca. 1417-1493)', in: G.N.M. Vis and M. Mostert eds., *Heiligenlevens, annalen en kronieken. Geschiedschrijving in middeleeuws Egmond*. Egmondse studiën 1 (Hilversum: Verloren 1990) 145–168, there 150–151.

[385] This mid to late fifteenth century chronicle, also known as the *Chronicon ecclesiae S. Andreae Leodiensis*, describes the commanders of Liège in Belgium and the commandery's landownership. It also provides some information on the Alden Biesen bailiwick to which Liège belonged. The bailiwick's charters seem to have provided much information. Only two sets of fragments of the chronicle remain, although no one has noted before that both fragments belonged to each other. Both fragments were used as a flyleaf for documents of the council and Teutonic Order's commandery of Gemert in the Duchy Brabant, also part of the Alden Biesen bailiwick. Tentative plans have been made to edit the fragments, some of which unfortunately are difficult to read due to damage to the pages. Gemert, Gemeentearchief Gemert-Bakel, Schepenprotocol Gemert R101; Hasselt, Rijksarchief, Landcommanderij Alden Biesen, inv.nr. 2942; R. Stein, 'Chronicon ecclesiae S. Andreae Leodiensis', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 330; M. Bussels, 'Un fragment de chronique de l'église Saint-André à Liège', *Leodium. Publication périodique de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège* 47 (1960) 25–35.

[386] Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 214.

[387] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1029–1042.

[388] Ibid., 1042–1050.

[389] Ibid., 1051–1055.

[390] Vanderputten, 'Social Re-interpretation', 153; See also the summary by Antje Thumser of the specific functions of historiographical texts of this type, including references to related studies: Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 203–204.

the margins then further highlighted the importance of the officeholders. It is no coincidence that – in contrast to even the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* for instance – the commencements and endings, as well as the duration of the office are perfectly aligned with each other. None of the offices ever appeared vacant, not even for a day.[391] That this approach often incited a loss of historical accuracy of the dates was of lesser importance.[392]

The need to stress the continuity of the order and its officeholders can with some certainty be linked to the loss of its territory and power in Northeast Europe from the fifteenth century onwards. Judging from the manuscript dissemination of later Teutonic Order chronicles this need was felt throughout the order, in all regions.[393] The Utrecht bailiwick was certainly no exception; the events in the Baltic region had a direct impact on the inner workings of the bailiwick.[394] The Utrecht based *Croniken*, deeply affected by this style shift in the Teutonic Order's historiography, in turn influenced a wide range of chronicles in the sixteenth century whose authors continued to use and reuse the template the author of the *Croniken* had chosen for the order's history.

## General notes on the author's methods of composition

With the framework put in place, the next step was to construct a narrative around it, as we shall see. A substantial number of sources were collected for this purpose. The author of the *Croniken* is seldomly explicit about the material he used for his text. He makes a small number of references to poorly defined charters and documents, sometimes more a figure of speech than an actual source (for a complete overview see Table A.5 in the Appendix). The only sources which he refers to by identifiable titles are the "Chronicle(s?) of Livonia and Courland" (c.280; meaning the *Livländische Reimchronik*), the *Statutes* (c.325, c.549), the Bible (c.488), and more specifically also the Acts of the Apostles (c.102). In the same chapter which mentions this last source, there are also references to Flavius Josephus and to the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor (or perhaps the Middle Dutch translation by Jacob van Maerlant, the *Rijmbijbel* – both were used as source for the *Croniken*). These, however, are not source references – instead, regarding the argument made by "some persons" that

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[391] For example, only the *Croniken* places Grand Master Dietrich of Altenburg (1335-1341) in office for ten years, from 1332 to 1342, in contrast to all other sources (six or seven years). It seems this was necessary only to realign the chronology with the election years of ensuing grand masters. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.558, c.564.

[392] H.-W. Goetz, 'Von der res gesta zur narratio rerum gestarum. Anmerkungen zu Methoden und Hilfswissenchaften des mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibers', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 67 (1989) 695–713, there 709–710.

[393] Take for instance the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*: its manuscripts can be linked to the bailiwicks of Franconia and Austria, whereas the text has been used in both Utrecht and Gdańsk. Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 967–968, 1004–1006, 1076; Manuscripts of the *Kleine Meisterchronik* have ended up in Livonia, Prussia as well as the bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire. Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 205–208; Earlier Teutonic Order chronicles such as *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin* were hardly copied outside Prussia and Livonia: Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, 19–20; Fischer, *Chronicle of Prussia*, 10–11; 'Nikolaus von Jeroschin: "Kronike von Pruzinlant"', *Handschriftencensus. Eine Bestandsaufnahme der handschriftlichen Überlieferung deutschsprachiger Texte des Mittelalters* <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/487> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[394] Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?'; Similarly, the number of academically trained priest brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick may have increased as a reaction on the Battle of Grunwald in 1410: R.J. Stapel, 'Power to the Educated? Priest-brethren and their Education, using Data from the Utrecht Bailiwick of the Teutonic Order (1350-1600)', in: P. Edbury ed., *The Military Orders 5: Politics and Power* (Farnham: Ashgate 2012) 337–348, there 344–345.

St Stephen led a religion on Mount Zion that continued until "some (religious) orders" were sprung from it (a reference to the origin legends of the Hospitallers), our chronicler states:

> *Read the Acts of the Apostles, read Josephus and Scholastica and others: you will find it nowhere.*[395]

Ironically, apart from this statement there is no unequivocal evidence that the works of Flavius Josephus, either his *Jewish War* or *Antiquities of the Jews* or both,[396] were used directly in the *Croniken*.[397] Similarly, explicit references to the Bible (in c.488) were merely copied – though slightly altered and corrected – from another source, in this case Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*. In all other instances, the *Croniken* is silent on its use of sources.

How its sources were used varies hugely within the chronicle. Some sources were primarily used to structure the text (e.g. the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* described above), whereas others provided the building blocks for the narrative itself. There are many passages in which several sources describing a certain event were used side-by-side to create a new narrative. In cases where both a Latin text and a vernacular translation existed, the author of the *Croniken* on several occasions chose to make use of both texts. Take for example the use of *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin*, as well as Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael* and the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais. In such cases verbatim transcriptions are absent. The author of the *Croniken* chose what content he wished to include and used his own words. Often, the sources were completely merged and mingled, but just as frequent, one sentence after another can be linked to a different source.[398] The use of punctuation in manuscript **We$_1$** of the *Croniken* – paragraph marks, full stops, commas and in some ways also rubrication – can be associated with shifts in the source texts (Table 3.2).[399] It should also be noted that much of the rubrication and punctuation associated with shifts in the use of source material is lost in subsequent manuscript copies of the *Croniken*.[400] In the previous chapter we have briefly discussed the possible significance of this observation with regard to the authorial presence in manuscript **We$_1$**.

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[395] "Leest Actus Apostolorum, leest Josephus ende Scolastica ende ander: ghij en sultet nergens vijnden": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.101.

[396] Both works appeared together in print. At least seven incunabula are known: 'ISTC', nrs. ij00481000 (Augsburg 1470), ij00481000 (Southern Netherlands <1475), ij00483000 (Lübeck 1475–1476), ij00484000 (Verona 1480), ij00485000 (Venice 1481), ij00486000 (Venice 1486), ij00487000 (Venice 1499).

[397] In all instances where one may suspect the use of Josephus' texts in the *Croniken* (e.g. c.77, c.79), other (derivative) texts such as the *Historia scholastica* by Petrus Comestor or Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* already covered the subjects – and were certainly used by the *Croniken*. A supplementary use of the texts by Josephus can be confirmed nor rejected.

[398] Regarding medieval compilation techniques: G. Melville, 'Kompilation, Fiktion und Diskurs. Aspekte zur heuristischen Methode der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreiber', in: C. Meier and J. Rüsen eds., *Historische Methode*. Theorie der Geschichte. Beiträge zur Historik 5 (Frankfurt am Main 1988) 133–153, there 133–140.

[399] The conjunction "ende" (and) often also signals such shifts and is frequently – but not always – rubricated as a result.

[400] Compare for instance c.272 in other manuscripts: Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 44v; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 48v–49r; Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (2nd ed.)* V, 696–697.

| ***Croniken*, ms. We$_1$**<br>**Diplomatic transcript, including original rubrication (underlined) and capitalization** | |
|---|---|
| **c.96, f. 13v** | ***Beauvais* (Lib. 13, c. 1 and c. 48) and/or *Spiegel historiael* (Part 2, Lib. 5, c. 1)** > ¶ Daer nae doemen screeff driehondert ende IX soe wart constantinus magnus sente helenen soen keyser van romen ***Beauvais* (Lib. 13, c. 48) and/or *Spiegel historiael* (Part 2, Lib. 5, c. 22)** > Ende sinte Siluester die heilige paeus bekeerden desen keyser constantinus ende die keyserinne helena sijn moeder ten kersten geloue ende lieten hem dopen ende deden alte veel goets der heyliger kercken ende doe worden die kersten seer gesterct ***Beauvais* (Lib. 13, c. 57) and/or *Spiegel historiael* (Part 2, Lib. 5, c. 26)** > Ende dese keyser gaff den paeus ende der heyliger kercken dat rijck van romen ende setten synen keyserlicken stoel tot constantinopolen ***Beauvais* (Lib. 13, c. 94) and/or *Spiegel historiael* (Part 2, Lib. 5, c.50)** > Ende dese heylige keyserinne sente Helena toech tot Iherusalem ende dede dat heylige cruys ons heren sueken ende vant ende ander heylichdom **unknown source** > als dat speer die nagelen . den doernen crone . die spongij . die cleder ende anders **return to *Beauvais* and/or *Spiegel historiael*** > dat die ioden begrauen hadden op versceyden plaetsen dat bij openbaringe allencken geuonden wert **unknown source** > Ende dese heylige keyserinne helena dede alle die heylige steden binnen Iherusalem ende dair omtrent waer sij die gevijnden off vernemen conde . suueren ende dede daer scoen kercken off capellen off goidshusen tijmmeren daermen die heylige steden versueken ende eren mocht |
| **c.272, f. 59v** | ***Dusburg* (II-13, III-1) and/or *Jeroschin* (vv. 3637–738), *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (c. 7)** > ¶ Die hoichmeister voirseit mit synen broederen ende ruter die hy geworuen had togen in goids namen int lant te pruyssen ende die hertoch Coenraert dede hem hulp ende bijstant ***Bericht Hermann von Salzas* (c. 4)** > . ende sy togen ouer die wissel ouer in dat lant the Colmen dat die hertoch den oirden gegeuen had **return to *Dusburg* and/or *Jeroschin*, *Ältere HMC*** > ende deden horen ganssen vlijt daer toe datse dat kersten geloue mochten vermeerren ***Dusburg* (III-1) and/or *Jeroschin* (vv. 3685–738), *Ältere HMC* (c. 7)** > Ende doe sy ouer die wissel waren soe vant die meister mit synen broederen daer enen berch ander wissel dair op stont enen alten groten eykenboem wel op gewassen mit groten wyden tacken . Doe ghinc die meister mit synen broederen ende begroeuen ende bebolwercten den eycken boem al om soe vast mit arckieringhe ende al om dairmen anden berch comen mocht soe datter nyet en bleeff dan ene enge stege dairmen totten berch comen mocht **personal addition** > ende dit wert genoemt Toren om den prusenaers dair toirnich off the maken ***Dusburg* (III-1) and/or *Jeroschin* (vv. 3729–38)** > . ende die stat van toren wert hier nae noch vander oirden op die stat getymmert |

*Table 3.2 Interaction between the use of punctuation and shifts in the use of sources in manuscript **We$_1$**.*

In a few locations, the *Croniken* follows the source texts more closely. Occasionally, sentences are copied almost verbatim, although this occurs very rarely. Furthermore, certain sources are more prone to be left intact than others.[401] Especially those sources describing events that are not reproduced in other sources seem to fall into that category.[402] With the exception of the privileges – in fact this may only apply to the imperial privileges – a verbatim inclusion of an entire source text hardly exists.[403]

Not everything in the *Croniken* can with certainty be linked to a particular source. In some cases, such information is so specific that it appears to have been taken from an unknown source. The story of the false papal legate in Livonia (c.301–2) offers a good example of such a passage. It was presumably based on an unknown Livonian text now deemed lost (about which I will say more later).[404] However, the lack of a source for a particular passage does not always signify the use of a unknown source. In some instances, it seems more likely that the author himself added information based on his own

[401] Compare: Melville, 'Heuristischen Methode', 138–139.

[402] Examples include the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens*, *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen über die Vereinigung des Schwertbrüderordens*, Aeneas Sylvius' *De situ et origine Pruthenorum* (Table 3.26) and to a certain extent – especially in the opening stages – also the *Livländische Reimchronik* (Table 3.30). More on this will follow.

[403] The bailiwick chronicle may be the most notable exception (see below). Other smaller exceptions concern the admission procedure for new brethren (c.186-187), the oath of the Prussian towns to the grand master (c.658-659), the trial proceedings at the imperial court in 1452-1453 (c.676-681 and the surrounding chapters) and the Prussian Confederation's declaration of enmity (c.695-698): *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.186–187, 658–659, 668–684, 695–698.

[404] The story occurs in other Livonian chronicles as well. The emphasis in these chapters on the right to own the lands conquered from the heathens is a recurring theme in the *Croniken* and may be the responsibility of the author himself. Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 36–38.

knowledge and experience. The polemical chapters in which the author reacts against certain views of historical events or in which he provides his own views are the clearest instances of the author's own voice.[405]

There are, however, also numerous shorter additions that in all probability can be linked to the author himself. When a selection of these embellishments is put together (Table 3.3), a picture emerges of the kind of encyclopaedic knowledge our author tries to enrich the text with. Some concern the chronological embedding of the narrative; others have a more explanatory nature with a particular audience in mind.[406] The author apparently felt the need to be specific – note for instance the inclusion of the number of Christian deaths in a passage where the corresponding source only mentions the number of heathens killed. Of a different category is the longer addition of c.330, which goes into the process of colonizing Prussia and the encounters between the brethren of the order and their heathen opponents. On numerous occasions the author put additional emphasis on the tremendous efforts the Teutonic Order had exerted in the past to transform the heathen landscape into a Christian one. References to martyrdom – sometimes already present in the *Croniken*'s sources, but more often not – were especially frequent and on occasion even included gory details.[407]

Interesting also is the short note in which the Prussian "partes inferiores" are identified – correctly – as the lands of Natangia and Bartia (c.334). Elsewhere, the *Croniken* mentions the bishopric of "Heilsberc" (c.525), whereas all other sources refer to the bishopric of Warmia.[408] Heilsberg (Polish: Lidzbark Warmiński) was the episcopal seat of the bishopric of Warmia. These are minor indications that the author's geographical knowledge of the Baltic region was not as bad as Hirsch and others suspected, a verdict which Hirsch also based on his investigations of the – often corrupted – names in manuscripts **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**.[409]

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[405] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.101–102, 121–122, 235, 499, 645, 648, 661, 675, 685, 693, 700, 703, 704, 764.
[406] This kind of additions were not uncommon: A. Janse, 'De Nederlandse Beke opnieuw bekeken', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 9 (2006) 116–149, there 126; A. Janse, 'Die Historie van Hollant. Een nieuw begin in de Hollandse geschiedschrijving in de vijftiende eeuw', *Millennium, tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies* 21 (2007) 19–38, there passim, especially 26–37.
[407] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.1, 96, 187, 241–242, 256, 273–274, 330, 335, 337, 353, 369, 443, 473, 498, 560, 566, 675; See also: Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 134–135.
[408] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, III–275; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', v. 21183; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 126; Compare also the names of the episcopal seats of the other Prussian bishoprics: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.257.
[409] E.g.: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 9, 31.

| Chapter | *Croniken*, ms. $We_1$ |
|---|---|
| **c.94** | **This** *(destructed state of Jerusalem)* **remained that way for fifty to sixty years.** |
| **c.242** | Amphitrites, **that is the sea that runs around the earth**. |
| **c.244** | So he went with his people and came to the Maeotian marshes, **which lay between the borders of Asia and Europe**.[410] |
| **c.244** | Then that land was called Brutenica, **which is beastly country**. And after some years the first letter 'b' was transformed in a 'p' and was called Prutenica, **which is Prussia**. |
| **c.272** | And this *(city)* was named Toruń, **to make the Prussians angry ("toirnich") thereof**. |
| **c.280** | **In the year of Our Lord 1158** there were rich merchants who went on large trade missions *(to Livonia)*.<br>(Legend of the Livonian "Aufsegelung") |
| **c.298** | And there died 1.400 heathens, **and less than a hundred Christians** |
| **c.300** | And of the heathens 1.600 had died, **and 300 Christians** […] And of the Semigallians 500 died, **and 200 Christians**. […] **And there had died over 600 Christians**. |
| **c.330** | And before these aforementioned lands were subjugated, many brothers of the Order and many nobles and others had died. **Especially when these brothers of the order were captured, they severely tortured them before they died. And also many of the heathen Prussians were killed before they were conquered. And in the lands the order won with the help of princes and lords over there, they quickly built castles, cities and fortresses, which they used to suppress these lands, and colonized them with German peoples from every corner.** |
| **c.334** | The **lands of Natangia, Major and Minor Bartia** that were situated in Prussia.<br>(*Dusburg* (III-34) et al.: "partes inferiores" = Lower Prussia) |
| **c.375** | And he *(the Livonian master)* went up to the Semigallians, **which were very fiery heathens**. |
| **c.379** | **And this happened in the year 1255**.<br>(Date deduced from several other chronological notes in the *Livländische Reimchronik*) |
| **c.380** | Eberhard**, the brother of the count** of Sayn.<br>(Correct family context for the grand master's envoy in Livonia, 1251-1253)[411] |
| **c.480** | And *(the city of Acre)* was positioned with one side to the sea, **like Cologne is positioned next to the Rhine**. |
| **c.552** | Mucke took food with him and **twenty-four men** and went to Lithuania.<br>(*Dusburg* (III-353) et al.: "a small company") |

*Table 3.3 Some short explanatory additions in the* Croniken*, not found in the surrounding sources. In bold the added information.*

In the end, the author's treatment of his source materials, combined with his own interventions, resulted in a remarkably coherent text. At various points in the text, the author takes the time to sum up the achievements of the Order recited in the preceding chapters; at others, the chapter expands on what is to come. Normally such chapters can be found at the beginning and end of certain themes that cover several chapters.[412] In other cases information from earlier chapters is recapitulated.[413] A number of times even, chapters much further apart are linked to each other.[414] All internal references in the first set of chapters belonging to the part with the lives of the grand masters (c.234–392) were captured in Figure

[410] This addition is identical to a passage from the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* printed by Johan Veldener: Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 194r.

[411] L. Fenske and K. Militzer eds., *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens*. Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 12 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 1993) nr. 756.

[412] Note for instance these two chapters that both (implicitly) refer to chapters that follow: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.302, c.329.

[413] This happens especially often with the information in the prologue, both in the prologue itself and in other parts of the *Croniken*, for example in the opening chapters of the part containing the lives of the grand masters: Ibid., c.234–7.

[414] When referring to the hinterland of the sultan of Egypt at the Siege of Acre in 1291 (c.492), the author of the *Croniken* drew from earlier chapters in the prologue that described the possessions of the early thirteenth-century Ayyubid rulers (c.136-7). *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*.

3.4 below. Through such cross-references back and forth between the various chapters of the *Croniken*, the chronicle forms more than just a long list of events gathered from various texts. Rather, the *Croniken* becomes a consistent whole.

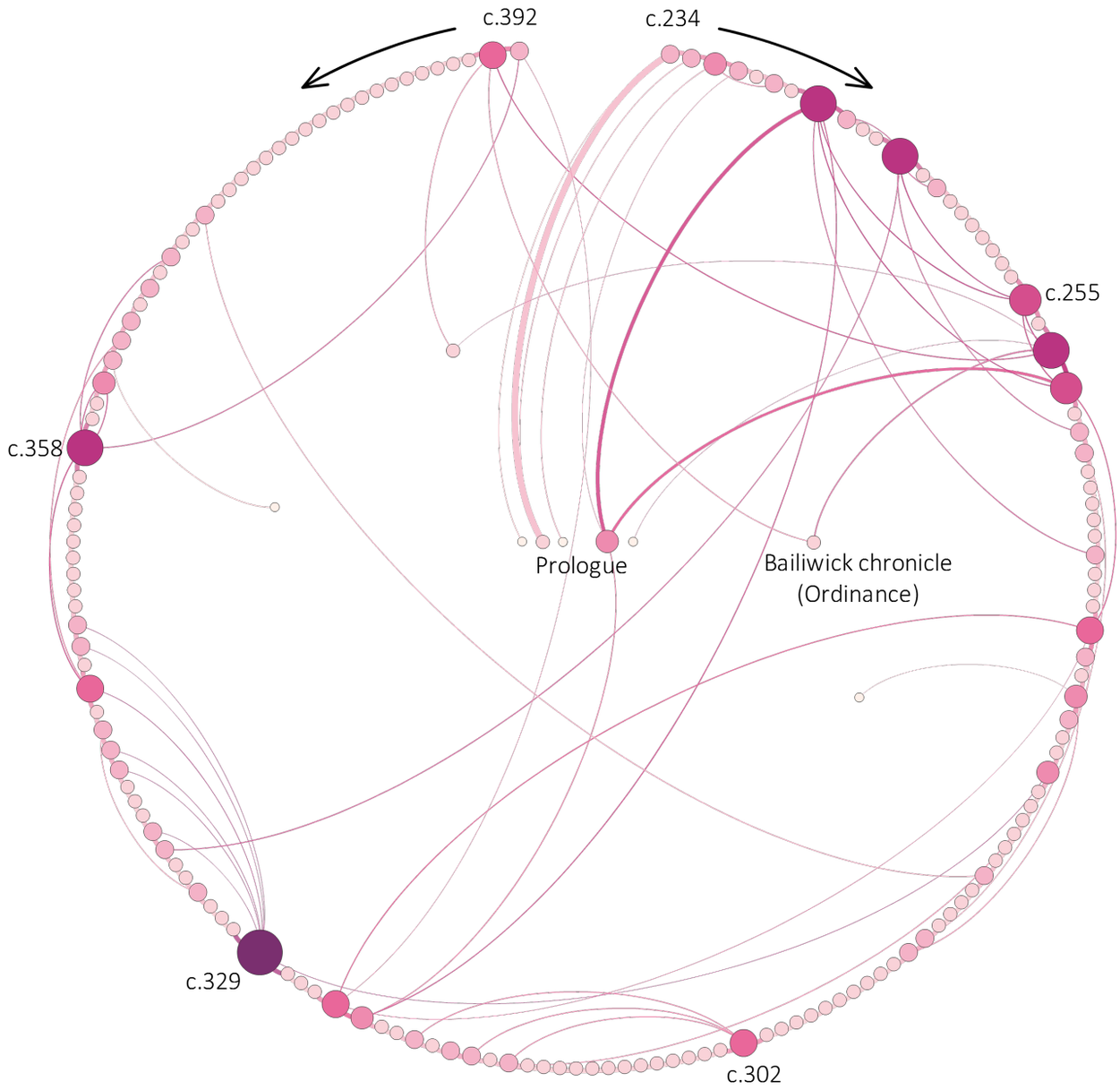


*Figure 3.4 Chapters of the* Croniken *implicitly or explicitly cross-referencing each other (c.234–392).*

## 3.3 The long prologue: bibles and crusading literature

The prologue of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* is one of the most scholarly interesting and unique parts of this Middle Dutch chronicle. It is set apart from the rest of the work by its thematic and geographical points of focus, and – physically – by a substantial series of papal and imperial privileges that immediately follow it. The prologue outlines in great detail the foundation of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land and the history of the location the author explicitly associates with this newly found order – the Cenacle at Mount Zion in Jerusalem. Its fate is traced from the time of the priest-king Melchizedek and of Abraham, via King David, whose tomb and citadel where located there, King Solomon, the Babylonian captivity, the Maccabean revolt, up to the arrival of Christ in Jerusalem. According to the *Croniken*, it would become the very site where Christ and his disciples had the Last Supper, washed the feet of the Apostles, and from where Christ ultimately ascended. It was also the place where the Holy Spirit appeared to the Apostles, where afterwards the Virgin Mary dwelled and passed away, and Saint Stephen was buried, as the prologue carefully lays out.

Throughout the Middle Ages the location of Mount Zion, in the southwest corner of the Old City of Jerusalem, was associated with a number of biblical spaces and events.[415] Numerous medieval texts provide lists of such associations and the list of events included by the *Croniken* can give a good sense of the scope of these connotations with Mount Zion.[416] The importance of the site is further emphasized by the designation of the church at Mount Zion as the first church, "the mother of all churches" in Jerusalem.[417] The tradition of locating the Cenacle at Mount Zion seems to have originated under Byzantine rule in the fourth and fifth century and was influenced by changes in liturgical practices.[418] This seems also true of the veneration of King David at Mount Zion, given that the locations of his tomb and citadel were not usually situated at Mount Zion until much later.[419]

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[415] For an introduction: P.W.L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*. Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Clarendon 1990) 282–308.

[416] Compare for instance: Raimond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill eds. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 71 (Philadelphia: The American Philisophical Society 1968) 117; D. Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): a new edition', *Crusades* 11 (2012) 109–137, there 135–136; W.R. Brownlow translator, *Saewulf (1102, 1103 A.D.)*. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 21 (reprinted New York (Volume 4): AMS 1971; London 1892) 19–21; F. Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem. De Itinere Terrae Sanctae liber, nach alten Handschriften berichtigt*. Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart XXV (Stuttgart 1851) 76–77; A contemporary account by Felix Fabri, who stayed at the convent at Mount Zion in 1480-1483, meticulously summarized these events and places: A. Stewart translator, *Felix Fabri (Circa 1480-1483 A.D.)*. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 20 (reprinted New York (Volume 7-10): AMS 1971; London 1893) 289 ff.

[417] J.H. Bernard translator, *Theodosius (A.D. 530)*. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 22 (reprinted New York (Volume 2): AMS 1971; London 1893) 10.

[418] K. Bieberstein, 'Die Hagia Sion in Jerusalem. Zur Entwicklung ihrer Traditionen im Spiegel der Pilgerberichte', in: *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongress für Christliche Archäologie. Bonn 22.-28. September 1991* I. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 20 (Münster: Aschendorff 1995) 543–551.

[419] Originally, Mount Zion (accommodating David's citadel) was supposed to have been located on the southeast corner of Jerusalem, on the so-called Ophel ridge. Around the first century A.D., people started to identify Mount Zion with its current location in the southwest corner: Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?*, 282–283; King David's tomb is not associated with this specific location until the tenth century: O. Limor, 'The Origins of a Tradition: King David's Tomb on Mount Zion', *Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion* XLIV (1988) 453–462.

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, no new tidings about the site appear for a significant period. This explains the chronological leap in the *Croniken* of almost three centuries, from the destruction to Emperor Constantine the Great and his mother Helena. It is this Empress Helena who – according to the *Croniken* – founded a hospital for German pilgrims at the site at Mount Zion. One could hardly imagine a more holy place. Immediately afterwards, she established a similar hospital for French speaking pilgrims, the *Croniken* states, markedly locating it a little downhill from the German hospital. Both hospitals are presented as precursors for the two major military orders still in existence at the time of writing the chronicle, the Teutonic Order and the Order of Saint John:

> *And these worthy knightly orders, the Teutonic Order of Our Lady and [Order] of Saint John, would receive their blessing and first title, their honour and dignity thereof. Because Melchizedek's house stood at the same location where God had supped; from where these worthy orders were entitled and founded.*[420]

The *Croniken* repeatedly expresses how the orders received their "title and fundament" from the holy site that accommodated these two hospitals.[421] On the one hand, it is a quite literary interpretation of the two official titles of the military orders, both reminiscent of an origin in Jerusalem: *"Ordo fratrum domus Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum Hierosolimitanorum"* (Order of the Brethren of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem) and *"Ordo Fratrum Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani"* (Order of the Brethren of the Hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem).[422] On the other hand, there is also the implication of a less tangible connection to Jerusalem; the military orders are not only presented as inheritors of a unique piece of land, but also as successors and heirs to biblical defenders of the faith who were connected to Mount Zion.[423]

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[420] "Ende die weerdige ridderlike Duytsche Oirden van Onsser Liever Vrouwen ende van Sente Johans hoir benedixie ende yerste titell, hoir eer ende weerdicheit off hebben souden. Want Melchisedechs huis stont op die selve plaetse daer dat huis stont daer Got sijn avontmael at daer dese weerdige oirden uut getitelleert ende gefundeert sijn": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.77.
[421] Ibid., c.77, c.82, c.88, c.117–118, c.121–122, c.156, c.234–235.
[422] For the Order of Saint John and its Jerusalem hospital, the link to the holy city was of course self-evident. The Teutonic Order however was founded, according to the official account, at Acre. The precise connection to the pre-existing German hospital at Jerusalem - once property of the Hospitallers - has been the subject of debate, e.g.: Müller, *Jerusalem oder Akkon?*
[423] In reality, the hospital of Saint Mary of the Germans, formerly owned by the Hospitallers, was located at the Street of the Germans, in the present-day Jewish Quarter of the Old City. The hospital of the Hospitallers themselves was located next to the Holy Sepulchre: D. Pringle, *The churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus* 3: The City of Jerusalem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007) 192–207, 228–236.

| Texts | | Biblical *exempla* and other actors |
|---|---|---|
| ***Croniken*** | c.76-88 | Noah; Shem; Arpachshad; Salah (a.k.a. Cainan); **Melchizedek**; Aaron; **Abraham**; **Lot**; **Moses**; **Joshua**; tribes of Israel; tribe of Judah; **David**; Jebusites; Saul; Araunah; Michol; Uzzah; **Cherethites and Pelethites**; **Salomon**; kings of Judah, Egypt, Israel and Babylon; Zedekiah; *Nebuchadnezzar II*; Cyrus the Great; Darius the Great; Belshazzar; **Antiochus IV Epiphanes**; Tribe of Levi; Mattathias; *Judas Maccabeus*; Eleazar Avaran; Jonathan Apphus; John Gaddi; Simon Thassi; Herod Ascolonita (the Great); Julius Caesar; Augustus; Tiberius; Caligula; Claudius; Nero; Galba; Otho; Vitellius; Vespasian; Titus |
| ***Dusburg*** | Prologue; Preface | *Nebuchadnezzar II*; Daniel; Isaiah; *Judas Maccabeus*; *David*; *Salomon*; Jesus Sirach; Queen of Sheba |
| | I-1 =*Statutes* (Latin)[424] | **Abraham**; *'God-fearing brethren' (i.e. Lot and others)*; **Melchizedek**; **Moses**; **Joshua**; Enachim; **David**; **Cherethites and Pelethites**; **Salomon**; *Maccabees*; **Antiochus IV Epiphanes** |
| ***Jeroschin*** | vv. 1-900 | *Nebuchadnezzar II*; Daniel; **Abraham**; **Lot**; **Melchizedek**; **Moses**; **Joshua**; Enachim; **David**; **Cherethites and Pelethites**; **Salomon**; *Maccabees*; **Antiochus IV Epiphanes** |
| ***Statutes* (Middle Dutch)** | Prologue, c.2-3 | **Abraham**; **Lot**; **Melchizedek**; **Moses**; **Joshua**; **David**; *Maccabees* |
| ***Ältere HMC*** | c.1 | [Absent] |

*Table 3.4 Appearances of figures in the Croniken before the appearance of Christ (c.76–88) and corresponding Teutonic Order's chronicles. Matching names are presented in bold; names with some degree of similarity (but for instance in a different context) are presented in italic.*

The application of biblical narratives to the military orders, or to crusaders more widely, was commonplace,[425] stemming from a conventional typological view of history. In this view the world before and after the incarnation of Christ is seen as one continuum, in which persons or events are foreshadowed by others – as a sign of the unity of God's revelation.[426] The Teutonic Order, too, had a long tradition of identifying itself with biblical prefigurations. Following the example set by the Latin statutes, codified between 1244 and 1249,[427] Peter of Dusburg and Nikolaus of Jeroschin list a substantial number of characters presented as foreshadows of the brethren (Table 3.4). Just before turning to the likes of Abraham and Moses, *Dusburg* states: "This praiseworthy knighthood is not only founded on earth by men, but was also repeatedly prefigured as a type in heaven and on earth."[428]

The *Croniken* evidently builds on such a list, a list that provides structure to the narrative. All the main biblical figures mentioned by *Dusburg* et al. are included: Melchizedek, Abraham, David, and so forth. Of the texts included in Table 3.4,

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[424] Not including a few New Testament figures, namely Saint Stephen, Saint John, the Apostles and Jesus Christ.

[425] The most notable biblical exempla used by the military orders are arguably the Maccabees: E. Poleg, 'On the books of Maccabees: an unpublished poem by Geoffrey, prior of the Templum Domini', *Crusades* 9 (2010) 13–56; Morton, 'Defence of the Holy Land'; M.C. Fischer, 'The books of the Maccabees and the Teutonic Order', *Crusades* 4 (2005) 59–71.

[426] E.F. Ohly, K.J. Northcott (translator), 'Typology as a form of historical thought', in: S.P. Jaffe ed., *Sensus Spriritualis. Studies in medieval significs and the philology of culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2005) 31–67; For a bibliography on the subject: H.T. Keenan and K. Sarvé-Gorham, 'An annotated bibliography of writings on typology and English medieval literature through 1987', in: H.T. Keenan ed., *Typology and English Medieval Literature*. Georgia State Literary Studies 7 (New York: AMS 1992) 309–325 (see also other papers in this volume); This view of the world also strongly affects the notion of time in the Middle Ages: H.-W. Goetz, 'The concept of time in the historiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in: G. Althoff, J. Fried and P.J. Geary eds., *Medieval concepts of the past. Ritual, memory, historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002) 139–166.

[427] I. Šterns, *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights. A study of religious chivalry* (University of Pennsylvania 1969) 47.

[428] "Hec reverenda milicia non solum in terra est ab hominibus confirmata, verum eciam typo celi et terre multipharie prefigurata": Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, 44 (I–1).

*Jeroschin* – widely used throughout the *Croniken* – is the most likely source of inspiration, since both Lot, and the Cherethites and Pelethites are featured here. It cannot be excluded that *Dusburg* and/or the *Statutes* have been used as well. As I have pointed out earlier, and as will be seen again below, the author of the *Croniken* often combined many sources concerned with the same particular topic. Furthermore, *Dusburg* is used at a different location in the prologue (see below, Table 3.10). Nevertheless, both *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin* do little more than providing the same biblical *exempla* used in the Teutonic Order's statutes. The list of biblical figures in the *Croniken* is much more elaborate than those of earlier sources, which immediately suggests that a substantial number of additional source texts were used.

The increase of the number of subjects is immediately evident from the sheer size of the prologue, which comprises over 11,000 words, totalling around 12% of the entire chronicle. In comparison, the prologue of *Jeroschin* is no more than 900 verses long (circa 3% of the text), roughly equal to *Dusburg*, whereas the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* has no prologue of any importance. The size is not the only difference however. Like in *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* or the *Statutes*, the *Croniken* too presents many biblical figures as prefigurations of the brethren, often even much more explicitly than in *Dusburg* et al. However, in the *Croniken* they do not feature as prefigurations alone. They are first and foremost presented as occupants of the holy site at Mount Zion. It means the holiness of the future site of the German hospital is stressed, more so than the holiness of the brethren. One of the consequences of focussing on the site is that the list of biblical actors in the *Croniken* does not end with the Old Testament – as was chiefly the case in the preceding chronicles. Nor does the *Croniken* limit itself to *biblical* actors alone, as the example of Empress Helena shows.

In the *Croniken*, the history of the site at Mount Zion and its occupants is continued up to the Third Crusade – sometimes elaborately, sometimes concisely, and often only as an aside to the general history of the Holy Land and Eastern Mediterranean. The account culminates in the foundation ceremony of the Teutonic Order at Acre in 1190. According to the *Croniken*, Pope Celestine III bestowed the German hospital at Mount Zion to the new order shortly after this ceremony. This established the association of Mount Zion with the order the *Croniken*, which justified the inclusion of the information about the site earlier in the chronicle. As a consequence, the Teutonic Order was portrayed as being of the same age – or better, even slightly older – as the Order of Saint John, whose origins in reality can be traced back well over a century before the Teutonic Order was founded.

After the narration of the foundation of the Teutonic Order at Acre, the theme of the hospitals at Mount Zion is lost. In two 'closing' chapters (c.121–2) the author fulminates against alternative historical views on the foundations of the Teutonic Order and the Order of Saint John. In these chapters the *Croniken* mentions a bishop of Paderborn who supposedly had ordered (part of) the prologue of the *Croniken* to be written:

> *And this bishop of Paderborn had this order's prologue and* Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden *[Chronicle of the Teutonic Order] written down up until Duke Frederick of Swabia died at Acre.*[429]

We will return to this intriguing attribution in chapter 4.3. The text continues with reports concerning the Teutonic Order and the Holy Land in general, removing Mount Zion from the centre of attention. The prologue therefore can be divided in at least two parts, whose mutual relationship is yet uncertain. The use of initials – as we have seen a method to highlight the structure and hierarchy of the text – seems to confirm a disruption after the foundation of the order (between c.122 and c.123; Table 3.5).

| Initials (hierarchy) | Historical background of the order's hospital at Jerusalem | Chapters | Table of contents |
|---|---|---|---|
| **c.75 (8 lines)** | - Introduction (reference to New Testament, c.89–93) | **c.75** | **c.2** |
| **c.76 (2 lines)** | - Old Testament | **c.76–88** | **c.2-4** |
| **c.89 (2 lines)** | - New Testament | **c.89–93** | **c.5** |
| | - Roman Empire to Charlemagne | **c.94–100** | **c.5** |
| | - *[Fulmination against alternative historical views]* | *c.101–2* | |
| | - First Crusade | **c.103** | **c.6** |
| c.104 (cadel?) | - Kings of Jerusalem (First to Third Crusade) | **c.104–13** | **c.6** |
| | - Foundation of Teutonic Order during Siege of Acre | **c.114–20** | **c.7-9** |
| | - *[Fulmination against alternative historical views]* | *c.121–2* | |
| **c.123 (2 lines)**[430] | - Early history of the Teutonic Order at Acre | **c.123–8** | **c.10–11** |
| | - Loose remarks regarding the crusades and crusaders | **c.129–32** | |
| **c.133 (2 lines)** | - Preparations Fifth Crusade ('*Narratio patriarchiae*') | **c.133–45** | **c.12** |
| | - Fifth Crusade | **c.146–54** | **c.13–15** |
| | - Grand Master Hermann of Salza | **c.155–7** | |
| **c.158 (2 lines)** | - Grand Master Hermann of Salza as mediator | **c.158–9** | **c.16** |

*Table 3.5 Structure and content of the prologue of the* Croniken*, based on the use of initials.*

## Inspiration: from guidebooks to the *Legends of the Hospital*

Whereas the presence of characters from the Old Testament in the prologue continued (and significantly expanded) a long established tradition in the Teutonic Order's historiography, the concentration on Mount Zion did not. Generically, the focus on a particular site and associated biblical events is strongly reminiscent of the numerous travel accounts of and guidebooks for pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Such accounts became increasingly popular in the late Middle Ages.[431] They

[429] "Ende dese bisscop van Pelborn heeft deser oirden prologus ende Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden doen bescriven tot dat Hertoch Vrederick van Zwaven tot Akers sterff": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.121.

[430] The division between c.123-128 and c.129-132 is, admittedly, arbitrary. Taken as a whole, c.123-132 is lacking a clear theme, which makes it difficult to pinpoint thematic shifts that supersede the level of the chapter, if there are any. The two announcements in the table of contents that point forward to these chapters (c.10-11) are equally difficult to link to particular chapters, but could perhaps justify a division between c.123-126 and c.127-132.

[431] E.g.: R.W.M. van Schaïk, '"Wer weite Reisen macht...". Niederländische Palästinareisen und Palästinareiseberichte aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert', in: M. Gosman and J. van Os, *Non Nova, Sed Nove. Mélanges de civilisation médiévale dédiés à Willem Noomen*. Mediaevalia Groningana V (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis 1984) 211–224; Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*. W. Carls ed. Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit 39 (Berlin: Schmidt 1999) 11–52.

often included listings of holy places and descriptions of the biblical events associated with those places.[432] Although there is little direct evidence to suggest an immediate relation with such guidebooks or pilgrims' itineraries, the author of the *Croniken* appears to have been influenced by their structure and content. Some information could well have been taken directly from such a text:

> *And soon afterwards, Empress Helena instructed the building of a large beautiful hospital in honour of Saint John the Baptist, alongside Mount Zion, where the Golden Gate used to be, towards the Holy Sepulchre.*[433]

However, locating one of the Jerusalem hospitals at Mount Zion was – with good reasons[434] – highly uncommon in travel accounts of the Holy Land. Of the travel accounts to the Holy Land that I have been able to study, only the one of Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1211–2 in the company of the grand master of the Teutonic Order Hermann of Salza,[435] identified Mount Zion as the location for a hospital of the Order of St John. Wilbrand, then a Hildesheim canon, later became bishop of Paderborn (1225–7). He was bishop of Utrecht (1228–33) when the Teutonic Order was first established in this diocese. Interestingly, the hospital Wilbrand described was dedicated to Saint John. One can assume a connection to the Order of Saint John, although that is not strictly necessary. For instance, it may also refer to Saint John the Evangelist, whose house had become associated with Mount Zion. The sentence is shortly followed by a quote from the Gospel of John (the Evangelist).[436]

> *And know that on Mount Zion was that house or hospital to which, according to the book of the Maccabees, "the very powerful man Judas made a collection of twelve thousand drachmas of silver and sent it to Jerusalem to be an offering, etc."* [II Macc. 12:42-43] *In that house the (a?) Hospital of St John was later built.*[437]

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[432] One example is Ludolf of Sudheim's "Description of the Holy Land and of the way thither". Although it was used as a source elsewhere in the *Croniken*, there is no evidence to support that its description of Jerusalem and Mount Zion was used directly. Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, passim, in particular 74–84.

[433] "Ende daer nae corts soe dede dese heilige Keyserinne Helena maken aen den Berch van Sion, ter Gulder Poirte daer die plach te staen ten Heiligen Grave waert, een groot scoen hospitael in eer van Sente Johan Baptist." *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.97; A few chapters later, the statement is repeated in slightly altered form: "The hospital of Saint John the Baptist was also located alongside Mount Zion, a bit further away from where the Cenacle had been standing, towards the Holy Sepulchre" ("Dat hospitael van Sinte Johans Baptisten dat stont oic an den Berch van Sion, en stuc van daer dat Cenaculum gestaen had ten Heiligen Grave waert"): Ibid., c.102. One should note that the Golden Gate is to be located rather at the eastern side of Jerusalem, near the Temple Mount. Perhaps this discrepancy could in fact be used to identify the source for this statement. Attempts in that direction have not yet been successful.

[434] Rather, the correct locations of the hospitals were widely known. See note 423.

[435] E.g.: K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 2 (Bonn: Wissenschaftliches Archiv 1967) 46, 55, 59ff.

[436] Whichever Saint John was meant here, nothing is known of a building functioning as hospital or hospice at Mount Zion. Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* 3: The City of Jerusalem, 211–212, 266; Compare also: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.93.

[437] "Et scitote, quia in Monte Syon erat hostipale sive domus illa, ad quam secundum librum Machabeorum, *vir fortissimus Iudas collatione facta XII milia dragmas argenti misit Iherosolimam offeri ea etc.* In qua postmodum hospitale sancti Iohannis fuit edificatum." It is unclear whether the translation should read "the hospital" (as Pringle proposed) or "a hospital". Pringle, 'A new edition', 135–136; The English translation used here: D. Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg: Journey in the Holy Land (1211-12)', in: D. Pringle ed., *Pilgrimage*

So, could Wilbrand's *Journey to the Holy Land* have provided the author of the *Croniken* the inspiration for the suggestion of locating not only the hospital of the Order of Saint John at Mount Zion, but also the hospital of the Teutonic Order? He may have known of Wilbrand's travel account, but this is not certain. As we shall see below, it was possibly used for a different part of the *Croniken* (section 3.5). The only two extant manuscripts of the *Journey to the Holy Land* are connected to the Premonstratensian abbey of Saint-Yved de Braine near Soissons in Northern France.[438] Despite this, we know the work of Wilbrand was available in the Low Countries – possibly through his own agency as bishop of Utrecht: over a century after his episcopacy, Johannes de Beke, one of the most influential fourteenth-century chroniclers in the Low Countries, drew a passage from Wilbrand's account – albeit a very brief one.[439]

Although Wilbrand's report is presented as an eyewitness account, details may nevertheless have been based on existing sources or oral traditions, which complicates its recognition as a source of the *Croniken*. Although this does not apply to locating the hospital at Mount Zion – for now only Wilbrand and the *Croniken* have been found to mention this – there is a particular resemblance of the *Journey to the Holy Land* to a series of texts related to the Order of Saint John, a resemblance which has not previously been commented on.[440] In Jerusalem, between around 1140 and 1160, the Order of Saint John had composed a series of legends or miracles concerning the foundation of the Hospital in biblical times, known as the *Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem*.[441] By 1181/5, a Latin version of these texts had reached Clerkenwell in London to be translated into Anglo-Norman verse.[442] Although the events described in the *Legends* were supposedly

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*to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*. Crusade Texts in Translation 23 (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2012) 24–27; 61–94, there 92.

[438] Both the oldest manuscript - copied around 1220-1230, also including French and Norman texts - and a sixteenth century copy (basis for nearly all subsequent editions) stem from this abbey: Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg', 26.

[439] The passage concerns a story about the "montem de aventuris" (mountain of things to come; Lib. I, c. 25): Ibid., 81; H. Bruch ed., *Chronographia Johannis de Beke*. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote Serie 143 (The Hague: Nijhoff 1973) 177–179 (c. 68b); H. Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke. Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote Serie 180 (The Hague: Nijhoff 1982) 115–116 (c. LXIV); *Beke* influenced many historiographical works. The passage is for instance also present in the chronicle of the anonymous "*Clerc uten Laghen Landen*": B.J.L. de Geer van Jutphaas ed., *Kronijk van Holland van een ongenoemden geestelijke (gemeenlijk geheeten Kronijk van den Clerc uten Laghen Landen bi der zee)*. Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht N.R. 6 (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon 1867) 83–84; Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 1177 (6 E 9), f. 57r.

[440] For instance: Pringle, 'A new edition'.

[441] For the date: Luttrell, 'Préface', 7; See further: A. Calvet, 'Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, entre mythe et histoire', in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 61–71; A. Calvet, *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*. Centre d'Enseignement et de Recherche d'Oc 11 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris Sorbonne 2000); Luttrell, 'Historical Activities: 1291-1400'; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, 16; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310*. A History of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem 1 (London/New York: Macmillan/St Martin's Press 1967) 32–34; 'Exordium Hospitalariorum', in: C. Kohler ed., *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* 5 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale 1895) CIX–CXXVIII; 399–435.

[442] Calvet, *Légendes*, 26–27.

located on Mount Calvary, where the Hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem was located, rather than Mount Zion[443], they connect the hospital to the same biblical passage as is mentioned by Wilbrand (II Macc., 12:42–43; Table 3.6).[444]

| Wilbrand of Oldenburg, *Journey to the Holy Land* [445] | *Legends of the Hospital* [446] |
|---|---|
| Et scitote, quia in Monte Syon erat hospitale sive domus illa, ad quam secundum librum Machabeorum, vir fortissimus Iudas collatione facta XII milia dragmas argenti misit Iherosolimam offerri ea etc. In qua postmodum hospitale sancti Iohannis fuit edificatum. | Unde sequitur, ut in libro Machabeorum scriptum esse invenitur, quod Judas Machabeus, videns bonum esset per mortuis orare, misit Jerosolimam XII dramas milia argenti eidem Hospitali offeri ibi eas, pro peccatis mortuorum, et dare pauperibus. |

*Table 3.6 Comparison of Wilbrand of Oldenburg's* Journey to the Holy Land *and the* Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem.

These *Legends* – in what exact version or language cannot be determined – were also used by the author of the *Croniken*. There are numerous apparent echoes in the chronicle, from the role of Judas Maccabeus as benefactor of the precursory hospitals of both orders (c.88) to the identification of the house where the Virgin Mary and the Apostles lived and ate during the Passion of Christ as the location for the later hospitals (c.89). Both doubting Saint Thomas (c.90) and Saint Stephen and the seven deacons (c.91) make their appearance as occupants and custodians of the house in both the *Croniken* and the *Legends*.[447]

That these echoes are indeed likely to have been due to direct influence of the *Legends*, is further supported by the fact that they are referred to explicitly in the *Croniken*. When its author fulminates against "certain persons who have written in some books of the Teutonic Order's beginnings and some of the Order of Saint John's beginnings, in which they are terribly mistaken and it proves that they know little thereof" (c.121),[448] the books describing the origins of the Teutonic Order primarily seem to refer to the *De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio* – as can be deduced from its content.[449]

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[443] Some confusion may have been caused due to the fact that the *Legends* associated the site of the Hospital of Saint John with events from the New Testament, that were, by some, associated with Mount Zion instead of Mount Calvary.
[444] Borchardt, 'Spendenaufrufe', 29–30.
[445] Pringle, 'A new edition', 135–136.
[446] Calvet, *Légendes*, 150.
[447] There are many versions of the *Legends*, in as many languages that were spoken in the Order of Saint John. For the main editions: Ibid., 107–154; 'Exordium Hospitalariorum'; The Anglo-Norman rhymed text: Sinclair ed., *Hospitallers' Riwle*; For a Middle High German translation in verse that originated in Strasbourg: Küster, *Von dem Spitâle von Jêrusalêm*; Finally, compare two thirteenth century alms-raising letters from Würzburg: Borchardt, 'Spendenaufrufe'.
[448] "Daer sijn enige personen geweest ende hebben in sommige boeken gescreven van der Duytscher Oirden begin ende sommige van Sinte Johans Oirden begin, daer sij seer in missen ende blijct datse dair weynich off weten": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.121.
[449] U. Arnold, 'De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio', *Preußenland* 4 (1966) 17–30; 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung', in: W. Hubatsch and U. Arnold eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit* VI (Frankfurt am Main 1968) 22–34, there 22–29; More recently: U. Arnold, 'Die Narratio de primordiis Ordinis Theutonici. Der offizielle Blick des Deutschen Ordens auf seine Anfänge', in: Ph. Josserand and M. Olivier eds., *La mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge. Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter*. Vita regularis 51 (Berlin: Lit 2012) 95–120; U. Arnold, 'Die Anfänge der Ordensgeschichtsschreibung', in: B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014) 177–195.

Perhaps the author of the *Croniken* knew this *Narratio* as a distinct text, or alternatively as part of the *Chronica novella* of the Lübecker chronicler Hermann Korner, composed in the first half of the fifteenth century.[450]

The author of the *Croniken* vehemently rejects the possibility, put forward in the *Narratio*, that a chaplain (and chamberlain) of Duke Frederick of Swabia took over the field hospice founded by citizens from Bremen and Lübeck during the Siege of Acre (1189–91), renamed it after the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem, and later transferred it inside the walls of Acre – generally regarded as the 'true' origin of the Teutonic Order. The other target of his criticism, the books "of the Order of Saint John's beginnings", are to be identified as the aforementioned *Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem*. The *Croniken* rejects the view presented in many of the *Legends* that the Hospital of Saint John (the Baptist) in Jerusalem had originally been founded by Saint John the Almsgiver (c.122, c.235). It also discards the notion that Saint Stephen Protomartyr himself had governed the Hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem (c.101–2). Whereas the link to Saint John the Almsgiver is also expressed in other sources familiar to the author of the *Croniken*, i.e., the chronicles by William of Tyre and James of Vitry,[451] the fact that Saint Stephen was considered a predecessor of the grand masters only appears in the Hospitallers' own texts and documents.

Also appearing in the *Croniken* is Raymond du Puy, "guardian and administrator" ("gardiaen ende regierre" (c.122), or "gardiaen ende bewaerre" (c.235)) of the Hospital of Saint John the Baptist in Jerusalem, and the Order's "first master" ("yerste meister"; c.122, c.235). The adoption of Raymond's formal title – and its near identical repetition – raises the possibility that another of the Hospitallers' own documents was used. The expression surfaces, for instance, in Fr. William of San Stefano's treatise titled *Comment la sainte maison de l'Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem commença*, in reference to that other 'first master' Gerard, sometimes referred to as Blessed Gerard: "Girart, estoit lors *gardian et aministrour* de la maison."[452] Although the *Croniken* does not refer to Gerard but to Raymond du Puy, the identical naming convention suggests that the author of the *Croniken* had access to Hospitallers' archives and was well-informed of their origin traditions.[453] These *Legends* were still actively used within the order in the late fifteenth century. Guillaume Caoursin included

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[450] J. Schwalm ed., *Die Chronica Novella des Hermann Korner* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1895) 597–598 <http://archiv.ub.uni-marburg.de/eb/2010/0073> [accessed 2 May 2016]; For Hermann Korner, e.g.: B. Jahn, 'Hermann Korner', in: W. Achnitz ed., *Deutsche Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter. Autoren und Werke nach Themenkreisen und Gattungen* 3: Reiseberichten und Geschichtsdichtungen (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2011) 531–533.

[451] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi Chronicon*. R.B.C. Huygens, H.E. Mayer and G. Rösch eds. Corpus Christianorum 63-63A (Turnhout: Brepols 1986) Lib. I–10; XVIII–4,5; James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (Historia Orientalis)*. J. Donnadieu ed. Sous la règle de Saint Augustin 12 (Turnhout: Brepols 2008) c. 64; For a discussion on Vitry's stance: Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* 3: The City of Jerusalem, 205–206.

[452] 'Exordium Hospitalariorum', 424; For Brother William of San Stefano, who – writing in the early fourteenth century – similarly fulminated against the associations of the Jerusalem Hospital to St John the Almsgiver, see: Luttrell, 'Préface', 12–13; Calvet, *Légendes*, 32–35; Calvet, 'Entre mythe et histoire', 68–70; The title "guardian and administrator" does not occur in any of the *Legends*, nor is Raymond usually called the first master: this role is reserved for Gerard. Only two later versions, "*De primordiis...*" (in a manuscript containing the statutes of 1446) and Guillaume Caoursin's "*Primordium...*" (1493), also mention Raymond instead of Gerard as first master of the Hospital: Luttrell, 'Préface', 16; Calvet, *Légendes*, 38–40; 'Exordium Hospitalariorum', 428–435.

[453] Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine what version(s) of the *Legends* the *Croniken* might have been using.

them in his official introduction to the Hospitallers' revised statutes in 1489/93.[454] One can easily imagine how a member or associate of the Teutonic Order, with an appetite for historiography, felt challenged by this rich cache of legendary stories of that neighbouring military order to produce a different version of events, one that had potential to rival it: similar, but even more elaborate, even more far reaching, and, as a result, totally different from what his own order had written before. The influence of the Hospitallers' *Legends* on the way the prologue was composed and presented was therefore immense.

### Bibles and religious texts

For the biblical *exempla*, a wide range of other sources were used; sources which seldomly were related to the military orders. This can be illustrated by looking at a particularly important biblical *exemplum* used in the *Croniken*, around the figure of Moses (c.78). The appearance and role in the text is foreshadowed by for instance the *Statutes*:[455] in both texts, Moses is portrayed as spearhead in the struggle against the enemies of God, and attention is drawn to the fact that Moses would be allowed to keep all the lands they conquered – just as his 'successors' of the Teutonic Order. But the source for the exemplum in the *Croniken* is not the *Statutes*, as can be seen from the evidence provided in Table 3.7. The source is, instead, the so-called *Herne Bible* or *History Bible of 1361*, a Middle Dutch history bible completed in 1361 and attributed to the Carthusian monk Petrus Naghel, a member of the charterhouse of Herne near Brussels.[456] The similarities are evident, especially the passage from the Book of Numbers 31:4, or the "dootlagen" (marshes or mud pools) in Table 3.8, not found in any other source.

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[454] J. Hasecker and J. Sarnowsky, 'Die mittelalterlichen Statuten des Johanniter-Ordens. Eine synoptische Edition im Internet' (2007) <http://www.josta.uni-hamburg.de/> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[455] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 24–25 (Prologue, c. 3).

[456] Confusingly, there are many ways to describe this work: "*Hernse Bijbel*", "*History Bible of 1361*", "*First History Bible*", "*Southern Netherlands History Bible*", "*Flemish History Bible*", "*History Bible of 1360*", "*Bible Translation of 1360*". We will refer to it as the "*Herne Bible*". For the most recent literature: M. Kors, 'De Historiebijbel van 1361. Leken en bijbellectuur in de veertiende eeuw', in: A. den Hollander, E. Kwakkel and W. Scheepsma eds., *Middelnederlandse bijbelvertalingen*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 102 (Hilversum: Verloren 2007) 49–58; M. Kors, *De bijbel voor leken. Studies over Petrus Naghel en de Historiebijbel van 1361*. Publications de l'Encyclopédie Bénédictine 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2007); Most recently, the attribution to Petrus Naghel has been questioned by Theo Coun: Th. Coun, 'Exit Petrus Naghel als Bijbelvertaler?', *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 85 (2014) 3–38; The Old Testament has been edited by C.C. de Bruin, as well as some fragments of the New Testament: C.C. de Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament = Vetus Testamentum. Eerste stuk, Genesis-II Koningen* 1. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Grote reeks, afd. I: Het Oude Testament (Leiden: Brill 1977); C.C. de Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament = Vetus Testamentum. Tweede stuk, I Kronieken-Jesus Sirach* 2. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Grote reeks, afd. I: Het Oude Testament (Leiden: Brill 1978); C.C. de Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament = Vetus Testamentum. Derde stuk, Jesaja-II Maccabeeën* 3. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Grote reeks, afd. I: Het Oude Testament (Leiden: Brill 1978); C.C. de Bruin ed., *Fragmenten = Fragmenta*. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Miscellanea, 4 (Leiden: Brill 1984).

| *Croniken*, c.78 | *Herne Bible* (probably via *Utrecht Bible*) |
|---|---|
| Moyses die heilige hertoch, koes uut elcken geslacht van Israhel dusent man die striden souden tegens die vyanden Gods. | [Num., 31:4] Men kiese dusentich man uut elken gheslechte van Israhel, diemen te stride sende. |
| Ende wat sy hem off wonnen, souden sij houden ende besitten | [Num., 31:53] Want wat dat elc inden roef ghecreech, dat was syne. |

*Table 3.7 Moses and his struggle against the enemies of God in the* Croniken *and the* Herne Bible.

| *Croniken*, c.81 | *Herne Bible* (probably via *Utrecht Bible*) |
|---|---|
| David die coninc dede maken een groot begrip opten berch van Sion. Ende mede alom die dootlagen off leechten die dairom lagen. | [Reg. II, 5:7–9] Ende David nam die borch van Sion, dits Davids stede. […] Ende David woende in die borch ende hi hietse Davids Stede ende hi stichtese al om endomme vander doetlaghen ende bynnen. |

*Table 3.8 The Citadel of King David in* Croniken *and the* Herne Bible.

The manuscript of the *Herne Bible* used by the author of the *Croniken* may well have contained a specific set of other texts: in the fifteenth century, the Old Testament, gospel harmony and Acts of the Apostles of the *Herne Bible* were combined with the remaining books of the New Testament from the Bible translation by Johan Scutken and his Old Testament periscopes to form the so-called *Utrecht Bibles*. Many of these voluminous bible compilations were lavishly decorated, and some of the first owners can be connected to the city of Utrecht; it is this connection which which these compilations derive the name they are known by.[457] Since, as we shall see,[458] both the translation of the New Testament by Johan Scutken – also dubbed the *Northern Netherlands Bible Translation*[459] – and the gospel harmony and Acts of the Apostles of the *Herne Bible* – with one exception only transmitted in the *Utrecht Bibles* or related manuscripts[460] – have also been used in the *Croniken*, it is highly probable that our author, who was after all probably stationed in the *Utrecht* commandery, had an *Utrecht Bible* at his disposal. Moreover, several *Utrecht Bibles* were owned by families who were also represented in the Teutonic Order in the fifteenth century (e.g., Lokhorst, de Gruter, Zuylen van Nijevelt).[461] That the author of the *Croniken* did not rely on Johan Scutken's *Northern Netherlands Bible Translation*, but on the different gospel harmony found in the *Utrecht Bibles*,[462] shows that it is almost certain he used an *Utrecht Bible*.[463]

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[457] J.A.A.M. Biemans, *Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften = Codices manuscripti sacrae scripturae neerlandicae*. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Catalogus (Leiden: Brill 1984) 250–290.

[458] See Table 3.13.

[459] Johan Scutken was librarian at the convent of the Canons Regular in Windesheim near Zwolle. His translation would have been finished between 1387 and 1391 and soon became widely used, especially in Modern Devotion circles. Biemans, *Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften*, 152–249, there 152–153; S. Corbellini, 'De Noordnederlandse vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament. Het paradijs in een kloostercel', in: A. den Hollander, E. Kwakkel and W. Scheepsma eds., *Middelnederlandse bijbelvertalingen*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 102 (Hilversum: Verloren 2007) 131–145; C.C. de Bruin ed., *Het Nieuwe Testament van de Moderne Devotie = Novum Testamentum Devotionis Modernae*. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Grote reeks, afd. II: Het Nieuwe Testament, 2 (Leiden: Brill 1979).

[460] That one exception even only applies to the gospel harmony, not the Acts of the Apostles: Biemans, *Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften*, 252.

[461] G. Warnar, 'Het verlossende woord. De Utrechtse bijbels (ca. 1430-1480) in context', *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 83 (2012) 264–282, there 268–270.

[462] See Tables 3.14-3.15.

[463] For the purpose of clarity though, we will keep referring to the individual texts that make up the *Utrecht Bibles*, while indicating their reuse in these compilation codices.

The *Statutes*, which as mentioned above may well have provided inspiration for inclusion of particular exempla, appear, at points, to have exerted a more direct influence as well. For the description of the organization of the convent at Acre (c.155), amongst other sources the 'Customs' of the *Statutes* were consulted, which were available in Middle Dutch, German and Latin.[464] The resemblance of the *Croniken*'s words "uut gecoren te vechten ende te strijden" (chosen to combat and fight) and "uutvercoren stridere" (chosen fighters) in the Middle Dutch *Statutes* make clear that on this occasion a Middle Dutch version of the *Statutes* was used, rather than of a version in any other language (Table 3.9).[465] However, it is possible that the author used multiple versions of the *Statutes* (Middle Dutch and German, and perhaps additionally Latin). This is suggested by the fact that a reference in the *Croniken* to changes made to the *Statutes* after the violent death of Grand Master Werner of Orseln in 1330 (c.549) can only be linked to an article present in some of the manuscripts containing the German version of the *Statutes*.[466]

| ***Croniken*, c.78** | ***Statutes*, Prologue, c. 4**<br>**Middle Dutch** | **Other languages** |
|---|---|---|
| Alsoe sijn dese twe weerdige ridder oirden **uut gecoren** te vechten ende **te strijden** tegens die heydensche vianden goids ende der heyliger kercken. Ende wat sy den heiden off winnen sullen sij houden ende besitten. | Dezen stride hevet nochghevolghet hertelike dese heilighe ridderlike oerdene des spetaels zinte Marien van den Duutschen huus ende hevet des verdient, dat hi is ghesiert mit menighen eersamen manne, want zi ridder zijn ende **uutvercoren stridere**, die doer minne der wet ende des vaterlands verdelinghenden die viande des gheloven mit eenre sterker hant. | [Latin]<br>…**bellatores electi**…<br>[French]<br>…**esleus combateors**…<br>[German]<br>…**erwelte stritere**…<br>[Low German]<br>…**erweelde stridere**… |

*Table 3.9 Direct use of the Middle Dutch* Statutes *in the* Croniken.

[464] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 106–107 (Gewohnheiten, c. 30).
[465] Compare also "Ende hertoch Vrederick van Swaven ontfermde dit cleyn begrip" (*Croniken*, c.115) to "Dat clene begin ontfermde den hertoghe Vrederike van Svaven" (*Statutes* (Middle Dutch), Prologue, c. 1).
[466] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 83–86 (c. 38; see p. 86, note 1), 149 (c. 6).

| *Croniken*, c.82 | *Dusburg*[467] | *Jeroschin* | *Statutes* (Middle Dutch) |
|---|---|---|---|
| David die coninc had uutgecoren ridderen ende ander uutgecoren mannen die des conincs **hoeft bewaerden** tegen allen die hem **lagen** off krencken mochten, dier 't seventich was, daer Chereti ende Peleti princen ende hoeftheren off waren. | [I-1] David enim secundum cor dei in regnum fidelium exaltatus, ut propheta futurorum prescius, expressiora milicie hujus presagia presignans, legiones Cerethi et Pheleti membra quedam sue voluit esse familie, quorum hoc esset officii, quatinus secundum proprii nominis significacionem capitis sui custodes jugiter haberentur, ut videlicet insidiatores capitis David exterminantes mirabilis salute subjectos defensarent. | [vv. 723–40]<br>Davit nach gotis herzin was,<br>ein kunic, den er selbe irlas<br>an sines volkis riche<br>und hoet in achpercliche<br>und ouch ein groz prophete<br>was er, da von er hete<br>kunftigir dinge kuntschaft.<br>Des west er dise rittirschaft<br>kumftic in disen stundin<br>und wolde si vorkundin<br>nach irme wesin rechte.<br>Er welte zwei geslechte,<br>da seine kiz Cereti,<br>daz andere Pheleti,<br>zu sinem volke allintsamt<br>und bevul in sulc ein amt,<br>daz si vor allin varin<br>soldin sin **houbt bewarin** | [Prol., c. 3] Her David was een coninc, den God selve ten rike hadde vercoren ende daer toe een groet prophete. Hi hadde sulke lude onder sine ghesinne, derre ambocht was, dat zi allene zijn hoeft hoeden ende alle, die Davids hoefdes **lagheden**, dat si die verderfden. |
| Ende coninc David had oic in deser montagij uutgecoren papen die den dienst ende sacrificie goids deden in den tabernakel.<br>Alsoe hebben dese twe ridder oirden oic eersame priesterbroeders daer hem die ridderbroeders aen spiegelen ende mercken sullen, ende diese biechten ende leren sullen tot alre geestelicker duecht. | [Prol.] Et ut David eciam instituunt sacerdotes, et augent quotidie cultum dei. | [Absent] | [Prol., c. 5] Onder desen ridderen zijn oec papen, die ene eersame ende ende herde nutte stat gherne hebben, dat zi in die tijt des vreden also luchten midden onder hem omme lopen ende manen die leye broeder, dat zi hoer regale vaste houden ende dat zi hem Goeds dienste doen ende dat zi ze berichten mitten sacramente… |

*Table 3.10 The prologue of the* Croniken *and the use of* Dusburg, Jeroschin *and* Statutes.

In c.82 we see how *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Statutes* have been employed in the *Croniken* (Table 3.10). As is usually the case, the sources are not copied in their entirety, but short excerpts from various texts are included in the author's paraphrase. Note for instance the words "hoeft bewaerden" (guard the head) and their equivalent in *Jeroschin*: "houbt bewardin", while the word "lagen" seems to point at "lagheden" in the Middle Dutch *Statutes*. However, neither *Jeroschin* nor the *Statutes* comment that King David instituted priests – an aspect which the *Croniken* connects to the existence of priest-brethren in the Teutonic Order. Only *Dusburg* mentions these priests of King David, following a remark by Petrus Comestor in his *Historia scholastica*.[468]

In this particular case, the *Historia scholastica* is probably not the immediate source for the *Croniken*. Elsewhere, however, the author did use the biblical paraphrase that became one of the most influential texts of its kind in Western Europe.[469] According to a medieval book inventory one of the commanderies of the Utrecht bailiwick owned a copy of the text,

[467] Source for Book I-1 of *Dusburg* are the Latin *Statutes*, that are copied almost word-for-word. Strictly speaking therefore, the Latin version of the *Statutes* may also have been used. However, *Dusburg*'s prologue does not have an existing source.
[468] "Filii autem David sacerdotes erant, id est digniores prae caeteris post regem": Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*. J.-P. Migne ed. Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina 198, col. 1045-1722 (Paris 1855) Reg. II, c.10 <http://monumenta.ch> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[469] J.H. Morey, 'Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible', *Speculum* 68 (1993) 6–35.

although the entry could also refer to Jacob van Maerlant's rhymed translation and adaptation of the *Historia scholastica*, the so-called *Rijmbijbel* ('Verse Bible'),[470] a text which is among the sources of the *Croniken* as well. In addition, the *Northern Netherlands History Bible*, a Middle Dutch biblical paraphrase written around 1350, which itself included both the *Historia scholastica* and the *Rijmbijbel* among its sources, was used by the author of the *Croniken* as well.[471]

In Table 3.11 and Table 3.12 (which also includes the Acts of the Apostles in the version of the *Herne Bible* – probably used via a *Utrecht Bible*) it is possible to see how these sources have been used side by side. Compare "soe plach die yerste geboren soen te gebenedien ende te vermaledien ende Got sacrificie te doen" (So tends the first-born son to do the blessing and cursing and do God's sacrifices; c.76) to "Ende die outste plach God sacrifici te doen" (And the oldest tends to do God's sacrifices; *Northern Netherlands History Bible*, Gen., 25). Or "Alsoe hiet men die: overste priester Goids" (And so they called him: the high priest of God) to "Erat enim sacerdos Dei Altissimi" (He was priest of the Most High God; *Historia scholastica*, Gen., c.46). In this case, the "Altissimi" in Comestor refer to "Dei"; the author of the *Croniken* appears to have misinterpreted the sentence, relating the adjective to "sacerdos". Particularly interesting is the use of complementary, tautological formulations in the *Croniken* that stem from different sources. On the surface these add little extra meaning to the narrative. Note for instance in c.77 "gebueren" (neighbours; *Rijmbijbel*) and "vrunden" (friends; *Northern Netherlands History Bible*) or in c.79 "verdreeff/verdarf" (expelled; *Rijmbijbel*) and "versloech" (defeated; *Northern Netherlands History Bible*) (Table 3.11).

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[470] An inventory of the Rhenen commandery, undated but probably composed around 1430, lists among other books: "scolastica historia". Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2346 (separate leaf); The *Rijmbijbel* was completed in 1271. Thirteen complete manuscripts have survived, together with dozens of fragments. K.H. van Dalen-Oskam, 'Bijbelstof op rijm. "Som so vielt in goeden lande. Dat brochte vrucht menegherande"', in: A. den Hollander, E. Kwakkel and W. Scheepsma eds., *Middelnederlandse bijbelvertalingen*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 102 (Hilversum: Verloren 2007) 37–48, there 37–43, 48; Jacob van Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*. M. Gysseling ed. Corpus van Middelnederlandse teksten (tot en met het jaar 1300) II: Literaire handschriften, 3 (The Hague: Nijhoff 1983) <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/maer002mgys01_01/index.php> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[471] M. van den Berg, 'De Noordnederlandse historiebijbel. Verhaal en moraal in bijbelse (en wereldlijke) geschiedenis', in: A. den Hollander, E. Kwakkel and W. Scheepsma eds., *Middelnederlandse bijbelvertalingen*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 102 (Hilversum: Verloren 2007) 59–75; M. van den Berg, *De Noordnederlandse historiebijbel. Een kritische editie met inleiding en aantekeningen van Hs. Ltk 231 uit de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 56 (Hilversum: Verloren 1998).

| *Croniken* | *Rijmbijbel* | *Historia scholastica* | *N.Nld. History Bible* |
|---|---|---|---|
| [c.76] Dus hiet hij die grote priester Goids, want in dien tyden **van Noes tiden tot Aron, die yerste priester wert,** soe plach die yerste geboren soen te gebenedien ende te vermaledien ende Got sacrificie te doen. **Alsoe hiet men die: overste priester Goids.** | | [Gen., c. 46] Et omnes primogenitos, **a Noe usque ad Aaron, sacerdotes fuisse,** qui in conviviis, et oblationibus populo benedicebant, et habebant primogenita, de quibus post explicabitur. […] **Erat enim sacerdos Dei Altissimi.**[472] | [Gen., 25] Ende die outste plach God sacrificite doen. |
| [c.77] Als Abraham dat vernam, soe reyden hij hem ter wapen mit syn IIII[c] man ende bat die edelste ende beste van **sinen gebueren** ende **vrunden** ende toech **stoltlic** tot dese vier conyngen. | [c. 41, vv. 1620–7]<br>Hi adde in siere meisniede.<br>.ccc. ende .xviij. liede.<br>Die dapper waren ende **stoud**.<br>Die nam die deghen boud.<br>Ende met hem **sine ghebure** mede.<br>Die met rechter sekerhede.<br>Hem tiere wilen horden an.<br>Hi volghede al tote dan. | | [Gen., 14] Doe vergaderde hi 300 ende 18 cloke mannen van sinen magen ende **vrienden**, ende vervolgden die 4 coninghen |
| [c.79] Ende David **versloech** ende **verdreeff** alle die Jebuseen uut der stat, **sonder Oernam alleen.** | [c. 240, vv. 10001–4]<br>Dus wan dauid den tor al daer.<br>Ende **verdarf** verre ende naer.<br>Vd al die stad die iebuseen.<br>**Ornam bleuere ende el ne gheen**. | [Reg. II, c. 7] et obtinuit David arcem, expulsis Jebusaeis **praeter Ornam** | [Reg. II, 5] Ende si **verslogen** alle die Jebuseen. |

*Table 3.11 The* Croniken *and the simultaneous use of the* Rijmbijbel, Historia scholastica *and the* Northern Netherlands History Bible.

| *Croniken* | *Rijmbijbel* | *Historia scholastica* | *Herne Bible* (via *Utrecht Bible*) |
|---|---|---|---|
| [c.81] Ende dit deel van der stat ende begrip hiet voirt Davids stat of in Latijn Melleon, om datter een leechte tusschen twe hoichten lach. Ende op desen berch van Syon, daer 't heilige huis van Melchisedech gestaen had, daer maecten David sijn woenstat | | [Reg. II, c. 7] Mello autem erat praecipuum, et quasi quaedam profunda vorago vallis. Porro ipsa Civitas David postea vocata est Mello. Et aedificavit in ea David domum. | |
| [c.92] Doe vlogen alle die discipulen ons Heren uut Jherusalem in Judeen ende Samarien, sonder onsse lieve Vrouwe ende die twalef apostolen bleven noch binnen Jherusalem ende woenden in dat heilige huis. Ende die apostolen ordineerden Sinte Jacop die Mynre bisscop van Jherusalem the wesen. | | [Acts, c. 38] quod omnes discipuli, praeter apostolos, qui ut pastores gregis, caeteris erant constantiores, 'dispersi sunt per regiones Iudaeae et Samariae,' fugientes a facie persecutorum […]<br>Tunc apostoli […] ordinaverunt Iacobum Alphaei episcopum Hierosolymorum. | [Acts, c.7 (sic !)] Soe vloghen alle die jongheren buten Jherusalem in Judea ende Samarien sonder die apostelen allene<br>[…]<br>Ende die apostelen […] so oordineerden si Jacop Alpheus biscop van Jherosolima.[473] |
| [c.94] Ende Jherusalem was doe omgaens XXXIII stadien. Ende acht stadien is ene mile. | [c. 741, vv. 31238–40]<br>In ommeganghe hord hier na.<br>.xxxiii. stadia.<br>Als dachte doen de mile. | | |

[472] This passage is also included in the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais: Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*. B. Bellerus ed. Speculum quadruplex. Sive speculum maius: naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale 4 (reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlaganstalt 1965; Douai: Belleri 1624) 38 (Lib. I, c. 104).

[473] This particular passage provides a translation of the *Historia scholastica*, as is also clearly marked in the text. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 128 C 2, f. 188r; See also: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 69 B 10, f. 112v.

*Table 3.12 The use of the* Rijmbijbel, Historia scholastica *and* Herne Bible *(as presented in the* Utrecht Bibles*).*

In these first chapters of the prologue dealing with Old Testament history, a few short details have been taken from the New Testament translation of Johan Scutken, also part of the *Utrecht Bibles* (Table 3.13). In the Epistle to the Hebrews the priest-king Melchizedek is discussed, and details of his description are included in the *Croniken*: Melchizedek's "struggle for righteousness" (c.77) is connected to the etymology of his name, namely "king of righteousness"[474], whereas the "episcopal and priestly order" that was instituted by Melchizedek is a reference to Hebrews 5:10 and 6:20. The New Testament translation by Johan Scutken is the only translation I have been able to identify as containing a reference to the *episcopal* order of Melchizedek instead of *priestly*.

| ***Croniken*, c.77** | ***N.Nld. History Bible*** **(also compare: *Rijmbijbel*, c.41-42)** | ***N.Nld. Bible Translation*** **(via *Utrecht Bible*)**[475] |
|---|---|---|
| Ende hij gebenedide Abraham ende syn ridderen ende vechters, want sy voir die rechtveerdicheit gestreden hadden, | | [Heb., 7] Dese Melchisedech, coninc van Salem, prister des oversten Godes, die Abraham ghemoetede, doe hij weder keerde vander dootslaghinghe der coninghen ende benedieden, wien dat Abraham die tiende van allen dinghen deylde, irst is hi bedudet een coninc der gherechticheyt, |
| ende gaff hem broot ende wijn tot een figuer, dat dat weerdige heilige lichaem ende bloet ons Heren Jhesu Christi noch in die stat ende in dat heilige huis van Got ingeset ende geconsacreert soude werden. | [Gen., 11] Ende doe Abraham, Loth sinen neve, uter vangenis mit sinen vrienden verlost hadde ende wederommequam, doe quam Melschisedech, die priester, mit broet ende wijn. Ende dat was een figuer, dat Cristus, die overste priester, soude offeren sijn vleis ende sijn bloet in der gedaente van brode ende van wijn, | |
| Ende die bisscoplike ende priesterlike oirde daer eerst ingeset ende gefundeert soude werden. | | [Heb., 5] Hi is van Gode een bisscop gheheyten nae der ordinancien Melchisedech.<br>[Heb., 6] Daer Ihesus die voerloper voer ons inghegaen is, nae Melchisedechs ordinancie bisscop gheworden inder ewicheyt. |
| Ende die weerdige ridderlike Duytsche Oirden van onsser liever Vrouwen ende van sente Johans hoir benedixie ende yerste titell, hoir eer ende weerdicheit off hebben souden. Want Melchisedechs huis stont op die selve plaetse daer dat huis stont daer Got sijn avontmael at, daer dese weerdige oirden uut getitelleert ende gefundeert sijn. | [Gen., 11] alst ghesciede in den Laetsten Avontmael ende noch alle daghe gesciet in der heiliger Missen. | |

*Table 3.13 The* Croniken *(c.77) and the use of the* Northern Netherlands History Bible *and Johan Scutken's* Northern Netherlands Bible Translation *(New Testament).*

In the same chapter, the aforementioned *Northern Netherlands History Bible* is a prominent source as well. It provides the typological link, stated prominently in the *Croniken*, between the bread and wine Melchizedek brought to Abraham, and the bread and wine of the Eucharist and Last Supper. Corresponding choices of words and short sentences make clear that the *Croniken* is directly indebted (Table 3.13). The *Northern Netherlands History Bible* does not explicitly point at a shared

[474] Heb. 7:2. See also: Flavius Josephus, 'The Judean Antiquities', *PACE: Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement* (2003-2005) 1.180 <http://pace-ancient.mcmaster.ca/york/york/showText?text=anti> [accessed 8 June 2012].
[475] The *Utrecht Bibles* provide exactly the same passages: The Hague, KB, 128 C 2, f. 241r–241v; The Hague, KB, 69 B 10, f. 174v–175r.

*location* of both events, but does describes the prefiguration very unequivocal. The only thing the author of the *Croniken* added to his source was to connect the location of the cenacle and Last Supper, commonly believed to be at Mount Zion, to that of the house of Melchizedek; thus, he had constructed the continuity of activity at the Jerusalem hill that he aimed for.[476] Most medieval writers did not locate the offering of bread and wine by Melchizedek at Mount Zion – Ludolf of Sudheim, for example, associates it with the Temple Mount.[477] But for the author of the *Croniken*, it was the opportunity to bring together all biblical actors mentioned in the *Statutes*, *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin* at one particular location, and additionally to also include narratives from the New Testament, which are almost completely absent from *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* or the *Statutes*. This absence is understandable – the more peaceful biblical figures from the New Testament were less suited as prefigurations of the military orders than their warring Old Testament counterparts. But who, like the author of the *Croniken*, aimed to create the continuity of activity at a certain *location*, in a manner similar to that presented in the Hospitallers' *Legends*, had to also include the figures of the New Testament.

And so the *Croniken* brings together information from a range of religious texts which primarily concern the life of Christ and other New Testament figures. The chosen sources themselves firmly locates the origin of the *Croniken* in the Low Countries. Some of them we have already seen – Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*, for instance. A further text that was used by the author of the *Croniken* is the gospel harmony of the *Herne Bible*, attributed to Petrus Naghel and closely linked to the thirteenth-century Middle Dutch *Diatessaron* or *Life of Christ*.[478] Naghel's gospel harmony is still awaiting a full edition and is only available in the manuscripts of the *Utrecht Bible*. The part of the *Croniken* that concerns Jesus' preparations for Passover with his disciples (c.89) was copied almost verbatim from this text (Table 3.14). This narrative is not

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[476] Perhaps he found his inspiration from Psalm 76:2, while thinking of Melchizedek as priest-king of Salem (though the psalm refers to God himself): "His abode has been established in Salem, his dwelling place in Zion."

[477] Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 75; Eusebius locates the meeting of Melchizedek and Abraham at Golgotha: J.H. Bernard translator, *The Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem: being translations from Eusebius and the Early Pilgrims*. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 15 (reprinted New York (Volume 1): AMS 1971; London 1891) 28.

[478] For an overview of Middle Dutch *Lives of Christ*: A. den Hollander, 'Middelnederlandse Levens van Jezus. "Uuten .iiii. ewangelisten ene evangelie ghemaect"', in: A. den Hollander, E. Kwakkel and W. Scheepsma eds., *Middelnederlandse bijbelvertalingen*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 102 (Hilversum: Verloren 2007) 179–190; a special issue of *Queeste* magazine was aimed specifically at the oldest Liège variant of the Middle Dutch *Diatessaron*, this being the first article: A. den Hollander, 'Het Luikse "Leven van Jezus." Een Nederlandse evangeliënharmonie uit de dertiende eeuw', *Queeste. Tijdschrift over middeleeuwse letterkunde in de Nederlanden* 6 (1999) 99–111; see also E. Meyer, Schone historie und ewangelien. Untersuchungen zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der niederlandisch-deutschen Evangelienharmonie Het Leven van Jezus/Das Leben Jhesu (unpublished doctoral thesis, Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit 2013) <http://hdl.handle.net/1871/39668> [accessed 2 May 2016]; The resemblances between the gospel harmony by Petrus Naghel and the *Life of Christ* are so clear that a direct relation is evident. It is not clear though, in that case, what variant of the *Life of Christ* the translator of the *Herne Bible* had at its disposal. The *Herne Bible* provided what looks like a hybrid text of c. 205 of the *Life of Christ*, based on the Liège (L) variant on the one hand, and on the other hand one of the two older Stuttgart (S) and L/S variants. C.C. de Bruin ed., *Het Luikse diatessaron = Diatessaron Leodiense*. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Kleine reeks, afd. I: Evangeliënharmonieën, 1 (Leiden: Brill 1970) 226–229; C.C. de Bruin ed., *Het diatessaron van Cambridge = Diatessaron Cantabrigiense*. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Kleine reeks, afd. I: Evangeliënharmonieën, 3 (Leiden: Brill 1970); C.C. de Bruin ed., *Het Haarense diatessaron = Diatessaron Haarense*. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Kleine reeks, afd. I: Evangeliënharmonieën, 2 (Leiden: Brill 1970); for an overview of the manuscript tradition: Biemans, *Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften*, 11–33; and more recenty (in summary): Meyer, Schone historie und ewangelien, 365–366.

found only in the *Herne* or *Utrecht Bibles*. Many other Middle Dutch bible texts also include the account. Of these, only the *Rijmbijbel* was used in this chapter of the *Croniken* (Table 3.15).

| *Croniken* | *Herne Bible* (probably via a *Utrecht Bible*)[479] |
|---|---|
| [c.89] Jhesus antwoirde ende seyde: "Gaet in der stat, daer sal u gemueten een mensche dragende een kruyc waters. Volcht hem in wat huis dat hij gaet ende segt totten huysheer van den huse: "Die meister ontbiet dij in dijn herberge, soe doet hij sinen paesschen mit sijnen jongeren." Ende dan sal hij u wijsen die grote paveerde camer. Daer bereyt ons." | [Mark 14:12–15] Ende Jhesus antwoorde ende seide: "Gaet in die stat ende daer sal u ontmoeten een menssche een cruke waters draghende. Volgt hem in wat huse dat hi gaet ende segt toten huusheer vanden huse: "Die meester onbiet di mine tijt es bi ende in dine herberghe soe doe ic paesschen mit minen iongheren." Ende dan sal hi u wisen den grote ghepaveerde camere ende daer bereyt ons." |

*Table 3.14* Croniken *(c.89) and the* Herne Bible *(as presented in the* Utrecht Bibles*).*

| *Croniken* | *Rijmbijbel* |
|---|---|
| [c.89] In den tijden dat onse lieve heer Jhesus Christus opten witten donredach sijn avontmael ende syn paeschlam mit sinen jongeren eten woude, soe vraechden syn jongeren hem waer hij sinen **paesschem ende paeschlam** bereit woude hebben. | [c. 615, vv. 25851–4]<br>Metter herten ebbic begard.<br>Dat ic desen pascen met v ate.<br>Eer ic mi passien late.<br>**Pascen dat hiet dat pascen lam**. |
| [c.89] Jhesus quam daer mit sinen twaleff jongeren ende at dat paeschlam dair **na der wet**. | [c. 615, vv. 25836–7]<br>Ten eersten daghe als begonde.<br>Pascen **na der wet** orconde.[480] |

*Table 3.15* Croniken *(c.89) and the* Rijmbijbel*.*

For the following chapters concerning the events at Mount Zion during and after the life of Christ, the *Croniken* combined information from two further Middle Dutch sources: the Middle Dutch translation of the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, and the so-called *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ*. The *Legenda aurea* or, in Dutch, *Gulden legende* was translated by the Carthusian monk Petrus Naghel, who was responsible not only for the text of the aforementioned *Herne Bible*, but translated a wide range of texts.[481] No less than 347 entries concerning the Middle Dutch *Legenda aurea* are recorded in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta*, the survey of Middle Dutch manuscripts and fragments worldwide.[482] Moreover, the *International Short Title Catalogue* counts eleven editions printed between 1478 and 1499-1500.[483] It can safely be said that the text was immensely popular in the Low Countries. This was equally the case for the *Pseudo-*

[479] The Hague, KB, 128 C 2, f. 167v; With slight variation in spelling: The Hague, KB, 69 B 10, f. 88v.

[480] Compare in the Liège variant of the Middle Dutch *Life of Christ*: "ende dat men dat paschelamp soude eten [...] na den gebode van der wet". De Bruin ed., *Luikse diatessaron*, 226–229 (c. 205).

[481] Kors, *Bijbel voor leken*, 169–170; A. Berteloot, G.H.M. Claassens and W.T.J.M. Kuiper eds., *De gulden legende. De Middelnederlandse vertaling van de Legenda aurea door Petrus Naghel, uitgegeven naar handschrift Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 15140* II. Medieval Latin and Vernacular Literature: Studies (Turnhout: Brepols 2011); Although there is no strong reason to assume that the author of the *Croniken* used the Latin version of the *Legenda aurea* too, this cannot be completely discarded. For the recent critical edition: James of Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. G.P. Maggioni ed. Millennio medievale 6: Testi, 3 (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo 1998).

[482] The associated search term is "Zuidnederlandse vertaling van Jacobus de Voragine: Legenda aurea". Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 'Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta' <http://bnm.leidenuniv.nl> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[483] ISTC nrs.: ij00139000 (Gouda 1478), ij00140000 (Gouda 1480), ij00140500 (Utrecht 1480), ij00146000 (Delft 1482), ij00146100 (Delft 1482), ij00145000 (Delft 1484), ij00147000 (Delft 1484), ij00147200 (Delft 1487), ij00141000 (Delft 1489), ij00142000 (Zwolle 1490), ij00143000 (Delft 1499-1500). 'ISTC'.

*Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ*: at least 46 manuscripts of this Middle Dutch text still exist, and it was a true best-seller in print, with twenty-two editions between 1477 and 1497.[484] The work was a translation of a Latin *Vita Jesu Christi*, perhaps written by Michael of Massa (d. 1337) and largely based on the *Meditationes vitae Christi* of Pseudo-Bonaventura. It could be used in private as a guidebook for meditative purposes, but also as reading material during mealtime in the refectory.[485]

The *Croniken* contains a list of events associated with the Last Supper at the cenacle on Mount Zion (Table 16). The order of events is slightly different in the *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ*, and the list is rather generic, but there are a few notable similarities between the two accounts: the very inclusion of such a convenient listing, the use of "insette"/"insettinghe" ('to institute') for instance, or the "scoen sermoen" ('beautiful sermon'), point towards the *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ* as a source for this passage in the *Croniken*. None of its other sources (e.g. *Rijmbijbel*, *Historia scholastica*, *Life of Christ*, *Northern Netherlands Bible Translation* by Johan Scutken) offer similar readings.[486] In the passages that immediately follow this one (c.89–90), the use of the *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ* is a bit more difficult to verify. This is caused by the emergence as source of the *Legenda aurea*, which provides a highly similar text. We know for certain that this Middle Dutch *Legenda aurea* was used elsewhere in the prologue of the *Croniken* (see the notable similarities in Table 3.17) and it seems more than likely that both texts have been used for these chapters in combination.

Both the *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ* and *Legenda aurea* also served another important purpose for the author of the *Croniken*. They explicitly identified the location of the events of the weeks spanning the Last Supper and the

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[484] ISTC nrs.: il00212900 (Gouda 1477), il00213000 (Gouda 1479), il00213050 (Deventer 1477-1479), il00213100 (Gouda 1480), il00213200 (Gouda 1482), il00213300 (Haarlem 1483), il00213400 (Antwerp 1484), il00213500 (Antwerp 1485), il00213550 (Zwolle 1486), il00213600 (Zwolle 1487-1488), il00213650 (Delft 1486-1488), il00213700 (Delft 1487), il00214000 (Delft 1487), il00214050 (Zwolle 1487), il00214100 (Antwerp 1488), il00214150 (Hasselt 1488), il00214200 (Zwolle 1489), il00214225 (Antwerp 1490), il00214250 (Zwolle 1490), il00214275 (Zwolle 1491), il00214300 (Delft 1495), il00214350 (Leiden 1497). Ibid.

[485] Nowadays the assumption that there was a link with the *Vitae Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony is no longer supported, therefore the title is somewhat outdated. Den Hollander, 'Middelnederlandse Levens van Jezus', 186–190; See also: J.J. van Moolenbroek, '"Dat liden ende die passie ons Heren Jhesu Cristi": een bestseller uit het fonds van Gheraert Leeu in vijftiende eeuwse context', in: K. Goudriaan et al. eds., *Een drukker zoekt publiek. Gheraert Leeu te Gouda 1477-1484*. Verzameling bijdragen oudheidkundige kring "Die Goude" 23 (Delft: Eburon 1993) 81–110; For the edition and manuscript descriptions: C.C. de Bruin ed., *TLeven ons heren Ihesu Cristi = Vita Ihesu Christi. Het Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolfiaanse Leven van Jesus*. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Miscellanea, 2 (Leiden: Brill 1980); Biemans, *Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften*, 297–303.

[486] Van Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*, c. 617 ("lanc sermoen"); Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, Evg., c. 154 ("longum sermonem"); De Bruin ed., *Luikse diatessaron*, c. 206 (absent; see also the other variants of the Middle Dutch *Diatessaron*); De Bruin ed., *Nieuwe Testament van de Moderne Devotie*, Mark 14 (absent); See also the so-called "*Southern Netherlands Bible Translation*": C.C. de Bruin ed., *De Zuidnederlandse vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament = Novum Testamentum in linguam belgicam meridionalem versum. Eerste stuk, Evangeliën* 1. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Grote reeks, afd. II: Het Nieuwe Testament, 1 (Leiden: Brill 1971); C.C. de Bruin ed., *De Zuidnederlandse vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament = Novum Testamentum in linguam belgicam meridionalem versum. Tweede stuk, Brieven van Paulus, Canonieke brieven, Handelingen der Apostelen, Openbaring van Johannes* 2. Verzameling van Middelnederlandse bijbelteksten = Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi Grote reeks, afd. II: Het Nieuwe Testament, 1 (Leiden: Brill 1971).

Ascension of Christ as that of the holy house at Mount Zion (compare c.89). The *Legenda aurea* even identifies the house as that of Mary for the remainder of her lifetime (compare c.93; Table 3.17).[487] Thus, both served the author of the *Croniken* to further establish the continuity of activity at the site, and to emphasize the site's magnificence. Finally, the appearance of *Legenda aurea* as a source shows that sometimes the chronicler was happy to make use of a text, even when discarding parts of its contents. When the *Croniken* (c.93) establishes the year in which Mary died, apparently two years after Christ's ascension, the text mentions that "some people" say she passed away much later. It is unclear what source the *Croniken* relies on for the statement that Mary died two years after her son's Ascension, but the reference to "some" is clearly a reference to the *Legenda aurea* which describes various views on this point (Table 3.17). Jacobus de Voragine provides two possibilities, twelve and twenty-four years after the Ascension of Christ – both much longer than the *Croniken*'s two years.

| ***Croniken*** | ***Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ*** |
|---|---|
| [c.89] Ende dede sijn avontmael daer ende gaf daer sijn heylige weerdige lichaem ende syn duerber preciose bloet tot een spise ende dranck. Ende hevet allen goeden kersten menschen gelaten tot enen ewigen testament, ende **insette** daer den priesterlicken staet, ende dwoech sijnre jongeren voet, ende dede hem een **scoen sermoen** *voir sijnre passien*. | [c.26-27] Van desen avontmael sijn sonderlinghe vier punten te merken die daer merkelike sijn gheschiet. Ten eersten die lichamelike etinghe. Ten anderen dat onse Heer sijnre discipulen voete dwoech. Ten derden mael die **insettinghe** des heilighen sacraments. Ten vierden male vanden **schonen sermoen** dat hi maecte. Van wilken vier punten wi segghen sullen.<br>*[Then follows a long digression on the aforementioned subjects, followed by the chapter below]*<br>*Vander passien ons Heren. Dat .xxvij. capittel* |

*Table 3.16 Use of the* Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ.

[487] De Bruin ed., *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolfiaanse Leven van Jesus*, c. 52; James of Voragine, *Hier beghint tsomer stuc vanden passionale* (Antwerp: Eckert van Homberch 1505) f. 23v–27r <https://picasaweb.google.com/oude.kinderboeken/JacobusDeVoragineGuldenLegendeSomerstuc1505> [accessed 2 May 2016]; At the time of writing only one volume of the new edition of the Middle Dutch *Legenda aurea* has been published, which does not yet cover the Ascension of Christ: Berteloot, Claassens and Kuiper eds., *De gulden legende* II.

| *Croniken* | *Legenda aurea* (Middle Dutch) | |
|---|---|---|
| [c.92] Daer nae dat Jhesus onse Heer te hemel gevaren was omtrent drie maenden als opten dorden dach in augusto soe wert Sinte Steven gesteent.[488] | **Conversion of St Paul (c. 28)**[489] | Sinte Pauwels bekeringe was binnen den selven jaer dat Christus onse Heer ghepassijt was ende Sinte Steven gesteent. Cristus was gepassijt opten XXV dach van maerte. Ende binnen dien selven jaer opten III dach van den oest was Sinte Steven ghesteent ende Sinte Pauwels bekeert opten XXV dach in januario.[490] |
| [c.93] Daer nae int jaer XXXV in jannuario opten vijfendetwijntichsten dach wert Sinte Pouwels bekeert. | | |
| [c.93] Ende onse lieve Vrouwe bleeff in dat heylige huis *[at Mount Zion]* wonen tot dat se sterff.<br>[…]<br>Ende onsse Vrouwe sterff als men XXXVI screef, **twe jaer** nae ons Heren opvaert als sommige seggen, **ende sommige seggen langher.** | **Assumption of Mary (c. 115)**[491] | Doen die apostelen hen allen die werelt hadden gestroyt om te prediken, soe bleef onse lieve Vrouwe woenen bij den berge van Syon. Ende alsoe lange als si levede so visiteerde si stadelic haers soens stede daer hij gedoot wort, ende daer hi begrauen was, ende daer hi verrees, ende daer hi ten hemel voer.<br>Ende so Epiphanius seit: so levede si XXIIII jaer na dat haer sone ten hemel gevaren was. ende hij seit dat onse Vrouwe XIIII jaer out was doen si onsen Heer ontfinc. Ende doen si hem baerde doen was si XV jaer out. Ende nae Christus doot leefde si XXIIII jaer. Ende dus so was si eer si sterf LXXII jaer out. Men leest elwaert dat bat waer schijnt dat sij XII jaer leefde na haers soons doot. Dus was si LX jaer out doen si op ghevoert was: want so seit Ecclesiastica Historia. |

*Table 3.17 Use of the* Legenda aurea *(Middle Dutch).*

The author of the *Croniken* has woven the narrative of the prologue from at least the following threads: Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*, the *Northern Netherlands History Bible*, the *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ*, the Middle Dutch *Legenda aurea* and, in all likelihood, a complete *Utrecht Bible*. In Latin he used the *Historia scholastica* and perhaps – according to his own claims (c.101) – the works of Flavius Josephus.[492] He was aware of numerous origin traditions of the military orders: the Hospitallers' *Legends*, the Teutonic Order's *De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio* and the prologues of *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the (Middle Dutch) *Statutes*. But reaching the second half of the first century AD, the moment had come that the biblical material no longer could provide fresh information. Rather fluently a transition is made towards more secular sources. In c.94 the *Rijmbijbel* offers data for a – much abbreviated – description of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD. It is uncertain whether Flavius Josephus' account (*The Jewish War*) was also used directly besides Maerlant's Middle Dutch adaptation of his text in the *Rijmbijbel*. The chapter is concluded by "this (destructed state of Jerusalem) remained as such between fifty and sixty years."[493] Such chronological references, by which the author bridges chronological gaps, appear regularly in the *Croniken*.

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[488] It was generally believed that Saint Stephen was stoned to death on 26 December. On 3 August his relics were discovered, hence the feast day of Saint Stephen Invention. Elsewhere in the *Legenda aurea* this is correctly presented, but the *Croniken* already adopted the mistake.

[489] James of Voragine, *Passionael twinter stuc. Datmen hiet die gulden legende* (Antwerp: Eckert van Homberch 1505) f. 144r <https://picasaweb.google.com/oude.kinderboeken/JacobusDeVoragineGuldenLegendeWinterstuc1505> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[490] The Latin text rather uses a Roman date notation: "Nam Christus VIII kal. Aprilis passus est" and "Paulus uero VIII kal. Februarii conuersus est": James of Voragine, *Legenda aurea (ed. Maggioni)*, 198.

[491] James of Voragine, *Somerstuc*, f. 124v–125r.

[492] There is no hard evidence for the use of Josephus' texts, see also chapter 3.2, "General notes on the author's methods of composition" and footnotes 397 and 474.

[493] "Dit stont aldus auer tusschen vijftich ende tsestich jair": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.94.

## Crusading literature

The author of the *Croniken* gives a succinct overview of the most significant events in the subsequent history of the Orient and Jerusalem. His main companions for this account are the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais and its Middle Dutch verse translation, the *Spiegel historiael*, of which the first and principal author was the thirteenth-century Flemish poet Jacob van Maerlant. Maerlant composed the so-called 'First', 'Third' and beginning of the 'Fourth Part' (of the five parts he planned to write). Philip Utenbroeke later added the 'Second Part', whereas the Brabantine Lodewijk van Velthem finished the 'Fourth' and added the final 'Fifth Part'.[494] I have been able to determine that excerpts from all five parts were used throughout the *Croniken*. Sets of codices containing all five parts were rare.[495] In the *Croniken*, the *Spiegel historiael* was used alongside its Latin original by Vincent of Beauvais (Table 3.18; compare also Table 3.38). Note how the *Croniken* includes the enclosure of the sacred sites by Emperor Hadrian, mentioned exclusively by Beauvais, and reproduces the words "verdriven" and "weder maecte" in the *Spiegel historiael* ("verderf" and "weder op tymmeren ende maken").

| ***Croniken*, c.95** | ***Beauvais*** | ***Spiegel historiael*** |
|---|---|---|
| **Ende hij** [Emperor Hadrian] **dede die stat van Jherusalem weder op tymmeren ende maken**, mer niet soe groot als sy toe voren was. Mer dat Heylige Graft **dede hij mede om mueren dattet mede binnen der stat quam**. Ende dede den Tempel weder op maken in alle maniren als hij vernam dat hij geweest had. Mer geen Joden en woude hij binnen Jherusalem hebben, nyet dan kersten off heyden, **want hij verderf die Joden ende haetse seer.** | [Lib. 10, c.90] Ob hoc Adrianus apposuit manum extremam, & funditus euertit vrbem, & dixit ne quis Iudaeorum remaneret in terra illa. Et de hac vltima euersione videtur dicere Lucas: *Et captiui ducentur in omnes gentes.*<br>*Hugo vbi supra*. **Cuius opere factum est, vt loca sancta,** Dominicae scilicet passionis, & Resurrectionis, **quondam extra vrbem iacentia, nunc eiusdem muro septentrionali circundentur.** Denique praecepit ne cui Iudaeo introeundi Hierosolymam esset licentia, Christianis tantum ciuitate permissa. | [Second Part; Lib. 2, c.48, vv.6–25]<br>**De keyser wert in selker grame**,<br>Dat hi brac altemale die stat,<br>**Ende alle die Joden dede hi na dat**<br>**Uten lande daer verdriven;**<br>Daer ons Lucas af schijnt scriven,<br>Dat si moesten sijn verdreven<br>Uut allen landen. Nu heeft bescreven<br>Aldus Huge van Flori,<br>**Dat Adriaen, na dien dat hi**<br>**Jherusalem al hadde testoert,**<br>**Dat hi weder maecte die poert,**<br>**Ende dat op ene ander stede,**<br>Soe dat hiere binnen wesen dede<br>Die stede, daer om onse noot<br>Onse Here ontfinc de doot,<br>Ende hi hare gaf dien name na<br>Sinen name Helya,<br>Want hi Helyus hiet mede.<br>Den Joden verboet hi die stede,<br>De kerstene liet hire wel in vorwaer. |

*Table 3.18 Combined use of Vincent of Beauvais and the* Spiegel historiael *(Second Part).*

Next, the *Croniken* touches on the fourth century, when Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, found the remnants of the Holy Cross while visiting the Holy Land. Part of this story is covered by Vincent of Beauvais and the *Spiegel*

[494] J.A.A.M. Biemans, *Onsen Speghele Ystoriale in Vlaemsche. Codicologisch onderzoek naar de overlevering van de Spiegel historiael van Jacob van Maerlant, Philip Utenbroeke en Lodewijk van Velthem, met een beschrijving van de handschriften en fragmenten* 1. Schrift en Schriftdragers in de Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen II (Leuven: Peeters 1997) 25–28.
[495] Ibid., 26, 323–324.

*historiael*, but certain details must have come from another source.[496] The most important action of Saint Helena in the context of the *Croniken* is her supposed foundation of the hospital for German speaking pilgrims at Mount Zion: which is subsequently presented as the direct predecessor of the Teutonic Order's hospital in Jerusalem. Shortly afterwards, Helena founded a similar hospital for French speaking pilgrims. The source for this account is not easy to determine. In the Middle Dutch chronicle *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Johan Veldener in 1480, it was already recorded that Helena founded the hospital of the Teutonic Order, but it is likely that Veldener was quoting a (preliminary?) version of the *Croniken* rather than the other way around.[497] Constantine and Helena were known for their foundations and renovations of churches in the Holy Land. This could have inspired the author to associate the hospitals with Helena.[498] Unfortunately, my attempts to find the source for this story have remained unsuccessful.

From this point on, specific crusading chronicles make their appearance, many of which have been identified by Theodor Hirsch.[499] Vincent of Beauvais and the *Spiegel historiael* we have already mentioned, but also included among the sources are the chronicles of William of Tyre, possibly in its more widespread French translation[500] (e.g. c.104–8, c.134), and James of Vitry (e.g. c.110–2, c.132–45), the *Historia regum Terre Sancte* by the latter's contemporary Oliver of Paderborn (e.g. c.107–15, c.125, c.131–2), as well as Oliver's *Historia Damiatina* (c.146–54), and the chronicles of Richard of San Germano (c.132–44) and Ludolf of Sudheim (c.126). For the chapter describing Godfrey of Bouillon's financial preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land (c.103) a text from the diocese of Liège may have been used, perhaps (indirectly) based on the *Chronicle of the Abbey of St Hubert*, which is also known as the *Cantatorium*.[501]

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[496] Take the list of other relics Helena recovered: the spear, the crown of thorns, the sponge, the clothes and other relics associated with the Crucifixion. Apart from *Beauvais* and the *Spiegel historiael*, the list is also absent in the *Legenda aurea*. However, it seems that guidebooks for pilgrimages to the Holy Land could be better candidates (compare Felix Fabri for instance). *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.96; James of Voragine, *Somerstuc*, f. 163r–165r; Berteloot, Claassens and Kuiper eds., *De gulden legende* II, c. 140 (Feast of the Cross); Stewart (translator), *Felix Fabri*, 360.

[497] The relation between the *Croniken* and the MIddle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, briefly addressed in the preceding chapter, will be dealt with in more detail in the following chapter on the *Croniken*'s authorship. Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 260r.

[498] Compare: Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*. Averil Cameron and Stuart George Hall eds. Clarendon ancient history series (Oxford: Clarendon 1999) Book III, c. 41–46.

[499] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 16–18.

[500] P. Handyside, *The Old French William of Tyre*. The Medieval Mediterranean 103 (Leiden: Brill 2015) 7.

[501] Note the similar effect of the story of the burdening of ecclesial goods in the *Croniken*, for which Hirsch was not able to find an acceptable source, and that of the *Cantatorium*: K. Hanquet ed., *La chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium. Nouvelle édition*. Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire de Belgique (Brussels: Hayez 1906) 203–206; In general, with other historiographical sources: A.V. Murray, 'The army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096-1099. Structure and dynamics of a contingent on the First Crusade', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 70 (1992) 301–329, there 325–327; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 9, 24–25.

| *Croniken* | *Historia Damiatina* |
|---|---|
| **c.146** | c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 |
| **c.147** | c. 5, 6 |
| **c.148** | c. 10, 8, 13, 14, 16 ff. |
| **c.149** | c. 40, 43, 26 |
| **c.150** | c. 50 |
| **c.151** | c. 24, 52?, personal additions |
| **c.152** | c. 50? |
| **c.153** | c. 54, 57, 58?, 71–5 |
| **c.154** | c. 79, 81, 89 |

*Table 3.19 The corresponding chapters of the* Historia Damiatina *used in the* Croniken*, c.146–54.*

There are notable differences between how information from respective sources was incorporated in the text. On occasion, the author relies on a single source for a substantial section. The *Historia Damiatina*, for instance, is the sole source for chapters 146–54, describing the capture of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.[502] Initially, the author of the *Croniken* included mere references to the successive chapters of Oliver's text, greatly abbreviating the information (Table 3.19). Soon, however, he started to make more substantial selections, while on the other hand omitting complete chapters. In chapter 148, the author added a regional touch, excerpting only the names of the local bishops from a longer list of bishops mentioned by Oliver, and adding some information about the crusaders who were led by Count William I of Holland: Hollanders, Zeelanders and 'tall' Frisians. Remarkably, though, the ensuing 'local' story by Oliver of Paderborn about the appearance of crosses in the sky above nearby Frisia is omitted entirely.[503] Apparently, the story was for some reason not suited to be included in the *Croniken*; possibly its author was not really interested in the Frisian content of the story. When Oliver describes "a certain young Frisian, holding a flail by which grain is usually threshed,"[504] the *Croniken* alters this to "and Count William of Holland brought tall Frisians along with him and [they] had iron flails on chains by which grain could be threshed": placing the Count of Holland, rather than the Frisians, at the centre of attention.[505]

In other sections of the text several sources were combined, as, for example, in the two passages which I have discussed above (Table 3.2). A further example is a section of the *Croniken* that includes the story which has sometimes been called the *Narratio patriarchae Hierosolymitani* (c.133–44). The *Narratio* is a description of the state of the Holy Land and the Ayyubid rulers, originally supposed to have been commissioned by Pope Innocent III as part of the preparation of the Fifth

[502] The "third book" of Vitry's *Historia Orientalis* (a book that Vitry planned but never wrote, but under which name scribes created a compilation of crusading literature) sometimes included a copy of (part of) the *Historia Damiatina*. Although *Vitry* was used a source for the *Croniken* (even in the preceding chapters c.144-145), it becomes clear that the *Croniken* must have known a complete text of the *Historia Damiatina* rather than the version in some manuscripts of the *Historia Orientalis*: James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (transl. Grossel)*, 22–45, 357–420; This "third book" is not included in the edition by Donnadieu: James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (ed./transl. Donnadieu)*.

[503] For the story: J.J. van Moolenbroek, 'Signs in the heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214: Oliver of Cologne and crusading propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History* 13 (1987) 251–272.

[504] "Friso quidam iuvenculus tenens flagellum, quo granum excuti solet": Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, 184 (c. 13); The following translation was used: E. Peters ed., *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198-1229. Sources in Translation, including The Capture of Damietta by Oliver of Paderborn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1971) 27.

[505] "Ende grave Willem van Hollant had grote Vriesen mit hem ende hadden yseren vlegelen aen ketten hangen ofmen daer koern mede dorschen soude": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.148.

Crusade.[506] It found its way into numerous medieval chronicles, including James of Vitry,[507] Vincent of Beauvais,[508] the *Spiegel historiael*,[509] Richard of San Germano,[510] and the Old French *Rothelin continuation* of William of Tyre's *Historia Hierosolymitana*.[511] The names in the *Croniken* are evidently closest to those provided by Richard of San Germano in his second version (the autograph 'B'), one of the sources that was also used in the preceding and adjoining chapters (Table 3.20). The only exception is the name of the Saracen pope "Calistus", which can only be found in the *Vitry* manuscript edited by Martène and Durand in 1717.[512]

| *Croniken* | *Richard of San Germano* (ed. B) | *Tyre,* Old French *Rothelin continuation* | *Vitry* (ed. Bongars) | *Vitry* (ed. Martène & Durand) | *Beauvais* (ed. Belleri 1624/1965) | *Spiegel historiael* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Melsithides** | Melchisedech | li Coradinz | Naradinus | Noradinus | Noradinum/ Noradinus | Noradijn |
| **Melicero-eminus** | Melkekemme | li Quemerz Malealinz | Malealim | Melealim | Melehalinus | Melechadinus |
| **Corodijn** | **Coradinus** | **li Coradinz** | **Coradinus** | **Choradinus** | **Coradinus** | **Coradijn** |
| **Melchipays** | Melkafays | Meschipes | Melchiphais | Meliphas | Melchiphas | Melethiphus |
| **Mesken-nodam** | Melkemodan | Mehemodom | Melchisenaphat | Melie-modam | Meliemodan | Meliomodelrijn |
| **Melchi-** | **Melchisalaphat** | Mehelchissemaphat | Melchisaphat | Melcisemaphat | Melchisamephat | Melcisemaphat |
| **Machamet** | **Machometus** | Melchisenech | **Machomet** | Melchimoet | Meltinoch | Melchinach |
| **Calistus** | Caliphius | - | Kabatus sive Cali-phas | **Calixtus** | Caliphus | Caliphus |
| **-** | Salaphat | Salafaz | Saluphat | Saluphat | Salaphas | Salaphas |

*Table 3.20 Correspondence of names of the Ayyubid rulers mentioned in* Croniken*, c.133–44, and other texts. Close matches are presented against a blue background; full matches are presented in bold.*

[506] K.-P. Kirstein, *Die lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem. Von der Eroberung der Heiligen Stadt durch die Kreuzfahrer 1099 bis zum Ende der Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1291*. Berliner Historische Studien 35 (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot 2002) 386–388; 'Narratio patriarchae Hierosolymitani', *Repertorium "Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters"* (2012) <http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_03497.html> [accessed 2 May 2016]; The report is also mentioned in one of Innocent III's papers: O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek and A.A. Strnad eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III.* 2. Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200: Texte. Publikationen des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom. II. Abteilung, Quellen. I (Rome/Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1979) 498–499.

[507] J. Bongars ed., *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive Orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia a variis sed illius ævi scriptoribus litteris commendata nunc primum aut editis aut ad libros veteres emendatis...* (Hannover 1611) 1047–1145, there 1125 (Lib. III, I.2–4); E. Martène and U. Durand eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* III (reprinted New York: Franklin 1968; Paris 1717) 269–271.

[508] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale (1624)*, 1304 (Lib. XXXI, c.54–56); Vincent of Beauvais, l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais (translator), 'Speculum Historiale (Ms. Douai B.M. 797)' (2004) <http://atilf.atilf.fr/bichard/> [accessed 2 May 2016]; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*. D. Nicolini ed. Speculi maioris Vincentii Burgundi praesulis Belvacensis... IV (Venice: Dominico Nicolini 1591) f. 454v.

[509] H. vander Linden and W. de Vreese eds., *Lodewijk van Velthem's Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiael (1248-1316)* I (Brussels: Hayez 1906) 23–33 (Fifth Part, Lib. 1, c.5–8).

[510] C.A. Garufi ed., *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii Chronica*. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores VII 2 (Bologna: Zanichelli 1938) 55–59 (col. A); Ibid., 55–59 (col. B); 'Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii chronica', in: G.H. Pertz ed., *Annales aevi Suevici*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 19 (Hannover 1866) 321–386, there 336–337.

[511] J. Shirley ed., *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century. The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text*. Crusade Texts in Translation 5 (Aldershot: Ashgate 1999) 33–35 (c.15–16).

[512] Martène and Durand eds., *Thesaurus* III, 269–271.

| Narrative element | *Croniken* | *Richard of S. Germano* | *Tyre,* Old French *Rothelin continuation* | *Vitry* (ed. Bongars) | *Vitry* (ed. Martène & Durand) | *Beauvais* & *Spiegel historiael* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Number of sons of Saladin** | **11** | **11** | 15 | **11** | 9 | 9 |
| **Possessions surviving son Saladin** | **Aleppo: all cities and villages** | Over 200 cities, castles and villages | **Aleppo: all cities and villages** | Aleppo: over 200 cities, castles and villages | Aleppo: over 200 cities, castles and villages | Aleppo: 200 cities and castles, and countless villages |
| **Number of inheriting sons Saphadin** | **5** | 7 | 7 | **5** | 7 | 7 |
| **Possessions third son** | **Homs: over 300 castles, excl. villages** | Homs: over 400 castles | Homs | Homs: 400 castles | Homs: over 400 castles, excluding villages | **Homs: 300/301 castles, excl. villages** |
| **Possessions fourth son** | **Asia: over 600 castles, excl. villages** | Asia: over 400 castles | Asia | Asia: over 600 castles | Asia: over 600 castles | **Asia: 600 castles, excl. villages** |
| **Mentions Cain and Abel in Sarkhad** | **Yes** | **Yes** | No | **Yes** | Only Abel | Only Abel |
| **Number of unnamed sons of Saphadin** | **6** | 8 | **6** | 8 | 8 | 2+4+2=8 |
| **Elements peace negotiations** | **Saracens paying tribute, handing over Holy Land in return for peace** | Saracens want peace | **Saracens paying tribute, handing over Holy Land in return for peace** | Saracens want to obey Apostolic See | - | Saracens paying tribute in return for peace |

*Table 3.21 Correspondence of a selection of significant other information concerning the Ayyubid rulers in* Croniken*, c.133–44, and other texts. Full matches are presented against a blue background and in bold.*

For the further information on the Ayyubid rulers, a number of sources were combined by the author of the *Croniken* (Table 3.21). Most of them have been mentioned before: Vincent of Beauvais and the *Spiegel historiael*, James of Vitry (this time a manuscript similar to the one used for the edition by Bongars from 1611)[513] and Richard of San Germano. New here is the so-called *Rothelin continuation* of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* by William of Tyre, which provides a few snippets of quite specific information that none of the other texts contain.

This approach is not unique this section of the *Croniken*. On numerous occasions, chapters comprising a collection of specific data, such as a list of witnesses, show a similar pattern. Regarding the signing of the Treaty of Kruschwitz by the Teutonic Order and Duke Conrad of Masovia in 1230, the principal source is the so-called *Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens* (see below). However, certain names, such as that of the vice-chancellor Gregory, must have been derived from either *Dusburg* or *Jeroschin*. Moreover, the (incorrect) date appears to have been combined from information from *Dusburg* and/or *Jeroschin* and the text of the treaty itself (Table 3.22). The direct use of the treaty seems to be supported by details, absent in the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas*, which were added to the account by the author of the *Croniken*. In the adjoining chapters he explicitly refers to the sealing of documents, as when he writes a personal

[513] Bongars ed., *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1125.

addition: "and the bishops have desired, consented and attached their seals to this."[514] On other occasions, too, there are indications of direct consultation of treaty texts.[515] More will be said on the use of archival sources in the *Croniken* below.[516]

| ***Croniken*, c.269** | ***Bericht Hermann von Salzas*, c. 3** | ***Dusburg*, II-5** | ***Jeroschin*, vv. 1987–2004** | **Treaty of Kruschwitz[517]** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bisscop Guotter [or Gnotter?] van Massouwe | Bischoff Gunter van der Mazaw | Guntheri Masoviensis… | Von Masow bischof Gunther | Sealed by: [Ego Gunterus episcopus Mazov. subscribo] |
| Bisscop Michiel van der Cogouwe | Michael der bischof von der Coyaw | Michaelis Cuyavie… | Von Kuyaw bischof Michael | Michael episcopus Cuiaw |
| Bisscop Cristiaen **van Pruyssen** | Cristan bischoff | Cristiani **Prussie** episcoporum | **Von Pruzin** bischof Cristian | Christianus episcopus **Prusie** |
| Bertolt die proest | Bertoldt der probst | Gernuldi prepositi | Probst Gernuld | |
| Willem die deken | Wilhelm der techenth | Wilhelmi decani | Wilhelm decan | |
| Preslaus die olde… | Preszlaus der alde… | Pacoslay senioris… | Zwene herren von Dirsaw / di beide hizin Pacoslaw / der alde und der junge | Pacozlaus senior. Comes Dirsicray |
| Preslaus die jonge graven van Dersouwen | der junge graffe von Dyrsaw | iunioris comitum de Dirsovia | | |
| Nyclaes der cancelier | Nicolaus der kentzler | | | Nicolavs cancellarius |
| | | Ioannis cancellarii | Johannes der kenzeler | Magister Johannes cancellarius |
| Gregorius der onder-cancelier | | Gregorii vicecancellarii | Undirkenzeler Gregor | Gregorius subcancellarius |
| Ende veel meer ander goeder luden **geestlic ende weerlic** | Und ander gute leute, beide **geistlich und werntlich** | Et aliorum plurium **religiosorum et secularium** virorum discretorum | Erlicher lute noch vil me | |
| 4e Kal. **Juni**, **1226** [29-5-1226] | 1200 | **1226** | **1226** | 1230, mense **Junio** [16-6-1230] |

*Table 3.22 List of witnesses signing the Treaty of Kruschwitz (1230).*

## Dutch presence at Acre: *Chronicles of Holland*

Another part of the *Croniken* in which the author combined a wide range of sources is the part of the prologue, densely packed with information, that describes the events leading up to the foundation of the Teutonic Order at Acre in 1190 (c.113–20). According to the *Croniken* the order was founded on November 19th (c.120), a date that is undoubtedly a reference to the feast day of Saint Elisabeth, a red letter day in the Teutonic Order. Whether a specific source provided the author with this date is unclear. In outline, the story of the order's foundation follows that recounted in the other important chronicles of the Teutonic Order. It offers a simplified, conflated account of two separate events, which took place in Acre in 1190 and 1198 respectively, both situated in the year 1190 by the author of the *Croniken* (and indeed

[514] "Ende die bisscopen hebben t mede belieft, geconsenteert ende besegelt." Further down, Duke Conrad of Masovia and his family are also explicitly mentioned as "sealing" the letters. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.269; compare: Hirsch, 'Bericht Hermann von Salza's', 160 (c. 3).

[515] These include possibly the Golden Bull of Rimini (1226/1235; c.255), the Treaty of Stenby (1238; c.317) and others, e.g.: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.255, c.317, c.325, c.392.

[516] Chapter 3.4, "Archival material and non-written sources".

[517] T. Jasiński, *Kruschwitz, Rimini und die Grundlagen des preussischen Ordenslandes. Urkundenstudien zur Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens im Ostseeraum*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 63 (Marburg: Elwert 2008) 26, 37–38.

many of its sources): the foundation of a religious community committed to a hospice, and the transformation of this community into a military order. Persons supposed to be present at either of the events are mentioned in the same breath; thus, for instance, included in the account are both Frederick VI Duke of Swabia (who had died in 1191) and Duke Henry I of Brabant (who was commander of the crusading force that joined Emperor Henry VI in 1197). The author of the *Croniken* cannot be held responsible for all inaccuracies in the descriptions of events at Acre; even the official prologue of the *Statutes* mentions the Dukes of Swabia and Brabant as both being present at the foundation of the Order, followed by *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*.[518]

However, the description of the sequence of events concerning the Order's foundation in the *Croniken* is much more elaborate than the accounts of the earlier chronicles, not counting the *Narratio de primordiis ordinis theutonici*. Although the *Croniken* was indebted to the *Narratio*,[519] the author of the *Croniken* disagreed on fundamental points with this text, as has been shown above.[520] Much of the *Croniken*'s narrative is based either on interpretations of the author, or on sources which have not been identified. Only certain aspects of the text can be linked to particular sources: in this case the *Narratio*, *Statutes*, *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin*, James of Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia regum*.

One part of this narrative, a list of persons who were present at the foundation of the Teutonic Order (c.117), is collected from different sources, which I shall discuss below. In part, the list expands on a list of participants of the Third Crusade (c.113). The presence of some names suggest that for that particular list a local Dutch chronicle was used in combination with the aforementioned Teutonic Order's texts. A likely candidate for this chronicle is the popular fourteenth-century chronicle of Johannes de Beke, either in its original language, Latin, or in its late fourteenth-century Middle Dutch translation. The chronicle covers the history of the bishops of Utrecht, of the counts of Holland, and of their territories.[521]

Since *Beke* was used widely in Dutch medieval historiography, it is also possible that some derivative chronicle was used instead of *Beke* itself. Nevertheless, the participants of the Third Crusade listed in texts like the *Chronicle of Gouda*, the chronicle by the 'Clerc uten Laghen Landen bi der zee' (Clerk of the Low Countries near the sea), or Veldener's *Fasciculus temporum*,[522] as well as those in older texts than *Beke* such as the *Annales Egmundenses*, the *Chronicon Egmundanum*,

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[518] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 22; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, I–1; Fischer, *Chronicle of Prussia*, 30–31; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 1.

[519] Note for instance the use of "ambassadors" or "messengers" sent to the pope in both texts: Bishop Wolfger of Passau (*Narratio*) versus the bishop of Paderborn (*Croniken*), in both texts accompanied by the archbishop of Bremen: 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung', 28–29; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.117–121.

[520] See note 449.

[521] Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*, 87–88; Bruch ed., *Chronographia*, 128–131.

[522] For the *Gouds Kroniekje*: P. Scriverius ed., *Het oude Goutsche Chronycxken van Hollandt, Zeelandt, Vrieslandt en Utrecht* (Amsterdam: Boom, Pluymer en Commelijn 1663) 46; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ltk 1564, f. 45v; Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, R 88, f. 22v–23r; The *Clerc uten Laghen Landen*: De Geer van Jutphaas ed., *Kronijk van Holland*, 60; Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 288r; See also (following *Veldener*): Janse and Biesheuvel eds., *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 238.

the chronicle by William Procurator and the *Rhymed Chronicle of Holland*, do not fully correspond to the list in the *Croniken*.[523] *Beke*, also, does not lists all names mentioned in the *Croniken*, but three names that are missing (placed at the end of the list in the *Croniken*) – Count William of East-Friesland (the later Count William I of Holland), Count Otto of Guelders and Count Dietrich of Cleves – are all mentioned in immediately adjoining paragraphs in *Beke*. Furthermore, the Middle Dutch *Beke* – perhaps accompanied by the Latin *Beke* or a derivative chronicle – was used elsewhere in the *Croniken*, certainly in the story of the famine in Livonia in 1315 (c.541–3) and possibly in the bailiwick chronicle.[524]

There are, however, also some notable differences with *Beke*. Besides the aforementioned counts of East-Friesland, Guelders and Cleves, the most notable additions are the dukes of Bavaria (plural) and Duke Henry I of Brabant. We should note that neither Duke Louis I of Bavaria (1183–1231) nor Duke Henry I of Brabant (1183–1235) was present in the Holy Land during the Third Crusade. Additionally, the Duchy of Bavaria was not divided until 1255, so at the time of the Third Crusade there would not yet have been more than one duke at a time. Furthermore, as I pointed out earlier in this section, Henry of Brabant indeed joined the crusading expedition as commander, but not before 1197. Contemporary sources therefore do not mention them, and most later chronicles follow those accounts. A few late fifteenth-century chronicles of Holland, however, derivatives of *Beke*, do mention these two dukes, as well as a duke of Saxony, who is mentioned alongside the dukes of Bavaria and Brabant in chapter 117 of the *Croniken* (Table 3.25).

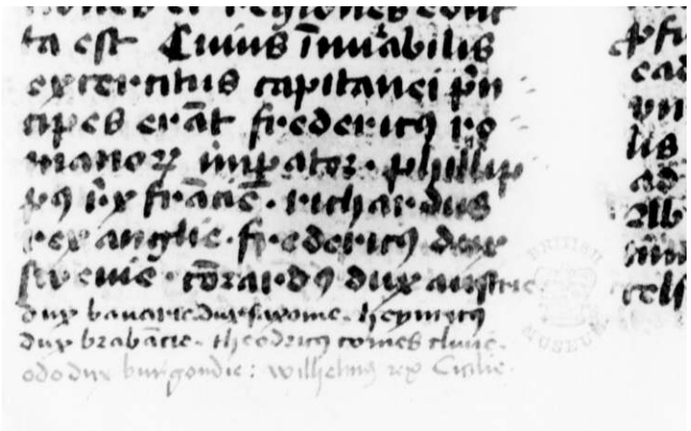

*Figure 3.5 Marginalia in* Leydis I*, participants of Third Crusade (1188).*[525]

These chronicles are the so-called *Chronicon Hollandiae* by an anonymous author,[526] the second version of the *Chronicle of Holland* by the well-known chronicler Johannes a Leydis (hereafter: *Leydis II*),[527] and thirdly the added marginalia in the autograph of Leydis' first *Chronicle of Holland* (hereafter: *Leydis I*).[528] The marginalia, which appear to be by Johannes a Leydis himself, offer the oldest reading of

[523] M. Gumbert-Hepp, J.P. Gumbert and J.W.J. Burgers eds., *Annalen van Egmond*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 107 (Hilversum: Verloren 2007) 280–281; M. Gumbert-Hepp ed., *Willem Procurator. Kroniek*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 76 (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) 68, 70; J.W.J. Burgers ed., *Rijmkroniek van Holland (366-1305) door een anonieme auteur en Melis Stoke*. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën: Grote Serie 251 (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis 2004) 79 (vv. 2207–2224) <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/rijmkroniek/>.
[524] See chapters 3.4, "Sources on the Livonian history" and 3.4 "Bailiwick chronicle".
[525] London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 80v.
[526] 'Chronicon Hollandiae (-1459)', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 46 (1925) 1–42, there 16.
[527] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 8343; 'Ioannis Geerbrandi Leydensis, Carmelitani, Chronicon Hollandiae comitum et episcoporum Ultraiectensium...', in: F. Sweertius ed., *Rerum Belgicarum annales chronici et historici. De bellis, urbibus, situ, & moribus gentis, antiqui recentioresque scriptores...* I (Frankfurt am Main: Aubriorum & Schleichii 1620) 1–349, there 169.
[528] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 80v.

the three (Figure 3.5).[529] The names of Duke Odo of Burgundy and King William of Sicily at the bottom of the column seem to have been added by someone else at a later stage, using Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, also known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, which was first printed in 1493.[530]

These three chronicles are part of a larger group of historiographical texts that are intricately linked to each other. Their authors, often clergymen working in an urban environment, were tremendously productive writers who exchanged manuscripts and reciprocally incorporated each other's texts in their own writings.[531] The three central, and best identifiable, authors of this circle of history writers in the northern Netherlands were the aforementioned Johannes a Leydis (d. 1504?), a Carmelite friar from the city of Haarlem in Holland, Theodericus Pauli (d. 1493/94), a canon in Gorinchem in the south of Holland, and Willem van Berchen (d. >1481), canon in the city of Nijmegen in Guelders and parish priest in the nearby villages Niel and Cuijk.[532] Like Johannes a Leydis, both Pauli and Berchen wrote chronicles of Holland (Pauli even in two versions), which we will refer to as *Pauli I*,[533] *Pauli II*,[534] and *Berchen* (Table 3.23).[535]

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[529] Stapel and De Vries, 'Leydis, Pauli, and Berchen revisited', 122–123.

[530] The slopes of the letters are more upright in comparison to the rest of the marginalia, and the *x* in "rex" is very different from all other *x*'s in this example. Furthermore, the names disturb the hierarchy of the list – emperor, kings, dukes, counts – and were not included in any of the subsequent texts that used this particular list of participants. Schedel's *Weltchronik*, of which the Teutonic Order in Utrecht still owns a copy, mentions Pope Clemens III, Emperor Frederick I, King Philip of France, King Richard of England, Duke Odo of Burgundy and King William of Sicily. I have not identified Schedel's sources for this passage, but both *Vitry* and the Old French continuation of *Tyre* mention the two, though in the case of *Vitry* not together in the same chapter. Hartmann Schedel, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik*. Bibliophilen Taschenbücher 64 (Facsimile print of Nuremberg 1493; Dortmund: Harenberg 1979) f. 205v; James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (ed./transl. Donnadieu)*, c. 95, c. 99; 'L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer', in: L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres ed., *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* 1-2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale 1844/1859) 1: 1–1134, 2: 1–481, there 2: 118 (Lib. 24, c. 9).

[531] The nature of the relationships between these texts and their authors have been investigated in much detail in a recent article by Jenine de Vries and myself. The following pages will have regular references to this article. Stapel and De Vries, 'Leydis, Pauli, and Berchen revisited'.

[532] Ibid., 101–102.

[533] Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 1650.

[534] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 1288/79.

[535] C.P.H.M. Tilmans, De Hollandse kroniek van Willem van Berchen (unpublished MA thesis, Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen 1982).

| Chronicle | (Relative) dates |
|---|---|
| ***Leydis I*** | 1466 |
| **Marginalia *Leydis I*** | Various stages; largely: after 1469, before *Pauli I* (ca. 1471). List of participants in the Third Crusade added after *Pauli I* (ca. 1471). |
| ***Pauli I*** | 1469-1475, ca. 1471 |
| ***Berchen*** | Before 1475 (text up to 1428), before 1480 (rest) |
| ***Pauli II*** | 1477-1480 |
| ***Chronicon Hollandiae*** | After marginalia *Leydis I*, after *Pauli I* (ca. 1471) |
| ***Leydis II*** | 1480-1494 |

*Table 3.23 Dates of the discussed chronicles of Holland.*[536]

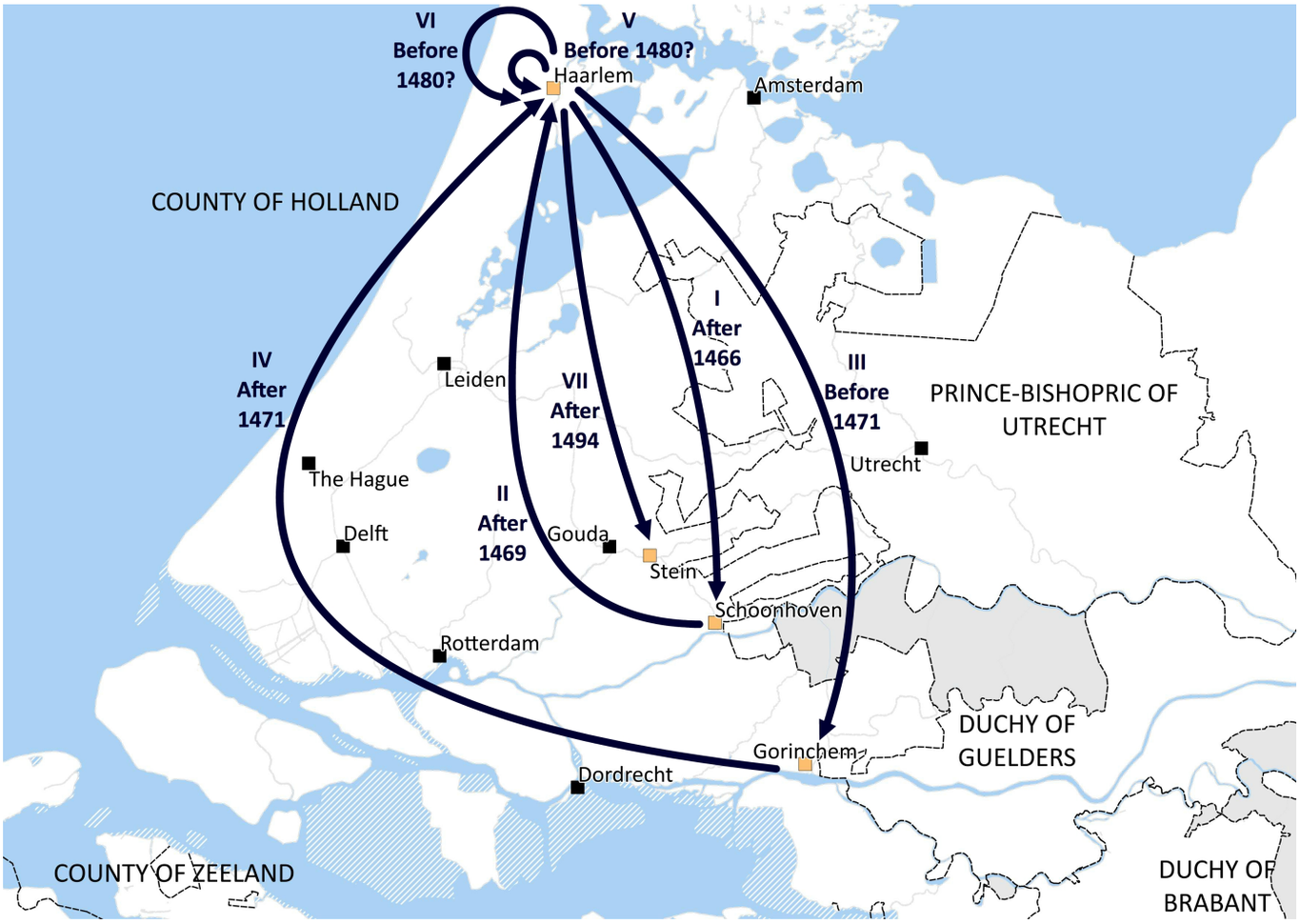


*Figure 3.6 Tracing the movements of the autograph manuscript of Johannes a Leydis' first* Chronicle of Holland *(*Leydis I*) in the County of Holland: to and from Haarlem, twice within the city or vicinity of Haarlem.*[537]

The manuscript containing the autograph of *Leydis I* is exemplary for the exchange of texts between these authors. A close examination of the text, marginalia, and its use in other chronicles shows that the manuscript travelled through the County of Holland (Figure 3.6). It was first copied by a fellow Carmelite in the town of Schoonhoven, and returned to Haarlem where Leydis added the marginalia. After that it travelled to Theodericus Pauli in Gorinchem. Pauli re-used the text and

[536] Stapel and De Vries, 'Leydis, Pauli, and Berchen revisited', 130.
[537] Ibid., 130–133.

marginalia for his own chronicle of Holland. At this point the marginalia did not yet contain the adjusted list of participants of the Third Crusade – as they were not adopted by Pauli.[538] Given that the added participants are written in Leydis' hand, this means that the manuscript then returned to Leydis a second time. Last but not least the manuscript was used by the anonymous – and Haarlem based – author of the *Chronicon Hollandiae*, and by Leydis himself for his revised chronicle of Holland (*Leydis II*). As we have mentioned, both these chronicles included the amendments to the list of crusaders. For an overview of the many versions of this list in different chronicles, see Table 3.24.[539]

[538] It is unlikely that Pauli – who usually adopted the marginalia in Leydis' autograph – deliberately left out the added participants as they are fully integrated in the layout of the original text: Ibid., 123; London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 80v.

[539] Finally – perhaps after Leydis' death – the manuscript was used by a regular canon at the monastery of Stein near Gouda (Willem Hermans). Whether the manuscript of *Leydis I* was used in the so-called *Divisiekroniek*, printed in 1517 and attributed to another regular canon, Cornelius Aurelius, should be re-examined. Stapel and De Vries, 'Leydis, Pauli, and Berchen revisited', 130–133.

| | *Beke*[540] | *Leydis I*[541] | Margi-nalia *Leydis I*[542] | *Pauli I*[543] | *Pauli II*[544] | *Croniken*, c.113 | *Chronicon Hollan-diae*[545] | *Leydis II*[546] | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pope: Alexander III (A), Clement III (C)** | A | A | A | A | A | C | A | A | [547] |
| **Emperor Frederick I** | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | **1** | 1 | 1 | |
| **King Philip of France** | 2 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | **2** | 2 | 2 | |
| **King Richard of England** | 3 | 3 | | 3 | 3 | **3** | 3 | 3 | |
| *** Duke Frederick of Swabia** | 4 | 4 | | 4 | 4 | **4** | 4 | 7 | |
| *** Duke (Conrad) of Austria** | 5 | 5 | | 5 | 5 | **5** | 5 | 6 | |
| **Duke(s) of Bavaria** | | | 5.1 | | | **6** | 8 | 4 | [548] |
| *** Duke(s) of Saxony** | | | 5.2 | | | **…** | 7 | 5 | [549] |
| *** Duke Henry of Brabant** | | | 5.3 | | | **7** | 6 | 8 | [550] |
| **Count Philip of Flanders** | 7 | 7 | | 8 | 7 | **8** | 11 | 9 | |
| **Count Floris of Holland** | 6 | 6 | | 6 | 6 | **9** | 9 | 10 | |
| **Count William of East-Friesland** | … | | | | | **10** | | | [551] |
| **Count Otto of Guelders** | … | 8 | | 7 | 8 | **11** | 12 | 12 | [552] |
| **Count Dietrich of Cleves** | … | | 5.4 | | | **12** | 10 | 11 | |
| **Duke Odo of Burgundy** | | | 5.5 | | | | | | |
| **King William of Sicily** | | | 5.6 | | | | | | |

*Table 3.24 Selection of chronicles that contain the list of participants of the Third Crusade (1189–92). Numbers refer to the order of appearance of the participants. The asterisks denote participants that are also mentioned in texts of the Teutonic Order:* Narratio, Statutes[553], Dusburg *and* Jeroschin.

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[540] Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*, 87–88 (c. LV); Bruch ed., *Chronographia*, 128–131 (c. 58b).
[541] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 80v; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL, 127 D, f. 52v.
[542] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 80v.
[543] Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650, 201–202.
[544] Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 60r.
[545] 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 16.
[546] 'Chronicon Hollandiae comitum', 169 (Lib. XVIII, c. XX); The *Divisiekroniek* (published in 1517) repeats the list of *Leydis II* with only minor changes: Cornelius Aurelius, *Die Chronyk van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vriesland...* (Leiden: Seversz. 1517) ff. 147r–147v <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/divisiekroniek/> [accessed 2 May 2016]; Following the *Divisiekroniek*, Jan van Naaldwijk's second *Chronicle of Holland* also provides the same list as *Leydis II*, whereas the list in his first chronicle was much less elaborate: S. Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk's Chronicle of Holland. Continuity and Transformation in the Historical Tradition of Holland during the early Sixteenth Century* (Hilversum: Verloren 2011) 84–85 (CD–ROM: Transcript London, BL, Cotton Tiberius C iv, f. 56r); For his first *Chronicle of Holland*: Ibid., 64–65 (CD–ROM: Transcript London, BL, Cotton Vitellius F xv, ff. 36v–37r).
[547] Both *Vitry* and the *Historia de Expeditione* correctly point out Pope Clement III as protagonist of the crusade, instead of Pope Alexander III (who had died in 1181): G.A. Loud ed., *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*. Crusade Texts in Translation 19 (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2010) 44; James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (ed./transl. Donnadieu)*, c. 97.
[548] Duke Louis I of Bavaria (1183-1231) would have been only sixteen years old in 1189. He joined Henry VI's Crusade in 1197/1198. G.A. Loud, 'The German Crusade of 1197-1198', *Crusades* 13 (2014) 143–171.
[549] See Table 3.25.
[550] Duke Henry I of Brabant joined the crusade of 1197/1198. Loud, 'The German Crusade'.
[551] William, the later Count William I of Holland, is mentioned by both Pauli and Leydis in the chapters in question, but not as part of the list – rather as a participant in the Siege of Damietta in 1218-1219. Moreover, he is not referred to as "count of East-Friesland". *Beke* mentions William's participation in the Third Crusade later in the same chapter, and calls him "count of East-Friesland" in the preceding chapter: Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*, 81 (c. LIV); William (without a last name) is mentioned in (some of the versions of?) the *Chronicle of Gouda* (or *Gouds Kroniekje*). The list of participants in these chronicles is related to the displayed sources, but does not fully correspond: Scriverius ed., *Goutsche Chronycxken*, 46; Vienna, HHStA, R 88, f. 22v–23r; Leiden, UB, Ltk 1564, f. 45v.
[552] The names of the counts Otto of Guelders and Dietrich of Cleves, like William of East-Friesland, are mentioned in the adjoining chapters of *Beke*: Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*, 87 (c. LV); Bruch ed., *Chronographia*, 128–129 (c. 58a).
[553] The *Statutes* mention only Duke Frederick of Swabia and Duke Henry of Brabant.

The question arises whether the author of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* used one of these chronicles for his prologue. Although there is clearly a link, its directionality is not evident. It is possible that the *Croniken* – or a preliminary version – was used by Leydis when he added the names to his first chronicle of Holland.

This is suggested, first, by the fact that the list in the *Croniken* gives the impression of being founded on various original sources. Already mentioned was the fact that the name of William of East-Friesland could point at a direct use of *Beke*, as only a few other chronicles refer to William, and none mention that he was a count of East-Friesland. It is also striking that, with the exception of the dukes of Bavaria,[554] all the crusaders who appear in various sources of the Teutonic Order, are clustered together in the various lists, including in that of the *Croniken* (Table 3.24). This may suggest that the list was originally conceived by someone who was familiar with narrative traditions of the Teutonic Order. A link to other texts from the Teutonic Order texts is further confirmed in the reference to "many more dukes, landgraves, margraves, and princes who are not recorded here."[555] The *Croniken* is significantly more detailed in this sentence than, for instance, *Beke*.[556] Especially the landgraves and margraves point towards texts like *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin*, where the landgrave of Thuringia and the margraves of Brandenburg and Meissen are mentioned.[557] Finally, the dating of Duke Henry I of Brabant's visit to the Holy Land to 1190, instead of 1197/1198 (see at the beginning of this section), is unique to a long tradition in texts from the Teutonic Order.[558] These observations cumulatively make it likely that the author of the *Croniken* was responsible for assembling this list of crusaders, which then inspired Johannes a Leydis to add the names of the duke of Bavaria, the duke of Saxony, Duke Henry of Brabant and Count Dietrich of Cleves to the list his manuscript. Count William of East-Friesland, the later Count William I of Holland, was left out by Leydis: he was already mentioned in great detail just half a column further in the text. Such a scenario, in which the *Croniken* was used by Leydis, is further supported by other evidence linking Pauli and Leydis to the author of the *Croniken* – about which more will be said in the next chapter.[559]

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[554] The dukes of Bavaria present a curious case. In c.117 too, the dukes of Bavaria (plural) are found in the middle of a (different) cluster of names which were drawn from various sources related to the Teutonic Order (Table 3.25). Why the dukes, on both occasions, are surrounded by recurring characters in the Teutonic Order's historiography is unclear.

[555] "Ende noch veel meer hertogen, lantgraven, marcgraven, ende princen die hier niet gescreven en staen": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.113.

[556] Bruch ed., *Chronographia*, 129, line 10.

[557] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, I–1; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 470–497.

[558] The *Chronicon Tielense* and the *Chronicle of Holland* by Willem van Berchen (using the *Chronicon Tielense* as a source) also mention Henry of Brabant among the participants of the Third Crusade, but here, too, a connection to the Teutonic Order could explain the presence of the name. The *Chronicon Tielense* offers numerous rather specific comments on the Teutonic Order, amongst other in the chapter that immediately ensues this one. The Teutonic Order had one of their largest commanderies in Tiel, and it is likely that the author of the *Chronicon Tielense* had access to archives of the order, in Utrecht and/or Tiel: J. Kuys et al. eds., *De Tielse kroniek. Een geschiedenis van de Lage Landen van de volksverhuizingen tot het midden van de vijftiende eeuw, met een vervolg over de jaren 1552-1566* (Amsterdam: Verloren 1983) xx (note 23); J.D. van Leeuwen ed., *Auctoris incerti Chronicon Tielense, sive majoris chronici pars ultima et maxime notabilis...* (Utrecht: Wild & Altheer 1789) 159; Tilmans, Hollandse kroniek (thesis/edition), c. 20.

[559] Chapter 4.3, "Johan van Drongelen".

Most of the participants of the Third Crusade (c.113) are listed again as being present at the Teutonic Order's foundation at Acre later during that crusade (c.117), with the exception of those who died in the intervening period (Emperor Frederick I and Count Floris of Holland). However, this second list is much more extensive than the first (Table 3.25). Added, for instance, in consecutive order, are the counts of Jülich, Berg, Nassau, Hennenberg and Sponheim. This selection of crusaders from the north-west of the Holy Roman Empire is quite uncommon in later historiographical texts about the Third Crusade, but the same names do appear in contemporary texts such as the *Historia de expeditione Frederici Imperatoris.*[560] This contemporary account also correctly identifies Clement III (1187–91) as the pope who sent off the crusader army, instead of Alexander III (1159–81), who is mentioned as such in all Dutch chronicles (Table 3.24), except for the *Croniken*, which has the correct identification.[561] The *Historia de expeditione* was completed around 1200 at the latest. Two very early manuscripts were written in Austria and Bohemia, two further copies stem from Moravia.[562] It is impossible to confirm whether this account was used directly by the author of the *Croniken*, but such a direct use is improbable, as there is no supporting evidence of dissemination of the text in the Low Countries. The correct identification, however, is further evidence to show that the author of the *Croniken* had access to a variety of sources regarding the participants of the Third Crusade – a variety comprising more than the texts which circulated in the Teutonic Order (*Narratio*, *Statutes*, *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin*) and *Beke* and the aforementioned chronicles of Holland.

It is impossible to determine which sources may have suggested the plural form of the "dukes of Bavaria" (perhaps a reference to the partition of the Duchy of Bavaria in 1255) and "dukes of Saxony" (perhaps a reference to the partition of the Duchy of Saxony in 1260). Nor is it clear on which grounds the author listed the "landgrave of Hesse" (not a separate entity until 1264), "Philip of Swabia" and the "bishop of Paderborn" among the people present at the Order's foundation.[563] Equally puzzling is the source for the given name of the patriarch of Jerusalem, "Albert". This might be a reference to Bishop Albert of Vercelli, who laid foundations for the rule of the Carmelites but became Patriarch of Jerusalem no sooner than 1205/1206.[564] Perhaps the author of the *Croniken* invented such details, or included people of whom he knew they had some connection to the Holy Land, or even just those who were alive roughly around the time in question. We are probably justified to interpret the extensive list of attendees as an attempt to further elaborate and enhance the account of the order's foundation at Acre, adding extra prestige to the event.

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[560] Loud ed., *Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, 44–57.
[561] Ibid., 44.
[562] Ibid., 1.
[563] Theodor Hirsch suggested a link with the *Kreuzfahrt des Landgrafen Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen*, but I have not found any compelling reason to assume the text was used by the author of the *Croniken*. Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 52; H. Naumann, *Die Kreuzfahrt des Landgrafen Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Deutsche Chroniken 4.2 (Berlin: Weidmann 1923).
[564] Apart from his work for the Carmelite Order, Albert also helped secure the right of the Teutonic Order to wear a white habit with black cross: Kirstein, *Patriarchen*, 411–447; A certain Albert, bishop of Bethlehem, is also mentioned as Patriarch-Elect in 1192. However, only secondary sources substantiate this claim: Ibid., 359.

| Description in *Croniken* in order of appearance | Possible sources | Note |
|---|---|---|
| 'Duke Frederick of Swabia' | *Narratio*[565]; *Statutes*[566]; *Dusburg*[567]; *Jeroschin*[568] (hereafter: *Narratio* et al.); *Beke* et al. (Table 3.24) | **See c.113** |
| 'King Henry of Jerusalem' | *Narratio* et al. | |
| 'Patriarch **Albert** of Jerusalem' | *Narratio* et al. (name 'Albert' not specified) | |
| *'Archbishops'* | *Narratio* et al. (specified) | |
| *'Bishops'* | *Narratio* et al. (specified) | |
| 'Duke Henry of Brabant' (captain) | *Narratio* et al.; *Beke* et al. | **See c.113** |
| 'Duke of Austria' | *Narratio* et al.; *Beke* et al. | **See c.113** |
| 'Dukes of Bavaria' (plural) | | **See c.113** |
| 'Duke of Brunswick' | *Narratio* et al. | |
| 'Dukes of Saxony' (plural) | *Narratio* et al.[569] | **Compare c.113** |
| 'Duke Philip of Swabia' | | |
| 'Count William of Holland, son of Count Floris' | *Beke* et al. | **See c.113** |
| 'Count Otto of Guelders' | *Beke* et al. | **See c.113** |
| 'Count Dietrich of Cleves' | *Beke* et al. | **See c.113** |
| 'Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia' | *Narratio* et al.; *Historia de Expeditione*[570] | |
| 'Landgrave of Hesse' | | |
| 'Margrave of Meissen' | *Narratio* et al. | |
| 'Count of Jülich' | *Historia de Expeditione* | |
| 'Count of Berg' | *Historia de Expeditione* | |
| 'Count of Nassau' | *Historia de Expeditione* | |
| 'Count of Hennenberg' | *Historia de Expeditione* | |
| 'Count of Sponheim' | *Historia de Expeditione* | |
| *'And many others princes and lords'*[571] | Passim | |
| 'Grand master Templars' | *Narratio* et al. | |
| 'Grand master Hospitallers' | *Narratio* et al. | |
| 'Archbishop of Bremen' | *Historia de Expeditione* | |
| 'Bishop of Paderborn' | | |

*Table 3.25 List of persons present at the foundation of the Teutonic Order at Acre (c.117).*

[565] 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung', 27.
[566] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, Prol., c.1.
[567] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, I–1.
[568] Fischer, *Chronicle of Prussia*, 30–31; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 425–536.
[569] These Teutonic Order's texts do mention a "count palatine of Saxony" (singular), but this is in fact a second title of Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, mentioned separately in the *Croninken*. Especially *Jeroschin*, however, could easily have triggered the misunderstanding that these two titles concern two separate persons – especially for an author who was eager to mention as many lords and princes present at Acre as he could find: Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 484–488.
[570] Loud ed., *Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, 44–57.
[571] The *Narratio*, *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin* also mention: Ralph of Tiberias; Hugh II of Tiberias; Reginald of Sidon; Aymar of Caesarea; John of Ibelin; and 'many others' from the Kingdom of Jerusalem; Margrave Conrad II of Landsberg; Margrave Albert II of Brandenburg; Henry of Kalden, imperial marshal; and 'many other counts and magnates'.

## 3.4 The Teutonic Order's historiography and archival material

Only a small selection of the Teutonic Order's chronicles at the author's disposal were used in the prologue of the *Croniken*. The *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* played an invaluable role in structuring the *Croniken*. The *Statutes* and the *Narratio* (perhaps via the *Chronica novella* by Hermann Korner), but also *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin* (compare Table 3.10) are among the sources for the *Croniken*. These were the Teutonic Order's texts that dealt at least partly with the order's achievements in the Holy Land, and to these the author reverted back as some of the principal sources for the final chapters of the prologue (c.155–9).[572] These chapters would become the prelude to the hefty part of the chronicle containing the Teutonic Order's history in Prussia and Livonia, interspersed with collections of papal and imperial privileges that will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

There are also a set of yet unidentified sources used for the closing chapters of the prologue. These were specifically concerned with Grand Master Hermann of Salza (1209–39): how he appointed a grand commander and a marshal at Acre,[573] his visitation of the houses of the Order in both the German and the French speaking world,[574] and his role as negotiator between Pope Honorius III and Emperor Frederick II. Furthermore, it seems likely that the author of the *Croniken* also made use of a historiographical text that treated the disputes between Honorius and Frederick: "and the pope and emperor were reunited [by Hermann of Salza], but the same emperor broke the peace a while after that."[575] That the author of the *Croniken* must have had access to works of general history becomes clear from other details throughout the *Croniken* as well. Note for instance the – correct – date Pope Honorius III had died: 18th March 1227, which is not noted in any of the identified sources used in the chapter (c.269).[576]

What the nature of the sources related to (or at least used by our author to provide information about) Hermann of Salza might have been, remains unclear. They might even have been archival documents. Fortunately, for many other parts of

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[572] The *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem* was unknown to our author, and probably written at a slightly later point in time. Töppen ed., *Chronik der vier Orden*.

[573] The grand commander and the marshall were indeed the most senior officials of the Order in the Holy Land. The earliest marshall however was recorded already in 1208, before Hermann of Salza became grand master: N.E. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190-1291* (Woodbridge/Rochester, NY: Boydell 2009) 165; Both officials are well described in the *Statutes*, although any reference to Hermann of Salza or Acre is lacking. Still, the information in the *Statutes* may have triggered the author of the *Croniken* to produce statements concerning the installation of both officials. E.g.: Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 239.

[574] The *Croniken* associates Hermann of Salza as well with a visitation in Prussia in 1236 – following the so-called *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen*: M. Biskup and I. Janusz-Biskupowa, *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter* 1: 1236-1449. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 50 (Marburg: Elwert 2002) Nr. 1; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.314.

[575] "Ende die paeus ende keyser worden verenicht, mer die selve keyser brack den vrede ene wijle daer nae." *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.159.

[576] One such work of general history that was linked to the *Croniken* on some occasions, the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Johan Veldener in 1480, gives an incorrect date, 26th February: Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 169r; In the *Chronica novella* by Hermann Korner (for its possible use see elsewhere in this chapter) or in the chronicle by Martin of Opava, no date is provided: 'M. Hermanni Corneri, Ord. Præedicatorum. Chronica novella usque ad annum 1435. Deducta', in: J.G. von Eckhart ed., *Corpus historicum medii aevi, sive scriptores res in orbe universo, praecipue in Germania...* 2 (Leipzig: Gleditschius 1723) 431–1344, there 857; 'Martini Oppaviensis. Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum', in: L. Weiland ed., G.H. Pertz, *Historici Germaniae saec. XII. 2*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 22 (Hannover 1872) 377–482, there 439.

the *Croniken* we have a much clearer indication of the sources. In fact, for several parts we can construct a fair picture of the scope of the Teutonic Order's chronicles and other texts available to the author of the *Croniken*. For many or even most of those, further evidence of their dissemination in the Low Countries, or sometimes even the Holy Roman Empire in general, is lacking. The following inquiry for the first time gives a clear picture of the availability of these sources in the bailiwicks – which we will discuss in more detail at the end of this chapter.

## Sources on Prussian history

The *Croniken* starts the history of the order in the Baltic region with a recapitulation of its most important achievements mentioned in the prologue. Once more a diatribe against the version of events presented by the Hospitallers' *Legends* is included (c.235). An account of the election of the first four grand masters and some formulaic remarks about their characters originated for the largest part from the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*. An unknown source or the author's own invention provided information regarding the earliest priests in the Order's service (both secular and Dominican).[577] Then the *Croniken* abruptly shifts its focus to the Teutonic Order's activities in the lands along the Baltic Sea:

> *At first will written about the state of the lands of Prussia and Livonia, how they are located and what the situation was before the worthy Teutonic Order brought these lands under the holy Christian faith, to what purpose they so devoutly shed their blood.*[578]

It is here that the author of the *Croniken* combined the different regional historiographical traditions which existed in the Teutonic Order. Events in Prussia and events in Livonia are told in alternation, treated separately, with the transitions clearly marked in the text on almost every occasion. Coloured initials or short sentences help to introduce a new topic: "Here we shall be silent on the topic of Prussia and write about Livonia and Courland, etcetera," or "Here we shall let the topic of Livonia rest and return to Prussia."[579]

Prussia is the first region to be investigated, and from the very start the author deviates from the pattern as established by Peter of Dusburg. The order of events is changed dramatically, to accentuate the development of a rough, barbaric, pagan landscape towards wealthy, well-mannered and Christianized regions under the banner of the Teutonic Order. For this purpose, a fresh new source is introduced to the usual variety of Teutonic Order historiography: Aeneas Sylvius' *De situ et origine Pruthenorum*.[580] Aeneas Sylvius became bishop of Warmia in Prussia in 1457, but was best known for his

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[577] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.236, c.239; Hirsch pointed at two later papal privileges involving the role of the Dominicans and their liturgy in the Teutonic Order: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 64; Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nrs. 471 and 536.

[578] "In den yersten sal men scriven die gelegentheit van den landen van Pruyssen ende Lieflant, hoe dat gelegen is ende wat dat geweest heeft eer dattet die weerdige Duytsche Oirde totten heiligen kristen gelove gebracht heeft, daer sy hoir bloet soe vromelic voir gestort hebben": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.242.

[579] "Hier sal men van Pruyssen wat zwigen ende scriven van Lieflant ende Coerlant, et cetera": Ibid., c.279; "Hier laten wij Lieflant nu wat staen ende volgen weder van Pruyssen": Ibid., c.380; See further: Ibid., c.456, c.512.

[580] Th. Hirsch, 'Aeneas Sylvius', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* IV (Leipzig 1870) 212–253, there 218–231.

election to the papacy as Pius II in 1458. An incunable of his work on the Prussians was printed between 1471 and 1475 in Cologne.[581] Given that five out of twenty-one of the extant copies of the incunable have been preserved in Dutch or Belgian libraries, it is likely that the work circulated in the Low Countries around the time the *Croniken* was written.

| *De situ et origine Pruthenorum*, f. 1v | *Croniken*, c.255 |
|---|---|
| **Hic Christi nomen incognitum neque audita Romana tuba, neque signum aquile visum ante Frederici secundi tempora fuit**. [Then follow a few sentences on the role of the Teutonic Order in pacifying the Prussians] | **Ende voir keyser Ffrederics tijden den anderen alsoe genoemt** ende eer die Duytsche Oirde van Onser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem die vrome edel goids ridders 't lant te Pruysschen yerst becrachten ende ten heyligen kersten gelove brochten, **soe en was die naem Cristi in dat lant onbecant ende die Roemsche trompe der predicacien ongehoirt ende dat teyken des aerns ongesien**. |

*Table 3.26 Comparison of Aeneas Sylvius'* De situ et origine Pruthenorum *and the* Croniken *(c.255).*

Aeneas Sylvius begins with an introduction to the Prussian landscape, largely based on Jordanes' *Getica*. This introduction is translated almost verbatim in the *Croniken* (Table 3.26), with the occasional addition of small explanatory remarks.[582] When Sylvius records the name Amphitrites, the *Croniken* adds "that is the sea that surrounds the earth".[583] In one instance, the note can be traced back to one or both of two specific sources. To explain the geographic location of the Maeotian marshes, the river delta surrounding the Sea of Azov, the *Croniken* states that they "lie between the division of Europe and Asia." References to the Maeotian marshes are common in many Dutch chronicles, since they play a role in the origin myths of several principalities and dynasties. They, however, seldom match the references to Asia and Europe in the *Croniken*.[584] Only Jacob van Maerlant in the *Spiegel historiael* – in an observation lacking from Vincent of Beauvais – mentioned that the marshes divide Europe and Asia. Completely identical however, including a reference to the "gebroecten lande" (wetlands), is Johan Veldener's *Fasciculus temporum*, printed in 1480 (Table 3.27).[585] Since the relationship between the *Croniken* and Veldener's *Fasciculus temporum* is rather complicated, and will be subject of discussion in the next chapter, it is at this point not appropriate to assume that Veldener's *Fasciculus temporum* has been a source for the *Croniken* – or indeed the other way around. Nevertheless, both texts are clearly related.

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[581] Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *De situ et origine Pruthenorum, De Livonia, De bello Turcorum et Hungarorum. De officio et origine heraldorum* (Cologne: Ther Hoernen between 1471-1475) <http://nbn.urn.hu/N2L?urn:nbn:hu-104505>; 'ISTC', nr. ip00745000.
[582] Compare Table 3.3 earlier.
[583] "Amphitrites, dats dat meer dat eertrijc om loopt": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.242.
[584] E.g.: Bruch ed., *Chronographia*, 7 (*Beke*, Latin); Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*, 6 (*Beke*, Dutch); J.M.C. Verbij-Schillings ed., *Het Haagse handschrift van heraut Beyeren. Hs. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 131 G 37*. Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden VI (Hilversum: Verloren 1999) 69, vv.80–81 (Heraut Beyeren's *Chronicle of Brabant*); Scriverius ed., *Goutsche Chronycxken*, 1 (*Gouds Kroniekje*); London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 7v (*Leydis I*); Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 4r (*Pauli II*); F. Sweertius ed., *Rerum Belgicarum annales chronici et historici. De bellis, urbibus, situ, & moribus gentis, antiqui recentioresque scriptores...* I (Frankfurt am Main: Aubriorum & Schleichii 1620) 2 (*Leydis II*).
[585] The sentence is placed in the part of the *Fasciculus temporum* that contains a chronicle of France. The same sentence returns in the *Kattendijke Chronicle* that uses *Veldener* as source. Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 194r; Janse and Biesheuvel eds., *Kattendijke-kroniek*, 82.

| *Croniken*, c.244 | *Aeneas Sylvius*, f. 1r | *Veldener*, f. 194r | *Spiegel historiael* Third Part, Lib. I, c. 17, vv. 18–9[586] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Doe toech hij [Filimer] mit syn volc ende quam totten **gebroecten lande** Meothides, **ende leit tusschen 't gesceit van Azien ende Europen**. | Filimerus autem glorie cupidus, sedes dum novas querit, ad paludes Meothidas pervenit. | Ende Francion [sic] toech voert mit een deel van den volck in een **broeck lant** in die mersche van Meochides, **ende is in 't ghesceyt van Asyen ende van Europien**. | Toten merschen Meotydes,<br>Die Azien sceden ende Europen |

*Table 3.27 Description of the Maeotian marshes.*

The description of the Prussian lands provided the author of the *Croniken* with the transition to the content of the previous chronicles of the Teutonic Order. After the description of the lands and their mythical origin, the chronicle turns to the people of Prussia themselves, focussing on their military might as well as their barbaric habits. Both themes were already well-known in the historiography of the Teutonic Order ever since Peter of Dusburg introduced them in his chronicle. In the *Croniken* the order of these habits (clothing, religion, weaponry, eating and drinking, and burial traditions) is completely rearranged. Parts were left out, new parts were introduced from elsewhere in *Dusburg* et al., taken from their original context.[587] The *Croniken* is the first and only chronicle in the tradition of the Teutonic Order that abandoned the strict order of events proposed by *Dusburg* – without visibly compromising on chronology. Both *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* did little to alter *Dusburg*'s structure. In the *Croniken*, we witness much more thorough interventions in the construction; for its first set of chapters on Prussia (c.234–78), for example, the author jumped back and forth between the various Prussian sources (Table 3.28). The process implies that the author mastered the entire contents of these sources and was able to selectively mine them for information to mould into his text.

In this process, the structure only of a few texts was left more or less intact. It is probably not a coincidence that this is the case precisely with those texts which were relatively unknown in comparison to the familiar *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. In this particular instance Aeneas Sylvius' *De situ et origine Pruthenorum* and the earlier mentioned *Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens* were examples of such texts that were introduced by the author of the *Croniken* in verbatim citations. Both texts had hardly been used in the Order's historiography up until that point. In fact, for centuries, the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas* was only known through its appearance in the *Croniken*, until an early sixteenth-century manuscript was rediscovered, just in time for the editors of the *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* to include it as appendix to their edition of the *Croniken*. The *Bericht* is now believed to have been written around 1247 and is linked to grand master Heinrich of Hohenlohe.[588] It is one of the more substantial sources for the early Prussian history in the *Croniken* (see for example Table 3.28, listing the use of its opening chapters in the *Croniken*). Unclear is

[586] The chapter corresponding with the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* is actually located earlier in the *Spiegel historiael*: M. de Vries and E. Verwijs eds., *Jacob van Maerlant's Spiegel Historiael, met de fragmenten der later toegevoegde gedeelten, bewerkt door Philip Utenbroeke en Lodewijc van Velthem* 2 (Leiden: Brill 1863) 43 (Third Part, Lib. I, c. 4, vv. 22–23).
[587] E.g.: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.250, c.252; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, III–70 and III–105 respectively, whereas the surrounding chapters correspond to III–5.
[588] Hirsch, 'Bericht Hermann von Salza's'; Arnold ed., *Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens*, 26.

whether or not the *Croniken* in c.330 also draws on the so-called *Translacio Sanctae Barbarae* – a text that describes some of the same events as the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas* – or used a more accurate version of the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas*.[589]

| Croniken | Dusburg | Jeroschin | Ältere HMC | Bericht HvS | A. Sylvius | Croni-ken | Dusburg | Jeroschin | Ältere HMC | Bericht HvS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **234** | I-2 | 901–78 | 2 | | | **261** | II-4 | 1712–85 | | 2 |
| **235** | | | | | | **262** | II-4 | 1712–85 | | 2 |
| **236** | I-2 | 901–78 | 2 | | | **263** | II-4 | 1712–85 | | 2 |
| **237** | | | | | | **264** | II-5 | 1786–2003 | | 3 |
| **238** | | | | | | **265** | | | | 3 |
| **239** | IV-4 | 1334–423 | | | | **266** | | | | 3 |
| **240** | | | | | | **267** | II-5 | 1786–2003 | 4 | 3 |
| **241** | | 1001–191 | 2 | | | **268** | II-5 | 1786–2003 | 4 | 3 |
| **242** | | | | | f. 1r | | I-5 | | | |
| **243** | | | | | f. 1r | **269** | II-5 | 1786–2003 | 5 | 3 |
| **244** | | | | | ff. 1r-1v | | II-6 | 2004–129 | | |
| **245** | | | | | | **270** | II-11 | 3393–512 | 5 | |
| **246** | | 3371–854 | | | | | | 3513–610 | 6 | |
| **247** | III-3 | 3371–854 | 8 | | | **271** | I-5 | 1001–191 | | |
| **248** | III-5 | 3983–4284 | 9 | | | **272** | II-13 | 3637–70 | 7 | 4 |
| **249** | III-5 | 3983–4284 | 9 | | | | III-1 | 3685–738 | 7 | |
| **250** | III-5 | 3983–4284 | 9 | | | **273** | III-1 | 3685–738 | 7 | |
| | III-70 | 9833–84 | 46 | | | **274** | II-13 | 3637–70 | 7 | |
| **251** | III-5 | 3983–4284 | 9 | | | | III-8 | 3611–36 | 10 | |
| **252** | III-105 | 11817–52 | 62 | | | | III-66 | 9001–156 | 37 | |
| **253** | III-5 | 3983_4284 | 9 | | | **275** | III-1 | 3685–738 | 10 | 4 |
| **254** | III-5 | 3983–4284 | | | | | III-9 | 4461–518 | | |
| **255** | II-5 | 1786–2003 | 5 | | f. 1v | | III-10 | 4519–68 | | |
| | II-6 | 2004–129 | | | | **276** | II-11 | 3611–36 | 11 | |
| **256** | II-13 | 3637–70 | 7 | | | | II-12 | 4633–744 | 12 | |
| **257** | | | | | | | III-12 | 4879–920 | | |
| **258** | I-5 | 1001–191 | 2 | 1 | | | III-16 | | | |
| **259** | | | 3 | 1 | | **277** | III-19 | 5063–136 | 13 | 4 |
| **260** | II-2 | 1576–675 | 3 | 1 | | **278** | III-28 | 5599–684 | 17 | |
| | II-3 | 1676–711 | 3 | | | | III-29 | 5685–696 | 18 | |

*Table 3.28 Prussian chronicles rearranged in the* Croniken *(c.234–78). Note that is not a comprehensive list of all the sources for these chapters.*

[589] Some of the names in c.330 correspond to the *Translacio Sanctae Barbarae* rather than to the early sixteenth century copy of the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas*. The reference to Sambia "dat hiet doe Wijdelant" (that was called *Wijdelant* then) is only present in the *Translacio Sanctae Barbarae*: M. Töppen, 'Translacio et miracula Sanctae Barbarae', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* II (Leipzig 1863) 397–411, there 403–404 (c.5); Hirsch, 'Bericht Hermann von Salza's', 160 (c.4); For a short overview regarding the *Translacio Sanctae Barbarae* and the most recent discussions concerning its place in the Prussian historiography: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 105–108.

| *Croniken*, c.252 | *Jeroschin*, vv. 11817–52 | *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, c. 62 |
|---|---|---|
| Doe quamen sy op ene tijt **mit groter macht voir** Conincsberch ende wouden dat huis den Duytschen Oirden off winnen. Doe scoten die Duytsce Heren ende weerden hem seer ridderlic voir dat slot. Mer die Pruyssenaers was soe veel ende drongen soe seer aen als dat die Duytsche broederen mitten horen **weder op 't slot mosten wiken**. **Ende inden opganc liet een van den broeders volc syn armborst gespannen leggen *op ter eerden*.** Ende te hant nam dat een Pruysscher ende hinct *mit vroechden* aen synen hals. Die ander Pruyssenaers verwonderden seer wat men mit sulcken dingen dede sy besagen 't seer ende doe ructen een den slotel van den armborst los ende scoet een Pruysser syn nase aff. Ende hy vel neder in onmachten ende sint ontsagen sy die armborsten ende gescut seer. | Nimant gar vol sprechin mac,<br>wi di Samin nacht und tac<br>und ouch andir Pruzin<br>daruf pflagin luzin<br>und offinberlich werbin,<br>daz si ot vorterbin<br>mochtin Kungisberc di burc,<br>davon ouch des todis turc<br>nam vil manch man beidir sit.<br>Des geschach zu einre zit,<br>daz dar quam der Samin her<br>unde warin so gever<br>vechtinde di burc da an,<br>daz di brudre nicht bestan<br>mochtin kegn in vor dem tor,<br>si mustin vor in vlin uf hor.<br>Di vlucht so notlich was ouch i,<br>daz ein brudir ligin li<br>sin armbrost da gespannen<br>unde vloch von dannen.<br>Daz armbrost hub ein Same uf<br>unde hing *in tummer guf*<br>iz an den hals durch wundir.<br>Iclichin da besundir<br>wundirte des sere,<br>warzu iz nutze were,<br>und begondin iz deswar<br>betastin beide her und dar.<br>Zu jungist doch ir einir vant<br>daz gemerke; mit der hant<br>druckte er den sluzzil<br>und snalt im ab den druzzil,[590]<br>daz er tot alda belac.<br>Der Samin schar des ser erschrac<br>unde vorchtin mere<br>di armbrost vil sere. | Dornoch schire quamen dy Zamen och **mit macht vor dy burg**. Do lyfen en dy brudyr och entkegin. Idoch torstin sy nicht lange vor en besten, czundyr sy **mustin wedyr uf dy burg lafin**. **In dem lafin lys eyn brudyr seyn armbrost gespannen *uf der erdin* legin.** Daz hub eyn Zame uf vnd hing ys vm den hals. Sy wundirtin sich alle, wo zcu ys nutcze were, vnd begriffin ys hy vnd da. Zcu leczt drukte eyner den slossel vnd snalte ym dy kele entczwey. Des yrschrakin dy Zamen gar zere vnd vurchtin dy armbrost vil me den vor. |

*Table 3.29 Remnants of* Jeroschin *(underline and italic) and the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik *(bold) in the* Croniken *(c.252).*

It is not only on a structural level that the liberal use of *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin*, and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* is apparent. Also on a more detailed textual level it can be noticed. Their content is paraphrased, rearranged and altered. The author left almost nothing intact of the original sentences – except sometimes on the level of individual words. The direct use of *Dusburg* is especially hard to prove, because its Latin left no linguistic traces in the Middle Dutch text of the *Croniken*, and because its content is often also present in *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. Nonetheless it can be confirmed

[590] The word "druzzil" can mean both neck and (in the animal kingdom) nose, snout, trunk or proboscis, but is unknown in (Middle) Dutch. In present-day German the word "Rüssel" still means proboscis. The two-sided meaning of the word may well have been the reason for the different body parts that are wounded (the nose in the *Croniken*; the throat in the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*). M. Lexer and U. Pretzel, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch* (38th edn; Stuttgart: Hirzel 1999); Trier Center for Digital Humanities and Kompetenzzentrum für elektronische Erschließungs- und Publikationsverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften an der Universität Trier, 'Wörterbuchnetz' (2011) <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/> [accessed 2 May 2016].

that he author of the *Croniken* perused *Dusburg* directly.[591] Short citations from the verse translation of *Dusburg* by Nikolaus of Jeroschin occur with much more regularity.[592] But also the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, the fifteenth-century prose adaptation of *Jeroschin*, was used extensively.[593] In Table 3.29 is illustrated how the accounts of both *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* were used complementing each other, with a new, somewhat lengthened narrative as a result. Note for instance how in the *Croniken* the Sambians proceeded "with great display of power" (*Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*) to "Königsberg" (*Jeroschin*, in contrast to the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, which reads "that castle").

Together with the aforementioned *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, itself in part an adaptation of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, these three chronicles provided most of the information to the *Croniken* for the events in Prussia. The author of the *Croniken*, however, was quite selective in terms of which chapters from these chronicles he included (compare Figure 3.7, Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9). Only 16% of the chapters in *Dusburg* – or the corresponding pieces of text in *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* – were used for the *Croniken*. A few patterns can be established. Firstly, the author of the *Croniken* included more information from the earlier chapters of *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, progressively decreasing borrowings as their narratives advanced. This will need to be explained, since, by contrast, other supplementary sources such as the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas* were included almost integrally (compare also the *Livländische Reimchronik* in Figure 3.10); this implies a conscious choice on behalf of the author, quite possibly with a particular audience in mind. It may very well be that the audience of the *Croniken* was already so familiar with the information provided by *Dusburg* and repeated in *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, that repeating these narratives again from start to finish would have been considered unnecessarily profuse.

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[591] Firstly, *Dusburg* also mentions the priests instituted by King David, secondly only *Dusburg* mentions the noble descent of a group of men. A more extensive search may reveal other examples. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.82, c.258; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, Prologue and I–5 respectively.

[592] Take for instance in the *Croniken*: "Ende een ygelic deel van den lande heeft sinen sonderlingen naem" ("And every part of the [Prussian] lands had its own particular name"). Compare *Jeroschin*: "und der iclich / hat sinen namen sundirlich". This is absent in *Dusburg*, whereas the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* merely states: "und iclichis hat seynen namen": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.245; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 3773–3774; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, III–3; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 8.

[593] Olivier also made this suggestion, but was still quite cautious: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1007–1012; Hirsch did not explicitly mention the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* among the sources for the *Croniken*, but did include references in the margins now and then: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 19, 119 ff.

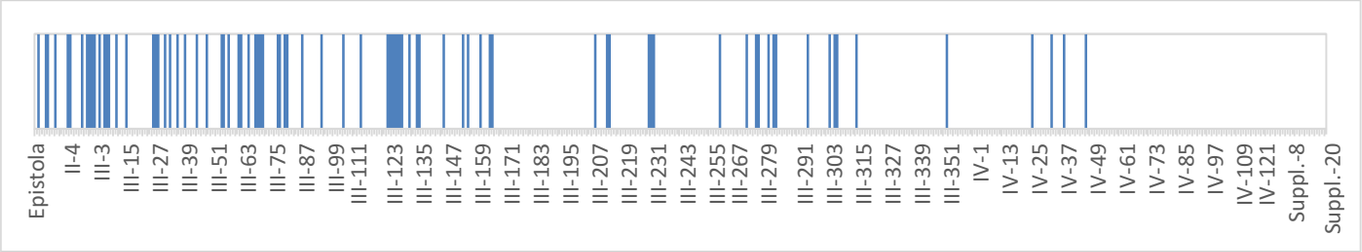


*Figure 3.7 (Corresponding) chapters from* Dusburg *included in the* Croniken *(approximation).*

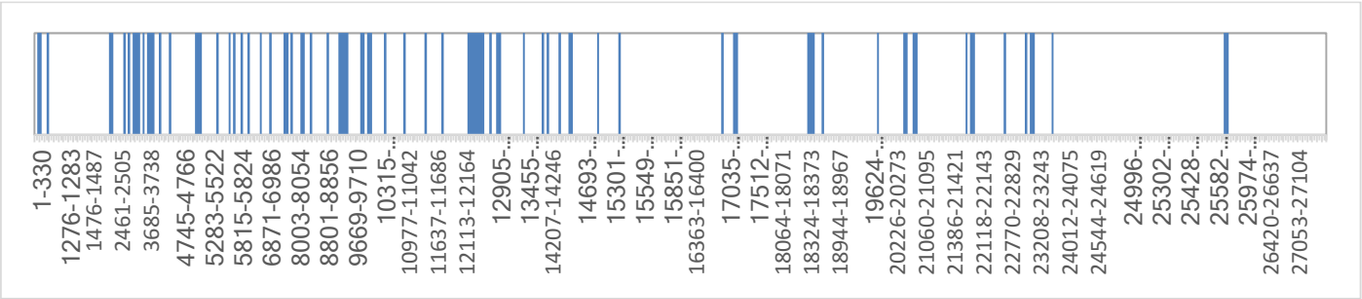


*Figure 3.8 Chapters from* Jeroschin *included in the* Croniken *(approximation).*

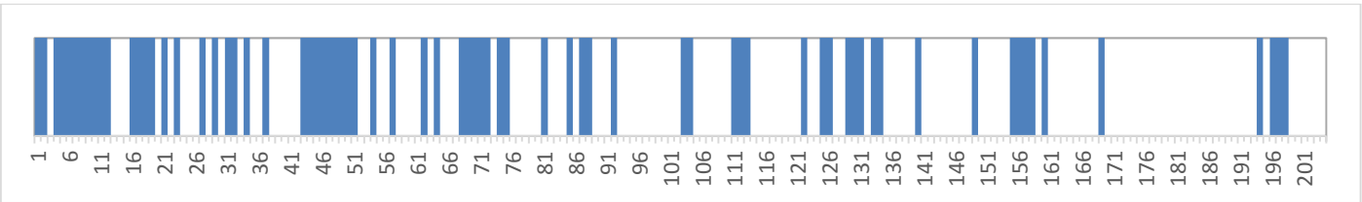


*Figure 3.9 Chapters from the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik *included in the* Croniken *(approximation).*

Secondly, in terms of subject choice, the author of the *Croniken* included – apart from the chapters concerning the foundation of the Order at Acre and the description of the Prussian tribes – primarily information regarding the land masters of Prussia, visits of important German noblemen to Prussia, some building activities and foundations of cities, miracle stories and moralizing *exempla*, and fights against heathen leaders who were mentioned by name. Swietopelk II of Pomerania (d. 1266) and his sons, Herkus Monte of the Natangians (d. 1273), Glappo of the Warmians (d. 1273), Skomantas of the Sudovians (d. around 1285) and Vytenis of Lithuania (d. 1316) are all included as distinguished opponents in the *Croniken*. The numerous skirmishes with anonymous heathen enemies that are elaborately described by Peter of Dusburg, however, are omitted almost without exception. In this way the author of the *Croniken* employs the notoriety of named enemies to increase the prestige of the order that battled them.

Towards the end of the *Croniken*, the information taken from *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* becomes increasingly anecdotal. Stories of devout and obedient commanders from Königsberg and brave brethren who formed expeditions against the Lithuanians with miraculous results provided moralizing *exempla* for the readers of the *Croniken*. The sources of the *Croniken*, such as the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, provided ample such stories, and the author of the *Croniken* hardly left a single one out, and distributed them chronologically to conceal periods that were relative lacking in information. In the later chapters, in which the *Croniken* could only draw from the *Kurze* and *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* –

*Jeroschin* and *Dusburg* concluded earlier in time – the text becomes increasingly ornate in comparison to its source.[594] This tendency probably also caused the *Croniken* to describe, in regard to the Battle of Strėva (1348), one of the sons of Grand Duke Gediminas of Lithuania, Narimantas, as a *half*-brother of both Algirdas and Kęstutis.[595] This detail in the *Croniken* has been used in the past to suggest that Gediminas had several wives, of different faiths. However, agreeing with Stephen Rowell, I am not inclined to attribute much value to this family affiliation in the *Croniken*.[596]

A small selection of additional sources complemented the version of events in *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. Apart from the *De situ et origine Pruthenorum* by Aeneas Sylvius, Heinrich of Hohenlohe's *Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens*, and perhaps some sources for minor details[597], three (sets of) sources were used for the description of more recent events in Prussia, complemented by information drawn from the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*. One particular source or set of sources provided a few details regarding the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410 (c.624–5, c.628), another set described the events concerning the Piece of Brest, the party strife between brethren in Prussia and the establishment of the Prussian Federation (c.643–54), and a third set treated the first years of the Thirteen Years' War and the years leading up to it (1450–57; c.655–714).

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[594] Compare for instance the 136 word chapter in the *Croniken* to the first 56 words of the corresponding chapter in the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. Its source, *Hermann of Wartberge*, was not used directly by the *Croniken* (note the word "cleynoden"): *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.582; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 158; Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge', 85–86; The area in question corresponds roughly to the following chapters, more than half of which contain transcripts of privileges: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.572–630.

[595] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.574; The source for the *Croniken* is the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*: 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 156; See also: Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge', 75–76; Wigand of Marburg provides an aberrant description: Th. Hirsch, 'Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg. Originalfragmente, lateinische Übersetzung und sonstige Überreste', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* II (Leipzig 1863) 429–662, there 510–513.

[596] S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania ascending. A pagan empire within east-central Europe, 1295-1345*. Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 4th ser., 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994) 88.

[597] One such additional source is possibly a list of masters of Prussia, which may have provided the toponymic of Prussian Master Mangold of Sternberg: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.470 ff.

There is little indication that these passages were drawn from existing narrative sources. The existing sources concerning these events, such as the first continuation of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*[598], the *Geschichten von wegen eines Bundes*,[599] and the *Danziger Chronik vom Bunde* (part of the *Ferber Chronik*)[600] do not correspond.[601] This is equally the case for other narrative sources regarding the Thirteen Years' War, such as the texts by Johannes Lindau (also part of the *Ferber Chronik*)[602] and Laurentius Blumenau.[603] Only the chronicle by Andreas Santberg, the chaplain and notary of the grand master, seems to correspond to these parts of the *Croniken*, in content, the conveyed message, and the years discussed. Still, even in this case no direct link can be established.[604] Rather, it seems these passages in the *Croniken* were constructed by the author himself, mostly from archival material. Therefore, these three sets of sources will be examined later.[605] The source or sources which provided information regarding the structure and organization of the Teutonic Order (c.257, c.391, c.535 and c.728–30) may also have been archival material, just as the source for some of the details concerning the murder of Grand Master Werner of Orseln (c.548–9).[606] In all likelihood, the chronicles by Wigand of Marburg[607] and Johann of Posilge[608] were not used for the *Croniken*.

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[598] Töppen, 'Ältere Hochmeisterchronik', 637–700; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 795–814.

[599] G. Vollmann-Profe, 'Geschichten von wegen eines Bundes (Stories concerning a confederation)', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 692–693; M. Töppen, 'Geschichten von wegen eines Bundes von Landen und Steten wider den Orden Unser Lieben Frawen und die Bruder desselben Ordens im Lande zu Prussen geschehen', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* IV (Leipzig 1870) 71–211.

[600] M. Töppen, 'Die Danziger Chronik vom Bunde wahrscheinlich von Peter Brambeck', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* IV (Leipzig 1870) 405–489; M. Pierce, 'Danziger Chronik vom Bunde', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 509–510; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1064–1077.

[601] This is despite Hirsch's suggestions: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 37; Olivier came to the same conclusions: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1009–1010. In fairness, both manuscripts at Hirsch's disposal, **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**, are missing significant pieces of information regarding these Prussian events. Absent from ms. **Ut$_1$** are: c.670, c.672, c.674 (all three also absent from ms. **[Ma$_1$]**), c.684–94, c.701–10, c.712 and c.714 (all included in ms. **[Ma$_1$]** but usually severely truncated).

[602] M. Töppen, 'Johann Lindaus Geschichte des dreizehnjährigen Krieges', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* IV (Leipzig 1870) 490–637.

[603] M. Töppen, 'Historia de ordine Theutonicorum cruciferorum von Laurentius Blumenau', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* IV (Leipzig 1870) 35–70.

[604] D. Heckmann ed., *Die "Chronik vom Bund und Vereinigung wider Gewalt und Unrecht" des Hochmeisterkaplans Andreas Santberg zur Vorgeschichte des Dreizehnjährigen Krieges in Preußen (1450-1454)*. Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung 27 (Marburg: Elwert 2007).

[605] Chapter 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".

[606] Part of the information regarding the murder of Werner von Orseln corresponds to the German (sic) *Statutes of the Teutonic Order* (see also note 466) supplemented by *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin*, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* and a selection of unknown sources. These unknown sources could have derived from a Teutonic Order's archive: perhaps minutes of a general chapter?

[607] Hirsch, 'Chronik Wigands von Marburg'; Vollmann-Profe, 'Wigand von Marburg'.

[608] E. Strehlke, 'Johann's von Posilge, Officials von Pomesanien, Chronik des Landes Preussen, (von 1360 an, fortgesetzt bis 1419).', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* III (Leipzig 1866) 13–57, 79–388; Vollmann-Profe, 'Johann von Posilge'.

## Sources on the Livonian history

The transitions to the Livonian history are usually clearly marked in the *Croniken* or at least, they are easily recognizable. In addition, the information derives from a complete separate set of sources than the aforementioned Prussian texts. The principal source for Livonian history in the *Croniken* was the thirteenth-century *Livländische Reimchronik*, smetimes also called *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik*, to distinguish it from the lost and conjectural *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* by Bartholomaeus Hoeneke which I will address shortly hereafter.[609]

| ***Livländische Reimchronik*, vv. 3490–500** | ***Croniken*, c.378** |
|---|---|
| **Der meister hatte gute wort,<br>er sprach zu Myndowen<br>dem kunige von Littowen:<br>"wurdest du ein cristen man,<br>groze ere ich dir danne gan:<br>so wil ich dir irwerben<br>die crone, ich ensterben."<br><br>Der kunic was der rede vro.<br>dem meister gelobete er do<br>sines landes genuc;<br>guten willen er zu im truc.** | **Die meister had wel vruntlicker woirden mitten coninc, soe lange ende soe veel dat hij den coninc dair toe brocht dat hij kersten werden soude. Ende die meister soude hem werven** an den heylighen vader den paeus, dat men hem ende syne vrouwe cronen soude, soe vroech als sy gedoopt waren als een kersten coninc. **Die coninc was vro ende seyde den meister hij soude der oirden oick meer landen gheven.** |

*Table 3.30 Comparison of the* Livländische Reimchronik *and the* Croniken *(c.378).*

With only a few exceptions, most passages of the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* found their way into the *Croniken*. The order is almost never changed; parts are often abridged, but usually the *Croniken* stays true to its source (Table 3.30). This is in sharp contrast to the Prussian chronicles, *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, which are more heavily edited and rearranged. These different approaches of incorporating the sources are also visible from a more distant level. From Figure 3.10 can be deduced that almost every section of the *Livländische Reimchronik* is included in the *Croniken* (compare this with the Prussian chronicles in the aforementioned Figure 3.7, Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9). Most sections of the rhymed chronicle, however, are not copied in their entirety; the *Croniken* refers to its content, often abridging them to a few words. One extreme example is c.373, where twelve sections (vv. 2608–3120) were reduced to one single summarizing sentence. The information gathered from the *Livländische Reimchronik* becomes progressively ever more abbreviated over the course of the *Croniken*. Figure 3.11 shows how the author of the *Croniken* increasingly condensed the information of the *Livländische Reimchronik*. It displays the average number of verse lines from the *Livländische Reimchronik* that correspond to one single line of text in manuscript **We$_1$** of the *Croniken*, calculated per chapter. It is the same pattern that is found in the use of the Prussian chronicles, with the significant difference that there the author of the *Croniken* chose *which* stories he would include, instead of *how elaborately* he would reproduce their content (Figure 3.7, Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9).

[609] For Hoeneke and his chronicle, as well as for the attempts to reconstruct this text, see the recent contribution by Arno Mentzel-Reuters: Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke'.

Why the author treated the *Livländische Reimchronik* differently from the Prussian chronicles is hard to say, but it may have to do with a lack of familiarity with the text by the expected audience, prompting the author to include it from start to finish. This is not just because the narratives in the *Livländische Reimchronik* lack parallel sources. In contrast for example, in the case of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, which had a much wider dissemination than the *Livländische Reimchronik*, the author of the *Croniken* was not particularly prone to include the numerous passages that were unique in the sense that they were unavailable in any of the other Prussian chronicles. Something stood out for the *Livländische Reimchronik* that may explain the author's particular approach to the text.

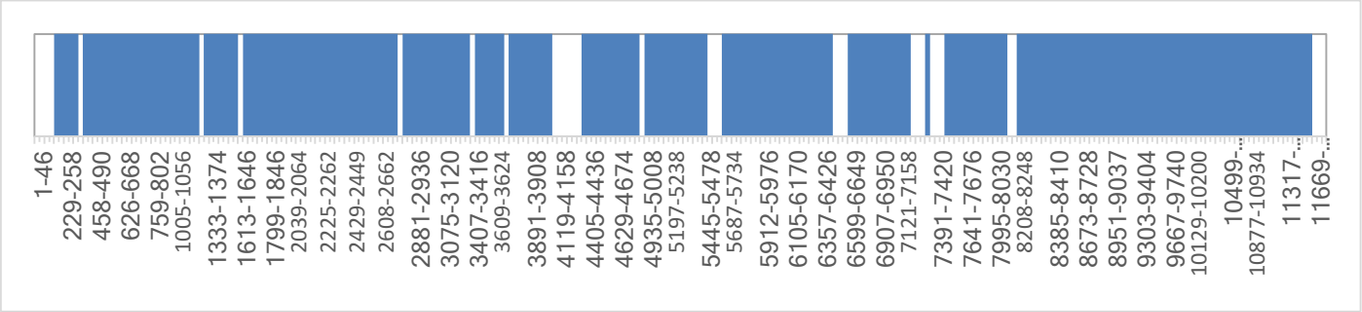


*Figure 3.10 Chapters from the* Livländische Reimchronik *included in the* Croniken *(approximation).*

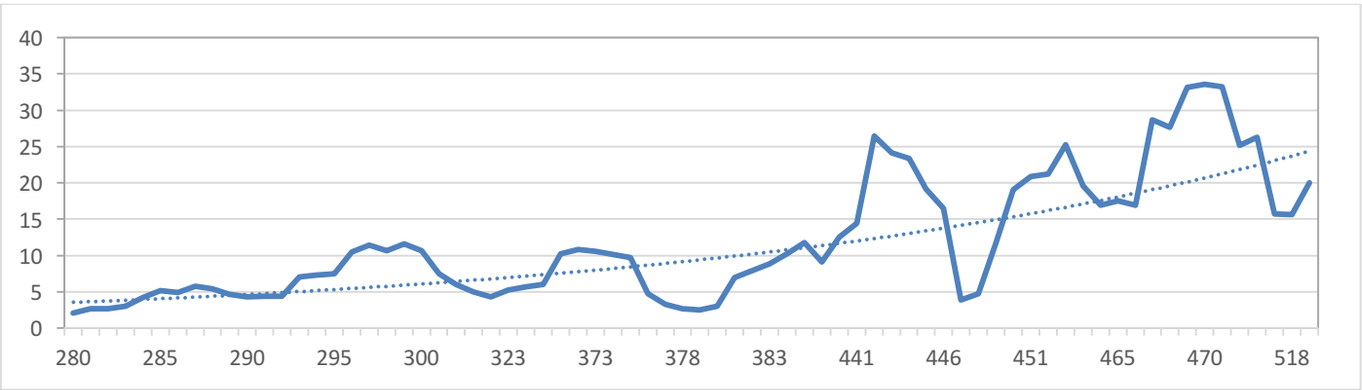


*Figure 3.11 Average number of verse lines of the* Livländische Reimchronik *reduced to one line of text in the* Croniken *(ms.* ***We₁****), calculated for each chapter of the* Croniken *in which the* Livländische Reimchronik *was used (moving average of five chapters; approximation).*

The *Livländische Reimchronik* is not the only text used in the *Croniken* for events in Livonia. Hirsch already identified the so-called *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen über die Vereinigung des Schwertbrüderordens mit dem Deutschen Orden*, a short mid-thirteenth-century text which shared a very similar past to the earlier mentioned *Bericht Hermann von Salzas*.[610] It describes the union of the Teutonic Order and the Livonian Brothers of the Sword in 1237 and the events leading up to it. The *Croniken* included it almost word-for-word, just as with the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas*, omitting only minor selections. Hirsch also recognized that other Livonian sources must have been used. He assumed that one of these sources was

[610] In fact, both texts are preserved in the same composite manuscript. Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 205, ff. 108r–118v, 121r–123v; G. Vollmann-Profe, 'Hartmann von Heldrungen', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 755; Hirsch, 'Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen'.

Bartholomaeus Hoeneke's aforementioned *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*.[611] In order to examine this supposition and other options, I will disaggregate the passages that are in all likelihood based on unidentified Livonian sources (Table 3.31) and discuss their possible origin(s) one after another. What will become clear is that the author of the *Croniken* had access to a small corpus of short stories concerning the Livonian history, which appear to have disseminated together and in combination with the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

| Source | *Croniken* | Content |
|---|---|---|
| **A** | c.280 | Date for the Livonian 'Aufsegelung' (1158, supposedly) |
| **B** | c.289–90 | Date for the establishment of the Sword-Brothers (1204, correctly) |
| **C** | c.317 | Date for the incorporation of the Sword-Brothers into Teutonic Order (June 1238, wrongfully) |
| **D** | c.301–2 | False papal legate (1230s) |
| **E** | e.g.: c.380, c.445, c.453, c.466, c.470, c.544 | Additions to the names of some of the masters of Livonia, absent from the *Livländische Reimchronik*. |
| **F** | e.g.: c.286, c.287, c.289, […], c.466, c.467 | Various dates concerning the years in office of the masters of Livonia and early bishops of Livonia. |
| **G** | c.541–3 | Famine in Livonia (1316) |
| **H** | c.553, c.559–63, c.565–71 | Reign of Eberhard of Monheim, master of Livonia (1328–40) |

*Table 3.31 Unknown Livonian sources in the* Croniken.

The three dates (A, B, and C) that the author of the *Croniken* linked to events described in the *Livländische Reimchronik* (c.280), the *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen* (c.317), or both (c.289–90), probably did not derive from a single source. The correct year 1204 could not have been calculated using the sparse data from the *Livländische Reimchronik* as could have been the case with the dates in F (the years do not add up), but must have been taken from elsewhere.[612] The date for the official incorporation of the Sword-Brothers, "June 1238", is close, but not entirely correct – Pope Gregory IX confirmed the union op 12 May 1237.[613] The date does, however, seem to echo one of the major treaties, issued in the following year, the Treaty of Stensby, which is described by the author in c.321 as the climax of a series of events following the incorporation of the Sword-Brothers. The treaty was signed between the Teutonic Order and King Valdemar II of Denmark on 7 June 1238, dividing the rule of northeast Estonia between the two.[614] If indeed, or in that case how the author of the *Croniken* may have come across this date must remain unanswered. Perhaps there is a link to the story of the false papal legate (D), which is placed against the background of the struggle for power of the Sword-Brothers and the Danish king.

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[611] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 19–22, 25–31.

[612] *Dusburg* mentions 1204 as the year Christianity was introduced in Livonia. Hirsch proposed that this prompted the *Croniken* to associate the year with the foundation of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword and the death of Berthold as Bishop of Livonia, but this should not necessarily be the case. Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–11; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 40; Compare: L. Arbusow (jr.), 'Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des "Chronicon Livoniae" Heinrichs von Lettland', *Acta Universitatis Latviensis = Latvijas Universitātes Raksti* 15/16 (1926/1927) 189–341/125–202, there 240 (note 1).

[613] F.G. von Bunge ed., *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten* I (1093-1300) (Reval: Kluge & Ströhm 1853) nr. 149.

[614] Ibid., nr. 160; I. Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254*. The Northern World 26 (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2007) 188–189.

The date of 1158 for the Livonian 'Aufsegelung' (the legendary discovery of the coastal regions of Livonia by merchants, in later accounts most notably from Bremen) has received much more attention. Whereas the story first surfaced in a modest form in the *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, one of the most appreciated sources for the early history of Livonia, written in the late 1220s,[615] and in the *Livländische Reimchronik*,[616] the *Croniken* was responsible for the specific date as transmitted by successive historians afterwards.[617] Especially due to the use of the *Croniken* by sixteenth-century chroniclers such as Johann Funck (1552), Balthasar Rüssow (1578) and, via Rüssow, Johann Renner (1582), the date became commonly ascribed to the event.[618] Paul Johansen described in detail how the date and legend influenced historians well into the nineteenth century.[619] Johansen identified two medieval origins that associated the 'Aufsegelung' with a specific year: the *Croniken* was first to mention the year 1158, whereas a local tradition in Bremen, expressed for instance by the so-called *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik*, adhered to the year 1159, associated (erroneously) with the foundation of the order in Livonia.[620]

The similarity in dates, 1158 and 1159, from two apparently independent traditions, does raise the question whether both could stem from a common source. The existence of a common source is further suggested by the reference in the text of the *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik*, a Bremen city chronicle. The text specifically points at "[Teutonic] Order's chronicles,

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[615] L. Arbusow (jr.) (†) and A. Bauer eds., *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 30 (2nd edn; Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1955) 2.

[616] Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik*, vv.127–200.

[617] Note for instance Hirsch, who argued that the year may have derived from the foundation of the city of Lübeck: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 40–41; Arbusow brings into question how the *Croniken* may have become familiar with events in Lübeck, but in the end he could not propose other satisfying explanations for the mentioned year. Arbusow (jr.), 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung', 240–241 (note 1).

[618] J. Funck, *Chronologia hoc est omnium temporum et annorum ab initio mundi, usque ad hunc praesentem a nato Christo annum MDLII computatio: Item commentariorum libri decem.* 2 (Königsberg: Lufft 1552) 149 (col. K); B. Rüssow, 'Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt... (3rd ed., Barth 1584)', in: C.E. Napiersky ed., *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum* 2 (Riga/Leipzig: Frantzen 1853) 1–194, there 11; R. Hausmann and K. Höhlbaum eds., *Johann Renner's Livländische Historien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1876) 16; The widespread belief in historical scholarship that the thirteenth-century *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* contained a note at its end stating that in 1226 it would have been 67 years since merchants from Bremen landed in Livonia (dating the arrival to 1159, or perhaps 1158) cannot be traced back to a medieval origin. As it turned out, this note was added to a manuscript in the sixteenth century. This manuscript stood at the basis of the first edition of the *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* in 1740. This reference is thus created more or less contemporary to Funck, Rüssow, and Renner. P. Johansen, 'Die Legende von der Aufsegelung Livlands durch Bremer Kaufleute', in: O. Brunner and D. Gerhard eds., *Europa und Übersee. Festschrift für Egmont Zechlin* (Hamburg: Hans Bredow-Institut 1961) 42–68, there 44; Arbusow (jr.), 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung', 241–242.

[619] Johansen, 'Legende'.

[620] Ibid., 52–56; This tradition, in which the city of Bremen claimed a prominent role for itself in the Christianization of Livonia, was often linked or even conflated with the tradition that the citizens of Bremen helped establish the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land, expressed by Bremen's privileged role in the statutes of the order. This theme also surfaced in the city in 1426, around the time the text seems to have been added to the Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik, when Cisse of Rutenberg, master of Livonia, writes to the city council of Bremen to let them remember "that your city and honourable forefathers were first initiators and co-founders of our entire Order." ("dat juwe stadt und erbarn vorfarn irste stichtere und medebegripere unses gantzen ordins sint gewesen"). H.S. Brünjes, *Die Deutschordenskomturei in Bremen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ordens in Livland*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 53 (Marburg: Elwert 1997) 210.

which mention the year of God and other things of interest."[621] Remarkably, this explicit reference to chronicles of the Teutonic Order which apparently state the year in question has not previously been noticed.[622] Unfortunately it is not possible at the moment to determine the source for the date of the Livonian 'Aufsegelung'.

The reference in the *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik* to the Teutonic Order's chronicles means that there will have existed texts related to the Teutonic Order that contained the year 1159 for the founding of the Order in Livonia, at least in the north-west of the Holy Roman Empire. Although the exact identity of these texts will remain speculation, one such text may have been a predecessor of the *Kleine Meisterchronik*, the title applied to the range of short, mainly sixteenth-century texts which principally presented continuous lists of the masters of Livonia. As a consequence, such texts had a strong chronological focus. For sections E and F the *Croniken* may have used such a list of biographies. Antje Thumser has argued that the *Kleine Meisterchronik* in its present form was composed during the reign of Wolter of Plettenberg (1494-1535), which is after the creation of the *Croniken*.[623] However, she stated: "It is rather conceivable that already early on a catalogue of masters was made in the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, which was continuously updated and contained, apart from names and years in office, also some additional information".[624] Significantly, the commandery of the Teutonic Order in Bremen did not belong to any of the bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire, but was subordinate, just as the commandery in Lübeck, to the master of Livonia.[625] If anywhere in the Holy Roman Empire prior to the sixteenth century there existed historiographical material that originated in Livonia, it must have been here.[626]

Nonetheless, there are numerous, seemingly irreconcilable differences between the *Croniken* and the *Kleine Meisterchronik* in their present forms. For example, all versions of the *Kleine Meisterchronik* date the appointment of the first master Wenno in 1235, whereas the *Croniken* uses the correct date of 1204.[627] Furthermore, the added patronymics and loconymics in the *Croniken* (E) do not occur in any of the extant versions of the *Kleine Meisterchronik*, except the name of

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[621] "In deme jare des heren 1159 do wart begrepen de orde to Lifflande [...] unde konde men komen by des ordens croniken, dar staat de jare Godes enkede inne unde andere erlike stucke, de nutte weren utheschreven": H. Meinert ed., *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte. Bremen*. Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert 37 (Bremen: Schünemann 1968) 54; The *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik* has been thought to be the product of several authors, but there is controversy. This specific chapter was, supposedly, added by either Johann Hemeling (mayor of Bremen; died 27 March 1428) or his scribe, probably after the death of Gerd Rinesberch (1406) and Herbord Schene (1413 or 1414). This assumption, however, is highly controversial. Ibid., 54 (note 39); Some caution is needed, since Hemeling's share in the project is not completely certain: Brünjes, *Deutschordenskomturei in Bremen*, 213 (note 217); H. Schwarzwälder, 'Die Chronik von Rinesberch und Schene. Verfasser, Bearbeiter, Überlieferung', *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 52 (1972) 21–37, there 31–36.

[622] Johansen, 'Legende', 54–55; Brünjes does recognize the references to the chronicles, but does little to speculate what sources this might be, nor does he recall the specific nature of the reference towards the date of 1159. Brünjes, *Deutschordenskomturei in Bremen*, 215.

[623] Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 214.

[624] "Durchaus vorstellbar ist, dass schon frühzeitig im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens eine Meisterreihe angelegt und fortlaufend ergänzt worden war, die neben Namen und Amtszeiten einige wenige weitere Informationen enthielt": Ibid., 210.

[625] E.g.: Brünjes, *Deutschordenskomturei in Bremen*, 191ff.

[626] Though none of the manuscripts of the *Kleine Meisterchronik* have been found in Bremen or Lübeck for instance, some should indeed be located outside Livonia, particularly at Mergentheim. However, these were probably not written earlier than in the mid-sixteenth century. Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 206–207.

[627] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.290–291.

Ernst of Ratzeburg (1274–9) in text $S_2$.[628] That is also the only name which is referred to in modern historiography, in reference to the Bremen and Lübeck family with that name, albeit with caution.[629] All other family names in the *Croniken* cannot be confirmed from other sources, and may have been inventions.

However, as Table 3.32 shows, there are also some notable similarities between the *Croniken* and the *Kleine Meisterchronik*. In general, the years in office of the masters of Livonia correspond perfectly with those in the *Livländische Reimchronik*, rounding up or down incomplete years. On the basis of these years in office, and one single specific year mentioned in the *Livländische Reimchronik* (1278), the author of the *Croniken* calculated all the beginning and end years of the successive masters.[630] For the early masters however, the *Kleine Meisterchronik*, especially the version presented in the oldest version $B_1$, present dates that are even more analogous to those of the *Croniken* than to those in the *Livländische Reimchronik*. The author of the version of the *Kleine Meisterchronik* that was at the basis of the now extant texts could have been drawing on the *Croniken*, so the significance of this resemblance is unclear. There is, however, no evidence that information from the *Croniken* – such as, for example, the last names of the masters of Livonia – made its way into the *Kleine Meisterchronik*. Table 3.32 does also show that the *Chronicon Livoniae* by Hermann of Wartberge, written in the late fourteenth century, did not provide any of the data for the masters of Livonia in the *Croniken*, nor have I been able to find any evidence elsewhere in the *Croniken* that the chronicle by Wartberge was used.[631]

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[628] 'Fortgezetzte Mittheilung alter livländischen Ordens-Chroniken', in: F.G. von Bunge and C.J.A. Paucker eds., *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv- Esth- und Curlands*. 6 (Reval: Kluge 1851) 288–304, there 293; Text S1 that accompanies the *Croniken* in manuscript St for instance reports only the name "Ernest", in accordance to the *Livländische Reimchronik*: Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 262r.
[629] Fenske and Militzer eds., *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig*, nr. 695.
[630] Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik*, vv. 8499–8501.
[631] For Hermann of Wartberge see recently: A. Selart, 'Die livländische Chronik des Hermann von Wartberge', in: M. Thumser ed., *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 18 (Berlin: Lit 2011) 59–85.

| Masters of Livonia | Appearance in *Croniken*<br>Minor spelling variations not included | *Croniken* | *Livl. Reimc.* | *Kleine Meisterchronik* | | *Wartberge* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | $B_1$[632] | $S_2$[633] | |
| **Wenno** | Vinne | **18** | 18 | 18 | 18 | |
| **Volkwin of Naumburg** | Volquijn | **15** | 19 | 15 | 15 | |
| **Hermann Balk** | Harman Valck | **6** | 5.5 | 6 | 5.5 | [10] |
| **Heinrich of Heimburg** | Henric van Heymborch | **2** | 1.5 | 2 | 1.5 | [-10] |
| **Dietrich of Grüningen** | Dirck van Gronynghen (Gruwegen) | **3** | 2.5 | 3 | 2.5 | [6] |
| **Andreas of Velven (Felben; Stierland)** | Andries van Stuerlant | **6** | 6 | 6 | 6 | [4]/[5] |
| **Eberhard of Sayn** | Everhaert *des graven brueder* van Seyn | **2** | >1.5 | | 2 | |
| **Anno of Sangerhausen** | Annas van Sangerhusen | **5** | >3 | 3 | 3 | [2] |
| **Burkhart of Hornhusen** | Borchaert van Hoernhusen | **3** | 3.5 | 4 | 1.5 | [4] |
| **Werner** | Weernaer *van Brithusen* | **2** | 2 | 2 | 2 | [2] |
| **Konrad of Mandern** | Coenraet van Manderen | **3** | 3 | 3 | 3 | [4] |
| **Otto of Lutterberg (Lauterberg)** | Otto *van Rodensteyn* | **4** | 3.5 | 3 | 3 | [3] |
| **Walther of Nordeck** | Wolter van Noordeken | **3** | 2.5 | 4 | 3.5 | [4] |
| **Ernst of Ratzeburg** | Eerst *van Rasberch* | **6** | 6 | 3 | 3 | [6] |
| **Konrad of Feuchtwangen** | Coenraet van Vuchtenwanghe | **2.5** | 2.5 | 3 | 3 | [5] |
| **Wilhelm (Wilkin) of Endorpe (Niendorf)** | Willikijn *van Schierborch* | | 5.5 | 6 | 6 | [6] |
| **Konrad (Kuno) of Hattstein (Hatzigenstein)** | Coen van Hertegensteyn | | 2 | | 6 | [2] |
| **Halt (Haold)** | Holt *van Hombach* | | | 5 | 5 | [5] |

*Table 3.32 Appearance of the names of the masters of Livonia in the* Croniken *and their years in office in the* Croniken, Livländische Reimchronik, Kleine Meisterchronik *and the* Chronicon Livoniae *by Hermann of Wartberge (that only mentions the first year in office). Added parts to the masters' names as presented in the* Livländische Reimchronik *have been underlined.*

The story of the false papal legate (D) is included between several chapters that were derived from the *Livländische Reimchronik*. At this stage in the *Livländische Reimchronik*, the text mentions a genuine papal legate in another context.[634] This may have triggered the author of the *Croniken* to include a different story, which he had encountered elsewhere. The *Croniken* describes how a false legate, on the instigation of the devil and accompanied by a bag full of false papal bulls, came to Livonia to preach that the Christians should not "take from, rob, or slay" the heathens. When the Sword-Brothers discovered that the legate was actually sent by the Swedes and Danes, who were in charge of the city of Reval (Estonian: Tallinn), the legate was expelled from Livonia. As a consequence, the pope supposedly gave the Sword-Brothers access to the city of Reval and the privilege to own the land and property conquered from the heathens as free hereditary lords in perpetuity.

[632] The oldest available manuscript, written in the chancellery of the archbishopric of Riga around the years 1535-1544: Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 205; 'Meistere', in: F.G. von Bunge ed., *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv- Esth- und Curlands*. 5 (Dorpat: Kluge 1847) 180–186.

[633] 'Fortgezetzte Mittheilung'; It was written in Upper German and originally was part of the archives in Mergentheim, seat of the German master. Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 206–207.

[634] This papal legate can be identified as William of Modena, an important figure in the early history of Christian presence in Prussia and Livonia. Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik*, v.1870.

The story resurfaces in various forms in the works of sixteenth-century Livonian historiographers, almost all of them directly or indirectly drawing on the *Croniken*. Balthasar Rüssow (1578) and via him also Johann Renner (1582) knew of the story, whereas Moritz Brandis (1598/1600) included a much more detailed account.[635] The historicity of these accounts is questionable, as Hirsch and others already pointed out.[636] Nonetheless, some elements do seem to have been loosely based on actual events in the 1230s.[637] Hirsch and Johansen suggested that the story might have originated as a propaganda piece for the order in the years 1343–6, when the fight between the Danish king and the Teutonic Order for control over Estonia and Reval blazed up.[638] As we cannot compare the accounts of the story in the *Croniken* and in the works by Rüssow, Renner and Brandis with underlying medieval textual evidence, we should be very careful in drawing conclusions.[639]

The case of the narrative describing the events in Livonia during the Great Famine of 1315–7 that struck most of Europe (source G) is very different. By a recent stroke of luck, Mathieu Olivier found two verse passages in a sixteenth-century codex in Berlin.[640] The codex primarily contains various historiographical notes regarding Prussia, and Gdańsk in particular. Judging from the content and later marginalia, the codex was written between 1520 and 1548. This matches the rough date range provided by analysis of the watermarks (between circa 1530 and 1550).[641] The first fragment appears to be an epilogue of a rhymed chronicle of the Teutonic Order, influenced – as Arno Mentzel-Reuters has suggested – by the work of Nikolaus of Jeroschin. The second piece is slightly longer and contains a self-contained account of the famine, with a beginning and an end. It corresponds with the version of the account of the famine in the *Croniken* perfectly. The first

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[635] Rüssow, 'Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt...', 14; Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 36–38; Hausmann and Höhlbaum eds., *Livländische Historien*, 32; C.J.A. Paucker ed., *Moritz Brandis, Ehstländischen Ritterschafts-Secretairen. Chronik oder ältesten Livländische Geschichte, und Collectanea, oder die Ritter-Recht des Fürstenthums Ehsten*. Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae 3 (Riga/Leipzig: Frantzen 1842) 114–118.

[636] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 30; Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 36–38; R. Hausmann, *Das ringen der Deutschen und Dänen um den Besitz Estlands bis 1227* (Leipzig: Von Duncker & Humblot 1870) 96–107, passim.

[637] Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 37; Hirsch for instance suspected that the figure of the false papal legate was based on both two legates active in Livonia in the 1230s, William of Modena and Baldwin of Alna: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 30; Regarding these two papal legates: Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, 187–188.

[638] Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 37; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 30.

[639] The suggestion for instance made by Hirsch and Johansen that Rüssow and the *Croniken* have used a common source, instead of Rüssow drawing from the *Croniken*, as was normally the case, is not entirely convincing. Especially the argument made by Hirsch that the story of the false papal legate in Rüssow was part of a much larger text, loosely based on the chronicle by Henry of Livonia, seems artificial. From such a text, Hirsch argued, the *Croniken* would have taken only the small sample regarding the false papal legate. This seems highly unlikely given the methods employed by our author. In my view, there is no particular reason to deny that Rüssow copied his version directly from the *Croniken*. Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 37–38; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 28–29; Rüssow, 'Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt...', 113–115; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.301–302.

[640] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haubtabteilung, XX., Ordensfoliant, 295; M. Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik" des Bartholomaeus Hoeneke?', in: B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014) 289–310; First announced in: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1357–1379.

[641] Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 290–291; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1357–1359.

fragment may have been part of Jeroschin's poem about St Adalbert of Prague, of which only fragments remain.[642] Olivier, however, tentatively proposes that both fragments were part of the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*.[643]

Long before the fragment was discovered, Paul Johansen had suggested that the story of the famine in Livonia was a separate story which circulated in Livonia. In 1546, citizens of Pernau in Livonia (Estonian: Pärnu) knew of the story of the famine from "old chronicles" and referred to them when discussing grain exports:

> *And so we find in old chronicles and books, that in the year 1315 all the grain was spoiled and there was a famine, which is too gruesome to read and write about. The dead corpses from the graves and from the gallows were eaten, and so were honest wives and children, as we can read of such horror in the old Livonian chronicles.*[644]

Other sixteenth-century writers were also familiar with the story, most notably Johann Renner and Balthasar Rüssow. The latter based his account primarily on the *Croniken*, but – as Johansen pointed out – also had access to at least one other version of the narrative.[645] Johansen also drew attention to an inserted leaf in a printed copy of Johann Renner's rhymed chronicle of Bremen (1583) at the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen.[646] The ownership of the copy can be traced back to Bremen citizens, and its context is almost identical to Renner's account in his *Livländische Historien*. In fact, only three minor textual differences indicate that the Copenhagen version was not just a handwritten copy of Renner's text, but also contained readings more closely associated with the rhymed text now preserved in the Berlin fragment.[647] Even so, the

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[642] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1359; Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke', 17 (note 19); E. Strehlke, 'Nicolaus von Jeroschin, Leben des heiligen Adalbert. Fragment', in: Th. Hirsch, E. Strehlke and M. Töppen eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft* II (Leipzig 1863) 423–428.

[643] Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 302.

[644] "nachdeme wy in olden cronicken und bocken, dath...m315 (1315), inne deme jare isth alle dath koren vorforet und isth eyn dwringe geworden, de grusam tho lesen isth und tho schriven, dath de doden corper uth dem [!] graven, och van dem gerichte, gegeten synth worden, erhliche wyffer er kinder gegeten, so wy in der olden Lifflendischen croniken lesen grusamlich": Arbusow (jr.), 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung', 320 (note 1).

[645] Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 31; In turn, Renner had access to both a more original version of the story, as will become clear below, and the chronicle written by Balthasar Rüssow. Note how the word "duertyt" (time of scarcity) in the *Croniken* (c.541) reappears in both Rüssow ("düre tydt") and Renner ("duirer tidt"). It is absent from the rhymed Berlin fragment. Rüssow, 'Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt...', 23; Hausmann and Höhlbaum eds., *Livländische Historien*, 75; also edited separately under the guise of the "*Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*": K. Höhlbaum ed., *Die jüngere Livländische Reimchronik des Bartholomäus Hoeneke, 1315-1348* (Leipzig: Von Duncker & Humblot 1872) 1; Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 304; Berlin, GStA, HA, XX., OF, 295, f. 6v.

[646] The signature that Johansen referred to is in fact derived from the classification codes of the *Kongelige Bibliotek* in Copenhagen. I have not been able to examine the copy and compare it to the edited text provided by Johansen. Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 29; J. Renner, *Chronicon der löflichen olden Stadt Bremen in Sassen ... dem Jar talle nach in dudeschen verss veruatet* (Bremen: Gloystein 1583).

[647] Note in the Copenhagen version the words "hemlyck" (Fragment II, v. 34: "alleß verholen"; Renner: absent), "stauen" (Fragment II, v. 56: "stoben"; Renner: "dorntzen") and "eskede" (Fragment II, v. 80: "eysschede"; Renner: "forderde"). Johansen suggested that the Copenhagen version and Renner's *Livländische Historien* were written independently from each other, the Copenhagen version being more close to the original text. He relied on entirely different arguments though. Olivier, however, has been quite critical regarding Johansen's suggestions here and makes a convincing argument. Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 29–30; Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 295–296, 304–310.

similarities with the version by Renner remain overwhelming. Perhaps the inserted text was based on earlier notes made by Renner in preparation for his texts. This, however, is challenged by the fact that the Copenhagen version omits numerous details that Renner did include in his final manuscript of the *Livländische Historien*.

| *Croniken*, c.541 | OF 295, Fragment II, vv. 30–34[648] | Copenhagen version[649] | Renner, *Livl. Historien*[650] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ende dat volck sterff soe veel van honger, dat se bij den weghe op ter straten ende in den husen doot bleven leggen, alsoe veel dat men grote kulen maecten **daer men die doden in werp**. | Ouch lag vil manich mensche todt<br>Grosse kulen man do grub<br>**Da man dy todten in hub**<br>Manicher wurdt dar auß **gestolen**<br>**Und** wurd **gegessen** alleß verholen | Vele lude storven van hunger, de men in grote kulen grof. Deren worden etlyke hemlyck **gestalen vnde gegeten.** | Vele minschen storven van hunger, de men in grote kulen grof, dar van worden etliche **gestalen und gegeten**. |

*Table 3.33 Comparison of various texts concerning the famine in Livonia in 1315.*

Table 3.33 shows that the *Croniken*, *Renner* and the Copenhagen version are each – independently of each other – related to the rhymed fragment found in Berlin. Besides Johann Renner and the anonymous Bremen citizen who wrote the Copenhagen version, there are numerous further mentions of the 1315 famine in Livonia in texts from these two cities, Bremen and Lübeck, which housed commanderies accountable to the master of Livonia.[651] However, a much older account of famine in Livonia also influenced these narratives: the thirteenth-century *Annales Stadenses*, written in the Hanse town of Stade near Hamburg, describes *sub anno* 1233 how a famine in Livonia was so dire that the corpses of thieves were taken from the gallows to be eaten.[652] The version of the account of the famine of 1315 in the aforementioned *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik* builds on this narrative of the *Annales Stadenses*.[653] The detail of the corpses of thieves being eaten is also present in the various narrations of the famine in 1315 – including that from the rhymed fragment from Berlin.[654] It is a modest indication that narratives in Livonia and the Hanse towns of North Germany were exchanged from an early point in time.

The famine was not confined to Livonia: all across Northern Europe food became scarce in this period, and the author of the *Croniken* would not have found it difficult to find additional sources related to the famine elsewhere. Indeed, the

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[648] Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 305; Berlin, GStA, HA, XX., OF, 295, f. 6v.
[649] Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 29.
[650] Hausmann and Höhlbaum eds., *Livländische Historien*, 75; Höhlbaum ed., *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*, 1.
[651] E.g. the *Annales Lubicenses* and the chronicle by Detmar of Lübeck: 'Annales Lubicenses', in: J.M. Lappenberg ed., G.H. Pertz, *Annales aevi Suevici*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 16 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1859) 411–429, there 424; Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte. Lübeck* 1. Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert 19 (Leipzig: Hirzel 1884) 156, 424; The *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik* does describe the famine in 1315/16, but not in combination to Livonia: Meinert ed., *Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte. Bremen*, 117.
[652] 'Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto', in: J.M. Lappenberg ed., G.H. Pertz, *Annales aevi Suevici*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 16 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1859) 271–379, there 361.
[653] Meinert ed., *Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte. Bremen*, 87; The assertion posed by Johansen that the *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik* describes the famine in Livonia "in 1315", has already been rejected by Mathieu Olivier: Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 31; Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 295.
[654] Fragment II, vv. 27-29: "Vyl manich dyeb gehangen wart / Dy armen quamen auff dy vart / Und azen sy durch hungers nôt". Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 305.

Middle Dutch translation of *Beke* – and perhaps also its Latin original or one of the chronicles that were derived from it, such as the aforementioned chronicles of Holland by Leydis and Pauli – were used by the author of the *Croniken* (Table 3.34).[655]

| *Croniken* | *Beke* (Middle Dutch), c. LXXVI | *Beke* (Latin), c. 81c |
|---|---|---|
| [c.541] Ende dit duerden tot in dat derde jair, **mer die meeste duertijt ende laste was in 't jair dusent driehondert ende vijftien**. | **Mer die meeste plaghe des honghers was in den jaer ons Heren M CCC XV. Ende int jaer daerna ontfermde onsen Here des menschen** jamerhede ende gaf milde gaven van sijnre goedertierenhede ende gaf so grote vrucht over al eertrijc… | Post biennium vero divina misericordia compaciens humane miserie largitatem munificencie sue clementer ostendit, et incrementa frugum ubique terrarum in tantum adauxit… |
| [c.543] **Ende in 't jair dusent driehondert ende sestien ontfermden God der menschen** ende dat koorn sloech seer off ende allencken meer ende meer. Ende dair quam een goeden tijt nae. | | |

*Table 3.34 Additional information concerning the famine selected from* Beke.

All in all, the suggestion by Paul Johansen, that there must have existed a textual or oral tradition in the northern German cities that associated a famine with Livonia, appears justified.[656] Somehow the author of the *Croniken* tapped into this tradition, perhaps directly via the cities of Bremen and/or Lübeck. It may also be possible that the source for the year of the Livonian 'Aufsegelung' belonged to the same set of narratives. After all, we have found a reference to certain Teutonic Order's chronicles containing the year this supposedly happened in Bremen.

Together with the story of the the reign of Master of Livonia Eberhard of Monheim (H) we now have a couple of short stories which were included in the *Croniken* but of which the origins are not clear. Traditionally, these stories have been associated with a completely different chronicle, the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*. This chronicle is thought only to be available through the adaptation in prose by Johann Renner. Renner, whom we have met before, was a notary in Bremen who lived from around 1525 to 1583. He composed two versions of a text that has been called the *Livländische Historien*. A first version concerned only contemporary events and was written in 1561/2 during Renner's stay in Livonia. His second version was written in 1582, a year prior to his death, and now included sources that concerned the medieval history of Livonia.[657] Renner described how he explored the "antiquities and old histories" in Livonia, but he "found nothing else than one chronicle, described in rhyme by a priest Bartholomäus Hoeneke until and including Master Goswin of

[655] The chronicle of the *Clerc uten Laghen Landen* is particularly close to the Middle Dutch *Beke*, but is clearly further removed from the text in the *Croniken*: De Geer van Jutphaas ed., *Kronijk van Holland*, 163–164; See also (in Latin) the *Chronicon Tielense*: Van Leeuwen ed., *Auctoris incerti Chronicon Tielense*, 302, 304–305; Kuys et al. eds., *De Tielse kroniek*, 101 (c. 439, c. 441); *Leydis I*: London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 121r–121v; *Leydis II*: Sweertius ed., *Rerum Belgicarum* I, 249–250 (Lib. XXVII, c. XI); *Pauli I*: Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650, 461–462; I was not able to locate the story in *Pauli II* where one would expect it in the chronology, but perhaps it is included elsewhere: Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 125r–125v.

[656] This point can be made even though not all of Johansen's arguments are completely sound, as Mathieu Olivier already showed. Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 31; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1364.

[657] Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke', 14–15.

Hereke [1345–59], which I have taken up, leaving the rhyme out, and converting it in historical fashion [i.e. prose].”[658] A few years later, in 1598, fellow historiographer Moritz Brandis compiled a list of sources for a short history of his patrons, the lords of Üxküll (Latvian: Ikšķile). Among those sources was “an old handwritten rhymed chronicle by brother Hennicken of Osnabrück, who was chaplain of three masters [of Livonia]”.[659] Traditionally this reference has been linked to Bartholomaeus Hoeneke, although a switch appears to have been made between the last name and the given name.[660]

Prompted by these two statements, Konstantin Höhlbaum in the late nineteenth century attempted a reconstruction of this verse chronicle; the first part of which seems to have consisted of the text of the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik*.[661] With this aim, he also published a separate edition of the parts of Renner’s text for which Höhlbaum could not find any other sources, and which were on this ground identified by Höhlbaum as having originated from this verse chronicle by Hoeneke.[662] Most recently, however, Arno Mentzel-Reuters exposed the dubious foundations of Höhlbaum’s reconstruction.[663] I have to agree with the criticism he formulated concerning Höhlbaum’s work and have found no evidence that the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* (in the form of Höhlbaum’s reconstruction) was used by the author of the *Croniken*.[664] Nor is there any need or compelling reason to assume that the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* in some other form was at his disposal.[665]

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[658] “Hebbe averst nichts anders up spoeren noch erlangen konnen dann alleine eine chroniken, so dorch einen prester Bartholomaeus Hoeneken genant vor langen jaren beth up den meister Goswin van Hericke inclusive rimeswise beschreven, welche ick under handen genamen, de rime bliven laten und historischer wise aver gesettet.”: Hausmann and Höhlbaum eds., *Livländische Historien*, 3.

[659] “Ein alt geschrieben Reimssweiss Chronica Bruder H[en]nicken vonn Ossenbrucken, der dreijer herrn Meijster Cappellan gewesen”. “Hennicken” appears to be the most likely reading, but the form of the first “e” and the abbreviated “n” on top do not fully correspond to other comparable letters. The text is included at the end of a manuscript copy of the *Croniken*, in the possession of Moritz Brandis at the time (manuscript **St**). Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 270r–272v, 270r (list of sources), 272v (date); The short family history of Üxküll was edited as the “Bericht des Mauritius Brandis über die HErkunft dere von Uexküll” by Gottlieb Olaf Hansen in 1900: G.O. Hansen, *Geschichte des Geschlechtes derer von Uexküll* (Reval: Kluge & Ströhm 1900) 225–230.

[660] See also Mentzel-Reuters, ‘Bartholomaeus Hoeneke’, 26–28.

[661] Höhlbaum, *Joh. Renner’s livländische Historien*; Regarding the use of the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* by Renner: Hausmann and Höhlbaum eds., *Livländische Historien*, viii–ix; and Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 22.

[662] Höhlbaum ed., *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*.

[663] “The research done by Höhlbaum has proven not to be durable. Both the biography as the reconstruction of the work of Hoeneke are based on precarious, partially even false premises” (“Die Forschungen von Höhlbaum haben sich als nicht belastbar erwiesen. Sowohl die Biographie wie die Rekonstruktion des Werkes von Hoeneke sind auf nicht gesicherten, teilweise sogar falschen Voraussetzungen aufgebaut”): Mentzel-Reuters, ‘Bartholomaeus Hoeneke’, 52–53, passim; Others, such as Michael Neecke, have been raising questions with regard to the work of Höhlbaum too: Feistner, Neecke and Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*, 228–231; One of the factors that complicates all attempts to reconstruct the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* using Renner’s prose chronicle is that despite Renner’s claims in his prologue, he did not use only one source for the early history of Livonia. For one, he omitted his use of the chronicle by Balthasar Rüssow, which was in turn heavily indebted to the *Croniken*. Ibid., 220 (note 68); Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 13–21.

[664] It is for instance peculiar that important parts of Höhlbaum’s reconstructed text, such as the lives of the masters of Livonia Burkhard of Dreileben (1340–45) and Goswin of Hereke (1345–59) or the description of the so-called St George’s Night Uprising in Estonia (1343–46), cannot be found in the *Croniken*. The last described event in the reconstructed text is dated 9 March 1348: Höhlbaum ed., *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*, 37.

[665] Both Mathieu Olivier and Arno Mentzel-Reuters have recently discovered rhymed fragments of texts (one of which is the aforementioned story on the famine in Livonia) and have thrown up the possibility that these fragments may be part of the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*. Apart from that story on the Livonian famine, there is no link between these fragments and the *Croniken*.

How then should we interpret the short narratives on the history of Livonia that are included in the *Croniken*? A few things should be noted and for this we shall also have to return to the sixteenth-century chronicles by Rüssow, Renner, and Brandis. First, many of these shorter stories appear to form entities of their own. Almost all have a clearly defined beginning and end. The story of the famine, which recently resurfaced in a sixteenth century manuscript from Gdańsk, is perhaps the best example of this. Secondly, and continuing on from that observation, the combination of the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik*, the story of the false papal legate, the story of the famine in 1315, the description of the years in office of Eberhard of Monheim, and perhaps other episodes,[666] do show a remarkably entangled dissemination. Constantly, the stories pop up together – sometimes in different combinations – in late fifteenth and especially sixteenth century chronicles.[667] The author of the *Croniken*, Balthasar Rüssow, Johann Renner and Moritz Brandis all four had access to a corpus of texts that contained both the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* and at least a large selection of these other short stories. Whether there is any link between this corpus and the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* is unclear and must be left open to speculation. The fact at least that some of the stories seem to have circulated separately may suggest that this corpus did not have a fixed appearance.

Taking it all together, we must conclude that the author of the *Croniken* did use a wide selection of sources concerning Livonia. This is in remarkable contrast to chroniclers who worked in the Baltic region themselves, such as the author of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*.[668] Only in the sixteenth century, almost a hundred years later, others – such as Rüssow, Renner, and Brandis – started to use the same sets of sources. Most of these sources point either at Livonia or at Bremen and other nearby Hanse cities. However, the fact that the *Croniken* mentions how Eberhard of Monheim retired to the St Catherine commandery in Cologne, not mentioned in earlier historiographical sources,[669] could be a testimony of links between Livonia and the Rhineland and Low Countries as well.[670]

## Archival material and non-written sources

In addition to the narrative sources, the author of the *Croniken* also had various charters, letters and documents at his disposal. These could shed more light on the archives he had access to, which appears to have extended beyond the local

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Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?', 292, 302; Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke', 49–52, 54–58.

[666] Take for instance the so-called *Legend of St Thomas' Evening*: Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 32–36.

[667] It is possible that at some point in time these stories were brought together, perhaps in a convolute manuscript or in one or several libraries. Compare: Feistner, Neecke and Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*, 231.

[668] Concerning the use of the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* and *Hermann of Wartberge* in the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* see: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 328–381.

[669] Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge', 68 (note 3). The chronicles of *Renner* and *Rüssow* do mention Eberhard of Monheim's retreat to Cologne, but this may have been drawn (directly or indirectly) from the *Croniken*.

[670] Eberhard's of Monheim place of origin was Monheim am Rhein, located just 20km north of Cologne. In 1346 he was commander in Pitzenburg (Mechelen). Just as the St. Catharine commandery in Cologne, Pitzenburg was part of the Koblenz bailiwick. In 1360 an Eberhard of Monheim is mentioned in Mohrungen, Prussia. Fenske and Militzer eds., *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig*, 451–452; See also: H. Limburg, *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens und die Ballei Koblenz. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der "Ballei" bis 1525*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 8 (Bad Godesberg: Wissenschaftliches Archiv 1969) 56 (note 130).

Teutonic Order's archives in Utrecht. Admittedly, the division between historiographical and archival texts can be artificial.[671] The *Croniken* itself has numerous privileges and indulgences dispersed throughout its text, and it is illustrative that the *Croniken* manuscripts were kept together with charters and documents, rather than with other books in the Order's libraries (Appendix, A.5, **[Ut$_2$]**). It can therefore be difficult to determine whether individual archival sources were used directly, or indirectly through other – unknown – historiographical works. Nevertheless, there is a substantial part of the *Croniken* that appears so closely reliant on archival evidence such as charters, letters and various (collections of) documents, that it requires treatment separate from the narrative sources above. Especially for the more recent events in Prussia treated by the *Croniken*, there are strong arguments in favour of a direct reliance on archival sources. One such example is provided by the oath of allegiance of the Prussian estates on 26 April 1450, as included in the narrative of the *Croniken* (Table 3.35).

| ***Croniken*, c.658–9** | **Oath of allegiance**<br>**Recesses of the Prussian estates, 26 April 1450 (nr. 68)**[672] |
|---|---|
| Ende dit is die manier van der huldinge ende den eet als hier nae bescreven staet: | Noch besprechen lanth und stete verrameth haben eyne awszsatzunge der holdigunge in dissem lawthe: |
| "Wij hulden u heer, heren Lodewych van Eerlinchusen, hoichmeyster Duytschen Oirdens, als onssen rechten heren. Ende wij sweren u rechte manscap ghelove ende trouwe ende waerheit sonder alle arghelist dat ons got soe help ende alle sijn heylighen. | "Wir hulden euch hern hern Ludwich van Erlichshwszen, homeister Dwtschens ordens, also unsen rechten hern, und sweren euch rechte manschafft und gelouben euch truwe und worheit ane alle argelist, das uns got so helffe und die heiligen. |
| Voirt soe geloven wy byden selven ede, wanneer een hoichmeyster sterft, soe wie dan die oirde voir enen oversten holden bynnen lands, aen dien ons dan the holden ende hem gehoirsaem the sijn tot dat en nywe heer den hoichmeyster gecoren is." | Vorbas geloube wir bey demselbigen eyde, wen eyn homeister dirstirbit, wen der orden vor eynen obersten heldt bynnen landes, an den sich zcu halden, und deme gehorsam zcu seyn bis zcu der holdigunge eynes nuwen hern homeisters." |

*Table 3.35 Oath of allegiance of the Prussian estates to Grand Master Ludwig of Erlichshausen (26 April 1450).*

Since the *Croniken* was written in the Utrecht bailiwick, it would appear that the local archives of the Teutonic Order in the bailiwick are the most logical first port of call in an inquiry after the documentary sources of the *Croniken*. The bailiwick archives in Utrecht are probably the best preserved bailiwick archive of the order today. Even though of the centuries, much of its original content has been lost in the years, including its book collection and the larger part of its collection of medieval letters, the archive in its current state does still give a good idea of what materials were available in the medieval period. Records on the bailiwick's property will inevitably be overrepresented in the surviving collection – members of the bailiwick will always have had more incentive to conserve such pieces than others – but then again these will already have made up a substantial part of the medieval archive.

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[671] A strict dinstinction between monastic history and various non-narrative genres such as chartularies, necrologies and statutes can be difficult: B. Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', in: D. Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2003) 277–315, there 279–280; Vanderputten, 'Social Re-interpretation', 152.

[672] M. Töppen ed., *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* 3 (1447-1453) (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot 1882) 153 (nr. 68); See also: Töppen, 'Geschichten von wegen eines Bundes', 81–86 (note 1), specifically 82–83.

Indeed, the Utrecht bailiwick archive appears to have been used by the author of the *Croniken*. Remarkably however, its use seems to be limited to two specific sections of the chronicle, the bailiwick chronicle and the privileges, while for others, the net needs to be cast wider. Medieval documents concerning the Teutonic Order on a supraregional or European level, such as the oath of allegiance cited above, are hardly present in the current bailiwick archive.[673] The question is whether or not this would have been different in the Middle Ages. Perhaps for such pieces we must also focus on the archives in Prussia and Livonia, or on particularly relevant archives in the Holy Roman Empire, most notably the archive of the German master in Horneck. In the following sections, I will discuss the use of documentary sources in more detail, both in Utrecht and beyond.

*Privileges and indulgences*

Almost a third of the entire *Croniken* consists of (summaries of) privileges and indulgences; this significant share makes it appropriate to see the *Croniken* within the genre of cartulary chronicles, a genre which combines transcripts of charters with historiographical notices.[674] The privileges included in the *Croniken* were issued by popes and emperors, and are accompanied by a handful of indulgences. The consistency in the visual appearance and content of the group of papal privileges (e.g., length; use of summaries; cadels; initials; places; dates and witness lists), but also of the imperial privileges, suggests that these were extracted from two collections or cartularies rather than from numerous separate privileges. For the imperial privileges, this can be confirmed to indeed be the case: their source is a notarial transcription from 1428 containing both Latin and High German charters issued by numerous emperors.[675] A copy of this cartulary is still present in the Utrecht bailiwick archive.[676] The cartulary is included almost in its entirety, and the order of the privileges or their content were hardly changed; in the previous chapter I have shown that these privileges were directly translated and incorporated from the original into the *Croniken*.[677]

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[673] One of the more notable exceptions is a transcript of the Second Treaty of Toruń (1466): Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 155; The transcript was produced simultaneously or shortly afterwards, watermark evidence suggests a date around 1466-1472: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nrs. 114637–114640 (o.O., 1466–1472), closest but not identical is nr. 114638 (1469); Not surprisingly, the text of the transcript is closer to the charter of the grand master than to that of the king of Poland (e.g.: "Brathean, Novoforo" (text H and f. 2r) instead of "Bratian, Neuermarkt alias Novoforo"). E. Weise ed., *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert* 2 (1438-1467) (Marburg: Elwert 1955) 268 (nr. 403).

[674] Vanderputten, 'Social Re-interpretation', 152; E.M.C. van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*. Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 74 (Turnhout: Brepols 1995) 16; P.J. Geary, 'Entre gestion et gesta', in: O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle and M. Parisse eds., *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991)*. Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 39 (Paris: École des chartes 1993) 13–26; D. Iogna-Prat, 'La confection des cartulaires et l'historiographie à Cluny (XIe-XIIe siècles)', in: O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle and M. Parisse eds., *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991)*. Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 39 (Paris: École des chartes 1993) 27–44; B.-M. Tock, 'Les textes non diplomatiques dans les cartulaires de la province de Reims', in: O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle and M. Parisse eds., *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991)*. Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 39 (Paris: École des chartes 1993) 45–58.

[675] Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 194.

[676] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 121; The seperate privileges of the cartulary are inserted according to their date between documents nr. 2 and nr. 191: De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I.

[677] Chapter 2.4.

At first sight it seems, given the appearance of the papal privileges in the *Croniken*, that they, too, were drawn from a single collection. However, no known collections fully correspond. One specific notarial transcription of 87 collected papal privileges formed the basis for many of the texts presented in the *Croniken*. A copy of this cartulary, issued in Basel on request of the German Master Eberhard of Saunsheim on 9 September 1434, is still present in the Utrecht bailiwick archive.[678] 52 out of 81 papal privileges included in the *Croniken* can be traced back to this cartulary, ranging – just as the papal privileges in the *Croniken* do – from Honorius III to Eugene IV.[679] However, in contrast to the aforementioned imperial privileges, the papal privileges have been dramatically abbreviated. With only a few exceptions, these privileges are not presented verbatim, date and location are more regularly omitted, and when dates do appear, they are often incorrect or made up. Perhaps this indicates that the source for the *Croniken* was already an adaptation of the original notarial transcript, which contains the correct dates. There is no obvious reason why a significant number (37) of privileges in the 1434 cartulary have not been included, nor why many others (29) were collected from other sources. A particular peculiarity is that some privileges are divided over numerous chapters in the *Croniken*. Thus, for example sections excerpted from the Latin bull *Etsi neque qui plantat* issued by Honorius III on 15 December 1220 are dispersed over seventeen chapters in the *Croniken* (c.165–75, c.177, c.179 and c.188–91; see also Appendix, Table A.7); they are presented as if they were separate privileges.[680]

When this approach of the papal privileges is compared to the imperial, the contrast is striking. What could have triggered the difference in the way the two corpora of privileges were approached? One possibility, already put forward, is that the papal privileges in the cartulary of 1434 were not included directly, but indirectly – through an existing adaptation and translation for instance. This adaptation could have been copied word for word by the author of the *Croniken*, using the same approach as with the imperial privileges in the cartulary of 1428. Then again, the existence of such an adaptation in itself does not necessarily explain the spreading out of a single privilege over several chapter.

Especially interesting in this context are the similarities between the papal privileges in the *Croniken* and precisely such a Middle Dutch cartulary in the Utrecht bailiwick archive.[681] Watermark evidence suggests a date for this collection of

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[678] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 118; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nrs. 5–192; Strictly speaking, it could also be possible that the Basel cartulary of 1434 and the *Croniken* share a common source. For the Basel cartulary: Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 196; U. Arnold and M. Tumler eds., *Die Urkunden des Deutschordens-Zentralarchivs in Wien. Regesten*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 60/I-III (Marburg: Elwert 2006-2009) nr. 3334 <http://www.mom-ca.uni-koeln.de/mom/AT-DOZA/Urkunden/fond>; The collection was later officially confirmed by the Council of Basel in 1439: Ibid., nr. 3430.

[679] Disregarding the short references to Pope Celestine III (c.118 and c.120), Pope Innocent III (c.237), Pope Eugene IV (c.651), the Council of Basel (c.652) and Emperor Frederick III (c.653) all interwoven in the more historiographical parts of the chronicle.

[680] A notarial transcription of the Basel cartulary written in 1445 for the Liège commandery (Alden Biesen bailiwick) already inserted pointers in certain long privileges to designate where they may be divided. Perhaps such signs were also present in the particular copy that served as source for the *Croniken*. However, these specific divisions in the Liège manuscript (now in Vienna) do not fully correspond to those present in the *Croniken*. Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 163, ff. 11v–59r.

[681] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 120; The Middle Dutch cartulary bears a particularly strong resemblance to a mid-fifteenth century Latin cartulary, now in Philadelphia: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Ms. Codex 105 <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/1580447>.

around 1390, so before the 1434 cartulary was prepared.[682] The similarity in layout between that cartulary and these specific papal privileges in the *Croniken* (Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13) and some identical Middle Dutch phrases suggest that the two texts stem from a similar tradition.[683] In other cases the text in the *Croniken* is evidently closer to the original Latin charters – as presented, for example, in the Basel cartulary of 1434.[684] All things considered, the Middle Dutch cartulary cannot have been the direct source of the *Croniken*: the differences – in content and in sequence – are too substantial. The similarities in usage of both language and layout, however, could point to the use of a similar text, standing in the same tradition as the Middle Dutch cartulary of around 1390, but also drawing heavily on the cartulary of 1434. Such an unknown adaptation and translation may well have included many of the privileges that are found in the *Croniken* but are lacking from the Basel cartulary of 1434.[685]

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[682] E.g. the watermark on ff. 3 and 10 (bull's head, with cross and eyes): Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nr. 67761 (Speyer 1390). Furthermore, a *cursiva antiquior* (with double a) was used; a type of handwriting that became increasingly rare already in the Low Countries at the end of the fourteenth century.

[683] Compare for instance "betamet" (c.199) to "betaemt" (Middle Dutch cartulary) and "decet" (Latin charter). See also "verteren" (c.201; "verteren"; "expendentes") and "vrij moghen, eysschen ende ontfangen" (c.403; "dat ghi moecht, eyschen, ontfaen, ende vrilike houden"; "petere, recipere ac retinere libere valeatis"). *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.199, c.201, c.403; Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balie van Utrecht, inv.nr. 120, ff. 2r–2v, 14v, 42v; Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nrs. 305, 338 and 528.

[684] Compare "bannen off te interdiceren" (c.199; "enighen ban of enighe beslaghinghe"; "excommunicationis vel interdicti"), "personaliter te dienen" (c.201; "te dienen"; "personaliter deservire"), "beneficien" (c.201; "provende"; "beneficiorum") and "uutwendich behoef" (c.201; absent; "usus extraordinarios"). *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.199, c.201; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 120, ff. 2r–2v, 14v; Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nrs. 305 and 338.

[685] Other cartularies available in the Utrecht bailiwick archive can be excluded, since their content does not fit the description: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nrs. 119, 122, 123.

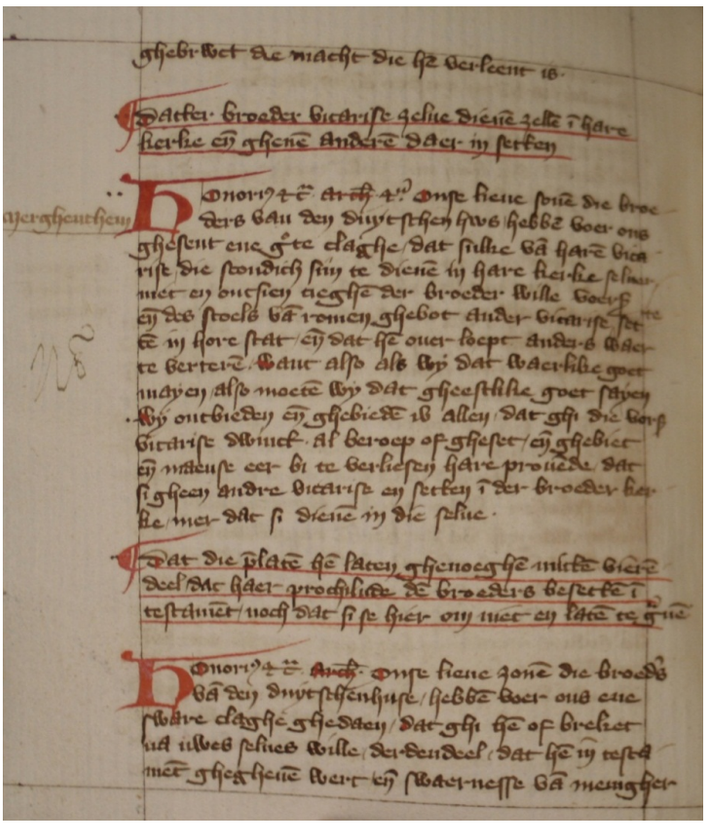

*Figure 3.12 ARDOU, inv.nr. 120, f. 14v (Cartulary of papal privileges translated to Middle Dutch, around 1390).*

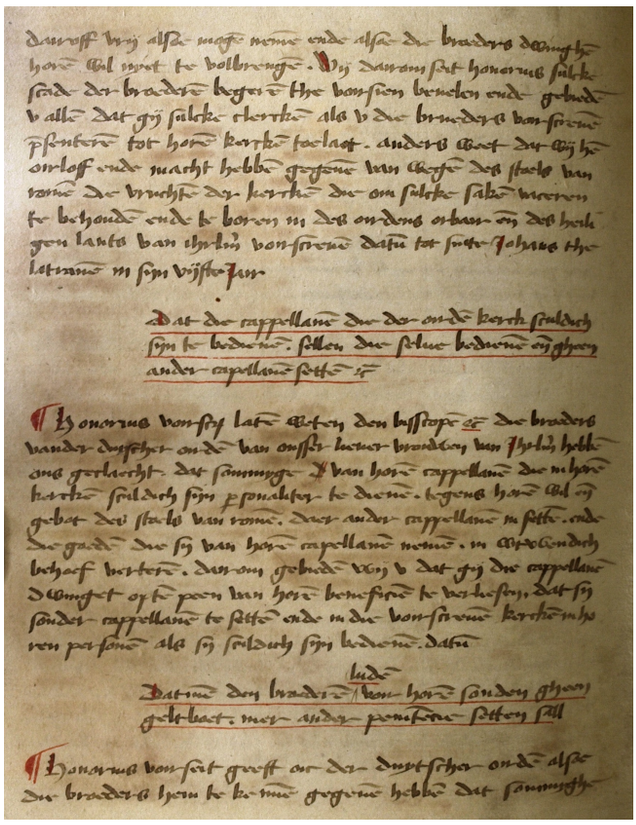

*Figure 3.13 Papal privileges in the Croniken, ms. We₁, f. 38v.*

There are twenty-nine papal privileges not included in the Basel cartulary of 1434, which is still the closest source for the papal privileges in *Croniken*. Twenty-two are in one way or another linked to indulgence traditions in the Teutonic Order: seventeen of these twenty-two privileges are almost solely about indulgences. Axel Ehlers recently identified four textual traditions of Teutonic Order indulgences, as well as a few additional distinct texts.[686] It is not entirely clear which tradition these twenty-nine indulgences in the *Croniken* derive from and whether they belonged to a collection which also included the other papal privileges.[687] On the one hand there is affinity to the Utrecht based indulgence calendar that follows manuscript **Ge** of the *Croniken*.[688] In itself, this calendar, written in Utrecht, is a conflation on what Ehlers called 'Textgruppe III' (fairly common in the Holy Roman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and a separate Utrecht tradition from the fourteenth century.[689] On the other hand, there are similarities with the Prussian 'Textgruppe II': the indulgence supposedly given to the Templars by a certain Pope Lucius – erroneously called Lucius 'IV' in the *Croniken* – can only be

[686] Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, 176–280.
[687] The similarities in layout between the papal privileges and the indulgences could suggest that they did.
[688] Note for instance the unique number of 49 years and 49 carenae: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.181. I would like to thank Dr. Ehlers for his kind help in identifying the affiliation of the Ghent calendar, which was not yet known when he finished his dissertation. The Ghent indulgence calendar is edited and will be made available together with the transcripts of the Middle Dutch *Croniken* manuscripts at a later stage.
[689] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nr. 145; Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, 216–254.

found here.[690] Another 'Prussian' indulgence, granting the Teutonic Order license to provide indulgences to visitors of the cathedral church of the bishopric Warmia, is also included.[691] Although almost all remaining privileges can be identified, it is unclear what source they were taken from and why they have been included.[692] A possible exception is the privilege in which Honorius III is described as adding a passage concerning the priest-brethren to the Teutonic Order's *Statutes* (c.176). This information, paralleled in chapter 82 of the *Croniken*'s prologue, seems to be a blend of Honorius III's *Etsi neque qui plantat* (15 December 1220; see also c.171 in the *Croniken*) and the *Statutes* themselves.[693]

Lastly, there is no evidence to suggest that individual charters from the Utrecht bailiwick have been used for the *Croniken*. Of the surviving privileges present in the Utrecht archive, fifty-two charters predate the *Croniken*.[694] A few of these are also included in the aforementioned cartularies of around 1390, 1428 and 1434; some others are primarily of regional importance. Not a single one of these 'regional' privileges were included in the *Croniken*. This indicates a more universal focus of the text, far beyond the limited scope of a single bailiwick, mirrored by the rapid and widespread dissemination of the *Croniken* outside the Utrecht bailiwick – which dissemination possibly was always envisaged by its author.

*Bailiwick chronicle*

The very limited use of documents from the Utrecht bailiwick archive in the prologue and part of the *Croniken* that describes the lives of the grand masters stands in sharp contrast to the abundance of such sources used in the bailiwick chronicle located at the end. The bailiwick chronicle is primarily based on documentary evidence from the Utrecht bailiwick archive and various personal observations made by the author; only the so-called "ordinance of the Teutonic Order" (c.728–30) that describes the internal – and strictly hierarchical – structure of the order across Europe, has a wider geographical scope. The ordinance, generally well-informed, is a peculiar inclusion. Its main purpose to the end of the *Croniken* is to provide a smooth passage from one theme (the Teutonic Order as a whole) to the other (the Teutonic Order at a regional level). On the whole, the *Statutes* will have been a major source for the ordinance. Some elements of the ordinance (written on one folio, f. 187, directly preceding the bailiwick chronicle) connect to earlier parts of the *Croniken* (especially c.257; c.391; c.535), whereas other information is either supplementary, or even conflicting.[695]

The level of research done by the author of the bailiwick chronicle certainly is as thorough as elsewhere in the *Croniken*. The list of land commanders, for example, in spite of some minor errors, has a reasonable level of accuracy. As far as I

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[690] Note that Ehlers suspects the origin of the indulgence comes from the Hospitallers, not the Templars: Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, 215, 284ff, 408–414.

[691] The indulgence, granted by Pope Boniface IX on 25 February 1399, is presented in accordance to a privilege granted to the Swedish Vadstena Abbey of the Bridgettines, itself following indulgences granted by Pope Pelagius II to visitors of San Pietro ad Vinculo in Rome: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.606–611; Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 697; Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*, 76–78, 155 (note 496), 384.

[692] For more detailed information, see Table A.7.

[693] Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 306; Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 26 (Prologue, c.5).

[694] A cartulary and register of all these privileges is made in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 119.

[695] Note for instance the number of Livonian bishoprics ("six" in c.257; "Riga and four others" in c.730). *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.257; c.730.

have been able to determine, no land commanders are missing (three are known only from the *Croniken*) and only three times their order is mistaken. The likely kind of sources, some of which can be identified, are land charters, necrologies, account books, documents of all sorts, tomb stones in the church of the Utrecht commandery, but also oral traditions. We catch an occasional glimpse of the author's pursuit of material in the archives; thus, regarding the retirement of Land Commander Hendrik van Hoenhorst (c.763), the author refers to his yearly pension, "but I was not able to find out whether he received other orders."[696]

The use of narrative sources cannot be determined with certainty, and in any case is only a possibility for only a select couple of chapters. The chapters 732–4 give a detailed account of the siege of Utrecht by Count William IV of Holland in 1345. As a consequence of this siege the Utrecht commandery just outside the city walls was destroyed. According to the *Croniken*, during the siege Count William lodged at the commandery together with a duke and twelve counts. It is only this small detail, concerning the composition of the count's company (not the location), that can be linked to narrative sources. It resembles information included in a selection of chronicles from the Low Countries (Table 3.36), such as the Middle Dutch *Beke*, which was also used as a source elsewhere in the *Croniken*.[697] The absence in the bailiwick chronicle of the barons and knights mentioned in those chronicles is explicable – one would not have been able to accommodate them all in the Teutonic House – but the number of counts do not add up and none of the chronicles mention that the company stayed in the old commandery during the siege. Still, the similarities are strong enough to assume either a direct relation or a common source.

| Sources | Dukes | Counts | Barons | Knights | Armed men |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Croniken*, c.732** | 1 | 12 | - | - | - |
| **Beke, *Chronicle of Utrecht and Holland* (Dutch)** [698] | 1 | 13 | 52 | 2,800 | 150,000 |
| **Leydis, *Chronicle of Holland* I** [699] | 1 | 13 | 52 | 2,800 | - |
| **Leydis, *Chronicle of Holland* II** [700] | 1 | 13 | 52 | 2,800 | - |
| **Veldener ed., *Fasciculus temporum*** [701] | 1 | 13 | 52 | 2,800 | 150,000 |
| **Pauli, *Chronicle of Holland* I** [702] | 1 | 8 | 52 | 2,800 | 150,000 |
| **Pauli, *Chronicle of Holland* II** [703] | 1 | 8 | 52 | 2,800 | 150,000 |
| **Berchen, *Chronicle of Holland*** [704] | 1 | 8 | 52 | 2,800 | 150,000 |

*Table 3.36 Composition of the expedition force Count William IV of Holland brought to the siege of Utrecht (1345).*[705]

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[696] "Mer off hij ander beveel nae kreech dat en vijnde ick nyet": Ibid., c.763.
[697] See chapter 3.3, "Dutch presence at Acre: *Chronicles of Holland*" (participants Third Crusade) and 3.4, "Sources on the Livonian history" (famine in Livonia).
[698] Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*, c. LXXXI.
[699] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi, f. 130v.
[700] 'Chronicon Hollandiae comitum', 265.
[701] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 265v.
[702] Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650, 541.
[703] Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 139v.
[704] Tilmans, Hollandse kroniek (thesis/edition), c. 57.
[705] The details are absent from the Latin *Beke*: Bruch ed., *Chronographia*, c. 87b; the *Chronicon Tielense*: Kuys et al. eds., *De Tielse kroniek*, c. 512–513; the *Chronicon Hollandiae*: 'Chronicon Hollandiae', 23; and the *Gouda Chronicle*: Scriverius ed., *Goutsche Chronycxken*, 102.

According to the bailiwick section of the *Croniken*, the land commander had to flee into the city during the siege, and following his retreat the citizens hastily burned most of the church, the hall, the refectory and the dormitory. The *Croniken* then continues to describe the relocation of the commandery within the city walls, including several specific details such as the date the first stone was laid, the costs and the name of the auxiliary bishop 'Jacob' who consecrated the new church, to be identified as Jacob Ahrweiler.[706] Much of this information appears not to have been based on historiography, but on documentary evidence or hearsay, occasionally even intricately intertwined: about the construction costs, the author of the bailiwick chronicle points out: "as some have seen the account books thereof".[707]

The damage to the Teutonic House was also mentioned in a few earlier historiographical texts, however. A fifteenth-century world chronicle written near the city of Tiel for instance, the *Chronicon Tielense*, mentions the destruction but gives no details and can therefore not have been the (only) source of the *Croniken* here.[708] Elsewhere in this world chronicle further comments are found concerning the Teutonic Order, many more than one might expect in a typical world chronicle. The adjacent commandery of Tiel, the second-largest commandery of the Utrecht bailiwick, may well have provided access to such details. The *Croniken* may have used a narrative source such as the *Chronicon Tielense* for the year Tiel changed hands from the duke of Brabant to the count of Guelders, namely 1335.[709] In modern literature this changing of hands is usually dated in 1339.[710] However, in March 1335 the city of Tiel must have already been conquered by the count of Guelders.[711] The author of the bailiwick chronicle could have been familiar with local archival sources in Tiel or Guelders that mentioned 1335 instead of 1339, but may as well have had access to a regional text from Guelders like the *Chronicon Tielense*. It seems less likely that documents in the bailiwick archive commented on the transferal of Tiel to the County of Guelders.

Although much of the information presented in the bailiwick chronicle can be linked directly to charters and documents still present in the bailiwick archive today, certainly not all information is correct. Some of the years are mistaken, most

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[706] J. Fruytier, 'Jacobus Ahrweiler', in: P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok and K.H. Kossmann eds., *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 6 (Leiden: Sijthoff 1924) 14–15.

[707] "Daer som die rekenscap off ghesien hebben": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.734.

[708] Kuys et al. eds., *De Tielse kroniek*, c. 513; Van Leeuwen ed., *Auctoris incerti Chronicon Tielense*, 342; Using the *Chronicon Tielense* as a source, Willem van Berchen's *Chronicle of Holland* also mentions the destruction of the Teutonic House in Utrecht, here too without providing further details: Tilmans, Hollandse kroniek (thesis/edition), c. 57.

[709] The *Chronicon Tielense* even describes a day of the year, 21 January 1335. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.757; Kuys et al. eds., *De Tielse kroniek*, c.487; Van Leeuwen ed., *Auctoris incerti Chronicon Tielense*, 326; See also: G. Waitz ed., 'Annales Tielenses'. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores XXIV (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1879) 21–27, there 26.

[710] O. Moorman van Kappen, 'Hoe Tiel in 1339 van Brabants Gelders werd', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre* LXXXI (1990) 35–39.

[711] In March 1335 there is the first indication that Tiel is in the hands of Guelders: I.A. Nijhoff, *Gedenkwaardigheden uit de geschiedenis van Gelderland door onuitgegevene oorkonden opgehelderd en bevestigd* I (Arnhem: Nijhoff 1830) nr. 302; In 1336 this situation is affirmed: F. van Mieris ed., *Groot charterboek der graaven van Holland, van Zeeland en heeren van Vriesland, beginnende met de eerste en oudste brieven van die landstreeken, en eindigende met den doot van onze graavinne, vrouwe Jacoba van Beijere* II (Leiden: Van der Eyk 1754) 582. With thanks to Aart Noordzij for pointing me to these charters.

of the time only just but sometimes by a much wider margin.[712] However, in general, the author built a fairly accurate picture of the Utrecht bailiwick. The primary reason for erroneous information was the desire to be complete: when an exact year in which a commandery was founded was unknown, the author may have made an educated guess. In the descriptions of the land commanders, at least until the second half of the fourteenth century, the author always provides some basic genealogical background. Here too, the author appears to have made the most of a combination of limited prior knowledge, some conjecture and much invention. In the few instances in which we have external sources about the family background of the land commanders, the information in the *Croniken* is generally mistaken.[713]

This is the case, to give one example, with Zeger van der Sluis, supposedly the second (land) commander, from 1266 to 1279 (c.751). He left no trace in surviving archives, but should possibly be identified with the anonymous commander of Utrecht active between 1263 and 1269.[714] According to the *Croniken* he was the son of Arnold van der Sluis, a younger son of the lord of Heusden. This Arnold was a renowned knight, mentioned by for example chronicler Jan van Heelu, who was perhaps himself a brother of the Teutonic Order in the Duchy of Brabant.[715] Arnold featured in Heelu's verse chronicle for the courage he showed at the Battle of Worringen (1288). These verses were later included in the *Spiegel historiael* by Lodewijk van Velthem, a known source of the *Croniken*.[716] His affiliation to the important Heusden family is also elaborated in a chronicle of the family included in the chronicle of Holland by Theodericus Pauli, which might also have been used for the family affiliation of Herbaren van Drongelen (fl. 1313–19; c.756).[717] However, the earliest events in which Arnold van der Sluis is mentioned are in 1274, and he died in 1296.[718] Therefore he could not have been the father of Zeger; moreover, Arnold appears to have left only daughters, six to be precise.[719] The most plausible explanation is that the author of the

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[712] Take for instance the foundation years of the commanderies of Hemert (1270 instead of before 1256), Dieren (1240 instead of 1218), Ootmarsum (1290 instead of 1262), and Nes (1298 instead of before 1243): *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.735, c.737–8, c.747.

[713] All genealogical data in the *Croniken* should be handled with the utmost care, even family connections that have been generally accepted and found their way into scholarly output – for instance the fact that Dirk van Holland was an illegitimate child of German King William of Holland (c.755). Regarding that last example, neither the affiliation with the family of the counts of Holland, nor the illegitimacy needs to be doubted. Several details in the text are however clearly inconsistent or incorrect and the author of the bailiwick chronicle may have also chosen William of Holland as a prominent figure to pose as father of the land commander, rather than some other member of the comital family.

[714] In 1262, his predecessor Antonius Ledersack van Printhagen was for the last time named in a charter (nr. 1570). Then followed a period from 1263 to 1269 in which the commander was never named (nr. 1585 to nr. 1769). In 1270 a new commander, Gijsbert uten Goye was mentioned (nr. 1772). In 1269, Gijsbert was still a knight-brother, mentioned besides an anonymous commander (nr. 1761). F. Ketner ed., *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301* III (Den Haag: SDU 1949) <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/osu/>; F. Ketner ed., *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301* IV (Den Haag: SDU 1954) <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/osu/>.

[715] F. Claes, 'In margine: Jan van Helen', *Spiegel der Letteren* 22 (1980) 39–46.

[716] J.A. Coldeweij, 'Arnold van der Sluis, ridder, zijn afkomst en nageslacht (±1245-1296)', *Bernensia* 13 (1968) 1–24.

[717] *Pauli I*: Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650, 373; *Pauli II*: Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 98v–99r; For Land Commander Herbaren van Drongelen: Ibid., f. 99v; see also S. Corsten, 'Mechtild von Heinsberg, Frau von Heusden', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* XCV (1978) 309–314.

[718] Coldeweij, 'Arnold van der Sluis', 11–15.

[719] Ibid., 16–22.

*Croniken*, in an attempt to provide genealogical data of an unknown thirteenth-century prelate, turned to the only relative he could identify.[720]

The author of the bailiwick chronicle must have done a fair bit of research to include such information, even though it is evidently incorrect. Sometimes a name was used that regularly occurred in the family.[721] Another time the family genealogy dating back three hundred years is correct, but due to a mistake in the chronology of the land commanders, a namesake of the wrong generation is described.[722] The name of the father is never chosen entirely at random, however. A picture emerges of an author who scoured the archives looking for names in necrologies, charters, witness lists, narrative sources – anything to supplement his descriptions of the early land commanders and provide them with a – distinctly noble – context.

From the last quarter of the fourteenth century onwards, slowly but surely progressively more details are included in the text that are not necessarily based on written evidence, but rather reflect the the author's own perception and perspective. Short statements about the land commanders' leadership start to appear, about their religious way of life and about their contribution to the bailiwick. Regarding Gerard Splinter uten Enge (fl. 1382–1404; c.764), the author states: "During his time, several brethren deserted the Teutonic Order due to his rigour regarding their transgressions. That is why prelates should use both sternness and leniency in moderation."[723]

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[720] The coat of arms of Zeger van der Sluis may have been deduced using the impressive tombstone of Arnold van der Sluis which could be witnessed in the abbey of Berne near Heusden. This tombstone, now part of the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, included his coat of arms, which is identical to the one presented in the *Croniken* for Zeger. B.H. Stolte, 'De graftombe van ridder Arnold van der Sluis', *Bernensia* 13 (1968) 317–322.

[721] For example, the *Croniken* claims that Land Commander Hendrik van Alkemade (1370) was the brother of Lord Floris van Alkemade. This may be correct, but there is no evidence to support this. Floris was one of the most common names in the Alkemade family. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.762; A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren 2001) passim.

[722] This example concerns Land Commander Gijsbert uten Goye (d. 1271). The *Croniken* states that he was land commander from 1283 to 1286 and that he was the son of Count Gijsbert I uten Goye. In fact, Gijsbert I – the last generation of the family who used the comital title – was the one who became land commander at the end of his career, more than a decade earlier than mentioned by the *Croniken*. P.G.F. Vermast, 'De Heeren van Goye', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* LXVI (1949) 259–313, 330–410, 409–435, there 334–343; with reference to his membership of the Teutonic Order: Ibid., 337–338; Gijsbert I uten Goye did have a son named Gijsbert (II bis) who was active in the period the *Croniken* dates the land commandership of Gijsbert I uten Goye (1283-1286). The author of the *Croniken* must have been aware of the genealogy of the Uten Goye family. Ibid., 341, 347–354; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.753.

[723] "Oick syn daer heren bij sijnre tijt rebel gelopen uut der oirden om sijnre strengicheit wil, want sij gebrueckt hadden. Dairom sal een prelaet maet houden in strengicheit ende in goedertierenheit": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.764.

No evidence has survived to corroborate the suggestion that brethren left the order during Splinter uten Enge's years. A handful brethren left the bailiwick to join other monastic orders, a majority of which joined the much stricter Carthusians.[724] However, this occurred only in the years before and again some time after Splinter uten Enge.[725] There are, on the other hand, good reasons to accept the suggestions made in the *Croniken* that the observance in the bailiwick was improved under his rule. Between 1396 and 1398 the bailiwick attracted at least one prominent churchman, the dean of the cathedral church in Utrecht, Lubbert Bol, who became a priest-brother.[726] In 1403 the brethren of the Teutonic Order in Tiel began to sing the liturgy of the hours not only during daytime but at night as well.[727] Other events had wider implications. The bailiwick was able to attract new benefactors who helped found a new commandery (Schoonhoven) at a time that the number of commanderies had long been consolidated.[728] Finally, under Gerard Splinter uten Enge's rule the bailiwick provided the breeding ground for the hugely popular eschatological text *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis*, written by Gerard van Vliederhoven during his active service for the bailiwick.[729] A century later, the collective memory of these improvements to the observance in the bailiwick was strong enough to produce accurate enough details for the *Croniken*.

*Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence*

Hitherto, all documents that were available in Utrecht have been reviewed. Judging from the suggestion that for some of the indulgences, a text from a Prussian tradition was used, it is necessary to widen our scope. If we comb through all the previous results, there are however many more minor indications that the author of the *Croniken* may have had access to archival material of the Teutonic Order outside the Utrecht bailiwick. One such document not likely to circulate in the Utrecht bailiwick is perhaps the German version of the *Statutes*: the chapters that describe the murder of Grand Master Werner of Orseln (1324–30; c.548–9) seem to have been partly based on such a German version of the *Statutes*, rather than the Middle Dutch text that was used elsewhere in the *Croniken*.[730] The author of the *Croniken*, however, must also have had access to another source for this episode and the German *Statutes* may well have been used indirectly. Similar caution also needs to be taken with the following examples.

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[724] The charterhouse Monnikhuizen near Arnhem was a particularly popular destination. Two brethren may have made the move the other way around. Between 1368 and 1385 the parish priest of Doesburg was called Koenraad van Monnikhuizen; perhaps he had been a brother of the charterhouse earlier in his career: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nrs. 1562*, 1886, 1887, 1897; Dirk van den Dijk (fl. 1439-1453) left the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen for the Teutonic Order, causing a long protracted conflict before the papal courts: Ibid., inv.nrs. 184, 310, 1827 (1462/63) f. 2v, 1932, 2612 (1444/45) f. 4r.

[725] E.g.: Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 132 (note 127); M. Koopstra, *"Weest ritter ende guet man ende hout ridderlijcke oerde." Portretten van broeders uit de balije Utrecht van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 2 (Amsterdam: Spruijt 2002) 55.

[726] M.G. Wildeman, 'Grafschriften in de voormalige kapel van het Duitsche Huis te Utrecht', *Wapenheraut* 7 (1903) 428–429.

[727] Kuys et al. eds., *De Tielse kroniek*, c.693.

[728] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nrs. 678–679.

[729] Except the Latin original, the text was translated into Middle Dutch and various German languages, as well as English, French, Spanish and Catalan. Between 1471 and 1500 alone, at least 73 editions were printed: M. Dusch, *De veer utersten. Das Cordiale de quatuor novissimis von Gerhard von Vliederhoven in mittelniederdeutscher Überlieferung*. Niederdeutsche Studien 20 (Cologne/Vienna: Böhlau 1975) 2*.

[730] See above note 466 and note 606.

In chapter 269 several sources were combined to compile the list of witnesses who signed the Treaty of Kruschwitz (1230) that settled the transfer of the lands of Culm to the Teutonic Order.[731] One of these sources may well have been the treaty itself, given the inclusion of the correct month in which the treaty was signed – although the day is still in error (Table 3.22). Just a few chapters earlier, the *Croniken* deviates from other Teutonic Order's chronicles with regard to the role of the emperor in another – related – treaty, that of Rimini. In *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin* Duke Conrad of Masovia plays the lead role, while the emperor merely advises him. In the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* the emperor is absent all together. In the *Croniken* however, the emperor grants – independently of the duke – privileges himself. By according him this role, the author follows in the trichotomy of the three bulls – by pope, duke, and emperor – confirming the Teutonic Order's possessions in Prussia: the Golden Bull of Rimini (issued by Emperor Frederick II in 1226; newly dated 1235), the Treaty of Kruschwitz (issued by Duke Conrad of Masovia in 1230) and the Golden Bull of Rieti (confirmation by Pope Gregory IX in 1234). Perhaps the author was influenced by (abridged) transcripts of these documents. As pointed out earlier, this may also have been the case with the text of the Treaty of Stensby in 1238.[732] Further examples include a couple of short references to privileges issued by Pope Eugene IV, the Council of Basel and Emperor Frederick III (c.651–3), more or less integrated in the narrative and chronology of the *Croniken* and not part of the privilege collections described above.[733] Yet, there is no indication that any of these documents were available in the Utrecht bailiwick.

Whereas there still are question marks surrounding the origins of the information of the the examples, this is much less the case for the chapters of the *Croniken* that deal with the most recent events in Prussia. There are many indicators that these chapters were written on the basis of archival material from Prussia. The oath of allegiance mentioned earlier (Table 3.35) is one of the typical examples. Sometimes documents as such were incorporated verbatim, but just as often they were used more informal. I identified at least three areas that could not have derived from the historiographical texts used elsewhere in the *Croniken*. One particular source provided some noteworthy details for the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410 between the Teutonic Order and the Polish king (c.624–5, c.628) such as the – probably exaggerated – troop sizes (83,000 against 150,000), the division of the army in three parts under three banners, those of Our Lady, of the grand master and the marshal, and of the order.[734] The *Croniken* then continues to outline the costs of mercenaries in the months after the battle (from 15 July, which was the day of the battle, to 1 November), mounting up to 14,000 Hungarian guilders and according to the *Croniken* strongly diminshed the order's treasure (c.628).[735] It is possible, judging from this level of

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[731] In general: Jasiński, *Kruschwitz, Rimini und die Grundlagen*.
[732] See above page 1 (note 614).
[733] Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 720 (9 June 1442); Arnold and Tumler eds., *Urkunden*, nr. 3444 (8 August 1444), nr. 3474 (18 July 1442), nr. 3948 (26 September 1467; transsumpt of nr. 3474).
[734] The aforementioned *Chronicon Tielense* (ca. 1450-1455) also included details of the Battle of Tannenberg, but apart from the date ("Divisionis Apostolorum", 15 July) these do not correspond: Kuys et al. eds., *De Tielse kroniek*, c.720.
[735] Hungarian guilders were regularly used as a currency in Prussia at that time, e.g.: E. Weise ed., *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert* 1 (1398-1437) (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer 1939) nrs. 79, 87–88; S. Ekdahl ed., *Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/1411. Die Abrechnungen für die Soldtruppen* 1. Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 23 (Köln/Wien: Böhlau 1988) 18; Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haubtabteilung, XX., Ordensfoliant,

specificity, that the author of the *Croniken* had been come into contact with some of the grand master's account books of that period. Perhaps the – rejected – plea for money in 1411 of the grand master to the German master and several land commanders, including Johan van de Zande from Utrecht, was accompanied by specifications of prior expenditures.[736]

The two other parts of the *Croniken* for which archival documents were relied on heavily concern events in Prussia, conspicuously placed at the beginning of Grand Master Konrad of Erlichshausen's rule (1441–9) and the years between 1450 and 1454. The surrounding years, including the entire Thirteen Years' War between the Prussian estates and the king of Poland against the Teutonic Order (1454–66) are hardly discussed. Only succinct remarks, mostly drawn from the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, serve to fill these gaps. This stands in sharp contrast to the elaborate attention given to certain other events. The "perpetual peace" ("ewigen vrede") for instance, signed at Brest (Polish: Brześć Kujawski) on 31 December 1435 between the king of Poland and Grand Master Paul of Rusdorf (1422–41), is mentioned in various ways in no less than seven chapters of the *Croniken*.[737] The peace treaty is described in its appropriate context in at least one affirmed source of the *Croniken*, the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*.[738] However, the *Croniken*, erroneously dating the treaty to 25 June 1441, claims the treaty was signed by Rusdorf's successor, Konrad of Erlichshausen – it does correctly identify the location as Brest ("Bruesekem").[739] A few days later – the *Croniken* specifies 4 July 1441 –, King Władysław III of Poland was invited to Toruń to confirm his side of the agreement, an occasion brightened by festive celebrations and "great friendship". Three Prussian bishops in their pontifical vestments accompanied the king as he swore his oath on the Holy Sacrament.[740] When Władysław's brother Casimir IV ascended the throne, according to the *Croniken* in 1446, he reconfirmed the treaty, on 31 July of that year, again in Toruń.[741]

None of these locations and dates appear to be correct and the details mentioned in the *Croniken* about the oaths cannot be verified. The author of the *Croniken* could have genuinely been mistaken about the dates. In broad outline, the recurrent confirmation of the peace treaty over the years corresponds to what actually happened. According to the articles agreed upon in the Peace of Brest it was necessary for new oaths to be taken whenever a new grand master or king of Poland took up office, and also by all parties every ten years after the first signing of the treaty in 1435.[742] Both in 1442, within a year after Konrad of Erlichshausen became grand master, and in 1447–8, following the aforementioned ascent to

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258; Nothing was found in Sven Ekdahl's publication on the Soldbuch that corresponded to these figures. Ekdahl ed., *Soldbuch 1410/1411* 1; S. Ekdahl ed., *Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/1411. Indices mit personengeschichtlichen Kommentaren* 2. Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 23 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 2010).

[736] E. Joachim (†) and W. Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525* 1.1: 1198-1454 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1948) nr. 1573 (10 November 1411).

[737] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.642–644, c.646, c.649–650, c.654.

[738] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 416v.

[739] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.649.

[740] Ibid., c.650.

[741] Ibid., c.654.

[742] Weise ed., *Staatsverträge* 1 (1398-1437), nr. 181 (art. 42).

the throne of Casimir IV but also the expiration of the ten-year deadline, the reconfirmation of the Peace of Brest became subject of new negotiations between the king and the grand master.[743]

There are indications that the author of the *Croniken* had access to the original treaty text. The content of the treaty is generally correct. So are the signing parties, both of the Polish side as well as that of the Order. Finally, several times the text refers to the numerous "articles and paragraphs" of the treaty – the treaty contains forty-four articles to be exact. As I mentioned however, the chronology, the localization, and details concerning the ceremony were found to have no ground, which is particularly striking in contrast to the otherwise faithful rendition of the treaty; why would these mistakes have entered the *Croniken*'s account if the author indeed had access to transcripts of the treaty documents?

There is a plausible explanation why the chronology was altered in the *Croniken*, and why it mentions this "perpetual peace" seven times in short succession. In between the chapters describing the Peace of Brest a few other subjects are treated. One is the conflict, lamented by the author, between brethren of different geographical backgrounds in Prussia, over the allocation of posts: the so-called 'Zungenstreit' (dispute of tongues).[744] The others concern the foundation of the Prussian Confederation, which actually came about already in 1440, and how it gained support from the Polish king, something which did not take place before 1454.[745] The support of the Polish king – supposedly in return for annual funds and "kept in absolute secrecy for many years" – is mentioned between two reports of the oath taken by the king of Poland to adhere to the "perpetual peace" of Brest, and the festive spirit and amicability by which it was surrounded.

The author of the *Croniken* craftily played with his sources for these passages; the two-facedness of the king, the machinations behind the back of the order could not have been presented in a more enticing fashion.[746] By the arrangement, the oath on the Holy Sacrament is not a symbol of devoutness – it acquires a totally different connotation: one of contempt by the Polish king for the Christian faith. The Teutonic Order is repeatedly shown to be the only institution in the Baltic region that can truly safeguard the Christian faith, even if the times of heathen Prussian tribes are long gone. By the arrangement, this is presented as more than just the opinion within the Teutonic Order: by including, just in between these chapters, new confirmations of the Teutonic Order's privileges issued by the pope, the council of Basel, and the

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[743] 1442: Weise ed., *Staatsverträge* 2 (1438-1467), nrs. 202–203; June 1447 to February 1448: Ibid., nrs 254–257; Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.1: 1198-1454, nrs. 9424–9425, 9458, 9473–9474; Töppen ed., *Acten der Ständetage Preussens* 3 (1447-1453), nr. 17.

[744] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.645 (see also c.639); The theme is also addressed from the citizens' perspective of Danzig, although there is no evidence to suggest direct relations between the texts: Hirsch, 'Danziger Ordenschronik', 379–383; Töppen, 'Danziger Chronik vom Bunde', 413–415; Rather, the *Croniken* may have been using archival material. Compare for instance: Töppen, 'Ältere Hochmeisterchronik', 641 (note 1), 702 (note 4); In general, with regard to the consequences of the so-called "Zungenstreit" for the Utrecht bailiwick: Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?', 185–189.

[745] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.647–648; Weise ed., *Staatsverträge* 2 (1438-1467), nrs. 188, 292.

[746] The same juxtaposition is repeated later: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.685–694, especially c.686–688.

Roman king and later emperor, thus symbolizing the entire Christian world, the order's task obtains universal recognition.[747]

In order to create the juxtaposition between the repetitive oaths in the friendliest of settings on the one hand, and the secret talks between the Polish king and the Prussian Federation on the other, the author had to make some significant changes to the chronology of the events. The incorrect dates and locations are therefore intended only to provide a semblance of authenticity. Remember that our author probably had access to the correct treaty text, and therefore knew what the correct dates were. Perhaps even the details of the ceremony, which are sometimes convincingly real, were added only to create this aura of authenticity. It may have destroyed the author's reputation as a reliable historian in the nineteenth century,[748] but in fact the level of manipulation is rather intricate and sophisticated.

All in all, the final part of the *Croniken* is designed with great care. The author is able to strike a fine balance between a fairly accurate and factual account of historical events and a political pamphlet, constantly combining actual documentary evidence with more polemical pieces that appear to represent the voice of the author himself and remind of earlier outbursts of the author in the prologue against aberrant historical views.[749] Nonetheless, his version of events is deeply tainted by the order's perspective on its recent history in Prussia. Which also raises the question why the *Croniken* appears to have been popular among citizenry across the Baltic Sea, even though their ancestors were subject to fierce attacks in the chronicle.

With irony but also frustration in his voice the author of the *Croniken* states:

> *And some of these troublemakers as well as their parents were employed by the order from when they were little, later becoming rich merchants and members of the city councils. But the Teutonic Order brought them together from all over Germany and settled them there and built and founded all the cities and castles. And now they wish to 'thank' the order for all the virtues, honour and prosperity that the order brought to the lands of Prussia, with such payments as one will hear hereafter.*[750]

This sharp tongue returns on several occasions. Overall, however, it is used only sparingly, at some carefully planned positions in the text, to maximize its effect. The citizens of the Prussian merchant cities, but also citizens in general, presented in contrast to men of noble origin, receive most negative attention:

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[747] For the privileges, see note 733.
[748] E.g.: Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 87.
[749] See note 405.
[750] "Ende die hieroff opsetters waren, dese waren sommighe sij ende hoir olders bij der oirden dienst ende hulp van cleyn op ghecomen ende waren grote rijcke cooplude geworden ende syn voirt raetsheren van den steden geworden. Want die oirde heeft see uut allen Duytschen landen daer vergadert ende yerst ghebracht ende geplant ende alle die steden ende sloten yerst gebouwet ende ghetymmert ende begrepen. Ende willen nu der oirden dancken der duechden eer ende welvaren dat den lande van Pruyssen van der oirden ghesciet is mit sulken paymente als men horen mach.": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.648.

*The four principal cities Gdańsk, Toruń, Königsberg and Elbląg, as they realized that they could not acquire what they wanted, not from the pope, nor from the emperor, took advice how they could achieve that they would govern the lands themselves without any lord: much alike many other merchant cities that once belonged to dukes and counts, who grasped control from their rightful landlords with betrayal and shrewd iniquities. And so these cities remain unguarded by any lord that controls them and they are governed by simple farmers that from nothing reached significant wealth as merchants. These cities and lands reject noble men and lords, even when they are able to govern so well. And this is what happens due to lavishness and wealth. Thus the cities of Prussia too, for their wealth and riches that they obtained under the guidance of the Teutonic Order, desired to make this their goal.*[751]

*This is especially improper and inappropriate, since one should note that the Teutonic Order cleansed the entire land or Prussia of malicious heathens with help of God and devoutly spilling their blood, aided by monarchs, lords and good men, and bringing with them the Holy Christian faith.*[752]

Later on, the author of the *Croniken* starts to show more bitterness regarding the stance of the citizens:

*These honourable servants* [who made it possible for the citizens to secretly enter the order's castles] *had the order's bread in their stomachs and the order's clothes on their skin. Who may have been the mothers with whom Judas nurtured these children? And as for their fathers, that speaks for itself.*[753]

*As this was done, they took the money, silverware, riches, armours, horses and all that was available at the castles and forgot the oaths they took since they were all servants of the order, sworn to be utterly and eternally loyal. But they forgot the order's bread in their stomachs and the order's clothes on their skin and betrayed their rightful landlords.*[754]

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[751] "Ende die vier hoeftsteden als Dansijc, Thoren, Conyncsberch ende Elvingen, als sij sagen dat sij noch voir paeus, noch voir keyser nyet verwerven en konden nae horen sin soe sochten sij raet hoe sij't daer toe brengen mochten dat sij die landen selver mochten regieren ende onbeheert mochten sitten van enigen heren, ghelijck veel steden van comanscap tot anderen plaetsen sijn die hertogen ende greven toebehoirt hebben, ende hebben die mit verraet ende mit behender scalcheit voirtijts horen rechten lantsheren uut den handen gebrocht. Ende sitten alsoe onbeheert van enighen heer die dair macht over heeft ende werden alsoe geregiert sommighe van cleynen simpelen huisluden die van cleyn mit comanscap tot rijckdom gecomen sijn. Ende dese regieren steden ende landen ende en moghen gheen geboirtighe luden off heren liden, al regierden sij noch soe wael. Ende dit doet welicheit ende rijckdom. Aldus soe sijn die steden van Pruyssen, om hoir weelde ende rijcdom die sij onder den Duytscher Oirden gekregen hebben, oick van sulken synnen gheworden hoir meyninge daer toe the brengen.": Ibid., c.685; Also compare: Ibid., c.661, c.675.

[752] "Want dat onbehoirlick ende ongeboirlick was the gescien anghesien ende ghemerckt dat die Duytsche Oirde dat geheel lant van Pruyssen mit goids hulpe ende mit vromicheit hoir bloet the storten ende mit hulp van vorsten, heren ende goede lude den snoden heidenen offgewonnen ende ten heilighen kersten gelove gebrocht hebben.": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.675.

[753] "Ende dese eerbaer dienres hadden des oirdens broot in den buyc ende des oirdens cleder aen den hals. Wie mach die moeder wesen daer Judas dese kijnder bij tuelden? Die vaders wisen hem selven wael.": Ibid., c.693.

[754] "Ende als dit gesciet was soe namen sij gelt, sulverwerck, cleynoden, harnasch, peerden ende alle datter opten sloten was ende vergaten horen eedt, want alle des oirdens dienres waren der oirden gesworen op dat men hem altijt volcomelick betruwende was.

But whereas one might expect inappropriate behaviour from former farmers spoiled by newly acquired riches, this should not be the case for a king who "wishes to be Christian." And so the *Croniken* returns to the king of Poland and his inability to function as a true Christian and a good king:

> *The king of Poland came in the land of Prussia with a large force, contrary to all faith, contrary to the oath that he swore, contrary to the letters which he sealed and contrary to the Holy Sacrament that he received to uphold the perpetual peace with the Teutonic Order. For without doubt it is bad kingship, since every king is obligated on account of his majesty to uphold his oath and his seal and letters. And he is obligated to keep even the smallest word that he gives to people. Even the sultan and the Turks, what they commit themselves to or what promises they give, they keep it firmly. And so it should certainly be possible for kings who wish to be Christian also to keep their word.*[755]

Eventually, this will pave the way for a future role of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. Even though all former heathen enemies were long gone in the fifteenth century, the order can still claim responsibility as true guardians of the faith in the region. A Polish king certainly does not appear to be the right man for the job, the author of the *Croniken* makes clear.

As I have pointed out above, the polemical pieces are balanced by historical accounts of the events in Prussia. For this purpose, the author brought together a wide variety of sources: numerous letters, treaty texts and documents of all sorts. While many of the sources were not identified, perhaps a closer examination of the documents available in the former Königsberg state archives (now kept in the Geheime Staatsarchiv in Berlin) can uncover more sources. In numerous other cases it will only be possible to give a guarded indication of what the source may have been.

A few days after Grand Master Louis of Erlichshausen took up office in 1450, the Prussian cities were intended to pay homage (c.656). Since the citizens did not wish to pay homage without renegotiating the conditions, the ceremony was postponed. Following this delay, the *Croniken* describes how the grand master sent letters to the masters of Germany and Livonia ("Joist van Vennynghen" and "Henrick (sic) Vincken van Overborch") in which he asked them to seek their subordinates' advice in the matter (c.657). The *Croniken* even includes their answers:

> *The master of Germany wanted to reverse it [the Confederation] before the courts of the pope and emperor. The master of Livonia advised that the homage should be paid in friendship and that some of*

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Mer sy vergaten des oirdens broot dat sij noch hadden in hoir buycken ende des oirdens cleder die sij aen horen hals hadden ende verrieden horen rechten lantsheren.": Ibid., c.700.

[755] "Die Coninck van Polen quam in't lant the Pruyssen mit groter macht van volck, boven alle gelove, boven sijnen eedt die hij gesworen had, boven sijne brieven die hij besegelt hadde ende boven dat weerdighe heilige sacrament dat hij dair op ontfangen hadde den ewigen vrede mitten Oirden the holden. Mer sonder twivel t'is quaet conincks werck want elck coninck van sijn maiestaets wegen is sculdich the holden sijnen eedt ende sijn seghel ende brieven. Ende dairtoe is hij sculdich te houden dat mynste woirt dat hij enighen mensche toesecht. Want die soldaen ende den Torke, wat sij yemant toesegghen off beloven dat holden sij vast. Alsoe waert ummer mogelic dat coninghen die kersten wesen wilden oick alsoe hielden.": Ibid., c.703.

> *the matters that they desired should be allowed. By teaching them well, one should be able to change their minds again afterwards. Otherwise, he foresaw that the order would receive much trouble.*[756]

The described events took place in March 1450. The original plan was that the homage would take place on March 31, but under pressure from the estates this soon had to be postponed to 20 April.[757] Both Jost of Venningen and Heidenreich Vincke of Overberg had been present at Marienburg at the time and perhaps gave their advice then and there.[758] However, the *Croniken* specifically talks about letters that were sent to both masters, seeking advice from their councils. One of these letters may well have been the letter sent by the grand master seeking advice from the master of Livonia soon after the grand master and the estates reconvened in April.[759] It included a copy of the tract put forward by the Prussian estates. Another letter of the grand master to the master of Livonia, dated 20 May 1450, is similar but also addresses both the desire of the master of Germany to pursue the estates at court, and the more compromise-oriented approach of the master of Livonia.[760] No doubt, the content of this particular letter, or at the very least one of very similar nature, reached the author of the *Croniken*.

A significant part of the *Croniken* deals with the court case between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian Federation at the imperial court in Vienna (1452–3). The so-called 'Anlaßbrief' (c.670),[761] the repeated delays,[762] a somewhat tainted description of the three principal arguments of the Confederation and the responses of the Order,[763] some formal language and remnants of a German source,[764] all point at the use of court proceedings and perhaps some propaganda associated with the trial.

For the Battle of Konitz (Polish: Chojnice; 18 September 1454), won by the Teutonic Order, the *Croniken* also is able to provide numerous details (c.705–11). One of them is incorrect; the land commander of Franconia, Ulrich of Lentersheim, did not participate in the battle. But Lentersheim did arrive in Konitz a few months later with an expedition force from

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[756] "Die meyster van Duytslant die wolde dat mit recht voir paeus ende voir keyser helpen keren. Ende die meyster van Lieflant ryet dat men die huldinge mit vruntscappen name ende sommighe van den punten die sij begheerden toe liet, men soldet nae mit goeden onderwijs wael weder off brengen, anders saghe hij den Oirden daer veel lasten off the comen.": Ibid., c.657.
[757] Töppen ed., *Acten der Ständetage Preussens* 3 (1447-1453), nrs. 64–66.
[758] Ibid., nr. 66 (1 April 1450); At least the master of Livonia does not stay for long. A week later he is in Königsberg, on his way back to Livonia: Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.1: 1198-1454, nr. 10191 (7 April 1450).
[759] P. Schwartz ed., *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch* XI (1450-1459). Erste Abteilung (Riga/Moskau: Deubner 1905) nr. 32 (23 April 1450).
[760] Ibid., nr. 39 (20 May 1450).
[761] Weise ed., *Staatsverträge* 2 (1438-1467), nr. 278 (21 December 1452).
[762] Compare the content of the final court ruling, that also includes earlier documents and narrative reports of the proceedings: Ibid., nr. 284 (5 December 1453); M. Töppen ed., *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* 4 (1453-1457) (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot 1884) nr. 86.
[763] The first two of which are in line with the first two points of the founding statement of the Confederation: Weise ed., *Staatsverträge* 2 (1438-1467), nr. 188 (14 March 1440).
[764] E.g.: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.672–673, c.682–683.

Germany and subdued some of the surrounding towns, which may have caused his inclusion.[765] The report of the battle itself is especially detailed when it comes to the spoils of war. Furthermore, the date (4 October 1454; c.710) does not correspond with the actual battle. A few sources may have provided the author of the *Croniken* with information. On 3 October 1454, that is almost in line with the date mentioned in the *Croniken*, the grand master sent a report of the achievements during and after the battle to the master of Germany.[766] On 24 December 1454, when Ulrich of Lentersheim was present in Konitz, a report on the spoils of the battle was discussed with the city council.[767] It could be that the author of the *Croniken* had perused a document similar to either of these two. For the chapters 710–11, which describe the spoils and the aftermath of the Battle of Konitz, however, the author of the *Croniken* used a letter containing an eyewitness account of the writer and chaplain of Duke Rudolf of Żagań, the latter a captain of the troops of the Teutonic Order who died at the battle. The original account by the chaplain (a certain 'Fritz von der Werder' or 'Fritz von dem Mereden') is included in a letter by the procurator in the Neumark to Frederick II of Brandenburg (27 September 1454). It is preserved in at least two manuscripts, a chronicle from Basel by Erhard of Appenweiler,[768] and a composite manuscript from Northern Bavaria or Swabia, largely focusing on Emperor Frederick III.[769] This manuscript also contains a copy of the aforementioned court proceedings between the Teutonic Order and the Confederation in 1452-1453.[770] The *Croniken* copies the letter almost verbatim, with some changes in the order and a few additional details regarding the captured artillery, tents and pavilions, and the direction the king of Poland fled to.

On two more occasions the *Croniken* includes a text in its entirety. At the beginning of this chapter I have discussed the oath of allegiance of the Prussian estates to the grand master in 1450 (Table 3.35). But the most striking example is the so-called 'Absagebrief' (letter of renunciation) in which the Prussian Confederation formally ended her allegiance to the grand master. The principal version of this Absagebrief was signed in Toruń on 4 February 1454, but later and somewhat modified versions also circulated.[771] Perhaps the *Croniken* used such a variant version, since it dates it 13 February 1454. Particularly interesting is not only the inclusion of the Absagebrief in its entirety, but also its current appearance in the

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[765] Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.1: 1198-1454, nrs. 13333 (21 December 1454), 13342 (22 December 1454).
[766] Ibid., nr. 13125 (3 October 1454).
[767] Ibid., nr. 13347 (24 December 1454).
[768] 'Die Chronik Erhards von Appenwiler 1439-1471, mit ihren Fortsetzungen 1472-1474', in: A. Bernoulli ed., *Basler Chroniken* 4 (Basel 1890) 221–459, there 319–320.
[769] K. Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Cgm 201-350* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1970) 222–225 (Cmg 276); For the edition of the letter: M.-L. Heckmann, 'Der Deutsche Orden und die "Goldene Bulle" Kaiser Karls IV. Mit einer Vorbemerkung zur Herkunft der Quaternionen', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 52 (2006) 173–226, there 225–226, see also 182.
[770] Schneider, *Deutschen Handschriften der BSB München. Cmg 201-350*, 222–225 (Cmg 276).
[771] For the standard version: Weise ed., *Staatsverträge* 2 (1438-1467), nr. 288 (4 February 1454); Töppen points at numerous different versions: Töppen ed., *Acten der Ständetage Preussens* 4 (1453-1457), 300 (nr. 172); E.g.: Ibid., nr. 222 (21 February 1454); On 13 February 1454 the cities Neumark, Osterode, Eilau, Lautenburg and Kauernik joined the Confederation, perhaps they also signed an "Absagebrief" on that day: Ibid., nr. 197. With thanks for Prof.dr. Jürgen Sarnowsky for pointing me to the aberrant versions of the letter.

manuscript of the *Croniken*, with sender, addressee and complete salutation, similar to what such a letter would have looked like in an archive (Figure 3.14). This could indicate that the author of the *Croniken* did not merely come into contact with the archival sources described above via some hypothetical narrative source that had assembled it all together. Indeed, it seems to indicate that he himself was the one that worked directly with all this archival material. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in the subsequent manuscript copies of the *Croniken*, whose scribes were probably not familiar with the original document and because there is no substantive reason to retain its features, these unique characteristics gradually dissolved and the letter became fully integrated in the running text.

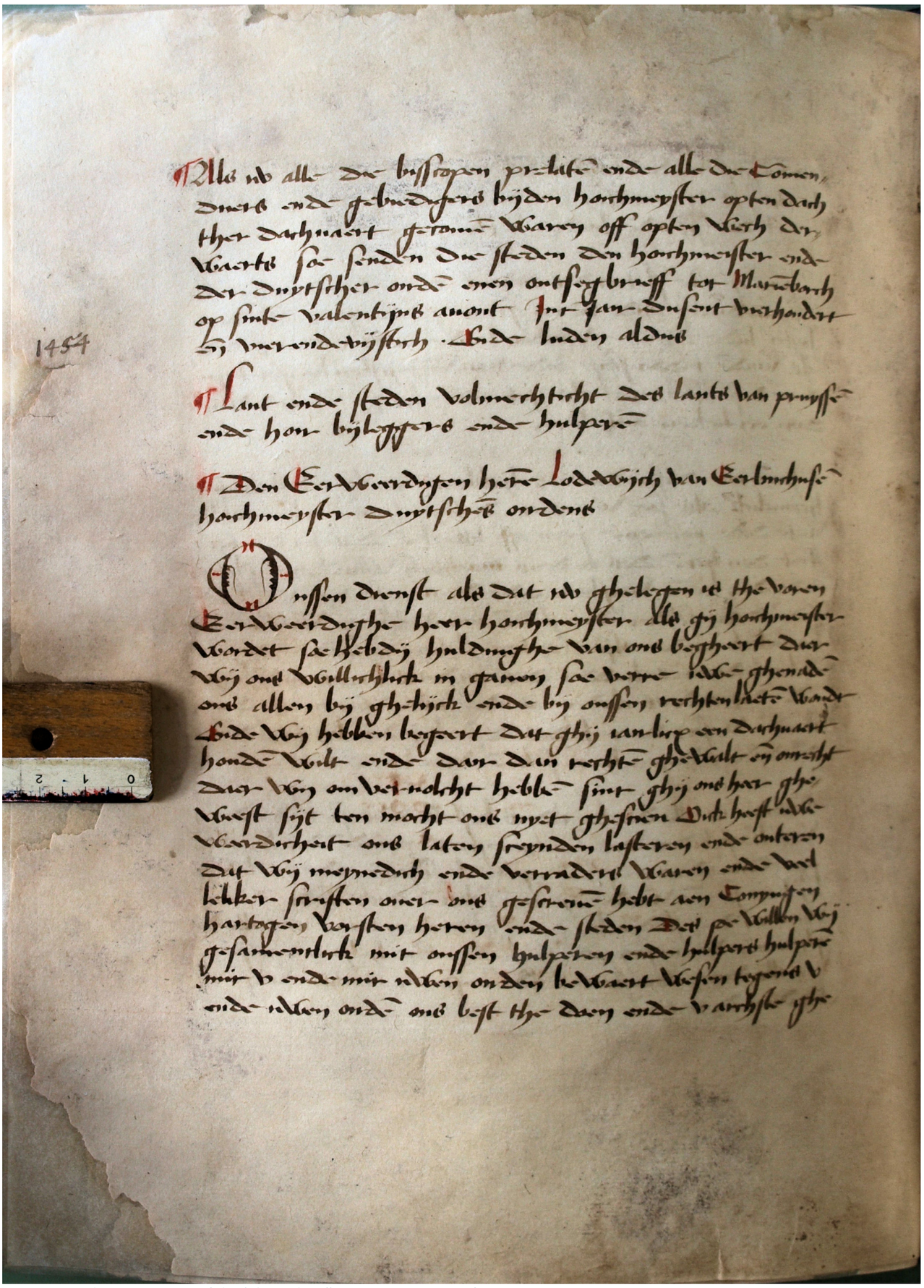

*Figure 3.14 The appearance of the 'Absagebrief' in manuscript **We₁**, f. 169v.*

Finally, the author included a long list of the commanderies in Prussia and Livonia, which also mentions which commanderies were transferred to the Polish crown after the Thirteen Years' War. In his edition of the *Croniken* Theodor Hirsch examined this list in more detail and made some suggestions which sources the author may have used.[772] We should note that of all Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Croniken* Hirsch was only able to study the list in the manuscripts **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**. In both these manuscripts the Prussian and Livonian localities were distorted by scribes or editors lacking geographical knowledge of the region. Manuscript **We$_1$** gives much more accurate lists of place names, which we have included in the Appendix (Table A.8). I have not been able to investigate the sources for these lists, nor have I been able to corroborate the suggestions made by Hirsch.

[772] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 37–39.

## 3.5 Remembering Jerusalem: thematic and methodological continuity

Although soon after the prologue the focus of the *Croniken* shifts to the history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia, it also continues to pay attention to events in Jerusalem – in contrast to all available earlier chronicles of the Teutonic Order, which were hardly concerned with the Holy Land after the events surrounding the order's foundation at the end of the twelfth century. There are three significant passages in the *Croniken* in which events in the Orient are described. The first is set against the background of the Seventh Crusade, describing a legend concerning the creation of the Teutonic Order's coat of arms. This is immediately followed by a description of the Seventh Crusade itself. Finally, the author of the *Croniken* returns to Acre, and the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land in 1291.

In the following section I shall discuss these three parts of the *Croniken* as case studies. The purposes of these case studies vary, although returning aspects of the author's methodology as well as his reasons for writing the chronicle are addressed in each. All three episodes, in some way, commemorate the Teutonic Order's achievements in the Holy Land rather than in Prussia or Livonia.

### Legend of the coat of arms

*Figure 3.15 The second phase of the Teutonic Order's coat of arms, now including the golden cross potent:* Croniken*, ms.* ***We₁****, f. 27r*

*Figure 3.16 The coat of arms of Grand Master Hermann of Salza, including the fourth and final phase of the Teutonic Order's coat of arms, with heart shield and lilies:* Croniken*, ms.* ***We₁****, f. 52v.*

The legend of how the Teutonic Order received the elements on its coat of arms is mentioned on a few occasions throughout the *Croniken* (Table 3.37). Each time newly added elements to the coat of arms are described, previously mentioned elements are referred back to (finally in chapter 390). Early in the *Croniken* it is described how, immediately following the order's foundation at Acre, Pope Celestine III gave the order the right to wear and carry a black cross against a white background (c.118).[773] The following step is detailed in chapter 156: in 1219, King John of Brienne of Jerusalem gave Grand Master Hermann of Salza and his order a golden cross potent, for "the origin of the order, their headquarters, and their title all grew out of Jerusalem, and his forefather assisted in its foundation."[774] Eventually, in chapter 390, the final two elements were added: the black imperial eagle on an inescutcheon or heart shield given by Emperor Frederick II

[773] Note that Pope Celestine III (1191-1198) had not yet become pope on 19 November 1190, the foundation date given in the *Croniken* (c.120). However, as described above, the chronicle combines separate events in 1190 and 1198 into one. Furthermore, the *Croniken* is rather ambiguous whether or not this coat of arms is given simultaneously to the foundation or shortly afterwards. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.118 ff.

[774] "Om dat die oirde hoir oirspronck, hoir hoefthuis, ende hoir tytel van Jherusalem was ende syn voirvader die oirde hadden helpen stichten ende funderen": Ibid., c.156.

(the granting of this element is not mentioned as a separate event in the *Croniken*) and the four fleurs-de-lis given by Louis IX of France on the 20th of August 1250 "which they [the order] can remember us by"[775], effectively transforming the golden cross potent into a cross fleury. According to the *Croniken* the gift was confirmed in letters granted by Louis IX to the order.[776] There is no external evidence that Louis IX indeed sent any letter of this sort to the Teutonic Order, its existence is in all likelihood a fabrication.[777] And so is probably the rest of Louis IX's role in the legend too. However, it may be interesting to note that King Louis IX of France was indeed stationed in Acre in those months, which means that the fabricator of the legend was able to creatively appropriate historical sources.[778]

[775] "Wij willen die wapen mede vercyeren mit vier lelyen van onser wapen, daer sij onser bij ghedencken sellen": Ibid., c.390.
[776] "Ende gaf daer brieven off": Ibid.
[777] E.g., following Von der Oelsnitz: Arnold, *Studien zur preussischen Historiographie*, 43; N. Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien. Zur Entstehung des Deutschordenswappens', in: S. Lorenz and S. Molitor eds., *Text und Kontext: historische Hilfswissenschaften in ihrer Vielfalt*. Tübinger Bausteine zur Landesgeschichte 18 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke 2011) 149–172, there 166–167, note 69; A.B.E. von der Oelsnitz, *Herkunft und Wappen der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1198-1525*. Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung 1 (Königsberg: Meyer & Co 1926) 29 ff.. See also below for alternative explanations for the presence of the lilies in the coat of arms.
[778] Louis IX was stationed in Acre from May 1250 to March 1252. On 25th April 1254 he returned to France. Shirley ed., *Crusader Syria*, c. 69–74, c. 75.

| *Croniken* | Issuer | Date | Element |
|---|---|---|---|
| **c.118** | **Pope Celestine III** | **Soon after the order's foundation (1190)** | **White shield with black cross** |
| | He instituted, founded and confirmed this new knightly order and awarded the order to wear their habit in white with a black cross. And their coat of arms and banner would be a white shield with a black cross.[779] | | |
| **c.156** | **King John of Brienne** | **1219** | **Golden cross potent (Figure 3.15)** |
| | King John of Jerusalem gave the grand master of the Teutonic Order, lord Hermann of Salza, in honour of the order his coat of arms of Jerusalem, a golden cross potent [Middle Dutch: "gulden olycruis"] which should be included on top of the black cross of sable that Pope Celestine III had given the order. The king of Jerusalem awarded this because the origin of the order, their headquarters, and their title all grew out of Jerusalem, and his forefather assisted in its foundation. This event took place in the year 1219.[780] | | |
| **(c.390)** | **Emperor Frederick II** | **?** | **Golden heart shield with imperial eagle (Figure 3.16)** |
| **c.390** | **King Louis IX of France** | **20 August 1250** | **Four lilies (Figure 3.16)** |
| | He [King Louis IX of France] saw the accommodation and lodgings of the Teutonic Knights and also their coat of arms that Pope Celestine had given the order, the white shield with the black cross, the golden cross that was awarded by the king of Jerusalem, and the golden shield with the black eagle awarded by Emperor Frederick, and said: "We want to adorn the coat of arms with four of our lilies, which they can remember us by," and gave the order accompanying letters. He also gave the Teutonic Order in Acre two thousand golden bezants for their expenses and handed over many more goods. This took place in the year 1250, on the 20th day of August.[781] | | |

*Table 3.37 Elements of the legendary creation of the Teutonic Order's coat of arms.*

Indeed, the legend as a whole does correspond in broad outline with the historical development of the order's coat of arms. The coat of arms of the grand master used at the end of the fifteenth century did indeed contain all the elements mentioned above. The emergence of the black cross on a white background coincided with the development of the order's habit. By the early thirteenth century, it seems to have been widely used.[782] The imperial eagle and the cross potent started to appear somewhat later in the thirteenth century. One of the earliest examples of the combination of the two are the prominent entrance doors at the Saint Elisabeth Church in Marburg, possibly contemporary with the church's

[779] "Ende institueerde, setten et confirmeerde dese nywe ridder oirde ende gaf hem dat hoir overste habijt souden wesen wit mit een swert cruys dairop. Ende hoir wapen ende hoir bannier soude wesen enen witten scilt myt een swert cruys": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.118.

[780] "Ende die Coninc Johan van Jherusalem gaff doe dese hoichmeister van der Duytscher Oirden heer Harman van Salza tot syns oirdens eer uut synre wapen van Jherusalem, een gulden olycruis, the voeren in't swerte cruys van sabel dat die Paeus Celestinus die derde der oirden gegeven had. Ende dit dede die coninc van Jherusalem om dat die oirde hoir oirspronck, hoir hoefthuis, ende hoir tytel van Jherusalem was, ende syn voirvader die oirde hadden helpen stichten ende funderen. Ende dit gescieden in't jaer M II^C ende XIX dat Coninc Johan van Jherusalem der oirde syn wapen gaff": Ibid., c.156.

[781] "Hij sach der Duytscher Heren habitacie ende woninghe ende oick hoir wapen die die Paeus Celestinus der oirden ghegeven had, den witten schilt mit dat swerte cruys, ende dat gulden cruys dat die coninck van Jherusalem dairtoe ghegeven had, ende den gulden schilt mit den swarten aern die Keyser Vrederick dairtoe ghegeven hadde, ende sprack: 'Wij willen die wapen mede vercyeren mit vier lelyen van onser wapen, daer sij onser bij ghedencken sellen,' ende gaf daer brieven off. Ende gaf der Duytscher Oirden twedusent gulden bysanten tot horen costen ende veel meer ander goets dat hij tot Akers dede. Ende dit gescieden in't jair dusent twehondert ende vijftich, den twijntichsten dach in augusto": Ibid., c.390.

[782] Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 243–244; Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien', 150–153; In general, see also: Heckmann, 'Hochmeisterwappen'; N. Hofmann, 'Die Entstehung des Deutschordenswappen (Kat.-Nr. I. 15)', in: J. Trupinda ed., *Imagines Potestates. Insignien und Herrschaftszeichen im Königsreich Polen und im Deutschen Orden. Katalog der Ausstellung im Schlossmuseum in Marienburg 8. Juni - 30. September 2007* (Malbork: Museum Zamkowe w Malborku 2007) 87–89.

completion in 1283.[783] In the fourteenth century this combination becomes the standard (see, for example, the coat of arms in the centre of Figure 3.17, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century).[784]

However, lilies only appear in the order's coat of arms much later. From the 1440s the lilies start to make regular appearances in the coats of arms, at first in Apulia and in the Holy Roman Empire, and then later also in Prussia.[785] There are, nevertheless, also much earlier examples of lilies being used in decorations of the order, all dated to the second half of the thirteenth century or first quarter of the fourteenth century. At the Teutonic Order's castle Montfort in the Holy Land a thirteenth-century model stone with a lily was found, and Grand Master Karl of Trier (1311–24) used the lilies in his coat of arms.[786] After that, the lilies disappeared again until well into the fifteenth century. Grand Master Johann of Tiefen (1489–97) and his successor Friedrich of Sachsen (1498–1510) were the first to consistently use the lilies in their heraldic imagery. Hofmann has proposed that the use of the lilies comes from a tradition of using floral elements to enhance the coats of arms of the order: "If this is correct, then the cross fleury in the grand masters' coat of arms had developed from an adornment."[787] Others, most recently Marcus Wüst, pointed out that the lilies are a symbol of Mary – placing a link with the patron saint of the Teutonic Order. Quite rightly Wüst points to the foundation and development of the castle Marienburg ('Mary's castle') into a headquarter of the order in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, coinciding with the first phase of use of the lilies in the order's decorations.[788]

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[783] Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 245–246; Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien', 153–155.
[784] Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 246–247.Regarding this drawing: Ibid., 246 (note 1399).
[785] Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 247–249.
[786] For an illustration: J.A. Schmöger, 'Schwarzes Kreuz auf weißem Grund. Das Kreuz des Deutschen Ordens', *Der Wappenlöwe* Jahrbuch 1990 und 7. Lieferung zur Wappenrolle (1991) 9–53, there 22; Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 244–245; Ibid., 248.
[787] "Trifft dies zu, dann hat sich das Lilienkreuz im Hochmeisterwappen aus seiner Schmuckform entwickelt": Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien', 155–157; Marie-Luise Heckmann places more emphasis on the association of the symbol of lilies to both sick care and the Virgin Mary: Heckmann, 'Hochmeisterwappen', 319–321.
[788] Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 247–250.

*Figure 3.17 King David's Tower in Jerusalem, covered in the coats of arms of the Teutonic Order. From a manuscript containing a* Speculum humanae salvationis *from the Clarenberg monastery near Dortmund. Made in Westfalen or Cologne, around 1360 (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505, f. 13r).*

The source for the legendary elements brought together in the *Croniken* is difficult to track down. The permission to use the imperial eagle in the order's coat of arms appears already in *Dusburg*, *Jeroschin*, the *Cronica nova prutenica* by Wigand of Marburg, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* and the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*,[789] but there is no known underlying source for these accounts. It has been suggested that the "black cross of sable that Pope Celestine III had given the order"[790] could be a reference to a bull dated 12 February 1192 (itself fabricated at a later date).[791] Hofmann also suggests that the story of the golden cross potent supposedly awarded by John of Brienne in 1219 comes from the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, but here he is mistaken;[792] in fact, it is Wigand of Marburg who mentioned that the golden cross was awarded by the pope.[793] What source – if any – was used by the *Croniken* remains unclear, as is the case with the lilies awarded by Louis IX. Could the author of the *Croniken* be the one responsible for creating this legend, adding as many realistic details as possible? There are some arguments in favour of this suggestion.

Firstly, notably some of the terminology used in the *Croniken* regarding the coat of arms is part of a very specialized jargon. The use of the word 'sable' for the colour black, for instance (c.156), is specific to heraldic use. Another example of specialized vocabulary is apparently the phrase "gulden olycruis" to denote the golden cross potent. The editors of the dictionary of Middle Dutch express uncertainty about the meaning of this word, and indicate only a single historical occurrence, in the fifteenth-century accounts of the Utrecht Buurkerk where it appears to refer to

[789] Marcus Wüst recently gave a complete overview of the different appearances of the legend in the chronicles of the Teutonic Order: Ibid., 238–242; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, I–5; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 1177–1184; Hirsch, 'Chronik Wigands von Marburg', 453; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 407v (c. 4); 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 2.
[790] "Swerte cruys van sabel dat die Paeus Celestinus die Derde der oirden gegeven had": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.156.
[791] Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien', 165 (note 68).
[792] Ibid., 165.
[793] Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 241; Hirsch, 'Chronik Wigands von Marburg', 453.

either a painted or anointed cross, or a cross made of olive wood.[794] The author of the *Croniken* shows particular interest in heraldic aspects of the order; he was the first to include the coats of arms of all grand masters in combination with a historiographical text, although other texts would follow soon.[795] The *Croniken* is also in tune with the most recent innovations in the order's heraldic display which propose a strict hierarchy of the different officeholders of the order. The shields of the grand masters are divided in four, a so-called party per cross, with in quarters 1 and 4 the order's coat of arms with the golden cross potent, the heart shield with the imperial eagle, and the four lilies, and in 2 and 3 the master's family crest (Figure 3.16). Below that in the hierarchy are the German masters (in the *Croniken* only presented by the non-existent Bodo of Hohenlohe), also divided in four, but instead of the adornments in quarters 1 and 4 only the black cross against a white background is used. The shield of the land commanders, finally, is halved vertically, a party per pale, with the black cross of the order heraldic right.

*Figure 3.18 Triptych depicting the foundation of the commandery of Horneck, place of residency of the German masters (1456). In the lower right corner of the left panel, the coat of arms of German Master Ulrich of Lentersheim (1454–79) (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv.nr. Gm 512; via <http://www.kloester-bw.de>).*[796]

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[794] See the entry "oliecruce" in the *Middelnederlandsch woordenboek* (Middle Dutch dictionary, hereafter *MNW*), since a couple of years available online: Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicografie, 'Geïntegreerde Taalbank online', *Geïntegreerde Taalbank online* (2010-2015) <http://gtb.inl.nl/> [accessed 2 May 2016]; In reaction to the *MNW*: J.B.F. van Gils, 'Taalkundige opstellen', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 64 (1946) 31–43, there 34–36.

[795] Arnold, *Studien zur preussischen Historiographie*, 41–46.

[796] Regarding the triptych: H. Boockmann, 'Das Hornecker Stifterbild und die Anfänge der Deutschordenskommende Horneck. Beiträge zu einer Ikonographie des Deutschen Ordens', in: D. Neitzert, U. Israel and E. Schubert eds., *Wege ins Mittelalter. Historische Aufsätze*

The expression of hierarchy within the Teutonic Order through heraldry appears in other contexts around the same time the *Croniken* was written, and runs somewhat parallel to the dissemination of the *Croniken*.[797] The first German master who perhaps used the coat of arms divided in four parts is Ulrich of Lentersheim (1454–79). It is included on a triptych from the commandery of Horneck painted in 1456 (Figure 3.18), but the triptych is overpainted and the coat of arms may have been added later.[798] Lentersheim's successor as German Master, Reinhard of Neipperg (1479–89), however, certainly used this type of heraldry in 1484 (e.g., dated two years later: Figure 3.19).[799] The first master of Livonia to use this heraldic form is Johann Freytag of Loringhoven (1483–94).[800] The coat of arms divided in four parts would become one of the predominant forms of heraldic display in the order in the following decades.[801] As we have seen, it is in the same period that we encounter the first unambiguous use of the lilies in the grand masters' coat of arms, by Johann of Tiefen (1489–97). The *Croniken* may well have played a central role in promoting the use of heraldry in the order; in any case it is a prominent part of this development, and the heraldic interests and ideas of the author of the *Croniken* were shared among the leadership of the order at the time.

In later times, the legend of the order's coat of arms became very popular and more stylized, in part stimulated by the dissemination of the *Croniken*.[802] It was often depicted, and accounts in verse of the legend circulated.[803] One of these rhymed versions, added in a later hand at the end of a manuscript of the Latin *Statutes*, dated 1571, concludes with "1438 / Bruder Hermann Teutschordens", but this statement lacks any context and gives no clue to its origins or credibility.[804] If we accept it as such, it is the only available clue that the author of the *Croniken* may have known an existing version of the legend.

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(München: Beck 2000) 215–226; originally published in: H. Boockmann, 'Das Hornecker Stifterbild und die Anfänge der Deutschordenskommende Horneck. Beiträge zu einer Ikonographie des Deutschen Ordens', in: U. Arnold ed., *Horneck, Königsberg und Mergentheim. Zu Quellen und Ereignissen in Preussen und im Reich vom 13. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. Schriftenreihe Nordost-Archiv 19 (Lüneburg 1980) 11–32.

[797] Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien', 165; J.-J. van Onnelingen, 'Heraldiek als spiegel van de hiërarchie binnen de balije Biesen', in: J. Mertens ed., *"Met desen crude est guet stoven..." Biesense opstellen opgedragen aan Gilbert van Houtven*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Duitse Orde in de Balije Biesen 8 (Bilzen 2006) 193–204, there 194–195.

[798] Boockmann did note the difficulties in dating the elements of the painting, but was not able to study these elements more closely: Boockmann, 'Das Hornecker Stifterbild', 218 (note 20). The frame contains a short text dated 1582.

[799] Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien', 157–158.

[800] Ibid.

[801] During the sixteenth century another form became quite popular, in which the order's coat of arms was placed on a heart shield against the persons' family crest: Ibid., 162–165; see also: Van Onnelingen, 'Heraldiek als spiegel', 196.

[802] Numerous examples – including illustrations and often links to the *Croniken* – are provided by Hofmann: Hofmann, 'Kreuze - Adler - Lilien', 167 ff.; See also: Heckmann, 'Hochmeisterwappen'.

[803] E.g.: Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 379, f.1v–4v.

[804] Ibid., Hs. 733; Töppen, 'Ältere Hochmeisterchronik', 525 (note 1).

*Figure 3.19 Coat of arms of German Master Reinhard of Neipperg, originally from castle Neckarsulm (1486) (Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum).*

*Figure 3.20 Painting of the 'Wapenvermeerdering' by Pieter de Grebber (1620), ordered for the city hall of Haarlem (Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum).*

A significant parallel to the Teutonic Order's legend is provided by another legend concerning the additions made to a coat of arms by distinguished individuals: that of the city of Haarlem in the County of Holland, the so-called 'wapenvermeerdering' ('addition to the arms').[805] In gratitude for the heroic deeds of the citizens from Haarlem during the Siege of Damietta, Emperor Frederick I (sic) gave the city the privilege to add a silver sword to its existing coat of arms, a red shield with four stars. In addition, the Patriarch of Jerusalem gave the citizens the holy cross to be added to their shield. The city of Haarlem would exploit this imagery to great extent, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (e.g., Figure 3.20).[806]

Numerous versions of the legend circulated in texts originating in Haarlem or the County of Holland, including those composed by the contemporary chroniclers Theodericus Pauli and Johannes a Leydis, whom we have both met before.[807] Details differed between various accounts; thus, for example, in some accounts the patriarch was replaced by the pope, in others by a papal legate. Johannes a Leydis, the prior of the Haarlem Carmelites, was ultimately responsible for standardizing the narrative in the 1480s and 90s.[808] Due to its rapidly ubiquity in Haarlem and Holland at the end of the fifteenth

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[805] Van Anrooij first spotted the similarities between the legends: W. van Anrooij, 'Middeleeuwse sporen van de Haarlemse Damiatelegende', in: E.K. Grootes ed., *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800* (Hilversum: Verloren 1993) 11–25, there 24; Van Moolenbroek rejects any direct relation between the two legends, but was unaware – just as Van Anrooij was – that the Teutonic Order's legend may have originated in the Low Countries: J.J. van Moolenbroek, 'De ketting van Damietta, een Haarlems zaagschip en Willem I van Holland', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 14 (2011) 113–149, there 130.

[806] Van Anrooij, 'Middeleeuwse sporen', 13–14; Van Moolenbroek prepares a study of the continuation of the myth in post medieval times: Van Moolenbroek, 'De ketting van Damietta', 113.

[807] See chapters 3.3, "Dutch presence at Acre: *Chronicles of Holland*" and 3.4, "Bailiwick chronicle".

[808] Van Moolenbroek, 'De ketting van Damietta', 123–125, 142.

century, we can safely assume that the author of the *Croniken* will have been familiar with the tale. In this context, the time of writing of the part of the *Croniken* that describes the eagle being awarded by Emperor Frederick II and the lilies awarded by King Louis IX of France (c.390) is particularly interesting: this chapter and the chapters leading up to it were, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, in all likelihood the first that are written in the second phase of the chronicle, that is around 1491, some ten years after the first phase.[809] The story of how the Haarlem coat of arms were awarded following the Siege of Damietta could well have inspired our author to produce a similar explanation for the elements that existed in coat of arms of the Teutonic Order.

### Seventh Crusade

The supposed donation of the lilies to the coat of arms by Louis IX at his visit of Acre in 1250, appears to have been a trigger for the author of the *Croniken* to inquire into the reasons of King Louis IX's visit to the Holy Land. The description of the Seventh Crusade (1248–54) which follows has hardly any connection to the history of the Teutonic Order; its main value is to contextualize the donation to the coat of arms. An additional effect, however, is that the attention of the reader is drawn once again to the achievements of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land, so prominently established in the prologue. No other chronicler on the Teutonic Order had done so before. The narrative therefore functions as a bridge between the prologue and the Fall of Acre in 1291, which I will turn to shortly hereafter, and by doing so creates a credible sense of continuity of the order's activities in the Holy Land.

For information about the crusade, the author of the *Croniken* turned again to the encyclopaedic knowledge presented in the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais. The chapters describing the Seventh Crusade were translated into Middle Dutch by Lodewijk van Velthem and became part of the Fourth Part of the *Spiegel historiael*, of which only fragments remain. Luckily a fairly close but yet unedited German translation of the Middle Dutch Fourth Part exists and can be used for comparison.[810] A close examination of the texts reveals that here, too,[811] the author of the *Croniken* must have used both the Latin original and the Middle Dutch rhymed translation.[812] Although the narrative in the *Croniken* is much shortened and amended, a few details provide evidence for this conclusion. The *Croniken* (c.385) states that Louis IX started his crusade journey on "Wednesday after Saint Bartholomew's day" (26th August 1248). The German translation of Velthem's

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[809] Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe', 76–77. See also the preceding chapter regarding the phased genesis of manuscript $We_1$.

[810] U. Wuttke, 'Ungehobene Schätze der mittelniederländischen Literatur. Die oberdeutsche Übersetzung der Vierden Partie des Spiegel historiael', in: B. Besamusca, R. Sleiderink and G. Warnar eds., *De boeken van Velthem. Auteur, oeuvre en overlevering* (Hilversum: Verloren 2009) 89–117; The manuscript containing the German translation of the Fourth Part: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ., Quart. 2018. I wish to thank Geert Warnar (Leiden University) for granting me access to the digital copies of the manuscript.

[811] Numerous examples are mentioned in chapter 3.3.

[812] In theory, the German translation of Lodewijk van Velthem's Fourth Part of the *Spiegel Historiael* could have been the direct source for the author of the *Croniken* instead of the original Middle Dutch rhymed text. Apart from the fact that it is much more likely that the Middle Dutch original was used in the *Croniken*, it will become clear from the examination below that Velthem's text was indeed a direct source and not the German translation.

Fourth Part also gives Wednesday as day of departure, whereas Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* has Tuesday.[813] A little further (c.386), however, there may be some evidence that suggests that the Latin of Vincent of Beauvais was also used directly. Firstly, the use of the word "capiteynen" possibly points at Beauvais ("capitaneus"; Velthem: "heuptherre"). Secondly, the final sentence of the same chapter strongly resembles the Latin text (Table 3.38), in its use of the word "reconciliavit", and its mentioning of the mosques, absent – if we can rely on the German translation – in Velthem's account, and of the papal legate as actor, where Velthem has King Louis IX.

| ***Croniken*, c.386** | **Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Lib. 31, c. 98** | ***Spiegel historiael*, Fourth Part, Lib. 8, c. 28**<br>**German translation**[814] |
|---|---|---|
| Die legaet reconsilieerden Machamets tempel in die ere van Marien der moeder Gods. | Et in primus locum in quo erat Machomeria reconciliavit legatus qui dudum in altera eiusdem urbis captione beatae virginis ecclesiae deputatus fuerat et appropriatus. | Nu hiez der kunig Ludwig kirchen do machen in unser frauwen ere |

*Table 3.38 Comparison of Beauvais'* Speculum historiale*, Velthem's* Spiegel historiael *and the* Croniken *(c.386).*

Chapter 388 describes how Louis IX defended himself and his horse fiercely: a passage that is absent in the *Speculum historiale*,[815] but evidently taken from the *Spiegel historiael* by Lodewijk van Velthem: for this particular passage a fragment of the original Middle Dutch Fourth Part of the *Spiegel historiael* is available. The choice for the word "orsse" (horse) is especially noteworthy, since the *Croniken* in all other (twenty-five) occurrences uses the word "peert" or "peerde". It corresponds directly to Lodewijk van Velthem ("ors"), whereas the German translation gives "pfert".[816]

Significantly, it appears the method of compilation witnessed in the prologue remained similar throughout the *Croniken*: when more than one source was available, even if it was a verse translation of the same text, the author of the *Croniken* would use and combine all sources. As we have at various places in this chapter,[817] this process could express itself even at a minute (and seemingly insignificant) textual level, such as when synonyms of a certain word were selected from different sources. When only one source was available, the author would include a more substantial part of the text in the *Croniken*. We have seen this process, for example, with the *Historia Damiatina* and with the *Livländische Reimchronik*.[818] But even in these cases, verbatim transcriptions do not often occur.

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[813] In the same chapter, in accordance to Velthem's *Spiegel Historiael*, Charles of Anjou is called "Charles of Angers" (after the central city of the County of Anjou), whereas *Beauvais* uses the name "Charles of Anjou": Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale (1624)*, Lib. 31, c. 89; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Quart. 2018, f. 316v (Lib. 8, c. 17).
[814] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Quart. 2018, f. 321v.
[815] That is, in the editions of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* at my disposal: Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale (1624)*; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale (1591)*; Vincent of Beauvais, 'Speculum Historiale (Ms. Douai B.M. 797)'.
[816] M. de Vries and E. Verwijs eds., *Jacob van Maerlant's Spiegel Historiael, met de fragmenten der later toegevoegde gedeelten, bewerkt door Philip Utenbroeke en Lodewijc van Velthem* 3 (Leiden: Brill 1863) 417; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Quart. 2018, f. 325r (Lib. 8, c. 35).
[817] In general, see chapter 3.2.
[818] See sections 3.3, "Crusading literature" and 3.4, "Sources on the Livonian history".

## Acre, 1291

In 1291, the Christians lost their last real foothold on the eastern Mediterranean coast. With the relative emphasis of the *Croniken* on the Holy Land, it is understandable that the author would include an account of the fall of Acre. A substantial thirty-five chapters (c.477-511), comprising about 15 pages, are dedicated to this episode. Conveniently, there was a text available providing a described account of the event: Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*. Ludolf was a parish priest in Sudheim, near Paderborn, Westphalia. He travelled to the Holy Land in the years 1336–41, and wrote his account around 1350.[819] His Latin journal was printed for the first time around 1475, and again in 1480, in Strasbourg, and a few years later, between 1483 and June 1484, also in the city of Gouda in the County of Holland.[820] All three incunabula of the Latin text were published before (this part of) the *Croniken* was written. There are, however, also numerous manuscripts, in various languages and versions.[821] Writing in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Lübecker chronicler Hermann Korner included Sudheim's account of the Fall of Acre in his world chronicle.[822] Finally, a High German translation was printed in Augsburg in 1477.[823] In the following paragraphs I will try to establish which of these versions the author of the *Croniken* used. More pertinent, however, is the possibility of uncovering the author's own emendations to the text by eliminating the readings of the various possible sources. These emendations turn out to be highly focused, with a specific audience in mind.

It is not easy to determine which version of Sudheim's account our author had at his disposal.[824] In Table 3.39 the available editions are brought together: three editions based on the manuscripts (Latin and – twice – Low German), two incunabula (in Latin and High German), and Hermann Korner's world chronicle. Because the clear divergences between the various versions of the text,[825] we can conclude that the *Croniken* must have had a Low German version of the account: this is evidenced, for example, by the similarities between "hieuwen" – a word that occurs only on this particular location in the

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[819] J. Klingner, 'Ludolf von Sudheim', in: W. Achnitz ed., *Deutsche Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter. Autoren und Werke nach Themenkreisen und Gattungen* 3: Reiseberichten und Geschichtsdichtungen (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2011) 383–387, there 383.

[820] 'ISTC', nrs. il00362000 (Strasbourg, about 1475–1480), il00363000 (Strasbourg, about 1475–1480), il00364000 (Gouda, between 1483 and 10 June 1484).

[821] For a list of the Latin manuscripts and links to lists of Low German and High German manuscripts: 'Ludolf von Sudheim', *Arlima. Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge* (2011) <http://www.arlima.net/il/ludolf_von_sudheim.html> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[822] Hermann Korner stated that he included a text of the Fall of Acre written by a certain "Egghardus". Töppen and Von Stapelmohr followed Korner, although Lappenberg had already pointed out that the name Egghard was used by Korner on all sorts of occassions, whenever he was in need of an authority. The most recent edition by Jakob Schwalm of the *Chronica novella* by Korner refutes the possibility that "Egghard" was an actual existing source too. I. von Stapelmohr ed., *Ludolfs von Sudheim Reise ins Heilige Land. Nach der Hamburger Handschrift herausgegeben*. Lunder germanistische Forschungen 6 (Lund: Ohlssons 1937) 15; Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 62–63; J.M. Lappenberg, 'Ueber Hermanni Corneri Chronicon', *Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtkunde* 6 (1838) 585–624, there 592–594; Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, XIX–XX.

[823] Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 15–53; For recent additions: Klingner, 'Ludolf von Sudheim', 384–385.

[824] This is partly due to the quality of the current editions. See also Robert Huygens on this issue: R.B.C Huygens ed., *The Fall of Acre, 1291 - Excidii Aconis gestorum collectio; Magister Thadeus civis Neapolitanus: Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius terre sancte*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 202 (Turnhout: Brepols 2004) 6, note 6.

[825] Even the two editions of the Low German text differ significantly. Kosegarten edited the manuscript known by Von Stapelmohr as ms. W (Wolfenbüttel), but Von Stapelmohr did not include all significant differences in his critical apparatus: Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 33–38, passim.

*Croniken* – and "how" (to cut down), or the words "sonderlinghe vruntscap" (special friendship) and "vroom" (devout), which echo the Low German versions.[826] However, contrasting with this evidence, the "boomgaerden" (orchards) are found in all versions *except* in the two Low German editions.

| Text | Destruction of Acre's wineyards and orchards | Characteristics of the grand master of the Temple |
|---|---|---|
| ***Croniken*** | [c.492] Ende **hieuwen** alle die wijngaerden ende die **boemgaerden** op die alte scoon ende **lustich waren** | [c.493] dat was een alten **vromen** wysen man ende had **sonderlinghe vruntscap** mit den soudaen |
| ***Sudheim***<br>Latin; ed. Deycks[827] | secans et arefaciens omnes vineas et **arbores, atque omnia viridaria et pomaria,** quae ibi erant amoenissima | miles valde prudens et strenuus [...] qui amicus suus erat valde specialis |
| ***Sudheim***<br>Latin; Strasbourg, ca. 1475-1480[828] | | |
| **Hermann Korner, *Chronica Novella***[829] | Et primo devastans et destruens omnia vineta et sata civitatis, **pomeria** amenissima et molendina extra urbem locata penitus demolitus est | miles multuum astutus et strennuus [...] et quia soldanus sibi valde amicus erat et familiaris |
| ***Sudheim***<br>Low German; ed. Kosegarten[830] | unde **how** unde sorede al ore wijngarden unde grashowe, de se hadden to erer **lust** | de was ein wijse man, unde ein **vrame** ridder [...] wente de Soldan sijn **sunderlike vrunt** was |
| ***Sudheim***<br>Low German; ed. Stapelmohr[831] | Vnde vorstorde alle ere wyngarden vnde ere grashoue, de ze to eren **lusten** hadden | de was eyn wys, **vrome** ridder [...] wente de soldan syn **sunderlike** grote **vrunt** was |
| ***Sudheim***<br>High German; Augsburg 1477[832] | vnd hauet ab vnd verbrennet die weingarten vnd all **baum** die vast **lustig warent** | eyn vast weyser vnd strenger Ritter [...] wann er sein besunder guter freund was |

*Table 3.39 Textual comparison of* Croniken *and various versions of Ludolf of Sudheim's* Description of the Holy Land.[833]

This raises the possibility that the author of the *Croniken* did not only use a Low German manuscript, but may have brought together multiple versions of the same text – as we have seen, this is a recurrent pattern in the *Croniken*. Two further examples from the description of the Fall of Acre appear to point in this direction. The way the skies over Acre were filled with arrows and artillery is described only in the Latin manuscripts (ed. Deycks) and – with most resemblances – Hermann Korner's *Chronica novella* (Table 3.40). That said, these texts lack any of the additional information on the legendary Princes of Vaus included in the *Croniken*. The two incunabula editions, citing the *Historia Trium Regum* by John of Hildesheim – a contemporary of Ludolf of Sudheim –, do expand on the background of these Princes of Vaus. As a separate work, the *Historia Trium Regum* was widely known as well, and did appear in print quite early; a Dutch translation was printed

[826] The arguments that Hirsch put forward to show that not the German (Kosegarten ed.), but the Latin version of *Sudheim* was used, have become void by changes in the most recent edition by Stapelmohr. Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 18 (note 3).
[827] Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 42.
[828] Ludolf of Sudheim, *De itinere ad terram sanctam* (Strasbourg: Eggestein around 1475/1480) f. 14v–15r <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074894-4> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[829] Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, 200.
[830] J.G.L. Kosegarten ed., *Ludolf von Suchen. Reisebuch ins heilige Land in niederdeutscher Mundart* (Greifswald: Kochs 1861) 38.
[831] Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 120.
[832] Ludolf of Sudheim, *Weg zu dem heiligen Grab* (Augsburg: Zainer 1477) f. 48r–48v <http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:218317> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[833] In the edition of the abbreviated version of *Sudheim*, all details in question are absent: 'Ludolphus de Sudheim. De itinere Terre sancte', in: W.A. Neumann ed., *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2. 2 (Paris: Leroux 1884) 305–377, there 340.

in 1479.[834] The author of the *Croniken* could well have been familiar with the Princes of Vaus directly via the *Historia Trium Regum* instead of via the printed editions of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*. Unfortunately, although there are indeed some resemblances, there is not enough evidence to confirm this either way.[835]

Similarly, attempts to determine which Latin version of the account by Sudheim was used remain inconclusive, although it seems that the *Chronica novella* by Hermann Korner is the most likely candidate. First there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that the author of the *Croniken* had access to *Korner*, a text that also incorporated the *De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio* concerning the foundation of the Teutonic Order at Acre into its narrative.[836] In his chronicle, immediately preceding the Fall of Acre in Korner included two sections on Pope Nicholas IV (1288–92) and the election of Adolf of Nassau in favour of his later successor Albrecht of Austria as King of Germany (1292–8).[837] All three rulers were included in the *Croniken*, too, in its introductory chapter on the Fall of Acre (c.478), to provide a papal and imperial context for the events. Adolf of Nassau, however, was not yet elected in 1291, even though Korner placed the election in 1290.[838] Secondly, the *Croniken* appears to follow Korner when stating that the hands of the knight broke the lance 'in pieces', instead of 'in two' (Low German) or 'shattered' (Latin and High German) (Table 3.40). These details do suggest that the author of the *Croniken* was indeed familiar with the work of Korner.

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[834] 'ISTC', nr. ij00340500; Johannes of Hildesheim, *Historien der heiligher drie coninghen* (Delft: Van der Meer & Yemantszoon 1479) <http://books.google.nl/books?id=Z3JOAAAAcAAJ>.
[835] Compare for instance c. 4 of the *Historia Trium Regum* to c.486 in the *Croniken*, a chapter that can be traced back only partially to the (Low German) account of *Sudheim*. Johannes of Hildesheim, *Drie coninghen*, c. 4.
[836] Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, 597–598.
[837] Ibid., 197–198; 'Hermanni Corneri', 939–941.
[838] 'Hermanni Corneri', 940.

| Text | Details concerning prince of Vaus | Artillery raining down during siege | Lance breaks in pieces, being hit by arrows |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***Croniken*** | [c.483] Die vorst van Vaus was dair comen wonen uut Indien om des wonders wil dat dair was. Ende dese vorst was van Melchiors geslachte die Onssen Heer God offerden. | [c.496] alsoe dattet scheen off dat gescut ende vuer snuwede uter stadt ende dair weder in | [c.496] dat hem die glavie the stucken in der hant gescoten wert |
| ***Sudheim*** Latin; ed. Deycks[839] | [Absent] | quod quasi sagittis rigere videbatur | totaliter creparetur de sagittis |
| ***Sudheim*** Latin; Strasbourg, ca. 1475–80[840] | f. 14v | [Absent] | |
| **Hermann Korner, *Chronica Novella***[841] | [Absent] | ita ut celum lapides, ignem et tela ningere videbatur | crepuit in plurimas partes divisa telorum impulse |
| ***Sudheim*** Low German; ed. Kosegarten[842] | [Absent] | [Absent] | dat de glevige van schotes wegen midden tweijspleit |
| ***Sudheim*** Low German; ed. Von Stapelmohr[843] | [Absent] | [Absent] | dat de gleuye van schotes weghen mydden tweybrack |
| ***Sudheim*** High German; Augsburg 1477[844] | f. 47r | [Absent] | ward sy mit geschoh ertrumert |
| ***Historia Trium Regum*** Middle Dutch; Delft 1479[845] | c. 4 | [n/a] | [n/a] |

*Table 3.40 Corresponding excerpts from the* Croniken *and various versions of Ludolf of Sudheim's* Description of the Holy Land.

The account of the Siege of Acre in 1291 contains further sources, including a biblical narrative and possibly Wilbrand of Oldenburg's *Peregrinatio*. In chapter 488 a number of biblical events associated to the city is listed. In comparison to the different versions of the report by Sudheim, the name of Judas Maccabeus, captured at Acre by the Seleucid general Diodotus Tryphon, is changed correctly to Jonathan Maccabeus.[846] A further biblical event associated with the city – the story of Beelzebub and Ahaziah[847] – appears in Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land* as well as in Wilbrand's *Peregrinatio*, in the latter directly followed by a reference to the spelling of the name of the city, spelled variously in different versions "Hakon vel Akaron", "Haron vel Aharon" or "Karon vel Aharon".[848] Echoing this, the *Croniken* adds – at the same place In

[839] Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 41–42, 43.
[840] Ludolf of Sudheim, *De itinere ad terram sanctam*, f. 14v–15r.
[841] Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, 199, 200.
[842] Kosegarten ed., *Ludolf von Suchen. Reisebuch*, 37, 39.
[843] Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 119, 121.
[844] Ludolf of Sudheim, *Weg zu dem heiligen Grab*, f. 47r, 48v.
[845] Johannes of Hildesheim, *Drie coninghen*, c.4 (no page numbers).
[846] 1 Macc. 12:42-48.
[847] 2 Kings 1:2. The reference to Elijah and Mount Carmel in reference to Ahaziah and Beelzebub, not included by *Sudheim* at this place in the text, does appear elsewhere in *Sudheim*'s account: Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 49; Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 126.
[848] "A quo et ipsa civitas Hakon vel Akaron est nominate" (ed. Pringle) or "Haron vel Aharon" (ed. Allatius and ed. Laurent, who changed it later to "Karon vel Aharon"). Pringle, 'A new edition', 117; 'Itinerarium terrae sanctae, autore Willebrando ab Oldenborg, Canonico Hildesemensi', in: L. Allatius ed., *Συμμικτα, sive opusculorum Graecorum et Latinorum, vetustiorum ac recentiorum...* 2 (Cologne: Kalcovium 1653) 122–152, there 123; And corrected to "Karon": 'Wilbrandi de Oldenborg. Peregrinato iterum edita', in: J.C.M. Laurent ed.,

the account – that the city was called "in Latin Acaron or Yteron, and in French or German Acre". The name *Yteron* is not found elsewhere, but may perhaps be explained by mistaking 'Haron' or 'Karon' for 'Yteron' (or, specifically, 'Iteron', misreading the 'H' for 'It').

Having established the possible sources for the *Croniken*'s account of the events in 1291 – although a level of uncertainty has to be taken into account – it becomes possible to reveal the author's personal additions. These additions are relatively far-reaching in comparison to most other episodes, and show a notable coherence in terms of their focus, which broadly falls into three categories. Firstly, the beauty and excellence of the city of Acre is emphasized even more than by Sudheim. Secondly, the heroic role of the military orders during the defence of the city, the Teutonic Order in particular, receives extra attention. Thirdly, the party strifes between Guelphs and Ghibellines, introduced by Pisan and Genoese citizens, are repeatedly blamed for the loss of the city.

Sudheim already treated the three themes extensively.[849] To a lesser extent they also appeared in the brief summaries of the events of 1291 in *Jeroschin* and *Dusburg*.[850] The author of the *Croniken* however, reiterates the themes wherever there is an opportunity, adjusts, and re-appropriates the narrative. In chapter 489, for example, in an episode about the Guelphs and Ghibellines, where Sudheim noted that the party strife had originated on instigation by the devil, the author of the *Croniken* instead omits the devil and associates the strifes with the hubris ("hoemoet") of the citizens. These citizens were only interested retaining their luxurious lifestyle at the expense of the other faction, the *Croniken* states. In contrast, the actions of the military orders are highly praised – with an undertone of both sorrow and anger for the lack of assistance by the citizens. Chapters 498–9 describe in great detail and with a good sense of drama how the brethren of the Teutonic Order – including the land master of Prussia, the grand commander of Acre, and the marshal of Livonia – rode out, killing numerous Mamluk soldiers, including two captains. Failing to gain support from the quarrelling factions within the city, the brethren were soon surrounded. They were all martyred. The only source for these chapters was a single sentence by Ludolf of Sudheim, who describes how numerous brethren of the Teutonic Order were slain together at once: "Indeed, the master and brethren of the house of the Teutonic Order, together with their followers and friends, all fell dead at one and the same time."[851] A similar version of events is given by an entry in the Alden Biesen necrology: "[18 May] Brother Henry of Bonlant, who took the place of the master of the Teutonic House, together with multiple brothers of the same

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*Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor* (Leipzig 1864) 159–191, there 163; J.C.M. Laurent ed., *Wilbrands von Oldenburg Reise nach Palaestina und Kleinasien.* (Hamburg: Meissner 1859) 6.

[849] E.g.: "For the cursed party strife and war that existed between them, the city was wrecked, for they also bore themselves like nobles" ("Vnde vmme der vorvlokeden twydracht vnde orlich, dat se twisschen syk hadden, wart de stad vorstort, wente de helden syk ok vor heren"): Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 118–119.

[850] For *Dusburg* and *Jeroschin*: Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–70, IV–77–80; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 18192–18295, 21442–22047 (particularly vv. 21890–21933).

[851] The English translation by Aubrey Stewart was based on the edition by Deycks. All versions present roughly the same reading. A. Stewart translator, *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither. Written in the year A.D. 1350*. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 27 (reprinted New York (Volume 12): AMS 1971; London 1895) 57; Thadeus of Naples, contemporary to the events and working from eyewitness accounts corroborates *Sudheim*'s version of events: Huygens ed., *The Fall of Acre, 1291*, 120.

house and other Christians; in the conflict of the Christians against the pagans, whilst Acre was being destroyed."[852] Such necrologies may also have been present in the Utrecht bailiwick, but none have survived.

Whether the author of the *Croniken* based these chapters on an existing narrative, or whether he invented them, is unclear. If complete invention, it would be a rare occasion: while in the *Croniken*, numbers are sometimes exaggerated in comparison to the sources, and chronology may occasionally be adapted to the author's needs, almost every narrative can be traced back to other texts. In this particular case, however, such an invention could have had a literary function. By juxtaposing the citizens to the devout and heroic military orders, the heinous nature of the citizens' actions was even more accentuated. And by further emphasizing the magnificence of the city of Acre, "the jewel and gem of the Orient",[853] the consequences of their actions were emphasized to create a great dramatic effect.

The author of the *Croniken* explicitly stated what he aimed to achieve with the re-appropriation of Sudheim's account. He wanted to warn other cities that partisan conflict will lead to their ruin:

> *At that time Acre was the strongest and most powerful city of the Christian world and also the most impregnable. It was sadly lost because of the heinous, foul factions that arrived there from Lombardy. All good cities should reflect on this and take it as an example that no matter how powerful and prosperous they might be, if they are divided by factions, they are easily conquered; but if they are united and help and support each other faithfully, they will be hard to capture.*[854]

The *Croniken* was written in the midst of a long period of partisan conflict in the Low Countries.[855] In 1483, these conflicts – which occurred within the context of the expansionism of the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty – led to the siege of the city of Utrecht by Archduke Maximilian of Austria.[856] The siege may well have been one of the factors interrupting the writing process of the *Croniken* after 1480. The part that includes the Fall of Acre belongs to the second half of the *Croniken*, and was written around 1491, almost a decade after the siege of Utrecht. The Utrecht bailiwick will have had a hard time maintaining neutrality during the siege. Land commanders such as Sweder Cobbing were criticized for their partisanship:

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[852] "Frater Henricus de Bonlant, qui gessit vices magistri domus Theutonicorum, et multi fratres ejusdem domus cum eo et alii cristiani in conflictu cristianorum contra paganos, dum Akon destructa fuit." Cited via: M. Perlbach, 'Deutsch-Ordens Necrologe', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 17 (1877) 357–371, there 364; Further particularities are absent from the order's historiography, probably deliberately: Forstreuter, *Mittelmeer*, 50–53.

[853] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.507.

[854] "Ende Akers was op die tijt die stercste ende die machtichste stadt van all kersten gelove ende oick die onwinlicste. Ende wert dus jamerliken verloren om der snoder vuylre partijen will, die uut Lombaerdien dair ghecomen was. Dair hem alle goede steden wel aen spiegelen ende exempel nemen moghen, hoe machtich ende mogende sij sijn, die partije onder een hebben, dat se goet the wynnen sijn; ende die oick eendrechtich sijn ende malcanderen truwelicken helpen ende bij staen willen, dat die quaet the wynnen sijn.": Ibid., c.499.

[855] E.g., with a reference to recent literature: S. ter Braake, 'Parties and factions in the late middle ages: the case of the Hoeken and Kabeljauwen in The Hague (1483–1515)', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009) 97–111, there 97–99.

[856] Ibid., 103; and especially A. Janse, *De sprong van Jan van Schaffelaar. Oorlog en partijstrijd in de late Middeleeuwen*. Verloren verleden 21 (Hilversum: Verloren 2003) 15–22.

"he was disliked in Utrecht because of the party that he supported," the *Croniken* observes.[857] The land commander at the time of the siege in 1483, Johan van Drongelen, cannot easily be associated with a particular party. However, among the very few new knight brethren whom he recruited was the young Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt,[858] who was a son of Jacob van Zuylen van Nijevelt and Ada van Montfoort. Steven had seven brothers, the majority of whom, together with their uncle Viscount Jan III of Montfoort, played a central role in the resistance against Maximilian. Two of his older brothers – Jan and Hendrik – died during the siege of 1483.[859] This does not necessarily mean that Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt was involved in politics too, but it does illustrate how the effects of the partisan conflicts were felt by individuals within the order at the time the *Croniken* was written. The warning against factionalism could, however, also have been meant to be addressed to the brethren of the Teutonic Order itself. In Chapter 645 the author criticizes the factions within the order in Prussia in the early fifteenth century, which were largely based on the brethren's various geographical origins. But the Utrecht bailiwick itself, too, was beset by quarrels in the years prior to the production of the *Croniken*.[860]

All in all, the narrative of the Fall of Acre reaffirms the image of an author at work who was methodical in collecting his sources and combining them into a distinctive, new text. It also confirms – as was, for example, the case with the narrative of the period leading up to the Thirteen Years' War – that the author was keen to convey specific messages to his readership. In both examples the author of the *Croniken* creatively employs rhetoric and drama, without seriously manipulating the facts. The chronicle displays genuine concern, and occasional upset, for the past, present, and future wellbeing of the order.

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[857] "Hij was t' Utrecht qualick ghesien om der partie wil die hij droech": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.767.

[858] Regarding the reforms in the admission process of new knight brethren by Johan van Drongelen, see chapter 4.3. Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt (land commander between 1496 and 1527) is first mentioned as knight brother in 1485, receiving an annuity from one of his family's estates - perhaps related to his entry in the order: J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Montfoort, 1362-1649', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 37 (1982) 289–377, 481–555, there 298.

[859] A.M.C. van Asch van Wijck, 'Stoutmoedige daad en roemrijk sneven van Hendrik van Zuijlen van Nijevelt binnen de stad Utrecht den 8 mei 1483', *Utrecht voorheen en thans: tijdschrift voor geschiedenis, oudheden en statistiek van Utrecht* 2e serie, 1 (1844) 41–57.

[860] Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?'.

## 3.6 Availability of sources

### The Utrecht bailiwick's libraries

Now that we have identified most of the sources of the *Croniken*,[861] our task is to determine where the author may have gained access to these works. First points of inquiry are the libraries of the Utrecht bailiwick itself. This is hardly straightforward, since its medieval book collections have almost completely vanished. The present-day bailiwick archive only contains an incunable of Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* and – on loan – a fifteenth century missal once owned by the bailiwick. The missal was part of the beautifully decorated set of church books that Land Commander Johan van de Zande (≤1409–19) had ordered to be made.[862] As far as can be determined, only two other manuscripts (both breviaries) have survived that were probably part of the same set ordered by Johan van de Zande, as far as I can judge from their dates and similar illuminations.[863] Four manuscripts containing the Middle Dutch *Statutes* have survived, although these could also have belonged to neighbouring bailiwicks.[864] Every commandery will have aimed to own a copy of the *Statutes*. In 1445/6 for instance, the account books of the small commandery of Schoonhoven record the purchase of paper to produce two copies of the revised *Statutes* of 1442.[865] The commander of Dieren ordered a copy in 1449/50.[866] Further manuscripts that were once owned by the Utrecht bailiwick are the Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*,[867] and a Middle Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* written at the end of the fifteenth century.[868] Finally, in 1389 a priest brother of the Utrecht bailiwick, Simon van Sch(r)agen, finished writing a copy of Henry Suso's *Horologium aeternae sapientiae* (Clock of eternal wisdom).[869]

These scant remains of the Utrecht bailiwick's libraries are in line with the sad fate of many medieval book collections of other religious houses in the Low Countries.[870] At least two of the aforementioned manuscripts may have survived only because they changed ownership early, before the end of the fifteenth century.[871] There is also evidence that parts of the

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[861] For an overview of all the sources, see Appendix, Table A.2, Table A.3, and Table A.4.
[862] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.766; L. van Dijk, 'Het missaal van Johan van de Zande', *Overijsselse historische bijdragen* 116 (2001) 45–52; Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, ms. 4411.
[863] Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, ms. 4410; Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Aa 122.
[864] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, xii–xv.
[865] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2615, f. 17v.
[866] Ibid., inv.nr. 1531, f. 3r.
[867] Possibly this is the case for all of the extant manuscripts at some point in time, except manuscript **As**, which was probably written in the commandery of Ootmarsum in the bailiwick of Westphalia. See Appendix, A.5, **As**.
[868] The manuscript contains owner marks of Land Commander Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt (1496-1527) and Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579-1612). We will come back to this manuscript in the next chapter. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133 H 4; For the edition: J.J. Smits, 'De Spiegel van Sassen of zoogenaamde Hollandsche Sachsenspiegel. Volgens het eenigst bekende handschrift uitgegeven', *Nieuwe Bijdragen voor Regtsgeleerdheid en Wetgeving* XXII (1872) 5–72, 169–237.
[869] "Anno domini M° ccc° lxxxix feria sexta post Iudica hic liber scriptus fuerat per manus fratris symonis de scraghen theutonicorum ordinis" Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 290, f. 92v.
[870] P.F.J. Obbema, 'De overlevering van geestelijke literatuur', in: P.F.J. Obbema, *De middeleeuwen in handen. Over boekcultuur in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren 1996) 91–102.
[871] The *Horologium aeternae sapientiae* manuscript belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Saint Paul in Utrecht, whereas the Fulda breviary was used in the bailiwick of Franconia by at least 1502.

book collections were sold off or discarded as early as the sixteenth century, although both known cases concern books that were semi-privately owned by priest-brethren.[872] In general, very little is known about the book collection of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht. The commanderies in the Low Countries are not covered by Mentzel-Reuters' study of the Teutonic Order's libraries.[873] Nevertheless, it is possible to provide a partial reconstruction of some of the bailiwick's libraries by systematically going through the account books and inventories.[874] The oldest extant list of books is dated around 1430/32; the most recent list including medieval books (more than just the two books which are currently held in the archive) dates from 1819. Four date back to the fifteenth century, four to the sixteenth, one to the eighteenth and one to the nineteenth century. They concern eight commanderies and two private collections of priest brethren. The briefest of the inventories contains one book, the longest sixty-three. The smaller commanderies are overrepresented. Large commanderies such as Leiden and particularly Tiel are missing. For the main house in Utrecht only an eighteenth- and an early nineteenth-century listing survived, which contain a few medieval books, which are often described as "half decayed" in a cupboard and a small chamber at the premises.[875]

The combined evidence suggests that almost every commandery had at least a small library. This corresponds to what we know of the commanderies of the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller, and of the Teutonic Order itself.[876] Some important commanderies had a substantial library, as was the case with the library of the Hospitallers at Haarlem. After the dissolution of that commandery in the seventeenth century, its library was largely confiscated by the city of Haarlem.[877] A small commandery such as Schelluinen, which was normally manned by only one to three brethren, one of whom was the local parish priest, owned a collection of around twenty to twenty-five books.[878] An inventory listing these books in 1554 shows a particular interest in texts related to pastoral work.[879] All texts were in Latin and related to religious instruction,

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[872] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2605, f. 6v (1532, Claes Paets/Paedze); Ibid., inv.nr. 1926, f. 3r–3v (1598/99, Frans Worms). See also Appendix, A.2.

[873] Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia*, 110–111.

[874] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 53.4 (Utrecht); inv.nr. 53.11 (Utrecht); inv.nr. 1458, f. 7v (Bunne); inv.nr. 1789 (Doesburg); inv.nr. 1827, f. 10r (Doesburg); inv.nr. 1926, ff. 3r–3v (Katwijk); inv.nr. 2212 (Middelburg); inv.nr. 2197 (Middelburg); inv.nr. 2346 (Rhenen); inv.nr. 2515, ff. 2v–3r (Schelluinen); inv.nr. 2612 (1444/45), ff. 10v–11r (Schoonhoven); inv.nr. 2612 (1468/69, 1466), f. 3v (Schoonhoven).

[875] "half vergaen": Ibid., inv.nr. 53.4.

[876] Legras and Lemaître, 'Practique liturgique'; Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia*.

[877] The catalogue that accompanied the confiscation of 1625 has been preserved, as is a substantial part of the book collection, in the Haarlem city archives: Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Stadsbestuur van Haarlem, inv.nr. 8331; regarding this book collection: G.J. Jaspers, *De blokboeken en incunabelen in Haarlems Libry* (Haarlem: De Vrieseborch 1988); L. Hellinga-Querido ed., *Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de Stadsbibliotheek te Haarlem* (Haarlem: Stadsbliotheek Haarlem 1971); W. Cerutti, *Van Commanderij van Sint-Jan tot Noord-Hollands Archief. Geschiedenis van het klooster en de kerk van de Ridderlijke Orde van het Hospitaal van Sint-Jan van Jeruzalem in Haarlem* (Haarlem: Spaar en Hout 2007).

[878] In absolute terms the amount of books - and type of texts - is comparible with the library of the Teutonic Order's parish of Saint John in Toruń (Poland), which contains twenty-two books in 1405. However, this concerns a large urban parish, whereas Schelluinen is just a small countryside village with around sixty residents at that time. A. Mentzel-Reuters, 'Pfarrbibliotheken des Deutschen Ordens in Thorn und Bern', in: B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014) 105–116, there 108.

[879] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2515, ff. 2v–3r; with explanatory notes: H. J. Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen. De geschiedenis van een commanderij van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 7 (Hilversum: Verloren 2013) 178–180.

except one book with comedies of Terence (d. 159 BC), a typical school text for Latin instruction, and one containing (a part of) the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636 AD). The list contains liturgical books, a "book to evangelize the children",[880] a handbook for parish priests, a few theological texts and a substantial collection of sermons.

The book collections in the Utrecht bailiwick would likewise have contained many books useful for pastoral care. After all, the bailiwick presided over almost thirty parish churches.[881] Some of the book inventories however also contain theological texts not directly useful for practical use in the parish, and a small number of legal works as well as one or two historiographical texts. One of the most diverse lists is an inventory of thirty-five books that belonged to the Schoonhoven commandery in 1444/5, but were embezzled by the two knight-brethren Willem and Godert Ingen Nulandt to Tiel.[882] Gerard van Vliederhoven, author of the popular devotional text *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis* (Heartsease of the Four Last Things), was the first commander and parish priest for the Teutonic Order in Schoonhoven from 1396 to 1402. He may have had a role in bringing together the collection, which included mostly theological texts, works by Aristotle, poetry and a book of medicine. The book inventory mentions a "Liber de quatuor novissimus", which may well have been an autograph copy of the *Cordiale*. None of the sources of the *Cordiale* are included on the list, but Vliederhoven wrote his *Cordiale* when he was still 'dispensator' (*schaffenaar*) of the bailiwick, i.e. before his appointment as commander in Schoonhoven.[883] Furthermore, the list of appropriated books did not necessarily concern the complete book collection of the commandery.

The book inventories do not provide sufficiently complete information to be able to determine whether the sources of the *Croniken* were present in the bailiwick's libraries. Still, there are reasons to believe that the bailiwick owned at least some of the *Croniken*'s sources. The *Statutes* and biblical texts will have been widely available in the bailiwick. The Middle Dutch translation of the *Legenda Aurea* was so widely disseminated in the Low Countries that one may safely assume that a copy will have been present in one of the bailiwick's libraries.[884] For a few sources there is more specific evidence. The Rhenen commandery owned a copy of the *Historia scholastica* by Petrus Comestor (or perhaps Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*) around 1430/32.[885] The aforementioned list from Schoonhoven contained a "Liber de vita Jhesum",[886] which can

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[880] "noch een boeck om die kinderen te kerstelen": Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2515, f. 2v.
[881] J.A. Mol, 'Deutschherren und Johanniter im Bistum Utrecht und ihre Pfarreien', in: Z.H. Nowak ed., *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter*. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica IX (Toruń: UMK 1997) 113–125.
[882] Just one or two years prior, the power in the commandery was usurped by Willem Ingen Nulandt and his carnal brother Godert after they had returned to the Low Countries from Prussia. Only after long negotiations, the brothers Ingen Nulandt left Schoonhoven to settle in the commandery in Tiel. They brought with them from Schoonhoven some linen, a little money, a knife and most importantly the collection of books. A brother Bernard in Tiel – secretely we may suppose – composed a list of these book titles, or at least those he could come up with, and sent it to the commander of Schoonhoven who included it in his account book: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2612 (1444/45), ff. 10v–11r; Regarding the Ingen Nulandt brothers and the power struggles in the bailiwick: Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?', 177, 181–183.
[883] Dusch, *De veer utersten*, 15*.
[884] See notes 482 and 483.
[885] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2346 (ca. 1430/32).
[886] Ibid., inv.nr. 2612 (1444/45), ff. 10v–11r.

have been the *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ* used by the author of the *Croniken*. Although not directly linked to the Utrecht bailiwick, a brother of the Alden Biesen bailiwick owned a copy of the Pentateuch of the *Herne Bible*, a text that was also included in the so-called *Utrecht Bibles* the author of the *Croniken* had been using;[887] it shows that the text of this vernacular history bible was being used in the type of environment of the Teutonic Order.

The small collection of books found in a room at the Utrecht commandery in 1706 included a manuscript "met Duijtsche reimen geschreven", a rhymed text in vernacular. This could have been one of numerous texts. Also hard to identify is "a book starting with *In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost*, being handwritten."[888] It could have been a religious text, but some historiographical manuscripts also use this expression.[889] Two universal chronicles by Hartmann Schedel and Marcantonio Sabellico, printed in 1493 and 1513 respectively, can be positively identified.[890] Although these were obtained after the *Croniken* was written, this is the most compelling evidence from these inventories for an interest in historiographical texts among brethren of the bailiwick.

The sources of the *Croniken* can be placed on a sliding scale based on the intensity of their usage by the author. Some of the sources of the *Croniken* are used so intensively throughout the chronicle that we may assume that the author had daily access to complete copies. This is further confirmed by the methodology by which the author approached these sources: as we have seen on numerous occasions in this chapter, most regularly, information from several such sources were combined to create a new narrative, implying a thorough knowledge of the texts, and in all likelihood continuous access to these texts the time of writing. Moreover, we have seen that the author was able to jump back and forth in some of these sources, selecting information and placing it in different contexts when necessary.[891] This too makes it likely that he had constant access to these titles. Typically, the top of the scale comprises of the chronicles of the Teutonic Order, such as the *Livländische Reimchronik*, *Jeroschin*, perhaps *Dusburg*, the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*.

On the other side of the spectrum, sources can be found that are used not throughout the text, but for specific episodes. Often it is difficult to ascertain whether the author had access to a complete text or not. The main criteria for positioning these sources are how regularly the text was used in the *Croniken*, whether various parts of the source were used or only

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[887] Biemans, *Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften*, 64–65.

[888] "Nog een boek beginnende in den naeme des vaders des soons, en des heyligen geestes, geschreven sijnde": Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 53.4.

[889] Compare the exact same line in a manuscript of the so-called *Chronicle of Gouda*, a fifteenth century chronicle that concerned the County of Holland. However, this appears at the beginning of a new section rather than the absolute beginning of the text. Evidence that the popular chronicle was used in the *Croniken* is lacking. J.M.C. Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming in Holland. Heraut Beyeren en de historiografie omstreeks 1400*. Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de middeleeuwen XIII (Amsterdam: Prometheus 1995) 296.

[890] 1) "Nog een groot foliant beginnende registrum huius operis libri chronicarium, cum viguris et imaginibus ab initio mundi, ad sepitimam etatem mundi"; 2) "Nog een boek genaemt posterior pars eiusdem rapsodie historiarum, sijnde gemeene historie": Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 53.4; The first is Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, still in the bailiwick's possession: 'ISTC', nr. is00307000. The second concerns the 1513 edition of the universal chronicle *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum* (second volume) by Marcantonio Sabellico.

[891] See, for example, section 3.2, "General notes on the author's methods of composition".

one or two episodes, and whether the remaining content of the source could have provided welcome additions to the *Croniken* that were nevertheless not utilized by our author. The latter could imply that our author used only a fragment of the source: perhaps a (partial) transcript or even notes, or indirectly via another text. Looking at these criteria, the *Spiegel historiael*, for instance, probably stands at the upper end of the spectrum of sources used by the *Croniken*'s author. Selections from all five parts of the work were used at various locations in the *Croniken*, every time the history of the Holy Land is discussed. This also applies to its Latin original, by Vincent of Beauvais, which was used in conjunction to the *Spiegel Historiael*.[892] Likewise, complete manuscripts of the *Utrecht Bible*, *Rijmbijbel* and *Northern Netherlands History Bible* will have been continuously available, which were used intensely in the prologue of the *Croniken*. Some of the shorter texts used in the *Croniken* may also have been close at hand, such as the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas* and the *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen*.

A handful of texts were used in only one or two chapters of the *Croniken*, with the sole purpose of adding detail to the account of a certain event. Of the travel account to the Holy Land by Ludolf of Sudheim only the – admittedly lengthy – description of Acre is used. Sudheim's description of Jerusalem for instance, although it could have provided pertinent information for the prologue, was not used in the *Croniken*. Other sources were only used to supplement information in one or two chapters. The hagiographies and other related texts concerning Saint Elisabeth, which will be discussed further below, were probably not present in the local libraries and are a good example of this kind of use.[893] Another example is the so-called *Narratio patriarchae Hierosolymitani*, which deals with the successors of Saladin (c.133–44). Its use coincides with the use of the chronicle on the Kingdom of Sicily by Richard of San Germano as a source.[894] The Old French *Rothelin continuation* of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* by William of Tyre also appears to have been used in these chapters only. It is likely that our author never kept (complete) copies of these texts. Rather, he may have worked from notes that he made or commissioned to have taken of the passages concerned. In some cases, it is possible that the author received the information indirectly, through a compilation. However, I have not been able to identify any compilation that could have been a source for these passages.

## Collecting sources

The texts that are likely to have been accessed in their entirety, specifically those concerning the history of the Teutonic Order, must have been close at hand in the place where the *Croniken* was written. Specific geographical knowledge of the author points at the city of Utrecht as a possible place of origin (see chapter 2.3), but some of the preparatory work or perhaps even part of the writing can have taken place in one of the other commanderies. In those cases in which the

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[892] For the discussions on the use of the *Spiegel historiael* in conjunction with the *Speculum historiale*, see chapters 3.2, "General notes on the author's methods of composition", 3.3, "Crusading literature" and 3.5, "Seventh Crusade".
[893] See chapter 3.6, "Saint Elisabeth and the Marburg connection".
[894] The chronicle by Richard of San Germano was also used in the preceding chapter (c.132). This chapter refers to a certain expedition to the Holy Land by the kings of Aragon (mistakenly read by the athor of the *Croniken* as Hungary) and Navarre, which in reality was based on events on the Iberian Peninsula, culminating in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.

bailiwick's libraries did not provide the necessary sources, the numerous libraries of the episcopal city of Utrecht will have complemented their collections. The author may well have perused the Hospitallers' archive in Utrecht, although there were also numerous other occasions the author may have come into contact with the Order of Saint John.[895] Nevertheless, very few of the *Croniken*'s sources appear among the extant manuscripts that have been identified as having belonged to (religious) institutions in the city of Utrecht.[896] That said, much will have been lost and we may assume that the biblical texts used in the prologue were available in Utrecht. However, whether the full range of crusading literature as well as other historiographical works were available in Utrecht is a more difficult question to answer. Historiography was a poorly represented genre in most medieval libraries in the Low Countries.[897] This applies even more to crusading literature in particular, judging from the scant reception of such texts in the Northern Low Countries.[898] The notable exception – apart from the *Croniken* – is the *Liber bellorum dei*, written by the Dutch chronicler Theodericus Pauli in 1489. It presents a historical survey of all the wars of Christians against heathens and, like the *Croniken*, commences with a description of

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[895] For instance, many commanderies of the Order of Saint John, such as Utrecht but also Middelburg, were located on walking distance from the houses of the Teutonic Order. Possible encounters were not necessarily confined to the diocese of Utrecht. The Hospitallers' bailiff of Chantraine in Hainaut for example, Emond van Emmikhoven (1420–68), was born in the County of Holland within just five to ten kilometres from the place of birth of two land commanders of the Utrecht bailiwick, Nicolaas van der Dussen (1464–7) and Johan van Drongelen (1469–92). Emond van Emmikhoven and the father of Nicolaas van der Dussen were both members of the council of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. At the time, Nicolaas himself was a member of the council of Philip's son, Charles the Bold, and of the council of Charles' brother-in-law and bishop of Liège, Louis de Bourbon. They will most certainly have known each other. E. Gachet, 'Essai sur le baillage d'Avalterre et sur les commanderies de l'ordre de St-Jean de Jérusalem en Belgique', *Compte-rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire ou Recueuil de ses Bulletins* XV (1849) 3–95, there 38–41; J. le Roy, *Topographia historica Gallo-Brabantiæ. Quâ Romanduæ oppida municipia & dominia illustrantur, atque monasteria, nobiliumque prætoria castellaque in æs incisa exhibentur* (Amsterdam: Hermanni Allardi 1692) 22; A crude attempt to reconstruct the Emmikhoven family background can be found in: C. Sigmond and K.J. Slijkerman, 'De 14e eeuwse pastoor Roelof van Emmichoven (Emmikhoven) als stamvader van het geslacht Cranendonck in de Riederwaard', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 59 (2004) 233–242, there 238–239; Regarding Nicolaas van der Dussen: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.772; 'Florens van der Dussen', in: A.J. van der Aa, K.J.R. van Harderwijk and G.D.J. Schotel eds., *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt* 4. 4 (Haarlem: Van Brederode 1858) 407 <http://www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/vdaa/> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[896] Only a copy of the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, owned by the chapter of Saint Mary in Utrecht, and the *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor, owned the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Paul in Utrecht, are returned in the *BNM database*. Both were also available in print at the time of writing. The Canons Regular in Utrecht owned a copy of *De Bello Judaico* by Flavius Josephus, which might have been known to the author of the *Croniken*. Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 'BNM'. The three manuscripts are now owned by the Utrecht University Library, respectively mss. 738, 262 and 121. See also: K.O. Meinsma, *Middeleeuwsche bibliotheken* (Zutphen: Meinsma 1903) 187–189.

[897] In general: Meinsma, *Middeleeuwsche bibliotheken*, 187; Even of an important regional abbey such as Egmond, birthplace for much of the earlier historiographical production in the County of Holland, only 15 out of 232 titles mentioned in its book catalogue are of a predominantly historiographical nature. J.P. Gumbert, 'De Egmondse boekenlijst', in: G.N.M. Vis ed., *In het spoor van Egbert. Aartsbisschop Egbert van Trier, de bibliotheek en geschiedschrijving van het klooster Egmond*. Egmondse studiën 3 (Hilversum: Verloren 1997) 151–179; For Egmond's historiographical production: G.N.M. Vis, 'Historiografie in middeleeuws Egmond', in: G.N.M. Vis and M. Mostert eds., *Heiligenlevens, annalen en kronieken. Geschiedschrijving in middeleeuws Egmond*. Egmondse studiën 1 (Hilversum: Verloren 1990) 9–21.

[898] E.O. van der Werff, 'Ad defendendum terminos christanitatis. Het Liber bellorum dei van Theodericus Pauli (1489)', in: B. Ebels-Hoving, C.G. Santing and C.P.H.M. Tilmans eds., *Genoechlike ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 4 (Hilversum: Verloren 1987) 101–117, there 101; F.W.N. Hugenholtz, De kruistocht in de Noordnederlandse historiografie der Middeleeuwen (inaugural lecture, presented at the Rijksuniversiteit Leiden 28 November 1950); The Benedictine abbey of Egmond owned a few texts on the crusades, but none of the sources that were used by the *Croniken*'s author: Gumbert, 'Egmondse boekenlijst', 168 (nr. 137), 174 (nr. 191), 176 (nr. 227).

Jerusalem. It is significant, however, that Pauli was only able to write such an ambitious chronicle when printed editions of the works of Robert the Monk, Vincent of Beauvais and Alfonso of Spina had become available in the Northern Low Countries.[899] Although a comparison between the *Liber bellorum dei* and the prologue of the *Croniken* is a desideratum, there appear to have been no shared sources, except for the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais.[900]

Some of the crusader histories used in the *Croniken*, such as the *Historia Hierosolymitana* by William of Tyre, the *Historia orientalis* by James of Vitry or – sometimes also included as the third book of the *Historia orientalis* – the *Historia Damiatina* by Oliver of Paderborn, were widely known, and their manuscripts distributed across Europe.[901] Still, there is scant evidence of dissemination of such texts in the Northern Low Countries. The three extant manuscripts of the *Historia orientalis* mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* can all be located in the Southern Low Countries. This also applies to the manuscripts of the chronicle by William of Tyre. Its French translation was particularly popular in Burgundian court circles in the middle of the fifteenth century.[902] Undoubtedly, this interest was triggered by the crusading plans of Philip the Good, which were presented after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453.[903] The *Rothelin continuation* of William of Tyre's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, which may have been used by the author of the *Croniken*, was probably written in or near Soissons in Northern France. All twelve surviving manuscripts can be located in the Île-de-France, Northern France or Flanders.[904] A further case of a source of the *Croniken* where the nearest area of known dissemination is found not in the Northern but in the Southern Low Countries is the chronicle of Richard of San Germano. His text is known in two versions only, both preserved in Italian manuscripts. The longest of those versions, covering the years 1189–1243, is an autograph that remained in his monastery of Monte Cassino in Italy.[905] Evidence of dissemination throughout Europe, let alone the Low Countries, is largely missing. However, a reference to the chronicle can be found in the *Florarium tem-*

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[899] Van der Werff, 'Ad defendendum', 111.
[900] Ibid., 106–111.
[901] Approximately 150 manuscripts still exist that contain (at least a part of) the *History* by James of Vitry, most of them containing the *Historia Orientalis*: J.F. Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry. A critical edition*. Spicilegium Friburgense 17 (Fribourg: University Press of Fribourg 1972) 33; Hoogeweg was able to point at 23 manuscripts of the *Historia Damiatina*, and many chronicles from all parts of Europe that used it directly as a source: Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, LVIII–LXXVII, CLXXIV–CLXXVIII; In general, see also J. Donnadieu, 'L'Historia orientalis de Jacques de Vitry. Tradition manuscrite et histoire du texte', *Sacris Erudiri* 45 (2006) 379–456; J.L. Bird, 'The Historia Orientalis of Jacques de Vitry. Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception, and Utilization', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20 (2003) 56–74.
[902] Manuscripts were owned by Duke Philip the Good, Wolfert VI van Borssele (later owned by Philip of Cleves), Jean de Créquy, Philippe II de Croy and Philippe III de Croy (a different manuscript). H.W. Wijsman, *Luxury bound. Illustrated manuscript production and noble and princely book ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)*. Burgundica XVI (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 246, 262, 303, 310 (note 290), 339, 341.
[903] E.g.: J. Paviot, 'Burgundy and the Crusade', in: N. Housley ed., *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century. Message and Impact* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2004) 70–80; 204–208; K. DeVries, 'The failure of Philip the Good to fulfill his crusade promise of 1454', in: S.J. Ridyard ed., *The Medieval Crusade* (Woodbridge/Rochester, NY: Boydell 2004) 157–170.
[904] Shirley ed., *Crusader Syria*, 4.
[905] Garufi ed., *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano*; J.J. van Moolenbroek, 'Het klaaglied over het debacle van de kruistocht in Egyte (1221) in de kroniek van Ryccardus van San Germano', *Millennium, tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies* 14 (2000) 42–57, there 43–44.

*porum*, a world chronicle written in 1472 by Nicolaas Clopper jr. in the monastery Mariënhage near Eindhoven in Brabant.[906] His father was a canon in Brussels and an avid book collector. A substantial part of his collection was later bequeathed to his son's monastery near Eindhoven.[907] Finally, the source for the chapter on Godfrey of Bouillon (c.103) shows most similarity to historiographical traditions in the diocese of Liège.[908]

Other texts concerning the Holy Land used by the author of the *Croniken* did appear to have been disseminated in the Northern Low Countries. Wilbrand van Oldenburg's *Peregrinatio* was used by the influential chronicler from the Northern Low Countries Johannes de Beke, even though all extant manuscripts can be linked to a Premonstratensian abbey near Soissons in Northern France. Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia regum Terre Sancte* is equally rare. Four manuscripts can be pointed out, only one of which contains the full text as it was known to the *Croniken*.[909] Moreover, the editor Hermann Hoogeweg identified only two chronicles for which the text was used as a source, both from the Northern Low Countries: firstly the *Kroniek van Bloemhof*, written by the abbot Emo of the Premonstratensian monastery Bloemhof in present-day province of Groningen and continued by one of his successors, Menko, who both used the *Historia regum* as a source, and secondly the *Croniken* itself.[910] To this list we should add the aforementioned *Florarium temporum*, written in Brabant, which shows that the text was known in the southern parts of the Low Countries as well.[911]

It appears likely that the author of the *Croniken*, when he collected his materials concerning the Holy Land, gained access to libraries in the Southern Low Countries. This raises the question how this access took place. Taking the intricate nature of the process of selection into account,[912] it is unlikely that the author relied (solely) on the assistance from someone based in the south in gathering the sources. Rather, it is much more likely that the two processes of writing and of collecting the material were conducted by one person. This means that the author handled and examined the manuscripts himself. Thus, we must conclude that the author of the *Croniken* travelled to gather chronicles and other texts and documents that were not readily available in the direct vicinity of the Utrecht commandery. He may have borrowed manuscripts, ordered copies to be made, or produced transcripts of relevant passages himself. Indeed, travelling to many places in order to gather new sources was considered a customary part of the activities of a chronicler at the time the *Croniken* was

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[906] P.C. Boeren, *Florarium temporum. Een wereldkroniek uit het jaar 1472* (Den Haag 1951) 36.
[907] P.C. Boeren, 'De bibliotheek van de Brusselse kanunnik Nicolaus Clopper sr. (1472)', *Het boek. Tweede reeks van het tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 30 (1949) 175–225, there 179.
[908] See note 501.
[909] Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, LVIII.
[910] Ibid., CLXXIII–IV; H.P.H. Jansen and A. Janse eds., *Kroniek van het klooster Bloemhof te Wittewierum*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 20 (Hilversum: Verloren 1991); J.A. Mol, 'Emo', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 575; J.A. Mol, 'Menko', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 1103.
[911] Boeren, *Florarium temporum*, 34.
[912] See chapter 3.2, "General notes on the author's methods of composition", as well as some of the examples discussed in 3.4, "Sources on Prussian history".

written.[913] In his chronicle of the noble family of Brederode, the fifteenth-century chronicler Theodericus Pauli mentions that he visited numerous libraries in search of source materials:

> *For this [chronicle] nearly all the libraries of the city of Utrecht and those of the abbeys of Egmond, Rijnsburg and Mariënweerd were combed through. Moreover, [libraries of the] regular and other orders and also many of the other churches were wandered through while searching.*[914]

Earlier examples include the thirteenth century Premonstratensian abbot Emo and his brother, who are known for having transcribed as many books as possible during their younger years spent to study. When Emo later retired to the monastery of Bloemhof near Groningen he had assembled a valuable library which he used for his own historiographical enterprises.[915] Like Emo, the author of the *Croniken* may have started gathering relevant texts long before the chronicle was written.

This does not exclude the possibility that some of the sources were gathered and brought to Utrecht with the help of others. This may specifically have been the case with some of the sources used to construct the narrative of the later part of the *Croniken*, describing the events in Prussia during the fifteenth century. Brethren from Prussia and Livonia visited the Low Countries a number of times in the fifteenth century. Some returned to the bailiwick after having been stationed in Prussia or Livonia, others merely visited the bailiwick.[916] On such occasions news as well as historical information of the Baltic region, occasionally perhaps in the form of documents, will have reached the brethren of the bailiwick. In the years 1439 to 1451 various negotiations took place between representatives of the grand master and others such as the duke of Burgundy, the king of England, as well as the guilds of the Hanseatic League in Brussels, Bruges, Cologne, Utrecht and Kampen.[917] The commander of Mewe in Prussia (present-day Gniew in Poland) travelled to the German master and from there to the bailiwicks of Utrecht and Alden Biesen in the Winter of 1455/6 and again in spring 1457 to raise money for

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[913] See for instance the description by Jan van Naaldwijk of a fellow historiographer, Willem Hermans, in the early sixteenth century: Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk*, 77; Another example is the historiographer from the Duchy of Guelders, Willem van Berchen: C.P.H.M. Tilmans, 'De Bourgondische dreiging en de vijftiende-eeuwse geschiedschrijving in Gelre. De kronieken van Willem van Berchen (ca. 1415 - na 1481)', *Kroniek Arnhem* 5 (1988) 55–67, there 58.

[914] "Et ad istud perscrutandum fere omnes liberarias Traiectensis civitatis, Egmondensis, Reynsburgensis, Insule sancte Marie, abbaciarum. Insuper regularium ceterorumque ordinum, eciam multarum aliarum ecclesiarum, indagando perlustravi": Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 93r.

[915] P.F.J. Obbema, 'Van schrijven naar drukken', in: P.F.J. Obbema, *De middeleeuwen in handen. Over boekcultuur in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren 1996) 11–34, there 19.

[916] The returning brethren hugely affected the balance of power in the bailiwick, as has been pointed out earlier. In 1459 the Utrecht land commander contacted the grand master for permission to send some of these brethren back to Prussia: E. Joachim (†) and W. Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525* 1.2: 1455-1510 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1950) nr. 15317 (15 June 1459); In general: Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?'.

[917] E.g.: Weise ed., *Staatsverträge* 2 (1438-1467), nr. 195 (Brussels, 10 Feb. 1439), nrs. 242–243 (Bruges, 20 Jan. 1447), nr. 252 (Cologne, 13–28 Jul. 1447), nr. 265 (Bruges, 2 Nov. 1449), nr. 266 (Utrecht, 21 Jun. 1451); Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.1: 1198-1454, nr. 7946 (Kampen, 10–30 Apr. 1441).

the war efforts in Prussia.[918] However, some of the events mentioned in this part of the *Croniken* occurred after the visit of the commander of Mewe, namely in the winter of 1457/8.

Visits appear to have been much rarer after the winter of 1456/7, just as fewer and fewer brethren from the Low Countries took up offices in Prussia and Livonia, or returned from there to the Utrecht bailiwick. I found only two further examples. During several months in 1473 and 1474 negotiations took place in the city of Utrecht, also including representatives from many cities in Prussia, to end the war between England and the Hanseatic League.[919] Although the Teutonic Order was not one of the active participants, the order was affected and it appears likely that representatives of the order in Prussia were present at the Utrecht negotiations as well.[920] In October 1488 the bishop of Reval (present-day Tallinn in Estonia) visited the Teutonic House in Utrecht.[921] However, he could not have been the sole source for the emendations to the list of commanderies in Livonia, since they extend up to the construction of Ivangorod in 1492.[922] Such visits may all have contributed to supply information for the *Croniken*, but there are strong reasons to believe that the author was never completely dependent on such help from others for sources from outside the bailiwick, and obtained access to some sources by travelling. In one particular instance we can point out a specific location where the author of the *Croniken* is likely to have taken advantage of the opportunity to gather material for his chronicle. The evidence which I shall present below makes it likely that he travelled to Germany, where he visited the Teutonic Order's hospital at Marburg and accessed archives in or nearby Marburg.

*Saint Elisabeth and the Marburg connection*

After the description of Hermann of Salza's death, the *Croniken* continues with a description of Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia (c.325–8; c.392). In the Vienna manuscript, the importance of this description in the *Croniken* is marked by an unusually large, five-line high initial. Konrad was brother-in-law to Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, as the *Croniken* points out

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[918] Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.2: 1455-1510, nrs. 14245–14247, nr. 14566, nr. 14739, nr. 14896; The commander of Mewe also travelled with letters regarding the succession of the Utrecht land commander, which was being contested around the same time. This meant that the brethren in the bailiwick were preoccupied with other affairs and he will have had little chance to raise money for Prussia with the brethren at Utrecht. Indeed, the sum of 200 guilders for Prussia is a mere pittance compared to the travel costs and bribes paid by knight brother Johan van Haeften in his (successful) attempt to secure the office of land commander. De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nrs. 381–383; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 330–1, f. 15v.

[919] Regarding the peace treaty: S. Jenks, 'Der Frieden von Utrecht 1474', in: S. Jenks and M. North eds., *Der hansische Sonderweg? Beiträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hanse*. Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte NF 39 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 1993) 59–76; S. Jenks, *England, die Hanse und Preussen. Handel und Diplomatie, 1377-1474* 2 (Diplomatie). Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte NF 38 (Köln: Böhlau 1992) 719–736; G. Neumann, 'Hansische Politik und Politiker bei den Utrechter Friedensverhandlungen', in: K. Friedland ed., *Frühformen englisch-deutscher Handelspartnerschaft. Referate und Diskussionen des hansischen Symposions im Jahre der 500. Wiederkehr des Friedens von Utrecht in London vom 9. bis 11. September 1974*. Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte NF 23 (Köln/Wien: Böhlau 1976) 25–59.

[920] Compare: Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.2: 1455-1510, nrs. 16468–16469, 16490.

[921] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 413; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 213.

[922] See chapter 2.3. The list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies is also briefly addressed in chapter 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".

most conspicuously, and with noticeable pride.[923] Soon after her death in 1231, Elisabeth and the hospital she had established at Marburg became of enormous importance for the Teutonic Order: Konrad of Thuringia and his brother Henry Raspe IV, the last male descendant of the Ludowinger dynasty, played a pivotal role in the transfer of the Marburg hospital – including Elisabeth's grave – to the Teutonic Order in 1234, and in the canonization of Elisabeth in the following year.[924] Thereafter, Elisabeth evolved into the second patron saint to the Teutonic Order, after Mary. At the same time Marburg became one of the most important pilgrimage sites in Europe.[925]

The description of Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia in the *Croniken* contains comments regarding his inheritance, which he donated to the order at his entrance, as well as numerous references to his sister-in-law (c.325). These include a description of his family, including Elisabeth; the canonization of Elisabeth during Konrad's active life; explanations how and why Pope Gregory IX provided the Teutonic Order with Elisabeth's relics, which comprised of her remains as well as her mantle "which came to her by miracle and still is [present] at Marburg" (referring most likely to the so-called 'Kleider-' or 'Mantelwunder'[926]); and a description of how Pope Gregory IX "demanded" that the feast of Saint Elisabeth (19th November) was entered in the order's calendar "as if she was a patron saint."[927] The *Croniken* here refers directly to the 'Laws'

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[923] "Out of love for this Master Konrad of Thuringia and because this master was St Elisabeth's brother-in-law, and as St Elisabeth was buried in the city of Marburg in Hesse in the Teutonic Order's house, Pope Gregory aforementioned gave [the order] the worthy and holy body of this holy woman" ("Ende ter lieften van desen meister Coenraet van Doringen ende om dat dese meister Sinte Elisabetten mans broeder was, ende Sinte Elisabeth in Hessen in der stat tot Merborch in des oirdens huis begraven lach, soe gaff die Paeus Gregorius voirscreven dat weerde heylige lichaem van der heyliger vrouwen"): *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.325.

[924] H. Boockmann, 'Die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg und die frühe Ordensgeschichte', in: Philipps-Universität Marburg and Hessischen Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde eds., *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin - Dienerin - Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1981) 137–150; M. Werner, 'Die Heilige Elisabeth und die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg', in: E. Dettmering and R. Grenz eds., *Marburger Geschichte. Rückblick auf die Stadtgeschichte in Einzelbeiträgen* (Marburg 1980) 121–165; M. Werner, 'Mater Hassiae - Flos Ungariae - Gloria Teutoniae. Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Nachleben der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen', in: J. Petersohn ed., *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*. Vorträge und Forschungen XLII (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1994) 449–540.

[925] Werner, 'Mater Hassiae', 469–471; U. Arnold, 'Elisabeth und Georg als Pfarrpatrone im Deutschordensland Preußen. Zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens', in: U. Arnold and H. Liebing eds., *Elisabeth, der Deutschen Orden und ihre Kirche. Festschrift zur 700jährigen Wiederkehr der Weihe der Elisabethkirche Marburg 1983*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 18 (Marburg: Elwert 1983) 163–185.

[926] During her lifetime, Saint Elisabeth became strongly influenced by the Franciscan Order and the ideal of poverty. In this context and according to the miracle, Elisabeth gave away all her precious clothing to those in need. At some point, a royal delegation visited Thuringia, which meant that she had no clothing befitted to someone of her stature available to welcome these guests. However, when one of her servants went to her closet, by miracle she found a magnificent garment which she could use for the occasion.

[927] Saint Elisabeth's feast day (19th November) is indeed included as "totum duplex" in the liturgical calendar of the order: A. Löffler, 'Elisabeth in der Liturgie des Deutschen Ordens', in: C. Bertelsmeier-Kierst ed., *Elisabeth von Thüringen und die neue Frömmigkeit in Europa*. Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2008) 133–149, there 137–139; Arnold, 'Elisabeth und Georg', 164–165; See also the *Fulda Breviary* that originated in the Utrecht bailiwick and the calender belonging to the *Statutes*: Fulda, HLB, Aa 122, f. 7r; Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 11.

(Gesetze) in the *Statutes* concerning her inclusion in the liturgical calendar.[928] What follows then are a few exempla concerning Konrad's life that are also included in many other chronicles of the Teutonic Order (c.326–8).[929] Later in the *Croniken* (c.392), Konrad's death and his burial close to Elisabeth are described. A new addition in comparison to the known narratives in other chronicles of the Teutonic Order is an unusually detailed account of the Marburg hospital, mentioned as founded by Konrad himself, including a description of its personnel and interior.

It is not surprising that this grand master and his relationship to what would become a patron saint of the order receives special attention in a Teutonic Order's chronicle. However, the *Croniken* is the only historiographical account of the order that treats Elisabeth's close relationship to the Teutonic Order in any detail. *Dusburg* does insert biographical notices of both Elisabeth and Konrad, but does not attempt to link both individuals or describe Elisabeth as a saint of particular importance to the Teutonic Order.[930] Hartmut Boockmann and Udo Arnold have tried to explain this curiosity from different standpoints, both arguing for instance that a more 'peaceful' saint such as Elisabeth would have been less popular in Prussia than an alternative, martial, patron saint: Saint George.[931] All this, however, does little to explain the absence of interest in Elisabeth.

In the Holy Roman Empire, where the *Croniken* was written, on the other hand, Elisabeth was evidently popular. Several churches which were integrated in the Utrecht bailiwick were dedicated to Elisabeth, in Maasland (previously devoted to Mary Magdalen), Steenkerk, and Ootmarsum (dedicated to both Mary, George and Elisabeth), and there were altars devoted to Elisabeth in Utrecht, Maasland, Schelluinen and Middelburg.[932] The list is probably incomplete but clearly illustrates that the saint was subject to widespread devotion.[933] It is therefore not surprising that an author working in the bailiwick would attempt to rectify the reticence in the Prussian dominated historiography concerning Elisabeth of Hungary's link to the Teutonic Order. To do this, our chronicler collected information from sources outside the order's own historiography.

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[928] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 77 (Gesetze 32).

[929] Please note that one of these exempla was not included in the editions by Matthaeus and Hirsch (c.328): Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 80 (note g); Various Teutonic Order's chronicles were used, such as the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 408r–408v; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–33; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 9293–9656; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 44.

[930] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–25, IV–33.

[931] Arnold, 'Elisabeth und Georg', passim; Boockmann, 'Anfänge in Marburg', 143–145, 148 (note 59); see also: Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis*, 26–30.

[932] Mol, *Friese huizen*, 141; Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 91; A. Driessen, 'De parochie Maasland-Ambacht en Maasland', *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom van Haarlem* 6 (1878) 77–115, there 85; A.L. Hulshoff, 'De kapel van de commanderie der Duitse Orde te Ootmarsum', *Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis. Verslagen en mededeelingen* 73 (1958) 57–63, there 59–60 (at least since 1494, though not yet in 1367); Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2525–4, f. 18v; inv.nr. 641–8, f. 2r; inv.nr. 2114; inv.nr. 2115; inv.nr. 2116*; inv.nr. 2117; inv.nr. 2242; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.766.

[933] For other houses of the Teutonic Order compare: Werner, 'Mater Hassiae', 478 (n. 144); E. Bünz, 'Königliche Heilige - Hospitalheilige - "mater pauperum". Der spätmittelalterliche Elisabethkult im deutschsprachigen Raum', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 1 (Aufsätze) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 431–445, there 435, 444.

The most widely available sources concerning Elisabeth's life would be one of the many existing *vitae*. In 1236/7, just a few years after Elisabeth's death and subsequent canonization, Caesarius of Heisterbach wrote a *vita* commissioned by prior Ulrich of Dürn of the Teutonic Order's hospital at Marburg.[934] Among its sources was the shorter text *Libellus de dictis quator ancillarum*.[935] The most influential *vita* of Elisabeth, however, was written by Dietrich of Apolda around 1289/94.[936] Apolda's *Vita* was also available in a Middle Dutch translation.[937] An important group of manuscripts of Dietrich of Apolda's *Vita* are the so-called *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen*, which represent an interpolated account of Apolda's original *vita*. These interpolations (not found in the Middle Dutch translation of Apolda's *Vita*) were written shortly after 1293/4 by an anonymous Benedictine monk from Reinhardsbrunn in Thuringia, and contained additional information on the members of the Ludowinger dynasty, including Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia.[938]

The narrative presented in the *Croniken* indeed appears to have been based primarily on these *vitae*. There are indications that the Teutonic Order's chronicles were used as complementary sources.[939] Furthermore, the mistake made in the *Croniken* that Henry IV Raspe was a son of Elisabeth corresponds to a passage in Veldener's *Fasciculus temporum*.[940] For the bulk of the information in the chapter, however, the author consulted not just one, but several of the lives of Saint Elisabeth have been used to gather information. The words used to describe the canonization of Elisabeth remind us of Dietrich of Apolda interpolated with the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen*, for instance (Table 3.41).

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[934] 'Die Schriften des Caesarius von Heisterbach über die heilige Elisabeth von Thüringen: Das Leben der heiligen Elisabeth. Die Predigt über ihre Translation', in: A. Huyskens ed., A. Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach* III. Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 43 (Bonn: Hanstein 1937) 331–390; E. Könsgen ed., *Das Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth und andere Zeugnisse*. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen. Kleine Texte mit Übersetzungen 67,2 (Marburg: Elwert 2007) 7–91.

[935] 'Caesarius von Heisterbach', 338–339; Könsgen ed., *Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*, 137–193; A. Huyskens, *Der sogenannte Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus* (Kempten/München 1911); A. Huyskens, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elizabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen* (Marburg: Elwert 1908) 15–20; See also the recent contribution by Lothar Vogel: L. Vogel, 'Der Libellus der vier Dienerinnen. Beobachtungen zur Enstehung, Datierung und Wirkungsgeschichte', in: C. Bertelsmeier-Kierst ed., *Elisabeth von Thüringen und die neue Frömmigkeit in Europa*. Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2008) 171–194.

[936] For an overview of the hagiographical text describing Elisabeth of Hungary until Dietrich of Apolda's Vita S. Elyzabeth: M. Rener ed., *Die Vita der heiligen Elisabeth des Dietrich von Apolda*. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen 53 (Marburg: Elwert 1993) 1–7.

[937] L. Scharpé, 'Sunte Elizabetten legende', *Leuvensche Bijdragen op het gebied van de Germaansche Philologie en in het bijzonder van de Nederlandsche Dialectkunde* V (1903) 5–140.

[938] M. Werner, 'Die erweiterte Rezension der Elisabeth-Vita des Dietrich von Apolda (Kat.-Nr. 282)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 429–431; Rener ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*, 9–11.

[939] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–25, 32–34; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 5733–5864, 9239–9728; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 408r–408v; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 43–44.

[940] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 262r.

| **Apolda, Lib. VIII, c. XI-XII**<br>Including (indented) *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen*[941] | ***Croniken*, c.325** |
|---|---|
| Lectis ergo coram omnibus que de **sanctitate vite** et **miraculorum gloria** beate Elyzabeth fuerant recitanda, accensa multitudinis devocio in eius canonisacionem unanimiter ardentissime conclamavit.<br>De **solempni canonisacione** beate Elyzabeth […] | Bij synre tyt wert sinte Elisabeth van den paeus Gregorius die Negende **solempniter gecanoniseert** overmits die **grote miraculen** die sy in horen leven gedaen had ende nae hoirre doot noch dede ende overmits hoir **heylich leven** dat sy leyde. |

*Table 3.41 Comparison of Dietrich of Apolda's* Vita S. Elyzabeth *and the* Croniken *(c.325). Emphasis added.*

The *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen* of Dietrich of Apolda's *vita* were also used to elaborate on a narrative that was already widely available in the Teutonic Order's historiography. In one of the ensuing chapters the *Croniken* describes Konrad of Thuringia's rejection of sinful persons, "as a devout abbot writes about him".[942] This story resembles familiar story elements offered in *Dusburg* and many other of the Teutonic Order's chronicles.[943] Indeed, the adjoining chapters of the *Croniken* draw heavily on these sources. However, while this chapter has all the elements these sources regarding the Teutonic Order present, it diverges on detail, and is more comprehensive. The abbot who is mentioned here in the *Croniken*, is without doubt a reference to the anonymous Cistercian abbot of Haina (a monastery just north of Marburg) described in the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen* (compare the two readings in Table 3.42).

| **Apolda, Lib. VIII, c. IX**<br>*Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen*[944] | ***Croniken*, c.327** |
|---|---|
| Hic ad tantam cordis et operis dei gracia cooperante pervenit mundiciam, quod in egritudine positus nullius, qui criminalis peccati obnoxius esset, presenciam absque gravi cruciatu poterat sustinere [unde necesse fuit totam eius familiam prorsus ab omni crimine abstinere].[945] Aderat tunc vir religiosus abbas de Heyene Cisterciensium ordinis, homo valde venerabilis et devotus, per quem eciam illud vulgatum est, quod narramus. | Dese selve heer Meister Coenraert was van soe heyligen leven dat hij enen sondighen mensche kenden voir enen anderen, als een geestelic abt van hem scrijft. Ende wat lude dat ander lude gheerne tot sonden brochten die en woude hij in synen huse tot ghenen huisgesin houden. |

*Table 3.42 Comparison of Dietrich of Apolda's* Vita S. Elyzabeth *and the* Croniken *(c.327).*

Other *vitae* and texts about Saint Elisabeth left their traces in the *Croniken* too. The donation of the relics points at the *vita* by Caesarius of Heisterbach,[946] whereas the requirement imposed by Pope Gregory IX that Saint Elisabeth's feast day was included in the liturgical calendar corresponds to a passage from Heisterbach's *Sermon on the Translation of Saint*

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[941] Rener ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*, 120.
[942] "als een geestelic abt van hem scrijft": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.327.
[943] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–33; See also: Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 9293–9656; Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 408r; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 44.
[944] This particular passage is part of a section of the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen* which contains an appraisal of grand master Konrad of Thuringia. Rener ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*, 116–117.
[945] The sentence "unde […] abstinere" is found in the manuscripts A, J, L and W. Note the resemblance of "huisgesin" and "totam eius familiam." It is absent from manuscript H (Erlangen) that was used by Monika Rener as the primary witness for the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen*. Ibid., 9–10; 116.
[946] 'Caesarius von Heisterbach', 368.

*Elisabeth*.[947] The description of the interior of the Marburg hospital in chapter 392, with its mention of silken garments, is taken from the epilogue of the aforementioned *Libellus*.[948] The miracle of the mantle is described by Apolda, but was also regularly depicted in works of art.[949] That the Teutonic Order was in possession of a mantle worn by Elisabeth is recorded in just two sources, probably describing two different mantles. The first of these sources is a *vita* of Saint Elisabeth by an anonymous Franciscan. This text describes the mantle as being on display in the Teutonic House at Wissembourg (Weißenburg) in the Alsace in the thirteenth century.[950] However, it is uncertain whether this mantle and the one mentioned in the *Croniken* are one and the same; the *Croniken* refers to the supposedly lavish and luxurious mantle of the so-called "Mantelwunder", while the mantle in the Franciscan *vita* is supposed to have been a frugal habit that had belonged to Saint Francis himself before it came in the possession of Saint Elisabeth.[951] The second source describing a mantle of Saint Elisabeth is an inventory made by the sacristan of the Marburg convent in 1477. Among numerous liturgical objects a "sente Elsebet mantel" is found.[952] Perhaps this mantle in Marburg is to be identified with a mantle now in Klagenfurt.[953] The inventory is an unlikely source of information about the mantle for the author of the *Croniken*, nor is there evidence of how well known an attraction the mantle might have been at Marburg[954] – many other relics of Saint Elisabeth were

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[947] Ibid., 386; Könsgen ed., *Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*, 93–115; On the celebration of Saint Elisabeth in the Teutonic Order see also: Werner, 'Mater Hassiae', 481; Werner, 'Anfänge in Marburg', 153; Arnold, 'Elisabeth und Georg', 169–170; B. Demel, 'Die heilige Elisabeth von Thüringen. Patronin des Deutschen Ordens', *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien* 12 (1993) 74–96.

[948] Könsgen ed., *Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*, 192–193; Huyskens, *Libellus*, 80.

[949] Rener ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*, 42–43; Scharpé, 'Sunte Elizabetten legende', 37–38.

[950] L. Pieper, 'A New Life of St Elizabeth of Hungary. The Anonymous Franciscan', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 93 (2000) 29–78, there 69–70.

[951] The "anonymous Franciscan" describes how a certain "Berthold" (i.e. the German preacher Berthold of Regensburg) was at the Teutonic House in Wissembourg in the Alsace when he witnessed the mantle. It could be that this mantle is the same as the so-called "Bußgewand". The *Bußgewand* was held in the Cistercian nunnery of Tiefenthal nearby Wissembourg and now is kept in Oberwalluf. In these early years, Tiefenthal maintained close ties to the Teutonic Order which suggests a transfer might have taken place. Matthias Werner however, finds it more probable that these were two different pieces of clothing of Elisabeth. M. Werner, 'Grosse Franziskanische Elisabeth-Vita (Fragment I) (Kat.-Nr. 229)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 344–347; M. Werner, 'Grosse Franziskanische Elisabeth-Vita (Fragment II) (Kat.-Nr. 230)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 348–349; R. Schorta, 'Sog. Bussgewand der heiligen Elisabeth (Kat.-Nr. 56)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 120–121; R. Grönwoldt, 'Sog. Bußgewand der hl. Elisabeth', in: Philipps-Universität Marburg and Hessischen Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde eds., *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin - Dienerin - Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1981) Kat.–Nr. 55, 387–390.

[952] U. Braasch-Schwersmann, *Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg. Wirtschaft und Verwaltung einer spätmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft*. Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Verfassungs- und Landesgeschichte 11 (Marburg: Elwert 1989) 254.

[953] R. Schorta and R. Knaller, 'Sog. Mantel der heiligen Elisabeth (Kat.-Nr. 23)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 71–73; For the mantle from Klagenfurt in general: R. Knaller, 'Der sogenannte Mantel der heiligen Elisabeth. Konservierungswissenschaftlische Untersuchungen und neue Erkenntnisse', in: G. Krist and M. Griesser-Stermscheg eds., *Konservierungswissenschaften und Restaurierung heute. Von Objekten, Gemälden, Textilien und Steinen*. Konservierungswissenschaft, Restaurierung, Technologie 7 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 2010) 191–205.

[954] It should also be noted that the mantle is recorded as part of the collection of the sacristan and is not included in the 1480 inventory of the "Heiltummeister", who supervised the relics of the Teutonic Order's church and convent at Marburg. Braasch-Schwersmann, *Deutschordenshaus Marburg*, 245–247.

much more renowned across Europe.[955] It is therefore more than plausible that the author of the *Croniken* himself visited the church in Marburg and there saw the mantle – which he believed to be still present in Marburg.[956]

There are additional reasons to assume that the author of the *Croniken* had first-hand knowledge of Marburg, and had visited the Teutonic Order's convent there. Archival material from Marburg appears to have been used for certain passages in the chronicle. Thus, for example, Konrad's bequest to the Teutonic Order is not mentioned in any of the Teutonic Order's chronicles, nor in any of the *vitae* of Saint Elisabeth. Nonetheless, the *Croniken* was either well informed, or made a fortuitous guess.[957] When Konrad entered the Teutonic Order, he and his family made a substantial number of donations to the order.[958] Evidence of these donations can be found in archival documents from Marburg and in a few, more regional, chronicles.[959] Local knowledge, from archives or otherwise, may also explain the misunderstanding, in chapter 392, that Konrad himself founded the Marburg hospital, rather than the commandery. The apparently fourteenth-century epitaph at Konrad of Thuringia's tombstone states "Master Konrad, Landgrave, is the founder of this monastery."[960] Although it was not meant to refer to the Marburg hospital as such, which was founded prior to the commandery, the notice is easily mistaken. Indeed, also the detailed description of the hospital's facilities, apart from the reference to silken garments taken from the *Libellus*, suggests a certain familiarity with local customs and arrangements.[961]

As we have seen in so many chapters throughout the *Croniken*, here too the author of the chronicle seems to have combined information from various sources into a single account. A combination of the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen* of Dietrich of Apolda's *vita* of Saint Elisabeth, the *vita* by Caesarius of Heisterbach, his *Sermon on the Translation*, and last but not least the *Libellus* were used, as well as perhaps archival material from Marburg, and first-hand local knowledge. The author of the *Croniken* integrated these with the narrative offered by various of the Teutonic Order's chronicles. A second possibility would be that the author of the *Croniken* used a single source which already incorporated information

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[955] In general: Th. Franke, 'Zur Geschichte der Elisabethreliquien im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit', in: Philipps-Universität Marburg and Hessischen Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde eds., *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin - Dienerin - Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1981) 167–180.

[956] "The mantle that came to her unexpectedly by miracle, that is still at Marburg" ("Den mantel, die hoir bij mirakel onversiens quam, die noch tot Marburg is"): *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.325.

[957] "He brought large properties from his paternal inheritance into the order" ("Hy bracht groot goet in der oirden van syn patrimonium"): Ibid.

[958] Boockmann, 'Anfänge in Marburg', 139–142.

[959] A. Wyss ed., *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordens-Ballei Hessen* I. Hessisches Urkundenbuch I. Publicationen aus den königlich preußischen Staatsarchiven 3 (reprinted Osnabrück: Zeller 1965; Leipzig 1879) nrs. 44–46, 55; O. Holder-Egger, 'Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis', in: O. Holder-Egger ed., *Supplementa Tomorum XVI-XXV*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 30,1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1896) 490–658, there 614; O. Holder-Egger, 'Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum', in: O. Holder-Egger ed., *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia saec. XII. XIII. XIV.* Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 42 (Hannover/Leipzig 1899) 72–116, there 88.

[960] "Magister Conradus lantgravius fundator huius monasterii": D. Großmann, 'Konrad von Thüringen als Deutschordensritter am Grabmal der hl. Elisabeth', in: Philipps-Universität Marburg and Hessischen Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde eds., *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin - Dienerin - Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1981) Kat.–Nr. 121, 489–490.

[961] A possible source for the hospital facilities and personnel, apart from its interior provided in the *Libellus*, has not been found, but may also have originated from personal observations. Wyss ed., *Urkundenbuch Ballei Hessen* I, nrs. 40–42.

from these different sources.[962] A comparison between Peter of Dusburg's description of Konrad of Thuringia and the numerous interpolations concerning Konrad in the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen* shows that these two texts may have shared a common source – something that has not previously been noticed.[963] This text would have contained biographical information about the grand master, and an account of his role in the canonization of his sister-in-law. It must have been a significant source for the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen*, but may otherwise have had a fairly limited scope in terms of its content. Perhaps it was the little book with notes about Elisabeth's canonization, which was available at the Teutonic Order's house at Marburg, and was mentioned by Caesarius of Heisterbach as one of his sources.[964] It cannot be discarded, nor confirmed, that the *Croniken* made use of this now lost text as well. It may have been used for the exempla in chapters 326–8.

The use of this variety of aforementioned sources by the author of the *Croniken*, provides an indication that he found sources beyond geographically proximate libraries and archives. Some must have been available nearby. Dietrich of Apolda's *vita*, for example, was a particularly well-known text, including in the Low Countries.[965] Even of the manuscripts containing the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen* several have survived, although the majority of manuscripts do appear to have originated in the centre or south of the Holy Roman Empire rather than for instance the Lower Rhine region.[966] The widely available Middle Dutch translation was not used for the *Croniken*, nor is there any reason to assume that James of Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (either in Latin or in Middle Dutch) provided details for this particular part of the chronicle – even though we know this work was used for the prologue. Caesarius of Heisterbach's two texts on Elisabeth were less widely circulated. Of his *vita* only one complete – now lost – manuscript is recorded, although its editor warns us not to confuse this with a lack of reception.[967] Nonetheless, there is no evidence that his *vita* or *Sermon* were ever available in the Northern Low Countries.[968] The *Libellus* existed both in its original short form, and in a form with an added prologue

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[962] Without providing further evidence, Hirsch thought the passage originated from a now unknown tradition, thus arguing for a one-text origin: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 31.

[963] For instance, pay attention to the abbot, the role of the confession and Konrad's ability to handle sinful persons in both texts. Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, IV–33. *Jeroschin*, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* and the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* all provide a derivative storyline.

[964] Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie', 67.

[965] Werner points at the popularity of the text within the movement of Devotio Moderna. Werner, 'Elisabeth-Vita (Kat.-Nr. 281)'; M. Werner, 'Die Elisabeth-Vita des Dietrich von Apolda (1289/94)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 426–428.

[966] The extant manuscripts were located in Heilsbronn near Nuremberg, "Central Germany", Brandenburg, Leipzig, and Vienna. Rener ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*, 8–11; Werner stresses its popularity, but also the need for more research. The Jena-group of the *Rezensionen* could have orginated in Marburg, but this is not certain. Werner, 'Erweiterte Rezension (Kat.-Nr. 282)'.

[967] 'Caesarius von Heisterbach', 341–342.

[968] Interestingly, much of the reception seems to have taken place around the Southern Low Countries and Northern France, according to Könsgen and Werner. E. Könsgen and M. Werner, 'Die "Vita Sancte Elyzabeth Lantgravie" des Cäsarius von Heisterbach (Kat.-Nr. 153)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 227–229; W. Stürner, 'Bericht des Cäsarius von Heisterbach (1236/37) (Kat.-Nr. 99)', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 2 (Katalog) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 161–162. There is also no evidence that the anonymous Franciscan *vita* was ever available in the Northern Low Countries, but its use for the *Croniken* is not likely.

and epilogue (the latter being used for the *Croniken*). Both types of the text circulated widely, although there is no evidence of dissemination in the Dutch Low Countries.[969]

The archival material that appears to have been used by the author of the *Croniken* for this chapter, will only have been available locally in archives in or around Marburg or in Thuringia. Several of the more informative texts concerning Saint Elisabeth's life could be found there as well. In 1468, a manuscript containing the *Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen* was donated to the Teutonic House in Marburg.[970] The combination of this concentration of sources regarding Saint Elisabeth in Marburg – which were not available in the Low Countries –, the author's detailed description of the Marburg hospital's facilities, and his reference to Elisabeth's mantle, support the possibility that the author travelled to or via Marburg and visited local libraries to look for relevant texts which were unavailable in Utrecht or the Northern Low Countries. This does not need to have been a journey solely for gathering texts. We know for instance that delegations of the Utrecht bailiwick travelled to general chapter meetings in Frankfurt am Main in 1455, 1457, and 1479.[971] The return journey to Utrecht will usually have taken these delegations to Koblenz and from there down the Rhine, but an outbound journey to Frankfurt via Marburg, also a popular pilgrimage destination, will have extended the 420 kilometres journey from Utrecht by a reasonable 75 kilometres.[972]

*Sources from Prussia and Livonia*

If the author indeed gathered material for the *Croniken* in the Southern Low Countries and Marburg, the possibility that he visited other archives during his travels in Europe needs to be considered as well. Especially the origin of the various sources from Prussia and Livonia requires explanation. With regard to the Teutonic Order's chronicles, there is little evidence that the texts were known outside Prussia and Livonia; particularly little evidence exists of dissemination in the Holy Roman Empire prior to the secularization in Prussia in 1525 and the subsequent move of the grand masters' headquarters

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[969] No manuscripts can be found in the *Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections* and *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* databases that contain manuscripts from the Low Countries. The shorter, original version circulated mainly in Southern and Middle Germany, France and Northern Italy. The extended version was found primarily in German and French speaking areas and Tuscany, Switzerland and the Alsace: I. Würth, 'Die Aussagen der vier "Dienerinnen" im Kanonisationsprozess und ihre Überlieferung im sogenannten "Libellus"', in: D. Blume and M. Werner eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen - eine europäische Heilige* 1 (Aufsätze) (Petersberg: Imhof 2007) 187–192, there 190; Rener ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*, 4; P.G. Schmidt, 'Die zeitgenössische Überlieferung zum Leben und zur Heiligsprechung der heiligen Elisabeth', in: Philipps-Universität Marburg and Hessischen Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde eds., *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin - Dienerin - Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1981) 1–6, there 3–5; Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 'BNM'; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections' <http://www.mmdc.nl> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[970] B. Tönnies, *Die Handschriften der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena* 1: Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Handschriften der Electoralis-Gruppe (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2002) 174.

[971] Regarding 1455 and 1457: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 330–1, ff. 4v and 6v; Regarding 1479: D.J. Weiss, *Die Geschichte der Deutschordens-Ballei Franken im Mittelalter*. Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte 39 (Neudstadt a.d. Aisch: Kommissionsverlag Degener & Co 1991) 368; Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.2: 1455-1510, nr. 16819.

[972] The calculations were based on the mileages mentioned on the map of postal roads included in Adolf Stieler's *Hand-Atlas*: A. Stieler, 'Deutschland und anliegende Länder, zur Übersicht d. Hauptstr. u. Entfernungen zw. Paris, Mailand, Warschau u. Königsberg'. *Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde nach dem neuesten Zustande und über das Weltgebäude* (1st edn; Gotha: Perthes 1842) <http://www.atlassen.info/atlassen/perthes/stiha01/picslarge/stiha1842k020s.jpg> [accessed 2 May 2016].

to Mergentheim in Franconia. Medieval manuscripts of Peter of Dusburg's *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* are non-existent, but all early modern manuscripts that can be located are connected to either Prussia or – in one case – to Livonia.[973] Similarly, the only two known manuscripts of the *Livländische Reimchronik* stem from Riga and East Prussia.[974] The vast majority of manuscripts and fragments of *Jeroschin* originated in Prussia too.[975] There are a couple of exceptions. Apart from a seventeenth-century copy written in Mergentheim, there is a fourteenth-century fragment written in a Rhenish-Franconian or Hessian dialect. It may, however, have been written by someone from these regions who had become stationed in Prussia.[976] This issue also affects a (now lost) manuscript from Dresden, written in a Bavarian or Austrian dialect.[977] Other chronicles, such as the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* and the *Kleine Meisterchronik* from Livonia, did circulate in the Holy Roman Empire after the secularization in Prussia, but there is no evidence for such dissemination earlier.[978]

The *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* is an exceptional case, recently examined in detail by Mathieu Olivier, who identified five main groups among the twenty-five manuscripts, ten lost manuscripts and a couple of fragments (Figure 3.21). Two of these groups and one subgroup circulated in the Holy Roman Empire.[979] Between the end of 1455 and the spring of 1456, less than two decades after the original chronicle was written, a manuscript was brought from Marienburg in Prussia to the bailiwick of Franconia.[980] From there the text quickly spread in Franconia, Swabia, the south-eastern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Upper Rhine region.[981] None of the extant manuscripts can be traced to the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, including the Low Countries.[982] By the time the *Croniken* was written the text was already widely received in certain parts of the Holy Roman Empire – although as far as we know, not in the Low Countries.

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[973] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, 19–20; Some short notices regarding the reception of the text: M. Wüst, 'Zu Entstehung und Rezeption der "Chronik des Preußenlandes" Peters von Dusburg', in: B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014) 197–209, there 207–208.

[974] M. Miller and K. Zimmermann eds., *Die Codices Palatini Germanici in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. germ. 304-495)*. Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2007) 247–250 (Cod. Pal. germ. 367).

[975] Fischer, *Chronicle of Prussia*, 10–11; 'Nikolaus von Jeroschin: "Kronike von Pruzinlant" (www.handschriftencensus.de)'.

[976] U. Bartels and J. Wolf, 'Neues zur Überlieferung der "Kronike von Pruzinlant" des Nikolaus von Jeroschin', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 127 (1998) 299–306, there 301–302; R.G. Päsler, 'Die Handschriften der "Kronike von Pruzinlant" des Nikolaus von Jeroschin. Ein Beitrag zur Buchkultur und Literaturgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens', in: B. Jähnig and A. Mentzel-Reuters eds., *Neue Studien zur Literatur im Deutschen Orden*. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, Beihefte 19 (Stuttgart: Hirzel 2014) 265–287, there 291.

[977] Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', 304.

[978] The manuscripts of the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* can be linked to the bailiwicks of Franconia and Austria, whereas the text has been used in both Utrecht (by the *Croniken*) and Gdańsk. Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 967–968, 1004–1006, 1076; Manuscripts of the Kleine Meisterchronik have ended up in Livonia, Prussia as well as the bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire. Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 205–208.

[979] These concern the manuscripts in groups III and IV, as well as subgroup Ib.

[980] This would be the archetype of groups III and IV, "ms. α" in Olivier's terminology. Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 814; For the date of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* in general (between 1431 and 1440, specifically 1437-1440): Ibid., 651–654.

[981] The oldest extant manuscript of group III, ms. Z, was composed as early as around 1456-1465 perhaps in Nuremberg. Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 143; Most manuscripts of group IV were written in Franconia in the 1490s. Ibid., 146–147, 147–151, 878; The earliest extant manuscript of the subgroup Ib (ms. Es) was written around 1510. Ibid., 152–153; The manuscripts of group Ib can be located in the south-eastern parts of the Empire, Swabia or the Upper Rhine. Ibid., 905.

[982] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1009.

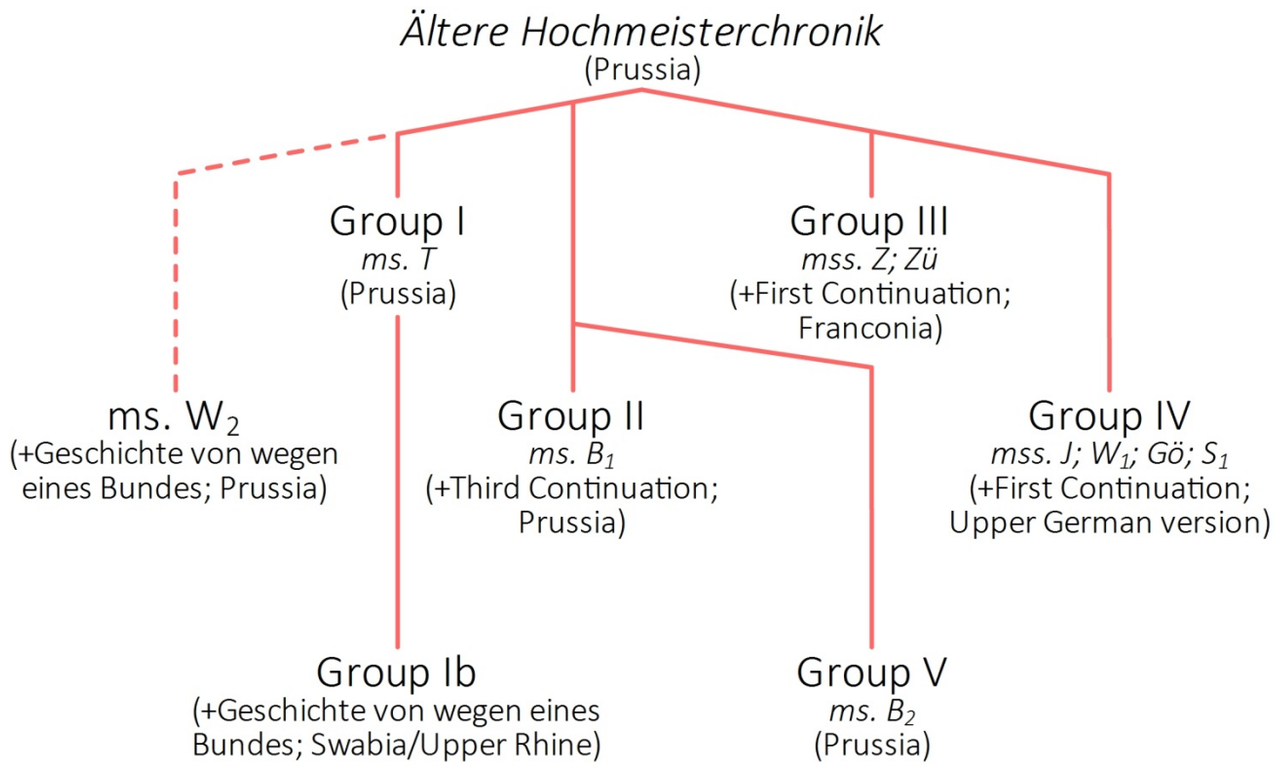


*Figure 3.21 Simplified version of Olivier's stemma of the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik *with references to those manuscripts of which the variations are included in the new critical edition.*[983]

However, the manuscript of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* that the author of the *Croniken* perused probably did not belong to any of the groups that were known to have been circulating in the Holy Roman Empire.[984] In reality, the situation is even more complex. Below, both the similarities as well as differences between the *Croniken* and the variants of the manuscripts of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* included in the new critical edition by Olivier are provided for the five manuscript groups (Tables 3.43–3.48). Since the primary source of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, *Jeroschin*, was also accessed directly by the author of the *Croniken*, for each variant it must be excluded that the *Croniken* incorporated it via another source than the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. This also applies to the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* that used the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* as one of its sources.[985]

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[983] Ibid., 305.

[984] Olivier himself noticed difficulties in determining which manuscript or manuscript group the author of the *Croniken* used, but he assumed that "of the three branches represented in the Empire (groups Ib, III and IV), group III is the one with which the compiler's copy seems to have the greatest affinity". ("Des trois rameaux de la tradition représentés dans l'Empire (groupes Ib, III et IV), le groupe III est celui avec lequel l'exemplaire X du compilateur semble avoir eu le plus d'affinités"): Ibid., 1011.

[985] Olivier discarded the possibility that the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* used either group III, IV or ms. T (group I) and assumed the manuscript will have probably been an earlier text belonging to Group I. However, in one of the following tables the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* (in the Berlin tradition that is closest to the text used by the *Croniken*) shows similarities with Group IV, rejected by Olivier. Problem might be that some of the traditions - independent of each other - added stories that could easily have come from different manuscript exemplars of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. Ibid., 975–977.

Taking this into account, a few conclusions can be drawn. First, we can exclude all extant manuscripts as exemplars for the *Croniken*. Not one of the texts provides each of the individual readings represented in the *Croniken*. Judging from these variants, several groups can be excluded altogether (Table 3.43, Table 3.45 and Table 3.47).[986] Of further importance is that the *Croniken* never used two extensions to the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* which were attached to certain groups of manuscripts, the so-called *First Continuation* and the *Geschichte von wegen eines Bundes*.[987] While the *Croniken* addresses the same issues and events as these two extensions, it uses different sources. Therefore it is unlikely that the author used a manuscript of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* with these additions and chose to ignore them.[988] While most evidence can only be used to exclude witnesses, a few manuscripts provide specific variants that do agree with the *Croniken*, some of which are particularly notable.[989]

| ***Croniken*** | | ***Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*** | | | | **Other chronicles** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **Standard reading** | | **Aberrant reading** | | | |
| **c.435** | weder thuis | **c. 69** | wider heym | **T:** | heym | ***Jeroschin*, v. 12896** | hin kegn |
| **c.514** | enen dach | **c. 112** | eyn hilge czeit | **T:** | eyn tag | ***Jeroschin*, v. 18936** | in sulchin tagin |
| **c.522** | *[chapter present]* | **c. 88** | *[present]* | **G:** | *[absent]* | ***Jeroschin*, vv. 14899–962** | *[present]* |
| **c.523** | crucifix | **c. 45** | cruczewis | **T:** | *[absent]* | ***Jeroschin*, v. 9822** | crûzewîs |

*Table 3.43 Similarities and differences between the* Croniken *and manuscripts of Group I (Prussian origin) of the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik.[990]

| ***Croniken*** | | ***Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*** | | | | **Other chronicles** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **Standard reading** | | **Aberrant reading** | | | |
| **c.251** | nap | **c. 9** | napfe | **$W_2$:** | *[absent]* | ***Jeroschin*, v. 4184** | napfe |
| **c.461** | eten sij, drincken sij | **c. 50** | sy trinken adyr essen | **$W_2$:** | *[absent]* | ***Jeroschin*, v. 10443** | sî trinkin odir ezzin |
| **c.461** | Aldus hebben mijn kijnder mij geheel vergeten | **c. 50** | Vnser han my gancz vorgessen | **$W_2$:** | Meines liben kindes vnd meiner han sy gancz vorgessen | ***Jeroschin*, v. 10444** | unsir sî vorgezzin |
| **c.574** | Narmant | **c. 156** | Narmante | **$W_2$:** | *[absent]* | **n/a** | |
| **c.583** | die god ghenadich wil sijn | **c. 160** | Den got gnade | **$W_2$:** | den got gnedig sey | **n/a** | |

*Table 3.44 Similarities and differences between the* Croniken *and manuscript ms. $W_2$ (Prussian origin) of the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik.

[986] These are groups I (ms. T), II (ms. $B_1$), and IV (mss. J, $W_1$, Gö, and $S_1$). The corresponding reading "enen dach" (c.514) or "eyn tag" (ms. T) could have easily derived from *Jeroschin* ("in sulchin tagin") (Table 3.43).

[987] The *First Continuation* was added to groups III and IV and the *Geschichte von wegen eines Bundes* was added to manuscript $W_2$ and group Ib. Except for manuscript $W_2$ these were all produced in the Holy Roman Empire.

[988] See earlier or: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1009–1010.

[989] This concerns the manuscripts $W_2$, Z, and $B_2$. Note for instance c.461, in which ms. $W_2$ is the only manuscript that also denotes the children (Table 3.44). In the same chapter the *Croniken* mentions "schonen vrouwen" (beautiful women) in accordance to ms. $B_2$ "seuberlichen frawen" and in contrast to the "bosen weibin" (bad women) mentioned elsewhere (Table 3.48). An example of strong similarity between the *Croniken* and ms. Z, also mentioned by Olivier, is provided in c.522 (Table 3.46). The other main example provided by Olivier on this page, is based on a misunderstanding. The *Croniken* combines two chapters of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* here, and the word "compaen" (c.524 in the *Croniken*) comes from the chapter c. 83 of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* instead of c. 122. Ibid., 1011.

[990] For reference to ms. G (not included in the critical edition): Ibid., 1010.

| *Croniken* | | *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* | | | | Other chronicles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Standard reading | | Aberrant reading | | | |
| **c.248** | sterren | **c. 9** | sterne | **$B_1$:** | *[absent]* | ***Jeroschin*, v. 4006** | stêrne |
| **c.529** | hij en jaghede nyet seer | **c. 134** | Her iayte nicht sere | **$B_1$:** | Her iayte sich sere | ***Jeroschin*, vv. 23365–82** | *[absent]* |
| **c.529** | have | **c. 134** | habe | **$B_1$:** | war | ***Jeroschin*, v. 23396** | habe |
| **c.578** | in eren ende in rijckdom | **c. 169** | an eren, an reichtum | **$B_1$:** | an anderen reichtumer | **n/a** | |

*Table 3.45 Similarities and differences between the* Croniken *and manuscripts of Group II (Prussian origin) of the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik.

| *Croniken* | | *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* | | | | Other chronicles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Standard reading | | Aberrant reading | | | |
| **c.251** | droncken | **c. 9** | trunckyn | **ZZü:** | voll | ***Jeroschin*, v. 4191** | trunkin |
| **c.436** | onbehende | **c. 71** | vmbehende | **Z:**<br>**Zü:** | vein behende<br>*[absent]* | ***Jeroschin*, v. 12999** | ungehuir |
| **c.522** | ende ther stont lyede hij die waerheit van den verraet | **c. 88** | vnd do her in der valscheit bekante | **Z:** | er bekant in zu stund die ferrethnys | ***Jeroschin*, vv. 14937–8** | und dô in irkant wart sin valscheit |
| **c.574** | Narmant | **c. 156** | Narmante | **Z:** | Marmante | **n/a** | |
| **c.578** | in eren ende in rijckdom | **c. 169** | an eren, an reich-tum | **Z:** | *[absent]* | **n/a** | |
| **c.583** | Exurge domine | **c. 160** | Exurge quare ob-dormis domine | **Z:** | Exaude quare ob-dormis domine | **n/a** | |

*Table 3.46 Similarities and differences between the* Croniken *and manuscripts of Group III (Franconian origin) of the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik.

| *Croniken* | | *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* | | | | Other chronicles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Standard reading | | Aberrant reading | | | |
| **c.251** | nap | **c. 9** | napfe | **$GöJS_1W_1$:** | becher | ***Jeroschin*, v. 4184** | napfe |
| **c.326** | ewige ryck | **c. 44** | ewige rich | **$GöJS_1W_1$:** | ewige leben | ***Jeroschin*, v. 9396** | himelische gût |
| | | | | | | ***Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, c. 5 (f. 408r)** | ewig lebenn |
| **c.525** | compaen | **c. 126** | compan | **$GöJS_1W_1$:** | gesellen | ***Jeroschin*, v. 21193** | geselle |

*Table 3.47 Similarities and differences between the* Croniken *and manuscripts of Group IV (Upper German origin) of the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik.

| *Croniken* | | *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* | | | | Other chronicles | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Standard reading | | Aberrant reading | | | |
| **c.274** | buyck | **c. 37** | bawche | **$B_2$:** | leib | ***Jeroschin*, v. 9102** | *[absent]* |
| **c.332** | "Heer, vliet" | **c. 29** | "Wol uf, vlihet durch got!" | **$B_2$:** | "Wol uf ir herren, vlihet durch got!" | ***Jeroschin*, v. 7905** | "Bald uf!" sprach er "vlit durch got" |
| **c.332** | knecht | **c. 29** | knechte | **$B_2$:** | geselle | ***Jeroschin*, v. 7930** | knechte |
| **c.461** | kijnde | **c. 50** | kinde | **$B_2$:** | szon | ***Jeroschin*, v. 10438** | sune |
| **c.461** | schonen vrouwen | **c. 50** | bosen weibin | **$B_2$:** | seuberlichen frawen | ***Jeroschin*, vv.10440–50** | *[absent]* |
| **c.522** | sijnen soen ende sijn knechten | **c. 88** | seynen son vnd eynen knecht | **$B_2$:** | seynen son vnd seynen knecht | ***Jeroschin*, v. 14941** | sinen sun und einen knecht |
| **c.525** | Lettauwen | **c. 126** | Littawen | **$B_2$:** | leut | ***Jeroschin*, v. 21179** | Littouwin |
| **c.525** | in enen wech | **c. 126** | *[absent]* | **$B_2$:** | die pfad | ***Jeroschin*, v. 21196** | daz pfat |

*Table 3.48 Similarities and differences between the* Croniken *and manuscripts of Group V (Prussian origin) of the* Ältere Hochmeisterchronik.

This outcome is rather problematic. If the *stemma codicum* constructed by Mathieu Olivier is correct, the manuscripts that contain these readings similar to the *Croniken* are not representatives of a single separate branch, but belong to three different groups. These branches only converge at the top of the *stemma codicum*. A couple of scenarios are possible. Perhaps some of the variants that correspond to the *Croniken* may have been coincidental resemblances. Furthermore, it would be possible – at least in theory – that the author of the *Croniken* had several manuscripts of the *Ältere Hochmeis-*

*terchronik* at his disposal. Given that two important variant readings occur in one and the same chapter (c.461), this scenario is not that likely, however. It is also feasible that the author of the *Croniken* used a so-called contaminated manuscript that was copied from more than one exemplar.[991]

Another distinct possibility is that the manuscript tree of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* is much more complex than currently predicted. Olivier's stemma assumes that the original text was handed down in one authorized version and that only two copies of this original text were made, manuscripts α and β. Both are potentially precarious assumptions, though in fairness I have not been able to come up with good alternatives. There are however some clues that earlier stages of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* existed and were copied. Note the chapters 39 to 42 of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, a short and peculiar digression from the narrative of *Jeroschin*. Chapters 39–41 were based on the *Livländische Reimchronik*, chapter 42 contains an exemplum perhaps taken from Arnold of Liège's *Alphabetum Narrationum*.[992] When one would investigate transitions in the text with the purpose of finding evidence of a complex genesis of the chronicle, these chapters would be high on the list. Indeed, these chapters are not present in all manuscripts. Most notably, in the manuscripts which have important corresponding variants to the *Croniken*, these chapters are either omitted in part, in their entirety, or have their order rearranged.[993] This all may be purely coincidental of course.[994] However, it can also point at a intricate writing process, which in turn may lead to a complex stemma.

In the end, we are not much closer in pointing out which manuscript or manuscript branch was used by the *Croniken*. Indeed, our investigation has brought to light more questions than answers. Since we can exclude all extant manuscripts (and their descendants), the author of the *Croniken* must have used either an earlier ancestor of the extant manuscripts, or a manuscript from a separate branch that sprung from the original. Moreover, we have been able to exclude the use of manuscripts of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* which also contain either the *First Continuation* or the *Geschichte von wegen eines Bundes*. In other words, the author of the *Croniken* did not use one of the manuscripts that travelled from Marienburg to Franconia or that were produced in the Holy Roman Empire (groups III, IV and Ib). Therefore, a tentative conclusion can be drawn that the manuscript used by the author of the *Croniken* had a Prussian origin.

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[991] Interestingly, Olivier discusses the possibility of contamination (in all cases by group IV) in regard to the manuscripts $B_2$, $W_2$, and the lost manuscript Sa* (group III). Ibid., 292–294, 300–302, 273–275.
[992] Ibid., 328–344, 415–421.
[993] These are manuscripts $W_2$, $B_2$, and Z respectively. Manuscript $W_2$ fails to produce all of these chapters and the exemplum of c. 42 is absent from mss. $B_1$ and $B_2$. In ms. Z the order of the chapters 39-41 and 42 is rearranged, whereas ms. Zü leaves out a longer piece covering c. 35-81 altogether.
[994] After all, manuscript $W_2$ for instance leaves out numerous other chapters as well. However, over a third of the missing pieces in ms. $W_2$ coincide with transitions of source texts. Compare c. 167-168, c. 200-204, or the rearrangement of chapters right at the shift from the narrative of *Jeroschin* to that of *Wartberge* (c.153-154 and the missing chapter 156). For an overview of the sources used in the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 478.

It would not have been the only source of direct Prussian origin. The author of the *Croniken* had access to specific Prussian traditions of indulgences, numerous state treaties of the grand master, notes on the (payment and organization of) mercenary troops at the Battle of Tannenberg, and comments on the so-called 'Zungenstreit' between brethren stationed in Prussia of different geographical backgrounds. He included word-for-word copies of the oath of allegiance of the Prussian estates and of a nonstandard version of the Prussian Confederation's *Absagebrief*. He reproduced the contents of letters send from the grand master to the master of Livonia, and included a report of the chaplain of Duke Rudolf of Żagań regarding the spoils and aftermath of the Battle of Konitz. Finally, a great number of documents concerning the case between the Teutonic Order and the Prussian Federation at the imperial court in Vienna, both legal documents and what could be categorized as propaganda, found their way into the *Croniken*.[995]

Taken separately, most of these sources may have circulated in the Holy Roman Empire, perhaps at the German master's residence at Horneck in Franconia. But as a whole it is much more likely that the author of the *Croniken* gained access to archives in Prussia – at Marienburg or, after 1457, Königsberg or Tapiau (present-day Gvardeysky in Kaliningrad Oblast, Russia) where the library and archives had been moved to. Perhaps he visited Prussia himself, although this remains speculation. Most of these 'Prussian' documents concerned events that had occurred long before the *Croniken* was written, primarily in the 1440s and 1450s. The list of commanderies refers to the situation after the Second Peace of Toruń (1466), but from the Winter of 1457/8 onwards not a single event is reported apart from the aforementioned peace treaty and the death of Grand Master Louis of Erlichshausen in 1467.[996] It is therefore likely that if the author of the *Croniken* had indeed visited Prussia, this would have taken place years before the *Croniken* was written, around the late 1450s. It is possible, at least in theory, that the idea for the project rooted in these turbulent years in the middle of the Thirteen Years' War.

For Livonia the situation is more diffuse. What is certain is that the author could fall back on a very wide selection of Livonian source material. With the current state of knowledge, it is difficult to track these sources into the fifteenth and fourteenth century, since most evidence of the texts only starts to appear in the sixteenth century. It seems that the texts were not only available in Livonia (and some in Prussia), but also in and around Bremen and Lübeck.[997] This last connection is especially interesting since another of the *Croniken*'s (possible) sources, the *Chronica novella* by Hermann Korner, comes from these parts as well. Judging from the current manuscript dissemination, there is no evidence that this world chronicle was known in the Low Countries. The provenance of the manuscripts is centred on the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, and especially the Hanse cities.[998] Therefore the author of the *Croniken* may have visited libraries in Bremen or Lübeck as well.

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[995] See chapter 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".
[996] Ibid.
[997] See chapter 3.4, "Sources on the Livonian history".
[998] Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, X–XVI; Jahn, 'Hermann Korner'.

## Dynamics of exchange

A picture starts to emerge of a medieval text that brings together textual traditions from disparate geographical areas of Europe. Sources from the Northern Low Countries, the Southern Low Countries (as gateway for crusading literature from France and the Holy Land), Marburg, perhaps the Hanse cities in the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, Prussia and Livonia were combined to create the account of the *Croniken*. In turn, the account of the *Croniken* was rapidly distributed in the very regions it described. The first certain[999] reference to the chronicle is the use of the text by the brothers Waiblingen in East Prussia, in or shortly before 1528.[1000] However, the text was probably first received in Livonia, within years of its conception. From Prussia the text was disseminated to the southern bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire, especially to the bailiwick of Franconia. Another branch reached the Lutheran university town of Wittenberg, from where – in the hands of students – the text travelled further, even back to Livonia (Figure 3.22). In both the dissemination to Franconia as well as to Wittenberg the driving force behind this dissemination, at least from 1525 onwards, was the secularization of Prussia: it created an increasing demand, especially in and around Mergentheim, for historiographical texts that emphasized the historical deeds of the Teutonic Order and its right to own the lands it once had conquered on the heathens. Simultaneously, it opened up opportunities to Lutheran and upcoming urban circles in the new territories to study the illustrious history in which had become their own history as well.

[999] That is, if we ignore the schematic display of the grand masters' coats of arms, tentatively dated 'around 1485' (Figure 3.2). Its relationship to the *Croniken* is not clear and dating and localizing this piece of paper is difficult.
[1000] For this paragraph, see chapter 2.1.

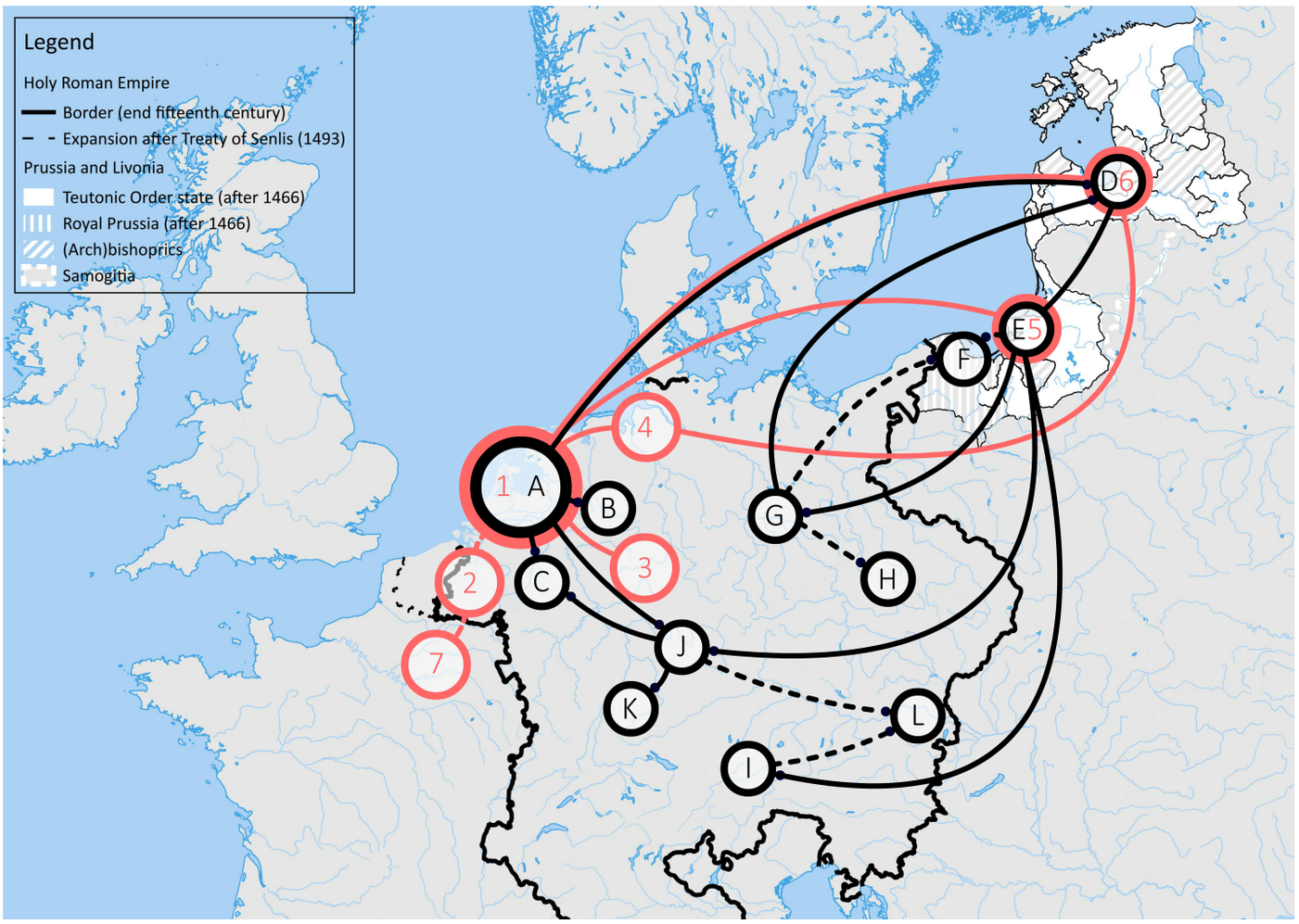


*Figure 3.22 Schematic and in some cases hypothetical origin of sources (red) and distribution of manuscripts (black) of the* Croniken*. For the labels see Table 3.49.*

| Geographical origin sources | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | Northern Low Countries | **4** | Bremen/Lübeck | **7** | (Northern) France (?) |
| **2** | Southern Low Countries (?) | **5** | Prussia | | |
| **3** | Marburg | **6** | Livonia | | |
| **Manuscript dissemination *Croniken*** | | **Date (estimates)** | | **Manuscript examples** | |
| **A** | Utrecht bailiwick | Around 1480, 1491, 1496<br>Around 1505–10 | | ms. **We$_1$**<br>e.g. mss. **Ge**, **Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** | |
| **B** | Westphalia bailiwick | Latest: beginning 17th century | | ms. **As** | |
| **C** | Alden Biesen bailiwick | Latest: beginning 17th century | | e.g. mss. **[Mx]**, **We$_1$** | |
| **D** | Livonia | Between 1496–1528 | | e.g. mss. **St**, **Ta**, Balthasar Rüssow (via Wittenberg?) | |
| **E** | (East) Prussia | Before 1528 | | e.g. mss. **Be**, **Gd**, **Pr**?, **Vi$_1$**?, **Vi$_2$**?; Weissenfels adaptation | |
| **F** | Gdańsk (?)[1001] | 16th century | | - | |
| **G** | Wittenberg | Around 1540–60 | | e.g. mss. **Pr**, **Be**?, **[Fu$_1$]**, **[Fu$_2$]** | |
| **H** | Meißen, Silesia, Prague (?) | Around 1540–50 | | e.g. ms. **Pr**?, **Be**? | |
| **J** | Mergentheim | 16th or 17th century | | ms. **We$_1$** | |
| **Manuscript dissemination Waiblingen adaptation** | | **Date (estimates)** | | **Manuscript examples** | |
| **I** | On the Adige and in the Mountains bailiwick | 1528 | | - | |
| **J** | Mergentheim/Franconia bailiwick | Around 1530 | | e.g. mss. **Wb.We$_1$**, **Wb.We$_2$** | |
| **K** | Swabia | Second half 16th century | | ms. **Wb.We$_3$** | |
| **L** | Austria bailiwick | End 16th century | | ms. **Wb.Sg$_3$** | |

*Table 3.49 Labels belonging to Figure 3.22.*

The *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* is an exceptional text, particularly in comparison with other chronicles of the Teutonic Order. None brings so many sources together. Only the *Statutes*, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* and perhaps *Jeroschin* could boast such an extensive geographical distribution. This is all the more remarkable since there is very little evidence that texts from Prussia of Livonia were read in the Holy Roman Empire prior to the production of the *Croniken*, let alone in the Low Countries. Only the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* was brought to the Empire in 1455/6, although the distribution seems to have been largely limited to the bailiwick of Franconia.[1002] Based solely on the study of manuscript dissemination there is even a greater lack of evidence of reception. Yet, evidence of the dissemination of the extant manuscripts can seriously distort our view of the dissemination of the aforementioned texts. The *Croniken* itself is the clearest evidence that the majority of the Teutonic Order's chronicles were available in one area of the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the fifteenth century.

A few signs suggest that (some of) the chronicles of the Teutonic Order were not only available in Prussia and Livonia, but in the bailiwicks too. *Dusburg* was not just used by the *Croniken* but was also a primary source for the *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem*. According to Töppen, the chronicle – of which one damaged copy exists – was written in the 1490s

[1001] Especially the illustrations of the coats of arms in the *Croniken* seem to have found an audience in Gdańsk: Arnold, *Studien zur preussischen Historiographie*, 28, 41ff.
[1002] See section 3.6, "Sources from Prussia and Livonia".

in the bailiwick of Franconia.[1003] This dating has attracted some critical review, but the localization is generally accepted.[1004] The chancellor of the German master between 1518 and the 1550s, who resided in Franconia, Gregor Spieß, left notes in the manuscript.[1005] This would provide evidence that *Dusburg* was available in the bailiwick of Franconia at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, the localization – based on the language of the surviving manuscript and its presence at Mergentheim in the first half of the sixteenth century – should also be handled with care. After all, the adaptation of the *Croniken* by the Waiblingen brothers was written in a similar dialect from Southern Germany, the native tongue of the Waiblingen brothers, and it, too, was quickly disseminated in Franconia. Only via its introductory words do we know that it was actually composed in Prussia. We cannot exclude that such was also the case for the *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem*.

Literary exchange in the Middle Ages between the Baltic regions and parts of the Holy Roman Empire, in our case the Low Countries, was not as rare as the dissemination of the manuscripts would suggest. The origin of the literary adaptations of the bible that were associated with the Teutonic Order is still up for debate, but it is possible that some of these texts originated in the Holy Roman Empire instead of Prussia.[1006] Geert Warnar has pointed out the similarities between the work of the Dutch poet Augustijnken and examples of exegetical literature that were well-read in the Teutonic Order's circles in Prussia.[1007] These included Heinrich of Hesler's *Apocalyps* – itself an example of literary exchange between Prussia and the Holy Roman Empire[1008] – and Tilo of Culm's *Von siben ingesigeln*, the latter dedicated to Grand Master Luther of Braunschweig in 1331.[1009] Augustijnken may have come into contact with these texts when he travelled to Königsberg in the company of a young John II of Blois in 1363, who would later become count of Blois.[1010] As an other example of literary contacts between the Dutch Low Countries and Prussia, Warnar has also indicated the Middle Dutch *Sidrac*, the

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[1003] Töppen ed., *Chronik der vier Orden*, 5; Compare Neecke, who dates the chronicle "after 1489": M. Neecke, 'Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010) 445.

[1004] Olivier, following Perlbach, indicates that the author of the *Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem* used the world chronicle of Johannes Nauclerus, written between 1498 and 1504, but first printed in 1516. He identified the Fall of Rhodes in 1522 as a terminus ante quem. However, this argument rests on whether Nauclerus was indeed used as a source. The most important evidence provided by Perlbach concerns an identical passage in Nauclerus that was originally included in a lost chronicle by Jacob von Mainz. The question is whether the author of the *Chronik der vier Orden* accessed this original chronicle directly, as Töppen – and the author himself – suggested. Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1013; Perlbach, '[Review: *Chronik der vier Orden*]'; The conclusion by Töppen is supported by a very preliminary (!) investigation of the watermarks of the manuscript. They have revealed that the paper should be dated around 1490-1494, prior to the publication of Nauclerus' world chronicle. Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 459, f. 90; Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nrs. 61236–61246; Lackner, lastly, dates and localizes the manuscript in "Southern Germany, beginning of sixteenth century": Lackner, *Streubestände* I, Kat.–Nr. 73.

[1005] Töppen ed., *Chronik der vier Orden*, 4; Regarding Gregor Spieß: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1042–1043.

[1006] Regarding these literary adaptations of the bible and the different contexts in which they may have functioned, with references to other literature: Feistner, Neecke and Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*, 49–79.

[1007] Warnar, 'Augustijnken in Pruisen'.

[1008] V. Honemann, 'Regionalität und Interregionalität am Beispiel der "Apokalypse" des Heinrich von Hesler', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 122 (2003) 134–142, there 141, 135; With comments thereon: *Krieg im Visier*, 78.

[1009] A. Mentzel-Reuters, '*durch mins herczen gral*. Die "Siben Ingesigel" Tilos von Kulm als Reformschrift', in: F. Löser and R.G. Päsler eds., *Vom vielfachen Schriftsinn im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Dietrich Schmidtke* (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač 2005) 283–307, there 287–288.

[1010] Warnar, 'Augustijnken in Pruisen', 120–121.

oldest manuscript of which was kept at Königsberg. The text contains a series of questions of the fictional king Boctus and answers by the philosopher Sidrac. The Königsberg manuscript, now in Toruń, was written in a Flemish dialect but must have been present in Prussia by the late Middle Ages.[1011]

Another example of such texts travelling between Prussia and the Low Countries is the *Translacio Sanctae Barbarae*. The principal focus of this text is on the relic of Saint Barbara's head brought to Culm (present-day Chełmno in Poland) in Prussia. Almost all remaining manuscripts also contain a miracle story concerning three Frisian abbots who encountered a severed, but talking head on their way to Cîteaux.[1012] Due to the interference of Saint Barbara, the owner of this head – once it had been placed back onto its body – was able to confess his sins. This legend will have originated in the Low Countries, probably in Frisia, and was included in the influential compilation of legends concerning Saint Barbara that was composed by John of Wackerzele after 1370, or around 1380.[1013] However, the reception of this miracle in Prussia, outside the Low Countries, is particularly early. The oldest manuscript, from the Church of Saint Mary in Gdańsk, was written at the end of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[1014] The Prussian legend of Saint Barbara that was at the heart of these manuscripts could stem from a much older tradition, although the possible dates are heavily debated.[1015] We know for instance, due to a reference by Nikolaus of Jeroschin, that Grand Master Luther of Braunschweig (1331–5) himself wrote a rhymed version of the life of Saint Barbara that was probably related to this text.[1016] This does of course not mean that the Frisian miracle was part of such an older tradition from the start, but given that it accompanied almost all remnant Prussian manuscripts, it does appear to have been included at an early stage of the tradition, and may therefore have been known in Prussia at an early date. In any case it is one of the earlier examples of cultural exchange between the Low Countries and Prussia.

In my view, this intra-regional textual exchange should also be associated with the historiography of the Teutonic Order. This can be deduced from the ample evidence that in the Holy Roman Empire there was an awareness that the order was active in the production of chronicles, which thus extended well beyond Prussia and Livonia. Around 1498–1500 for ex-

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[1011] Ibid., 130–131; Warnar was sceptical of the suggestion that the manuscript may have come to Prussia via the Utrecht bailiwick. E.g.: Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur*, 183, 341–342.
[1012] Töppen, 'Translacio Sanctae Barbarae', 408–410 (c.10).
[1013] C.M.A. Caspers, 'Heilig Aduard. De Sint-Bernardusabdij als godsdienstig centrum en cultusoord', in: J.J. van Moolenbroek and J.A. Mol eds., *De abtenkroniek van Aduard. Studies, editie en vertaling*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 121 (Hilversum: Verloren 2009) 81–106, there 95–96; Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, nr. 11b (BHL 940); 'Narrative Sources', nr. NL0014; M. van Dijk, *Een rij van spiegels. De Heilige Barbara van Nicomedia als voorbeeld voor vrouwelijke religieuzen*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 71 (Hilversum: Verloren 2000) 29; J.J. van Moolenbroek and J.A. Mol eds., *De abtenkroniek van Aduard. Studies, editie en vertaling*. Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 121 (Hilversum: Verloren 2009) 275.
[1014] Töppen, 'Translacio Sanctae Barbarae', 397.
[1015] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 105–108.
[1016] Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', 377, v.6435.

ample, Archduke Maximilian I of Austria, who via his wife, Mary of Burgundy, also reigned over the Burgundian Low Countries, requested the grand master a copy of "the Teutonic Order's chronicle."[1017] The fourteenth- to fifteenth-century *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik* from Bremen, discussed in detail above,[1018] refers to chronicles of the Teutonic Order among its sources. Another example comes from within the geographical area of the Utrecht bailiwick. In a group of fifteenth-century chronicles from Frisia there is mention of a local brother of the Teutonic Order, Lambertus van Katrijp, who is supposed to have heroically defended a castle of the order in Prussia. The oldest known version of these chronicles is written in Latin and can be dated around 1450. With regard to its sources, it states: "This can be found in the chronicles of the brethren of the Teutonic House".[1019] The significance of the comment lies in the fact that it indicates that in the Northern Low Countries, at least from around 1450 onwards and several decades before the *Croniken* was written, chronicles about the Teutonic Order were known to exist. The evidence stems from texts that are written by people who were not themselves associated with the Teutonic Order. This means that at least by the mid-fifteenth century the order had, within the Holy Roman Empire, established a reputation as producer of historiography.

The question arises what this reputation was based on. There is only little evidence of brethren in the bailiwicks engaged in history writing. I have previously mentioned the thirteenth-century rhymed chronicle by Jan van Heelu, who may have been a brother of Teutonic Order in the Duchy of Brabant.[1020] In the early fourteenth century a member of the Teutonic Order in Switzerland commissioned a short set of annals on the church of Bern.[1021] Another example is the knight brother Werner Overstolz from Cologne, who joined the order late in his career and in 1446 wrote a chronicle about his family.[1022] In 1479 Jörg Stuler, a knight brother possibly from the bailiwick of Franconia, finished a diverse compilation of historical, legendary and biblical texts known as the *Historienbuch*.[1023] In all these cases the Teutonic Order does not feature prominently in the narrative, if at all.

Only a few texts that were written in the Holy Roman Empire are centred to any extent on the Teutonic Order itself. One of the continuators of the *Oberrheinische Chronik*, a short world chronicle based around lists of popes and emperors, was a member of the Teutonic Order, probably in the bailiwick of Alsace-Burgundy in the southwest of the Holy Roman Empire.

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[1017] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1187; With reference to: M. Olivier, 'L'ordre Teutonique, Maximilien Ier et les projets de refonte de l'ordre de Saint-Georges vers 1500', in: B. Guenée and J.-M. Moeglin eds., *Relations, échanges, transferts en Occident au cours des derniers: hommage à Werner Paravicini. Actes du colloque de Paris (4-6 décembre 2008)* (Paris 2010) 165–190.
[1018] See section 3.4, "Sources on the Livonian history".
[1019] "Hec reperiuntur in cronicis fratrum domus Teutonice." One of the later versions, written in vernacular verse, includes additional details and specifies that this Teutonic House was in fact the bailiwick's headquarters in Utrecht – although this may be merely a later conjecture. None of the known Teutonic Order's chronicles include a story of the heroics of Lambertus, the story may have been fabricated locally in Frisia. There are arguments in favour of the narrative's historical authenticity. Mol, *Friese huizen*, 52–53; Regarding the group of chronicles in general: J.A. Mol and J. Smithuis, 'De Friezen als uitverkoren volk. Religieus-patriottische geschiedschrijving in vijftiende-eeuws Friesland', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 11 (2008) 165–204.
[1020] See chapter 3.4, "Bailiwick chronicle".
[1021] R. Schmid, 'Cronica de Berno', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010).
[1022] T. Schauerte, 'Overstolz, Werner', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010).
[1023] Feistner, Neecke and Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*, 203–216; Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie', 71–73.

He briefly addressed the achievements of the order in Prussia in the fourteenth century.[1024] Yet, although the evidence is fragmentary, there may have existed a modest tradition of brethren engaged in literary and history writing in this bailiwick.[1025]

Other manifestations of historical awareness in the order concern texts and paintings commemorating the foundation and development of certain houses of the Teutonic Order. An excellent example, made in 1456, is the triptych and accompanying text portraying and describing the founders of the commandery of Horneck, which later became the seat of the German masters (Figure 3.18).[1026] A similar commemorative function may have been performed by the Middle Dutch *Liège Commandery Chronicle*, written in the first half of the fifteenth century and briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.[1027] Two sets of four folios of this text have been discovered to this date, which were both used in the bindings of collections of sixteenth-century documents from another commandery of the Alden Biesen bailiwick, Gemert. Consequently, both sets are badly damaged.[1028] References to the fragments were mostly confined to local literature and as far as I have been able to investigate this, I am the first to recognize that the two sets of folios had originally been part of the same work.[1029] The text describes the history of the Liège commandery and its church, but also gives information about its commanders and the Alden Biesen bailiwick in general. Some aspects have a wider significance for the history of the Teutonic Order. An edition and a comprehensive examination of the text is certainly a desideratum, but at a quick glance it appears the text was by and large based on local archival documents. In any case, the *Liège Commandery Chronicle* is to my knowledge the oldest extant example of a text solely concerned with the history of (a part of) the Teutonic Order written in the Holy Roman Empire.

Could texts like these have established the order's reputation as producers of historiography? With the observation that during the fifteenth century a text like the *Liège Commandery Chronicle* was produced in the Dutch language area, it is tempting to regard the *Croniken* – and especially its bailiwick chronicle, which in terms of scope and function displays

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[1024] Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie', 68–69; U. Kundert, 'Oberrheinische Chronik', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010).

[1025] Other examples are the aforementioned annals from Bern (*Cronica de Berno*), the threehundred-verses long miracle story *Der Litauer* by a certain "Schondoch", and the rhymed legend of Saint Martina by the thirteenth century knight brother Hugo of Langenstein. This so-called *Martina* also found its way to other parts of the Holy Roman Empire and even Prussia. Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie', 67–71; A. Strauß, 'Ein Werk aus der Deutschordensliteratur. "Der Litauer" von Schondoch', *Annaberger Annalen* 6 (1998) 31–57; U. Arnold, 'Der Litauer von Schondoch', in: W. Hubatsch and U. Arnold eds., *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit* VI (Frankfurt am Main 1968) 53–60; K. Helm and W. Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des deutschen Ritterordens*. Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 94 (Schmitz 1951) 44–47; A. Borst, 'Hugo von Langenstein, Deutschherr in Mainau', in: A. Borst ed., *Mönche am Bodensee 610-1525*. Bodensee-Bibliothek 5 (Sigmaringen 1978) 227–246.

[1026] In general and with a modern translation of the accompanying text: Boockmann, 'Das Hornecker Stifterbild', 219; see also: Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie', 71.

[1027] See chapter 3.2, "A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history".

[1028] Hasselt, RA, Alden Biesen, inv.nr. 2942; Gemert, GAGB, Schepenprotocol Gemert R101.

[1029] Compare: J. Lipkens, 'Ivan van Cortenbach, Landcommandeur van de balijer Biesen (1410-1434), een biografische schets', in: J. Mertens ed., *"Met desen crude est guet stoven..." Biesense opstellen opgedragen aan Gilbert van Houtven*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Duitse Orde in de Balije Biesen 8 (Bilzen 2006) 181–192; Bussels, 'Un fragment de chronique'; Stein, 'Chronicon ecclesiae S. Andreae Leodiensis'.

remarkable similarities to the Liège chronicle – as a continuation of an existing tradition. However, although the local texts certainly may have contributed to the reputation of the order, the chronicles of the Teutonic Order that the *Rinesberch/Schene-Chronik* and the set of Frisian chronicles refer to must have included descriptions of events in Prussia and Livonia – and not merely events concerning the local houses in the bailiwicks. Thus, prior to the conception of the *Croniken* other historiographical texts must have circulated in the (northwest of the) Holy Roman Empire as well. Surely, a complicating factor is that the *Liège Commandery Chronicle* is fragmentary. It is conceivable that in its original form, like the *Croniken*, it combines a general history of the order with that of a local bailiwick or commandery.

It is therefore likely that our author was well aware of the variety of Teutonic Order's chronicles when the project to write the *Croniken* first took form. Before he started collecting sources, he will have known the contents of at least some of these chronicles. There is even reason to believe that the intended audience of the chronicle, too, was familiar with the narrative structure of *Dusburg*, passed on by both *Jeroschin*, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, and the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*. The author of the *Croniken* abbreviated the accounts of especially these chronicles, whereas texts that were less regularly used as sources for chronicles of the Teutonic Order, such as the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas* or the *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen*, were included almost in their entirety. There seems to be a division between sources that functioned as coat hangers – which provided the historiographical model, while their information was presumed known to at least a part of the audience, and therefore needed only to be mentioned –, and lesser known sources that provide new, fresh angles to the order's history: the padding of the narrative.

Therefore, while the *Croniken* may seem to appear out of nowhere, in reality it, too, built on existing traditions. It remains difficult to expose the exact nature of these traditions. Questions must remain open as to what texts were read in the bailiwicks in the Middle Ages, and how the internationally orientation of the order may have accelerated cultural exchange between the Holy Roman Empire and the Baltic region, but my investigation does provide a glimpse of the cultural activities within the bailiwicks at the end of the Middle Ages. Until now the bailiwicks have often been ignored as centres of cultural production by scholars studying the texts of the Teutonic Order.[1030] Evidence of circulation in the bailiwicks was often absent, so that the focus is usually directed at Prussia and Livonia alone. However, exactly the dynamic relationship between cultural spheres in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Baltic region provided inspiration to produce some of the most exciting new texts, as is evidently illustrated by the *Croniken*.[1031]

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[1030] With the most notable exception: Arnold, 'Deutschordenshistoriographie'; and to some extent: Feistner, Neecke and Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier*, 203–233.

[1031] Olivier too describes the cultural exchange between the bailiwicks and Prussia via the manuscripts of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* in the fifteenth century: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 906–907; see also: Olivier, 'Historiographischer Wissentransfer'.

Indeed, where different cultural spheres intersect, cultural production and innovation often thrive. Note the border region between the French and Dutch-speaking areas,[1032] (Anglo-Norman) Britain,[1033] the Mediterranean,[1034] or the Alemannic-speaking regions of Southwest Germany.[1035] In such border regions, quite often also in the relative periphery of various political entities, inspiration and examples can be drawn from different domains which creates a dynamic cultural environment. In other words, one can argue for the centrality of the periphery in terms of cultural exchange. With regards to the *Croniken*, it is the author's ability to bring together all the different historiographical traditions that makes the chronicle such a rich text.

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[1032] Note for instance the emergence of the new genre of vernacular prose in thirteenth-century Picardy and Flanders: G.M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1993); regarding the (changing) attitudes in Flanders and Brabant towards French literature see R. Sleiderink, 'From Francophile to Francophobe. The Changing Attitude of Medieval Dutch Authors Towards French Literature', in: C. Kleinhenz and K. Busby eds., *Medieval Multilingualism. The Francophone World and its Neighbours*. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 20 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 127–143.

[1033] E.g.: J. Wogan-Browne ed., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: the French of England, c.1100-c.1500* (Woodbridge/Rochester, NY: York Medieval 2009).

[1034] E.g.: S. Kinoshita, 'Medieval Mediterranean Literature', *PMLA* 124 (2009) 600–608; K. Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100-1250. A Literary History*. The Middle Ages series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2005); G. Grivaud, 'Literature', in: A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C.D. Schabel eds., *Cyprus. Society and Culture, 1191-1374* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2005) 219–284.

[1035] B. Fleith and R. Wetzel, 'Einleitung: Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter', in: B. Fleith and R. Wetzel eds., *Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter*. Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 1 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2009) XI–XXII; and other contributions in this edited volume. in general regarding this theme, see also C. Kleinhenz and K. Busby eds., *Medieval Multilingualism. The Francophone World and its Neighbours*. Medieval texts and cultures of Northern Europe 20 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010).

## 3.7 Conclusion

The analysis of the sources and composition of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* has provided a fascinating glimpse into the activities of a late-fifteenth-century historiographer. It shows which sources the author used, how he gathered them, and how he implemented them to create a new narrative. This narrative steps away from the structure created by Peter of Dusburg and continued by Nikolaus of Jeroschin and the author of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, the texts of all three were used by the author of the *Croniken*. While these chronicles limit themselves to the history of the Teutonic Order in the Prussian lands, the author of the *Croniken*, not coming from Prussia or Livonia, chose a historiographical model that centres around the lives of the grand masters and incorporates the order's history in the Holy Land, Livonia, as well as Prussia. At the end of the chronicle, the author added a history of the Utrecht bailiwick and the lives of its land commanders.

By choosing a *gesta*-like narrative the author is mirroring the structure of the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, one of its sources, even though the *Croniken* has a much more extensive scope. How extensive it is, becomes clear both by the content of the *Croniken* as well as by the large number of sources the author has incorporated. The prologue of the *Croniken* produces a completely new history of the order's origins, the purpose of which is to create a continuum between the Old Testament, the New Testament, the period from the Roman occupation of Jerusalem to Charlemagne, the early crusader period, and finally leading up to the foundation of the Teutonic Order in Acre during the Third Crusade (1189–92). This continuum, in which biblical figures are portrayed as prefigurations of the Teutonic Order's brethren, is centred around Mount Zion in Jerusalem and is both inspired by as well as a reaction to the origin legends of the Order of St John – also available to the author of the *Croniken*. In the prologue, the author brings together a wide range of biblical and religious texts available in the Low Countries, as well as crusader literature that was less well known in the northern parts of the Low Countries where the *Croniken* was written. Here already, the author's ability to combine numerous sources comes to the fore. Quite often, the author used Latin texts as well as their translations in the vernacular side-by-side. Thus, the author used for the same chapters the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais or the *Historia scholastica* by Petrus Comestor, as well as Jacob van Maerlant's translations of both works; or Peter of Dusburg's Latin chronicle on Prussia as well as the rhymed translation by Nikolaus of Jeroschin or the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* – both in High German.

For the rest of the *Croniken* the author used a combination of historiographical texts from Prussia, Livonia, and on some occasions from the Low Countries and North Germany. In addition, the author had access to archival documents which he used especially for the more recent history of the Teutonic Order, the Utrecht bailiwick chronicle, and the numerous privileges and indulgences which he integrated in the text. It is striking that for some of the historiographical sources on the order's history as well as some of the archival documents there are clues that they came from the Baltic region directly. This applies for instance to the type of manuscript of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* the author used, certain indulgences, and to numerous documents such as a letter between the grand master and the master of Livonia. This begs the question how the author gained access to these texts. The possibility that the author travelled to Prussia should at the very least

be considered. The Livonian sources used in the *Croniken* are difficult to trace but may have been accessed in libraries in the Hanse cities of Bremen or Lübeck. This would suggest that the author of the *Croniken* was highly mobile. From evidence of contemporary historiographers, we know that mobility was considered an essential part of the job of writing history. In support of this, in a case study of the sources used for the description of Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia and his sister-in-law St Elisabeth of Hungary, I have put forward the hypothesis that the author of the *Croniken*, on one of his journeys, visited the city of Marburg in Hesse – over 400 kilometres from Utrecht – and used this opportunity to gather sources which were unavailable in the Low Countries.

From the analysis of the sources of the *Croniken* it has been possible to reconstruct the efforts of the author towards creating the text. It has become clear that the author was able to bring together – and merge – various historiographical traditions that existed in different parts of Europe and that sometimes had hardly interacted with each other before. This remarkable effort perhaps also helps explain why the *Croniken* (and derivative texts) was disseminated so quickly and widely in the Low Countries, Livonia, Prussia, and the central and southern parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Interesting as well is the question to what degree such a dissemination was envisaged by the author from the moment he started working on the chronicle. After all, apart from the bailiwick chronicle the *Croniken* does not appear to have been particularly tailored for brethren in the Low Countries. Important privileges that are specific for the Utrecht bailiwick are not included and the list of commanderies at the end of the lives of the grand masters is geared to the Prussian and Livonian situation. This, together with the aforementioned rather speedy dissemination of the *Croniken* in Prussia and Livonia makes clear that the intended audience should not automatically be looked for in the Utrecht bailiwick, where the author lived and worked, but may have been much wider.

# 4 Authorship

## 4.1 Introduction

The author in the *Croniken* does not a prominent presence. He is virtually imperceptible to the reader, and only hints of his presence and his methods remain. Illustrative is the use of the first person pronoun (singular or plural), which the author used in only a handful of instances in reference to himself (Appendix, Table A.9). One of these occasions is adopted from a source text, and can therefore not straightforwardly be seen to represent the author's voice. Emperor Frederick III (1452-1493) is three times referred to as "our lord", and two recent popes, Nicholas V (1447-1455) and Paul II (1464-1471), are referred to as "our holy father" on in total four occasions. This appears to suggest that the author experienced their reigns during his active lifetime, as no other popes or emperors are mentioned using the possessive pronoun. The remaining occasions where first person pronouns are used can only be found in two distinct parts of the chronicle: firstly once at the start and once at the end of the description of the Fall of Acre in 1291, and secondly three times in the bailiwick chronicle. Apart from the references to the emperor and popes, all instances relate to either the writing process or the issue of collecting or finding sources.

In spite of their limited number, these few occasions on which the author uses first person pronouns teach us that he had a certain level of authorial self-awareness, and was conscious of the extent of, and the limits to his abilities to find particular texts and documents. In other passages, as we have seen, the author shows his confidence and ability to forcefully take position in debates, to discredit aberrant historical views, and to subsequently supply his own account of events.[1036] Referring perhaps to James of Vitry and others, for example, he states:

> *Some ignorant individuals are saying and elaborating that John the Almsgiver founded the Order of Saint John, and that this is the reason why they are called the Order of Saint John. And these are all adorned lies, since John the Almsgiver was dead for over 500 years before the Order of Saint John was founded.*[1037]

None of such passages were adopted from any of the numerous historiographical works that were examined as possible sources, and all seem to have a very specific function tailored for the *Croniken* itself; they therefore have to be understood as representing interventions of the author himself, rather than material merely copied from other authors. While the author of the *Croniken* may be anonymous, he is not fully obscured.

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[1036] See also chapter 3.3. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.93, 101–102, 121–122, 235.

[1037] "Sommige onwetende luden seggen ende versieren dat Johannes Elemosinarius Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht heeft ende dat sy dairom heiten Sinte Johans Oirde. Ende dat is al versierde logen, want Johannes Elemosinarius was over vijfhondert jair doot geweest eer Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht werdt": Ibid., c.235.

## 4.2 Profile of the author

Drawing on the results of the previous chapter, a number of conclusions can be drawn about the author. Whoever wrote the *Croniken* must have had continuous access to various libraries as well as archives of the Teutonic Order. He, let us make the presumption that the author was male, strongly associated himself with the order and identified with its program. Additionally, the author was able adopt and even develop a discourse that legitimized the order, which implies a strong familiarity with such discourses. All this seems to support the suggestion of Theodor Hirsch that the author was a member of the Teutonic Order, a view that has not been challenged since.[1038]

What remained unnoticed is that although the author clearly picks the side of the order, the order itself is, without exception, referred to as 'the' order instead of 'our' or 'my' order: '*the* Teutonic House', '*the* grand master',[1039] and most notably, '*his* [i.e. the grand master's] book of statutes' (c.681).[1040] As we have noted above, the author only explicitly expressed his subordination to Emperor Frederick III and two recent popes.

Surely, the author may have chosen this distant tone deliberately, to give the chronicle an aura of objectivity. At the other end of the spectrum, a constant use of the first person plural, 'our order', could have had an alienating effect on potential external audiences. Other chroniclers of the Teutonic Order regularly used such a third person omniscient perspective. However, in most earlier Teutonic Order's chronicles the affiliation of the authors to the order is revealed. In some cases this is done explicitly, such as in the prologues of both Peter of Dusburg and Nikolaus of Jeroschin or, somewhat less explicit, via the use of the first person plural in the *Chronicon Livoniae* by Hermann of Wartberge.[1041] In other cases one has to look more closely, such as in the case of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*: "He captured Wikbold, brother of **our order** and bishop at Culmsee, in the cathedral at Culmsee".[1042]

The case of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* is especially complex, since, as Mathieu Olivier suspects, not one but two authors may have worked on the text.[1043] The above quote comes from the second part of the chronicle (chapters 154–99). It is much less certain whether the composer of the first part (chapters 1–153), which is basically a prose adaptation of *Jeroschin*, was a member of the order.[1044] In the case of the *Livländische Reimchronik*, too, the author has usually been assumed to be a member of the Teutonic Order, specifically a knight-brother due to his interest and knowledge of military issues and attitude towards clerics.[1045] In reality however, the author never stated he was a

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[1038] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 9; Töppen, earlier, was less outspoken: "der Verfasser ist ein sehr eifriger Verehrer des Ordens": Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 56.
[1039] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, passim.
[1040] The combination "the grand master and 'his' order" or variations thereof also appear several times: Ibid., c.155, c.325, c.477, c.628, c.637, c.663.
[1041] Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', 305; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, 26; Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge', 12.
[1042] "Der ving zcu Colmenze im thume vnsers ordens bruder Wigkebolden, bischoff zcu Colmenze": 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 168. It should be noted that two manuscripts of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (**T** and **Z**) give "the order" instead of "our order". Compare also c. 160: "vnsern mynner" (our men), mentioned in all manuscripts included in the edition.
[1043] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 658–659.
[1044] Ibid., 593–594.
[1045] E.g.: Neecke, 'Ältere Livländische Reimchronik'.

member of the order. He sided with the Christians in the region and frequently wrote about 'us Christians'. He clearly supported the cause of the Teutonic Order and had inside knowledge of their campaigns. However, when he attempted to clarify the order's organizational structure to his readers, "the commanders in this land, who are also called masters", he did so incorrectly, or at least very archaically.[1046] Perhaps we should not assume that the author of the *Livländische Reimchronik* was indeed a brother of the order, although there is little doubt that he was closely involved with the Teutonic Order's activities in Livonia.

The same may apply to the *Croniken*. The current state of the field is that the chronicle was written by a member of the Teutonic Order, a Utrecht based priest-brother.[1047] The fact that the author did not state his affiliation to the order anywhere in the *Croniken*, at least justifies subjecting the long-standing assumptions regarding the identity of the author to closer scrutiny. Whether the author was a member, or perhaps someone from outside the order who was commissioned to write the chronicle is of importance because these different scenarios would have different implications for the dynamics of the historiographical production of the order.

Besides the features mentioned earlier, such as the author's continuous access to the order's archives, his ability to adopt and develop the order's discourse, but on the other hand also the lack of explicitly stated association to the order, the following points can be added to draw up a profile of the author. From the date and localization of the Vienna autograph manuscript and an analysis of the text and its sources we know that the author must have worked in the Northern Low Countries, probably Utrecht.[1048] He will have been active in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially in the years between circa 1480 and 1491, possibly extending into the mid-1490s. Note from the exasperated response by the author to the developments in Prussia during the Thirteen Years' War (1453-1466) that, in his mind, these events were not yet a thing of the past.[1049]

There are aspects to the text supporting the argument that the author was a cleric or a priest-brother. A description of the rituals associated to new brethren entering the order, inserted between papal privileges, shows both a high familiarity with religious songs and prayers and a good understanding of Latin abbreviations.[1050] Further, although the majority of the *Croniken*'s sources were vernacular (both Dutch and German), a substantial number were written in Latin. This includes for instance also the various hagiographies of St Elisabeth. Notable is the fact that many Latin chronicles, such as *Dusburg* or the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, were used side by side with their vernacular translations. The reason for this could be that such translations and their originals occasionally often complemented each other on details. However, an additional reason may have been that these translations could function as

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[1046] "den kummentûren in die lant, / die man ouch meistere heißet": Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik*, 4322–4323; The name "master" as synonymous for "commander" may have originated from the "Provinzialmeister" at the time of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, some sixty years before the chronicle was written. This is not completely clear though. For the "Provinzialmeister": Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung*, 118; F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Graz: Böhlau 1965) 81–82; 223; For an example of the "magister" at Segewold (Lv.: Sigulda) in 1212: Arbusow (jr.) (†) and Bauer eds., *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik*, 106,14.
[1047] E.g.: Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 9; Arnold, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik (1983)'; Mol, *Friese huizen*, 148–153.
[1048] See chapters 2.3 and 3.6.
[1049] See chapter 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".
[1050] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.186.

a vernacular reading aid for their Latin originals – potentially very useful for an author who could read and understand Latin, but who had limited competence.

Supporting his hypothesis that the author was a priest-brother, Hirsch has pointed at the "strongly theologizing content" and the fact that the author blamed the initial lack of victories during Godfrey of Bouillon's campaign to the Holy Land on the appropriation of tithes of all ecclesiastical goods in order to pay for the expedition.[1051] Hirsch omitted to mention that the author of the *Croniken*, before mentioning the appropriation of ecclesiastical goods, also blamed the "unreasonable burdening of his [Godfrey's] underprivileged subjects", which shows that the author's arguments are not just anti-clerical but rather more diverse.[1052] Most importantly though, the arguments in this chapter are very specific and therefore give the impression that, rather than presenting the author's personal opinion, they were adopted from a particular source.[1053] The same appears the case with the description of Grand Master Konrad of Wallenrode (1391–3; c.603). The *Croniken* criticises the grand master for his supposed anti-papist attitude and remarks, but this criticism is adopted from the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*.[1054] It was one of the very few available pieces of information about this grand master (only two chapters are devoted to him); the author may therefore have inserted it in his chronicle regardless of his personal opinions.

In fact, the chronicle is only really 'theologizing' in the prologue. Furthermore, whereas the author is clearly able to shape his own biblical discourse, none of the various religiously themed texts that were used as sources concern especially advanced theology. Rather, they belong to an intermediary level of devotional texts that were read and used by clergy and laymen alike.[1055] Many of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century knight-brethren of the Utrecht bailiwick were well-educated: as many as a fifth had received a university education.[1056] A significantly greater number of knight-brethren would have been able to read some Latin and a rudimentary knowledge of religious literature and of Latin most certainly does not rule them out as candidates for the authorship of the *Croniken*.

Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that the author was probably not a priest-brother. When the *Croniken* describes the function and role of the priest-brethren in the military orders, it does little more than reproduce a rather stereotypical passage from the *Statutes*,[1057] thereby failing to note most details of the complex responsibilities of the

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[1051] "Dass er ein Geistlicher war, schliesse ich theils aus dem stark theologisiserenden Inhalte, theils aus der starken Hervorhebung der mochligerweise auf einem Missverstandnisse beruhenden, wahrscheinlich aber von ihm erfundenen Notiz c. 29 [i.e. c.103], dass Gottfried v. Bouillon auf seinem Kreuzzuge deshalb so viel Ungemach erlitten habe, weil er den geistlichen Gutern zum Zuge in das heilige Land den zehnten Pfennig abgefordert habe.": Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 9.
[1052] "Dat hij synen armen ondersaten boven reden ofgescat had": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.103.
[1053] This source was not identified, but this theme was found in chronicles from the diocese of Liège. See page 149.
[1054] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 414v.
[1055] For instance, regarding the dissemination and varied readership of the gospel harmonies: Meyer, Schone historie und ewangelien, 249–292.
[1056] The share of academically trained knight-brethren may turn out lower (around 14 percent) if we include the numerous brethren of whom strictly speaking is unknown whether they were a priest- or knight-brother. Most will probably have been knight-brethren, since priest-brethren are more easily identified as such by the offices they upheld in pastoral care. Stapel, 'Power to the Educated?', 340–341.
[1057] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.82, c.176.

priest-brethren, which I have recently described in detail elsewhere.[1058] It is therefore hard to imagine that a priest-brother would have written this himself.

The vast majority of the priest-brethren were not of noble descent. Only around four to seven percent of the priest-brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick came from noble families, and about two-thirds were originally townspeople themselves.[1059] Yet, there are indications that the author was either a member of a noble family himself, or was at least familiar with noble customs. Throughout the *Croniken* the author emphasizes the Teutonic Order's bond with nobility and knighthood, starting at its very foundation.[1060] At the same time, the author is generally unfavourable to townspeople. Citizens of the Prussian towns as well as those living in Acre around 1291 are described in negative terms, although there may, as I have argued in the previous chapter, particular reasons for these characterizations.[1061] While the sentiments do not rule out the possibility that the author was a priest-brother, the social composition of the priest-brethren is not consistent with such content. It is important to stress that for knight-brethren in the fifteenth century a full noble background was mandatory.[1062]

It is also interesting to take a closer look at an addition the author of the *Croniken* made to the original narrative by Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*. In Sudheim's account, the main source for the description of the Fall of Acre in 1291, the citizens of Acre are suggested to have acted like nobility while neglecting the defence of the city, thus jeopardizing the last stronghold in the Holy Land: they "practiced every day in games, tournaments, and all sorts of activities to fill the time, such as hunting and other sociable activities associated with knighthood."[1063] The author of the *Croniken* paraphrased this and further elaborated it with "hoveren" (feasting), "torneren" (playing tournaments), "steken" (jousting), "jagen" (hunting), "vliegen" (flying), and "beyten" (biting; the latter two both associated with falconry).[1064] This list of specific terminologies does is not essential for understanding the narrative. It is a superfluous addition by an author who was was eager to show that he knew what activities were typical for noblemen. Therefore, it is quite possible that the author of the *Croniken* was of noble descent.[1065]

In various parts of the *Croniken*, including the bailiwick chronicle, the author also shows a notable attentiveness to the genealogy of noble families. When mentioning Eberhard of Sayn, for example, who acted as an envoy for the grand master in Livonia from 1251 onwards, the author of the *Croniken*, correctly, added that he was the brother of the count of Sayn – a fact absent from other sources and possibly based on conjecture rather than actual knowledge.[1066]

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[1058] Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders'; originally published in Dutch: R.J. Stapel, '"Onder dese ridderen zijn oec papen". De priesterbroeders in de balije Utrecht van de Duitse Orde (1350-1600)', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 11/2008 (2009) 205–248.
[1059] Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 116, 120.
[1060] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.120.
[1061] See chapters 3.5, "Acre, 1291" and 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".
[1062] Mol, 'Hospice of the German Nobility', 123–124.
[1063] "Vnde oueden dach by daghe spyl, torney vnde mennigerhande tijtkortinghe myt iacht vnde allerhande selschop, de to rydderschop horen mochte": Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 118.
[1064] "Ende alle die dinghen die totter ridderscap hoirden: van hoveren, van torneren, van steken, van jagen, van vliegen, van beyten, dat hantierden sij alle daghe.": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.483.
[1065] Compare: Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen', 271.
[1066] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.380–382.

Especially in the bailiwick chronicle an extensive genealogical knowledge of noble families from the region is displayed, which must have been backed by archival research.[1067] This interest in genealogy is related to the author's interest in heraldry, which I have described in the previous chapter.[1068] The legend of the coat of arms of the Teutonic Order appears for the first time in the *Croniken*, and may have been conceived by its author. The author also displayed sensitivity to the latest innovations in the heraldic presentation of the order, and may in fact himself have been an instigator of those innovations. This is especially clear from the way the author of the *Croniken* stylized the coats of arms of the grand masters and other officeholders, which he included in the margins of the manuscript.[1069] The earliest comparable series of coats of arms of the grand masters and other officeholders which can be firmly dated, dates from the mid-1480s and 1490s, around the same time and possibly later than the *Croniken*.[1070]

A final characteristic of our author is his great skill in writing. As we have seen in much detail throughout the previous chapter, he was able to combine a great number of texts and shape them into a story of his own. Inconsistencies in or between sources were resolved, explanatory notes added, the narrative cleared of uncertainties.[1071] The almost obsessive need to create perfect uninterrupted chronological sequences of the years in office of the grand masters and other officials of the order was unprecedented in the Teutonic Order's historiography. To align these sequences with each other, the author had to adjust different narratives, which was at times a complex procedure.[1072]

This complexity is also apparent in the composition of the narrative. Throughout, as I have noted previously, internal references are made to both preceding and subsequent chapters.[1073] This is a clear indication that the author, based on existing notes, his own memory or some detailed template, had a clear vision of the overall project in mind. In that way the chronicle has become a remarkably coherent text, rather than merely one long chronological sequence of individual chapters and stories. Particularly taking into account the time it must have taken to gather the wide selection of source texts from archives both in and well outside the Low Countries, it is clear that the author must therefore have started planning this chronicle in great detail, and probably well in advance.

So what persons could fit this profile and how should we value the aforementioned[1074] attribution of a part of the text to a bishop of Paderborn?

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[1067] See note 722 (chapter 3.4, "Bailiwick chronicle").
[1068] See chapter 3.5, "Legend of the coat of arms".
[1069] Regarding the coats of arms in manuscript **We$_1$**, see chapter 2.2, "Illustration".
[1070] See chapter 3.2, "A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history".
[1071] In this regard the author fitted in well with existing tendencies in late medieval historiography. Compare for instance: Janse, 'Historie van Hollant', 37–38; Melville, 'Heuristischen Methode', 143.
[1072] See chapter 3.2, "A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history".
[1073] See chapter chapter 3.2, "General notes on the author's methods of composition".
[1074] See note 429 (chapter 3.3).

## 4.3 Possible candidates

### Bishop of Paderborn

The first evidence to consider is the claim made in the prologue of the *Croniken* that a bishop of Paderborn, present at the order's foundation in Acre in 1190, was responsible for writing part of the *Croniken*. It appears in one of the polemic chapters that were incorporated in the narrative and seem to represent the author's voice. In this and the following chapter, as we have discussed before (3.3, "Inspiration: from guidebooks to the *Legends of the Hospital*"), the author strongly rejects particular views on the Teutonic Order's and the Order of Saint John's foundation proposed by others. He then states: "And this bishop of Paderborn had this order's prologue and chronicle of the Teutonic Order ('*croniken vander duytscher oirden*') written down up until Duke Frederick of Swabia died at Acre."[1075]

Yet, the claim is problematic. What exactly was written down by – or on behalf of – the bishop of Paderborn? The words "this order's prologue" can be understood to be a reference to the prologue of the Teutonic Order's statutes, a text that was one of the principal sources for the surrounding chapters. Erroneously, the *Croniken* suggests in these chapters an active involvement of the bishop of Paderborn in seeking confirmation of the earliest statutes at the papal court.[1076] However, the words can also be a direct reference to the opening words of the prologue: "This is the prologue of the Teutonic Order of Our Lady of Jerusalem, the first foundation and beginning of the chronicle of the Teutonic Order ('*croniken vander duytscher oirden*') […]."[1077] If read as echoing the chronicle's opening words, the claim is that the bishop of Paderborn was responsible for the writing of the *Croniken*'s prologue up to the death of Duke Frederick VI of Swabia (c.75-129). Interestingly enough, there is some evidence to support the implication that the first half of the prologue was not conceived simultaneously with the second half or the rest of the *Croniken*. Starting from chapter 129, which describes the death of Duke Frederick of Swabia, the prologue loses some focus. Up until then, the text is principally focused on Mount Zion and the association of the order to that holy place. This culminates in the presentation of the Jerusalem hospital to the newly founded military order at Acre in 1190, after which the theme disappears. The second part of the prologue comprises of several short, loosely related remarks on the crusades, a longer report on the Fifth Crusade and its preparations, and a description of Grand Master Hermann of Salza. There is therefore evidence of an interruption in the creative process of writing the *Croniken* halfway through the prologue.

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[1075] "Ende dese bisscop van Pelborn heeft deser oirden prologus ende croniken van der Duytscher Oirden doen bescriven tot dat Hertoch Vrederick van Zwaven tot Akers sterff": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.121.

[1076] Ibid., c.117; This is not correct: Kirstein, *Patriarchen*, 385.

[1077] "Dit is dat prologus van der Duytscher Oirden van Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem, dat yerste fundament ende beginne van den croniken van der Duytscher Oirden...": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.75; Note that "Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden" can indeed be regarded as a title of the book, rather than just *a* chronicle of the Teutonic Order. Compare: "In desen nabescreven boeke, dat gheheten is die *Cronyken van der Duytscher Oirden* (Cronyken vander duytscher oirden) *van der ridderscap van den huse ende hospitael Onser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem* [...]" (In this book hereafter mentioned, that is named the *Chronicle of the Teutonic Order of the knighthood of the house and hospital of Our Lady of Jerusalem* [...]); "In den yersten dat prologus des selven boecs" (Firstly, the prologue of this aformentioned book): Ibid., c.1–2.

At least some readers of the manuscripts of the *Croniken* have indeed interpreted the words as though a bishop of Paderborn wrote either the prologue or the entire *Croniken*.[1078] In the following centuries, this notion kept appearing, which led others to refute it. While Christoph Hartknoch only expressed his doubts,[1079] Max Töppen formulated a more careful rejection of the claim that a bishop of Paderborn was responsible for (part of) the *Croniken*. He showed that the *Croniken*'s description of the bishop of Paderborn's role in the foundation of the order[1080] was flawed.[1081] He suggested, that it was a deliberate attempt to provide the text with "a foisted authority to justify a self-created history".[1082]

The evidence collected in the previous two chapters regarding the autograph nature of the Vienna manuscript and the sources used by the author of the *Croniken* show definitely that there is no truth in the attribution to the Bishop of Paderborn. Almost all the texts used by the author for the prologue part of the *Croniken* post-date the end of the twelfth century, and many, such as the *Utrecht Bible*, show a direct link to the Northern Low Countries rather than Paderborn. Moreover, sources such as the *Spiegel historiael*, Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*, and the *Speculum historiale* are used both in the first part of the chronicle, and in the part of the chronicle that contains the lives of the grand masters. They are also used in a similar fashion throughout the *Croniken*.

The interruption of the content halfway through the prologue, therefore, is not evidence of a conception by two different authors, but a manifestation of an author who at times struggled to pursue his historiographical project.[1083] In addition, the significance of the claim of authorship in the prologue is not that some twelfth- or thirteenth-century author may have written part of the text, but that the fifteenth-century author felt impelled to state this. Here, the location of the claim is also of importance. It can be found in the middle of two chapters intended to correct false

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[1078] The two manuscripts written by Petrus Schwinge, **Be** and **Pr**, affirm this rather explicitly: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 11v, 19v (with later reference to the adaptation of the *Croniken* by Christoph Jan Weissenfels); Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, ff. 10v, 17r.

[1079] Hartknoch, 'Selectae dissertationes historicae', 4–5.

[1080] The bishop of Paderborn, who reportedly wrote part of the prologue, was mentioned by the *Croniken* as being part of an embassy seeking confirmation for the order's foundation in 1190 from the emperor and pope. This embassy is mentioned in almost every work of the order's historiography, but only the *Croniken* specifies who the ambassadors ("ambassatoirs") were, namely the bishop of Paderborn and the archbishop of Bremen. 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung', 25–26; Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 22; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, I–1; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 519–536; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 1; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.117.

[1081] Töppen showed that the archbishop of Bremen (Hartwig II of Uthlede; 1185–90/92 and 1194–1207), could not have been present in the Holy Land during the Third Crusade: Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 65; In September 1189 and during the remainder of the Third Crusade Hartwig II was evidently present in Germany: 'Arnoldi Abbatis Lubecensis Chronica', in: J.M. Lappenberg ed., G.H. Pertz, *Historici Germaniae saec. XII. 1*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 21 (Hannover 1869) 100–250, there 179, 181, 185 (Lib. V, c. 1, c. 3, c. 11); There is also no corroborating evidence for a journey to the Holy Land by the bishop of Paderborn at that time, Bernhard II of Ibbenbüren (1188–1204): K. Hengst, 'Bernhard, Edelherr von Ibbenbüren († 1204). 1188-1204 Bischof von Paderborn', in: E. Gatz ed., *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448. Ein biographisches Lexikon*. 1 (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot 2001) 538, there 538; H.J. Brandt and K. Hengst, *Die Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Paderborn* (Paderborn: Bonifatius-Druckerei 1984) 111–114.

[1082] "Einer untergeschobenen Auctorität zur Begründung selbstgeschaffener Geschichte": Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 65.

[1083] This is also visible at the boundary between the watermarks of 1480 and 1491. See chapter 2.3 and in more detail: Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe', 75–77.

views of others about the origins of the Teutonic Order and the Order of Saint John. Perhaps anticipating opposition, the author may have felt the need to appeal to an 'authority' who would substantiate his own claims.

For the attribution and perceived role of the bishop of Paderborn, the author of the *Croniken* did drew from existing narratives. Although none of the historiographical texts of the Teutonic Order identify the delegates sent to the pope and emperor in 1190, the *Narratio* does mention the names of two messengers traveling to Pope Innocent III in 1198 seeking confirmation of the transformation into a military order: Grand Master Heinrich Walpot and Bishop Wolfger of Passau.[1084] The archbishop of Bremen is not mentioned, and although there is no evidence to suggest that he had any role in this mission, he is known to have travelled from the Holy Land to the pope at the same time to tend to other matters.[1085] The bishop of Passau was an important mediator between the pope and emperor at that time and therefore an appropriate choice to seek support at the papal court.[1086] It seems likely that the author of the *Croniken* mistook[1087] Paderborn for Passau, while, like many before him, he was unable to distinguish the events at Acre of 1190 and 1198.[1088] If indeed, and in that case how, the author managed to piece together this information is not clear though.

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Whereas we can dismiss the possible authorship claim within the *Croniken* either as a fabrication, or as not concerning the authorship of the chronicle in the first place, palaeographical evidence points at two other possibilities for the authorship of the chronicle. After finding, by sheer luck, a few land charters in the Utrecht bailiwick archive that were written by the same person that wrote manuscript **We$_1$** of the *Croniken*,[1089] I undertook a more targeted search in the bailiwick archive for charters dated around 1470 to 1510, eventually identifying thirty-two charters written by this same scribe (e.g. Figure 4.1). I have identified two further charters in other archives, as well as accounts of Frans of Borssele, stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland and *inter alia* Lord of Zuilen near Utrecht (where the document was drawn up), collated by our writer in 1491 on behalf of Frans of Borssele's successor in Zuilen, Jasper of Culemborg. These finds appear by no means to complete the surviving documents produced by this scribe, and further documents are likely to keep appearing, even in the Teutonic Order's archive in Utrecht (for a full list of documents identified to have been produced by the scribe, see Appendix, Table A.10).

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[1084] 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung', 28.

[1085] This concerned his activities in Livonia: E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (2nd edn; London/New York: Penguin 1998) 98; Regarding his presence in 1198 in the Holy Land: 'Arnoldi Lubecensis', 203 (Lib. V, c. 25).

[1086] H. Heger, *Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide. Die Reiserechnungen des Passauer Bischofs Wolfger von Erla* (Vienna: Schendl 1970) 34–38; This ultimately resulted in Innocent III's privilege of 19 February 1199: Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 297.

[1087] The fact that subsequent bishops of Paderborn were involved in writing about the crusades may also have made them more authoritative candidates as authors of the *Croniken* than any bishop of Passau. This could suggest that such a mistake was made deliberately. Used by the author of the *Croniken* are Wilbrand of Oldenburg's *Journey to the Holy Land*: Pringle, 'A new edition'; and Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina* and *Historia regum terre sancte*: Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*; Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land* was dedicated to a bishop of Paderborn, in whose diocese Ludolf was a parish priest: Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 1.

[1088] In the end this may have stemmed from a simple copyist mistake: Müller, *Jerusalem oder Akkon?*, 17 (note 66).

[1089] For a detailed palaeographical description of the hand, see chapter 2.2, "Script".

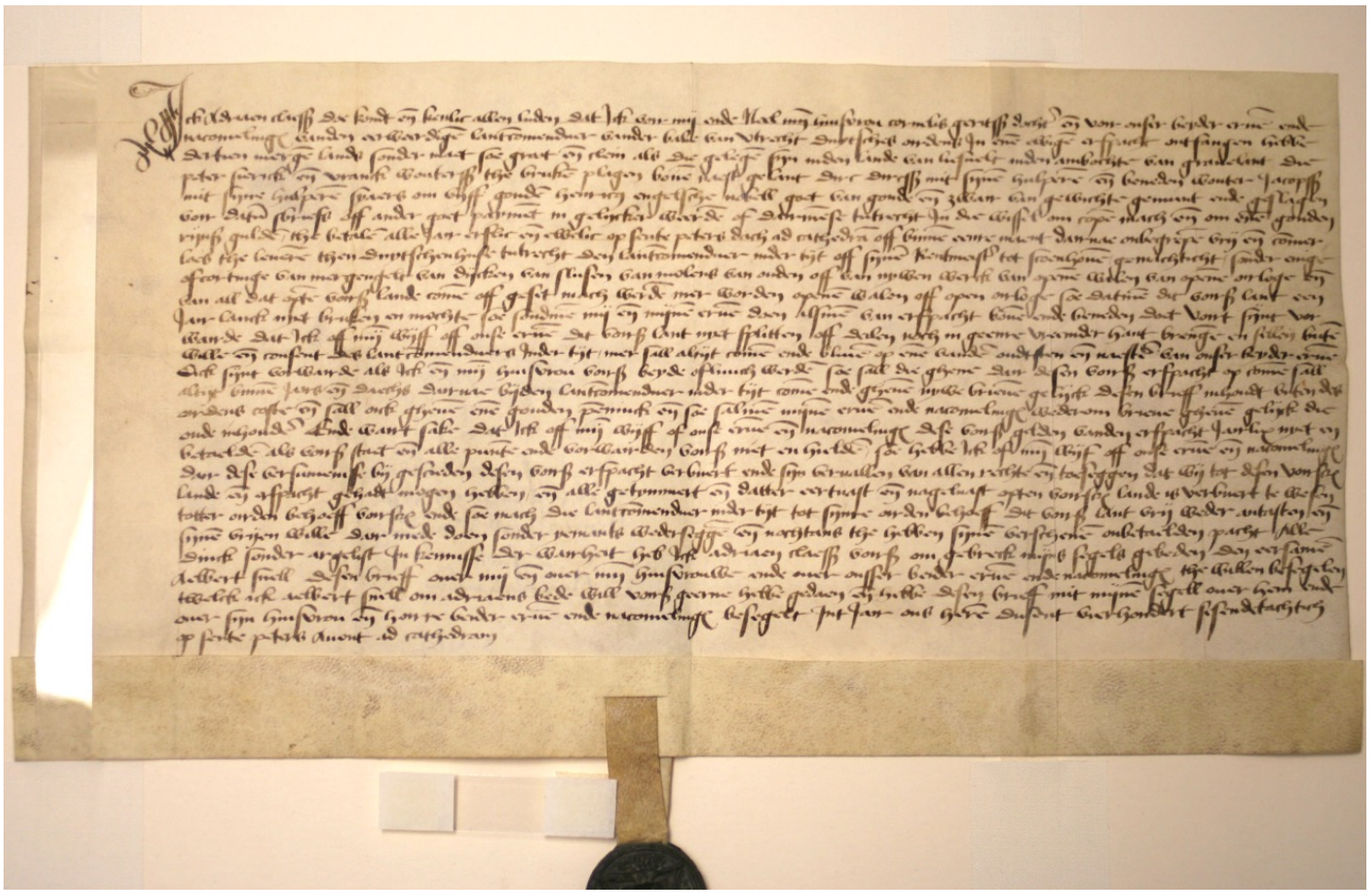

*Figure 4.1 Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht (ARDOU), inv.nr. 791.3 (22-02-1486).*

I have also identified another manuscript written by this scribe, kept at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. It is a Middle Dutch translation and adaptation of Eike of Repgow's *Sachsenspiegel* (Figure 4.2). It is the only surviving manuscript of the so-called *Hollandse Saksenspiegel*, an adaptation that reached a wide audience in print, receiving numerous reprints.[1090] The first incunable was printed in the town of Gouda by Gerard Leeu on 20 April 1479. There were at least four reprints already before 1500.[1091] The manuscript in question was not copied from a printed edition.[1092] However, since the watermarks are to be dated around 1499–1500[1093] and since it contains scribal errors which are absent in the printed editions, it cannot have been the source for the printed editions either. The manuscript was owned by Utrecht Land Commander Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt (1496–1527), who may well have ordered the manuscript to be written.[1094] In 1610 Land Commander Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579–1612) added his coat-of-arms to the opening page.[1095] As with manuscript **We$_1$** of the *Croniken*, a single person appears to have been responsible for creating the entire manuscript including its foliation and quire structure. That quire structure is, again similar

[1090] Smits, 'Spiegel van Sassen'; For other Middle Dutch adaptations of the *Sachsenspiegel*: B.J.L. de Geer van Jutphaas ed., *De Saksenspiegel in Nederland*. Werken der Vereeniging tot Uitgave der Bronnen van het Oude Vaderlandsche Recht, gevestigd te Utrecht 10 (The Hague: Nijhoff 1888).
[1091] 'ISTC', nrs. ie00028200; ie00028250; ie00028300; ie00028350; ie00028400.
[1092] Smits, 'Spiegel van Sassen', 7.
[1093] See Appendix, A.5, 133 H 4.
[1094] "Dit boeck hoert toe heer Steven van Zuylen van Nievelt, lantcommenduer" (This book belongs to lord Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt, land commander): The Hague, KB, 133 H 4, f. 87v.
[1095] Ibid., f. Ir.

to manuscript **We₁**, highly regular (Appendix, A.5, 133 H 4). Furthermore, the use and distribution of abbreviations and different forms of the letter *w* that can be witnessed in manuscript **We₁**, is echoed in the *Sachsenspiegel* as well. This also applies to the land charters that were written by the same scribe.[1096]

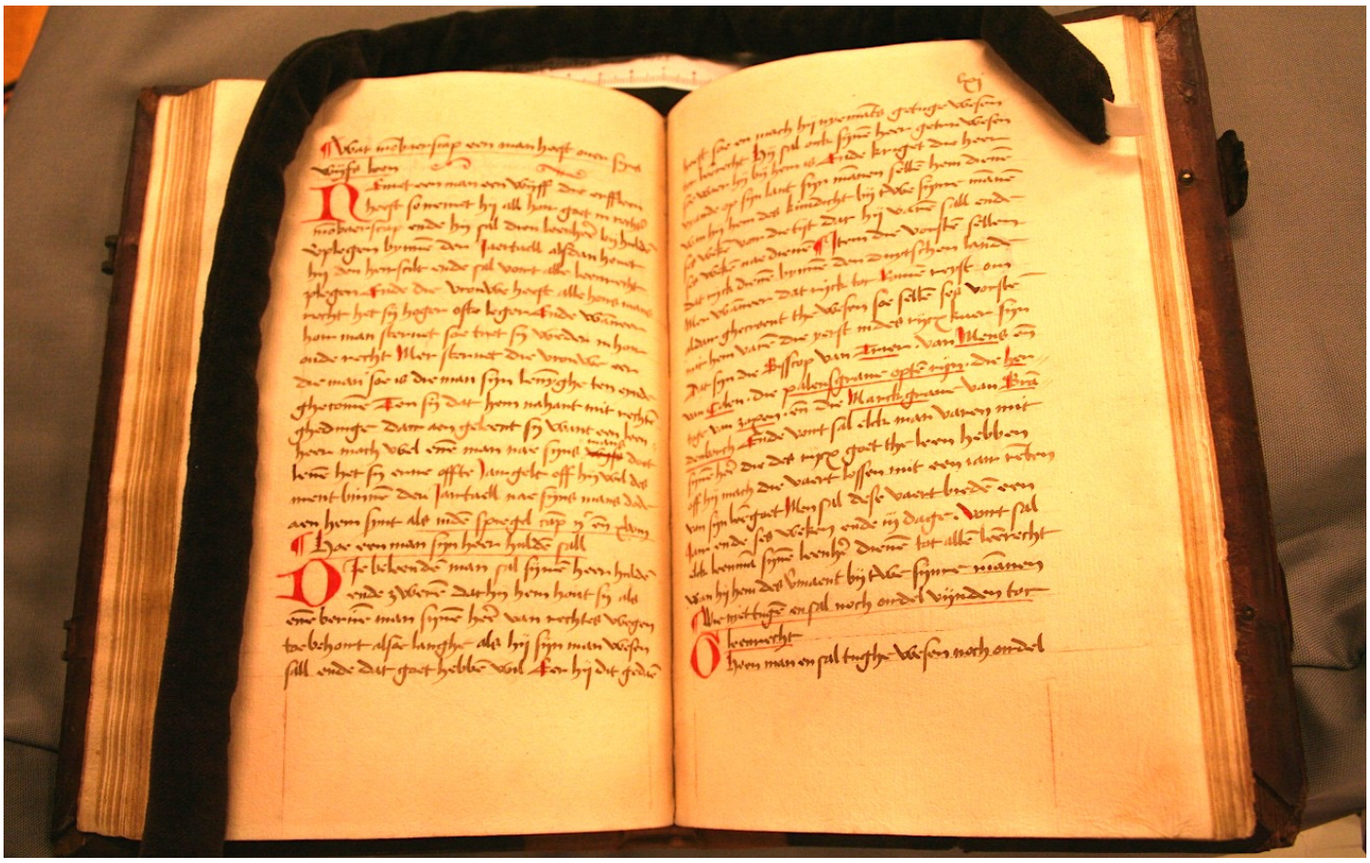

*Figure 4.2 The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4, ff. 60v-61r.*

[1096] Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe', 81–82. See also Appendix, A.5, "Quantifying palaeographical preferences in the *Sachsenspiegel* and land charters".

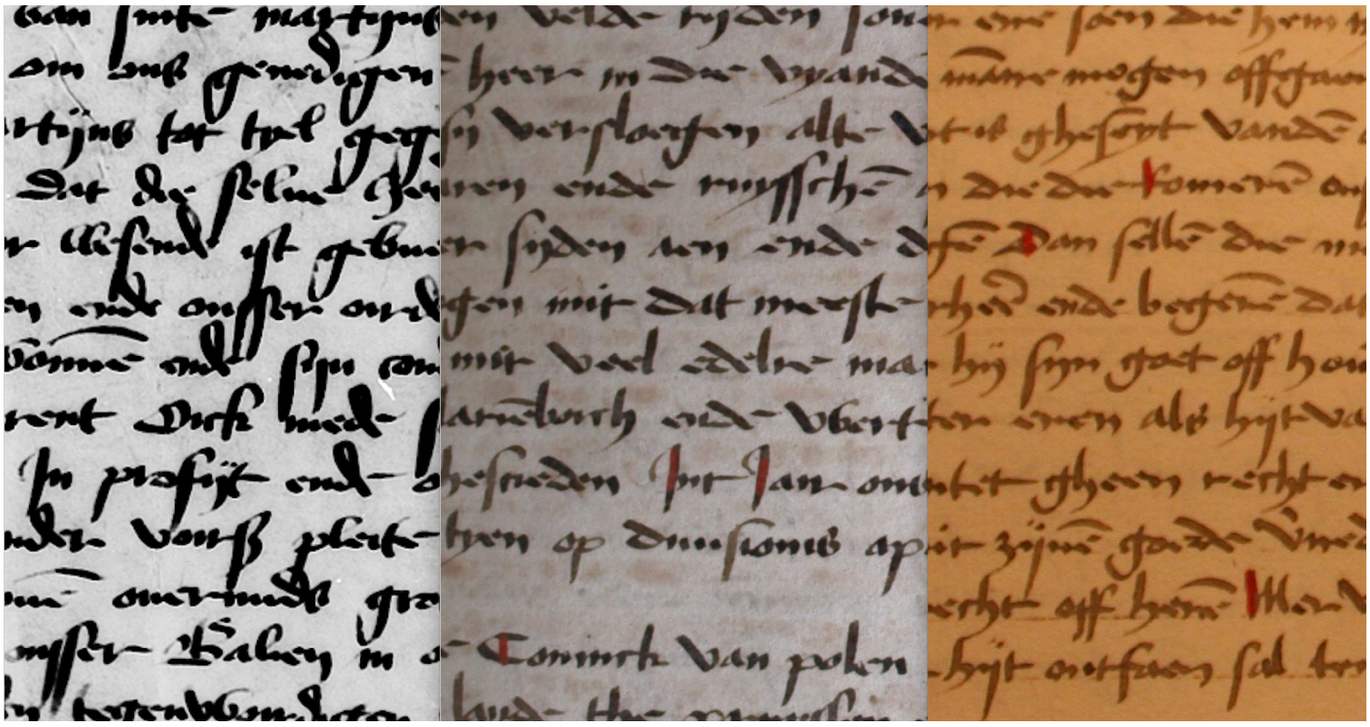

*Figure 4.3 Comparison of the hand of Hendrik van Vianen: land charter (1484),* Croniken*, ms.* ***We₁*** *(ca. 1491),* Sachsenspiegel *(ca. 1499–1500).*[1097]

As is the case in manuscript **We₁**, the scribe of the *Sachsenspiegel* manuscript is anonymous; the same is the case for all but one of the identified documents in his hand. But in the fold or *plica* of one of his more recent charters in the Utrecht bailiwick archive, his name is revealed: "Hendrik van Vianen, notary public" (Figure 4.4).

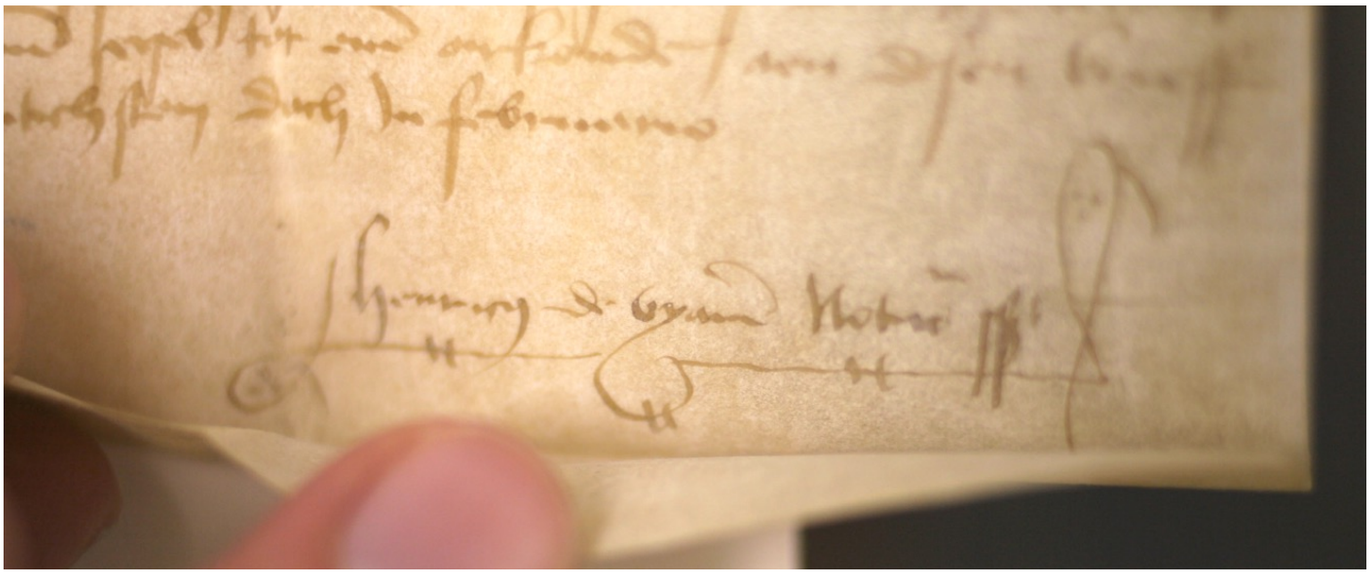

*Figure 4.4 The name of "Henricus de Vyanen" is drawn out of oblivion (ARDOU, inv.nr. 825.3; 27 February 1500).*

[1097] From left to right: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 491.1 (7 September 1484); Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 149r; The Hague, KB, 133 H 4, f. 63v.

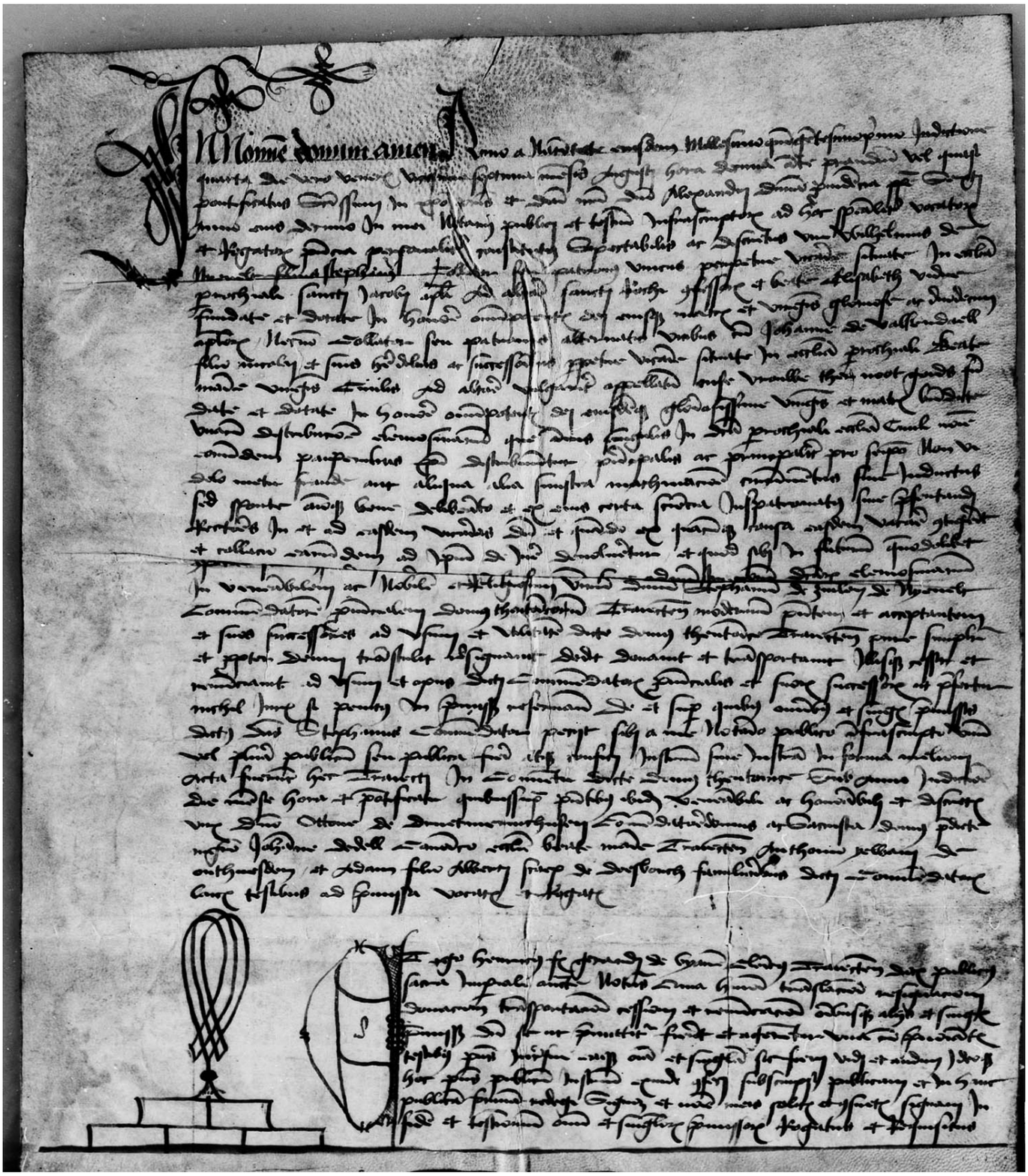

*Figure 4.5 Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen's signet as notary public. Note also the cadel, which bears similarities with the cadels in manuscript* ***We₁*** *(ARDOU, inv.nr. 503.1; 27 August 1501).*

According to the attestation in some charters (see for instance Figure 4.5), Hendrik van Vianen was the son of Gerard, and a member of the clergy in the bishopric of Utrecht. Hendrik himself was a notary public. There is no record of Hendrik referring to himself as a member of the Teutonic Order, nor is he listed as a member in any of the roughly two

thousand sources on the basis of which I created a database of (priest-)brethren of the bailiwick.[1098] His family background is not clear, nor is his education. I have not been able to find evidence of matriculation at a university, although he may have been the "Heynricus Oestrum de Vyanen" who matriculated at Louvain in 1469.[1099] His last charter, dated 1509, was issued in the little town of Vianen near Utrecht, which suggests that he was – at least then – living in Vianen. It also suggests that the name "Vianen" was a toponym rather than a family name. Most of the documents that have been so far identified as written in his hand relate to the house and bailiwick of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht. It is likely that in the survey of the documents in his hand that have so far been discovered, the Teutonic Order is overrepresented, since writings of his outside the confinements of the bailiwick's archive have so far only been found when his name was explicitly recorded in online inventory descriptions. Nevertheless, given the large number of charters and the two manuscripts, it seems fair to assume that the Utrecht bailiwick was an important client or employer.

A few trends among the available documents shed more information on Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen's career as professional writer (see Appendix, Table A.10). The oldest dated document is from 1479, but he only started to mention his name and profession later in his active career: for the first time in July 1491, but especially from 1500 onwards. His name and profession often only appear in Latin texts and only once in a text issued by a member of the Teutonic Order. It could even be possible that he had yet become a notary public in his early career, but became so later in his life; although this is hard to substantiate since the current selection of documents might cause us to overlook some of his activities elsewhere. Yet, as we have seen, his writing habits weren't fully developed when he started writing manuscript **We$_1$** around 1480, whereas he became much more steady in his writing in the second half of the chronicle (see chapter 2.3 and Appendix, A.5, "Quantifying palaeographical preferences in the *Sachsenspiegel* and land charters"). His early activities for the Utrecht bailiwick and in particular for Land Commander Johan van Drongelen (1469–92) point at the possibility that he was the personal secretary of the land commander. In the period in which Johan van Drongelen had to leave Utrecht (from 13 May 1482 to at least 20 September 1483),[1100] there is a noticeable cessation of Hendrik van Vianen's activity as a scribe: there are two years of inactivity between 24 October 1481 and 24 November 1483, if one disregards document 7 (written after Drongelen had to leave Utrecht) and 8 (issued by his *locum tenens* Gosen van Rossum). This seems to suggest that Hendrik van Vianen's activity as scribe in this period was limited to work for Johan van Drongelen. We know that several land commanders in Utrecht before Johan van Drongelen had personal secretaries, sometimes simply called 'scribe', but there are no accounts for these years which could be used to look for pay rolls or other evidence.[1101]

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[1098] The current database was based on the extensive work of Menno Koopstra before me. Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 103–104; Chances that Hendrik van Vianen was a brother who might have slipped our attention are slim. I calculated that between 1350 and 1600 (excluding Friesland) 158 to 292 priest-brethren were active in the Utrecht bailiwick. At the moment, the database lists 211 priest-brethren (208 at the time of publication): Ibid., 104 (note 17).

[1099] 4 October 1469, "Heynricus Oestrum de Vianen, Trai.dioc., in art. (Gratis quia pauper)": E.H.J. Reusens, J. Wils and A. Schillings eds., *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*. Collection de Chroniques Belges Inédites 31 (Brussels: Libraire Kiessling et Cie ; P. Imbreghts 1903-1969) II, 225,32.

[1100] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 1777.1.

[1101] In 1430, German Master Eberhart of Saunsheim sent a receipt saying that he received 107 guilders from "Heinrich von Hemmersbach, the writer of the land commander of Utrecht" ("des lantcompthurs schriber zu Utricht"): Ibid., inv. nr. 340–1 (1430); Land Commander Johan van Haeften in 1455/57 had a writer on his pay roll that he used almost as a personal assistant: "Bruyne

| Period | Employer; client | Activities |
|---|---|---|
| **1479–81/82** | Utrecht bailiwick; Johan van Drongelen | Wide range of texts: from appointments, internal settlements, privileges. |
| | | **First phase of the *Croniken*.** |
| *Land Commander Johan van Drongelen was forced to leave Utrecht between 13 May 1482 and at least 20 September 1483. Hendrik van Vianen's activities seem to have been temporarily held back accordingly.* | | |
| **1483–6** | Utrecht bailiwick; Johan van Drongelen | Almost exclusively property related texts: leaseholds, selling of land rents |
| **1490–1** | Utrecht bailiwick; Johan van Drongelen | Writing two privileges |
| | Jasper van Culemborg, i.a. Lord of Zuilen | Collation of accounts of Jasper's predecessor; working as notary public |
| | | **Second phase of the *Croniken*** |
| **1499–1501, 1505** | Utrecht bailiwick; Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt | Wide range of texts: *Sachsenspiegel*, property related, privilege; working as notary public |
| **1509** | Adolf van Rechteren, Lord of Almelo; Hendrik die Hert, parish priest of Vianen | Working as notary public. A favour for a fellow townsman? |

*Table 4.1 Career activities of Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen.*

Based on the collection of documents in Table A.10 in the Appendix, the career of Hendrik van Vianen can roughly be divided into six periods (Table 4.1). What is particularly significant is that the two main production phases of the *Croniken* that we have identified earlier (around 1480 and around 1491), correspond exactly with the first and third periods of Hendrik van Vianen's activities for Johan van Drongelen and the Utrecht bailiwick. That can hardly be a coincidence and it shows that Hendrik van Vianen combined work on manuscript **We$_1$** with being hired for other writing activities for the Teutonic Order, which were probably carried out from the Utrecht commandery. It remains unclear what activities Hendrik van Vianen carried out in the intermediary years, for instance between 1486 and 1490 and from 1491 to 1499. Taking into account the possible date of the leaves with watermark that could perhaps be dated around 1496, Hendrik may have remained active in the bailiwick in some other capacity, but this remains speculation.

The question is whether Hendrik van Vianen could have been the author of the *Croniken*. We already identified the Vienna manuscript as either an autograph or an author's copy, which means that Hendrik van Vianen could not have been merely a scribe – a role that he did fulfil later in his career in the case of the *Sachsenspiegel*. As personal secretary to the land commander he would have had easy access to the order's archives. Could he have been commissioned by the Teutonic Order to write the chronicle? Nothing, however, is known about any experience Hendrik may have had in writing history, nor do we have any indication of an interest in heraldry and genealogy, or any link to nobility. There is no indication, outside the *Croniken*, that he ever showed an interest in the history and fate of the order of his employer. These various issues compel us to reconsider his role in the project.

mynen schriver voer synen jaerloen 25 R.gld.": Ibid., inv. nr. 330–1 (e.g. f. 14r); In the bailiwick of Alden Biesen a certain "Godefrido van Alondorp" (Alendorp near Utrecht) worked as secretary of the land commander and perhaps of the commander of Gemert too: De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 479 (1434); 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, inv. nr. 118, f. 48r (1436); Just like Hendrik van Vianen, Godfried van Alendorp also became active as a notary public in 's-Hertogenbosch between 1442 and 1444: A.C.M. Kappelhof ed., *Het archief van de Tafel van de Heilige Geest van 's-Hertogenbosch. Regesten van oorkonden* 8 ( 's-Hertogenbosch: Centraal Bureau Godshuizen 1986) nrs. 2056, 2059, 2080, 2903.

## Johan van Drongelen

### *Career*

Before we investigate this question in more detail, we must have a closer look at the person who employed Hendrik van Vianen, Land Commander Johan van Drongelen. Drongelen was land commander of the Utrecht bailiwick from 16 July 1469 to his death on 15 August 1492.[1102] There is no evidence that he enjoyed an academic education, as a majority of the Utrecht land commanders in this period did.[1103] He entered the order as knight-brother in the mid to late 1440s, which can be deduced from the list of invitees or attendees to his entrance ceremony (Table A.11 in the Appendix), which was written in his own hand.[1104] The date, shortly after 1445, can be deduced from the watermark and the list of invitees.[1105] At the latest, it was composed before 23 March 1450, when Johan van Drongelen was appointed commander of Schelluinen.[1106] Drongelen held this position for thirteen years. Almost as soon as he moved into the house he began to renovate and extend the buildings of the commandery, investing much of his own money, much improving their appearance and prestige.[1107] From then on, the house, once practically only suited for priest-brethren, was representable enough to once a year host the *Hoogheemraad* of the Land of Arkel: the water board of which Johan van Drongelen had become an important member.[1108] In 1462 he further donated his maternal inheritance to the commandery, which proved crucial for ensuring its long term financial health.[1109] In the short term it will have been a significant factor in making possible the renovation and extension of the church of Schelluinen in 1466.[1110]

By that time, Drongelen had moved to Middelburg where he had been appointed commander in 1463.[1111] After six years in this function he was promoted to the highest office in the bailiwick, that of land commander.[1112] He retained

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[1102] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 405; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.774.
[1103] Stapel, 'Power to the Educated?', 341.
[1104] The document was not meant for his appointment as land commander in 1469, as the inventory of the bailiwick archive suggests. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 251; Ibid.; The hand of Johan van Drongelen can also found in the following documents: Ibid., inv. nrs. 219, 253 (verso), 255, 2192 (according to De Geer, *Archieven* II, nr. 564), 2479, and 2525.
[1105] The watermark, a double headed eagle, should be dated around 1442-1446. None of the watermarks in the Piccard database are an exact copy, but these eight come very close (arranged by date): Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nrs. 42701/42702 (Venlo 1442/43), 42691 (Utrecht 1444), 42703/42704 (Arnhem 1445), 42692/42693 (Culemborg 1445/46) and 42700 (Bruges 1446); The list must have been composed after 1445, the year Yolande of Lalaing married Reinoud II of Brederode: A. Janse, 'Yolande van Lalaing (1422-1497)', in: E. den Hartog and H. Wijsman eds., *Yolande van Lalaing (1422-1497), kasteelvrouwe van Brederode*. Jaarboek van de Kastelenstichting Holland en Zeeland 2009 (Haarlem 2009) 7–36; There is a chance the list was drawn up after 1447 or 1448, as both Dirk van der Merwede and an anonymous castellan of Heusden were invited separately. Dirk van der Merwede was castellan himself until 1447. In 1448 Count John IV of Nassau took over, but most likely one of the deputies he appointed was meant here. As Dirk van der Merwede was also known to appoint deputies, this *terminus post quem* is certainly not written in stone. P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving. Het Land van Heusden, ca. 1360 - ca. 1515*. A.A.G. Bijdragen 32 (Wageningen 1992) 11, 13; Finally, the list must also predate the death of Dirk van der Merwede in May 1452: B. de Roy van Zuidewijn, 'Het graf van Dirk van der Merwede', *De Brabantse Leeuw* 5 (1956) 123.
[1106] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 2525, f. 42v and f. 81v.
[1107] Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 84.
[1108] A. Kemp, *Leven der doorluchtige heeren van Arkel, ende jaar-beschrijving der stad Gorinchem*. H. Kemp ed. (Gorinchem: Vink 1656) 285–290; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2479.
[1109] Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 56; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, 501; S.W.A. Drossaers, *Het archief van de Nassauschen domeinraad* 1.5 Repertorium op de leenregisters van de Lek en Polanen 1309-1576 en index op het eerste deel I-IV (Den Haag: Algemeen Rijksarchief 1949) nrs. 490 and 491.
[1110] Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 88.
[1111] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2186.
[1112] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 405.

his position of commander in Middelburg, although it is difficult to determine whether he resided there often.[1113] Drongelen would prove to be one of the most energetic and capable land commanders, and a reformer of the late medieval Utrecht bailiwick. When he took up the office, according to the *Croniken*, he found the bailiwick in great debts, over 3,700 Rhenish guilders to be exact, and with its winter food reserves entirely depleted. In the preceding years, the bailiwick had been heavily burdened by partisan strifes and disputes, conflicts in the Duchy of Guelders, dike breaches, payment of annuities and the contribution the grand master.[1114] Furthermore, the costs for accommodating the numerous knight-brethren that returned to the Low Countries after they fled from Prussia at the outbreak of hostilities or because of a lack of career prospects weighed heavily on the budgets of the various commanderies.[1115] To overcome these immediate concerns Drongelen had to call in favours from many "honourable prelates, canons, lords and other good people and friends in Utrecht, Holland and Zeeland."[1116] An ameliorating factor will have been that the living expenses for many of the brethren that fled Prussia decreased dramatically as most of these brethren died before or soon after Drongelen took up office.[1117]

The fact that Drongelen held the office of land commander for a relatively long period, just over twenty-three years, will also have contributed significantly to the success of his policies over the years. It is striking, though, how much was accomplished in the first half decade. One of his first missions was to reform the Frisian houses, whose brethren, according to Drongelen, "disgraced the order's habit and do not know, or do not want to know, how they should live according to our order's rules, habits or statutes."[1118] We are well informed about this attempt to reform the Frisian houses via the work of Hans Mol. The image of Drongelen that emerges from Mol's study is that of a zealous, somewhat authoritarian person who was pursuing a strict regimen. He had little patience for the Frisian brethren who invoked spurious privileges and specious customs that confirmed their semi-autonomous status. In the long run, Drongelen's attitude would stand in the way of real success for reform of the order in Friesland.[1119]

In the rest of the bailiwick, Drongelen's activities had a more favourable outcome and in some cases ensured a lasting legacy. Under his guidance, several ornaments, religious clothes, relics, and monstrances were added to the interior of the church of the Utrecht commandery, whereas existing ones were refurbished.[1120] He documented how the prelates of the bailiwick had to wash thirteen poor men's feet on Maundy Thursday, and how they should be buried, customs which lasted for many decades.[1121] In 1473 he received permission of the German master to sell the inheritance of his father in order to establish a yearly service in memory of himself and a pittance, an allowance of food, for

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[1113] A letter tentatively dated "ca. 1490" is the last entry mentioning Drongelen as commander of Middelburg: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 28–1.
[1114] Ibid., inv.nr. 249; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 404.
[1115] Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?', 189.
[1116] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.774.
[1117] Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?', 189 (note 70).
[1118] "Ende dragen ons habijt den oerdens regel te scanden, ende en weten niet of en willen niet weten van ons oerdens regel of gewoenheit of statuten hoe si sculdich sijn te leven": Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2259, p. 1–4; as cited by Mol, *Friese huizen*, 264.
[1119] Mol, *Friese huizen*, 123–137, 145–147.
[1120] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.774.
[1121] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, nr. 193 (263–266).

both the brethren and thirty poor men – a service that was still held at least well into the sixteenth century.[1122] Two years later, in 1475, he completed a large extension to the fourteenth century convent of the Teutonic Order in the city of Utrecht (Figure 4.6).[1123] Just as in Schelluinen, the extension, known as the land commander's residence, had a representative function, as is exemplified by the angel figurines, carrying coats of arms, which were added to each end of the roof beams, and of which one survived (Figure 4.7).[1124]

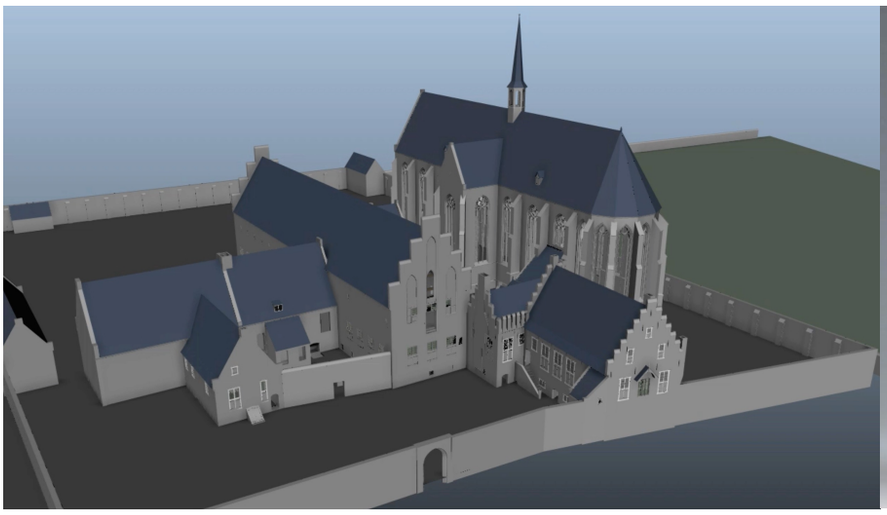

*Figure 4.6 Three dimensional reconstruction of the Utrecht commandery complex at the end of the Middle Ages. Land Commander Johan van Drongelen commissioned the building at the centre right, against the wall, in 1475. Produced by Daan Claessen, Afdeling Erfgoed, Gemeente Utrecht.*

*Figure 4.7 Wooden statue of an angel holding a coat of arms found in the new extension.*

One of the most enduring reforms Johan van Drongelen was responsible for, concerned the admission policy of new knight-brethren, aimed at reducing their total number in the bailiwick. The changes made during Drongelen's years in office would alter the nature of the bailiwick for years to come and had a direct and positive impact on the bailiwick's survival after the Reformation. When Drongelen took up office in 1469, around fifty brethren can be found in the bailiwick's sources (Figure 4.8). Twenty to thirty were knight-brethren.[1125] Ten years later this was reduced to ten to fifteen knight-brethren, and their number would continue to decline to ten or fewer at the end of Drongelen's career. During the sixteenth century, it would remain stable.[1126] Direct consequence was that the bailiwick quickly turned into an exclusive corporation that could accommodate only a few noble knight-brethren – accompanied by a stable number

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[1122] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 254; For this purpose, Drongelen bought a piece of land in 't Goy, south of Utrecht: Ibid., inv. nr. 1136–4; The memorial service was established a year later, in 1474: Ibid., inv. nr. 507; It was continued until at least 1531/32: Ibid., inv. nr. 641 (1531/32), f. 8r; See also: Koopstra, *"Weest ritter,"* 35.

[1123] The Croniken mentions the building activities and provided a date: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.774; This date closely corresponded with dendrochronological evidence: B. Klück, 'Het Duitse huis in Utrecht. Bouwgeschiedenis van een stedelijke land-commanderij tijdens de Middeleeuwen', in: *Crux et arma. Kruistochten, ridderorden en Duitse Orde*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Duitse Orde in de Balije Biesen 4 (Bilzen 1997) 223–230, there 229; See also: B. Klück, *De landcommanderij van de Duitse Orde te Utrecht*. Clavis kleine kunsthistorische monografieën 13 (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura 1995).

[1124] J.A. Mol, 'Een toevluchtsoord voor de "arme" adel. Veranderingen in de toelating van ridderbroeders tot de Duitse Orde in de vijftiende eeuw', in: J.A. Mol ed., *Vechten, bidden en verplegen. Opstellen over de ridderorden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 5 (Hilversum: Verloren 2011) 188–205, there 203.

[1125] The brethren of whom is not known whether they were priest- or knight-brethren were more often than not knight-brethren. Priest-brethren are generally more easily identified as such because of their functions in pastoral care.

[1126] Stapel, 'Onder dese ridderen', 213.

of priest-brethren who were responsible for the pastoral care in the bailiwick's many parish churches.[1127] These few knight-brethren also were increasingly interested in maintaining a noble lifestyle, as is perhaps most prominently shown in the acquisition between 1522 and 1525 of the castle Ter Meer outside the city of Utrecht by Land Commander Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt (Figure 4.9). He renamed the castle Zuilenburg after his family name, and it functioned for some years as residence for the land commanders.[1128] Years later, during the Reformation, the Teutonic Order in Utrecht could emphasize its noble character, whereas the neighbouring Hospitallers, without knight-brethren among their ranks, could not. The Hospitallers were regarded as a purely religious community and were consequently dissolved, just as other monasteries. The Utrecht bailiwick of the Teutonic Order remained in existence as a corporation of Protestant noblemen.[1129]

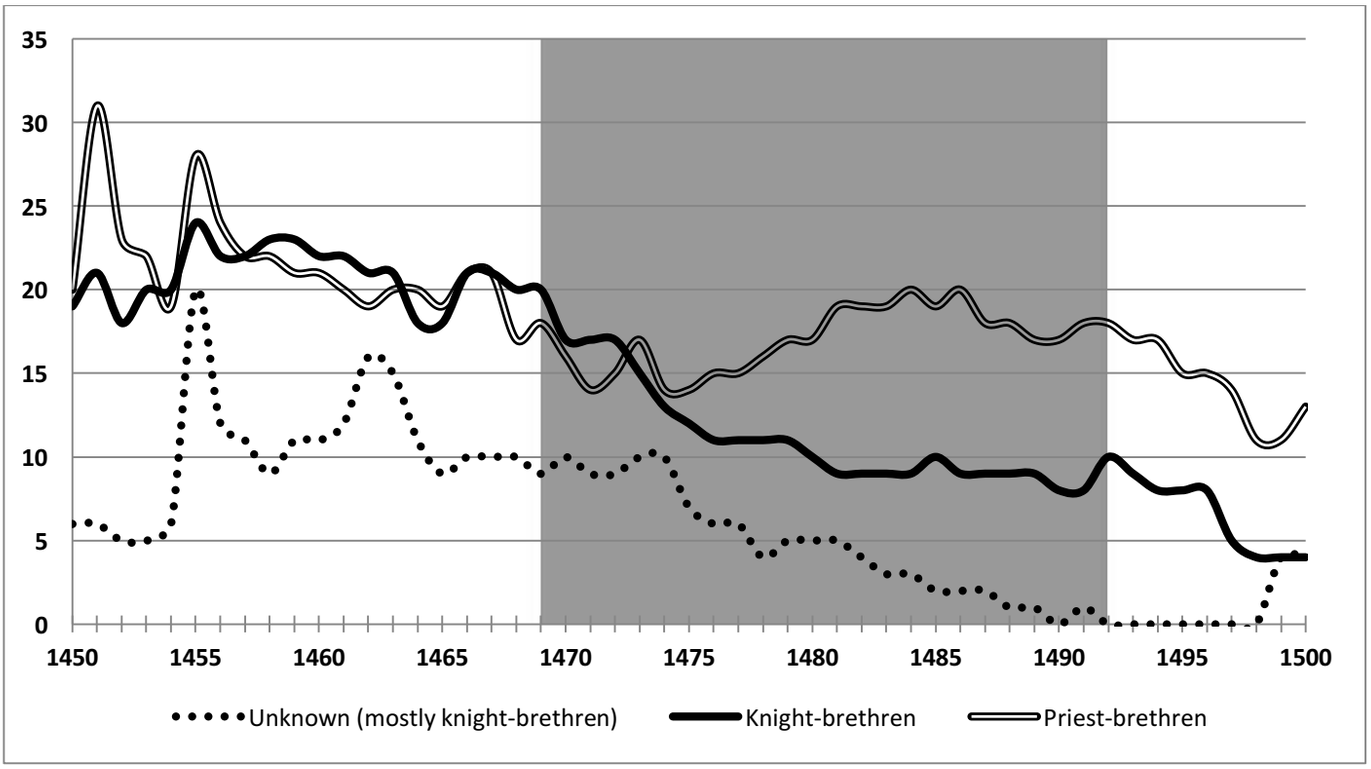


*Figure 4.8 Number of recorded brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick. At the background the years in office of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen.*[1130]

[1127] Regarding this transformation in both Utrecht and elsewhere in the order: Mol, 'Toevluchtsoord'; Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen'.
[1128] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 666–2.
[1129] J.A. Mol, 'Trying to survive. The Military Orders in Utrecht, 1580-1620', in: J.A. Mol, K. Militzer and H.J. Nicholson eds., *The Military Orders and the Reformation*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 3 (Hilversum: Verloren 2006) 181–207.
[1130] Drawn from the data described in: Stapel, 'Onder dese ridderen'.

*Figure 4.9 Castle Zuilenburg or Ter Meer near Maarssen in Utrecht (Herman Saftleven, between 1619 and 1685. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).*

Besides the dramatic reduction in the number of knight-brethren under Johan van Drongelen's tenure, there was also a shift away from brethren from the Duchy of Guelders, towards those born in the County of Holland (Figure 4.10). In the twenty-three years before Drongelen was land commander (the precise length of his years in office), only a quarter of the new knight-brethren, including Drongelen himself, came from Holland, all of whom were raised in the eastern part of Holland, within ten kilometres from the border with Guelders; the latter accounted for 62 percent of the knight-brethren. During Drongelen's years in office this situation was diametrically altered. Of the knight-brethren whose names were first noted in the order's records during these twenty-three years, 64 percent were from the county that Drongelen was born in. The knight-brethren followed an earlier trend in which priest-brethren coming from Holland began to dominate the bailiwick already early in the fifteenth century and onwards.[1131] In the years following Drongelen's tenure, new knight-brethren predominantly came from Holland, although later in the sixteenth century a more balanced situation was established between brethren from Guelders, Utrecht and Holland.

[1131] Ibid., 222, 224.

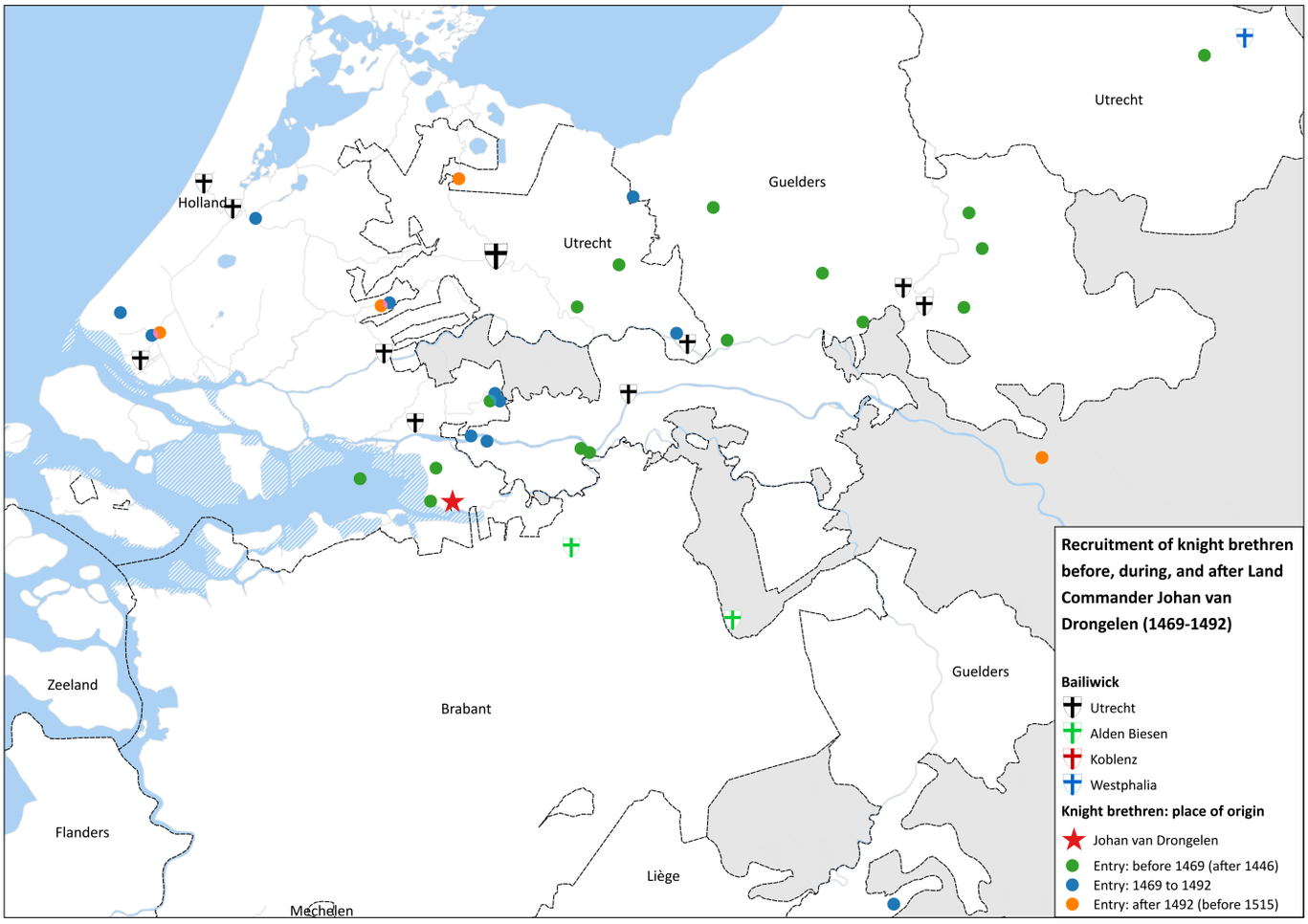


*Figure 4.10 Provenance of new knight-brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick before, during and after the years in office of Johan van Drongelen.*[1132]

These tendencies in the composition of the order's membership suggest that Drongelen made the position of knight-brother much more exclusive, and that he subsequently recruited his own confidants or sons of friends, young noblemen from the County of Holland, in the few open positions that remained. Drongelen may well have meant these changes to counteract the problems caused by the partisan strifes and the debt burden of the previous years, which was in part caused by by an excess number of knight-brethren returning from the Baltic region and the huge costs involved to accommodate them. But it was also a clear attempt to reform the bailiwick, creating a smaller, leaner organization which could emphasize its noble stature and invest more in buildings and objects which were representable for noblemen. A smaller and leaner organization also meant that the bailiwick could be governed centrally by the land commander and the general chapter in Utrecht with more ease. In the handling of the Frisian brethren, but also

[1132] Only those brethren that were certainly or at least likely knight-brethren and of whom a place of origin could be determined or estimated with some certainty are included. Three equally sized time periods were selected. The following family names and/or toponyms are included: Almonde, Boetzelaer, Deelen, Drongelen, Dussen, Enghuizen, Fleringen, Hackfort, Lawick, Lichtenberg, Overhagen, Rossum (2x), Voorst, Wedichem, Zandwijk, Zuermont van Hinderstein (1446-1469); Boetzelaer (2x), Broekhuizen (van Brakel), Does, Dorp, Naaldwijk, Vliet, Vlodrop, Vuren, Wulf, Zuylen van Nijevelt (1469-1492); Amstel van Mijnden, Egmond van Merenstein, Hönnepel-Empel, Vliet (1492-1515).

in his own role in the partisan strifes of the 1440s and 1450s,[1133] Drongelen showed how much importance he attached to obedience and the hierarchical, statutory organizational structure of the Teutonic Order.

*Family and genealogy*

It is fruitful to examine the increased emphasis of the noble character of the bailiwick in the light of Drongelen's personal upbringing and interests, as it becomes clear that he had a long history of being overly aware of his own (noble) family background and how to present this to the outside world. Such a personal preoccupation may have influenced his policies in the bailiwick. At the same time, the fact that Drongelen's personal interests correspond to genealogical, heraldic, and knightly interests shown in the *Croniken* strengthens the hypothesis that Johan van Drongelen was directly involved in the creation of the text.

First of all, very little is known about the family of Johan van Drongelen. The Drongelen family was a respectable noble family from the Land of Heusden, in the complex border region between Holland, Cleves, Brabant, and Guelders.[1134] The family had sprung from the Lords of Heusden, who were the most important noble family of the region, but had died out in 1330.[1135] The principal branch of the Drongelen family suffered the same fate when Johan III van Drongelen, namesake of our land commander, died in or around 1431. He had five daughters from two marriages, and at least two illegitimate sons.[1136] As will become clear from what follows here, Johan van Drongelen was, in all likelihood, related to the principal branch of the Drongelen family. However, this link is not particularly close, despite of how Johan van Drongelen himself appeared it to be. To study both his family background and the way he presented this to the outside world, I will explore his personal use of heraldic symbols, the eight quarters painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht that represented his eight great-grandparents, and the invitation list to his ceremonial entry into the order that we briefly mentioned earlier (section 4.3, "Career").

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[1133] In 1456, Johan van Drongelen accepted Johan van Haeften as the new land commander, but not after much careful consideration and an adversarial procedure in which he consulted all concerned parties. In the letters, Drongelen showed to be a firm defender of correct procedures in accordance to the order's statutes and the governance structure of the bailiwick, in this case regarding the election of a new land commander. The importance attached to being obedient to your superior is also strongly present in the letters. De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nrs. 387–388.

[1134] For a short political-geographical description of the Land of Heusden: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 3–11.

[1135] Ibid., 579–581.

[1136] Janse mentions by name Katharina, Henrica, Hadewich and an illegitimate son Wouter: Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 443; A further illegitimate son, Willem, is found among the members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwen Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch: 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, inv.nr. 118, f. 168r (1444); According to a transaction in 1425, this Willem is the oldest illegitimate son of Johan III van Drongelen: 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Klooster Het Hollandse Huis bij Geertruidenberg, R. 755; Johanna van Drongelen, who married Dirk van Waardenburg, may also have been a daughter of Johan III van Drongelen. Her sons are named as lords of the *heerlijkheid* and castle of Gansoyen, which was previously owned by Johan III van Drongelen's eldest daughter Katharina. Katharina inherited the castle from her mother Christina van der Oey. J.C. Kort, 'De lenen van de hertog van Brabant in en bij het Land van Heusden, 1312-1645', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 25-26 (2001-2002), there nrs. 10, 21. See Appendix, A.3 (genealogical tables), Figure A.17.

*Figure 4.11 Land Commander Johan van Drongelen's coat of arms.* Croniken*, ms.* ***We₁****, f. 200v.*

The coat of arms of land commander Johan van Drongelen as it is included in the *Croniken* consists of three parts (Figure 4.11). Heraldic right the cross of the Teutonic Order, left divided in two. Above is the coat of arms of an unknown branch of the Drongelen family – the main branch used either one silver wheel with six spokes against a blue background[1137] or a coat of arms divided in four parts, with Drongelen (silver wheel against a blue background) in 1 and 4, Heusden (red wheel against a gold background) in 2 and 3.[1138] Below in Johan van Drongelen's coat of arms is the coat of arms of the Merwede family, of which, apart from a couple of illegitimate children, Dirk van der Merwede (d. 1452) was the last male representative. Drongelen did not always use this tripartite coat of arms. In fact, during his years in the Teutonic Order he changed the appearance of his seal and accompanying coat of arms at least four times (Figures 4.12 to 4.15). In 1469, when he was discussing the conditions for his assumption of the position of land commander some weeks later, the Merwede coat of arms was still absent (Figure 4.12). A few years later, in 1475, Drongelen sealed with a coat of arms that was, barely visible, divided in four parts, with Drongelen in 1 and 4, Merwede in 2 and 3 (Figure 4.13; see also a reconstruction in Figure 4.16). One year later he had introduced the division in two, with the order's cross (Figure 4.14). In 1481, a more stylized version with two lions as supporters was used (Figure 4.15).

[1137] E.g. Willem van Drongelen, knight: Dordrecht, Regionaal Archief, Heilige Geest- en Pesthuis ter Grote Kerk, inv.nr. 41 (6 March 1367).

[1138] E.g. Johan III van Drongelen, lord of Meeuwen: 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Heerlijkheid Eethen en Meeuwen, inv.nr. 219 (1416).

*Figure 4.12 Johan van Drongelen as commander of Middelburg (1469).*[1139]

*Figure 4.13 Johan van Drongelen as land commander (1475).*[1140]

*Figure 4.14 Johan van Drongelen as land commander (1476).*[1141]

*Figure 4.15 Johan van Drongelen as land commander (1481).*[1142]

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[1139] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 249; Based on the seals and charters collected by: J.H. de Vey Mestdagh and J.A. de Boo, *Liber Sigillorum. De zegels in het archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde Balije van Utrecht, 1200-1811* (Utrecht; Haren: Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht; Knoop & Niemeijer 1995). In this study no duplicates have been included. Furthermore, the authors chose to include the most intact examples, not necessarily their first appearance. This is important to note when piecing together a timeline of the transformation of Drongelen's coat of arms. The only applied seal, top right, was overlooked.

[1140] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 255.

[1141] Ibid., inv. nr. 1353.

[1142] Ibid., inv. nr. 490.

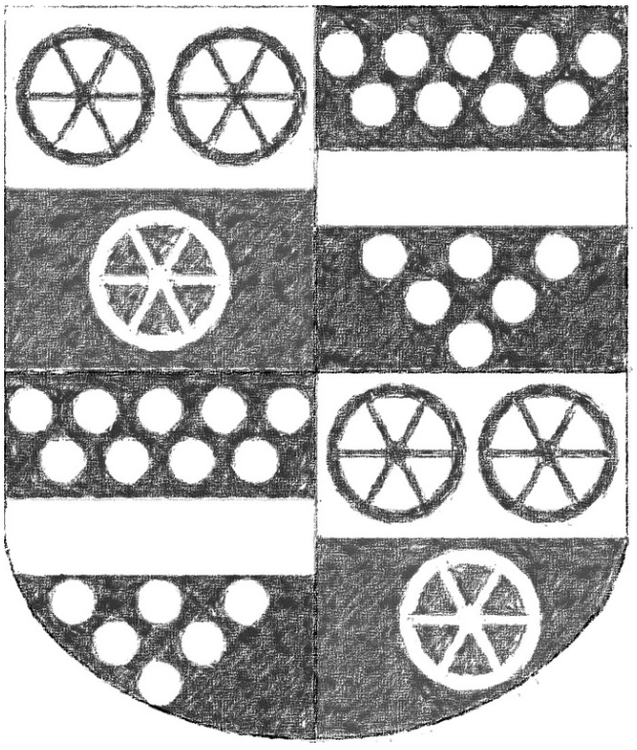

*Figure 4.16 Reconstruction of the coat of arms of Johan Drongelen, used in an applied seal in 1475 (Figure 4.13).*

*Figure 4.17 Seal of Robrecht van Drongelen Petersz., 1474.*[1143]

In order to explain his combination of the Drongelen and Merwede coats of arms, it has been suggested that Johan van Drongelen, the land commander, was the son of Odilia van der Merwede, female heir of the estate of a branch of the important noble family Merwede in the County of Holland, and Robrecht van Drongelen, a member of the Eethen-branch of the Drongelen family.[1144] It has since been noted that Robrecht van Drongelen, however, was never married to Odilia van der Merwede, but rather – possibly because of opportunistic motives[1145] – acted as her legal guardian.[1146]

Moreover, I have since also been able to confirm that Odilia van Merwede was not the mother of Johan van Drongelen; his mother is actually mentioned in the previously mentioned transfer in 1462 of his maternal inheritance to the commandery of Schelluinen, where she is referred to as "joncfrouwe Adriaen," with 'jonkvrouw' denoting a noble background.[1147] In the accompanying charter in the archive of the counts of Nassau, she is referred to as Adriana van Veen, daughter of Jan van Veen and Liesbeth, daughter of Jan Buys. She was married to a certain Rutger Noydensz. van Andel,

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[1143] Dordrecht, RA, Heilige Geest- en Pesthuis ter Grote Kerk, inv.nr. 44; See also, signing as alderman of Breda in 1453: 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Beneficie van Meer in de kerk van Breda, inv.nr. 13.

[1144] For example: J.J. de Geer van Oudegein, *Register der overheden en leden van de Utrechtsche Balije der Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, mitsgaders edele en aanzienlijke geslachten vermeld in de archieven dier Balije* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon 1899) xiv.

[1145] Robrecht van Drongelen had gained quite a reputation for being relentless in pursuit of his objectives and not shun of intimidation. His motives for acting as a legal guardian were therefore, it seems, not purely altruistic. In 1458 he bought the estate of Odilia van der Merwede to become lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, Babyloniënbroek, and Drongelen himself. W. de Vries, 'De heerlijkheid Zijdwinde', *De Brabantse Leeuw* 12 (1963) 35–40, there passim, especially 37; Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 579–581, 622–624; J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de grafelijke lenen in het Land van Heusden, 1250-1648', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 50 (1995) 236–245, there nr. 13.

[1146] J.P. de Man, 'Odilia van de Merwede ("une pucelle de plus de cinquante ans")', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 57 (1939) 64–69; There are strong indications that Robrecht did not have purely altruistic motives in taking on this role. De Vries, 'De heerlijkheid Zijdwinde', passim, especially 37; Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 579–581, 622–624.

[1147] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 501.

who is however never mentioned as Johan van Drongelen's father.[1148] Both Andel and Veen are small neighbouring villages in the Land of Heusden (Figure 4.18). Neither were important noble families in the region, both, like the Buys family, rather belonging to the village elites, although the Veen family probably had a higher standing than Noydensz. (van Andel).[1149]

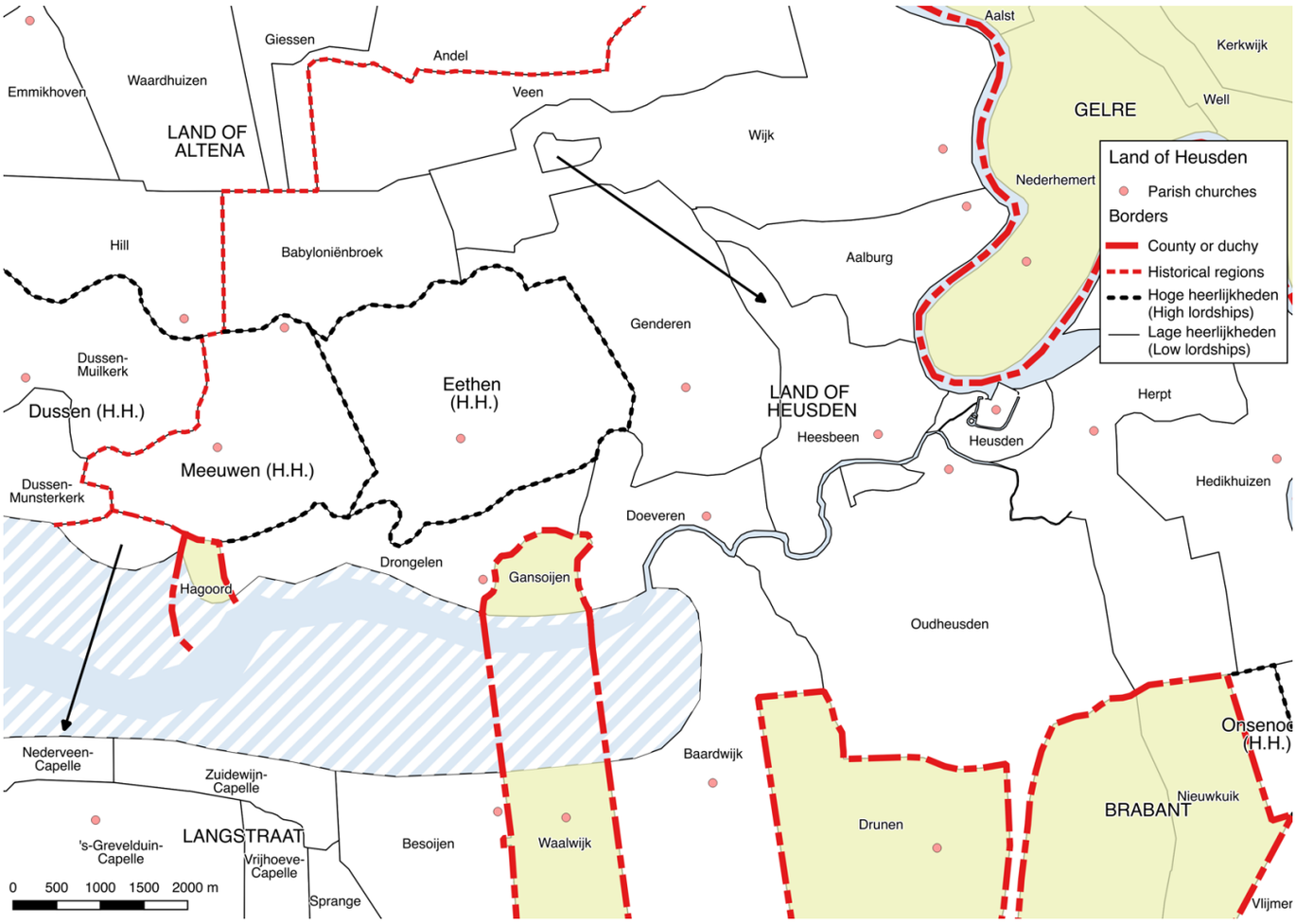


*Figure 4.18 Map of the administrative-judicial boundaries in the Land of Heusden (and surrounding areas) in the County of Holland, around 1500.*

Rutger Noydensz. van Andel and Adriana van Veen are first mentioned together, as husband and wife, in 1415. In that year they acted as guarantees to a new buyer of the half tithe of the nearby village of Babyloniënbroek, previously a

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[1148] Drossaers, *Nassauschen domeinraad* 1.5 Repertorium op de leenregisters van de Lek en Polanen 1309-1576 en index op het eerste deel I-IV, nrs. 490–491; For the transition of part of this inheritance from Liesbeth Jan Buysdr. to the commanders of Schelluinen: B.W. van Schijndel, 'Oorkonden betreffende Zuijdewijn', *Taxandria. Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantse geschiedenis en volkskunde* 46 (1939) 300–308; and also Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 412.

[1149] Regarding the family of Jan van Veen, see below (e.g. note 1182) and F. Beelaerts van Blokland, 'Extract uyt de genealogie van de familie Van Veen, gesprooten uyt den huyse van Heusden', *Taxandria. Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantse geschiedenis en volkskunde* 7 (1900) 196–204; It is not certain whether "Andel" was a family name or just a toponym. There is however a family called Noydens (or other spelling variations thereof) in the Land of Heusden. The name originally meant "son of Arnold", but it moved into the direction of a sometimes more, sometimes less fixed family name: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, passim, particularly 123–124; for the presence of the family name in neighbouring Land of Altena (which included the village Andel): K.N. Korteweg, *Rechtsbronnen van Woudrichem en het Land van Altena*. Werken der Vereeniging tot Uitgave der Bronnen van het Oude Vaderlandsche Recht, gevestigd te Utrecht 14 (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon 1948) nrs. 140–141, 159, 226; Regarding the family of Jan Buys: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 760–761.

leasehold of one of the brothers of Adriana, a certain Peter van Giessen, in case legal action would damage the conditions of the sale.[1150] I have been unable to find evidence suggesting that Rutger Noydensz. van Andel was related in any direct way to the noble family Drongelen, or to the Merwede family.[1151] His coat of arms, however, showed a chief bearing two wheels with six spokes, very similar to that of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen, but without the third wheel in the field of the coat of arms that represented the main branch of the Drongelen family at the time (Figure 4.19; compare also Robrecht van Drongelen's coat of arms in Figure 4.17). The portent of this correspondence, however, is uncertain, since many members of the lower nobility in the Land of Heusden carried one or more six-spoke wheels in their coat of arms, which was originally the coat of arms of the Heusden family, as well as the Drongelen family.

*Figure 4.19 Seal of Rutger Noydensz. van Andel.*[1152]

If there is no connection to Odilia van der Merwede, why then did Johan van Drongelen begin to use the Merwede coat of arms halfway through his career, associating himself with that family? The principal branch of the Drongelen family was indeed related to the Merwede family: Willem van Drongelen (d. <1376), lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, and Drongelen, was married to Hadewich van der Merwede (d. 1394).[1153] As I will show shortly, Willem and Hadewich were probably Johan van Drongelen's great-grandparents. In addition, Johan van Drongelen's grandfather at his mother's side, Jan van Veen, was a kinsman of Willem van der Merwede, probably a brother of Hadewich.[1154] Willem and Hadewich's father, Daniel V van der Merwede (d. 1345), lord of the Merwede, was Johan van Drongelen's great-great-grandfather. Such a connection is rather weak, which questions the validity of appropriating the Merwede coat of arms. In any case, there is no event in the Merwede family history that

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[1150] 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Kloosters Mariënkroon en Mariëndonk in Heusden, inv.nrs. 169G–L, in particular 169I; See also: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 412; A further brother, named Arnout van Wijk, owned the house and manor at Veen: Kort, 'Repertorium grafelijke lenen Heusden', 244.

[1151] The closest connection between the family names is that in 1369, a piece of land in Drongelen was transferred from a certain "Arnout Jan Noydensz. van Drongelen" to Hessel van Drongelen. J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Hagestein in het Land van Heusden, 1262-1797', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 50 (1995), there nr. 6.

[1152] 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, Kloosters Mariënkroon en Mariëndonk in Heusden, inv.nr. 169L (25 March 1415); Note the similarities to the coat of arms of a Adriaan Jan Noydenzsz, in which the chief is identical, but the shield bears three pales of vair: Dordrecht, RA, Heilige Geest- en Pesthuis ter Grote Kerk, inv.nr. 45 (26 August 1477).

[1153] Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 349.

[1154] The kinship relation between Willem van der Merwede and Jan van Veen could have come from their mothers, who both may have been members of the Both van der Eem family. For more detail, see Appendix, Figure A.16 to Figure A.21. J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de heerlijkheid Dussen Muilkerk, 1380-1771', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 31 (1976) 129–134, there nr. 1; Willem van der Merwede was a son of Daniel V van der Merwede (d. 1345) and a brother of Daniel VI van der Merwede (d. >1379). He was lord of Dussen-Muilkerk. J. Hendriks and T. van der Aalst, *Dussen. Van woontoren tot kasteel-raadhuis* (Dussen: Gemeente Dussen 1985) 3; Regarding the main branch of the Merwede family: W.H. Lenselink, 'De heren van der Merwede, 1243-1403', *Hollandse studiën* 3 (1972) 7–66; I have not been able to find direct evidence that Hadewich van der Merwede was a daughter of Daniel V van der Merwede (and thus a sister of Willem van der Merwede) but this is generally assumed. For instance: B. de Keijzer, 'Van Langerak - Van Zuylen. Mededelingen over twee middeleeuwse geslachten', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 111 (1994) 362–373, there 364.

could explain why Drongelen, somewhere between 1469 and 1475, started to use their coat of arms. Their last legitimate male representative had died many years before, and his two daughters were still alive when Drongelen started to use the Merwede coat of arms, although they both died very shortly afterwards, in 1476 and 1477.[1155] The only apparent difference is that by 1475, Drongelen had taken up the office of land commander.

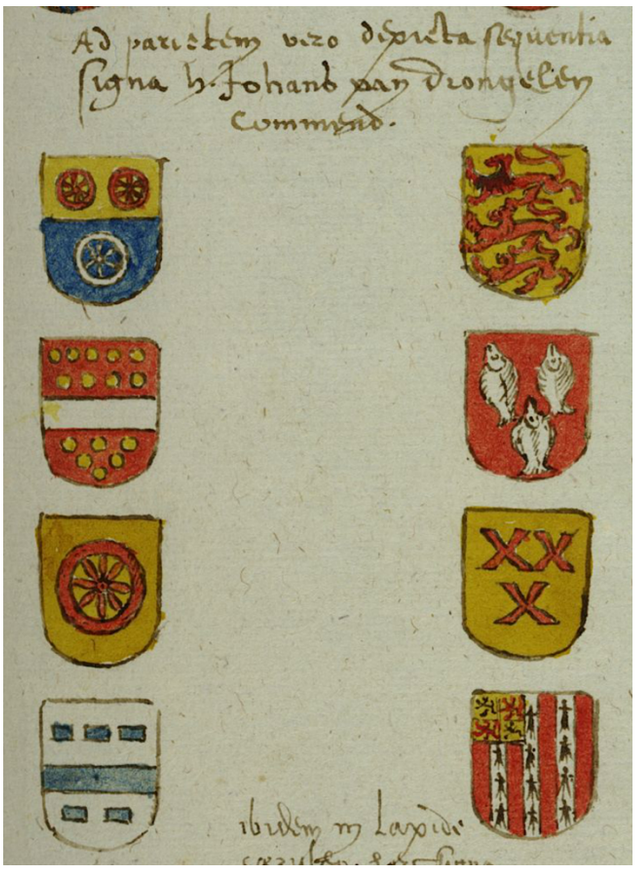

*Figure 4.20 The coats of arms of Drongelen's family tree, painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht. Documented by Aernout van Buchel in the seventeenth century.*[1156]

A further piece of evidence for Drongelen's family background are the eight coats of arms belonging to the family tree of Johan van Drongelen, painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, and documented in the seventeenth century (Figure 4.20). They represent Drongelen's eight great-grandparents and show, on the paternal side (right) from top to bottom: Drongelen (unknown branch), Merwede, Heusden?[1157], and Wendelnesse; on the maternal side: Veen, Both van der Eem, Strijen?[1158], and Uten Houte.[1159] If we use the eight quarters to create a family tree, we come to the following reconstruction (Figure 4.21).

All eight families were important noble families in the Land of Heusden and the areas immediately to the south, the Langstraat and Barony of Breda. Most of the listed families had already died out in the male line when they were drawn on the wall of the church. The fact that the eight coats of arms represent families which were local to the area Drongelen grew up in, but whose family names were no longer in use by the late-fifteenth century, argues in favour of the possibility that they were drawn on instigation of Drongelen himself – and not likely added by someone else at a much later stage. Moreover, the coat of arms of

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[1155] De Man, 'Odilia van de Merwede', 69; J.P. de Man, 'De nakomelingen van Heer Dirck van de Merwede', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 59 (1941) 320–329; 357–367.

[1156] A. van Buchel, K. Smit (translator), *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Traiectinae urbis atque agri inventa* (around 1617) 172 (f. 90v) (detail) <http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/handschriften/buchelius/monumenta> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[1157] The wheel of Heusden is found all over the Land of Heusden, for instance in the coats of arms of Aalburg, Andel, Baardwijk, Craijenstein, Doeveren, Drongelen, Eethen, Elshout, Hedikhuizen, Heesbeen, Nieuwkuijk, Onsenoort, Oudheusden, Sluis, Spiering, Wiel, and Wijk. Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 'Heraldische Databank' search term "wiel" <http://www.heraldischedatabank.nl/> [accessed 2 May 2016].

[1158] Variants of the Strijen coat of arms (especially in different colours) are used by local families such as Almonde, Besoijen, Drimmelen, Dubbelmonde, Putte, Wieldrecht, Zevenbergen, and Zijdwinde. Ibid., search terms "drie schuinkruisjes."

[1159] The coat of arms of Uten Houte should contain, quartered in the canton, the Brabant and Limburg lions. Instead, here the Holland and Hainaut lions were drawn, perhaps by Aernout van Buchel by mistake. Regarding the Uten Houte family: C.R. Hermans, 'Het adelijk geslacht Uten Houte of Van den Houte te Etten', in: C.R. Hermans, *Geschiedkundig mengelwerk over de provincie Noord-Braband* 2 ( 's-Hertogenbosch: Demelinne 1841) 249–255.

Drongelen's mother, Adriana van Veen, is correct and correctly placed in the hierarchy, whereas genealogies from at least the seventeenth century onwards assume that his mother was Odilia van der Merwede.[1160]

However, it is not clear whether the eight quarters painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht are completely accurate. Nor is it clear whether, by the time Aernout van Buchel documented the coats of arms in the early seventeenth century, the coats of arms did still represent their original, fifteenth-century form (particularly in terms of colour).[1161] Drongelen too may have invented elements. It would not be the last time Drongelen was involved in manipulating genealogies. At the end of his life he was invited to produce statements attesting the noble descent of Gijsbert van Stoutenburg.[1162] Stoutenburg was professor at Mainz and counsellor in Bavaria and later became a Utrecht canon. According to Drongelen, he was related to the long extinct noble family Woerden. There is little apparent historical foundation for this claim and it appears to have been exaggerated or even invented.[1163]

Large parts of the family tree cannot be corroborated by archival documents. For instance, the identity and family background of Johan van Drongelen's paternal grandmother is practically unknown. Furthermore, it is not clear, perhaps even questionable, whether Jan and Liesbeth Buys did use a coat of arms with three saltires – identical to that of the important Strijen family. Nor can it be confirmed whether all people identified in the family tree were actively – and consistently – using heraldic symbols to denote their family affiliation at all. Assigning them each with coats of arms may have been an anachronism.[1164]

Yet, there are also parts for which some corroboration can be found in the sources. For one, the eight quarters suggest that the mother of Jan van Veen was a member of the Both van der Eem family. Given that, as we have seen, Jan van Veen and Willem van der Merwede regarded themselves as kinsmen, and that the mother of Willem van der Merwede was Johanna Both van der Eem,[1165] there may indeed have been a maternal link between the two. The eight quarters also suggest a marriage between a male member of the Drongelen family and a female member of the Merwede

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[1160] E.g.: M. Balen Janszoon, *Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht, vervatende haar begin, opkomst, toeneming, en verdere stant...* (Dordrecht: Symon Onder de Linde 1677) 1108.

[1161] A specific complicating factor is that the paintwork of the eight coats of arms may have started to flake, which may have encouraged others to restore and repaint. This can perhaps be deduced from the coat of arms of (a branch of) the Wendelnesse or Nederveen family (bottom left), which is drawn by Aernout van Buchel in grey-blue – used by Buchel to indicate uncoloured stonework. Compare for instance Van Buchel, *Monumenta*, f. 21v. In reality, the coat of arms has a fess in red and five green billets (3-2) on a shield of silver. It is possible that the coat of arms of the Wendelnesse or Nederveen family on the wall of the church originally displayed these colours as well. In that case, the fact that this coat of arms – only this one – was drawn without using colours by Buchel, can be interpreted as evidence that the other coats of arms in the composition – that *do* display colours – were either construed by Buchel or retouched. In both instances, it is possible that the colours used by Buchel were not original. This is especially of importance for the Heusden and Strijen coats of arms, for which many coloured variants existed (see notes 1157 and 1158).

[1162] Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Verzameling Van Buchel - Booth, inv. nr. 524.

[1163] B. van Hoven van Genderen, *De heren van de kerk. De kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers 1997) 237.

[1164] Hoppenbrouwers, who studied the family relationships of the village elites in the Land of Heusden did not, unfortunately, study their use of heraldry. Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*. Late-fourteenth-century seals of aldermen in the nearby town of Heusden, show at least that heraldic symbols were being used in this area. The online database of seals in the archives held by the Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum (BHIC) in 's-Hertogenbosch contains many examples from Heusden (http://www.bhic.nl/onderzoeken/zegels/).

[1165] Lenselink, 'Heren van der Merwede', 12.

family, who would have been great-grandparents of Johan van Drongelen. This can only point to the aforementioned Willem van Drongelen and Hadewich van der Merwede, which also fits well chronologically, and it implies that Johan van Drongelen was affiliated with the main branch of the Drongelen family.

In turn, it implies that Johan van Drongelen's paternal grandfather was either a brother of the eponymous Johan III van Drongelen and his sister Johanna, or Johan III van Drongelen himself (in which case Drongelen's father was born out of wedlock).[1166] One hypothesis is that the paternal grandfather of Johan van Drongelen is a certain, otherwise unknown, Hillijn van Drongelen. The Utrecht bailiwick archive contains a charter, dated 1419, stating that Volcwijf, widow of Hillijn, promises to leave her inheritance with their children, except for two pieces of land in Meeuwen and Waardhuizerbroek which she will be able to use for herself.[1167] It is not clear why the bailiwick archive owns this charter, although a relation with Land Commander Johan van Drongelen seems the most obvious scenario. The registers of fiefs in the area do not mention Hillijn van Drongelen and only refer to Volcwijf indirectly.[1168] The pieces of land in Meeuwen and Waardhuizerbroek cannot be traced as well, although it is interesting that one of the few pieces of land in the Waardhuizerbroek was registered to the family Wendelnesse – according to Drongelen's family tree the mother of Volcwijf would have been a member of this family.[1169] A validation of this hypothesis cannot be offered, however.

Although there is no substantive evidence for reconstructing Johan van Drongelen's paternal family, his descent from Willem van Drongelen as suggested by the eight quarters is tenable. This is emphasized most clearly by the close relationship between Johan van Drongelen and the descendants of the sister of his paternal grandfather, Johanna van Drongelen, who was married to Gijsbert van Langerak.[1170] Four of the direct descendants of Gijsbert and Johanna (and three more associated by marriage) were invited to his entrance ceremony into the Teutonic Order, among many

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[1166] There are at least two known illegitimate sons of Johan III van Drongelen. Janse mentions an illegitimate son Wouter: Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 443; A further illegitimate son, Willem, is found among the members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwen Broederschap in 's Hertogenbosch: 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, inv.nr. 118, f. 168r (1444); According to a transaction in 1425, this Willem is the oldest illegitimate son of Johan III van Drongelen: 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, Klooster Het Hollandse Huis bij Geertruidenberg, R. 755; Illegitimacy was not allowed in the Teutonic Order, as the *Croniken* itself points out, but nonetheless occurred at times, at least on one occasion after special dispensation from the pope. The *Croniken* mentions Land Commander Dirk van Holland, according to the *Croniken* illegitimate son of Count William II of Holland, German king at the time, who received special dispensation of the pope "as they [i.e. the brethren] would not refuse the important prince": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.755; Priest-brother Simon Jansz van Naaldwijk, commander and parish priest of Leiden from 1421-1445, was an illegitimate child of nobleman Jan van Polanen: J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van Gerard en Willem van Polanen, 1375-1616', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 36 (1981) 346–352, there 346; Note his seal, with the Polanen coat of arms and a baton sinister, signifying an illegitimate birth: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2003.

[1167] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 3104.

[1168] Two pieces of land in Meeuwen were described as being adjacent to the piece of land in use by Volcwijf: J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Meeuwen, 1366-1650', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 22-23 (1998-1999), there nrs. 93, 113; A quarter of the tithe of Drongelen was registered to a Hendrik van Drongelen, son of Hillijn. He cannot be traced further. J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Gansoyen, 1374-1729 (1776)', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 51 (1996) 548–589, there nr. 45; A second quarter of the tithe was registered to a certain Hessel van Drongelen: Ibid., nr. 44. The registers are edited and available via http://www.hogenda.nl/hogenda-leenkamers/.

[1169] J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Uitwijk, 1337-1664', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 30 (2006), there nr. 60; For other fiefs in the Waardhuizerbroek: J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Altena, 1232-1650', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 19-21 (1995-1997) 82–91, there nrs. 213–219.

[1170] De Keijzer, 'Van Langerak - Van Zuylen', 364; P.G.F. Vermast, 'De Heeren van Goye. Deel III: De heerlijkheid Langherake en de heeren van Langherake', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* LXVII (1950) 165–177, 194–229, 236–251, there 221.

other family members.[1171] Johan van Drongelen also signed, as a family member of the bride, the marriage agreement between Kunigonde van Boetzelaer, great-granddaughter of Gijsbert van Langerak and Johanna van Drongelen, and Hendrik Valkenaar in 1471.[1172] The brother of Kunigonde, Michiel van Boetzelaer, was listed as a member of the Teutonic Order in 1455, together with Johan van Drongelen.[1173]

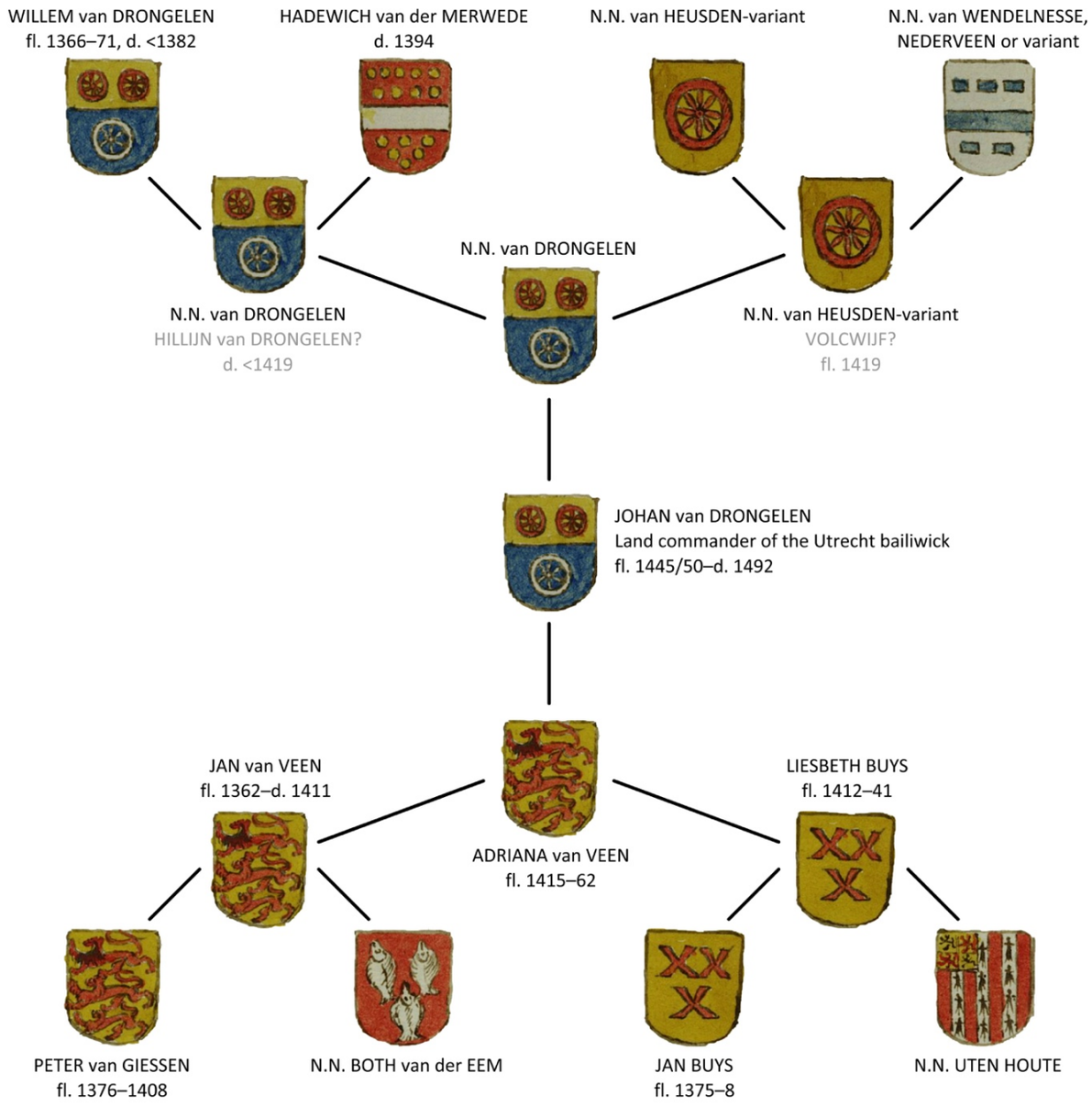


*Figure 4.21 Conjectural family tree of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen by combining the eight quarters painted in the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht and archival documents.*

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[1171] These concern their children Willem van Langerak (or his eponymous son) and Margriet van Langerak (and her husband Willem de Rover van Montfoort, lord of Zwieten). Furthermore, their granddaughter Elburg van Langerak and her daughter Kunigonde van Boetzelaer were also invited, just like Margaretha van Doornik (granddaughter of Gijsbert van Langerak, but possibly from an earlier marriage) and her husband Gerrit van Poelgeest. Either the husband of Margaretha's sister Aleid van Doornik or their eponymous son, Floris van Kijfhoek, also features on the list. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 251; For the genealogy of the Langerak family: De Keijzer, 'Van Langerak - Van Zuylen'; Vermast, 'De Heeren van Goye: Langherake'.

[1172] The Hague, Hoge Raad van Adel, Familie van Mathenesse, inv.nr. 344.

[1173] J.W. des Tombe and C.W.L. van Boetzelaer, *Het geslacht Van den Boetzelaer. De historische ontwikkeling van de rechtspositie en de staatkundige invloed van een belangrijk riddermatig geslacht* (Assen: Van Gorcum 1969) 147; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 371.

The conjectural family tree of Johan van Drongelen seems to be consistent with, or at least not rule out, the kindred relations that can be reconstructed from the list of invitees to his ceremonial entry. Yet, at the same time both sources starkly contrast with each other, in terms of the type of social circles that are addressed. When Johan van Drongelen entered the Teutonic Order in the second half of the 1440s, he invited almost ninety persons to his entry ceremony: "These are those who would be present at Johan van Drongelen's ceremonial entry since they were his kinsmen, and others" (Appendix, Table A.11).[1174] The list included the bishop of Utrecht and a handful of other prelates from Utrecht, around two dozens of noblemen from the County of Holland and even a few more from the Prince-Bishopric of Utrecht, as well as over thirty noblewomen. Some of these invitees (or attendees; this is not clear) are clearly invited because of their function (the steward of the castle of Heusden for instance), but the majority seem to belong to the kindred ('maagschap') of Johan van Drongelen.[1175] I don't know of any similar lists of invitees. References to ceremonial entries into the Teutonic Order, certainly in the medieval period, are very rare, let alone that we know who attended these ceremonies.[1176] Perhaps comparable, the letters and statements regarding invitations to marriages of members of the entourage of the Burgundian dukes, which Werner Paravicini edited, include no equivalent documents.[1177]

For the analysis of the list of invitees, I have focussed on the group of noblemen and -women from the County of Holland, as this group is most likely to provide family links to Johan van Drongelen, who grew up in the Land of Heusden in the southeast corner of the County of Holland. Having said that, among the group of noblemen and -women from Utrecht too, some family connections were found.[1178] Not all individuals were properly identified, nor was it always clear how some individuals were to be linked to other family members of the list. In the end, I was able to reconstruct three descent groups (for references and details, see the genealogical tables in the Appendix, Figure A.16 to Figure A.21). In these three descent groups there is no distinction between female and male lineages. We can therefore speak of cognatic descent groups. It is likely that these three descent groups can be expanded and linked to each other, but I have not been able to connect these any further.

The first group comprised of descendants of Willem van Drongelen and his wife Hadewich van der Merwede, which included members of the Drongelen, Langerak, Waardenburg, Montfoort, Boetzelaer, Doornik, Kijfhoek, and Poelgeest families. With two exceptions, these are related to Johan van Drongelen to the third degree (in a Germanic-canonical

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[1174] "Dit sijn die gene tot Jans cledinge van Drongelen souden wesen als daer hi maech toe is et cetera.": Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 251.

[1175] Regarding kindred relationships in the context of the County of Holland, see P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Maagschap en vriendschap. Een beschouwing over de structuur en functies van verwantschaps- betrekkingen in het laat-middeleeuwse Holland', *Holland. Regionaal-historisch Tijdschrift* 17. Hollandse studiën (1985) 69–108; H. Brand, *Over macht en overwicht. Stedelijke elites in Leiden (1420-1510)*. Studies in urban social, economic and political history of the medieval and modern Low Countries 6 (Leuven: Garant 1996) 273–301.

[1176] On some occasions information regarding the entry of new brethren is recorded, but these do not give much information on the ceremony itself. Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 108, 121–122.

[1177] W. Paravicini, 'Invitations au mariage. Pratique sociale, abus de pouvoir, intérêt de l'État à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne au XVe siècle', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 139 (1995) 687–711.

[1178] The Utrecht family of Kronenburg was related by marriage to that of Drongelen; Willem de Rover van Montfoort was married to Margaretha van Langerak, daughter of Johanna van Drongelen; the Drakenburg family was related to the Herlaar family, who is prominently present in the cognatic descent group of Johan van Drongelen. Regarding the Drakenburg family: J.C. Kort (†), 'Repertorium op de lenen en tinsen van de Abdij Sint Paulus, 1221-1667' (2010), there nr. 7A <http://www.hogenda.nl/hogenda-leenkamers/?id=9768> [accessed 2 May 2016].

system)[1179], making them actually his closest family members on the list. Although not certain, it is likely that all other invitees were at least four degrees removed from Johan van Drongelen. The second group consisted of descendants of Jan van Herlaar, lord of Ameide. Since his two daughters married two brothers of the Vianen family, descendants of these two brothers (the branch Vianen-Noordeloos and the lords of Brederode) were prominently listed on top of the list of invitees. Other branches of the Vianen family (Bevenweerd, Rijsenburg, Jaarsveld) were separated from the main branch before the double marriage between Vianen and Herlaar, and they are therefore absent from Johan van Drongelen's list of kindred. A third, smaller group brought together descendants of Willem van Besoyen, which included Beatrix van Dongen, the wife of Gerard van Assendelft, who is elsewhere mentioned as Johan van Drongelen's brother-in-law (here to be interpreted as 'kinsman by marriage').[1180]

It should be noted that the list, in contrast to the eight quarters on the wall of the Utrecht church, seems to be more ancestor-oriented and less ego-oriented. In this regard, the appropriation of the Merwede coat of arms, which emphasizes Drongelen's descent from Daniel V van der Merwede, can be understood more clearly as well. The sharpest confirmation of the ancestor-oriented approach can be found in the fact that Johan van Drongelen's maternal family, as well as his most direct paternal family (first and second degree) are completely absent.[1181] One may wonder why this is the case. Drongelen's maternal family provides a clear example of upward social mobility in the Land of Heusden; outgrowing the level of village elites and moving towards knightly status. Jan van Veen's grandfather was a parochial vicar in the village of Babyloniënbroek, but his sister married into a knightly family and at least two female members of the family were referred to as 'jonkvrouw', denoting a noble background.[1182] Yet, despite of the upward social trend it is difficult to consider the family as fully knightly or noble. None of its members or direct affiliates were manorial lords for instance. In addition, there are no indications that the trend of upward social mobility of the family was continued – next generations cannot be easily traced in the registers of fiefs in the area for instance[1183] – which suggests that the family blended into other families and ceased to exist as an identifiable unit.[1184] The family's upward trend both culminates and ends with the grandson of Jan van Veen, Johan van Drongelen himself, who clearly had, rather successfully, moved into the upper echelons of the nobility of the County of Holland and the Bishopric of Utrecht.

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[1179] Hoppenbrouwers, 'Maagschap en vriendschap', 84–85.
[1180] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 486; Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 134.
[1181] Three male members of branches of the Drongelen family are named: Hendrik and Robrecht van Drongelen, brothers, and Hessel van Drongelen. Given what we know of their parents (see Appendix, Figure A.19 and Figure A.21) and the limited knowledge of Johan van Drongelen's parents, none of these three could have been first or second degree relatives of his.
[1182] Members of the family are alternately called "van Veen", "van Ge(i)nt" and "van Giessen". Their home base was the village of Babyloniënbroek, which borders administrative-judicial areas such as Veen and Giessen. Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 159, 762–763; Regarding *jonkvrouw* Scholastica, the daughter of Boudewijn van Geint (brother of Jan van Veen): Ibid., 762–763; For *jonkvrouw* Adriana van Veen, Johan van Drongelen's mother: De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 501.
[1183] E.g.: Kort, 'Repertorium Meeuwen', nrs. 11, 114; Kort, 'Repertorium Uitwijk (2006)', nr. 2; J.C. Kort, 'De lenen van de hofstede Polanen in Muilkerk en omstreken, 1352-1797', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 26 (2002), there nr. 6. Quite possibly, the devastating effects of the St Elisabeth's floods of 1421 and 1424, which completely changed the landscape in these parts of Holland, play a role in this. Long existing revenues from land could fade in a matter of years, affecting the power relations in the region.
[1184] Compare Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 147–150.

One cannot help but think, based on the list of invitees, that Johan van Drongelen quite deliberately and selectively emphasized his descent of Willem van Drongelen and Hadewich van der Merwede, while effectively ignoring his maternal and immediate paternal family. Whereas only Willem van Drongelen, one of the eight great-grandparents of Johan van Drongelen, was a manorial lord, two fifths of the noblemen invited to his ceremonial entry belonged to this category. Counting only the noblemen from Holland, it is even a comfortable majority.[1185] This had become the new social circle he affiliated himself with; not as a consequence of building a network over the course of his career as commander and land commander in the Utrecht bailiwick, but already quite early on in his life, before he entered the Teutonic Order as a knight-brother. Throughout his career he used heraldry and genealogical knowledge to underline his social position.

*Historiography*

Why is this important for studying the context of the *Croniken*? There is a remarkable correspondence between the way Drongelen presents his family tree or that of Gijsbert van Stoutenburg[1186] to some of the methodologies displayed in the *Croniken*. There, too, we have seen an interest in genealogy, and a willingness to selectively emphasize (or even make up) parts of genealogies when insufficient information was available – while always including some elements of truth and never completely unfounded. We have also seen dates, locations and other specifics added to the narrative to create a sense of authenticity. Note some of the examples mentioned in Table 3.3 or the chapters concerning the 'perpetual' Peace of Brest in 1435, deliberately dated to the wrong year – but with inclusion of many details meant to convey an impression of veracity.[1187]

Furthermore, the interest in heraldry and its latest innovations displayed in the *Croniken*, as well as its emphasis on the knightly and noble nature of the Teutonic Order, and the display of noble customs in the description of the citizens of Acre: all correspond to what we know of Johan van Drongelen's interests. The aversion of the partisanship during the Siege of Acre in 1291 could be a direct response to the partisan strives in the Utrecht bailiwick. Johan van Drongelen witnessed these up close, but at the same time was not clearly biased towards one party. Rather, he seems to have acted as a mediator and with the order's interests in mind. Finally, as Hans Mol has noted earlier, the descriptions in the bailiwick chronicle of the land commanders Zeger van der Sluis and especially Herbaren van Drongelen, each sharing some of the same ancestry as Johan van Drongelen, seem to have been more detailed than other land commanders.[1188]

There is also more direct evidence indicating that Johan van Drongelen was involved in historical research. In two chronicles written by two of the most productive and well-known chroniclers of late medieval Holland, Johannes a

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[1185] In both cases I have not counted the handful of people invited solely because of their role or capacity.
[1186] See note 1162.
[1187] See chapter 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".
[1188] Mol, *Friese huizen*, 148–153; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.751, c.756.

Leydis and Theodericus Pauli, Johan van Drongelen is explicitly mentioned. The first is the so-called *Brederode Chronicle* by Johannes a Leydis. In this chronicle about the noble family Brederode, written between 1475 and 1477, Leydis stated:

> *I have heard lord Johan van Drongelen, land commander of the Teutonic House in Utrecht, say that he has had such letters [concerning the 'true' origin of the Brederode family] in his hand at many locations in Holland, and also that he has some of the same type of letters placed in his convent.*[1189]

Drongelen is presented as a collector of archival documents and specialist in the field of genealogy, who visited numerous archives across Holland. Given that he was also a commander at Middelburg, close to the County of Flanders, he could have easily visited libraries in nearby cities such as Ghent and Bruges. These libraries could in theory have provided him crucial access to crusading literature, which was perhaps, as we have seen, difficult to come by in the Northern Low Countries.[1190]

For Leydis, Johan van Drongelen was a living source of information regarding the ancestry of the Brederode family, one of the most prominent noble families in the County of Holland. That is significant, because the land commander is also linked to another chronicle of the Brederode family, written by Theodericus Pauli, who lived and worked just four kilometres from Schelluinen where Drongelen began his career in the order.[1191] Pauli's history of the Brederode family was included in a second version of his *Chronicle of Holland*, usually dated between 1477 and 1480, which was possibly, as we have seen in the previous chapter[1192], a minor source for the *Croniken* as well.[1193] Pauli stated that many had asked him to write the "true and undisputed" history of the noble family Brederode, since so many biased things, "out of favour or hatred," were said of the family's origin. But especially, Pauli added, he was asked by Johan van Drongelen and a certain Jacob Willemsz., who was an otherwise unknown subprior of the Canons Regular of Mount Zion near Delft.[1194] Whether Drongelen and Jacob Willemsz. knew (of) each other is not clear, nor why they were

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[1189] "Ick heb heer Johan van Dronghelen, den lantcommelduer vanden Duysschen huys binnen Utrecht, horen segghen dat hy dusdanighe brieven in Hollandt tot veel plaetsen in zyn handt ghehadt heeft ende oick mede in zyn clooster zommighe van de selfde forme heeft by hem legghende.": M.H. Porck, De Brederodekroniek van Jan van Leiden (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Leiden: Leiden University 2010) Appendix B (edition), c. 11 (f. 15r).

[1190] See chapter 3.6, "Collecting sources".

[1191] It would be interesting to see whether the hand that wrote a settlement agreement in 1456 between Johan van Drongelen and Johan van Haeften, land commander at the time, should be identified as that of Theodericus Pauli. The agreement was issued by the dean and chapter of Gorinchem, to which Pauli belonged. Although the hand seems similar to Pauli's, I do not have enough good material to compare the document with. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 244; compare the hand for instance with Pauli's *Chronicle of Holland* (second revision), which is considered an autograph: Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79.

[1192] See chapter 3.4, "Bailiwick chronicle".

[1193] Van der Werff, 'Twee Egmondse abtenlijsten', 147–148; Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 92v–94v; The piece is absent from an earlier version of Pauli's Chronicle of Holland, written between 1469 and 1475, probably around 1471: Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650, 373.

[1194] "Et quia plerique de origine sive originale propagacione illustrium et prepotentum dominorum de Brederoden diversimode sompniando ex parcialitate, favore vel odio, loquuntur, ideo ego, Theodericus Pauli, natus de Ghorinchem ac eiusdem ecclesie collegiate Gorinchemensis vicedecanus, anno etatis mee LXI°, ob rogatum multorum et precipue nobilis viri domini Johannis de Dronghelen, supremus commendatoris militum ac dominorum Theutonicorum Traiectensis dyocesis, domini ac venerabilis patris Jacobi, filii Wilhelmi, subprioris conventus regulorum canonicorum in Syon prope Delf etc., veram et indubitatam originem scilicet a quibus propagati aut nati sunt cum ipsorum nobilissima genealogia, non accedendo aliqua parcialitatem, favorem aut aliqua hiis similia, sed ex mera et vera iusticia reddendo sibi et unicuique quod suum, est sicut decet.": Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 92v–93r; The name of Jacob Willemsz. is absent from studies concerning the convent: B.A. Vermaseren, *Het klooster "Sancta Maria in Monte*

interested in the Brederode family. It is clear though that Drongelen considered members of the Brederode family his kindred, through their (perhaps shared) relationship to the Herlaar family.[1195] When Drongelen took the habit of the Teutonic Order, the first two names on the list of noblemen that were invited "since they were his kinsmen, and others" were Reinoud II van Brederode and his brother Gijsbrecht van Brederode.[1196] The part of the list that included female invitees also commences with two members of the Brederode family, directly or by marriage (Appendix, Table A.11). Furthermore, in 1469, it was Gijsbrecht van Brederode who had the conditions drawn up under which Drongelen would take up the office of land commander.[1197]

*Figure 4.22 Reinoud II of Brederode in his garments of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1473). The Hague,* Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 76 E 10, f. 60r.*

It is not clear how Johan van Drongelen can be linked to the Herlaar family, which in turn links to both the Vianen-Noordeloos and Brederode families. At best, Drongelen was related to the Brederodes in the fourth degree; just enough to be considered kindred in the County of Holland, but the familial link is rather diluted. Still, from the point at which he was introduced into the Teutonic Order towards well into his active career as land commander, he seems to have felt connected to the Brederode family – and, as evidenced by both Leydis and Pauli, was known as particularly interested in their genealogy.[1198]

There are particular circumstances which may – although, admittedly, entirely speculatively – explain Drongelen's connection to the Brederodes, and his reputation as expert

*Sion" tussen Delft en Rijswijk 1433-1574. Een vrucht van de Moderne Devotie*. Serie-uitgave van het Genootschap Delfia Batavorum 7 (Pijnacker: Dutch Efficiency Bureau 1981); D. van Heel, 'Het Kapittel der Reguliere Kanunniken te Syon bij Delft', *Historia. Maandschrift voor geschiedenis en kunstgeschiedenis* 15 (1950) 107–114.

[1195] See the previous section and Appendix, Figure A.18.

[1196] "Dit sijn die gene tot Jans cledinge van Drongelen souden wesen als daer hi maech toe is et cetera": Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 251.

[1197] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 404; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 249.

[1198] There is also a passage regarding the noble descent of the Brederode family from the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Johan Veldener, to which Johan van Drongelen can be linked. More on this later (see note 1212).

on their genealogy.[1199] Leydis, in his *Brederode Chronicle*, tells how when Reinoud II van Brederode was to join the Order of the Golden Fleece – the Burgundian order of chivalry – in December 1445, concerns were raised regarding his family's ancestry. Some claimed the Brederode family had derived from bastardry and should therefore include a charge in their coat of arms.[1200] According to Leydis this prompted the Duke of Burgundy to request an investigation to be carried out using archives at The Hague and Egmond, the latter the location of the important Benedictine monastery and of the castle of the Egmond family. Following this investigation, Leydis stated, all allegations were dismissed.[1201]

Whether this investigation truly took place cannot be established. The reputation Johan van Drongelen had gained with both Leydis and Pauli for being especially knowledgeable about the Brederode genealogy may have been established by the research necessitated by this case. His familial link to the Brederode family, not close enough perhaps to be accused of being biased, may have been considered an asset. It may also explain why the main representatives of the Brederode family were so prominently present at Johan van Drongelen's ceremonial entry into the Teutonic Order. Perhaps it could even help clarify how Drongelen, whose direct family was, as we have pointed out, of humbler origin, was able to successfully activate a kindred network of almost ninety noblemen and noblewomen from Holland and Utrecht to which he may only have been related via his great-grandparents.

The examples above show that Drongelen moved around in circles of historiographers in the County of Holland, that he may have been involved in archive research, but not necessarily that he himself was involved in writing. This appears to be different in the following case. In 1480, Johan Veldener printed the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, a Middle Dutch translation of Werner Rolevinck's Latin universal history, with addition of a series of regional chronicles.[1202] In it, in reference to t in reference to the ancestry of the Brederode family, we find an apparent echo of the earlier mentioned passage from Leydis' *Brederode Chronicle* in which Drongelen is mentioned:

> *For I have researched it with all my heart, I was able to find it in old writings and many old sealed letters […] that I have read, seen, and held in my hands […] And these letters can be found at many locations in Holland, etc.*[1203]

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[1199] After the death of their parents in 1417 and 1418, the infant Reinoud II van Brederode and his brother and sister were raised by their uncle Willem van Brederode and especially their aunt Margaretha van der Merwede. Given Drongelen's later appropriation of the Merwede coat of arms, the Merwede link is interesting, but could not be further elaborated. A.W.E. Dek, 'Genealogie der Heren van Brederode', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 13 (1959) 105–146, there 113.

[1200] M.J. van Gent, 'Een Hollandse luis in de Bourgondische pels. Het politieke optreden van Reinoud II van Brederode', *In het land van Brederode: historisch tijdschrift voor het Land van Vianen* 20 (1995) 2–52, there 18.

[1201] "Doe sende hertoeghe Philips tot Egmont int clooster ende inden Haeghe, om alle die olde scriften te oversien ende doen vantmen altesamen gheloghen": Porck, Brederodekroniek van Jan van Leiden, Appendix B (edition), c. 48.

[1202] L. Fabriek and A. Verboon, 'Fasciculus temporum, Veldener version', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010); Veldener also previously published a version of the Latin chronicle by Rolevinck: 'ISTC', nr. ir00256000 (Louvain 1475); A. Worm, 'Rolevinck, Werner', in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010).

[1203] "Want ic dat ondersocht hebbe mit ganser herten, so en vijnde ic in ouden scriften ende in veel ouder bezeghelder brieven [...] die ic selve gelesen, ghesien ende in mijn hant ghehat hebbe [...] Ende dier brieven sijn noch veel in Hollant, etc.": Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 285r; Specifically, compare: M.H. Porck, 'De Brederodekroniek voor

The passage bears clear resemblance to the words of Leydis, who said of Drongelen that 'he had numerous of such letters in his hand at many locations in Holland'.[1204] Could Johan van Drongelen, then, have been the writer of this part of the *Fasciculus temporum*, a chronicle of the County of Holland?[1205]

Johan Seynnaeve examined the dialect of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* and identified the translator of Rolevinck's Latin chronicle as a native from the east of the Netherlands who worked and must have had significant training in Holland or Utrecht.[1206] However, it is far from certain that one person was responsible for translating/composing the entire set of chronicles in Veldener's edition, nor that this individual also translated Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum* into Middle Dutch.[1207] And thus, while Seynnaeve's assumptions about the geographical origin of the translator would exclude Johan van Drongelen, born in the County of Holland, this does not mean necessarily that he did not have a role in some parts of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*. After all, the above quote comes from one of the added local chronicles. Furthermore, as we have discussed at length in chapter 2.1, the only known handwritten copy of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, which is known to have existed until 1751 but is now lost, also contained a complete copy of the *Croniken*. Another codex with the *Fasciculus temporum* in possession of Antonius Matthaeus incorporated a "description of Livonia" at the back, possibly also referring to the history of the Teutonic Order in that part of Europe. A crude synopsis of the opening pages of the *Croniken* can, in turn, be found in the chronicle of the Bishopric of Utrecht that is included in the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*.[1208] This particular chronicle on the history of Utrecht also bears other similarities to the *Croniken*. This chronicle of Utrecht commences:

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Yolande van Lalaing', in: E. den Hartog and H. Wijsman eds., *Yolande van Lalaing (1422-1497), kasteelvrouwe van Brederode*. Jaarboek van de Kastelenstichting Holland en Zeeland 2009 (Haarlem 2009) 37–67, there 53–56.

[1204] "Ick heb heer Johan van Dronghelen, den lantcommelduer vanden Duysschen huys binnen Utrecht, horen segghen dat hy dusdanighe brieven in Hollandt tot veel plaetsen in zyn handt ghehadt heeft ende oick mede in zyn clooster zommighe van de selfde forme heeft by hem legghende.": Porck, Brederodekroniek van Jan van Leiden, Appendix B (edition), c. 11 (f. 15r).

[1205] This chronicle of the County of Holland is one of a set of local chronicles added to the Middle Dutch translation of Werner Rolevinck's Fasciculus temporum: Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 283r–314v; M.Z. van Boxhorn ed., *Chronyck van Hollandt, Zeelandt, ende Westvrieslandt, door Johan Veldenaer over omtrent twee hondert jaeren geschreven* (Leiden: Van Rijnnenburch 1650), for the above quote: 12-13; A later translation in Latin: A. Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta, seu vetera aliquot monumenta, quæ hactenus nondum visa* IX (1st edn; Leiden 1709) 80–167.

[1206] Seynnaeve noted that while almost all spelling variants pointed towards a Holland-Utrecht dialect, there were also a few remnants of the language spoken the areas bordering present-day Germany: Guelders, Overijssel, Groningen, Drenthe. He concluded that the translator was a native from the east of the Netherlands who worked and must have had significant training in Holland or Utrecht. Unfortunately, Seynnaeve is very economical in providing precise locations for the evidence for his arguments. Moreover, he does not make clear what parts of the *Fasciculus temporum* he refers to: to the complete set of chronicles, or – more likely given his focus thereon – only the part that was translated from the Latin original by Werner Rolevinck. It is perfectly feasible that the accompanying chronicles were created by someone else. J. Seynnaeve, 'The language of the first vernacular version of the Fasciculus Temporum', in: J. Hogg, A. Girard and D. Le Blévec eds., *Die Kartäuser und die Künste ihrer Zeit* 2. Analecta Cartusiana 157 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik 2001) 31–36.

[1207] Perhaps the shorter local chronicles were composed by one person. E.g.: Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk*, 66. As of yet, no one has done extensive research on this subject.

[1208] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 260r; And in a later - note the absence of the word "cogghe" (cog) for instance - Latin translation: Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (1st ed.)* IX, 42–43.

> *These are the chronicles of Utrecht and of the Diocese and Prince-Bishopric of Utrecht, how it first began. And of all the bishops who have been there. How long they each governed, and first starting with Holland and Friesland.*[1209]

Some formulations bear remarkable resemblances to those of the two sentences of the bailiwick chronicle:

> *Hereafter follows of the bailiwick of Utrecht and all convents, churches and houses of the bailiwick of Utrecht. In what year the order first acquired them, and of all the land commanders. How long they each governed.*[1210]

> *These are all the land commanders of the bailiwick of Utrecht who have been there, and how long they each governed and in what year each of them began to govern.*[1211]

It is not the only correspondence between the *Croniken* and the *Fasciculus temporum*. In the part that contains its chronicle of Holland, in the chapter concerning the origin of the Brederode family, the author makes a remarkable intervention:

> *And one should know why I write this. For I have heard before at some occasions by some persons, out of hatred and envy and out of partiality against the Lord of Brederode, that the Brederodes derived from bastardry of Holland via Count William I of Holland. That is just evil talk, since these are adorned lies as one will find in the truth.*[1212]

The choice of vocabulary in this fragment is quite similar to that in the polemic chapters of the *Croniken*: "but it is all adorned gossip", "but this has never occurred in the truth", "and these are all adorned lies".[1213]

The evidence suggests that Johan van Drongelen, the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, and the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* had an entangled history. The authorship of the different local chronicles that make up the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* needs further research, and falls beyond the remit of the current study. However, with regard to the *Croniken*, Johan van Drongelen has emerged as the most likely candidate to bear responsibility for its content. He, better than anyone in the Utrecht bailiwick, fitted the profile of the author – the interest in genealogy,

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[1209] "Dit sijn die cronijken van Utrecht ende van den Bisdom ende van den Ghesticht van Utrecht hoe dat yerst began. Ende van al den biscoppn die daer gheweest hebben. Hoe langhe dat elck gheregniert heeft ende eerst te beghinnen van Vrieslant ende Hollant": Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 244r.

[1210] "Hier nae volghet van der balie van Utrecht van allen conventen, kerken ende husen der balien van Utrecht. In wat jair dat se die oirde yerst kreghe, ende van allen den lantcommenduers, hoe langhe dat elck gheregiert heeft": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.731.

[1211] "Dit syn alle die lantcommenduers van der balie van Utrecht die gheweest syn, ende hoe lange dat sij elck gheregiert hebben ende in wat jair dat elck begonde the regieren": Ibid., c.750.

[1212] "Ende men sel weten waer om dat ic dit scrive, dat is want ic hier voermaels tot som tijden den sommighen heb horen spreken uut hatt ende nijt ende uut parthyen op ten Heer van Brederode, als dat si ghecomen souden wesen van bastardyen van Hollant van den eersten Greef Willem, dat dat alte qualick ghesproken is, wantet versierde loghentael is als men in der waerheyt vijnden sel.": Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 285r.

[1213] "Mer t is al versierde dedinge"; "Mer dit en is in der waerheit alsoe niet gesciet"; "Ende dat is al versierde logen": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.101, c.121, c.235.

the passionate commitment to the well-being of the Teutonic Order, access to and knowledge of numerous archives, likely to travel regularly on behalf of his position[1214], an awareness of noble customs while emphasizing the role of nobility in the order, etc. And although there were certainly others in the bailiwick interested in reading or writing historiography,[1215] only Johan van Drongelen demonstrably expressed, and was recognized by others for such an interest.

[1214] Note for instance a journey to Frankfurt in 1479: Weiss, *Deutschordens-Ballei Franken*, 368; Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.2: 1455-1510, nr. 16819.
[1215] See the discussion on the availability of historiographical works in the bailiwicks of the Teutonic Order in chapter 3.6.

## 4.4 Shared responsibilities

### Introduction

It has become clear that two persons were responsible for creating the Vienna autograph manuscript. As we have seen, it was Hendrik van Vianen who physically wrote the author's copy, manuscript **We$_1$**, whereas his employer, Johan van Drongelen, best fits the profile of the author. This also raises the question how we should see the respective roles of Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen in creating the text of the *Croniken*. Conclusions about the responsibilities in creating the *Croniken* also need to take into account the fact that parts of the *Croniken* were only completed after Johan van Drongelen had died, in 1492.[1216] All this points to a shared responsibility for the text. It remains to be determined, however, how the different roles were divided – a determination which will of necessity remain somewhat speculative.

In other known examples of an author and scribe working together on a text, the question the division between the different roles, and of authorship itself, is often complex. A situation possibly comparable to that of the *Croniken* is described by Valerie Vermassen, in a study of two texts by Johannes Meerhout (d. 1476), a regular canon at the priory of Korsendonk in the Duchy of Brabant. Five autograph manuscripts of Johannes Meerhout have survived, all written in an untidy script, and all including numerous revisions.[1217] Yet another manuscript contains a final version of one of his texts, the *Tractatulus de laude terrae Brabantiae* ('Treatise in Praise of the Land of Brabant'), of which earlier drafts have also survived. This particular manuscript, a neat copy, was written by a fellow regular canon at Korsendonk, Walter Vliet. Vermassen suspects that Walter Vliet may have been responsible for some of the final editing of the text even though she considers Johannes Meerhout as the "intellectual author of *De laude* because the initiative, the structure of the text and most of the content had sprung from his mind".[1218]

Another example is presented the so-called *Continuation* of Jan van Boendale's *Brabantsche Yeesten* (Deeds of Brabant), a fourteenth-century rhymed chronicle in Middle Dutch on the history of the Duchy of Brabant. Three individuals cooperated in its creation, each with responsibility for different aspects of the writing process. Petrus de Thimo, pensionary of the city of Brussels, was the 'master builder' who oversaw the project and compiled the list of required building materials. Emond de Dynter, ducal secretary at the Burgundian court, assisted Thimo and can be characterised as the 'main supplier of building materials'. He was also responsible for directing Wein van Cotthem, the 'builder', who created the verse text.[1219]

Based on the fact that there is a manuscript, written by Hendrik van Vianen, that shows evidence of an authorial presence and the identification of someone else, Johan van Drongelen, as the principal creative force behind it, it is

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[1216] See chapter 2.3.

[1217] V. Vermassen, 'De *Nova historia ducum Brabantiae* en het *Tractatulus de laude terrae Brabantiae* van de Korsendonkse kanunnik Johannes Meerhout (1399-1476)', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 88 (2010) 205–220, there 207.

[1218] "Hoe het ook zij, Johannes Meerhout kan toch de intellectuele auteur van het *De laude* genoemd worden omdat het initiatief, de structuur van het werk en het grootste deel van de inhoud ervan aan zijn geest ontsproten is": Ibid., 215–216.

[1219] R. Stein, *Politiek en historiografie. Het ontstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*. Miscellanea neerlandica 10 (Leuven: Peeters 1994) 57; regarding the identification of Wein van Cotthem as the (previously anonymous) poet: Houthuys, *Middeleeuws kladwerk*, 47.

likely that the *Croniken* was the product of a similar division of the work involved in creating the text. In the previous chapter I have shown that there are some inconsistencies between the so-called 'ordinance', i.e., the chapters introducing the bailiwick chronicle by describing the place of the bailiwick in the hierarchies of the Teutonic Order (c.728-730), and the rest of the *Croniken*. Although the ordinance clearly refers to three preceding chapters in the *Croniken*, some of the content, such as the number of Livonian bishoprics, is aberrant (3.4, "Bailiwick chronicle"). Nevertheless, the letter form *w* used in the ordinance is identical to that in the immediately preceding chapters. The bailiwick chronicle, which starts on the opposite folio, a different, 'closed' form of the letter *w*, which is also found in the first chapters of the prologue. Then, gradually, the 'open' *w* returns to dominance, indicating a discontinuity in the writing process. Such a discontinuity is also suggested by the different dimensions of the coats of arms in the bailiwick chronicle, where they are larger than elsewhere, and the errors in the only apparent reference to earlier chapters of the *Croniken*.[1220] A further significant incongruity in the bailiwick chronicle is the omission, in the description of the commandery of Schelluinen, of any mention of Johan van Drongelen's significant efforts to renovate its buildings and increase the potential income gained from the house when he was its commander early in his career.[1221] This is particularly striking as these types of information usually are well documented in the bailiwick chronicle. Yet, the similarities in structure between the descriptions of the lives of the grand masters and those of the land commanders of Utrecht also show that the bailiwick chronicle was influenced by the other parts of the *Croniken* – or vice versa. Studying the stylistic characteristics of the bailiwick chronicle in regard to the rest of the *Croniken* more closely, we shall also look at the writing style of other parts of the *Croniken*, in particular (the first part of) the prologue, which appears to have been attributed to a bishop of Paderborn.

## Quantitative analysis[1222]

### *Method*

To examine the stylistic characteristics of the different parts of the *Croniken* I will use a technique that was developed in the scholarly field of stylometry. Stylometry, the statistical measurement of style, which is often employed as a method to attribute texts to particular authors, can also be used as an aid to determine shifts in style in a certain document. It is founded on the assumption that every author's writing has a number of distinct stylistic features, together comprising his or her 'authorial fingerprint' or 'author's DNA'. These features, such as lexical range, and preferences for specific words, word combinations and syntax, can be measured and subjected to statistical analysis. Some of these linguistic features will be influenced by the framework within which an author operates, and can be attributed to, e.g., gender, period, or genre. Other features will be specific to an individual author.[1223] Stylometry has been shown

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[1220] This includes a reference to Grand Master Konrad of Thuringa as the seventh (instead of fifth) grand master; the fact that both Konrad of Thuringia and German Master Bodo of Hohenlohe were in office during the first endowments to the Teutonic Order in Utrecht in 1231 (which is contradictory to the meticulously planned chronology of the *Croniken*; and finally the titles of Konrad of Thuringia are aberrant from those in the *Croniken*. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.731.

[1221] Ibid., c.745; regarding the efforts of Johan van Drongelen in Schelluinen: Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 56–59, 84.

[1222] The following section is an abridged adaptation of my article published as Stapel, 'Layer on layer'.

[1223] M. Eder, 'Style-Markers in Authorship Attribution. A Cross-Language Study of the Authorial Fingerprint', *Studies in Polish Linguistics* (2011) 101–116, there 103.

in numerous studies to be effective in distinguishing different authors based on statistical analysis of their authorial style.[1224]

In the following pages I shall describe my application of one of the most tried-and-tested[1225] stylometric methods, John Burrows' *Delta*, to the text of the *Croniken*.[1226] For this purpose I created a set of plain text files of the texts copied or written by Hendrik van Vianen: manuscript **We$_1$** of the *Croniken*, the land charters in Middle Dutch of his hand, and his copy of the *Sachsenspiegel*.[1227] To compare the results with non-related texts, transcriptions of two different manuscripts of the *Gouds kroniekje* ('Chronicle of Gouda'), like the *Croniken* a fifteenth-century chronicle in Middle Dutch, were similarly prepared.[1228] All texts were automatically stripped from (Roman) numerals, sentences in languages other than Middle Dutch (predominantly Latin), deletions, and illegible passages. All capital letters were transformed into lower case.[1229]

The authorship attribution problem presented by the *Croniken* is far from straightforward. Most regular cases concern modern texts with ample text samples by the same author in a similar genre that can be used to train the computer to recognize the style of the author. In the case of the *Croniken* there is no such wealth of comparative text material by either Johan van Drongelen or Hendrik van Vianen. The available texts for the latter each in their own ways make comparative analysis problematic: the *Sachsenspiegel* was merely copied by Vianen and therefore incorporates a different underlying authorial style. The land charters were written in a highly formulaic language, erasing much of the writer's personal style. Both are in genres fundamentally different from the *Croniken*. Perhaps as a consequence of these factors, neither the *Sachsenspiegel* nor the charters, as we shall see, prove to be effective as markers of authorial styles of the *Croniken*.

Therefore, a workaround to this issue is proposed. Instead of using external training samples only, some text samples will be taken from the *Croniken* itself. These samples are taken from the middle parts of the chronicle, for which we have no prior indications that there are possible shifts in authorial style or other kinds of discontinuity. For the purpose of selection, the *Croniken* was divided into 181 equally sized parts of 2,000 words, each with an overlap of 1,500 words. This creates a 'moving window' which advances 500 words at a time. More recently, this procedure of using overlapping, continuous sections has been dubbed 'rolling *Delta*'.[1230] The chosen size of the 'windows' here is rather small,

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[1224] For a substantial list of publications: Ibid., 103–104; see also: J. Grieve, 'Quantitative authorship attribution: an evaluation of techniques', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 22 (2007) 251–270.

[1225] See recently for instance: S. Evert et al., 'Towards a better understanding of Burrows's Delta in literary authorship attribution', in: *Proceedings of NAACL-HLT Fourth Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Literature* (Denver, CO: Association for Computational Linguistics 2015) 79–88.

[1226] J.F. Burrows, '"Delta": a Measure of Stylistic Difference and a Guide to Likely Authorship', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 17 (2002) 267–287; D.L. Hoover, 'Testing Burrows's Delta', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 19 (2004) 453–475.

[1227] See section 4.3, "Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen".

[1228] The digital transcripts were kindly provided to me by Dr. Antheun Janse (Leiden University) who has been preparing a new edition. Leiden, UB, Ltk 1564 (ms. "G"); Vienna, HHStA, R 88 (ms. "F").

[1229] No lemmatization was provided. Lemmatization helps in reducing potential negative effects of, for instance, inflection and spelling variation, but time was limited for this experiment. M. Kestemont, 'Weigh your words - memory-based lemmatization for Middle Dutch', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 25 (2010) 287–301.

[1230] M. Eder, 'Rolling stylometry', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* (2015) 1–13; see also: J. Rybicki, M. Kestemont and D.L. Hoover, 'Collaborative authorship. Conrad, Ford and Rolling Delta', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 29 (2014) 422–431.

and lies significantly below the recommended target-size for the *Delta* method.[1231] However, for the purpose of this study, where we want to uncover smaller shifts in style as well, precision and fine granularity is needed as much as reliability. Larger sample sizes smoothen out significant changes in style, as indeed experiments with a sample size of 4,000 words have shown (see also Appendix, Figure A.23).[1232] For both the training samples and the 181 chunks taken from the *Croniken* word frequency lists were compiled. These lists form the basis of the computational procedure, and from these lists *z*-scores are computed.

By computing these 181 samples against the training samples from the same text, one is in effect visualizing possible discontinuities in authorial styles in the *Croniken*. In a hypothetical situation where we have three different styles in one continuous text, this might produce the following results (see Figure 4.23). The bars represent the location from where the primary samples were taken, whereas the lines represent the *z*-score of *Delta*. These scores are computed for every continuous section of the text. The lower the *z*-score of one of the three primary samples, the higher the probability that a section was correctly identified as belonging to that style sample. However, how low a *z*-score should be to be significant cannot always be easily defined. Typically, this will be established on an ad hoc basis. In this particular hypothetical situation, the graph clearly shows the exact locations where the changes in style occur. In real-life experiments, these transitions might be less abrupt, especially of course if overlapping secondary samples are used. It is also important to note that the second-lowest *z*-score should be significantly higher than the lowest *z*-score.

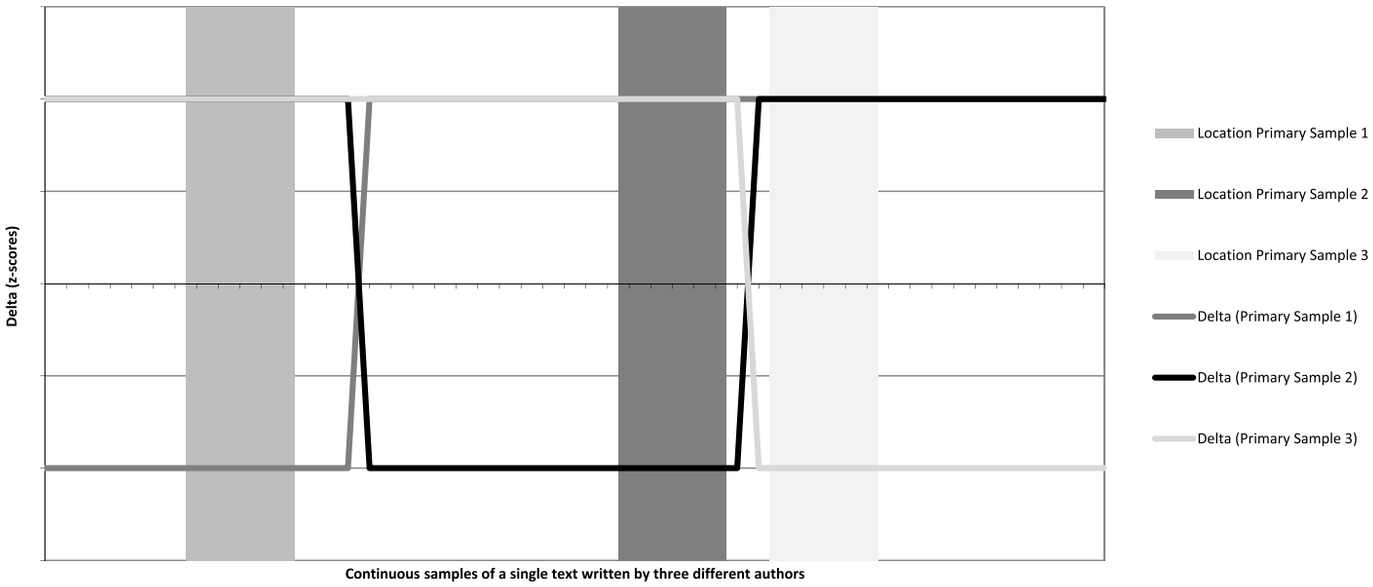


*Figure 4.23 Hypothetical distribution of* Delta *scores and three authorial styles.*

[1231] Regarding the effect of sample sizes and with warning of the risk of small (under 5,000 words depending on the language and genre) sample sizes: M. Eder, 'Does Size Matter? Authorship Attribution, Small Samples, Big Problem', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 30 (2015) 167–182.
[1232] Stapel, 'Layer on layer', 349–351.

*Experiment: privileges*

To test the validity of the proposed *Delta* method and workaround, it is necessary to run some experiments in a controlled environment. As I have discussed in the previous chapter (3.4, "Privileges and indulgences"), the *Croniken* contains numerous (summaries of) privileges and indulgences of the Teutonic Order, issued by both popes and emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. The imperial privileges originate from a collection of Latin and German privileges issued in 1428. In the manuscript description of **We$_1$**, I have also shown that these imperial privileges were directly translated and incorporated into the *Croniken* from the original – most likely by Hendrik van Vianen (chapter 2.4). The papal privileges were evidently copied from a different collection, as is evident from their dissimilar – but in itself coherent – layout to that of the imperial privileges, and from their abridged presentation. They may have existed in translated form already before they were incorporated in the *Croniken*.

Because both the papal and imperial privileges in the *Croniken* are copied or translated from existing collections they should be assumed to represent authorial styles different from those of the rest of the chronicle. With this in mind, parts of both sets of privileges were used to create two separate training samples. A third training sample consisted of the entire *Croniken*, thus incorporating the privileges as well, which acts as a baseline. These three training samples were computed against the 181 overlapping parts of the *Croniken*. The goal was to determine if it is possible to (1) single out the privileges in general, on the basis of their stylistic fingerprint, throughout the *Croniken* without wrongly identifying other areas of the text, and (2) to distinguish between papal and imperial privileges: both copied or translated from different existing collections and therefore at least in theory representatives of different styles. Furthermore (3), the experiment is used to determine the optimum settings of the procedure, in terms of training sample size, the number of most frequent words (MFW) to be included in the computation, and in terms of the size of the 'window' used for looking at the *Croniken*. The best results were gained by using the largest possible training samples (in this case limited to 8,000 words because of the cumulative size of the imperial privileges combined), leaving the rolling window relatively small (2,000 words) and to include the thousand most frequently iterated words in the computation. The results are displayed in Figure 4.24. I have discussed how I reached the optimum settings in detail in my earlier article on this subject.[1233]

[1233] Ibid., 348–350.

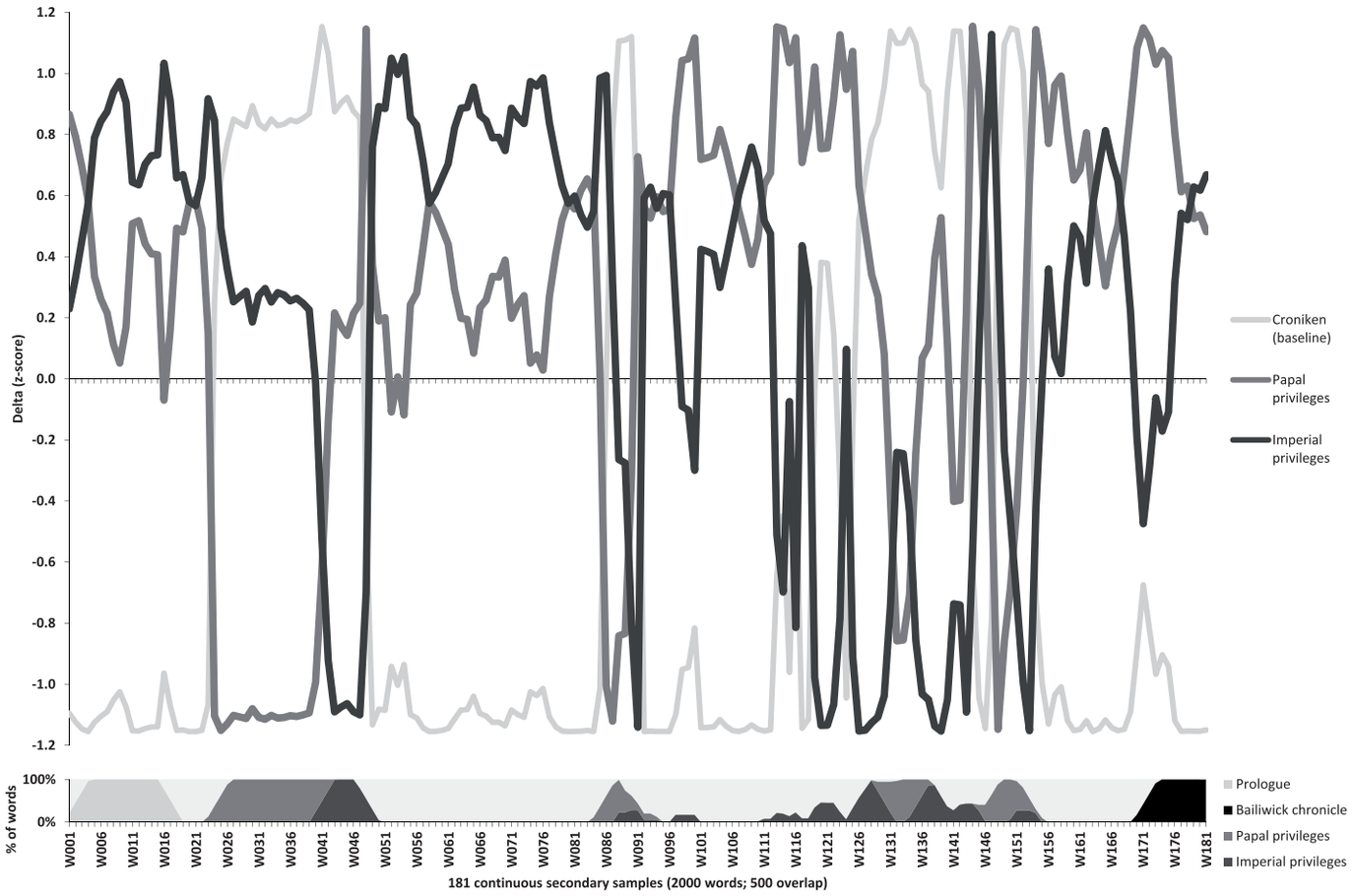


*Figure 4.24* Delta *analysis of the* Croniken *and its privileges: 1,000 MFW, 8.000 word training samples. Immediately below is a stacked area chart displaying the relative weight of the prologue, privileges and bailiwick chronicle in each of the 181 overlapping sections of the* Croniken.[1234]

Based on this testing experiment we can conclude that the *Delta* method works rather well for this purpose and textual corpus. It is possible to pinpoint the location of the privileges in the text. Furthermore, it is possible to distinguish papal and imperial privileges from each other. The classification is even effective in cases where the privilege is small in size, even just a couple of hundred words long.[1235] The effective distinction between papal and imperial privileges further means genre differences (between privileges and narrative text in the *Croniken*) are not the primary stylistic features identified by the method; if genre would be the most determining factor, papal and imperial privileges in the *Croniken* would be indistinguishable in the analysis. This supports the hypothesis that the method is effective in measuring authorial style – and not merely style expressly linked to a specific genre. The areas in the text that contain privileges consistently stand out as distinct from the surrounding parts of the text, even in the analyses that I will describe hereafter; where no training samples containing privileges have been used.

### *Analysis* Croniken

Having successfully tested the method and the proposed workaround for the lack of comparable text material, the same approach can be applied to the rest of the *Croniken*. Here the goal is to study the presence or absence of shifts in style between the first part of the prologue, the bailiwick chronicle, and the rest of the narrative. Two equally sized

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[1234] Originally published in Ibid., Fig. 2.

[1235] A privilege of 566 words was succesfully identified by the computer, whereas a privilege of 340 words was not. Thus the tipping point lies somewhere in between: Ibid., 351.

training samples were chosen from the middle part of the *Croniken* that covers the lives of the grand masters.[1236] Further training samples were the Middle Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* copied by Hendrik van Vianen, his land charters, and the two adaptations of the *Gouds kroniekje* mentioned earlier. The results are presented in Figure 4.25.

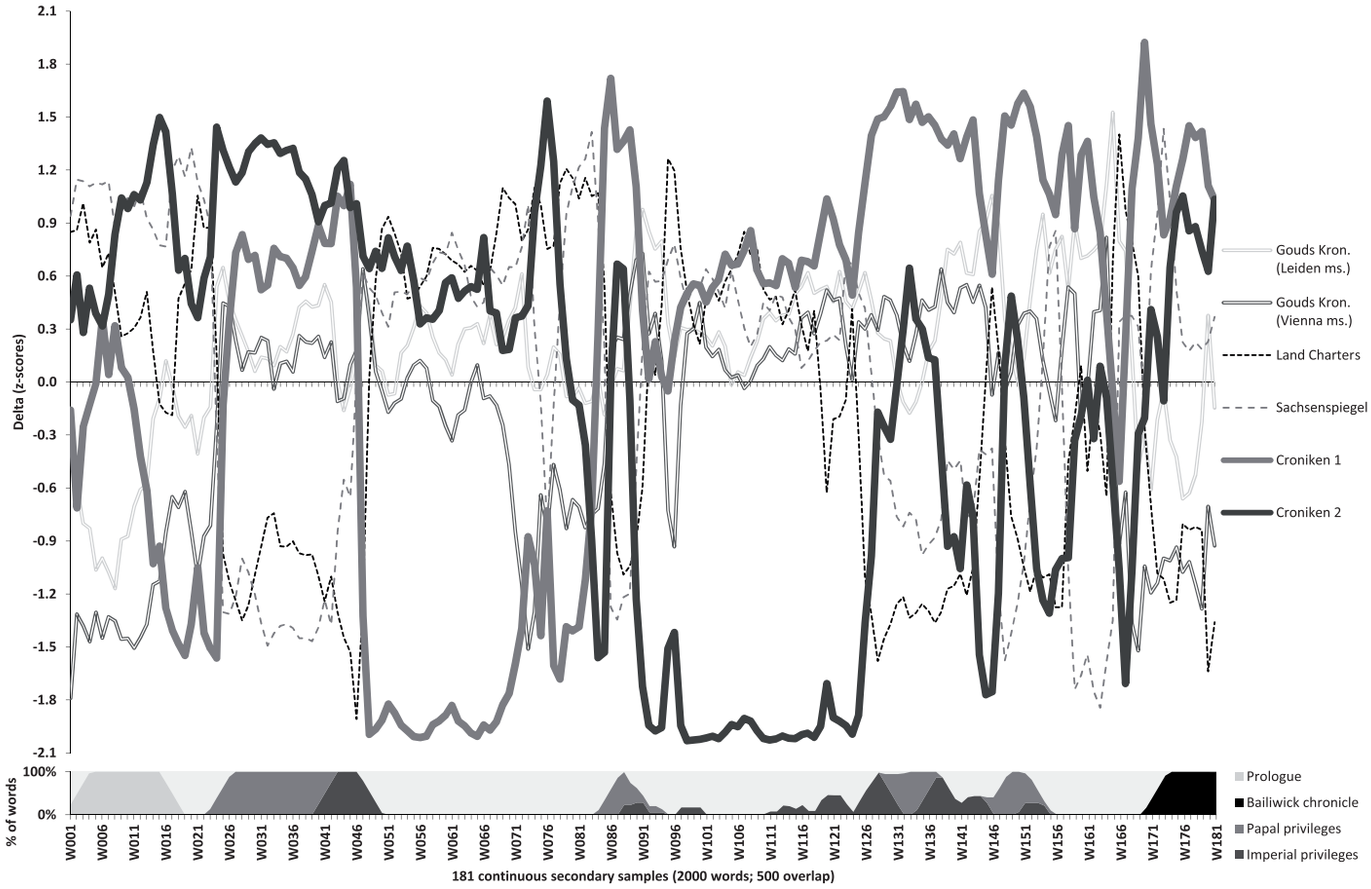


*Figure 4.25* Delta *analysis of the* Croniken*: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples. The two training samples taken from the* Croniken *are located roughly between part 47-67 and 100-120.*[1237]

One of the first striking features is that the two training samples of the *Croniken* are poor markers of the privileges, as we have addressed earlier. The land charters and *Sachsenspiegel* perform much better for these specific areas in the text, indicating a different writing style compared with the regular parts of the chronicle. This confirms the experiment with the privileges. Note that often the land charters produce lower *Delta z*-scores in the areas with imperial privileges, whereas the *Sachsenspiegel* performs slightly better for the papal privileges. An explanation for this behaviour is not apparent.

When a size of 10,000 words is chosen for the training samples, the transition between the two *Croniken* samples is not a gradual one: it shifts abruptly around part 83. This part is located almost exactly in between the two training samples, but it is also the location where, as I have observed earlier,[1238] the writing process of the *Croniken* was discontinuous. Interestingly, when using 3,000-word training samples (Appendix, Figure A.24), the two training samples

[1236] For the deliberations for chosing these samples: Ibid., 352.
[1237] Originally published in Ibid., Fig. 3.
[1238] See chapter 2.3.

taken from the *Croniken* become much more interchangeable and the interruption around part 83 is not noticeable. By using 10,000-word training samples, detail is preserved which is averaged out in the 3,000-word analysis.[1239]

There are only a few areas in the text where the 'non-*Croniken*' samples more or less consistently outperform the samples taken from the *Croniken* itself: in the areas where the privileges are situated; in the beginning of the prologue, roughly until the point where the author of the *Croniken* indicates that a certain bishop of Paderborn wrote the prologue; in a number of indulgences around part 140–2; in a short area around part 158–64 where copies of the pleadings of the Teutonic Order against the Prussian Confederation before the court of the Holy Roman Emperor are recorded (which could well have been copied word-for-word)[1240]; and, finally, at the end of the *Croniken*, where the bailiwick chronicle is found. If we compare different settings of the stylometric procedure, we see that by increasing the size (in words) of the training samples these shifts start to appear. At first, by using only 3,000-word training samples, all parts of the *Croniken* – apart from sections that contain mostly privileges – show greatest similarity with the two training samples taken from the middle part of the chronicle (Appendix, Figure A.24). When we increase the size of the training samples to 6,000 words, the bailiwick chronicle is the first area of the chronicle that stands out as distinct (Appendix, Figure A.25). Only when we increase the sample size to 10,000 words – the size that produced the optimum results in our experiment with the privileges – the other areas, as described above, start to deviate from the style of the middle part of the *Croniken*.

Most importantly, the above means that at a general level there is a stylistic coherence between all parts of the *Croniken*, perhaps excluding the privileges (as shown by the analysis using the 3,000-word training samples). However, when we delve deeper into the stylistic differences within the text, the differences which demonstrate themselves most consistently throughout the difference settings of the stylistic procedure are the strongest between the bailiwick chronicle and the middle parts of the *Croniken*. These are followed by the first half of the prologue, and some minor areas in the second half of the text that were likely reproduced from an existing source, all showing stylistic differences to the rest of the *Croniken*, although to a lesser extent than the bailiwick chronicle.

The chart becomes more clearly defined when all the privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies of the Teutonic Order are filtered from the text of the *Croniken*, retaining 123 parts of 2,000 words (Figure 4.26). One may also compare the similar chart that uses a larger window of 4,000 words, which is less precise, but also more robust and roughly produces the same results (Appendix, Figure A.23). Occasionally, the *Sachsenspiegel* or land charters – both recorded by Hendrik van Vianen – provide the lowest *Delta z*-scores, which indicates that, for these areas, out of all training samples the land charters and *Sachsenspiegel* show the highest probability of belonging to the same stylistic fingerprint. However, even the samples of the *Gouds kroniekje* beat the *z*-scores of some of the chronicle's own samples. It is possible that none of the training samples represent the authorial style of these areas very well.

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[1239] The 6,000 word training samples produce a result somewhere in between these two outcomes: Appendix, Figure A.25.
[1240] A specific source was not identified. See chapter 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".

This would imply that the author of the middle parts of the *Croniken* was not responsible for creating these particular parts.

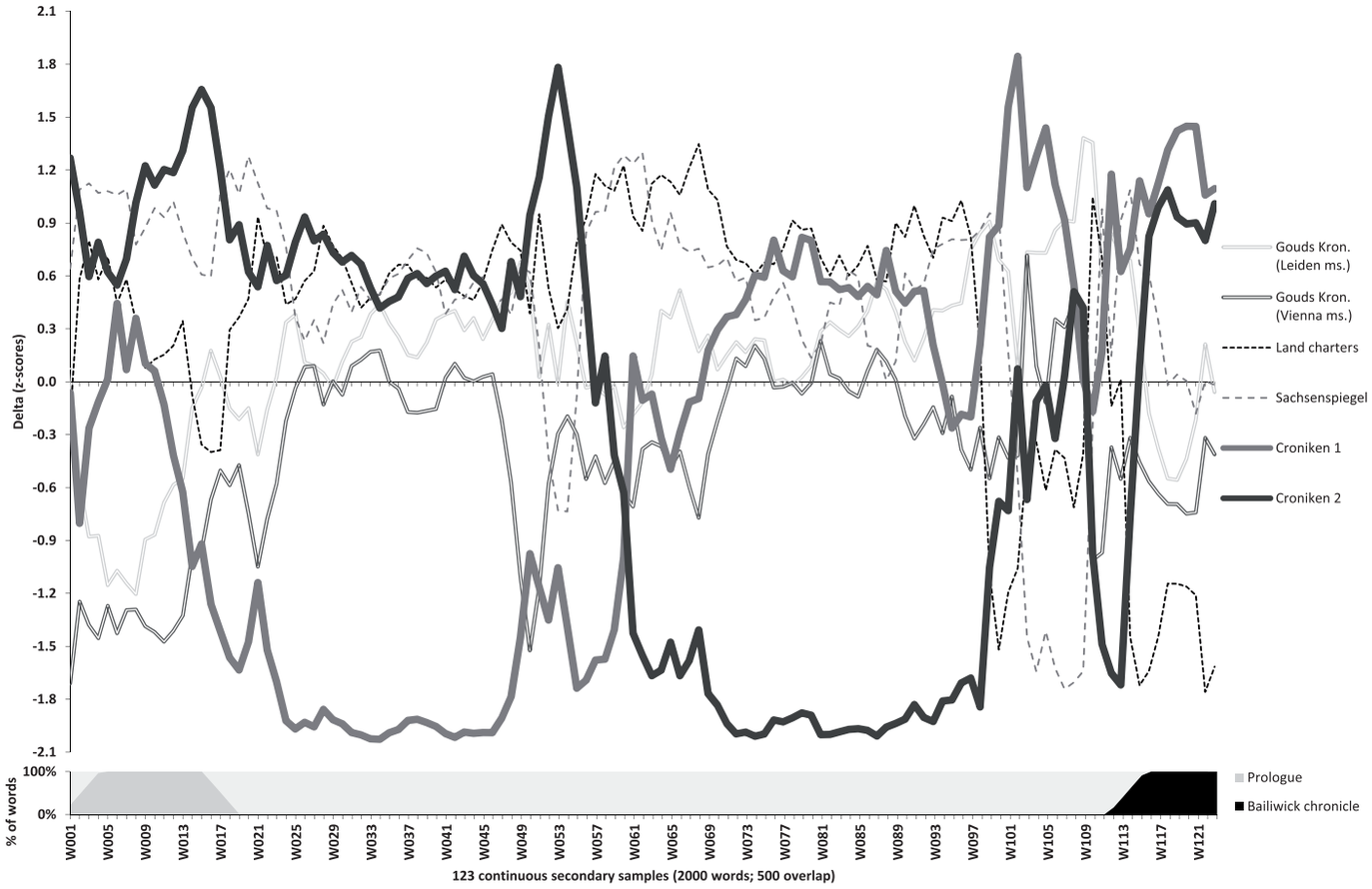


*Figure 4.26* Delta *analysis of the* Croniken*, stripped of all privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples.*[1241]

The stylometric analysis of the *Croniken*, as proposed above, does identify the land charters by Hendrik van Vianen as the most stylistically close training set for the bailiwick chronicle (Figure 4.26 and Appendix, Figure A.23). However, the approach that was presented here is used to draw out stylistic differences only. Without the presence of appropriate large scale training samples, the method is not particularly well suited for authorship attribution. In other words, the fact that for the bailiwick chronicle at the end of the *Croniken* the land charters appear as the training sample with the lowest *Delta z*-score – meaning that their style is closest to that of the bailiwick chronicle – does not provide evidence for Vianen's authorship. Note, again, that in the same charts, the training samples of the unrelated *Gouds kroniekje* appear to present a particularly good match to the first part of the prologue. The only thing that can be concluded from the stylometric analysis above, apart from the evident stylistic contrast of the papal and imperial privileges to the rest of the *Croniken* (Figure 4.25), is that the prologue and – somewhat more pronounced – the bailiwick chronicle shows stylistic differences to the rest of the *Croniken*.

[1241] Originally published in Stapel, 'Layer on layer', Fig. 4.

## 4.5 Composition of the text

The results from the stylometric analysis have a direct impact on the question what the respective roles of Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen were in creating the *Croniken*. As has been discussed previously,[1242] manuscript **We$_1$** is the author's copy of the *Croniken*, and it was physically written by Hendrik van Vianen – and completed by him after Johan van Drongelen's death, which event is recorded at the end of the bailiwick chronicle. However, I have also shown that the description of the life of land commander Johan van Drongelen differs from all other descriptions of land commander in the bailiwick chronicle, and appears to have been added, at least partially, at a later stage.[1243]

By comparing the profile of the author of the *Croniken* to the biographies of both Johan van Drongelen and Hendrik van Vianen,[1244] we can dismiss that Hendrik van Vianen had much more of a hand in the production than providing general assistance. Vianen can be believed to have worked on commission, but did not himself display an interest in historiography. The facts of Drongelen's life, however, together with demonstrable personal interest in historiography and subjects related to the content of the *Croniken* make it likely that he was the principal author of the *Croniken*.

Drongelen's involvement will not have been only marginal, in the sense of providing inspiration and ideas, visiting libraries and gathering sources (an activity he was noted for by historiographer Johannes a Leydis),[1245] and perhaps providing financial and other kinds of material support to undertake the project. Alternatively, his involvement was likely to have been much more central to the creation of the work, and he himself may have written much of the text of the *Croniken*. A crucial point in that regard is his possible involvement in the creation of an important landmark in late medieval Dutch historiography, the *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Johan Veldener in Utrecht in 1480.[1246] Such involvement would indicate that Drongelen was not only known for having an interest in historical research (as reflected in the comments by both Johannes a Leydis and fellow historiographer Theodericus Pauli)[1247], but wrote history himself as well. This, in combination with the fact that Drongelen's personal interests are reflected in the content of the *Croniken*[1248], that he was able to travel far because of his position as land commander (and did so, at least on one occasion in 1479), that for years he was stationed in Middelburg, close to the libraries in the Southern Low Countries that were able to provide the essential crusading literature rarely found in the Northern Low Countries, and that the project was temporarily halted when Drongelen was forced to evacuate from Utrecht,[1249] provides a strong case for Drongelen's authorship of the *Croniken*.

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[1242] See chapter 4.4, "Introduction" and in general chapter 2.2.
[1243] The description of Johan van Drongelen's life consists of multiple, only partially related sentences instead of a coherent narrative. These sentences are also not chronologicaly ordered. Moreover, the coat of arms of Johan van Drongelen has a slightly aberrant layout. Finally, a space for the number of years Johan van Drongelen was in office was left open at first, indicating that he had not died yet when the first section of this chapter was written. See chapter 2.3.
[1244] See chapter 4.3.
[1245] See chapter 4.3, "Family and genealogy".
[1246] Ibid.
[1247] Ibid.
[1248] See chapter 4.3, "Career" and "Family and genealogy".
[1249] See chapter 2.3 and Table 4.1.

This does not mean that Hendrik van Vianen's duties as a scribe were limited to the mere copying of an all but finished draft. I have presented evidence above suggesting that the translations of the privileges were made with the original source at hand (2.4, "Working direct from the source"). Given that I have posited Johan van Drongelen as principal author, and have not identified a third person involved, and given the fact that the translated privileges were – as demonstrated above – stylistically rather different from the rest of the text of the *Croniken*, it follows that the most likely candidate for those translations is Hendrik van Vianen, who, moreover, showed that he was fluent in Latin.[1250] Vianen may also have finished the description of Johan van Drongelen after his death in 1492,[1251] and may have done some of the editing which can perhaps be dated as late as 1496 (chapter 2.3). The working relationship between Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen must have been very close, however, since the end product, the *Croniken*, is clearly a very well-coordinated effort. A different question is whether Hendrik van Vianen could have been involved in writing that part of the prologue which in the text appears to be attributed to a bishop of Paderborn, and in writing the bailiwick chronicle. However, as we have stated above, the stylometric analysis of the *Croniken* emphasizes stylistic differences only and is much less suited for authorship attribution.

The question how these parts of the *Croniken* relate to the rest of the text cannot easily be answered. The mere fact that these parts are stylistically different (and that these differences coincide with certain codicological, palaeographical, and content-related transitions of the text and/or manuscript), means that these parts display some form of a disparate genesis, either chronologically, or by the hands of multiple persons, or both. In other words, the parts were not conceived simultaneously and some may already have existed when the author's copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript **We$_1$**, was written. This could also help explain why elements of the prologue were abridged in the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* which was printed in 1480 by Johan Veldener – the same year work began on manuscript **We$_1$**.[1252] This does not necessarily mean that someone else – other than Johan van Drongelen – wrote these two parts, although that possibility cannot be ruled out. It is known that writing style can change with age.[1253] It is therefore possible that the stylistic differences are not caused by a different authorial voice, but by the fact that the pieces were written earlier, possibly significantly earlier. It is quite possible that the prologue and the bailiwick chronicle started out as two separate chronicles; a project which was put on hold, or at least progressed slowly, and was ultimately re-configured as a single chronicle. This single chronicle, which was then for the greater part produced in a relatively coherent process, in which the two existing parts were each given shape as well as brought together; with only minor revision and continuation afterward. This, in turn, would explain the fact that despite any differences in writing style or content

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[1250] See Appendix, Table A.10.

[1251] Although this would be an interesting test case to apply the stylometric analysis to, the sample (only one half folio of written text) is much too small to us in such analyses.

[1252] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 260r.

[1253] J.W. Pennebaker, *The secret life of pronouns. What our words say about us* (New York: Bloomsbury Press 2011) 39–72; regarding the relevance of this study for the field of stylometry: J. Nerbonne, '[Review: J.W. Pennebaker, *The Secret Life of Pronouns. What Our Words Say About Us*]', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 29 (2014) 139–142; the range of studies that try to predict age (or gender) of authors is wide. For instance: C. Peersman, W. Daelemans and L. van Vaerenbergh, 'Predicting Age and Gender in Online Social Networks', in: *Proceedings of the 3rd International CIKM Workshop on Search and Mining User-Generated Contents* (New York: ACM Press 2011) 37–44.

that may be there, the design, layout and execution of the prologue and bailiwick chronicle correspond very well with the rest of the *Croniken*. In fact, these similarities are much greater than the disparities.

## 4.6 Conclusion

Until now, the author of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* has always remained anonymous. The possible attribution of the prologue of the *Croniken* to a bishop of Paderborn has long been rejected, and there is no reason to revise that judgement. Rather, it seems that this attribution was a deliberate attempt to add authority to the text. However, we have also shown that the general scholarly consensus that the text was written by a priest-brother of the Teutonic Order is not necessarily correct. The chronicle disparages the role of the priest-brethren in the order, and the author had a demonstrable interest in and knowledge of noble customs (few priest-brethren were of noble descent). Moreover, knight-brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been known to be well-educated and therefore cannot be excluded as possible authors. Apart from this, the author of the *Croniken*, active in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and familiar with the geography of the city of Utrecht, must have had continuous access to the order's archives, the ability to adopt and develop the order's discourse, and the skills to plan the project, collect numerous sources from different parts of Europe, and transform the information from these sources into an entirely new historiographical text. He was interested in the genealogies of noble families, heraldry, but also agitated against partisan strifes and cared much about loyalty and obedience both in and outside the order.

Two possible candidates stand out. The first is Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen, who I have shown to be responsible for the writing of the author's copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript **We$_1$**. Hendrik van Vianen was probably the secretary of the land commander of the Utrecht bailiwick and was later in his life active as a notary public in the town of Vianen, a few kilometres south of Utrecht. The land commander for whom Vianen worked was the ambitious Johan van Drongelen, whose personal background fits the profile of the author of the *Croniken* very well. Drongelen was known in the County of Holland and the Bishopric of Utrecht as a specialist in the field of genealogy. Moreover, remarks by two of the most productive historiographers in the Low Countries of the late fifteenth century, Theodericus Pauli and Johannes a Leydis, show that Drongelen was not only engaged in history writing, but also visited numerous libraries and archives in search for source material. I have also shown there is some evidence suggesting that Drongelen may have been the author of parts of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* printed by Johan Veldener.

In order to further investigate the roles of Drongelen and Vianen in producing the *Croniken*, I have proposed a method to study the stylistic characteristics of the various parts of the *Croniken*. The analysis of the writing style of the different parts of the *Croniken*, using quantitative data and computational techniques from the field of stylometry, showed that particularly the privileges were written in a different authorial style. Less evident, but still detectable is the difference in style of the first part of the prologue and especially the bailiwick chronicle in comparison to the middle parts of the *Croniken*. Quite possibly these are remnants of an atypical genesis of the text.

The cumulative evidence suggests that Land Commander Johan van Drongelen was the prime instigator of the project, who collected the sources and wrote most of the text of the *Croniken*. His secretary, Hendrik van Vianen, was responsible for translating the privileges which were included into Middle Dutch, and for the clerical work involved in writing and producing a presentable manuscript. Nevertheless, he also did some minor work composing and editing the text

and it cannot be excluded that Vianen occasionally had influence over the content of the chronicle as well. In any case, the collaboration between Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen must have been a very close one.

# Conclusion

## Introduction

By studying the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, also known as the *Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik*, I aimed to examine the circulation of (historical) knowledge within the Teutonic Order at the end of the fifteenth century. It has been the underlying aim of this study to gain an understanding of the introduction of the order's tradition of history writing to the Dutch Low Countries, far removed from the traditional production centres in Prussia and Livonia, as well as the effects this change of location, and accompanying change of perspective had on the content and purpose of such historical production within the order.

In the preceding chapters I have been able to establish that the *Croniken* was written in the bailiwick of Utrecht, in various phases from 1480 to 1491 and possibly the mid-1490s, by the Utrecht land commander Johan van Drongelen and his personal secretary. The material product of their collaboration is manuscript **We$_1$**, which can now be classified as an author's copy. I have also shown in detail how the text was constructed, and that the author(s) managed to collect a wide selection of sources – including from locations hundreds of kilometres away from the city of Utrecht. We have therefore come much closer to understanding the specific circumstances under which the chronicle was written, as well as the preconditions of that environment which made it possible to undertake such an ambitious project.

In this concluding chapter, I shall survey the historical development of the Utrecht bailiwick leading up to decades of the *Croniken*'s conception at the end of the fifteenth century, providing a context to my previous identification of when, where, and by whom the *Croniken* was created. I shall then return to the findings of this study, focusing on the process of creation of the *Croniken*. Finally, I will conclude with a treatment of the later uses of the chronicle, in the Utrecht bailiwick and in Prussia, Livonia, and the Holy Roman Empire.

## The Utrecht bailiwick within the Teutonic Order

The call for the Fifth Crusade (1217–21) attracted considerable interest in the archdiocese of Cologne, largely due to the preaching of Oliver of Paderborn.[1254] For several people from the Low Countries, the crusade was the first time they came into contact with the Teutonic Order. Halfway during the siege of the Egyptian port city Damietta (1218–19), Sweder van Dingede Sr., a nobleman from the County of Cleves, gave the "brothers of the Teutonic House in Jerusalem" a couple of property complexes, including one south of the city of Utrecht, because of "their support of the weak and of the soldiers against the assaults of the Saracens".[1255] In doing so, he followed the example of Count Adolf of the Mark, who a year earlier during the same siege had offered the order his court at Dieren in Guelders.[1256] Some years later, Sweder's son Sweder van Dingede Jr. and his wife, bequeathed the order a house and mansion outside the walls of the city of Utrecht, in order to redeem themselves from crusade vows they made earlier.[1257] These two donations formed the foundation for the establishment of a commandery at Utrecht. Later, this commandery became the centre of the Utrecht bailiwick, which started to assert itself as a separate organizational structure in the early fourteenth century.[1258]

The author of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* knew the charters which had been drawn up to record these agreements, and used them to construct the history of the Utrecht bailiwick, which he placed at the end of the chronicle. In the *Croniken* the history of the bailiwick is presented as a continuous sequence of donations to the order, which allow it to constantly expand under every successive land commander. Hans Mol has shown that such a positive representation of continuous growth is unjustified.[1259] After the first properties had been transferred to the order in 1218 and the commandery in Utrecht was founded after 1231, a period of stagnation occurred. The house in the village of Schelluinen in Holland, the foundations of which were laid after 1220, was described to be in a deplorable state as early as 1248. Charters dating between 1265 and 1268 show that the brethren had been forced to abandon the house temporarily and that the rights that the Teutonic Order used to have in Schelluinen had to be reaffirmed, in order for them to reoccupy the house.[1260]

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[1254] Van Moolenbroek, 'Signs in the heavens'.

[1255] "quas faciunt fratres domus Theutonicorum in Hierusalem, tum in infirmis tum etiam in militibus contra insultus Sarracenorum sustentandis": K. Heeringa ed., *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301* II (Den Haag: Rijksuitgeverij 1940) nr. 668 <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/osu/>; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 463.

[1256] Sweder van Dingede sr. was mentioned as a witness of Count Adolf's bestowal of the goods at Dieren. Dieren would become a commandery subject to the Teutonic Order in Koblenz, until it was handed over to the bailiwick of Alden Biesen because of a debt of the grand master to the bailiwick in 1420 and subsequently sold to the Utrecht bailiwick in 1434. De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 462.

[1257] Ibid., nr. 194.

[1258] U. Arnold, 'Die Entwicklung von Balleistrukturen des Deutschen Ordens zwischen Mittelrhein und Nordsee - Biesen, Koblenz und Utrecht', in: J. Mertens ed., *Adel, ridderorde en erfgoed in het Land van Maas en Rijn*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Duitse Orde in de Balije Biesen 10 (Bilzen 2012) 25–43.

[1259] J.A. Mol, 'Vechten of verplegen? Ontstaan en begintijd van het huis en de balije Utrecht van de Duitse Orde', in: J.A. Mol ed., *Vechten, bidden en verplegen. Opstellen over de ridderorden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 5 (Hilversum: Verloren 2011) 24–46.

[1260] Ibid., 28; Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 30–33.

The reoccupation of Schelluinen occurred during a period of rapid expansion of the bailiwick. Fuelled by support of the comital family of Holland and coinciding with the entrance of several important noblemen from the County of Holland and the Prince-Bishopric of Utrecht into the order, the number of commanderies rose spectacularly from four to thirteen in just two decades between 1261 and 1281.[1261] Although the precise circumstances of this expansion remain unclear due to a lack of sources, a convincing case has been made that the brethren in Utrecht changed the way they represented themselves to the outside world, which acted as a catalyst. This follows from transitions in the use of seal emblems by the brethren. The earliest emblems that were used stressed the role of the order in caring for the sick and those in need. This role, building on the tradition as a hospitaller order in its early years in the Holy Land, had received much emphasis in the early thirteenth century, especially in the Holy Roman Empire.[1262] However, between 1249 and 1255 the brethren in Utrecht started to use an emblem that showed Christ with two swords coming from his mouth, emphasizing both the spiritual and worldly power of Christ. More specifically, this emblem with two swords referred to Christ's power to subjugate heathen nations (Revelation 19:15), creating an analogy with the fighting role of the military orders. This was a much more militant message and the hypothesis is that it appealed to the counts of Holland and noblemen in the Low Countries directly.[1263] It is also evident that this change in the brethren's presentation of the order to outsiders followed events in Prussia, Livonia, and the Holy Land; in each of these three regions the Teutonic Order came under increasing pressure, and desperately needed money and military reinforcements around 1260.[1264]

With the loss of the Holy Land in 1291 and the stabilization of the front in Prussia and Livonia in the early fourteenth century, such military strains were becoming less acute, whereas the pastoral and administrational tasks in the bailiwick grew. The brethren's time and attention was being occupied by responsibilities that were not immediately directed at defending the Christian faith. For instance, during the administration of Land Commander Goswijn van Garnaer (<1337–58) an imposing new convent inside the walls of the city of Utrecht was built which, with the exception of its church, still stands today. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century the bailiwick thrived spiritually and economically.[1265] By the mid-fifteenth century the riches that had been gathered in this period of prosperity added a

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[1261] See Appendix, Figure A.27 and Figure A.28. Interestingly enough, this period of expansion was pinned in between two different periods of expansion of the number of churches where the Teutonic Order had acquired the right to appoint parish priests – often brethren of their own. Between 1240 and 1250 the number of these churches rose from one to seven. A further increase, from nine to fourteen, occurred between 1280 and 1294.

[1262] Note the numerous donations of hospitals until the 1250s, many of which where sold or scaled down soon afterwards: K. Militzer, 'Die Rolle der Spitäler bei den Ritterorden', in: M. Matheus ed., *Funktions- und Strukturwandel spätmittelalterlicher Hospitäler im europäischen Vergleich*. Geschichtliche Landeskunde 56 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 2005) 213–242, there 229–232; K. van Eickels, 'Knightly Hospitallers or Crusading Knights? Decisive Factors for the Spread of the Teutonic Knights in the Rhineland and the Low Countries 1216-1300', in: H.J. Nicholson ed., *The Military Orders 2: Welfare and Warfare* (Aldershot: Ashgate 1998) 75–80; The Utrecht commandery, just outside the walls of the city, also operated a hospital. It is mentioned twice, in 1267 and in 1287, but nothing is heard of it after that. Ketner ed., *OSU* IV, nr. 1731; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 274.

[1263] Mol, 'Vechten of verplegen?', 38–41.

[1264] Ibid., 42–44.

[1265] This is witnessed, for instance, by the efforts of priest-brother Gerard van Vliederhoven, who wrote *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis*, an eschatological tractate which has survived in over two hundred Latin manuscripts, fifty Middle Dutch and German translations, and numerous versions in print. Possibly, Vliederhoven wrote the text with support of the land commander. Dusch, *De veer utersten*; Warnar, 'Augustijnken in Pruisen', 131–2; In October 1378, the "schaffenaar" (dispensator) of the Utrecht commandery was given a substantial amount of money (for expenses), paper, and parchment "to write a book". This "schaffenaar"

complicating factor to a few decades of intense and very destructive internal clashes between several brethren seeking the office of the land commander.[1266] One of those, knight-brother Johan van Haeften, spent a few thousand guilders on travel expenses and bribes to advance his election, while donating only two hundred guilders to the grand master in Prussia, who was at that time engaged in the Thirteen Years' War (1454–66) against the Prussian Confederation and the King of Poland.[1267] Crusading as a principal aim around which the activities of the bailiwick were organised was retreating, and the focus of its members was re-oriented more toward worldly and local responsibilities in the bailiwick.

This development can also be identified in the decrease in the movement of personnel between the Utrecht bailiwick and the Holy Land, Prussia, and Livonia. Numerous examples of brethren from the Low Countries being stationed in the Mediterranean Sea, most notably Sicily, are found in the thirteenth century.[1268] Johan van Hoenhorst, mentioned as land commander in Utrecht between 1325 and 1332, had been *Vogt*, or guardian, of Jerwen in Livonia (present day Järvamaa in Estonia) and a candidate for the position of master of Livonia in 1322.[1269] From 1328 until at least 1334 he was also land commander of the Netherlands, the last to use this title.[1270] By this time however, the period of high mobility in the Teutonic Order was coming to an end. Examples such as that of Johan van Hoenhorst or almost each of the grand masters up to Karl of Trier (1311–24), who all moved from one office to the other in the Holy Land, Prussia, Livonia, and/or bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire, were becoming increasingly rare – with the exception of members in the bailiwicks under direct control of the grand master, the so-called *Kammerballeien*, which started to emerge around the same period.[1271] Shifts in the order's organizational structures in the mid-fourteenth century meant that regionalism became more a prominent feature on different levels of the order. This had a negative impact on the mobility between the different branches of the Teutonic Order.[1272]

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may have been Vliederhoven, who is known to hold this function from 1386 onwards, but who stopped working as commander of Tiel in the year before this account book was written. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 646, f. 36r; Land Commander Johan van de Zande (<1409-1419) increased the income of the bailiwick that much that he was able to order a new luxurious inventory for the church, including highly decorated liturgical books. Some of these books survive: Van Dijk, 'Missaal'; Zwolle, HCO, ms. 4410; Zwolle, HCO, ms. 4411; Fulda, HLB, Aa 122; See aslo the *Croniken*: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.764–6.

[1266] Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?'.

[1267] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 330–1, f. 15v.

[1268] Mol, 'Vechten of verplegen?', 37, 44–45.

[1269] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 34–6.

[1270] (Land) commander or master of the Netherlands (*partes inferiores*) is a title used by the highest office of the Teutonic Order in the western part of the Holy Roman Empire, an office that existed until the early fourteenth century. From the *partes inferiores* grew the independent bailiwicks Alden Biesen and Utrecht. In some cases, the office was held simultaneously with the office of the (land) commander of Biesen. H. Limburg, 'Partes Inferiores. Beobachtungen zur Verwaltungsstruktur des Deutschen Ordens im Westen des Reiches während des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 171 (1969) 259–268; Arnold, 'Entwicklung von Balleistrukturen'.

[1271] Arnold, 'Entwicklung von Balleistrukturen', 40–41; U. Arnold, 'Europa und die Region. Widerstreitende Kräfte in der Entwicklung des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter', in: Z.H. Nowak ed., *Ritterorden und Region. Politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter*. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VIII (Toruń: UMK 1995) 161–172, there 163–164; For the biographies of the grand masters: Arnold ed., *Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens*; compare also the thirteenth-century example of Edmund of Werth, priest-brother from the Rhineland and bishop of Courland: U. Arnold, 'Edmund von Werth, priester van de Duitse orde en bisschop van Koerland', in: J. Mertens ed., *Leden van de Duitse Orde in de balije Biesen*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Duitse Orde in de Balije Biesen 1 (Bilzen 1994) 189–214.

[1272] Arnold, 'Europa und die Region'; J. Sarnowsky, 'Regional Problems in the History of the Mendicants and Military Orders', in: J. Sarnowsky ed., *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate 1999) 1–15.

An illustration of this is the way brethren from the Holy Roman Empire were being recruited for service in either Prussia or Livonia. Recruitment campaigns, also in the Low Countries, continued to take place throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as those in Utrecht in 1411 and 1435, intended to recruit for Livonia.[1273] However, a career in one of the traditional regions of crusader activity of the order had become by-and-large independent of a career in one of the bailiwicks, as if it were separate orders, and from the mid-fifteenth century onwards there are signs that at least in Utrecht and Alden Biesen, a career in the bailiwicks was being valued higher than one in Prussia and Livonia.[1274] At the same time, we see efforts to limit the recruitment of brethren for the bailiwicks themselves to certain geographic or social backgrounds; thus increasing the order's invested interests in the region.[1275] One consequence of such developments is that it also becomes more difficult to promote the order's wider interests to the bailiwicks, particularly the interests in Prussia and Livonia. From the early sixteenth century the bailiwicks in the northwest of the Holy Roman Empire even developed a combined effort to resist payments intended for the order in Prussia and Livonia.[1276]

Despite the fact that these regionalist tendencies are well emphasized for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[1277] the practical implications of this for the brethren in the bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire are much less clear.[1278] All military orders were characterized by a constant interaction between regional and universal tendencies,[1279] but it is not easy to define for the Teutonic Order a coherent timeline of structural changes in this interaction.[1280] Moreover, the fact that this interaction was apparent, also means that it would be an exaggeration to say that the bailiwicks in the Holy Roman Empire, in this case Utrecht, had become entirely detached from the branches of the order in Prussia

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[1273] J.A. Mol, 'Nederlandse ridderbroeders van de Duitse Orde in Lijfland. Herkomst, afkomst en carrières', in: J.A. Mol ed., *Vechten, bidden en verplegen. Opstellen over de ridderorden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 5 (Hilversum: Verloren 2011) 160–187, there 173–175.

[1274] Transfers to Prussia or Livonia were even sometimes associated with punishment, as shown by examples from Utrecht and Alden Biesen: Van Eickels, 'Knightly Hospitallers or Crusading Knights?', 170; Mol, 'Nederlandse ridderbroeders', 176.

[1275] See chapter 4.3, "Career". Regarding the priest-brethren of the Utrecht bailiwick: Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 117–120; For a mid-fifteenth-century example from the Alden Biesen bailiwick: D. Grögor-Schiemann, *Die Deutschordensballei Utrecht während der Reformationszeit: die Landkommende zwischen Rebellion und Staatsbildung*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 68 (Weimar: VDG 2015) 30.

[1276] Grögor-Schiemann, *Die Deutschordensballei Utrecht*, 62–63.

[1277] A classic publication on this issue is still R. ten Haaf, *Deutschordensstaat und Deutschordensballeien. Untersuchungen über Leistung und Sonderung der Deutschordensprovinzen in Deutschland vom 13. Bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen 1954); see also: Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen'; and regarding the Utrecht bailiwick, drawing on Werner Reese: Grögor-Schiemann, *Die Deutschordensballei Utrecht*, 29–36; W. Reese, 'Gesamtdeutsche und territoriale Zusammenhänge in der Geschichte des Deutschritterordens der Niederlande', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 83/84 (1936-1937) 223–272.

[1278] Much emphasis has been put on the vocation and lifestyle of the brethren, their attitude towards personal possessions, and a growing conciousness amongst the brethren of their noble status. Much less attention has been given to structural changes in the interactions between the brethren, forms of exchange, etc. E.g.: Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen'; Mol, 'Hospice of the German Nobility'.

[1279] Whether in the Iberian Peninsula or in the Baltic region, the military orders of medieval Europe considered themselves defenders of all Christianity and thus claimed to be of universal importance. Yet at the same time, and this is quite different from other monastic orders, many have close and sometimes explicit ties to a specific region: note for instance the *Militiae Christi Livoniae* (also known as the Livonian Brothers of the Sword) or the Order of Calatrava in Spain. This interaction between universal and regional tendencies takes place in all military orders to some extent or another. Here following K. Elm, 'Die *Ordines Militares*. Ein Ordenszötus zwischen Einheit und Vielfalt', in: Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky eds., *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest: Central European University Press 2001) 351–377.

[1280] The effects of the loss of the sovereignty in Prussia in 1466 on the position of the brethren in the bailiwicks, in regard to the order as a whole are, for instance, not well known.

and Livonia, and that the Teutonic Order had become an ossified, static organization. Take for instance the examples of Iwan of Cortenbach, land commander in the bailiwick of Alden Biesen to the south of the Utrecht bailiwick,[1281] and John of Malkaw, a priest-brother of the Teutonic Order and papal diplomat.[1282] Although both their careers are exceptional in many ways, they show, like the fifteenth-century dissemination of the indulgences and privileges[1283], in which Malkaw was also personally involved[1284], that the Teutonic Order, during the fifteenth century at least, despite a growing regional orientation, remained still an internationally orientated monastic order where people, information, and ideas could easily flow from one place to the next.[1285]

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[1281] The career of Iwan of Cortenbach is a particularly good example of mobility within the Teutonic Order in the first half of the fifteenth century. According to the *Liège Commandery Chronicle* he travelled from Alden Biesen to Prussia eight times, during one of which journeys he may have participated at the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410. In 1417, he represented the Teutonic Order at the Council of Constance and, in the same year, took part in the Hussite Wars in Bohemia. He died in 1434 from injuries which he sustained during his last visit to Prussia. Apart from this, Cortenbach was also a council member and chamberlain of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and in 1424 he was stadtholder for John the Pitiless, duke of Bavaria-Straubing. J. Corstjens, 'Iwan van Cortenbach. Landcommandeur van de balije Biesen (1411-1434)', *Gemerts Heem* 1989 (1989) 4–16; Gemert, GAGB, Schepenprotocol Gemert R101, inner side of the back guard leaf.

[1282] John of Malkaw was born in Prussia and had a career as preacher, commander, and papal diplomat in different places from Cologne and southwards, especially in Strasbourg. A. Ehlers, 'John Malkaw of Prussia. A Case of Individual Mobility in the Teutonic Order, c.1400', in: J. Burgtorf and H.J. Nicholson eds., *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries). Travelling on Christ's Business* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama 2006) 75–84; In fact, mobility as defined by brethren travelling back and forth to various locations of the Teutonic Order while keeping a secure base, continued to occur in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: K. van Eickels, 'Secure Base and Constraints of Mobility. The Rheno-Flemish Bailiwick of the Teutonic Knights between Regional Bonds and Service to the Grand Master in the Later Middle Ages', in: J. Burgtorf and H.J. Nicholson eds., *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries). Travelling on Christ's Business* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama 2006) 167–172.

[1283] The folding map Ehlers provided with his study is particularly insightful in this regard: Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*.

[1284] Papal privileges and indulgences that he secured were copied and disseminated to many other commanderies of the Teutonic Order within two or three years, sometimes even months. Ehlers, 'John Malkaw', 78; The *Croniken* includes translations of some of these documents: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.593–597, c.606–615.

[1285] This is also clear from what we have been able to gather from the Utrecht bailiwick. The Utrecht bailiwick welcomed numerous representatives and visitations of the order from Prussia in the mid-fifteenth century. Land Commander Johan van Haeften, when seeking office in 1455–7, travelled back and forth to numerous places. His visits included two journeys to the German master in Frankfurt, and several journeys to the Duke of Burgundy or his representatives in The Hague, Utrecht, and Brussels. Simultaneously, he was visited in Utrecht by the commander of Mewe in Prussia. In 1473 and 1474, negotiations between the Hanse and England took place in the city of Utrecht, which may also have attracted some officials of the order. The bishop of Reval, a member of the Teutonic Order, visited the Teutonic House in Utrecht in 1488 (see chapter 3.6). Johan van Drongelen, land commander between 1469 and 1492, at least on one occasion travelled to Frankfurt, for a chapter meeting regarding the election of a new German master in 1479 (see chapter 4.2).

## Creating the *Croniken*

The *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* as chronicle on the history of the Teutonic Order offers a possibility to study these late medieval tensions between regional and universal tendencies in the Teutonic Order further. It is a unique source from the end of the fifteenth century showing how the brethren thought about their order in a highly transformational period in the decades after the loss of sovereignty in Prussia in 1466; a period which also showed a growing reorientation of the bailiwicks towards autonomy.[1286] The *Croniken* represents the Teutonic Order as a blessed corporation of nobility, historically supported by popes, emperors, and numerous princes and lords. This knightly order, by virtue of its long-lasting fight against heathens, had acquired the perpetual right, the *Croniken* repeats time and again, to retain the lands it had conquered from the heathens.[1287] The consequence of focussing on these perpetual rights is that the author offers a vision for the future of the Teutonic Order as a corporation of celibate noblemen whose primary day-to-day business is similar to that of a landlord. Once, but not necessarily anymore, this corporation had been engaged in the fights against heathens.

At the same time, however – and this is a particularly fresh angle in scholarly research into the chronicle – the *Croniken* provides new insights into the ways in which the Teutonic Order was still able to function as an international community in this period, fostering the circulation of people and knowledge between the different parts of Europe where the order operated, despite increasing regional orientation of the branches of the order. From the analysis of the origin of the sources used by the author of the *Croniken* and the dissemination of the manuscripts in this study, a cultural network spanning Northwestern, Central and Northeastern Europe emerges. My study of the *Croniken* also shows how the world of the Teutonic Order interacted with communities in urban circles, both in the Low Countries and – although this is only touched upon in this study – in Prussia and Livonia.

In this study, I have shown that the *Croniken* was written in various phases, the most substantial of which can be dated around 1480 and around 1491.[1288] Additionally, I have shown that manuscript **We$_1$**, now kept at the Central Archive of the Teutonic Order in Vienna, shows signs of authorial presence; the presence of meaningful editorial amendments, evidence that source texts were directly used in the creation of the manuscript, and, though less directly significant, the relationship to all other manuscripts containing the *Croniken*, and some codicological information, all make clear that manuscript **We$_1$** has to be classified as an 'author's copy': a manuscript written by or in close collaboration with the author himself.[1289] These determinations allow us situate the creation of the text in its historical context with much more precision than has been possible before.

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[1286] This transformational period is characterized by the fact that there is a growing consciousness amongst the brethren of their noble status; the management of the order's possessions is increasingly aimed at maintaining a corresponding lifestyle. Simultaneously, the original vocation of the order was fading into the background. Regarding this period: Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen'; Mol, 'Hospice of the German Nobility'.

[1287] In this way, the *Croniken* builds on the arguments put forward in the Teutonic Order regarding their role and origin during the fifteenth century: a strong historic link with nobility from the Holy Roman Empire; a continuining responsability to care for the lands they had converted into Christendom; and the fact that the fate of the order should be equalled with the fate of Christianity as a whole. Souhr, 'Von jeher Fredeschilt'.

[1288] Chapter 2.3.

[1289] Chapter 2.4.

Manuscript **We$_1$** was written by the notary public Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen, whose hand also appears in more than two dozens of land charters from the Utrecht bailiwick (dating from 1479 to 1509) and in a manuscript of the Middle Dutch translation of the *Sachsenspiegel* (dated around 1499–1500) which was owned by at least two sixteenth-century land commanders in Utrecht. In all likelihood he was the personal secretary of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen. Although Hendrik van Vianen still worked for the Teutonic Order on a few occasions after Drongelen's death in 1492, including the completion of the *Croniken*, most of his work as scribe was on behalf of Johan van Drongelen. It is only a year before Drongelen's death that Hendrik van Vianen demonstrably started to pursue a career as notary public. Vianen was probably also responsible for the entire production process of manuscript **We$_1$**; the codicological and palaeographical evidence suggests that the various tasks, such as writing, rubrication, and preparing the quires, were all executed by a single person. In addition, there are also some distinct similarities with the physical characteristics of the *Sachsenspiegel* manuscript which Vianen composed several years later, further corroborating the hypothesis that he was responsible for the production of manuscript **We$_1$** (chapters 2 and 3).

A computational analysis of the stylistic characteristics of the text has allowed me to establish with a reasonable degree of probability that Hendrik van Vianen was responsible for translating the privileges that are included in the *Croniken* into Middle Dutch. He may further occasionally have been involved in the creation of the content, and is the most likely candidate for the authorship of the last chapter of the *Croniken*, on the life of Johan van Drongelen, which was written following the death of the land commander, as well as of some other late amendments to the text. His employer Johan van Drongelen, however, is the person whose profile fits that of the author of the *Croniken* the best. All evidence suggests that he was the prime instigator of the *Croniken*, who collected the sources and wrote most of the text. The exact nature of the collaboration between Drongelen and Vianen is difficult to apprehend, but, based on palaeographic and codicological evidence, must have been very close.

Little is known about the person of Hendrik van Vianen, but much more can be said about Johan van Drongelen. Throughout his career as a knight-brother of the Utrecht bailiwick, Drongelen showed great ambition. In Schelluinen, the first commandery he administered, he invested significant sums of his own private money to renovate and extend the buildings of the commandery, which long failed to flourish; thus, he created a representable house that generated enough income to support the noble lifestyle of a knight-brother. Later, in Utrecht, he would follow a similar policy, ordering the construction of a more comfortable residence for the land commander. When he took up the office of land commander in 1469, he immediately commenced a reform of the bailiwick. The central components of this reform were a strict regiment, observance of the rules, and the pursuit of a certain level of devotion (even though the latter was fairly modest, and primarily focused on outward appearance). However, the reform was also aimed at considerably reducing the number of knight-brethren and emphasising the knightly stature of the order; as a result, the small number of remaining knight-brethren could enjoy good incomes at one of the commanderies, capable of supporting a costly noble lifestyle. Due to the resulting increased exclusivity of the membership, the recruitment of new knight-brethren could more easily be regulated. Johan van Drongelen made good use of this opportunity, as he attracted new knight-brothers mostly from the County of Holland, his own county of origin, instead of the Duchy of Guelders as had previously often been the case.

Some of the aspirations of Johan van Drongelen were already visible at a young age, when he joined the Teutonic Order in the mid to late 1440s. The list of noblemen and –women he invited to his entry ceremony, in itself a unique document, reads as a who-is-who of aristocratic circles in the County of Holland and the Prince-Bishopric of Utrecht. The genealogical reconstructions suggest that Drongelen was related to most of these noblemen only via his paternal great-grandparents, although it remains unclear how he may have been acquainted with many of these men and women. His direct paternal family background is largely undetermined, and in all likelihood was humbler than the list of invitees would suggest. This is at least clearly the case for his maternal family. The constant changes and additions to his own family coat of arms and the hard to verify family tree that was displayed on the wall in the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht show someone who was highly conscious of his own family background and (potential lack of) full noble roots. It also shows a person who has an intimate knowledge of heraldic symbols and genealogy. In fact, Drongelen gained a reputation in the Northern Low Countries for being an expert in establishing the genealogy of noble families and a regular visitor of the archives where the documents to support such genealogical inquiries could be found (chapter 4).

In these characteristics, Johan van Drongelen indeed matches the person specifications of the author of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, in which the knightly status and genealogical background of the grand masters and land commanders mentioned in the text is frequently highlighted. Furthermore, the analysis of the sources in chapter 3 has revealed that the *Croniken* must have been written by someone with excellent knowledge of where to find and how to employ numerous old texts and documents from various archives. The number of sources used and combined in the *Croniken* is impressive, and shows how ambitious the project must have been.[1290]

The prologue commences with a history of Mount Zion in the Holy Land, where the hospital of the Teutonic Order was supposed to have been established later. Guide books to the Holy Land, as well as the Hospitallers' origin legends provided inspiration for this prologue, for which a selection of biblical texts were used. This included at least one Latin text, Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, but further primarily Middle Dutch history bibles and biblical paraphrases. Johan van Drongelen used Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (the translation of the *Historia scholastica* in verse), the Middle Dutch translation of James of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, the *Northern Netherlands History Bible*, and the *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ*. Furthermore, he used a copy of a series of beautifully decorated Middle Dutch bibles, known as the *Utrecht Bibles*. Since the history of Mount Zion is narrated up to the time of the foundation of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land in 1190, these biblical sources were further complemented by a range of texts

[1290] The forty to fifty sources used by Johan van Drongelen are considerably less than the more than hundred sources mentioned in the *Divisiekroniek*, which was printed in the County of Holland in 1517: C.P.H.M. Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiekroniek van 1517. Historiografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus*. Hollandse studiën 21 (Hilversum: Verloren 1988) 214–215; However, it is much more than other fifteenth and sixteenth century historiographers in the Low Countries, such as the author of the *Kattendijke chronicle* (seven); Heraut van Beyeren (twenty to thirty); the Clerc uten laghen landen (three); and Jan van Naaldwijk (twenty-five): Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk*, 78 (specifically note 29); Verbij-Schillings, *Beeldvorming*, 64–78; The author of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* used only a handful of sources: Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 311–480 (part III, chapter 1).

containing histories of the crusades, including texts by James of Vitry, William of Tyre, Vincent of Beauvais, Oliver of Paderborn, Richard of San Germano, Johannes de Beke, and Ludolf of Sudheim.

For Prussian and Livonian history, Drongelen turned to almost the full range of the standard historiographical repertoire of the Teutonic Order: he used the chronicles of Peter of Dusburg, Nikolaus of Jeroschin, and Aeneas Sylvius, as well as the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, the *De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio* (possibly via Hermann Korner's world chronicle, the *Chronica novella*), the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas*, the *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen*, the *Livländische Reimchronik* and its conjectural continuation, the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*, several other sources on Livonian history, and finally the order's statutes (in Middle Dutch, and possibly in Latin and High German as well).

No single library in Europe had all these texts. Some texts circulated in the Northern Low Countries, that is, close to the Utrecht commandery, but many did not. Several of the crusading texts used for the *Croniken* were better disseminated in the Southern Low Countries, bordering on Northern France. Other texts, such as the extensive list of texts on the history of the Teutonic Order, were available in many places in Prussia and Livonia, but were unlikely to be found in Western Europe. Moreover, the only one of these texts for which evidence exists that it was available in the Holy Roman Empire prior to the *Croniken*'s creation, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, was perused by Drongelen in a version that is found in manuscripts which circulated in Prussia rather than in the Holy Roman Empire. In addition to these narrative sources, numerous archival documents were used, many of which were kept in the bailiwick archive in Utrecht; some, however, seem to have derived from archives of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and perhaps Marburg, Livonia, and the Hanse cities of Bremen and Lübeck. Archival material from the Order of St John may also have been consulted. Johan van Drongelen must therefore have taken advantage of his travels, sometimes far, to collect further materials for his chronicle. While in most cases, the exact origin of the materials used for the *Croniken* must remain uncertain, one location can be determined with reasonable certainty: the town of Marburg in Hesse, over 400 kilometres from Utrecht. Marburg is the place where Drongelen must have gathered various texts relating to the lives of St Elisabeth of Hungary and her brother-in-law Konrad of Thuringia, who became grand master of the Teutonic Order and laid the foundation for the important hospital of the order at Marburg (chapter 3.6, "Saint Elisabeth and the Marburg connection"). While it is possible that Drongelen travelled to Marburg with the sole intent to gather materials for the *Croniken*, it is quite possible that he took advantage of travel for other reasons in order to collect sources; in 1479, for instance, he attended the general chapter in Frankfurt, which may have provided an opportunity to gather texts en route.

The methodology by which Johan van Drongelen combined all these sources into a single account had two principal and opposing tendencies, one inclusive, and one selective. For each historical episode, he tended to combine the various sources that provided accounts. In the majority of cases, this included both a Latin original (e.g., Peter of Dusburg; Vincent of Beauvais) and translations in the vernacular (e.g., Nikolaus of Jeroschin; Jacob van Maerlant). On some occasions such synchronised source texts each provided certain unique details, but this was not always the case. Perhaps a desire to be complete led Drongelen to peruse multiple sources in order to describe a single episode, even when these sources did not significantly complement each other. At the same time, and in an opposing tendency, he

was highly selective in what he chose to include: only a select number of passages of each source text was included in the new chronicle. Having adapted the materials of his sources, he occasionally added sentences of his own, regularly factual or explanatory in nature. The whole process resulted in a remarkably coherent text with numerous internal cross-references and very little duplication. The *Croniken* was put together with great skill.

It is unclear how Johan van Drongelen had acquired the composing and writing skills required to create such a complex historiographical text, or even where he picked up his interest in historiography. However, I have previously shown that Drongelen was connected with a group of well-known and prolific historiographers in the urban centres of the Northern Low Countries, who exchanged texts and manuscripts with each other.[1291] Drongelen was personally acquainted with at least two of these chroniclers, Theodericus Pauli and Johannes a Leydis, and he had asked Pauli to write a chronicle on the Brederode family for him shortly before he started working on manuscript **We$_1$**. There is also reason to believe that the *Croniken* was used as a source to add materials to a chronicle previously written by Leydis, whereas works by Pauli may have been used for the *Croniken*.

There is some evidence that the *Croniken* was not the only chronicle Drongelen wrote. This is suggested by a near identical passage in two chronicles, the *Brederode Chronicle* by Johannes a Leydis and the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Johan Veldener in Utrecht in 1480, which combines a translation of Werner Rolevinck's world chronicle with, and those are of interest here, a selection of regional chronicles. In the passage as presented in the *Brederode Chronicle*, Leydis states that Johan van Drongelen told him about having visited archives to corroborate claims of ancestry of the Brederode family; in the *Fasciculus temporum* Drongelen's name is replaced by the first person singular.[1292] Interestingly enough, I have also found further evidence of links between the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* and the *Croniken*. A now lost codex containing a handwritten version of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, the only known handwritten version of the text, also contained the entire *Croniken* (manuscript **[Al-Sc]**). Another codex with the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* contained a description of Livonia.[1293] Last but not least, the *Fasciculus temporum*, printed in 1480 and thus roughly simultaneous with the first production phase of manuscript **We$_1$**, contains a paragraph that summarizes the information of several chapters of the *Croniken*, mainly from its prologue.[1294] If indeed Johan van Drongelen had written (parts of) the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, in addition to the *Croniken*, the Utrecht land commander was a well-rounded historiographer. Drongelen showed he was capable of writing and researching diverse texts such as an intricate history of his own religious order; regional histories intended for a broader audience; and genealogical enquiries. Such a broad skill set fits well with the complex nature of the *Croniken* that I have presented in this study: the large number of sources from various locations; the way these sources are actually used in the chapters, often combining several sources at once; and the coherent and consistent way the chronicle was presented as a whole (chapter 3).

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[1291] Regarding this group of historiographers: Stapel and De Vries, 'Leydis, Pauli, and Berchen revisited'.
[1292] Chapter 4.3, "Historiography".
[1293] Chapter 2.1.
[1294] Chapter 2.3.

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The specific circumstances under which the *Croniken* was written led to a work that was rather different from previously existing Teutonic Order chronicles.[1295] First, in contrast to the vast majority of these chronicles, the *Croniken* was composed in the Holy Roman Empire and by someone very familiar with historiographical traditions existing in Northwest Europe. Second, as I have argued, the emergence of the *Croniken* and contemporary historiography of other military orders is linked to the activities of the Order of St John. Only shortly before work on manuscript **We$_1$** began, the Order of St John had initiated an unprecedented campaign to publicize their success in defending Rhodes – eliciting responses from competing military orders across Europe.

In order to describe the order's historical role in fighting heathen enemies, Johan van Drongelen was not able to use the history of the local houses of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht. The main function of these houses was to generate revenue and recruit brethren in service of the military campaigns, and to offer pastoral care in the numerous churches the brethren served. A focus on either of the Prussian or the Livonian branch of the order, like Peter of Dusburg or the author of the *Livländische Reimchronik* had done, was not obvious from the standpoint of one of the bailiwicks. Drongelen, therefore, had to use a different template for his chronicle, which he found in the genre of the *gesta*, structuring the narrative by focussing on a sequence of officeholders. From all the sources at his disposal Drongelen carefully crafted a partly factual, partly fictitious, uninterrupted sequence of the successive holders of the highest office in the order, the grand masters, accompanied by an elaborate grounding of the order's history in biblical and crusade narratives, which in effect belittled the origins of the Order of St John. Such a template emphasized continuity, and imparted an impression of venerable antiquity onto the order, thus legitimizing the order's existence. In an age when the order's authority and legitimacy was under severe challenge in the Baltic region, such legitimization became increasingly important. It is no coincidence that following the loss of all power in Prussia in 1525, when Grand Master Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach turned Prussia in a secular duchy under Polish crown, the dissemination of the *Croniken* surged.

Drongelen's new template for the order's historiography was an innovation in the order's traditions of historical writing. Even the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (Older Grand Masters Chronicle) does not focus very strongly on the office of the grand masters, despite its (nineteenth-century) name. The only existing texts that did, the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik* and the grand masters' catalogues, were important source of inspiration for the *Croniken*, but themselves much shorter and more limited, geographically for instance, in scope. Given the popularity of *gestae* which focused on sequences of officeholders of the Teutonic Order in the sixteenth century (e.g., the *Kleine Meisterchronik*; Gregor

[1295] For the following, see chapter 3.2, "A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history".

Spieß' *Chronica der teutzchen maister*; the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*; and of course the *Croniken* itself), the structure of the *Croniken* has a particular appeal to its audience.

In fact, the chronicle may have been targeted at several audiences. First and foremost, judging from the language and the inclusion of the bailiwick chronicle, the *Croniken* must have been intended to appeal to the brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick. By adding the bailiwick chronicle at the end of the chronicle Johan van Drongelen created the impression that the bailiwick was part of something much larger: a legendary order with firm roots in biblical times and with a proven track record in Prussia and Livonia. In that sense the *Croniken* served a local purpose: some of its messages, such as the spiritual content of the prologue, the emphasis on the knightly status of the order, the order's track record of close corroboration with important members of society, an aversion to internal conflict and disobedience, but also to excessively stringent officials, and the overt legitimization of the order's perpetual land ownership (even though the battles against the heathens had become a matter of the past), will have served an audience of brethren in the bailiwick well. Drongelen's aforementioned reform program which focused on exclusivity and knightly status, modest devotion, and obedience, is mirrored by much of the content of the *Croniken*.[1296] Furthermore, during the years prior to when the *Croniken* was written, the Utrecht bailiwick gave shelter to several brethren who had returned, often disillusioned, from Prussia. Besides the high costs and internal friction their return to the bailiwick caused,[1297] these brethren brought home stories and experiences of their stay in Prussia and Livonia.[1298] This will have reinforced the perception that the brethren in the bailiwick were part of a wider organization that was, or at least had been, actively engaged in military action. However, by the mid-1470s the last of these brethren had died, causing a need for the brethren to find other means for keeping the memory of their own history alive.

There are significant indications, however, that the *Croniken* was at the same time aimed at a much larger audience, well beyond the confines of the Utrecht bailiwick.[1299] This can be deduced from the ways in which some particular sources were used in the *Croniken*. Very few sources were incorporated word-for-word in the *Croniken*. However, texts about the Teutonic Order that were seldomly used as sources for other chronicles of the order, were more likely to be included in their entirety by Drongelen. Examples are the *Bericht Hermann von Salzas* and *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen*. Other, better known chronicles were greatly abridged. Drongelen deliberately chose to recount in full those narratives which were not already included in the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg, its translation by Nikolaus of Jeroschin, and its fifteenth-century prose adaptation, the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. This appears to be an indication that Drongelen also had an audience in mind that knew the narratives presented in texts like those by Dusburg and Jeroschin, and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. This type of audience was unlikely to be found in the Utrecht bailiwick: although I have shown that the brethren in the bailiwicks, including probably Utrecht, were not as deprived from

[1296] See chapter 4.3, "Career".
[1297] Mol, 'Crisis in the bailiwicks?'.
[1298] Compare for instance *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.646, c.701.
[1299] For the following, see chapter 3.6, "Dynamics of exchange".

the rich tradition of historical texts by the Teutonic Order as a quick examination of the dissemination of the manuscripts would suggest, it is not likely that these brethren were as well versed in the full range of the order's chronicles as the brethren in Prussia and Livonia.

Furthermore, all the various privileges and indulgences included in the *Croniken* have a general purpose, applying to all the brethren of the order in Europe. Privileges applicable exclusively to the Utrecht bailiwick, even important ones, are not mentioned, even though they were available to Drongelen and Vianen in the bailiwick's archives. The choice to include documents pertaining to the entire order, but omit those relating to the bailiwick only, suggests that Drongelen may have been deliberately aiming his text at a general audience in the Teutonic Order too, and not merely at the brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick.[1300] Likewise, the list of Prussian and Livonian possessions of the order at the end of the grand masters' part underscores the author's perspective of the order, which was, at least for a large part, orientated on the Baltic region. We know that the *Croniken* was disseminated in Prussia and Livonia very soon after the completion of the chronicle. It may be possible that such a quick and widespread dissemination of the text was envisaged by Johan van Drongelen from the very start of the project, although it is hard to say whether this was actually carried out. Problematic in this regard is the fact that Johan van Drongelen died in 1492, leaving behind a manuscript that was nearly finished.

[1300] Note that the Low German language spoken in Livonia, where, based on the current evidence, the dissemination of the *Croniken* outside the Utrecht bailiwick may first have started (chapter 2.1), is rather similar to Middle Dutch. Especially the Livonian manuscript **Ta** is orthographically close to the Middle Dutch manuscripts of the *Croniken*: "Dyth ist dat prologus vann Duitschenn Orden vann Unnser Leven Frouwen van Jherusalem, dat erste fundamente, und begin vann Croniken van den Duitschen Orden van der Ritterschap van der huise unnd hospitael Unnser Leven Frouwen van Jherusalem, dair Unnse Leve Frouwe und moder goitz Maria in wonde": Tartu, UR, Mscr. 154, f. 1r; "Dit is dat prologus van der Duytscher Oirden van Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem, dat yerste fundament ende beginne van den Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden van der ridderscap van den huse ende hospitael Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem, daer Onse Lieve Vrouwe die moeder gods Maria in woenden": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.75.

## Dissemination and reception

The dissemination of the *Croniken*, especially in regard to the extant German manuscripts, is a predominantly sixteenth-century affair and takes off after 1525 (Appendix, Figure A.29). The *Croniken* is currently known in several variations, traditionally divided in a Middle Dutch branch, a Livonian or Low German branch, and a Prussian or High German branch. The Utrecht bailiwick chronicle is included in all Middle Dutch manuscripts, but present in none of the German manuscripts (where it is sometimes replaced by other, locally significant texts). At what point it was omitted, is unclear. There are also two adaptations, also without a bailiwick chronicle, both in High German, by the Waiblingen brothers and by Christoph Jan Weissenfels, although in both cases it is unclear to what extent these chronicles were adapted in comparison to other manuscripts of the *Croniken*.

The Middle Dutch and German traditions have not interacted with each other and were, it seems, separated from each other when Hendrik van Vianen was still working on manuscript **We$_1$** – but after Johan van Drongelen's death in 1492.[1301] The later additions to manuscript **We$_1$**, which were made by Hendrik van Vianen, including amendments to the list of Prussian and Livonian cities and commanderies, are present in all German manuscripts of the *Croniken* that were produced in Prussia and Livonia, but absent in the extant Middle Dutch copies of the text. It is possible that an early copy of manuscript **We$_1$**, which formed the basis of the further Middle Dutch tradition, was made before the new content was added to the author's copy. It should also be noted that no copies of manuscript **We$_1$** were made after that. We also know that manuscript **We$_1$** was present in both Mergentheim in Franconia and the Alden Biesen bailiwick in the seventeenth century. Possibly, the manuscript was no longer present in the Utrecht bailiwick. In the Utrecht bailiwick the *Croniken* functioned as a book of reference or archive. It was not kept in the library, but instead along with administrative documents and copies of the order's statutes.[1302] In addition, the *Croniken* may have been used in an indulgence campaign to support the campaign of the master of Livonia against the schismatic Russians. At least three, possibly four Middle Dutch copies were written between circa 1508 and circa 1509–10, simultaneous with the sale of indulgences in the Low Countries. The oldest of those manuscripts, manuscript **Ge**, was used – directly or indirectly – as an exemplar for the other copies, manuscripts **Ut$_1$** and the conjectural manuscript **[Ma$_1$]** used by Antonius Matthaeus for his edition of the *Croniken* published in 1710. There have been other, complete, manuscripts of the *Croniken* in Middle Dutch: manuscript **[Al-Sc]** that was mentioned earlier, and possibly manuscripts **[Mx]**, **[Wa]**, **[Ws$_1$]**, and **[Ws$_2$]**.[1303] All of these are presumed lost.[1304]

It is impossible to determine when or how exactly the *Croniken* came to circulate in Prussia and Livonia. Between the final production phase of manuscript **We$_1$**, to be dated after Johan van Drongelen's death in 1492 and possibly as late as 1496, and the first unequivocal use of the text in the Baltic region by the Waiblingen brothers in 1528, very little is known about the fate of the text. There are some possible indications of earlier dissemination: the *Croniken* may have

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[1301] The chapter (c.774) that describes Johan van Drongelen's death is included in all extant complete Middle Dutch *Croniken* manuscripts.
[1302] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 53.4. See Appendix, A.2 (book inventories).
[1303] And, in addition, a number of manuscripts containing only partial transcripts, most often of the bailiwick chronicle.
[1304] For the dissemination of the Middle Dutch *Croniken* manuscripts, see chapter 2.1, "Dissemination in the Low Countries".

been used in Livonia in 1508 by the author of *Eynne schonne hysthorie*.[1305] A schematic representation of the grand masters' coats of arms, difficult to date, but possibly produced in Prussia in the late fifteenth century, mirrors those drawn in the manuscripts of the *Croniken*.[1306] When in 1528 the Waiblingen brothers, who were stationed near Königsberg in Prussia, sent their adaptation of the *Croniken* to Austria, the *Croniken* may therefore already have been known in Prussia for a substantial amount of time. In 1530, Adrian von Waiblingen travelled to the German master in Mergentheim, Franconia, and it is likely that he brought another copy of his *Croniken* adaptation with him; it was subsequently used by the chancellor of the German master, Gregor Spieß, for his chronicle of the German masters, which was completed in 1531. Franconia was the primary focus of dissemination of the Waiblingen brothers' text: almost all of the manuscript copies of the Waiblingen adaptation that can be located were produced in Franconia. Also significant is that, from the current locations of the extant manuscripts, it seems that most were produced for use by brethren of the Teutonic Order.[1307] By this stage in the dissemination, the chronicle had become known as the "Prussian chronicle"; the bailiwick chronicle was omitted – perhaps already at an early stage in the *Croniken*'s dissemination to Prussia and Livonia – and all references to the Utrecht bailiwick were lost; when the first evidence of dissemination of the *Croniken* emerges, in 1528, the chronicle had already spread from the Low Countries, to Northeastern Europe, and then to Central Europe, and the hallmarks of its provincial origin had been erased.[1308]

In Prussia and Livonia, the dissemination of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* was hardly influenced by the adaptation of the Waiblingen brothers. There are two branches, one Livonian and one Prussian; one written in Low German, the other in High German. Most of the extant manuscripts were either copied around the middle of the sixteenth century, or in the last quarter; that is well after the order had lost Prussia (1525), and uninterrupted by the loss of Livonia (1561). In contrast to the manuscripts that contain the Waiblingen adaptation, or the Middle Dutch manuscripts, there are few indications that the manuscripts were used in the environment of the Teutonic Order. [1309] Rather, most manuscripts, at least when this can be determined, were owned by citizens of the urban centres in the Baltic region or, in the case of some Livonian manuscripts, by the secular nobility. Given that by that time Lutheranism had spread to these cities, many of these owners were of Lutheran faith.[1310] In fact, a significant number of manuscripts can be traced to persons associated with the Lutheran university of Wittenberg. One of these manuscripts, manuscript

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[1305] See chapter 2.1, "General overview".

[1306] See chapter 3.2, "A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history".

[1307] The vast majority of the Waiblingen manuscripts are currently held in archives in Vienna, Ludwigsburg, Stuttgart, and Berlin, all of which locations where documents belonging to the Teutonic Order are known to have ended up after the secularization under Napoleon.

[1308] For the Waiblingen brothers and the evidence presented in this paragraph, see chapter 2.1, "General overview".

[1309] In fact, only the Livonian manuscripts **St** and **Ta** were likely produced in an area where the Teutonic Order was still in power. There is little evidence that both manuscripts were used by brethren of the order though; a user of manuscript **Ta** showed an interest in the privileges of the order, which may, perhaps, imply that he was a brother. Later in the sixteenth century, both manuscripts were owned by the secular nobility in Livonia. In theory, the Prussian manuscripts **$Vi_1$** and **$Vi_2$**, which I have not been able to date clearly, but were written somewhere in the sixteenth century, may have been produced before the secularization of Prussia in 1525.

[1310] Regarding the Reformation in Prussia and Livonia: A. Mentzel-Reuters and B. Jähnig eds., *Preußen und Livland im Zeichen der Reformation*. Tagungsberichte der Historischen Kommission für Ost- und Westpreußische Landesforschung 28 (Osnabrück: Fibre 2014).

**Pr**, has a leather binding stamped with medallions of, amongst other, Melanchthon, Luther, and John Frederick I, the Elector of Saxony.

A further adaptation, made in 1550 by Christoph Jan Weissenfels, survives in thirteen manuscripts. Almost all of these manuscripts can be traced to the city of Königsberg. In Königsberg Paul Pole had used the *Croniken* for his own chronicle in 1530, as did Johannes Freiberg in 1544/5. Both Weissenfels and the Waiblingen brothers also lived and worked in and around the city; evidently, Königsberg was a major centre of early reception and dissemination of the *Croniken*. Yet, there are reasons to believe that the chronicle first circulated in Livonia rather than in Prussia. All of the German manuscripts whose content we have been able to study include a list of cities and castles in the possession of the archbishop of Riga (the largest city of Livonia) – added to the list of Livonian and Prussian commanderies of the Teutonic Order already existing in manuscript **We$_1$**. Improvements to the list of Prussian commanderies can only be found in some Prussian manuscripts, suggesting such additions were only entered after the Prussian dissemination of the text had become independent of the Livonian.

Due to time constraints, the exact affiliation of all the German manuscripts and adaptations of the *Croniken* cannot be examined in this study, nor have I been able to look into the nature of the adaptations (or continuations?) by the Waiblingen brothers or Christoph Jan Weissenfels and their resemblance to other manuscripts of the *Croniken*. Proper study of how a late medieval chronicle of a Catholic military order, which is critical of the citizens of Prussia because of their role in the Thirteen Years' War (1454-1466), functioned in early modern urban and Lutheran environments, and how its message may have been altered for new audiences, remains a desideratum. The *Croniken* proved to be an attractive text for not only the citizens of Prussian and Livonian towns, but also secular noblemen in Prussia and Livonia perhaps because the Teutonic Order, regardless of its conflicts with the citizenry, formed a part of the history of these regions that could not be ignored. The *Croniken* provided an account of that part of their local history, and the sanctity and eminence of the order, described as having originated in biblical times and acting as a true defender of Christian faith, may have been felt to reflect well onto the people in Prussia and Livonia.

Nevertheless, the text was intended to defend the interests of the Teutonic Order, and the adaptation by the Waiblingen brothers maintained that goal. Indeed, specific historical circumstances that occasioned the three Waiblingen brothers, knight-brethren in Prussia, to adapt a chronicle of the Teutonic Order in 1528. Just three years earlier, Grand Master Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach had converted to Lutheranism, and had reformed the remaining possessions of the Teutonic Order in Prussia into a secular duchy under the Polish crown. The Waiblingen brothers, confronted with this situation, were forced to reconsider their allegiances, but it soon becomes clear that they were no strong supporters of the new duke. Even before the secularization their careers had been held back under Grand Master Albrecht of Brandenburg and we know that Adrian von Waiblingen for a long time refused to pay homage to the new duke. A few years later, the brothers were forced to lay down their habits, and they returned to the duke's service, and kept a low profile. At the same time, however, they corresponded with Walter of Cronberg, the German master and "administrator of the office of grand master", who resided in their home region Franconia. They notified the German master, who was now highest in command in the order, that Prussia had not united behind their new duke and

openly discussed the prospects of a return of the Prussian territory to the Teutonic Order. This was all to little avail and the brothers had no other option than to serve Duke Albrecht of Prussia for the remainder of their lives.[1311]

Against this background the brothers produced their adaptation of the *Croniken*. The adaptation comprises most of the content of the *Croniken* and a continuation until 1525, starting with a few brief chapters bridging the years 1467 and 1511, when Albrecht of Brandenburg took up office as grand master, followed by an increasingly dense account of the Polish-Teutonic War (1519–21) and the final years before the secularization of Prussia. The complete text creates a powerful juxtaposition between the sacred history of the Teutonic Order, especially emphasized by the prologue of the *Croniken*, and the serious misjudgements, in the eyes of the Waiblingen brothers, of Albrecht of Brandenburg at the end of the history. It should be read as an condemnation of his actions, which will have added to the existing attractiveness of the *Croniken*, and which found an eager audience in Germany.[1312]

The ways in which political developments touched the members of the military orders were regularly met with historiographical responses in these years. In 1522 the Hospitallers lost Rhodes to the Ottoman sultan Suleiman I, a few decades after the successful defence of the island territory in 1480, which had been so widely publicized throughout Europe. Additionally, the order was faced with internal conflicts between the different *langues*, growing regionalism, and most inauspiciously of all, threats of secularization of the order's possessions in Europe by the French, Portuguese, and English kings, as well as areas in the Holy Roman Empire affected by the Reformation.[1313] To cope with this existential crisis, the order started a propaganda campaign that could easily rival with that of 1480. In the short period between the loss of Rhodes in 1522 and 1530, the Order of Saint John produced over sixty pamphlets and chronicles which stressed the legitimate work of the order and the importance of its search for a new sovereign territory.[1314] The order combined this media offensive with diplomacy at the European courts and a demonstration of its military capability in the Mediterranean Sea. This tripartite strategy ultimately proved very successful, as they moved to the island of Malta, granted to them by Emperor Charles V, in 1530.

This shows that the military orders in the sixteenth century resorted to increasingly concerted propaganda campaigns to get their message across. At the same time that message evolved as well. In Guillaume Caoursin's propagandistic account of the Siege of Rhodes in 1480, the siege is still very much presented as part of a religious war.[1315] However,

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[1311] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1032–1036.
[1312] Ibid., 1037.
[1313] Mager, *Krisenerfahrung*.
[1314] M. Asche, M. von Hirschheydt and M. Mager, 'Legitimationsdefizite, Bedrohungspotenziale und Bewältigungsstrategien der europäischen Ritterorden in der Krisenzeit der 1520er Jahre – Fallbeispiele und allgemeine Reflexionen', in: R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky eds., *Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten*. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica 16 (2011) 259–302, there 270.
[1315] M. Mager, 'Zwischen Propaganda, Kreuzzugsaufruf und Völkerbeschreibung. Die Funktionalisierung des Türkenbildes geistlicher Ritterorden an der Wende zur Neuzeit am Beispiel der Chronik über die Belagerung von Rhodos (1480)', *Saeculum* 60 (2010) 61–77, there 69; see also M. Ciemienga, 'Das Selbstbild des Johanniterordens zwischen Pragmatismus und Propaganda: der Bericht Guillaume Caoursins über die Belagerung von Rhodos 1480', in: J. Sarnowsky, *Vorstellungswelten der mittelalterlichen Überlieferung. Zeitgenössische Wahrnehmungen und ihre moderne Interpretation*. Nova Mediaevalia 11 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress 2012) 191–206, there 195, 200–203.

Caoursin also describes the siege in more worldly terms: as a struggle between two sovereign powers,[1316] where much attention is paid to the knightly status of the order.[1317] By the 1520s, the wars against the Ottomans were no longer presented primarily as religious wars or crusades, and instead the chivalric prestige of the order and its sovereign authority were emphasized.[1318]

There were only two environments within the Teutonic Order where the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* certainly found an audience: the Utrecht bailiwick – where the chronicle, because of its bailiwick chronicle and its support of the internal reforms, had an important local function – and the bailiwicks in Southern Germany (mainly Franconia), in the more propagandistic version of the Waiblingen brothers. Without the bailiwick chronicle or the additions by the Waiblingen brothers the *Croniken* reached its largest audience in the cities of Prussia and Livonia – outside the influence of the Teutonic Order.

To conclude, the way in which the *Croniken* was spread, copied, and circulated shows how the different branches of the Teutonic Order at the end of the fifteenth century were interacting with each other. Through the detailed analysis of the text a story emerges of how documents and chronicles were perused from Prussia to Marburg and beyond, in order for an ambitious land commander to create a new history of the order in the Low Countries; a history which itself was subsequently transmitted to Livonia, Prussia and, from there, to the High German-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire.

On the one hand the *Croniken* is the product of a highly effective exchange, and, after its completion, became an example of exchange within the order yet again. The chronicle is also, much more than the *Landesgeschichtschreibung* by various authors of the Teutonic Order, from Peter of Dusburg to the author of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, the first attempt to write a history of all branches of the Teutonic Order combined. It propagates unity and obedience under the wise guidance of the grand master.[1319] Yet, on the other hand, its vision of the future is that of an order of celibate noblemen who are entitled to utilize the order's landholdings indefinitely. Such a strategy will not have led to a renewed universal vocation, but only to more particularism, as indeed Drongelen's admittance of new knight-brethren – almost all born, like him, in the County of Holland – shows. This is the tragic paradox of the *Croniken*: rooted within a long-standing regionalist tendency in the Teutonic Order, it uses the order's universal mission to legitimize this tendency only further.

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[1316] Mager, 'Zwischen Propaganda, Kreuzzugsaufruf und Völkerbeschreibung', 76; Ciemienga, 'Selbstbild des Johanniterordens', 196.
[1317] Mager, 'Zwischen Propaganda, Kreuzzugsaufruf und Völkerbeschreibung', 75.
[1318] Asche, Von Hirschheydt and Mager, 'Legitimationsdefizite', 270–272; Mager, *Krisenerfahrung*, 172–173.
[1319] This emphasis is strikingly consistent with the set of reforms issued at the general chapter of the Teutonic Order in March 1480: L. Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen nach dem II. Thorner Frieden. Untersuchungen zur ökonomischen uund ständepolitischen Geschichte Altpreußens zwischen 1466 und 1497*. Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen 9 (Wiesbaden: Steiner 1975) 134–135.

# A Appendices

## A.1 The manuscripts

### Spelling preferences in manuscripts **We$_1$**, **Ge**, **Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**

*Character combination "-ghe-" and "-ge-"*

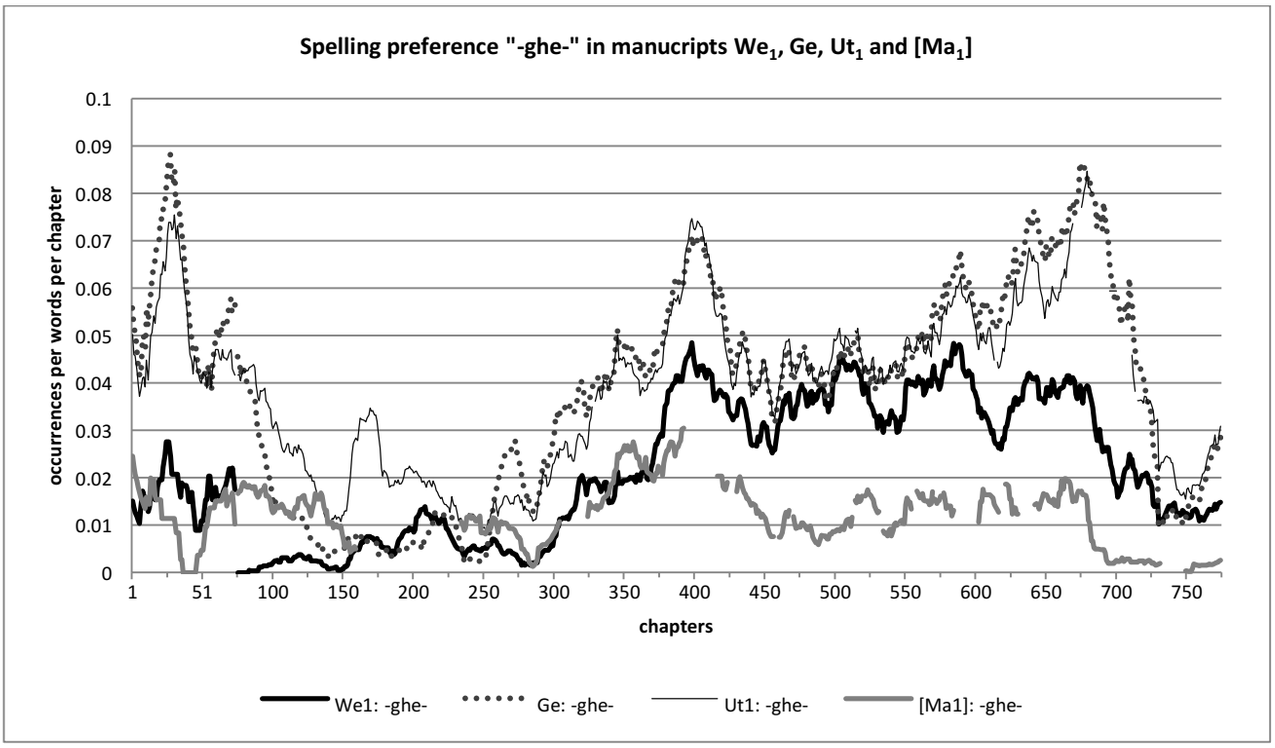


*Figure A.1 Spelling preference "-ghe-" in manuscripts **We$_1$, Ge, Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**.*

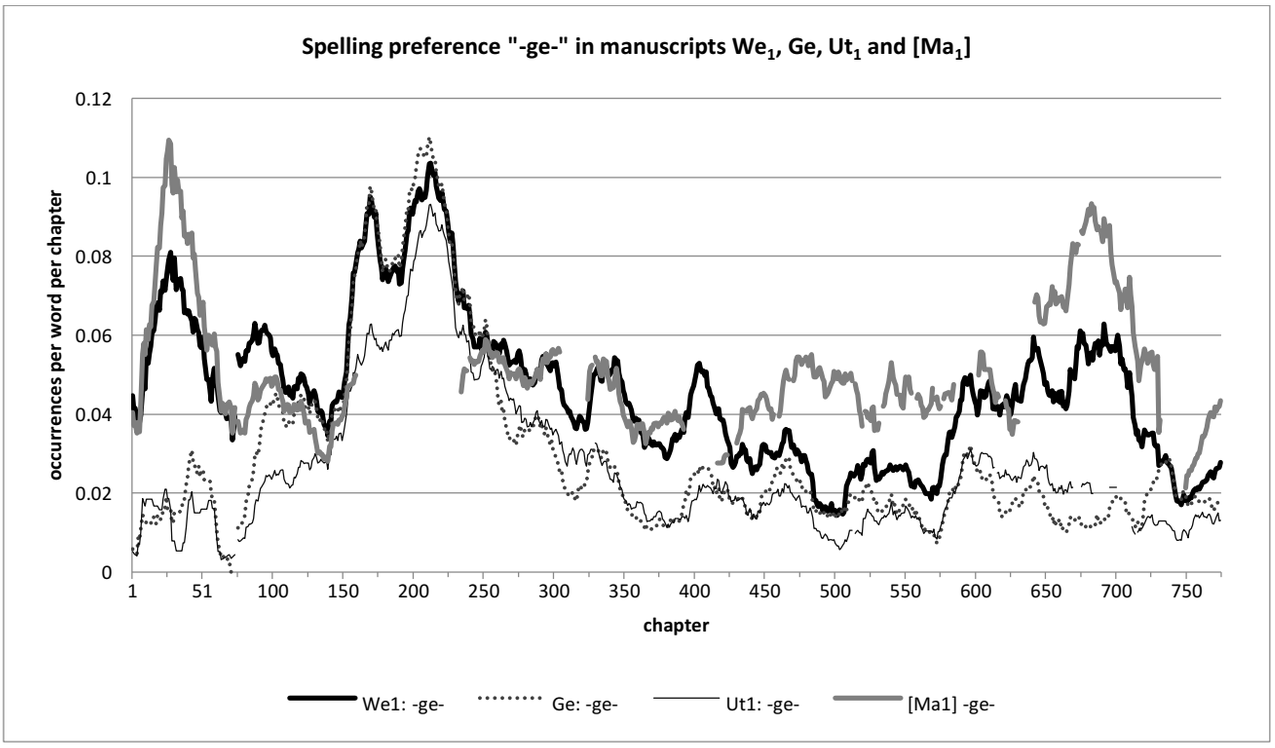


*Figure A.2 Spelling preference "-ge-" in manuscripts **We$_1$, Ge, Ut$_1$** and **[Ma$_1$]**.*

*Diphthongs "-ei-" and "-ey-" (or "-eij-")*

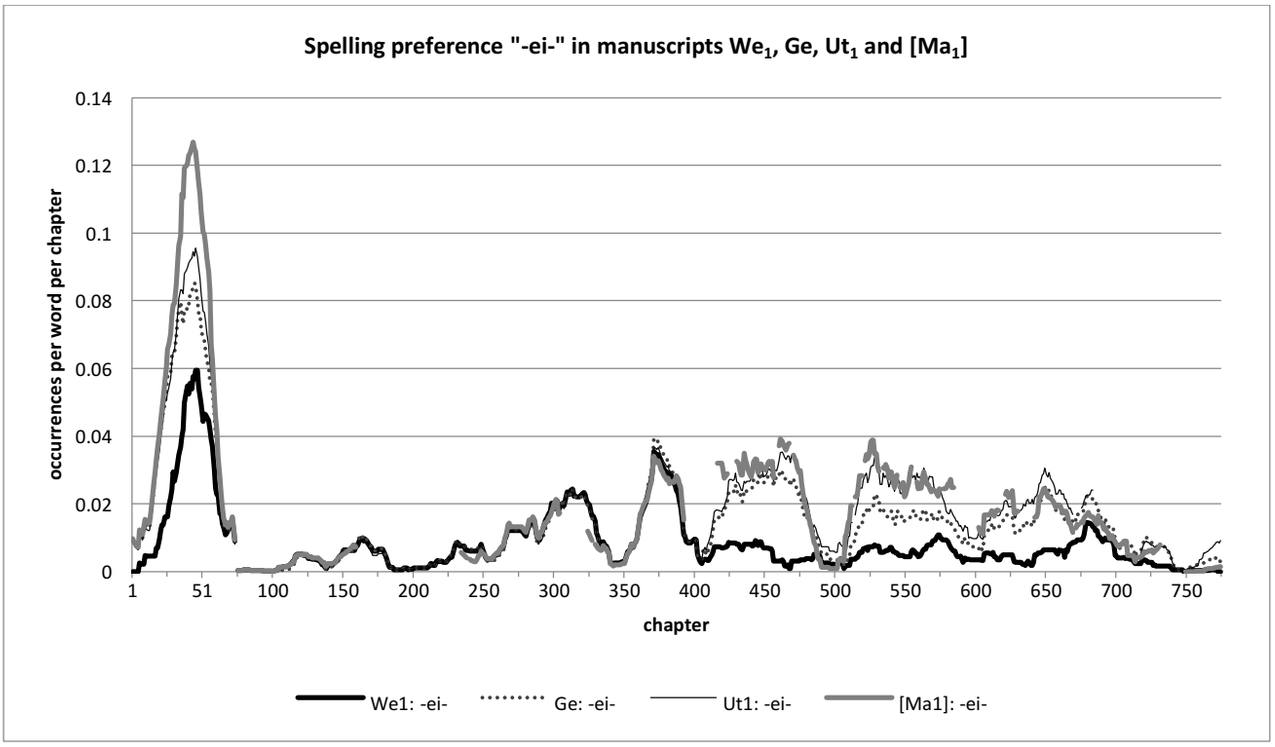


*Figure A.3 Spelling preference "-ei-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

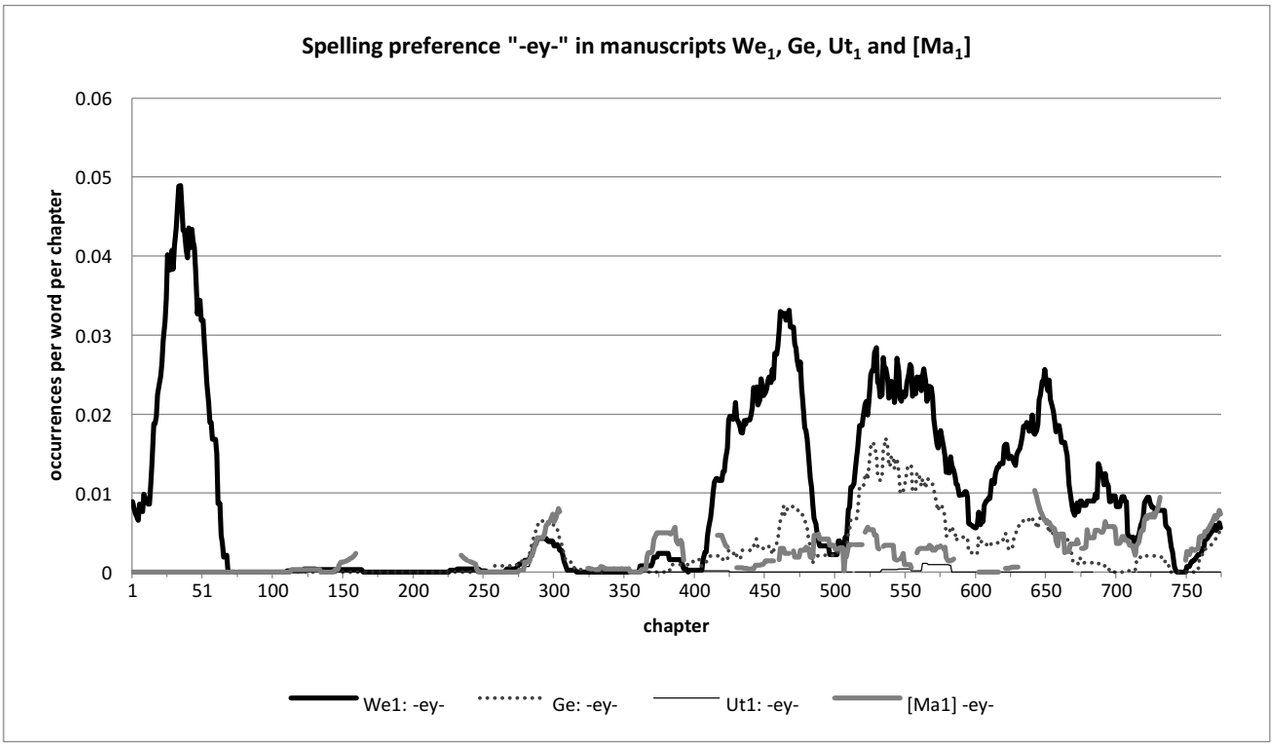


*Figure A.4 Spelling preference "-ey-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

*Spelling of 'brother': "broeder" and "brueder"*

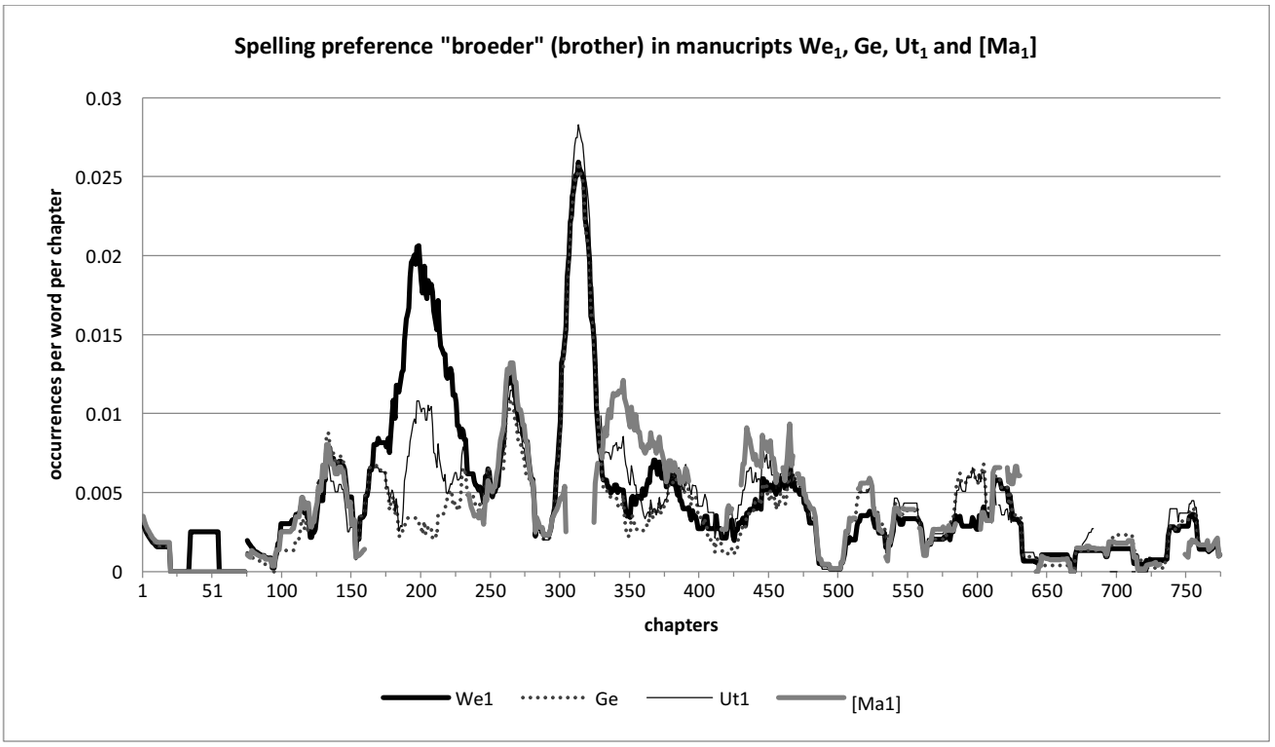


*Figure A.5 Spelling preference "broeder" (brother) in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

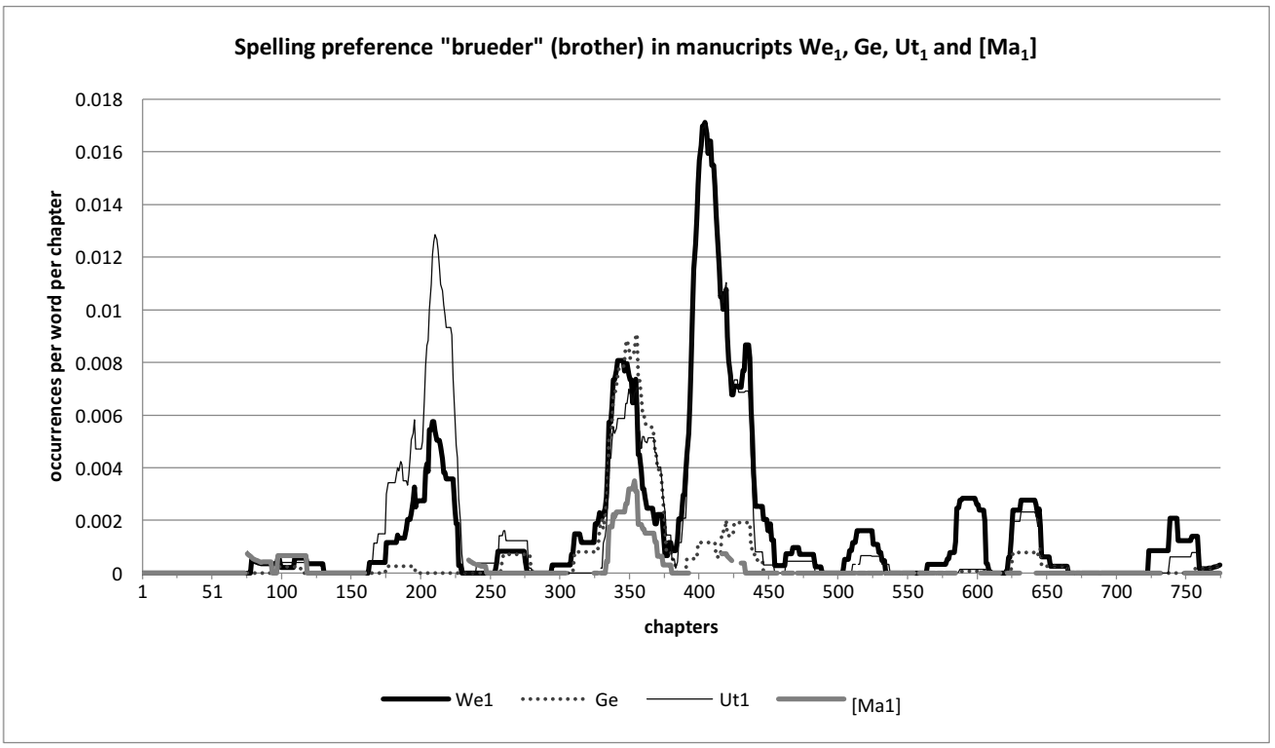


*Figure A.6 Spelling preference "brueder" (brother) in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

*Diphthongs "-oe-", "-oi-" and "-oo-"*

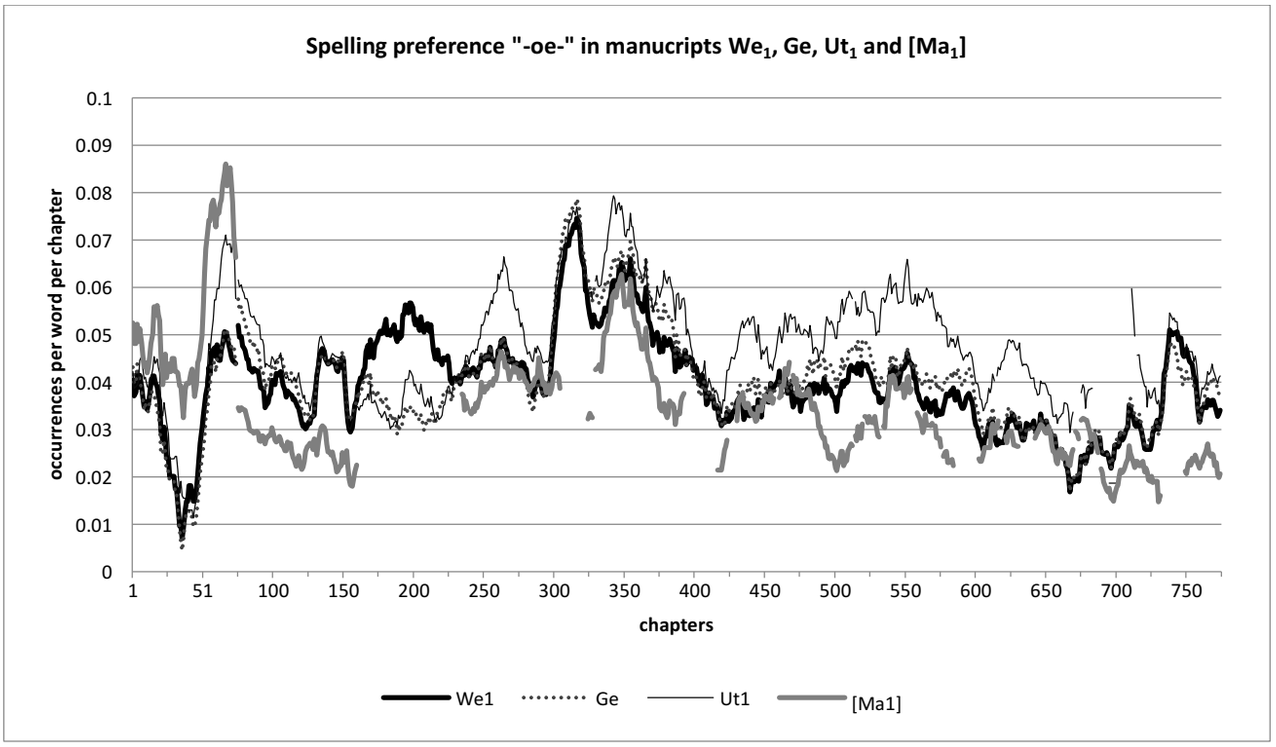


*Figure A.7 Spelling preference "-oe-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

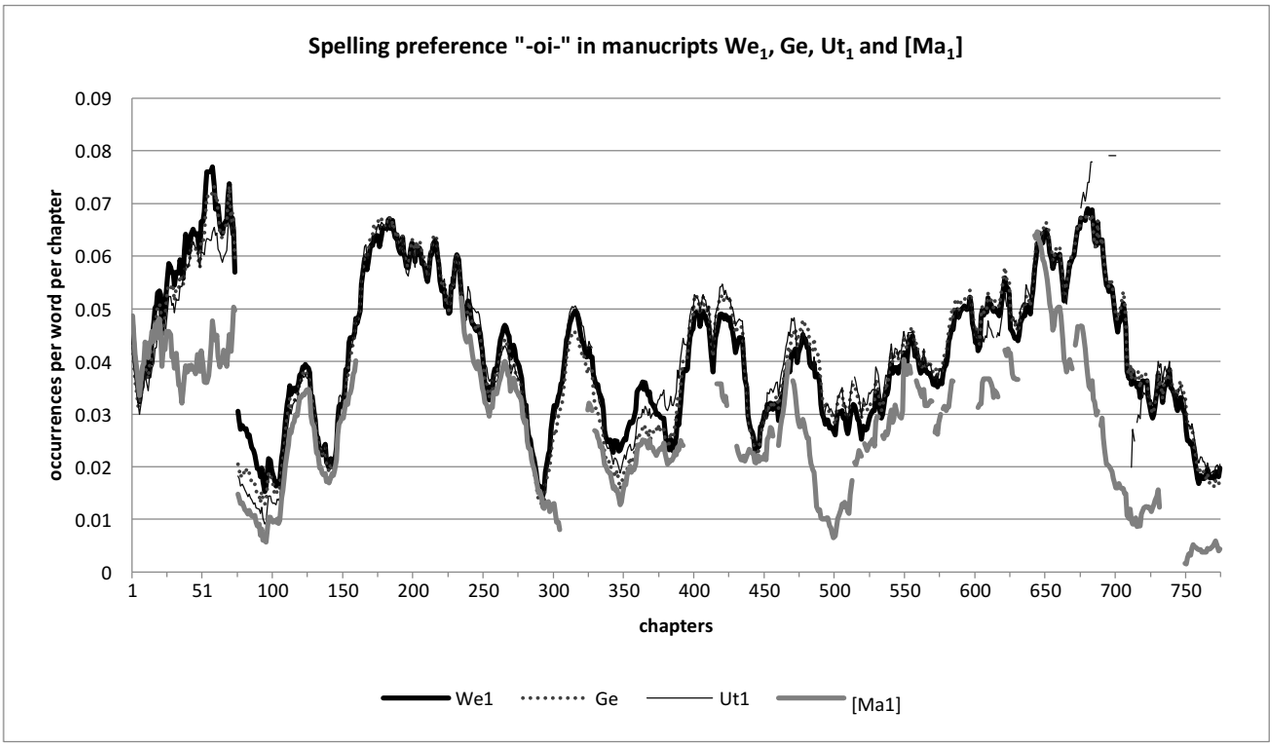


*Figure A.8 Spelling preference "-oi-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

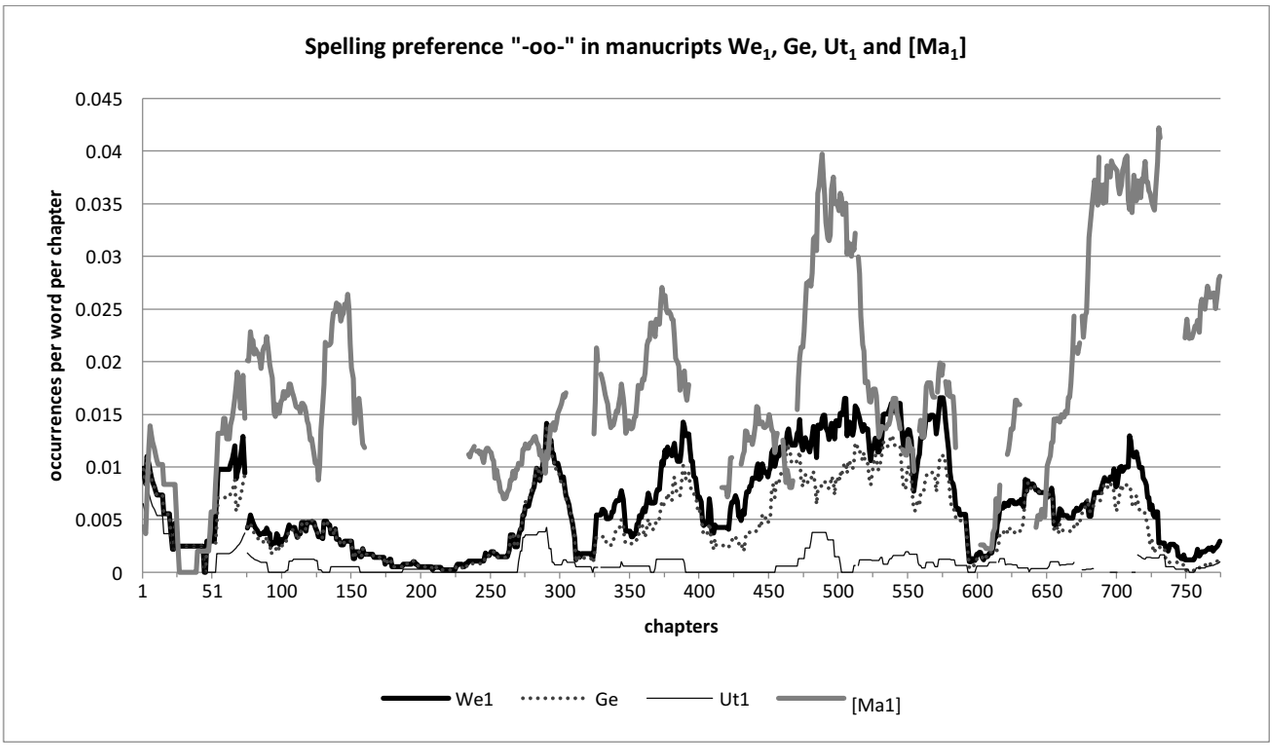


*Figure A.9 Spelling preference "-oo-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

*Diphthongs "-ae-", "-ai-" and "-aa-"*

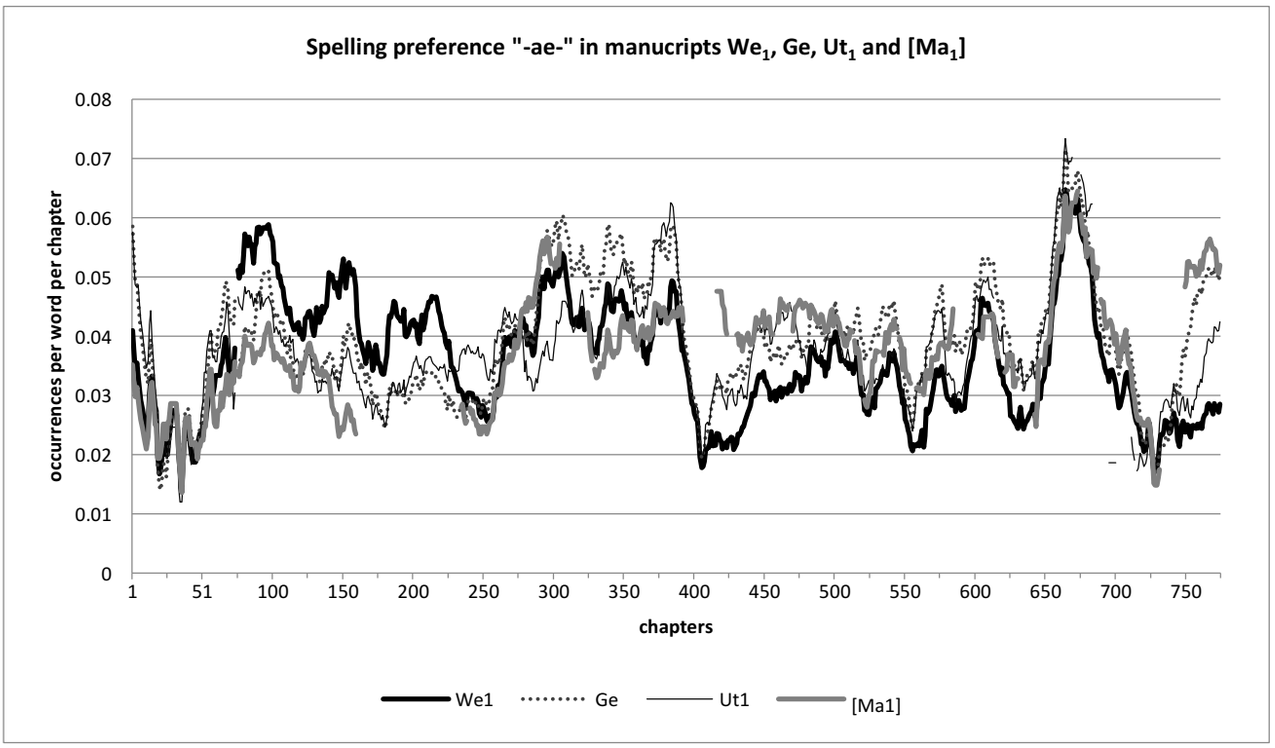


*Figure A.10 Spelling preference "-ae-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

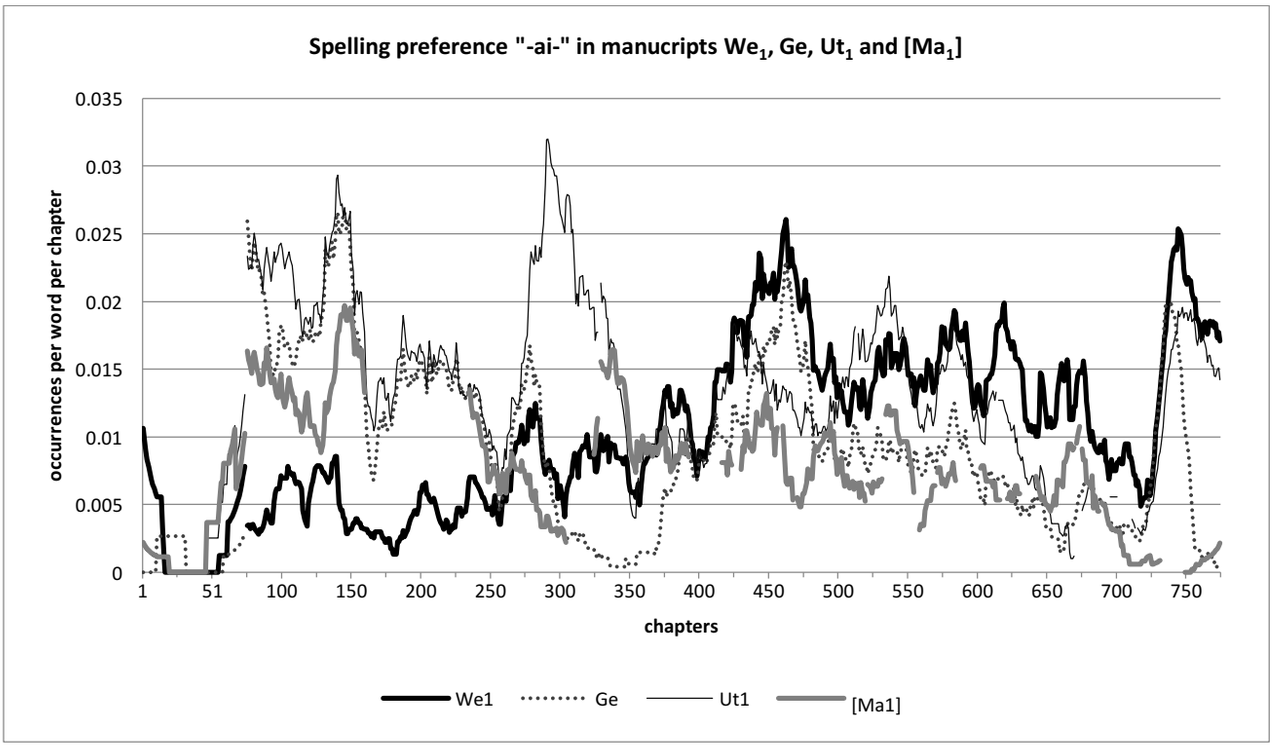


*Figure A.11 Spelling preference "-ai-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

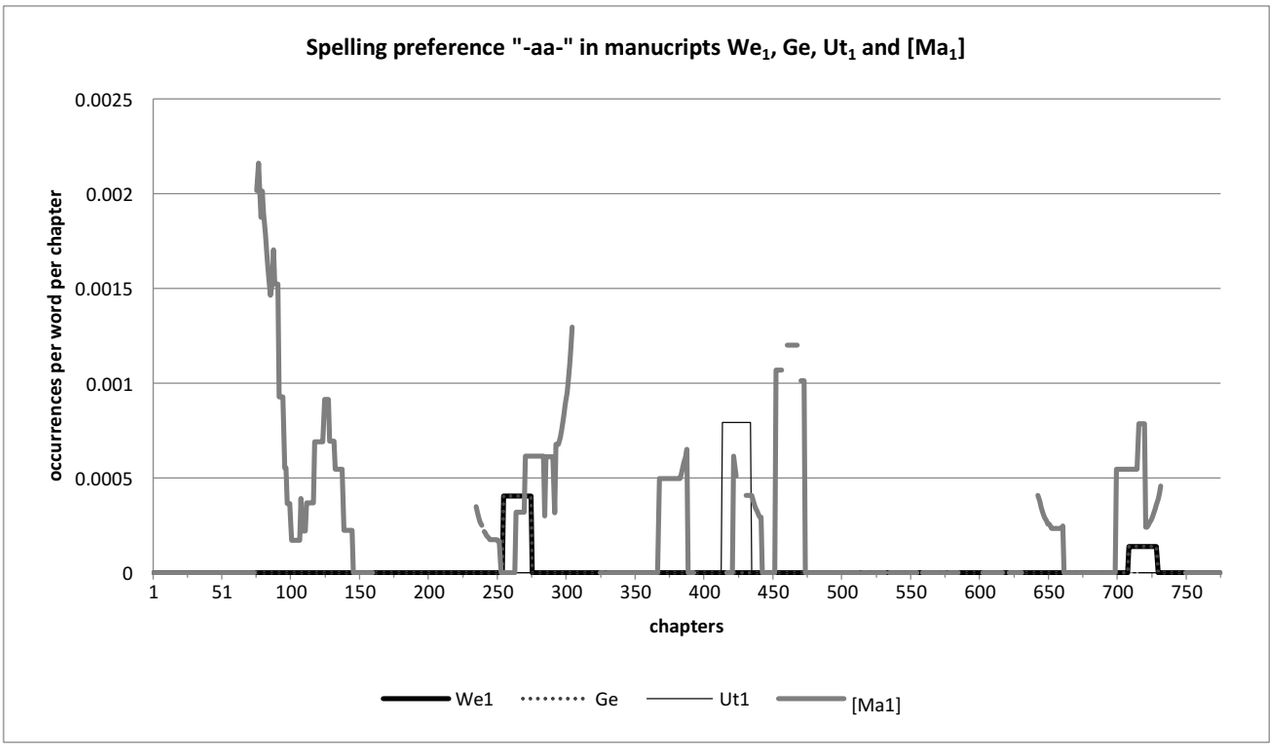


*Figure A.12 Spelling preference "-aa-" in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

*Spelling of 'there': "daer" and "dair"*

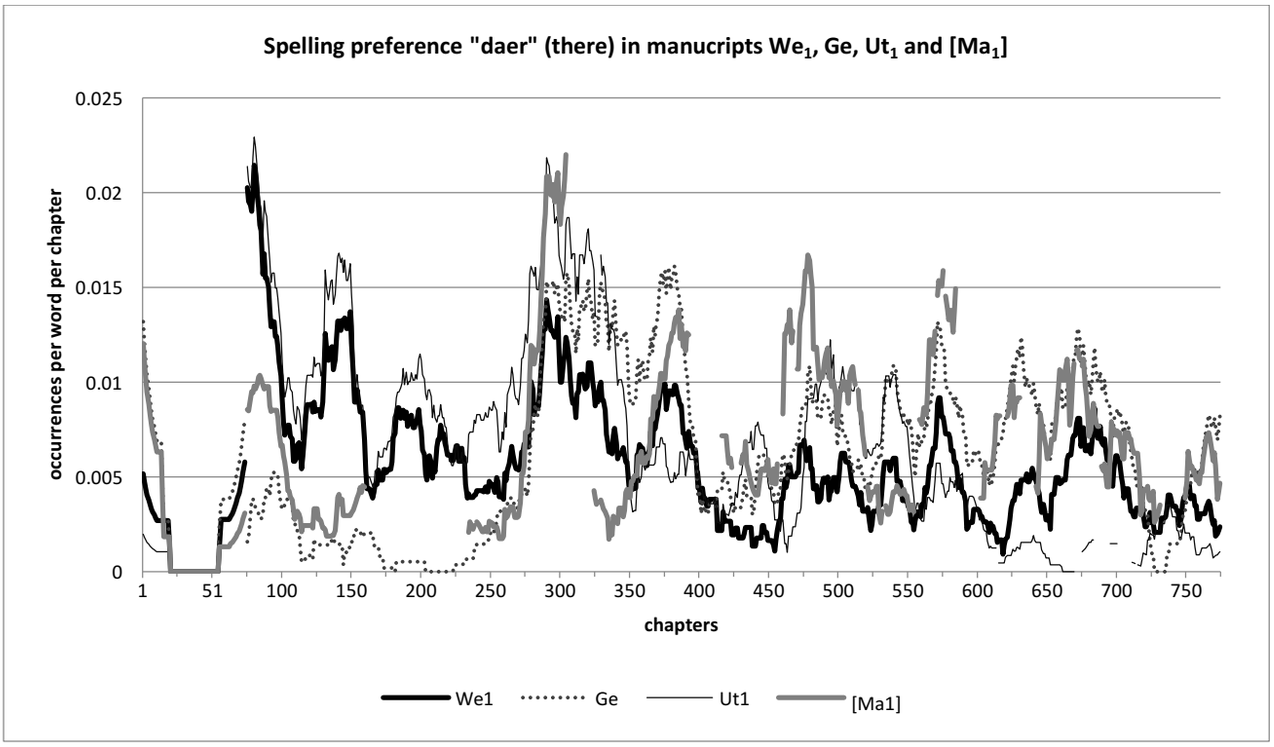


*Figure A.13 Spelling preference "daer" (there) in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

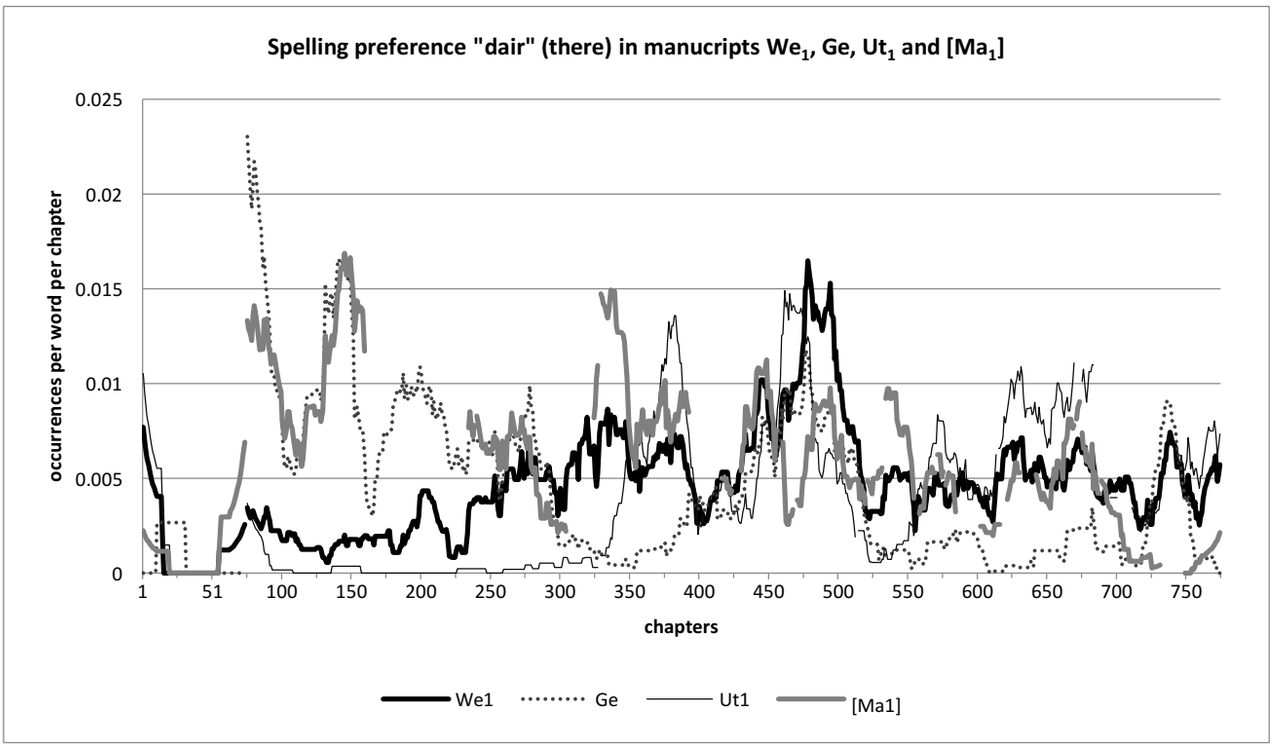


*Figure A.14 Spelling preference "dair" (there) in manuscripts **We₁, Ge, Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.*

## List of editorial amendments

| Chapter | Editorial amendments: ~~deletions~~; additions (not part of the running text: bold); blank space (___) | Reason and circumstances | Category | Adopted by mss.: (mss. St, Ta, Be, Pr only checked on few specific occasions) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **48** | ~~hoif~~ hoichmeister | Both 'hoichmeister' and (much less often) 'hoifmeister' are used in the manuscript | Form? | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **50** | teghens den ~~heidenen~~ Coninck van Polen | The Polish-Lituanian king Władysław II Jagiełło had already converted to Christianity. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **111** | die twe hospitalen van ___ **den tempel** ende van sinte Johan | See Table 2.19. | Content | **St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr**<br>**Ge**: 'onsen vrouwen'<br>**Ut$_1$**,**Ma$_1$**: 'onser liever vrouwen' |
| **214** | Dat gheen broeder sijn habijt sal laten leggen off syn overste ~~onderdaen~~ **rebel sal** wesen | Complete opposite. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**<br>(absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **262** | ende hiet die burch ~~hiet~~ Dabrijn | See Table 2.15. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **266** | dat die ~~biss~~ hertoch | See Table 2.15. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **277, 278** | | Change in the (chronological) order of the chapters (see above). | Content | **St**,**Ta**,**Be**<br>(not: **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **293** | sij werp hem heymelic ~~broot~~ teten in die vangenisse | Not just bread, but more in general food is thrown in the prison. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **353** | dat wij mit goids hulpe dat lant wael behouden ~~souden~~ sellen | Perhaps to avoid rhyme? | Form? | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **404** | Alexander die Vierde ~~gaff~~ **gefft** den brueders | From past to present tense. | Content? | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**<br>(absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **414** | Henricus bisscop van Basiliensis, ___ bisscop van Leodiensis | See Table 2.18. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**,**St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr**<br>(absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **505** | Ende die op ter Tempeliers~~toirnen~~ borch ende op anderen toirnen laghen braken die toirnen van bynnen | | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **508** | Beloopt the samen aen beyden sijden vierhondertdusent ende ~~tses~~ tseventichdusent menschen | Produced and corrected own calculations (not found in source) | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **521** | Quernbormae (?) | See Table 2.16. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**,**St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr** |
| **543, 596** | e~~t~~nde | Change from Latin 'et' to Middle Dutch 'ende' | Language source? | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **549** | aen den ~~paeus~~ heilighen vader den paeus van Romen | See Table 2.13. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**,**St**,**Ta** (**Be**,**Pr**) |
| **549** | Ende daer wert gesloten tot penitencien dat hij in den ewighen ~~daghen~~ kerker sijn leven lanck bliven soude | | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **596** | In enen cristal off in enen anderen ~~cley~~ claren vate | 'cley' short for 'cleynode' (trinket) or 'cleyn' (small)? | Content? Language? | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **596** | Desgelijcx wij oick u van der selver macht verleent hebben alsoe […] Ende ~~ghebieden~~ dat die executores ende conservatores off andere rechteren die u dairtoe gegeven sijn off werden […] | | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**<br>(absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **599** | ~~wenceslaus~~ **karolus** voirscreven | Scraped and superimposed (Table 2.14). | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**,**St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr**<br>(absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **599** | hoir goeden ende dingen in ~~vresen~~ perikelen vromelic stellen | | Content? Language? | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**<br>(absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **647** | ~~e~~Elvinghen | Unclear why Elbląg receives a capital letter here (in red ink) while many surrounding place names do not. | Form? | n/a |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **654** | Soe dede dese voirscreven hoichmeyster Meyster Coenraet van Eerlichusen desen nyen Coninck Casimirus van Polen the gast bidden uut groter vruntscappen tot ___ **Thoren** in des oirdens huis | Originally left blank. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**,**St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr** |
| **654** | dair in hij geloefden gelijck **sijn broeder** voir ghelooft hadde | Forgotten two words, then placed in margin. Not copied in Ge, Ut$_1$ and [Ma$_1$]. | Content | **St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr** (not: **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **654** | Ende ~~elck~~ 't wert aen beyden zijden wael besworen gelijct voir gesciet was | | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**,**St**,**Be**,**Pr** |
| **664** | Ende hij is wederom ghetogen tot onsen heyligen vader den paeus ende heeft hem in ghescrift ~~ghe-set~~ ghebrocht alle punten ende saken […] | | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **690** | soe en waren die hoichmeister off sijn ghebiedeghers op ~~sijne hoede~~ ghene hoede | Complete opposite. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$** (absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **710** | Ende over ___ wagen mit vitalie ende provande | See Table 2.17. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**,**St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr** |
| **719-726** | | Editorial amendments in the list of Livonian commanderies; in less neat handwriting. | Content | **St**,**Ta**,**Be**,**Pr** (not: **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **725** | in des meysters camer twedusent marck aen gelde ende twe ~~ma~~ rijnsgulden sijn drie marck | | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **732** | Ende was heren ___ van Prinshagen ridder sijn soen | A later hand added the name 'Johan'. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$** (absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **741** | hartoch Aelbrecht van ~~Hollant~~ Beyeren, ruwaert van Hollant | | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$** (absent **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **761** | hij dede setten ende tymmeren dat ___ huis van den Biessen | Possibly unsure whether 'Nieuwen Biesen' or 'Alden Biesen' was meant. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |
| **766** | Hij was sorchvoldich om den heren in allen dingen hoir notorft te hebben ~~ende alle dage horen wijn~~ | Scraped. It is unclear who is responsible for scraping the text, possible later change. | Content | (still present in **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**) |
| **774** | ___ **xxiii** jair lanck | Number of years in office of Utrecht Land Commander Johan van Drongelen. | Content | **Ge**,**Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]** |

*Table A.1 List of editorial amendments in manuscript **We$_1$**.*

## A.2 Sources and composition

### List of narrative sources

The narrative sources are thematically arranged. Square brackets signify uncertain classifications.

| Short reference | Author; Common title(s) (when aberrant) | Use in *Cronicken*[1320] | Availability in print[1321] | Manuscript, edition and/or translation used |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Bibles and religious texts** | | | | |
| **Apolda (Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen)** | Dietrich of Apolda: *Vita of Saint Elisabeth* (Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen) | KT | | Rener[1322] |
| **Caesarius of Heisterbach's Sermon** | Caesarius of Heisterbach: *Sermon on the Translation of St. Elisabeth* | KT | | Huyskens[1323]; Könsgen[1324] |
| **Caesarius of Heisterbach's Vita** | Caesarius of Heisterbach: *Vita of Saint Elisabeth* | KT | | Idem |
| **[Herne Bible]** | Petrus Naghel (attributed). Also known as: *History Bible of 1361*, *First History Bible*, *Southern Netherlands History Bible*, *Flemish History Bible*, *History Bible of 1360*, *Bible Translation of 1360* | [P] | | De Bruin[1325] |
| **Historia Scholastica** | Petrus Comestor | P | Utrecht: Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt, 1473 (ip00459000)[1326] | Migne[1327] |
| **[Legenda aurea (Latin)]** | James of Voragine | [P] | Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, <1472 (ij00081000) | Maggioni[1328] |
| **Legenda aurea (Middle Dutch)** | James of Voragine, translated by Petrus Naghel: *Gulden legende* | P | Gouda: Gerard Leeu, 1478 (ij00139000) | Eckert van Homberch;[1329] [Berteloot e.a.][1330] |
| **Libellus** | *Libellus de dictis quator ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus* | KT | | Huyskens[1331]; Könsgen[1332] |
| **[Northern Netherlands Bible Translation]** | Johan Scutken | [P] | | De Bruin[1333] |
| **Northern Netherlands History Bible** | | P | Delft: Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer and Mauritius Yemantszoon, 1477 (ib00648000) | Van den Berg[1334] |

[1320] Various locations (V); Prologue (P); Lives of grand masters (GM); Bailiwick chronicle (B); Life of Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia (KT); Life of Grand Master Werner of Orseln (WO); Siege of Acre, 1291 (SA).
[1321] Only incunables printed in or before 1480 are included. When more than one print was available, only the *editio princeps* is mentioned. The codes in brackets present identification numbers in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue.
[1322] Rener ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*.
[1323] 'Caesarius von Heisterbach'.
[1324] Könsgen ed., *Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*.
[1325] De Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament* 1; De Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament* 2; De Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament* 3.
[1326] See also the edition printed in Augsburg in 1473 by Günther Zainer (ip00458000).
[1327] Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*.
[1328] James of Voragine, *Legenda aurea (ed. Maggioni)*.
[1329] James of Voragine, *Winterstuc*; James of Voragine, *Somerstuc*.
[1330] Berteloot, Claassens and Kuiper eds., *De gulden legende* II.
[1331] Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 112–140; Huyskens, *Libellus*, 1–86.
[1332] Könsgen ed., *Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*.
[1333] De Bruin ed., *Nieuwe Testament van de Moderne Devotie*.
[1334] Van den Berg, *Noordnederlandse historiebijbel*.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ** | | P | Gouda: Gerard Leeu, 1477 (il00212900) | De Bruin[1335] |
| **Rijmbijbel** | Jacob van Maerlant | P | | Gysseling[1336] |
| **[Translacio Sanctae Barbarae]** | *Translacio et miracula Sanctae Barbarae* | GM | | Töppen[1337] |
| **Utrecht Bible** | | P | | Mss. The Hague[1338]; see also *Herne Bible* and *Northern Netherlands Bible Translation* |
| **Crusading literature and other worldly texts** | | | | |
| **[Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum]** | | [KT] | | Holder-Egger[1339] |
| **Beauvais; Speculum historiale** | Vincent of Beauvais: *Speculum historiale* | P; SA | Strasbourg: Adolf Rusch, around 1473 (iv00282000) | Belleri[1340]; Occasionally: Rusch[1341]; Nicolini[1342]; Ms. Douai[1343] |
| **[Beke (Latin)]** | Johannes de Beke: *Chronographia* | [V] | | Bruch[1344] |
| **Beke (Middle Dutch)** | Johannes de Beke: *Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant* | V | | Bruch[1345] |
| **[Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis]** | | [KT] | | Holder-Egger[1346] |
| **Historia Damiatina** | Oliver of Paderborn | P | | Hoogeweg[1347]; Peters[1348] |
| **Historia regum** | Oliver of Paderborn: *Historia regum Terre Sancte* | P | | Hoogeweg[1349] |
| **Historia Trium Regum (Middle Dutch)** | Johannes of Hildesheim: *Historien der heilgher drie coninghen* | SA | Delft: Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer and Mauricius Yemantszoon, 1479 (ij00340500) | Van der Meer & Yemantszoon[1350] |
| **[Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews]** | Flavius Josephus: *Antiquities of the Jews* | [P] | Augsburg: Johann Schüssler, 1470 (ij00481000) | Mason (Feldman, Whiston)[1351] |
| **[Josephus' Jewish War]** | Flavius Josephus: *Jewish War* | [P] | Idem | Mason (Whiston)[1352] |

[1335] De Bruin ed., *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolfiaanse Leven van Jesus*.
[1336] Van Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*.
[1337] Töppen, 'Translacio Sanctae Barbarae'.
[1338] The Hague, KB, 69 B 10; The Hague, KB, 128 C 2.
[1339] Holder-Egger, 'Annales Erphordenses'.
[1340] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale (1624)*.
[1341] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 1 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072933-4> [accessed 13 February 2016]; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 2 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072934-9> [accessed 13 February 2016]; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 3 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072935-4> [accessed 13 February 2016]; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 4 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072936-0> [accessed 13 February 2016].
[1342] Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale (1591)*.
[1343] Vincent of Beauvais, 'Speculum Historiale (Ms. Douai B.M. 797)'.
[1344] Bruch ed., *Chronographia*.
[1345] Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*.
[1346] Holder-Egger, 'Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis'.
[1347] Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*.
[1348] Peters ed., *Christian Society and the Crusades*.
[1349] Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*.
[1350] Johannes of Hildesheim, *Drie coninghen*.
[1351] Josephus, 'Judean Antiquities'.
[1352] Flavius Josephus, 'The Judean War', *PACE: Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement* (2003-2005) <http://pace-ancient.mcmaster.ca/york/york/showText?text=wars&version=whiston> [accessed 22 June 2015].

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| **Korner** | Hermann Korner: *Chronica novella* | V | | Von Eckhart[1353]; Schwalm[1354] |
| **[Pauli I; Pauli II]** | Theodericus Pauli, *Chronicle of Holland* (in two versions) | B | | Ms. Utrecht[1355]; Ms. Trier[1356] |
| **Richard of San Germano** | Richard of San Germano: *Chronica* | P | | Pertz[1357]; Garufi[1358] |
| **Spiegel Historiael** | Jacob van Maerlant, Philip Utenbroeke, Lodewijk van Velthem | P; SA | | De Vries and Verwijs[1359]; Vander Linden and De Vreese[1360]; Ms. Berlin[1361] |
| **Sudheim (Latin)** | Ludolf of Sudheim: *Description of the Holy Land and of the way thither* | P; SA | Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, around 1475–80 (il00362000, il00363000) | Eggestein[1362]; Deycks[1363]; see also *Korner*.[1364] |
| **Sudheim (Low German)** | Ludolf of Sudheim: *Description of the Holy Land and of the way thither* | P; SA | | Kosegarten[1365]; Von Stapelmohr[1366] |
| **Tyre (Latin or Old French)** | William of Tyre: *Historia Hierosolymitana*. Also known as: *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea) | P | | Huygens[1367]; Paris[1368] |
| **Tyre: Rothelin continuation** | Old French Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre: *Historia Hierosolymitana* | P | | Recueil des Historiens des Croisades[1369]; Shirley[1370] |
| **Veldener** | Johan Veldener (printer): *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum* | V | Utrecht: Johan Veldener, 1480 (ir00278000) | Veldener[1371] |
| **Vitry** | James of Vitry: *Historia Orientalis* | P | | Bongars[1372]; Martène and Durand[1373]; Grossel[1374]; Donnadieu[1375] |
| **Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Peregrinatio** | Wilbrand of Oldenburg: *Journey to the Holy Land* | P; [SA] | | Allatius[1376]; Laurent[1377]; Pringle[1378] |

[1353] 'Hermanni Corneri'.
[1354] Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*.
[1355] Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650.
[1356] Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79.
[1357] 'Ryccardi de S. Germano'.
[1358] Garufi ed., *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano*.
[1359] M. de Vries and E. Verwijs eds., *Jacob van Maerlant's Spiegel Historiael, met de fragmenten der later toegevoegde gedeelten, bewerkt door Philip Utenbroeke en Lodewijc van Velthem* 1 (Leiden: Brill 1863); De Vries and Verwijs eds., *Spiegel Historiael* 2; De Vries and Verwijs eds., *Spiegel Historiael* 3.
[1360] Vander Linden and De Vreese eds., *Voortzetting* I.
[1361] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Quart. 2018.
[1362] Ludolf of Sudheim, *De itinere ad terram sanctam*.
[1363] Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*.
[1364] Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, 198–202.
[1365] Kosegarten ed., *Ludolf von Suchen. Reisebuch*.
[1366] Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*.
[1367] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*.
[1368] P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs. Texte français du XIIIe siècle, revu et annoté* 1 (Paris 1879); P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs. Texte français du XIIIe siècle, revu et annoté* 2 (Paris 1880).
[1369] 'L'Estoire d'Eracles'.
[1370] Shirley ed., *Crusader Syria*.
[1371] Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*.
[1372] Bongars ed., *Gesta Dei per Francos*.
[1373] Martène and Durand eds., *Thesaurus* III.
[1374] James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (transl. Grossel)*.
[1375] James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (ed./transl. Donnadieu)*.
[1376] 'Itinerarium'.
[1377] Laurent ed., *Wilbrands von Oldenburg Reise*; 'Wilbrandi de Oldenborg'.
[1378] Pringle, 'A new edition'; English translation: Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg'.

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| **Prussian history and history of the Teutonic Order in general** | | | | |
| **Aeneas Sylvius** | Aeneas Sylvius: *De situ et origine Pruthenorum* | GM | Cologne: Arnold ther Hoernen, 1471–5 (ip00745000) | Ther Hoernen[1379]; Hirsch[1380] |
| **Ältere Hochmeisterchronik** | | GM | | Olivier[1381] |
| **Bericht Hermann von Salzas** | Henry of Hohenlohe: *Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens* | GM | | HIrsch[1382] |
| **Dusburg** | Peter of Dusburg: *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* | P; GM | | Scholtz and Wojtecki[1383] |
| **[Hochmeisterverzeichnisse]** | *Verzeichniss der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens* | [P]; [GM] | | Strehlke[1384]; Kętrzyński[1385]; Wenta[1386] |
| **Jeroschin** | Nikolaus of Jeroschin: *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant* | P; GM | | Strehlke[1387]; Fischer (English transl.)[1388] |
| **Kurze Hochmeisterchronik** | | P; GM | | Ms. Berlin[1389]; Hirsch[1390] |
| **Narratio** | *De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio* | P | | Arnold and Hubatsch[1391]; see also *Korner*[1392] |
| **[Statutes (German)]** | | [WO] | | Perlbach[1393] |
| **[Statutes (Latin)]** | | P | | Idem |
| **Statutes (Middle Dutch)** | | V | | Idem |
| **Livonian history** | | | | |
| **Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen** | Hartmann of Heldrungen (?): *Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen über die Vereinigung des Schwertbrüderordens mit dem Deutschen Orden* | GM | | Hirsch[1394] |
| **[Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik]** | | GM | | Höhlbaum[1395] (reconstructive edition) |
| **Livländische Reimchronik** | (Ältere) Livländische Reimchronik | GM | | Meyer[1396] |
| **Rhymed narrative of famine of 1315-1318** | OF 215: Fragment II | GM | | Olivier[1397]; see also the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* |
| **History of the Order of St. John** | | | | |
| **Legends of the Hospital** | *Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem*; *Miracles* | P | A version by Caoursin was printed but not used in the | Calvet[1398] |

[1379] Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *De situ et origine Pruthenorum*.
[1380] Hirsch, 'Aeneas Sylvius'.
[1381] 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique'.
[1382] Hirsch, 'Bericht Hermann von Salza's'.
[1383] Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*.
[1384] Strehlke, 'Hochmeisterverzeichniss'.
[1385] Kętrzyński, 'Magistri generales'.
[1386] Wenta, 'Pelplińska modlitwa'.
[1387] Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant'.
[1388] Fischer, *Chronicle of Prussia*.
[1389] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 407r–445v.
[1390] Hirsch, 'Danziger Ordenschronik'.
[1391] 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung'.
[1392] Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, 597–598.
[1393] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*.
[1394] Hirsch, 'Bericht Hartmanns von Heldrungen'.
[1395] Höhlbaum ed., *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*.
[1396] Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik*.
[1397] Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?'.
[1398] Calvet, *Légendes*.

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| | *Croniken*: Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1480 (ic00108000) |

*Table A.2 List of narrative sources used in the* Croniken.

| Unidentified sources | Use in *Croniken* |
|---|---|
| Pilgrimage guidebook(s) to Jerusalem (probably) | Prologue |
| Narrative regarding Empress Helena | Prologue |
| Narrative regarding Godfrey of Bouillon's financial preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land, similar to for instance the *Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Hubert*.[1399] | Prologue |
| List of participants of the Third Crusade, similar to for instance the *Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris*.[1400] | Prologue |
| General (world) chronicle, other than those included in Table A.2 | Various locations |
| (Additional) lists of land masters in Prussia and Livonia | Lives of grand masters |
| Various Livonian sources, including narratives on the false papal legate and Master of Livonia Eberhard of Monheim (see Table 3.31) | Lives of grand masters |

*Table A.3 List of unidentified narrative sources of the* Croniken.

| Short reference | Author; Common title(s) (when aberrant) | Manuscript, edition and/or translation used |
|---|---|---|
| **Anonymous Franciscan Vita of St. Elisabeth** | | Pieper[1401] |
| **Berchen** | Willem van Berchen, *Chronicle of Holland* | Tilmans[1402] |
| **Chronicon Hollandiae** | | Obreen[1403] |
| **Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem** | | Töppen[1404] |
| **Kleine Meisterchronik** | | For a list of manuscripts and editions: Thumser[1405] |
| **Leydis I** | Johannes a Leydis, *Chronicle of Holland* (first version) | Ms. London[1406] |
| **Leydis II** | Johannes a Leydis, *Chronicle of Holland* (second version) | Sweertius[1407] |
| **Life of Christ** | *Life of Christ* (Middle Dutch Diatessaron) | Bergsma[1408]; De Bruin[1409] |
| **Posilge** | Johann of Posilge: *Chronik des Landes Preußen* | Strehlke[1410] |
| **Wartberge** | Hermann of Wartberge: *Chronicon Livoniae* | Strehlke[1411] |

*Table A.4 Returning references to narrative sources, not used in the* Croniken.

[1399] Hanquet ed., *Cantatorium*.
[1400] Loud ed., *Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*.
[1401] Pieper, 'A New Life'.
[1402] Tilmans, Hollandse kroniek (thesis/edition).
[1403] 'Chronicon Hollandiae'.
[1404] Töppen ed., *Chronik der vier Orden*.
[1405] Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen'.
[1406] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi.
[1407] 'Chronicon Hollandiae comitum'.
[1408] J. Bergsma ed., *De levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*. Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche letterkunde 54-55 (Groningen: Wolters 1895-1898) <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_lev005leve03_01/index.php> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[1409] De Bruin ed., *Luikse diatessaron*; De Bruin ed., *Diatessaron van Cambridge*; De Bruin ed., *Haarense diatessaron*.
[1410] Strehlke, 'Johann von Posilge'.
[1411] Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge'.

## Explicit references to sources

| Chapter | *Croniken* (ms. We$_1$) | Reference to: |
|---|---|---|
| **c.93** | Ende Onsse Vrouwe sterff als men XXXVI screef, twe jaer nae Ons Heren opvaert **als sommige seggen, ende sommige seggen langher**. | Various contradicting sources regarding the age of Mary, as described originally in the *Legenda Aurea*.[1412] See also Table 3.17. |
| **c.101** | Daer sijn **enige personen** geweest ende hebben gescreven van desen heiligen berch van Sion, ende scriven dat daer een religie was nae Ons Heren opvaert, ende dat Sente Steven daer die yerste prelaet off was, ende die religie duerden dat sommige oirden dair uut gesticht worden. Mer 't is al versierde dedinge. Leest **Actus Apostolorum**, leest **Josephus** ende **Scolastica** ende ander: ghij en sultet nergens vijnden. | *Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem*.<br>*Acts of the Apostles*; Josephus' *Jewish War* and/or *Antiquities of the Jews*; Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* or Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* |
| **c.102** | Welck oirde doe gegeven wert dat hospitael van den Duytschen Huse van Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem, […], dat dat wesen solde dat hoifhuis ende tittel van hoirre oirden, als men claerlic mit **des paeus bullen** bewijsen sal. Gelijc dat Sinte Johans Oirde die niet lange voir gesticht en wert, gegeven wert dat hospitael van Sinte Johans Baptisten, […]. Ende dat hospitael solde wesen hoirs oirdens tittel ende hoifthuis, als **des paeus bullen** dat oick wael uut wijsen. | Papal bulls to prove the origins of the Teutonic Order and Hospitallers in Jerusalem. |
| **c.121** | Daer sijn **enige personen** geweest ende hebben in **sommige boeken gescreven van der Duytscher Oirden begin**, ende **sommige van Sinte Johans Oirden begin**, daer sij seer in missen ende blijct dat se dair weynich off weten. Want sij screven doe Hertoch Vrederic van Zwaven mitten anderen princen voir Akers lach, dat Hertoch Vrederic enen cappellaen had ende die tymmerde tot Akers een capelle in Onsser Vrouwen eer ende noemden die dat Hospitael van Onser Vrouwen van den Duytschen Huse. Ende doe Akers gewonnen wert dat se doe enen sconen tempel in der muer van Akers tymmerden. Mer dit en is in der waerheit alsoe niet gesciet. […] | *De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio*.[1413]<br>*Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem*. |
| **c.122** | Oic syn **som personen** geweest ende hebben in **sommyge boeken van Sinte Johans Oirde** gescreven dat die gesticht ende gefundeert wert van Johannes Elemosinarius ende dat se daer den naem of hebben souden. Daer sij alte seer in missen off niet van geweten en hebben want die eersaem Raymundus die gardiaen ende regierre was van den Hospitael van Sente Johans Baptisten tot Jherusalem die yerst Sinte Johans Oirde begreep […] Ende des **Paeus ende Keysers bullen** bewijsen volcomelick van der oirden uut. | *Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem*.<br>William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*.[1414]<br>Or also: James of Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*[1415]<br>Papal and imperial bulls. |
| **c.186–7** | Ende soe sal een priesterbroeder van der oirden over hem lesen, als hier nae bescreven staet: [Then follows a list of prayers in Latin] Ende dan sal se die priester mit wijwater besprengen ende heten se opstaen.<br>Soe sal die overste seggen: [Then follows a prescribed pledge in Dutch] | Admission procedure for new brethren. |
| **c.209** | Noch heeft dese selve Honorius Tercius voirscreven den Duytschen Oirden van den Hospitael van Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem veel scoenre bullen ende previlegien gegeven die hier voir nyet genoemt en staen want **men** die **bullen off transsumpten autentijc** dair off niet doirsien en hadde. | Papal bulls and authentic transcriptions.[1416] |
| **c.224** | Noch heeft dese selve paeus Gregorius die Negende voirscreven den Duytschen Oirden van Onser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem meer ander bullen ende previlegien ghegeven die hier voir nyet genoemt en staen want **men** die **bullen off autentijck transumpten** daer niet off doir sien en hadde. | See c.209 |
| **c.235** | **Sommige onwetende luden** seggen ende versieren dat Johannes Elemosinarius Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht heeft ende dat sy dairom heiten Sinte Johans Oirde. Ende dat is al versierde logen want Johannes Elemosinarius was over vijfhondert jair doot geweest eer Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht werdt. […] | See c.122 |

[1412] Berteloot, Claassens and Kuiper eds., *De gulden legende* II, Assumption of Mary.
[1413] 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung'.
[1414] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Lib. I–10; XVIII–4,5.
[1415] James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale (ed./transl. Donnadieu)*, c. 64.
[1416] Note the use of the undetermined 'they' ("men") instead of the first person. It looks like the author himself had not been able to witness these authenticated bulls, but rather the composer of his source.

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| **c.255** | Ende [Emperor Frederick II] gaf hem daer **goede bullen off besegelt mit synen gulden segel**<br>Ende [Duke Conrad of Masovia] gaven daer **goede besegelde brieven off**<br>Ende alle dit heeft die Paeus sijn heylicheit belieft ende confirmeert mit sine **bullen** | Golden Bull of Rimini (1226/1235),<br><br>Treaty of Kruschwitz (1230),<br><br>Bull of Rieti (1234).[1417] |
| **c.280** | Hier beghinnen die **Croniken van Lieflant ende Coerlant**, ende hoe die totter gelove quamen yerst by den Heren van den Zweerde, ende nae an der Duytscher Oirden quamen, die voirt dat geheel lant ten kersten gelove brochten. | *Livländische Reimchronik* and perhaps other Livonian chronicles.[1418] |
| **c.325** | Ende dat [the nomination of St Elisabeth as patron saint of the Teutonic Order] wert voirt **in der oirden gheset**, ten ewighen dagen alsoe the houden ende the bliven. | The 'Laws' ('Gesetze') of the *Statutes of the Teutonic Order* (?).[1419] |
| **c.488** | Ende dit was die eerlike stadt Akers die in der **Biblyen** genoemt staet Tholomayda, daer Jonathas van Triphone ghevangen wert ende verraden. | Old Testament, 1 Macc. 12:42-48.[1420] |
| **c.488** | Ende dair den afgod Belsebuyc plach te wesen, dair Ochosias die coninck van Israhel toe seynde om off hij hem van sijnre siecten ghenesen mocht, als men in der **Bibel** leest bij den tijden des Propheten Helie, doe hij dair bij woenden op ten berch van Carmeli. | Old Testament, 2 King 1:2.[1421] |
| **c.502** | **Men leest** dat om der borgher boosheit: ten yersten die lucht wart nevelich ende alsoe duyster. | Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*.[1422] |
| **c.549** | Ende alsoe **des oirdens reghel ende statuten** holden: wat broeder des oirdens enich broeder des oirdens ther doot brengt, die sal men ghevanghen holden […] Ende als die nywe hoichmeister meyster Ludert hertoghe van Bruynswijck hoichmeister gheworden was, soe dede hij **groot capittel scriven**… | The 'Laws' added by Luther of Braunschweig to the *Statutes of the Teutonic Order*.[1423] |
| **c.658-659** | Ende dit **is die manier van der huldinge ende den eet** als hier nae bescreven staet: [Then follows the oath of allegiance from start to finish] | Oath of allegiance of the Prussian estates to the grand master. |
| **c.(668)/674–84** | Die Pruyssche steden mit horen bontghenoten ende aenclevers dese namen principaelick voir hem drie punten daer sij den Hoichmeister van Pruyssen ende der Oirden mede beclaechden… [Later follow three articles of complaint (with glosses by the Order) of the Prussian Confederation] | Preparations for the trial at the imperial court of Frederick III regarding the establishment of the Prussian Confederation and some of the trial proceedings, ranging from 10 November 1452 to 6 December 1453.[1424] |
| **c.695–8** | Soe senden die steden den hoichmeister ende der Duytscher Oirden **enen ontsegbrieff** tot Marienborch op Sinte Valentijns avont in 't jair dusent vierhondert ende vierendevijftich. Ende luden aldus: [Then follows the letter from start to finish, including the salutation and address] | Declaration of enmity by the Prussian Confederation dated 13 February 1454. |
| **c.717–27** | Dit sijn die steden ende sloten die aen den Coninck van Polen mit horen hulperen aen die Pomersche sijde gebleven sijn: [Then follows a list of (former) commanderies in Prussia and later Livonia] | List of commanderies in Prussia and Livonia. It is unclear whether the list is taken from one source or many. |
| **c.734** | Ende die kerck ende sael costen tusschen tyen ende twaleff dusent oude scilde, **daer som die rekenscap off ghesien hebben**. | Account of the building costs for the convent church in Utrecht, "witnessed by some." |

[1417] This information is also available in Dusburg, Jeroschin and the Ältere Hochmeisterchronik. It should be noted that the role of the emperor has changed in comparison to other chronicles. In Dusburg and Jeroschin duke Conrad of Masovia plays the lead role, while the emperor merely advises him. In the Ältere Hochmeisterchronik the emperor is absent all together. In the Croniken however, the emperor grants – independently of the duke – privileges himself. By doing so, the author follows the trichotomy of the Golden Bull of Rimini (issued by emperor Frederick II in 1226; newly dated 1235), Treaty of Kruschwitz (issued by duke Conrad of Masovia in 1230) and the Bull of Rieti (confirmation by pope Gregory IX in 1234). It is unclear though, whether the author had indeed access to (abridged versions of) these documents. For these bulls see: Jasiński, *Kruschwitz, Rimini und die Grundlagen*.

[1418] Or should we interpret "Croniken" more generic as chronicles rather than a specific chronicle? In any event, the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* is used as an important source immediately after this announcement.

[1419] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 77 (Gesetze 32).

[1420] The information is taken quite literally from Ludolf of Sudheim's Description of the Holy Land. However, the Croniken must have been familiar with the Biblical story since Sudheim wrongfully referred to Judas Maccabeus instead of Jonathan. Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 41.

[1421] Again, Sudheim provides the same information but refers to the Book of Kings, instead of the Prophet Elijah. Ibid.

[1422] Ibid., 44.

[1423] Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 86 (c.39), 149 (c.6).

[1424] E.g.: J. Sarnowsky, 'Das virtuelle Preußische Urkundenbuch. Regesten und Texte zur Geschichte Preußens und des Deutschen Ordens', *Das virtuelle Preußische Urkundenbuch. Regesten und Texte zur Geschichte Preußens und des Deutschen Ordens* (1999-2011) JH I 11560 (11 November 1452), JH I 11625 (21 December 1452), JH I 11663 (ca. 1452?) <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Landesforschung/orden.html> [accessed 2 May 2016].

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **c.758 ff.** | [E.g.] Hij [Goswijn van Garnaer] leit begraven t' Utrecht **midden in 't choer** ten Duytschen Huse.<br>[E.g.] Hy [Lodewijk van Kenswielre] sterff t' Utrecht ende wert begraven **ten Duytschen Huse in 't choer, besijden heren Goessen van den Garner** die voir hem lantcommenduer was.<br>Hij [Dirk van Enghusen] sterff tot Leyden ende wert t' Utrecht gebrocht ende leyt **ten Duytschen Huse voir 't choer, voir dat doxael begraven**.<br>Ende heer Dirck van Enghusen wert gemaect commenduer tot Middelborch ende aldair sterf hij ende leyt **aldair in des oirdens capelle begraven in 't choir**.<br>Hij [Nicolaas van der Dussen] sterff tot Maestricht ende wert **aldair begraven**.<br>Hij [Johan van Drongelen] sterff in 't jaer Ons Heren dusent vierhondert ende XCII op ten vijftienden dach in augusto ende leijt begraven **then Duytschen Huse in 't choer voir dat heilighe sacrament onder den zerck daer sijn wapen op ghehouwen staet**. | The pinpointing of exact locations of the land commanders' tombs in the convent churches in Utrecht, Middelburg, Tiel and perhaps Nieuwen Biesen (Maastricht, bailiwick of Biesen) can probably be traced to personal observations.[1425] |
| **c.767** | Hij [Land Commander Zweder Cobbing] vercoft veel van des huis selverwerck, bij namen op ene tijt soe veel dair hij vijfhonder Rijnsguldens off nam, **daer ick bescheit off gesien heb**. | Documents regarding the sale of silverware. |

*Table A.5 Explicit references to written and other sources.*

[1425] Especially revealing is c.773, where the tomb of Land Commander Hendrik van Hackfort is said to be located next to that of the "old dean of the cathedral church." The tomb of this former dean, Lubbert Bol (see also c.764), was still present when Aernout van Buchel described his epitaph in the 17th century: Van Buchel, *Monumenta*, f. 90r.

## Book inventories, libraries and writing and binding activities Utrecht bailiwick

### *Utrecht commandery*

#### Account books; 1377/78[1426]

[f. 36r, Oct. 1378] De scaffenar gegeven van enen boec te scriven ende reescap daer toe 10 lb 5 s
De scaffenar om froncijn ende papier gegeven in der scafferien 40 s

[f. 36v, Nov. 1378] Heren Everard om papier 11 s 3 d
Van drien boeken te binden in der kerken 10 lb 15 s
Herman den slotemaker gegeven van hencsel ende van sloten 4 lb 15 s 8 d

[f. 39r, Apr. 1379]Den lantcommendur van boeken scriven ende van reescappen daer toe 27 lb

[f. 44r, May 1379] Om een boec papyers 11 s 3 d

#### Bailiwick chronicle; office of Land Commander Johan van de Zande (1409?-1419)[1427]

Oick heeft hij meest alle die boeken in ‘t choer costelick ende nywe doen scriven

#### Account books sacristy; 1524[1428]

[f. 9r] Item noch 3 st om sloot of leren aan die boeken te maken daarmen uut singet
Item noch 1 st om 1 slotel aen die library

#### Account books sacristy; 1535/36[1429]

[f. 6v] Item gegeven van drie sluetels te maken: een tot dat scapken in die sacristie, een tot dat scapken onder ‘t latrijn aen die luchter sijde van ‘t choer daer die boecken in leggen, ende een tot dat besemhuijs ende dat slot te verstellen 3 st.

#### Inventory; 1706[1430]

- Een boek met wit parkement bekleedt voerende voor tijtel keijserlijcke privilegie en ook van de pausen aen de ordre gegeven. Nog twee ongebonden pampierre boeken het eene in ‘t Hoogduijts en het andere in Neerduijts geschreven, spreekende van verscheijde privilegia en dat der altijdt twee broeders bij den keijser als aelmoesseniers sig moesten ophouden.

In de lade die voor opschrift heeft, alderhande brieven van den meister aen den Landtcommanduijr Albregt van Egmondt sijnde de eerste lade:

- Een brief aen de ordre geschreven, in den jaere 1537 meldende van landtcommanduijr, huijscommanduijr, en vordere commanduijren, waer in aengetoogen ende gesproken wordt van insettingen, statuten, ende gewoontens van de Duijtsche Ordre

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[1426] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 641–2.
[1427] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.766.
[1428] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 641–1.
[1429] Ibid., inv.nr. 641–5.
[1430] Ibid., inv.nr. 53.4.

- In deselve lade een notarieele extract, rakende verscheijde statuten, ordonantie van de Duijtsche Ordre, beginnende aldus in den jaere Cristi Ons Heeren duijsent vierhondert en twee en veertigste jaere aen den sonnentag naest voor St. Egidius
- Dit volgende extract van 1597 verhaelt het leven en gedrag van verscheijde landtcommanduijren, als de Heer Dirck van Hollandt, Heer Johan van Sande, Heer Johan van Drongelen
- Een extract in deselve Lade van den jaere 1597
- Nog een extract in deselve lade, daer in vermelt staet van een capittelboek, waer in geschreven waeren verscheijde resolutien, en articulen, bij den landtcommanduijr ende tien sijn onderhoorige commanduijren, die het selve samentlijck onderteekent hebben, den 7 maij 1550. Dit was geextraheert, uijt seeker boek, gebonden in kaperkel
- Nog een extract, vermeldende van een capittelboek, gebonden in kaperkel, in deselve lade gelegt
- In deselve lade is nog gelegt een extract, geextraheert uijt de Cronijcke van der Duijtsche Ordre, van de ridderschap van den huijse en hospitaele Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Jerusalem, en geschreven sijnde met een tamelijcke oude letter, in formaet van een blat papier, en gebonden in hoorne kaperkel, den 2 juli 1597
- Nog een extract in deselve lade, geextraheert uijt seeker boeck, in francijn geschreven, en gebonden in bardere, met root leer overtrockken, inhoudende verscheijde statuten en ordonantie, der Duijtschen Ordre, beginnende aldus, in den jaere Cristo Ons Heeren veertien hondert en twee en veertigste jaer, aen den sonnen tage, naest voor St. Egidius dag

Lijste der boeken tegenwoordig gevonden wordende, in het camertje, het tweede van de Landtcommandurie komende, aen de regterhandt, op den 20 october 1706

- Beginnende in de jaere onses Heeren duijsent vierhondert en twee en veertigste jaer aen den sonnendage naigst sint Egidius, nog een van der selven inhout in kleijnder formaet
- Een groot foliant met wit leer overtrocken beginnende “jani prima dies et septima fine timetur: januaris habet dies triginta unum”
- Een boek van de vijftig psalmen in ‘t het Latin
- Een boek beginnende “incipit rationale divinorum officorum”
- Een boek beginnende “benedictio salis et aquae”
- Een boek beginnende “de virtutibus theologiae”
- Nog een boek beginnende met duijtsche reimen geschreven
- Nog een boek beginnende “ergo unum habens filium charissimum”
- Nog een boek beginnende “in nocte nativitatis domini”
- Een boek half vergaen beginnende “in festo pachae”
- Een boek beginnende “in cento novella”, een historie van reisbeschrijvinge
- Een boek van Johan Leisentrit, spreekende van geestelijcke saeken
- Een boek Ludolfus in spalmen
- Nog een boek beginnende “in den naeme des vaders, des soons, en des heyligen geestes”, geschreven sijnde
- Nog een boek int Latin over de tien gebooden
- Nog een boek genaemt “posterior pars eiusdem rapsodie historiarum”, sijnde gemeene historie
- Nog een boek beginnende “repertorium alfabeti” en is alleen geestelijck
- Nog een groot foliant beginnende “registrum huius operis libri chronicarium, cum viguris et imaginibus ab initio mundi, ad sepitimam etatem mundi”
- Nog een boek dat half vergaen is, beginnende “hier begint der regtsboek, rigteren, der koningen” sijnde geestelijck

- Nog een boek beginnende “dertienhondert ses en seventig”, is een geestelijck boeck
- Een boek beginnende “in vigilia pachae”, ook geestelijck
- Een boek beginnende, “cosmografie universalis”
- Een boek beginnende, “ecce dies veniunt dicet dominus”

Inventory; 1819[1431]

Welke op de secretarye aanweezig waren van diferenten aart en groote

1. Een boek op parkement geschreven of gedruckt in het Latijn zeer beschadigt
2. Een Latijns boek op papier gedruckt
8. Een boek van den jaare 1377 etc. houdende aanteekening van oude pand brieve certificaten, pacht en erfpacht brieven, opdragten etc. etc.
9. Een oud boek van den jaare 1450 houdende aanteekening van oude pandbrieven, opdragten, overzichten, pachten en erfpachten etc.
10. Een ingenaaid boek houdende een formulier voor de ridders
11. Een oud boek van den jaare 1505 etc. houdende aanteekeninge van oude pantbrieven op- en overdragten, pagten en erfpagten etc.
12. Een oud boek van den jaare 1533 houdende korte aanteekeningen van gedane betaalingen
13. Een oud boek van den jaare 1526 zynde een register van pagters
14. Een oud boek van den jaare 1500 en 1600 zynde een oud memoriaal van alle de lasten, thynsen, stedigheden, los- en lyfrenten, beleeningen waarmede het Duitsche Huis was bezwaard
15. Zynde een oud manuaal van den jaare 1525
16. Een oud beschadigt boek in het Latyn

[...]

22. Een Hoogduits boek hebbende tot opschrift “RAY. DUELII EXCERPTA Genealogico Historico”
23. Een Latyns Boek hebbende van buiten het volgende opschrift “DUELII HIST. ORD. EQUITUM TEUTON.”
24. Zyn vyf deelen hebbende van buiten tot opschrift “A. MATTHAEI Analecta VET. AEVI”

[...]

De Boeken welke by deeze onder No. 3, 4, 5, 6, en 7 moesten voorkomen, dan van welke alhier geen mentie is gemaakt zyn door den Heer Fouclet, commissaris van het gouvernement, over genomen waarvan door denzelven aan de Commissaris E. Temminck een behoorlijk bewijs is afgegeven zoals het zelve is voorkomende onder de verdere door dien commissaris overgegeven stukken

*Bunne commandery*

Inventory; 1553[1432]

[f. 7v] [One missal]

[1431] Ibid., inv.nr. 53.11.
[1432] Ibid., inv.nr. 1458.

*Dieren commandery*

Account books; 1449/50[1433]

[f. 3r] Item 2,5 r. gulden van onser regulen to scriven

*Doesburg commandery*

Inventory; 1448[1434]

3 bockenen

Inventory; 1461/62[1435]

Item op der librarien:

ı Bijbel

ı Decretael sext ende cleyment[arium] in uno volumine

Summa confessoris

Summa Raymundi

Lyra super quatuor ewangelica

Beda super Lucam

Sermones estivales super dominicalia ewangelia

Sermones sensati

Pars quedam moralium beati Gregorii

*Katwijk commandery*

Bequeathed goods priest brother Frans Worms; 1598/99[1436]

[f. 1r] Inventaris ende speceficatie van alle alsulke moebelen, als nae het overlijden van zaliger here Frans Worms, commandeur tot Catwijck upten 1$^{en}$ januarii 1599 nae den nijen stijl, in de commanderije binnen Leijden overleden zijnde, bevonden, ende upgebrekent zij in punten van der heer Jacob Dircxs van der Goude ende Mr. Matthijs Lanceur

[…]

[f. 3r] Inventaris van boucken bij den commandeur van Catwijck heer Frans Worms achtergelaten circa setten december anno 1598

Biblia cum concordantiis vetris et novi testamenti

Ludolphus Carthusianus in psalmis

Postilla totius anni super epistula et evangelia

Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis commentaria in 4 evangelia

Dionisii Carthusianus in 4 evangelia enarrationes

Josephus

Homeliae doctorum ecclesiasticorum iussu domini Caroli Magni in unum codicem redactae, opera Alchuini

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[1433] Ibid., inv.nr. 1531.
[1434] Ibid., inv.nr. 1789.
[1435] Ibid., inv.nr. 1827, f. 10r.
[1436] Ibid., inv.nr. 1926.

Lanspergii super epistula et evangelia dominicalia pars aestivalis

Eiusdem pars hyemalis

Eiusdem de sanctis

Innocentii papae 3 de sacro altaris mysterio

Thesaurus bibliorum Guiellmi Allotti Angli

Franciscus Polygranus super epistula dominicalis pars quarta

Idem super evangelia dominicalia ab adventu ad pentecostem pars prima

Idem super evangelia de Sanctis pars tertia

Concordantiae breviones per Antonium a Koninghstein

D. Haymonis homiliae pars aestivalis

Margarita evangelica

Cathechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos

Isedorus Hispalensis epistula in vetus testamentum

Alter tomus operum d. Caecilii Cypriani

Cypriani opera

Epitome sermonum Joannis Feri

Psalmi Davidici cum paraphrasibus Reynerii Snoy Goudani

Breviarii Romani pars estivalis

Zeelen artzney Urbani Regii

Orationes patrum utriusque testamenti

Thuribulum aureum precationum per Cornelius Loos

Enchiridion psalmorum d. Hieronimo interprete una cum Joannis Campensis e regione paraphrasi

[f. 3v] Antonius Flaminius in psalmos

Breviarium Romanorum in uno volumine

Breviarium Romanorum in duobus voluminibus novis

Royardi homelie in dominicalia evangelia

Breviarium secundum usum dominorum Teutonicorum

Divini amoris pharetra Joannis Lanspergii

Psalmi divi Hieronimi

Homeliae Frederici Nauseae

Contemplationes idiotae ad vera pietatem exhortantes

Hermannus Bodius de unione dissidentium

Joannes Lenzeus de unita religione

Joannes Roffensis defensio contra Babilonicam captivitatem

De dissidiis ecclesiae componendis Bredenbachii

Christianae vitae speculum f. Thomae Herentalini

De Christi imitatione libellus Thomae Kempensis

Psalterium e collatione Joannis Draconitis

Canones Concilii Tridentini

Perfectionis speculum per Antonium Hemerium

Scintillae sive loci communes d. defensoris theologi

Bulla super forma iuramenti professionis fidei

Virtutum et vitiorum exempla per Nicolaum Hanapum [in]

Joannes Hoffmeisterus de verbo Dei carnem facto

Explicatio symboli et decalogi per Erasmus Roterodamus

Methodus confessionis

Joannes Cassianus de confessione theologica

Institutio ad pietatem Joannis Gropperi

Cathechismus Claudii Wicxmontii

Pariesiensis

Index librorum prohibitorum

De mundi termino carmen et disputatio de cultu imaginum

Manipulus curatorum

Vincentius Lirinensis

De doctrina moriendi

De vita et laudibus Deiparae virginis autore Franscisco Costero

Onder desse boucken isser je weder of genomen dat de commandeur geleent hadden

*Middelburg commandery*

Inventory; ????[1437]

| | |
|---|---|
| [f. 8r] | Item I missael |
| | I gradael |
| | I nocelaer |
| | I zalter |

Inventory; 1524[1438]

| | |
|---|---|
| [f. 4r] | In die capelle: twee missalen geprent |
| [f. 4v] | Noch twee missalen in parkement gescreven |
| [f. 10r] | Item noch twe missalen van perkament ghescreven |

Inventory; 1541[1439]

| | |
|---|---|
| [f. 1r] | In die capelle: twee missalen geprent, twe missalen in parquement ghescreven |

*Rhenen commandery*

Inventory; around 1430/32[1440]

Liberaria

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[1437] Ibid., inv.nr. 2197.
[1438] Ibid.
[1439] Ibid.
[1440] Ibid., inv.nr. 2346.

Bibblia

Scolastica historia

Passionale

Horologium sapientiae

Summa Johannis media

Decretale

Summa Raymundi…

et Hugacio

Hic sunt suppellectilia in domo Renensi que dominus Johannes Borre in nominavit.[1441]

### Account books; 1472/73[1442]

[f. 5r] Item 7,5 st. een doir te maken op die liberie

## *Schelluinen commandery*

### Account books; 1437/38[1443]

[f. 6v] Item 3 kr. vor 1 bock pappyrs.

### Inventory; 1554/58[1444]

Inventaris van den huyse van Scaluynen ende die kerck mede. Anno 1554 [re-examined in 1558]

Boecken in die kerck ende in 't huys

Item een missael boeck, noch een boeck om die kinderen te kerstelen

Noch twee ghescreven sanghe boecken, daer die missen in staen die men des jaerlix singdt

Item noch sanghe boecken die niet en dooghen

Item een latijnsch bibel

Noch een boeck ghenaempt Paratus

Item Robertus de Litio

Nycolaus de Bloni

Summa Angelica

IJsidorus de vocabulis sive aethimologia

Robertus Holkot

Item Terentius

Augustinus de constitutione creaturarum sive de mirabilibus sacrae scripturae

Item sermones Vincentii de tempore et de sanctis

Sermones Roberti de Litio de laudibus sanctorum

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[1441] Johan Borre van Leersum. Mentioned as parish priest in Valkenburg in 1424 and again from 1432 to 1451. Once referred to as commander of Valkenburg in 1437, but this was not normally referred to as an independent commandery. He was mentioned as commander of Rhenen between 1431 and 1432. The list of books is dated by a modern hand "around 1430 = 1432". De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nrs. 518; 520?; 581; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nrs. 1931; 1932; 1940?; 2346 (ca.1430/32); 2417.
[1442] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2346.
[1443] Ibid., inv.nr. 2525–3.
[1444] Ibid., inv.nr. 2515, ff. 2v–3r; With explanatory notes: Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 178–180.

Item sermones aurei de sanctis

Sanctus Thomas de Aquino

Tractatulus beati Thomae de divinis moribus

Item manuale parochialium

Item manupulus curatorum

Item quaedam epistolae beati Hieronimi

### *Schoonhoven commandery*

#### Inventory of appropriated goods in Tiel; 1444/45[1445]

> Dit sijn die dinghen die die Nylanders my ontfoert hebben uten huys van Schoonhoven na uutwising der cedele die my heer Baernt broeder duysches ordens conventuael te Tyel gesent hevet. Also als hi die dinghen te Tyel ongesien had die daer van Schoonhoven gebracht hadden die Nylanders ende my toebehoren.

Item I blaeuwe tabbert

Item I olde hoyc

Item I ander beter hoyc

Item een ny wamboys

Item II kovelen

Item II oerkussen

Item II pelsen

Item I cleyn pelsgen

Item II deken

> Item dit sijn die boeke

Summa Raymundi

Sermones dominicales

Summa Pisana

Glosa super Matheum et Marcum

Lira super Lucam et Johannem

Summa quidam iuris canonici

Quedam tabula secundum ordinem alphabeti

De materna decretalium

Compendium theologie

Quidam sermones in magister [Belvien]

Quidam libellus de anima et eius potentiis

Quidam liber theologie copulatus per fratrem Jhohannem [speg.]

Quidam sermones de tempore

Quidam pars biblie

Liber topicorum Aristoteles

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[1445] Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2612 (1444/45), ff. 10v–11r.

Quidam liber medicinales

Sermones et postille super ewangelia

Sermones de quibusdam sanctis

Quoddam opusculum poetrie

Quidam quaestiones in grammatica

Libellus de modo significandi

Item quidam sermones

Textus Alexandri cum glosa

Quidam sermones de tempore

Quidam liber de sacramentis

Quidam expositio vocabulorum

Quidam liber in qui habentur sermones

Tractatus de sacramentis ecclesie

Tria corporalia

Statuta provincialia

Liber de naturis animalium

Computus cum aliis annexis

Liber de vita Jhesum

Antiquam psalterium

Liber de quatuor novissimus

In numero XXXIIII boeken

Voort heeft my heer Baernt gescreven datter noch meer ander boeken sijn van welken van welken dat hi my niet en scriven, ende een dose mit gelde ende een mes ende voort ander dinghen die by namen niet gescreven en sijn.

### Account books; 1445/46[1446]

[f. 17v] Item des dinxdag daer na uut ghegeven om twee boeck pappiers onse nyewe regell in te scriven, elke boeck ghecofft om 3,5 cr. maect 7 cr.

### Testament priest brother Andries van Dorp; 1466[1447]

Item soe is mijn uuterste wille […]

Item soe heb ic ghegheven heer Bartholomeus IIII boecken ende sijn:

Sermones de Villa Abbatis

Jordanus de sanctis

Nycolaus de Lyra super ewangelista dominicalia

Ende omelia Gregorij

Dair by gheweest heeft Jan mijn broeder ende onse moeder die hi oec wel verdient heeft

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[1446] Ibid., inv.nr. 2615.
[1447] Ibid., inv.nr. 2612 (1468/69) (sic), f. 3v.

Bequeathed goods priest brother Claes Paets/Paedze; 1532[1448]

[f. 6v] Item zyn boucken die zijn the Leyden in verleden tyden vercoft

Inventory; 1562[1449]

Boecken

Inde xx groote boecken ende inde xx cleyn, behalven die gene die mit [cauetneren] gebonden zijn

*Tiel commandery*

Account books; 1465/66[1450]

[f. 1v] Item voer een 0,5 boeck pappiers geg. 1 vlems

Item 1 boeck pappierss 2 vlems

Account books; 1466/67[1451]

[f. 4v] Item 3 vlems om 1,5 boeck papiers

[1448] Ibid., inv.nr. 2605.
[1449] Ibid., inv.nr. 2611.
[1450] Ibid., inv.nr. 2755–2.
[1451] Ibid., inv.nr. 2755–3.

List of privileges and indulgences

| Chapter | Cadels | Initial 3 lines | Initial 2 lines | Title | Dated? | Place? | Pope | Emperor/ King |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **160-209** | | | First three | Summary | Some | Some | Honorius III | |
| **210-224** | | | First | Summary | All | Some | Gregory IX | |
| **225** | | | First | | All | | Celestine IV | |
| **226-233** | All | First | | Name issuer | All | All | | Frederick II |
| **393-413** | First | First | All | Name issuer | | | Innocent IV; Alexander IV | |
| **414-415** | | | All | Name issuer | All | All | | Henry (VII); Conrad IV |
| **424-428** | First | | All | Name issuer | | | Urban IV; Nicholas IV | |
| **429** | | | All | Name issuer | All | All | | Richard of Cornwall |
| **457-459** | First | | All | Name issuer | All | All | | Rudolph I |
| **520** | First | | All | | All | All | | Adolf of Nassau |
| **532-533** | First | | All | | All | All | | Albert I; Henry VII |
| **545** | First | First | | | All | All | | Louis IV |
| **555-557** | First | | All | | All | All | | Louis IV |
| **576** | First | | All | | All | All | | Charles IV |
| **585-591** | First | | All | | All | All | | Charles IV |
| **593-598** | First | | All | | | | Boniface IX; (Martin V) | |
| **599-601** | | | All | | All | All | | Wenceslaus |
| **617** | First | | All | | All | All | | Wenceslaus |
| **618-620** | First | | All | | All | All | | Rupert |
| **631-635** | First | | All | | First | First | Council of Constance; Martin V | |
| **636-638** | | | All | | All | First | | Sigismund |
| **640-641** | First | | All | | | | Eugene IV | |
| **ARDOU 118**[1452] | | Every new pope | All | | All | All | Honorius III – Eugene IV | |
| **ARDOU 120**[1453] | | | All | Summary[1454] | | | Honorius III – Urban IV | |
| **ARDOU 121**[1455] | Mixture between cadels and initials | | | | All | All | | Frederick II – Sigismund |

*Table A.6 Layout and content of privileges in* Croniken *and three Utrecht cartularies.*

[1452] Notarial transcription, dated 9 September 1434, of 87 papal privileges ranging from 1216 to 1431. Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 196.
[1453] Middle Dutch translation, written around 1390, of 88 papal privileges ranging from 1216 to 1263, including archive locations of the original charters and optionally of papal confirmations thereof up to Pope Urban IV.
[1454] Only the privileges issued by Pope Honorius III contain a summary in the title.
[1455] Notarial transcription, dated 21 March 1428, of 38 imperial privileges ranging from 1214 to 1415. Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 194.

| Chapter | Pope | Emperor/ King | ARDOU 118 | ARDOU 120 | ARDOU 121 | De Geer | Strehlke, Tabulae | Date (Strehlke) | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **118** | Celestine III | | - | | | | 296 | 21-12-1196 | |
| **120** | Celestine III | | - | | | | 296 | 21-12-1196 | |
| **160/161** | Honorius III | | - | | | | 303 | 8-12-1216 | |
| **162** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **163** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **164** | Honorius III | | 1 | | | 5 | 304 | 19-12-1216 | |
| **165** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **166** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **167** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **168** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **169** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **170** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **171** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **172** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **173** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **174** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **175** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **176** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Statutes |
| **177** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **178** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **179** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **180** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **181** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **182** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **183** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **184** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **185** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences/ Entry rituals |
| **186** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences/ Entry rituals |
| **187** | Honorius III | | - | | | | | | Indulgences/ Entry rituals |
| **188** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **189** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **190** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **191** | Honorius III | | 3 | 73 | | 7 | 306 | 15-12-1220 | |
| **192** | Honorius III | | 6 | 17 | | 11 | 314 | 16-1-1221 | |
| **193** | Honorius III | | 6 | 17 | | 11 | 314 | 16-1-1221 | |
| **194** | Honorius III | | 6 | 17 | | 11 | 314 | 16-1-1221 | |
| **195** | Honorius III | | 6 | 17 | | 11 | 314 | 16-1-1221 | |
| **196** | Honorius III | | 6 | 17 | | 11 | 314 | 16-1-1221 | |
| **197** | Honorius III | | 9 | 26 | | 13 | 316 | 16-1-1221 | |
| **198** | Honorius III | | - | 66 | | | 413 | 24-7-1216 – 18-3-1227 | |
| **199** | Honorius III | | 10 | 3 | | 9 | 313 (305) | 16-1-1221 | ARDOU 59 |
| **200** | Honorius III | | 11 | 5 | | 16 | 327 | 18-1-1221 | |
| **201** | Honorius III | | 13 | 25 | | 18 | 338 | 20-1-1221 | |
| **202** | Honorius III | | 14 | 23 | | 19 | 339 | 20-1-1221 | |
| **203** | Honorius III | | 15 | 47 | | 17 | 340 | 20-1-1221 | |
| **204** | Honorius III | | 16 | 52 | | 20 | 343 (307) | 21-1-1221 | |
| **205** | Honorius III | | 17 | 22 | | 21 | 342 | 21-1-1221 | |
| **206** | Honorius III | | 18 | 33 | | 22 | 347 | 5-2-1221 | |
| **207** | Honorius III | | 19 | | | 25 | 353 | 5-2-1221 | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **208** | Honorius III | | 21 | 69 | | 24 | 354 | 5-2-1221 | |
| **209** | Reference to further privileges issued by Honorius III, not included since they were "not witnessed authentically". | | | | | | | | |
| **210** | Gregory IX | | - | | | | 469 | 19-3-1227 – 22-8-1241 | |
| **211** | Gregory IX | | 32 | | | 49 | 431 | 5-8-1227 | |
| **212** | Gregory IX | | 33 | | | 50 | 435 | 13-8-1227 | |
| **213** | Gregory IX | | 37 | | | 58 | 458 | 10-10-1231 | |
| **214** | Gregory IX | | 37 | | | 58 | 458 | 10-10-1231 | |
| **215** | Gregory IX | | 37 | | | 58 | 458 | 10-10-1231 | |
| **216** | Gregory IX | | 37 | | | 58 | 458 (453) | 10-10-1231 | |
| **217** | Gregory IX | | 29 | | | 54 | 444 | 4-2-1228 | |
| **218** | Gregory IX | | 35 | | | 51 | 439 | 31-8-1227 | |
| **219** | Gregory IX | | 28 | | | 53 | 443 | 3-2-1228 | |
| **220** | Gregory IX | | 28 | | | 53 | 443 | 3-2-1228 | |
| **221** | Gregory IX | | 38 | | | 59 | 465 | 28-11-1235 | |
| **222** | Gregory IX | | 39 | 76 | | 60 | 466 | 22-5-1237 | ARDOU 70 |
| **223** | Gregory IX | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **224** | Reference to further privileges issued by Gregory IX, not included since they were "not witnessed authentically". | | | | | | | | |
| **225** | Celestine IV | | - | | | | | | Non-existent |
| **226/227** | | Frederick II | | | 1 | 3 | 254 | 23-1-1214 | |
| **228** | | Frederick II | | | 2 | 4 | 253 | 5-9-1214 | |
| **229** | | Frederick II | | | 3 | 30; 31 | 257 | 4-1221 | ARDOU 102 |
| **230** | | Frederick II | | | 4 | 32 | 258 | 12-1222 | |
| **231** | | Frederick II | | | 5 | 33 | 259 | 1-1223 | |
| **232** | | Frederick II | | | 6 | 40 | 260 | 3-1223 | |
| **233** | | Frederick II | | | 7 | 41 | 261 | 4-1223 | |
| **237** | Innocent III | | - | | | | 298 | 27-6-1209 | |
| **393/394** | Innocent IV | | 43 | | | 69 | 514 (473) | 20-7-1247 | |
| **395** | Innocent IV | | 45 | 79 | | 76 | 528 | 18-5-1254 | ARDOU 75 |
| **396** | Innocent IV | | 44 | | | 75 | 526 (523) | 9/10-2-1254 | |
| **397** | Innocent IV | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **398** | Innocent IV | | - | | | | 497 | 4-1-1245 | Indulgences |
| **399** | (Innocent IV) | | - | | | | | | Indulgences |
| **400** | Innocent IV | | 40 | | | 66 | 499 (474) | 21-4-1246 | |
| **401** | Innocent IV | | - | | | | 475 | 20-4-1244 | |
| **402** | Innocent IV | | 42 | | | 68 | 512 | 13-6-1247 | ARDOU 74 |
| **403** | Innocent IV | | 45 | 79 | | 76 | 528 | 18-5-1254 | ARDOU 75 |
| **404** | Alexander IV | | 47 | | | 79 | 545 | 3-6-1257 | |
| **405** | Alexander IV | | 48 | | | 80 | 552 | 15-6-1257 | |
| **406** | Alexander IV | | 49 | 86 | | 82 | 560 | 28-7-1257 | |
| **407** | Alexander IV | | 51 | 83 | | 84 | 563 | 8-8-1257 | |
| **408** | Alexander IV | | 52 | | | 85 | 564 | 9-8-1257 | |
| **409** | Alexander IV | | 54 | | | 87 | 572 (544) | 9-9-1257 | |
| **410** | Alexander IV | | 57 | | | 91 | 588 (543) | 1-11-1258 | |
| **411** | Alexander IV | | 55 | | | 88 | 574 | 5-11-1257 | ARDOU 77 |
| **412** | Alexander IV | | - | | | | 535 | 11-7-1256 | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **413** | Alexander IV | | 60 | | 94 | 594 | 22-11-1258 | |
| **414** | | Henry (VII) | | 8 | 47 | 262 | 27-3-1227 | |
| **415** | | Conrad IV | | 9 | 62 | 263 | 6-1242 | |
| **424/425** | Urban IV | | 63 | | 99 | 633 | 23-8-1264 | |
| **426** | Urban IV | | - | | | 629 | 1-10-1263 | |
| **427** | Nicholas IV | | 66 | | 112 | 663 | 1-4-1289 | |
| **428** | Nicholas IV | | - | | | 665 | 1-3-1290 | |
| **429** | | Richard of Cornwall | | 10 | 89 | 264 | 28-11-1257 | |
| **457/458** | | Rudolph I | | 11 | 106 | 266 | 21-2-(1274) | |
| **459** | | Rudolph I | | 12 | 109 | 265 | 14-11-1273 | |
| **520** | | Adolf of Nassau | | 13 | 114 | 267 | 23-5-1293 | |
| **532** | | Albert I | | 14 | 117 | 268 | 22-9-1298 | |
| **533** | | Henry VII | | 15 | 120 | 269 | 6-3-1309 | |
| **545** | | Louis IV | | 18 | 123 | 270 | 17-4-1323 | |
| **555** | | Louis IV | | 16 | 124; 2 | 271 | 5-5-1330 | |
| **556** | | Louis IV | | 17 | 125 | 272 | 5-5-1330 | |
| **557** | | Louis IV | | 19 | 126 | 273 | 20-12-1331 | |
| **576** | | Charles IV | | 20 | 127 | 274 | 18-11-1347 | |
| **585** | | Charles IV | | 22 | 131 | 278 | 17-12-1355 | |
| **586** | | Charles IV | | 23 | 132 | 277 | 17-12-1355 | |
| **587** | | Charles IV | | 24 | 130 | 276 | 13-12-1355 | |
| **588** | | Charles IV | | 25 | 136 | 280 | 1-9-1376 | |
| **589** | | Charles IV | | 26 | 137 | 281 | 19-8-1378 | |
| **590** | | Charles IV | | 27 | 129 | 188 | 29-4-1355 | |
| **591** | | Charles IV | | 28 | 133 | 279 | 19-4-1365 | |
| **593** | Boniface IX | | 69 | | 142 | 693 | 11-5-1396 | ARDOU 88 |
| **594** | Boniface IX | | 71 | | 146 | 696 | 25-2-1399 | ARDOU 89 |
| **595** | Boniface IX | | 70 | | 143 | 695 | 7-4-1397 | |
| **596** | Boniface IX | | 72 | | 149 | 699 | 13-4-1400 | |
| **597** | Boniface IX | | 73 | | 152 | 701 | 10-12-1402 | |
| **598** | Martin V | | 81 | | 164 | 710 | 24-9-1420 | |
| **599** | | Wenceslaus | | 29 | 138 | 283 | 17-10-1383 | ARDOU 105 |
| **600** | | Wenceslaus | | 30 | 139 | 282 | 17-10-1383 | |
| **601** | | Wenceslaus | | 31 | 140 | 284 | 7-5-1389 | |
| **606** | Boniface IX | | - | | | 697 | 25-2-1399 | Indulgences |
| **607** | (Pelagius II) | | - | | | 697 | 25-2-1399 | Indulgences |
| **608** | (Pelagius II) | | - | | | 697 | 25-2-1399 | Indulgences |
| **609** | (Urban VI) | | - | | | 697 | 25-2-1399 | Indulgences |
| **610** | Boniface IX | | - | | | 697 | 25-2-1399 | Indulgences |
| **611** | Boniface IX | | - | | | 697 | 25-2-1399 | Indulgences |
| **612** | Boniface IX | | - | | | 700 | 16-6-1400 | Indulgences |
| **613** | Boniface IX | | 71 | | 146 | 696 | 25-2-1399 | ARDOU 89 |
| **614** | Boniface IX | | 70 | | 143 | 695 | 7-4-1397 | |
| **615** | Boniface IX | | 69 | | 142 | 693 | 11-5-1396 | ARDOU 88 |
| **617** | | Wenceslaus | | 32 | 144 | 285 | 9-1-1398 | |
| **618** | | Rupert | | 33 | 151 | 286 | 3-11-1402 | |
| **619** | | Rupert | | 34 | 153 | 287 | 19-8-1403 | |
| **620** | | Rupert | | 35 | 154 | 288 | 25-2-1404 | |
| **631** | Council of Constance | | 75 | | 159 | 704 | 4-9-1417 | |
| **632** | Martin V | | 78 | | 162 | 708 | 17-5-1419 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **633** | Martin V | | 81 | | 164 | 710 | 24-9-1420 |
| **634** | Martin V | | 83 | | 168 | 712 | 4-3-1423 |
| **635** | Martin V | | 84 | | 170 | 715 | 6-11-1429 |
| **636** | | Sigismund | | 36 | 155 | 290 | 19-11-1414 |
| **637** | | Sigismund | | 37 | 156 | 291 | 27-2-1415 |
| **638** | | Sigismund | | 38 | 157 | 292 | 19-6-1415 |
| **640** | Eugene IV | | 86 | | 172 | 719 | 15-12-1431 |
| **641** | Eugene IV | | 87 | | 171 | 718 | 18-2-1431 |
| **651** | Eugene IV | | - | | | 720 | 9-6-1442 |
| **652** | Council of Basel | | - | | | | 8-8-1444[1456] |
| **653** | | Frederick III (as King) | | - | | | 18-7-1442[1457] |
| **653** | | Frederick III (as Emperor) | | - | | | 26-9-1467[1458] |

*Table A.7 Detailed list of privileges in the* Croniken.

[1456] Arnold and Tumler eds., *Urkunden*, nr. 3444.
[1457] Ibid., nr. 3474 (also nr. 3477: 11 December 1442).
[1458] Ibid., nr. 3948 (transsumpt of nr. 3474 above).

List of cities and castles in Prussia and Livonia (ms. **We$_1$**, c.717–26)

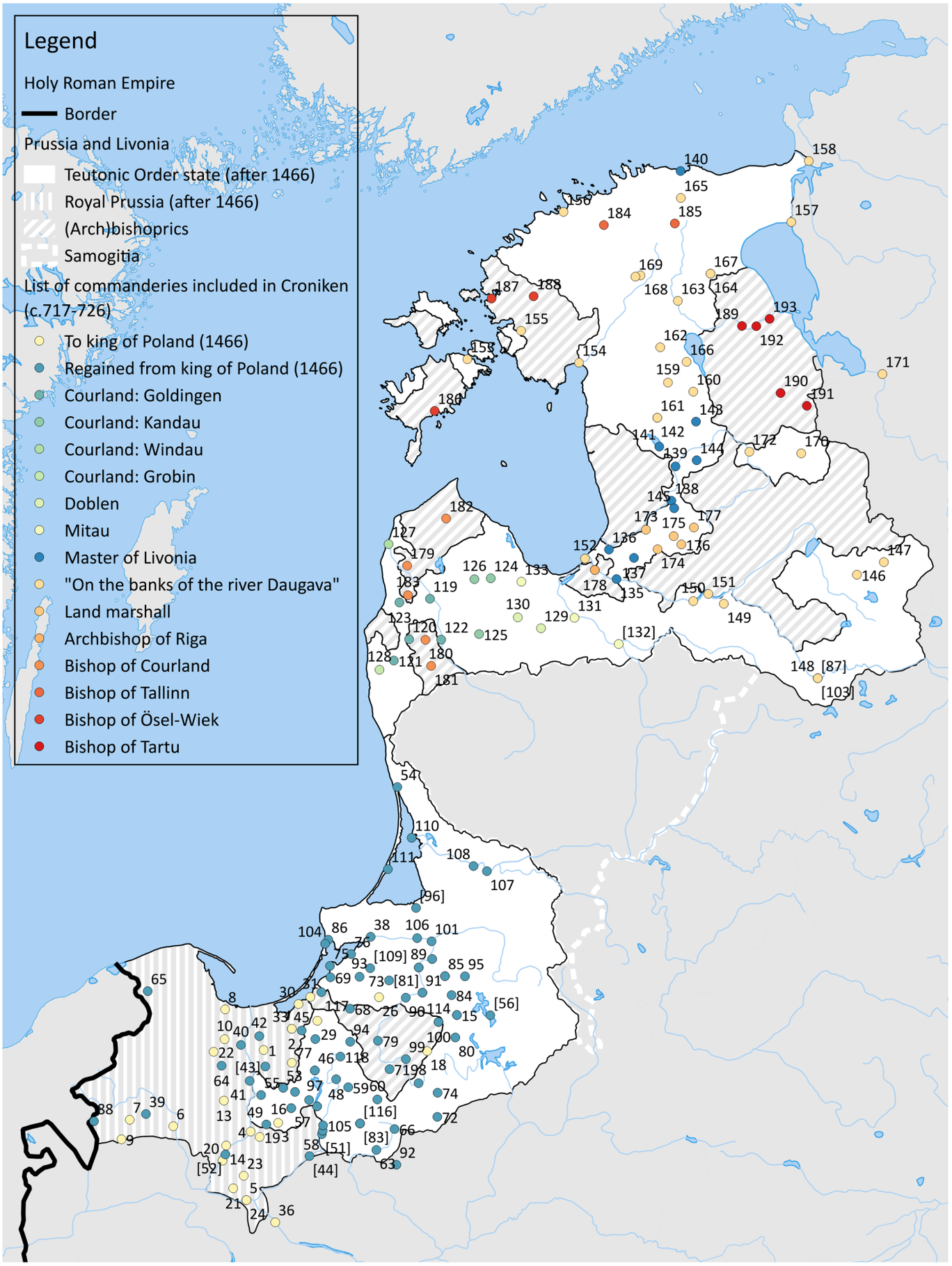


*Figure A.15 Locations of the Prussian and Livonian cities and castles mentioned in the* Croniken *(ms.* ***We$_1$****) in c.717–26, ordered per chapter.*

| Chap-ter | ID | Transcription | Identification | Pl.: | Present-day name | See ID |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **c.717** | | **Dit sijn die steden ende sloten die aenden Coninck van polen mit horen hulperen aen die pomersche sijde gebleuen sijn** | | | | |
| | | **These are the cities and castles that remained with the King of Poland and his allies on the Pomeranian side** | | | | |
| | **1** | Marienborch stadt ende slot | Marienburg | Pl.: | Malbork | |
| | **2** | Eluinghen een stadt dat slot off geworpen | Elbing | Pl.: | Elbląg | 33? |
| | **3** | Lossen een stadt | Lessen | Pl.: | Łasin | |
| | **4** | Grundens een slot | Graudenz | Pl.: | Grudziądz | |
| | **5** | Thoren twe steden slot off geworpen | Thorn | Pl.: | Toruń | 24 |
| | **6** | Tauchel een stadt ende een slot | Tuchel | Pl.: | Tuchola | |
| | **7** | Slechauwe een slot | Schlochau | Pl.: | Człuchów | |
| | **8** | Danssijc twe steden dat slot verdoruen | Danzig | Pl.: | Gdańsk | |
| | **9** | ffridelant bijder kons een stadt | Preußisch Friedland | Pl.: | Debrzno | |
| **c.717** | | **Dit hout die coninck tot synre hant** | | | | |
| | | **This keeps the king to himself** | | | | |
| | **10** | Sabevijts een slot | Sobbowitz | Pl.: | Sobowidz | |
| | **11** | Scoen elke een stadt | | | | |
| | **12** | Bern een stadt | | | | |
| | **13** | Mossijck een slot | Ossiek | Pl.: | Osiek (Powiat Starogardzki) | |
| | **14** | Swetse een stadt | Schwetz | Pl.: | Świecie | |
| | **15** | Rostenborch een stadt | Rastenburg | Pl.: | Kętrzyn | 65 |
| | **16** | ffristat een stadt | Freystadt in Westpreußen | Pl.: | Kisielice | 20 |
| | **17** | Gherijcs een hoff | | | | |
| | **18** | Bisscops weerda | Bischofswerder | Pl.: | Biskupiec | |
| | **19** | Engelborch een slot | Engelsberg | Pl.: | Górą Aniołów (Pokrzywno (Powiat Grudziądzki)) | |
| | **20** | Dat alle huis een slot | Althaus-Kulm | Pl.: | Starogród Chełmiński | |
| | **21** | Burgelate een slot | Birgelau | Pl.: | Bierzgłowo | |
| | **22** | Scoennes een stadt ende een slot | Schöneck | Pl.: | Skarszewy | |
| | **23** | Colmesey een stadt | Kulmsee | Pl.: | Chelmza | |
| | **24** | Toern een slot | Thorn | Pl.: | Toruń | 5 |
| | **25** | Cawyns een slot | | | | |
| | **26** | Landesborch een stadt | Landsberg in Ostpreußen | Pl.: | Górowo Iławeckie | |
| | **27** | Saluenter een stadt | | | | |
| | **28** | Cransborch een stadt | Christburg? | Pl.: | Dzierzgoń | 72? |
| | **29** | Melhusen een stadt | Mühlhausen in Ostpreußen | Pl.: | Młynary | |
| | **30** | Tolkemits een stadt | Tolkemit | Pl.: | Tolkmicko | |
| | **31** | ffrouwenborch een stadt | Frauenburg | Pl.: | Frombork | |
| | **32** | Bemenspirich een nystadt | | | | |
| | **33** | Elffinc een slot | Elbing | Pl.: | Elbląg | 2? |
| | **34** | Aldenborch een stadt | Allenburg | Ru.: | Дру́жба (Druschba) | 45 |
| | **35** | Gardouwen een slot | Gerdauen | Ru.: | Железнодоро́жный (Zheleznodo-rozhny) | 48 |
| | **36** | Nessiten een slot | Nessau | Pl.: | Nieszawa | |
| | **37** | Reynkitten een slot | | | | |
| **c.718** | | **Dese nabescreuen steden ende sloten hebben die duytsche oirden van pruyssen weder in ghekregen sint dat sy den strijt wonnen voir der Coentse tegens den Coninck van Polen** | | | | |
| | | **The cities and castles named hereafter did the Teutonic Order of Prussia recapture, after they won the Battle of Chojnice against the King of Poland** | | | | |
| | **38** | Conincsberch drie steden ende een heerlick slot | Königsberg | Ru.: | Калининград (Kaliningrad) | |
| | **39** | Der Coents een stat | Konitz | Pl.: | Chojnice | |
| | **40** | Dersouwe een stadt | Dirschau | Pl.: | Tczew | |
| | **41** | Der meuwe een stadt ende een slot | Mewe | Pl.: | Gniew | |
| | **42** | Nywendyck een stadt | Neuteich | Pl.: | Nowy Staw | |
| | **43** | Steyn een slot | Stuhm? | Pl.: | Sztum | |
| | **44** | Stroeyborch een stadt | Strasburg in Westpreußen? | Pl.: | Brodnica | |
| | **45** | Pruyssche marck een slot | Preußisch Mark | Pl.: | Przezmark (Elbląg) | |
| | **46** | Saltfelt een stadt | Saalfeld | Pl.: | Zalewo | 60 |
| | **47** | Sconenborch een slot | Schönberg | Pl.: | Szymbark (Iława) | |
| | **48** | Lieuemolle een stadt | Liebemühl | Pl.: | Miłomłyn | |
| | **49** | Roechusen een slot | Roggenhausen | Pl.: | Rogóźno-Zamek | |
| | **50** | Rosenborch een stadt | Rosenberg in Westpreußen | Pl.: | Susz | |
| | **51** | Kaawerner een slot | Kauernik? | Pl.: | Kurzętnik | |
| | **52** | Kelum een stadt | Kulm? | Pl.: | Chełmno | |
| | **53** | Resenborch een stadt | Riesenburg | Pl.: | Prabuty | |
| | **54** | Memmel een slot | Memel | Lt.: | Klaipėda | |
| | **55** | Marienweerder een stadt ende een slot | Marienwerder | Pl.: | Kwidzyn | |
| | **56** | Lesen een stadt | Lötzen? | Pl.: | Giżycko | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **57** | ffreystat een stadt | Freystadt in Westpreußen | Pl.: | Kisielice | 16 |
| **58** | Nymerck een stadt | Neumark in Westpreußen | Pl.: | Nowe Miasto Lubawskie | |
| **59** | Oesterrode een stadt ende een slot | Osterode | Pl.: | Ostróda | |
| **60** | Housteyn een stadt ende een slot | Hohenstein | Pl.: | Olsztynek | |
| **61** | Duutsche eylauwe een stadt | Deutsch Eylau | Pl.: | Iława | 75 |
| **62** | Ielgenborch een slot | Gilgenburg | Pl.: | Dąbrówno | 46; 79 |
| **63** | Saldauwe een stadt ende een slot | Soldau | Pl.: | Działdowo | |
| **64** | Stargart een stadt | Preußisch Stargard | Pl.: | Starogard Gdański | |
| **65** | Louwenborch een stadt | Lauenburg in Pommern | Pl.: | Lębork | |
| **66** | Nydenborch een stadt ende een slot | Neidenburg | Pl.: | Nidzica | |
| **67** | Brudenborch een stadt ende een slot | | | | 39? |
| **68** | Maelsac een stadt | Mehlsack | Pl.: | Pieniężno | |
| **69** | Den heyligen bil een stadt | Heiligenbeil | Ru.: | Мамоново (Mamonowo) | |
| **70** | Rosenhein een stadt | | | | |
| **71** | Allesteyn een stadt ende een slot | Allenstein | Pl.: | Olsztyn | |
| **72** | Wildenborch een slot | Willenberg | Pl.: | Wielbark | |
| **73** | Pruyssche eylauwe een slot | Preußisch Eylau | Ru.: | Багратио́новск (Bagrationowsk) | |
| **74** | Oertesborch een slot | Ortelsburg | Pl.: | Szczytno | |
| **75** | Die balgij een slot ende een heel gebiede | Balga | Ru.: | замок Бальга (Balga) | |
| **76** | Brandenborch een slot ende een heel gebiede | Brandenburg | Ru.: | Ушако́во (Ushakovo) | |
| **77** | Hollant een stadt ende een slot | Preußisch Holland | Pl.: | Pasłęk | |
| **78** | Die stapelborch een stadt ende een slot | | | | |
| **79** | Gustat een stadt | Guttstadt | Pl.: | Dobre Miasto | |
| **80** | Sestes een slot | Seehesten | Pl.: | Szestno | |
| **81** | Scemepyl een stadt | Schippenbeil? | Pl.: | Sępopol | 54? |
| **82** | Allenborch een stadt | Allenburg | Ru.: | Дру́жба (Druschba) | 34 |
| **83** | Ghildenborch een slot | Gilgenburg? | Pl.: | Dąbrówno | 25; 79 |
| **84** | Berten een slot | Barten | Pl.: | Barciany | |
| **85** | Iardauwe een stadt ende een slot | Gerdauen | Ru.: | Железнодоро́жный (Zheleznodo-rozhny) | 35 |
| **86** | vishusen een stadt ende een slot | Fischhausen | Ru.: | Примо́рск (Primorsk, Kaliningrad Oblast) | |
| **87** | Dunenborch een slot | Dünaburg? | Lv.: | Daugavpils | 66 |
| **88** | Hamersteyn een stadt | Hammerstein | Pl.: | Czarne | |
| **89** | Vredelant een stadt | Friedland in Ostpreußen | Ru.: | Правдинск (Pravdinsk) | 78 |
| **90** | Bartestein een stadt | Bartenstein | Pl.: | Bartoszyce | |
| **91** | Scippenpael een stadt | Schippenbeil | Pl.: | Sępopol | 44? |
| **92** | Millauwe een stadt | Mielau | Pl.: | Mława | |
| **93** | Sinten een stadt | Zinten | Ru.: | Корнево (Kornewo) | |
| **94** | Libescat een stadt | Liebstadt | Pl.: | Miłakowo | |
| **95** | Noerdenborch een stadt | Nordenburg | Ru.: | Крылово (Krylowo) | |
| **96** | Lebbie een stadt | Labiau (4.1)? Leipe (2.1)? Leba (2.1)? | Ru.: | Полесск (Polessk) | |
| **97** | Saluelt een stadt | Saalfeld | Pl.: | Zalewo | 9 |
| **98** | Possenheim een stadt | Passenheim | Pl.: | Pasym | |
| **99** | Wartenberch een stadt | Wartenburg in Ostpreußen | Pl.: | Barczewo | |
| **100** | Resel een stadt ende een slot | Rößel | Pl.: | Reszel | 77 |
| **101** | Wellauwe een stadt | Wehlau | Ru.: | Знаменск (Snamensk) | |
| **102** | Rastenborch een stadt | Rastenburg | Pl.: | Kętrzyn | 15 |
| **103** | Dunenborch een slot | Dünaburg? | Lv.: | Daugavpils | 50 |
| **104** | Lochsteden een slot | Lochstädt | Ru.: | Па́влово (Pawlowo, Baltiysk) | |
| **105** | Bretsem een slot | Brattean | Pl.: | Bratian | |
| **106** | Thabauwe een slot ende dat heel maerscalck ampt | Tapiau | Ru.: | Гвардейск (Gvardejsk) | |
| **107** | Regniet een slot | Ragnit | Ru.: | Неман (Neman) | |
| **108** | Teylse een slot | Tilsit | Ru.: | Советск (Sovjetsk) | |
| **109** | Crunsberch een slot | Creuzburg in Ostpreußen? | Ru.: | Славское (Slawskoje) | 28? |
| **110** | Wijnborch een slot | Windenburg | Lt.: | Ventė | |
| **111** | Rositen een slot | Rossitten | Ru.: | Рыбачий (Rybatschi) | |
| **112** | Duytsche yle een slot | Deutsch Eylau | Pl.: | Iława | 24 |
| **113** | Pijnsteren een stadt | | | | |
| **114** | Resel een stadt ende slot | Rößel | Pl.: | Reszel | 63 |
| **115** | ffredelant een stadt | Friedland in Ostpreußen | Ru.: | Правдинск (Pravdinsk) | 52 |
| **116** | Ghillenborch een stadt | Gilgenburg? | Pl.: | Dąbrówno | 25; 46 |
| **117** | Brunsberch een stadt | Braunsberg | Pl.: | Braniewo | |
| **118** | Merinck een stadt ende een slot | Mohrungen | Pl.: | Morąg | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **c.719** | | **In Coerlant: Dat gebiede tot goldinghen** | | | | |
| | | **In Courland: the territory at Goldingen** | | | | |
| | **119** | Goldinghen een stadt | Goldingen | Lv.: | Kuldīga | |
| | **120** | Hasenpot | Hasenpoth | Lv.: | Aizpute | |
| | **121** | Doerben | Durben | Lv.: | Durbe | |
| | **122** | Stronden | Schrunden | Lv.: | Skrunda | |
| | **123** | Alswangen sloot | Alswangen | Lv.: | Alsunga | |
| **c.720** | | **In Coerlant: Die voicht van Candauwen** | | | | |
| | | **In Courland: the *Vogt* of Kandau** | | | | |
| | **124** | Candauwen | Kandau | Lv.: | Kandava | |
| | **125** | vrouwenberch | Frauenburg | Lv.: | Saldus | |
| | **126** | Sabelen | Zabeln | Lv.: | Sabile | |
| **c.721** | | **In Coerlant: Die Commenduer van wijndo** | | | | |
| | | **In Courland: the commander of Windau** | | | | |
| | **127** | wijndo een stadt ende een slot | Windau | Lv.: | Ventspils | |
| **c.722** | | **In Coerlant: Die voicht van grobijn** | | | | |
| | | **In Courland: the *Vogt* of Grobin** | | | | |
| | **128** | Grobijn een [stadt] ende een slot | Grobin | Lv.: | Grobiņa | |
| **c.723** | | **Die Commenduer van dobbelen** | | | | |
| | | **The commander of Doblen** | | | | |
| | **129** | Dobbelen een stadt slot | Doblen | Lv.: | Dobele | |
| | **130** | Nyeborch een slot opte lettausche grenss | Neuenburg | Lv.: | Jaunspils | |
| **c.724** | | **Die Commanduer ter nijttauwe** | | | | |
| | | **The commander at Mitau** | | | | |
| | **131** | | Mitau | Lv.: | Jelgava | |
| | **132** | Boecksheimborch een slot | Bauske? | Lv.: | Bauska | |
| | **133** | Tucken slot | Tuckum | Lv.: | Tukums | |
| **c.724** | | **In des meysters gebiede** | | | | |
| | | **In the master's territory** | | | | |
| | **134** | Riege een stadt ende een slot ende is des meysters hoifthuis | Riga | Lv.: | Riga | 178 |
| | **135** | kerthollem opter dunen slot | Kirchholm | Lv.: | Salaspils | |
| | **136** | Nymolen een slot, | Neuermühlen | Lv.: | Ādaži | |
| | **137** | Roedenpeys een slot | Rodenpois | Lv.: | Ropaži | |
| | **138** | Wenden een stadt ende slot daer de meyster nv sijn hoofthuis heeft | Wenden | Lv.: | Cēsis | |
| | **139** | Wolmer stadt ende slot | Wolmar | Lv.: | Valmiera | |
| | **140** | Tolsborch opter zeecant na zweden | Tolsburg | Et.: | Toolse | |
| | **141** | Bertenic slot, | Burtneck | Lv.: | Burtnieki | |
| | **142** | Roeyen slot, | Rujen | Lv.: | Rūjiena | 161 |
| | **143** | Armes een slot, | Ermes | Lv.: | Ērģeme | |
| | **144** | Tricaten een slot, | Trikaten | Lv.: | Trikāta | |
| | **145** | Aries een slot | Arrasch | Lv.: | Āraiši | |
| **c.725** | | **Opter dune die ryuier die sloten gelegen** | | | | |
| | | **Along the river Düna are these castles** | | | | |
| | **146** | Item een voicht the Rosseyten | Rositten | Lv.: | Rēzekne | |
| | **147** | ende ludsen opte Ruyssche grenss | Ludsen | Lv.: | Ludza | |
| | **148** | Een commenduer tot dunenborch slot | Dünaburg | Lv.: | Daugavpils | |
| | **149** | Een voicht tot seelborch slot | Selburg | Lv.: | Sēlpils | |
| | **150** | Een commenduer van asscenrode een slot, | Ascheraden | Lv.: | Aizkraukle | |
| | **151** | Alchenae een slot | Altona | Lv.: | Alteni | |
| | **152** | Een commenduer tot dunemunde opter salter zee slot | Dünamünde | Lv.: | Daugavgrīva | |
| | **153** | Een voicht van soenenborch ander salter zee slot | Soneburg | Et.: | Maasi | |
| | **154** | Een commenduer te parnauwe ander salter zee een stadt ende slot | Pernau | Et.: | Pärnu | |
| | **155** | Een commenduer te lehael . heeft die bisscop van oesel halff ende is oick vander oirden | Leal | Et.: | Lihula | |
| | **156** | Een commenduer the Reuel . een grote stadt end is ghelegen ander salter zee | Reval | Et.: | Tallinn | |
| | **157** | Een voicht vanden nywen slote gelegen aen rŭyslant die onkristen zijn een slot | Neuschloß | Et.: | Vasknarva | |
| | **158** | Een voicht van narwe gelegen aen ruyslant stadt ende slot | Narwa | Et.: | Narva | |
| | **159** | Een voicht van karcs | Karkus | Et.: | Karkski | |
| | **160** | helm | Helmat | Et.: | Helme | |
| | **161** | ende royen Ende dese voicht geeft alle iair in des meysters camer twedusent marck aen gelde ende twe rijnsgulden sijn drie marck | Rujen | Lv.: | Rūjiena | 142 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **162** | Een commenduer van valyen ende is een stadt ende een slot ende is die meeste commenduer in lieflant. Ende Tauses ende valyen plegen tsestich off seuentich heren the houden ende somtijt hondert heren off the riden | Fellin | Et.: | Viljandi | |
| | **163** | Een voicht van ouerpoel | Oberpahlen | Et.: | Põltsamaa | |
| | **164** | ende van lagges | Lais | Et.: | Laiuse | 167 |
| | **165** | Een voicht van wesenbergen ende lecht in wyerlant | Wesenberg | Et.: | Rakvere | |
| | **166** | Noch ter wyst een slot | Tarwast | Et.: | Tarvastu | |
| | **167** | Noch lagis een slot | Lais | Et.: | Laiuse | 164 |
| | **168** | Een voicht van wittesteyn | Weißenstein | Et.: | Paide | |
| | **169** | ende yerwen ende hier toe behoren lairlicx dertichdusent marck | Jerwen | Et.: | Järvamaa | |
| | **170** | Een commenduer van Marienborch ende is gelegen harde | Marienburg | Lv.: | Alūksne | |
| | **171** | voir plescouwe dat een heidensche stadt is | Pleskau | Ru.: | Псков (Pskov) | |
| | **172** | Noch een slot ende heet atsel | Adsel | Lv.: | Gaujiena | |
| **c.726** | | **Onder den lantmaerscalck ende die meeste syn naest den meyster** | | | | |
| | | **Subject to the land marshall, mostly close to the master** | | | | |
| | **173** | Seechwolt | Segewold | Lv.: | Sigulda | |
| | **174** | leeuenberch | Lemberg | Lv.: | Mālpils | |
| | **175** | Myttouwe op dese set die maerscalck sijn amptluden offte drossaten | Nietau | Lv.: | Nītaure | |
| | **176** | Ioriens borch | Jurgensburg | Lv.: | Zaube | |
| | **177** | Scoyn | Schujen | Lv.: | Skujene | |
| **c.726** | | **Item die Eertsbisscop van Riege heeft twijntich goede sloot ende is vander oirden ende heeft een domkerke** | | | | |
| | | **Furthermore, the archbishop of Riga has twenty good castles. He belongs to the Teutonic Order and has a cathedral church** | | | | |
| | **178** | | Riga | Lv.: | Riga | 134 |
| **c.726** | | **Die bisscop van Coerlant een slot geheten** | | | | |
| | | **The bishop of Courland has a castle named** | | | | |
| | **179** | Pilten ende | Pilten | Lv.: | Piltene | |
| | **180** | Nyehuis gelegen voirt lant van sameyten | Neuhaußen | Lv.: | Valtaiķi | |
| | **181** | Amboten een slot | Amboten | Lv.: | Embūte | |
| | **182** | Doen danghen een slot | Dondangen | Lv.: | Dundaga | |
| | **183** | Edualen slot | Edwahlen | Lv.: | Ēdole | |
| **c.726** | | **Die bisscop the Reuel een stadt twe slot** | | | | |
| | | **The bishop of Reval has a city and two castles** | | | | |
| | **184** | dat vegevier | Fegefeuer | Et.: | Kiviloo | |
| | **185** | ende borch holm | Borkholm | Et.: | Porkuni | |
| **c.726** | | **Die bisscop van oessel** | | | | |
| | | **The bishop of Ösel-Wiek** | | | | |
| | **186** | een slot geheten Aernsborch ende leyt opten lande the oessel | Arensburg | Et.: | Kuressaare | |
| | **187** | Hoepsel dese II leggen inden wijck | Hapsal | Et.: | Haapsalu | |
| | **188** | leden | Lohde | Et.: | Koluvere | |
| **c.726** | | **Die bisscop van derp** | | | | |
| | | **The bishop of Dorpat** | | | | |
| | **189** | ende is een stadt ende slot ende lecht voir die heydenisse | Dorpat | Et.: | Tartu | |
| | **190** | kyerenpeel een slot | Kirrumpäh | Et.: | Kirumpää | |
| | **191** | Nyenhuys een slot | Neuhausen | Et.: | Vastseliina | |
| | **192** | Den olden toirn een slot | Oldentorn (Altenturm) | Et.: | Vana-Kastre | |
| | **193** | Weerdenbeeck slot | Warbeck (Kaster) | Et.: | Uue-Kastre | |

*Table A.8 Locations of the Prussian and Livonian cities and castles mentioned in the* Croniken *(ms.* ***We$_1$****) in c.717–26, ordered per chapter.*

## A.3 Question of authorship

### Use of first person

| Chapter | *Croniken* (ms. We$_1$) | Source (if applicable) |
|---|---|---|
| **c.477** | Want **wij** van Akers nyet swigen en willen om te horen hoe dat vergaen is. | n/a |
| **c.512** | Hier eyndet nu van Akers. Ende **wy** willen voirt van der Duytscher Oirden scriven. | n/a |
| **c.629** | Mar wairom hij [Grand Master Heinrich of Plauen] offgeset ende in vanghenisse gheset wert, dat en vijnd **ic** nyet. | [*Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, c.197] Addir **ich** weis nicht, was seyne gebittiger bedawchte, sy satczten en von dem meisterampt ken Engelsburg, dornoch ken Dantczk, do her wol VII iar gefangen sas. |
| **c.664 (c.58; c.663; c.716)** | **Onsse** heilighe vader die Paeus Nicolaus Quintus [Pope Nicholas V, 6 March 1447 – 24 March 1455] | n/a |
| **c.668 (c.667; c.679)** | **Ons** alre genadichste heer die Keyser Ffredericus [Emperor Frederick III, 16 March 1452 - 19 August 1493] | n/a |
| **c.746** | Mer bij heren Goessens tijden van den Garner, soe betaelden die lantcommenduer heer Goessen voirscreven der balien van Westvalen vijftienhondert pont ende dair meyn **ick** dat hij Bun weder voir kreech. | n/a |
| **c.763**<br><br><br>**c.767** | Mer off hij [Land Commander Hendrik van Hoenhorst] ander beveel nae kreech, dat en vijnde **ick** nyet.<br>Hij [Land Commander Zweder Cobbing] vercoft veel van des huis selverwerck, bij namen op ene tijt soe veel dair hij vijfhonder Rijnsguldens off nam, daer **ick** bescheit off gesien heb. | n/a<br><br><br>n/a |

*Table A.9: Use of the first person in the* Croniken*. The numerous instances of the first person in quoted dialogues, in reference to God, Jesus or Mary, and inserted privileges have been excluded.*

List of land charters by Hendrik van Vianen

| # | Signature | Date | Issued by | Description | Writer | Language |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 807.2 | **30-03-1479** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **2** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 43.2 | **27-10-1480** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Appointment of priest-brother | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **3** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 2248.2 | **13-03-1481** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Settlement with Frisian commandry of Nes | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **4** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 2287.1 | **15-03-1481** | Ludolf Idsens, parish priest of Oldeboorn | | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **5** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 490.1 | **01-06-1481** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Appointment of priest-brother | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **6** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 107.2 | **24-10-1481** | Johan van Riet, suffragan bishop of Utrecht | Vidimus of a T.O. privilege | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **7** | Schiedam, Gemeentearchief, Familie Van Mathenesse, inv.nr. 253 | **27-05-1482** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Permission granted to knight brother to sell his inheritance | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **8** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 1777.1 | **20-09-1483** | Gosen van Rossum, commander Tiel and L.C. *ad interim* | Appointment of priest-brother | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **9** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 806.2 | **24-11-1483** | Lourens Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **10** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 808.2 | **24-11-1483** | Jacob Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **11** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 443.1a | **22-02-1484** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Selling of land rent | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **12** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 443.2g | **22-02-1484** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Selling of land rent | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **13** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 491.1 | **07-09-1484** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Selling of land rent | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **14** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 443.3 | **17-09-1484** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Selling of land rent | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **15** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 772.1 | **14-10-1484** | Luytgen Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **16** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 747.3 | **14-10-1484** | Willem van Schaik; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **17** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 836.1 | **18-10-1484** | Johan van Damme; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **18** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 786.4 | **17-12-1484** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **19** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 772.3 | **25-03-1485** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **20** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 772.2 | **25-03-1485** | Gijsbert Gerritsz. Van Schaik; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **21** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 791.2 | **10-04-1485** | Frank Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **22** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 853.1 | **20-10-1485** | Aernt Jacobsz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **23** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 791.3 | **22-02-1486** | Adriaen Claesz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **24** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 825.2 | **10-03-1486** | Floris Alaertsz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **25** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 735.1 | **16-11-1486** | Willem Aerntsz. Van Overrijn; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **26** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 735.5 | **16-11-1486** | Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **27** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 470.8 | **19-09-1490 [Utrecht]** | David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht; Johan van Drongelen, L.C. | Confirmation of a T.O. privilege | Anon. | Latin |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **28** | Arnhem, Gelders Archief, Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv.nr. 6555 | **27-07-1491 [Zuilen]** | Jasper van Culemborg, i.a. Lord of Zuilen | Collation of accounts of Frans van Borssele, i.a. Lord of Zuilen (1446/47) | Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, notary public | Latin |
| **29** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 1291.2 | **19-11-1491 [Utrecht]** | Gerard ter Herenhove, dean of the chapter of St. Mary in Rees | Vidimus of a T.O. privilege | Anon. | Latin |
| **30** | The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4 | **[ca. 1499-1500]** | Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt, L.C.? | Manuscript copy of so-called 'Hollandse Saksenspiegel'[1459] | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **31** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 820.5 | **09-09-1499** | Johan Dammasz.; Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **32** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 853.2 | **14-10-1499** | Cornelis Aertsz.; Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt, L.C. | Leasehold | Anon. | Middle Dutch |
| **33** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 825.3 | **27-02-1500** | Floris Alaertsz.; Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt, L.C. | Leasehold | Hendrik van Vianen, notary public | Middle Dutch |
| **34** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 503.1 | **27-08-1501** | Willem Stevensz. van Nijevelt | Handing over vicarage in church of St. James (Utrecht) to T.O. | Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, notary public | Latin |
| **35** | ARDOU, inv.nr. 1433.5 | **29-10-1505** | Bernard van Tiel, Dean of the Chapter of St. Mary in Utrecht | Vidimus of a T.O. privilege | Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, notary public | Latin |
| **36** | Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Huisarchief Almelo, inv.nr. 1836 (R795) | **[.]8-07-1509 [Vianen]** | Adolf van Rechteren, Lord of Almelo; Hendrik die Hert, parish priest in Vianen | Appointment of the Vianen parish priest in a vicarage in the church of Almelo | Hendrik van Vianen, notary public | Latin |

*Table A.10 All recovered writings by Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, other than manuscript **We$_1$**. L.C.: land commander; T.O.: Teutonic Order.*

[1459] Smits, 'Spiegel van Sassen'.

## List of persons invited or attending Drongelen's entry ceremony

Most emphasis has been put on identifying the persons from the County of Holland, less so much on those from the Bishopric of Utrecht. Some of the identifications are partial and/or incomplete.

| Code | Transcription | Normalised name | Function | Year of death | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **f. 1r** | **Dit sijn die gene tot Jans cledinge van drongelen souden wesen als daer hi maech toe is et cetera. Ende die van buten sijn:** | | | | |
| **A1** | die heer van brederoy | Reinoud II van Brederode | Lord of Brederode etc. | 1473 | Married to C1, brother A2, C2 |
| **A2** | die doemproest | Gijsbrecht van Brederode | Provost of the Utrecht cathedral | 1475 | Brother A1, C2 |
| **A3** | die joncker van gaesbeec | Jacob van Gaasbeek | Lord of Gaasbeek, Abcoude, etc. | 1459 | |
| **A4** | die joncker van seuenbergen | Arend van Strijen (sr.) | Lord of Zevenbergen (1453) | >1453 | |
| **A5** | heer dirc van der merwen | Dirk van der Merwede | Lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, Drongelen, etc. | 1452 | |
| **A6** | heer ghijsbert van vianen | Gijsbert van Vianen | Lord of Noordeloos etc. | 1458 | Brother of A7, possibly son of C3 |
| **A7** | heer jan van vianen | Jan van Vianen | Knight | >1465 | Brother of A6, possibly son of C3 |
| **A8** | heer gerijt van poelgeest | Gerijt van Poelgeest | Lord of Hoogmade etc. | 1458 | |
| **A9** | willam van langeraec | Willem van Langerak | Lord of Wadenoijen (sr.); squire (jr.) | >1448 (sr.; jr.) | Aunt and cousins: C5, C7, C10, C11 |
| **A10** | floris van kijfhoec | Floris van Kijfhoek | Lord of Zwijndrecht etc. | <1448 (sr.); <1473 (jr.) | |
| **A11** | die joncker van hemert | Jan van Hemert | Lord of Nederhemert (1457) | >1458 | |
| **A12** | robbrecht van drongelen | Robbrecht van Drongelen | Lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, Drongelen, etc. (1458) | >1478 | Brother of A13 |
| **A13** | heynrijc van drongelen | Hendrik van Drongelen | | >1463 | Brother of A12 |
| **A14** | dirc van weerdenborch | Dirk van Waardenburg | | 1456 | Married to C15 |
| **A15** | zweer van weerdenborch | Zweder van Waardenburg | Lord of Gansoyen (1459) | <1467 | Son of A14 and C15 |
| **A16** | gerijt van assendelft | Gerard van Assendelft | Lord of Assendelft, Besoyen | 1486 | Married to C17 |
| **A17** | die cassteleyn van huesden | [Deputy of] 1431–47: Dirk van der Merwede (A5) / 1448: Count Jan IV of Nassau | 'Kastelein' (steward) of the Heusden castle | | |
| **A18** | die drossaet van huesden | [Arend Spiering van Aalburg, 1451] | 'Drost' (bailiff) of Heusden | | |
| **A19** | willam van bisoyen | Willem van Besoyen | Lord of Besoyen (1439–47) | >1453 | Father (?) of C16, grandfather of C17 |
| **A20** | floris van der dussen | Floris van der Dussen | Lord of Dussen, Aartswaard; Bailiff South Holland | <1457 | |
| **A21** | jan van goer | Jan van Ghoor | | >1450 | Owns land next to Teutonic House in Schelluinen |
| **A22** | hessel van drongelen | [Multiple options, possibly son of C8] Hessel van Drongelen | | >1457 | Son of C8? |

| f. 1v | Item dit sijn die daer wesen souden vten sticht ende vter stat: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **B1** | mijns heren genade van vtrecht | Rudolf van Diepholt | Bishop Utrecht | 1455 | |
| **B2** | die doemdeken | Jan Proeys | Dean of the Utrecht cathedral church | | |
| **B3** | die proest van sinte jan | Dirk van Wassenaar | Provost of St John, Utrecht | | |
| **B4** | die proest van s marien | Hendrik Raescop | Provost of St Mary, Utrecht | 1455 | |
| **B5** | die koer bisscop | Evert Zoudenbalch | Chorbishop Utrecht | | |
| **B6** | die scolaster | Bernard Proeys | Scholaster Utrecht | | |
| **B7** | heer jan van drakenborch | Jan van Drakenburg | Lord of Vuursche | | Married to C26? |
| **B8** | heer willam van zweten | Willem de Rover van Montfoort | Lord of Zwieten | | Married to C10 |
| **B9** | heer heynric van kronenborch | Hendrik van Kronenburg (jr.) | Lord of Kronenburg | | Nephew of former husband C6 |
| **B10** | melis van mijnden | Amelis van Mijnden | | | Nephew of B10 |
| **B11** | heer vrederijc vten ham | Frederik uten Ham | Lord of Den Ham | | Possibly related to C13, father of C21 |
| **B12** | vrederijc van renesse | Frederik van Renesse | | | Married to C18? |
| **B13** | jan van renesse | Jan van Renesse | | | Married to C19? |
| **B14** | jonge jan van renesse | Jan van Renesse (jr.) | | | Married to C19? |
| **B15** | jonge vrederijc van renesse | Frederik van Renesse (jr.) | | | Married to C18? |
| **B16** | steuen van nyevelt jacobssoen | Steven van Nijevelt, son of Jacob | | | |
| **B17** | steuen van nyevelt willamssoen | Steven van Nijevelt, son of Willem | | | |
| **B18** | willam van nyevelt | Willem van Nijevelt | | | |
| **B19** | bertelmeus van nyevelt | Bartholomeus van Nijevelt | | | Married to C32 |
| **B20** | staes van loenresloet | Staes van Loenersloot | | | |
| **B21** | ghijsbert van sterkenborch | Gijsbert van Sterkenburg | | | Married to C20 |
| **B22** | jacop proys | Jacob Proeys | | | Married to C24 |
| **B23** | lichtenberch | [Multiple options] | | | |
| **B24** | roetaert | [Multiple options] | | | |
| **B25** | ghijsbert van nyenroy van velsen | Gijsbert van Nijenrode van Velsen | | | Married to C21 |
| **B26** | aernt van amerongen | Arend van Amerongen | | | Married to C27 |
| **B27** | souwe van rijn | Souwe van Rijn | | | Married to C28 |
| **B28** | vrederijc van drakenborch | Frederik van Drakenburg (jr.) | | | |
| **B29** | jan van drakeborch | Jan van Drakenburg | | | Compare B7; Married to C26? |
| **B30** | eerst van hardenbroec | Ernst van Hardenbroek | | | Married to C29 |
| **B31** | godscalc van winsen | Godschalk van Winsen | | | |
| **B32** | gerijt van kulemborch | Gerard van Culemborg | | 1466 | |
| **B33** | aert bijndop | Arend Bijndop | | | |

| f. 2r | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **C1** | die vrouwe van breroye | Yolande van Lalaing | 1497 | Married to A1 |
| **C2** | die joffer van breroye | Walravina van Brederode | | Sister A1, A2. Widow of Gerrit van Broekhuizen (d. 1443) |
| **C3** | die vrouwe van vianen die oude | [Possibly] Fije Johanna van Herlaar | >1420 | Mother of A6, A7 |
| **C4** | die vrouwe van drongelen | Maria van Schoonhout | around 1458 | Widow of Johan III van Drongelen |
| **C5** | die vrouwe van langeraec | Elburg van Langerak | >1483 | Married to Rutger van Boetzelaer; mother of C11; cousin of C10; cousin or nephew of A9; nephew of C7 |
| **C6** | die vrouwe van kronenborch | [Probably] Katharina van Drongelen | >1451 | Oldest daughter of Johan III van Drongelen's first marriage. Widow of Jan van Kronenburg, uncle of B9 |
| **C7** | die vrouwe van poelgeest | Margaretha van Doornik | | Married to A8 |
| **C8** | die vrouwe van nyesteyn | Margaretha Millinc | | Married (again?) to Hendrik van Nijenstein, mother of Hessel van Drongelen, possibly A22 |
| **C9** | die vrouwe van noerdeloes | Meine van Heemskerk | <1475 | Married to A6 |
| **C10** | die vrouwe van zweten van montfoort | Margaretha van Langerak | | Married to B8; see C5 |
| **C11** | die joffer van assperen van boetselaer | Kunigonda van Boetzelaer | | Daughter of C5 |
| **C12** | die vrouwe van nyevelt | | | |
| **C13** | die vrouwe van baersel | | | Possibly related to B11 |
| **C14** | die joffer van weerdenborch van brakel | | | |
| **C15** | die joffer van weerdenborch dircs wijf | Johanna van Drongelen | | Married to A14, sister or half-sister of C6 |
| **C16** | die joffer van bysoyen | Katharina van Besoyen (or her mother Beatrijs van der Wale?) | | Mother C17, daughter A19 (?) |
| **C17** | die joffer van assendelft | Beatrijs van Dongen | | Married to A16, daughter C16 (?) |
| **C18** | de joffer van renesse vrederics | | | Married to B12 (or B15) |
| **C19** | de joffer van renesse jans | | | Married to B13 (or B14) |
| **C20** | die joffer van sterkenborch | | | Married to B21 |
| **C21** | die joffer van nyenroy van welsen | Geertruida Uten Ham | | Married to B25, daughter of B11 |
| **C22** | die oude joffer van drakenborch | | | Compare B7, B28, B29 |
| **C23** | de joffer van rumelaer | | | |
| **C24** | de joffer prois jacobs wijf | | | Married to B22 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **C25** | die joffer van steenre willams wijf | | Married to Willem van Steenre |
| **C26** | de joffer van drakenborch jans wijf | | Married to B7 or B29 |
| **C27** | de joffer van amerongen | | Married to B26 |
| **C28** | de joffer van rijn souwen wijf | | Married to B27 |
| **C29** | de joffer van herdenbroec | | Married to B30 |
| **C30** | de joffer van moerdrecht | | |

*Table A.11 List of persons invited or attending the ceremony for Johan van Drongelen entering the Teutonic Order (ARDOU, inv.nr. 251).*

## Genealogical tables

Please note that I have not tried to retain the order of the siblings in which they were born, as this would complicate the layout and increase the size of the tables. The purpose was to reconstruct the extended family of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen and make visible connections between the persons present or invited at his entry ceremony (Table A.11).

Persons who were also invited to the ceremonial entry of Johan van Drongelen into the Teutonic Order (Table A.11) are labelled with a *.

The abbreviation "Rep." refers to the *leenrepertoria* (registers of fiefs), which are published and available via http://www.hogenda.nl/hogenda-leenkamers/.

The following tables are included. The main tables, divided in three:

- Figure A.16: Johan van Drongelen's maternal family (Veen, Buys) and link with the Drongelen family.
- Figure A.17: The main branch of the Drongelen family and their descendants (Langerak, Waardenburg).
- Figure A.18: The main branch of the Merwede, Brederode, Vianen families and affiliated families (Both van der Eem, Herlaar).

Three detailed tables:

- Figure A.19: Eethen-branch of the Drongelen family and the sale of the lordships of Eethen, Meeuwen, and Drongelen.
- Figure A.20: Besoyen and Assendelft families.
- Figure A.21: Margaretha Millinc and Hessel van Drongelen.

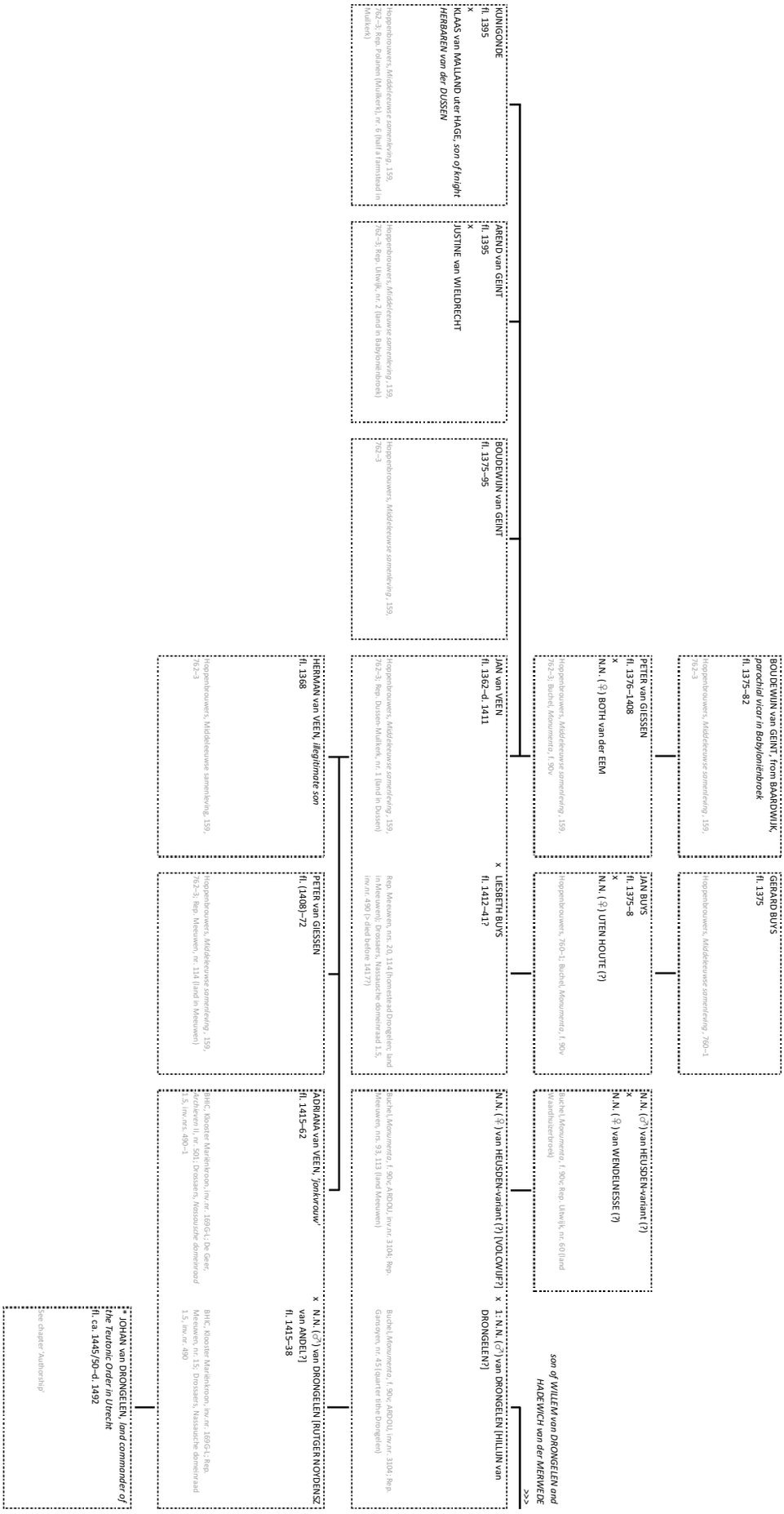


*Figure A.16 Main genealogical table 1: Johan van Drongelen's maternal family (Veen-Buys).*

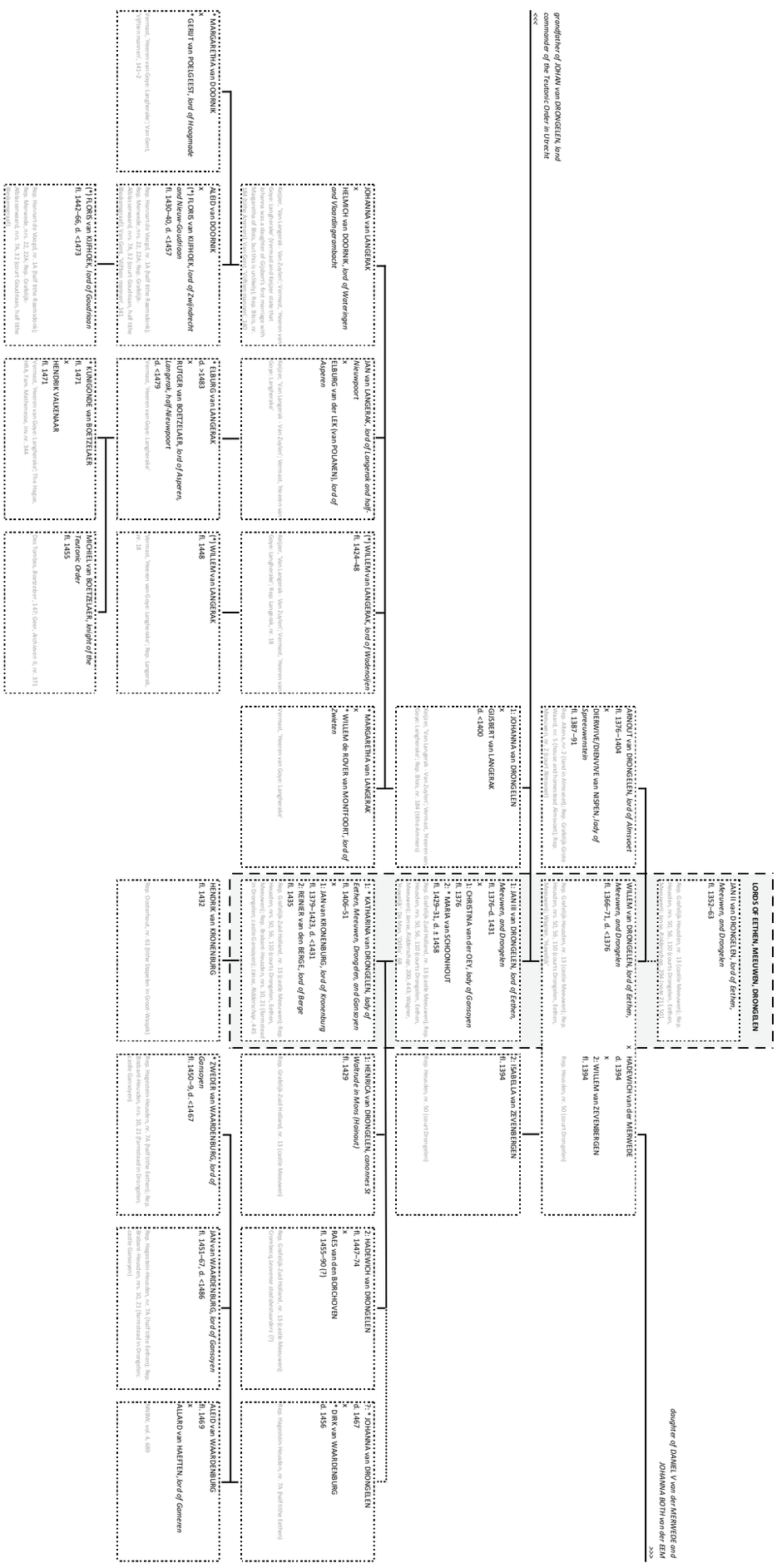


*Figure A.17 Main genealogical table 2: main branch of the Drongelen family (including Langerak, Poelgeest, Zwieten, Waardenburg).*

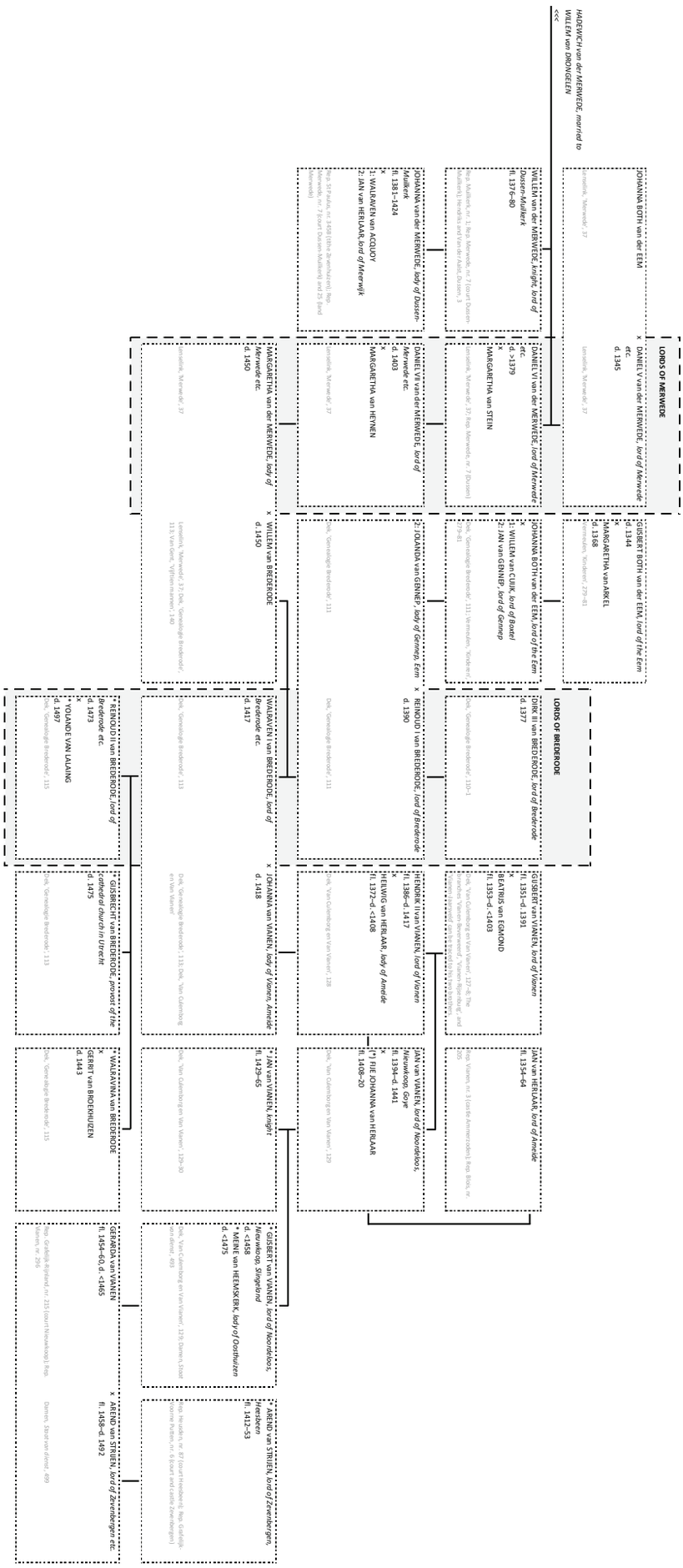


*Figure A.18 Main genealogical table 3: main branches of the Merwede, Brederode and Vianen families (including Herlaar, Both van der Eem).*

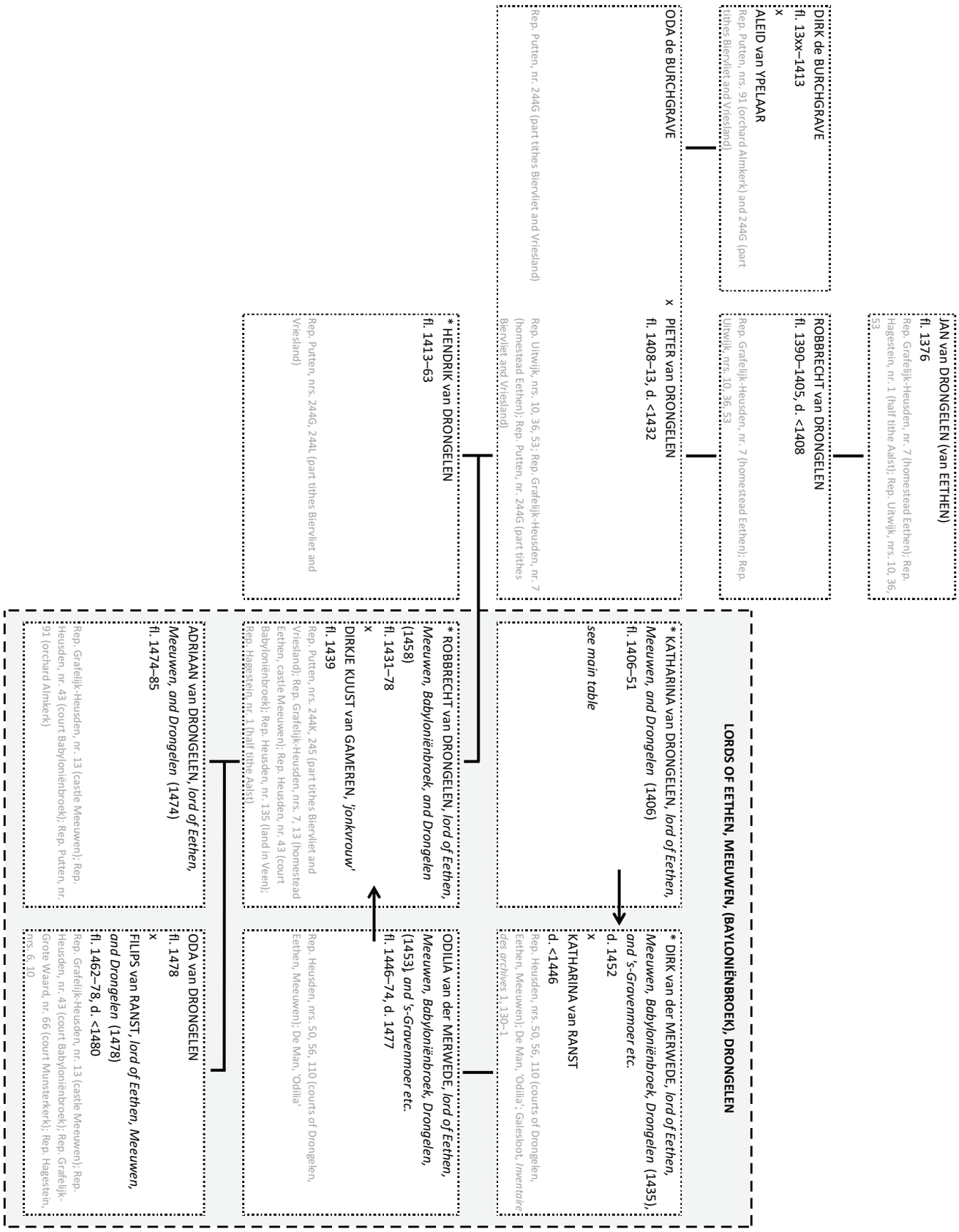


*Figure A.19 Detailed genealogical table: Eethen-branch of the Drongelen family and sale and inheritance of the Eethen, Meeuwen, Drongelen lordships.*

WILLEM van BESOYEN, *lord of Besoyen*
Rep. Grafelijk-Grote Waard, nr. 7 (court Besoyen)

WOUTER van der WALE, *kinsmen of WILLEM VI van HORNE*
fl. 1369–89
x
ELISABETH van ROSSUM
fl. 1394
Rep. Altena, nr. 5 (fisheries Barendrecht)

* WILLEM van BESOYEN, *lord of Besoyen*
fl. 1397–1453
Rep. Altena, nrs. 5, 136 (fisheries Barendrecht; land Giessen-Andel); Rep. Grafelijk-Grote Waard, nr. 7 (court Besoyen); Rep. Oosterhout, nr. 9

x

BEATRIJS van der WALE
fl. 1399–1453
Rep. Altena, nrs. 5, 136 (fisheries Barendrecht; court Besoyen)

* KATHARINA van BESOYEN
x
JAN van DONGEN
Rep. Altena, nr. 5 (fisheries Barendrecht)

* BEATRIJS van DONGEN
fl. 1447–61, d. 1492
x
* GERARD van ASSENDELFT, *lord of Assendelft, Besoyen, etc.;'brother-in-law' of Land Commander JOHAN van DRONGELEN*
fl. 1447–72, d. 1486
Rep. Altena, nrs. 5 (fisheries Barendrecht); Rep. Grafelijk-Grote Waard, nr. 7 (court Besoyen); Rep. Oosterhourt, nr. 9; Rep. Heemskerk, nr. 10 (fisheries Edam); Janse, *Ridderschap* , 448–9; ARDOU, inv.nr. 486

*Figure A.20 Detailed genealogical table: Besoyen and Assendelft.*

* MARGARETHA MILLINC
fl. 1457
x
2?: HENDRIK van NIJENSTEIN, *knight, illegitimate son of OTTO van ARKEL*
fl. 1457
Galesloot, *Inventaire des archives* 1, pp. 33, 157

x

1?: JAN (van DRONGELEN)
Rep. Meeuwen, nr. 128 (farmstead Nederveen); Rep. Gansoyen, nr. 57A (land in Gansoyen)

(*) HESSEL van DRONGELEN, *'kinsman' ODILIA van der MERWEDE*
fl. 1457–65
Rep. Meeuwen, nr. 128 (farmstead Nederveen); Rep. Gansoyen, nr. 57A (land in Gansoyen)

*Figure A.21 Detailed genealogical table: Margaretha Millinc and Hessel van Drongelen.*

## Stylometric analysis: comparison of different sample sizes

### *Varying size of 'window' of the* Croniken

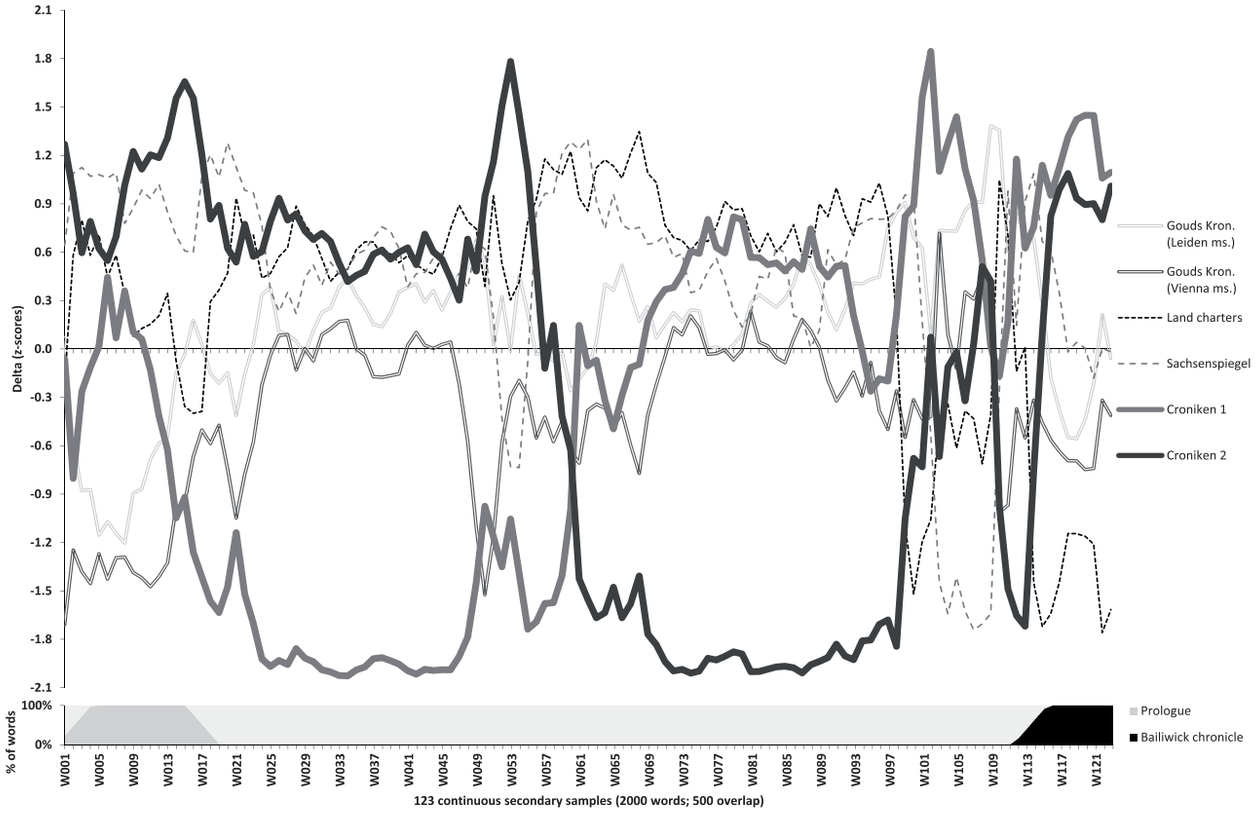


*Figure A.22* Delta *analysis of the* Croniken*, stripped of all privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples.* Croniken *divided in 123 equally sized parts of 2,000 words, 500 words overlap (copy of Figure 4.26).*

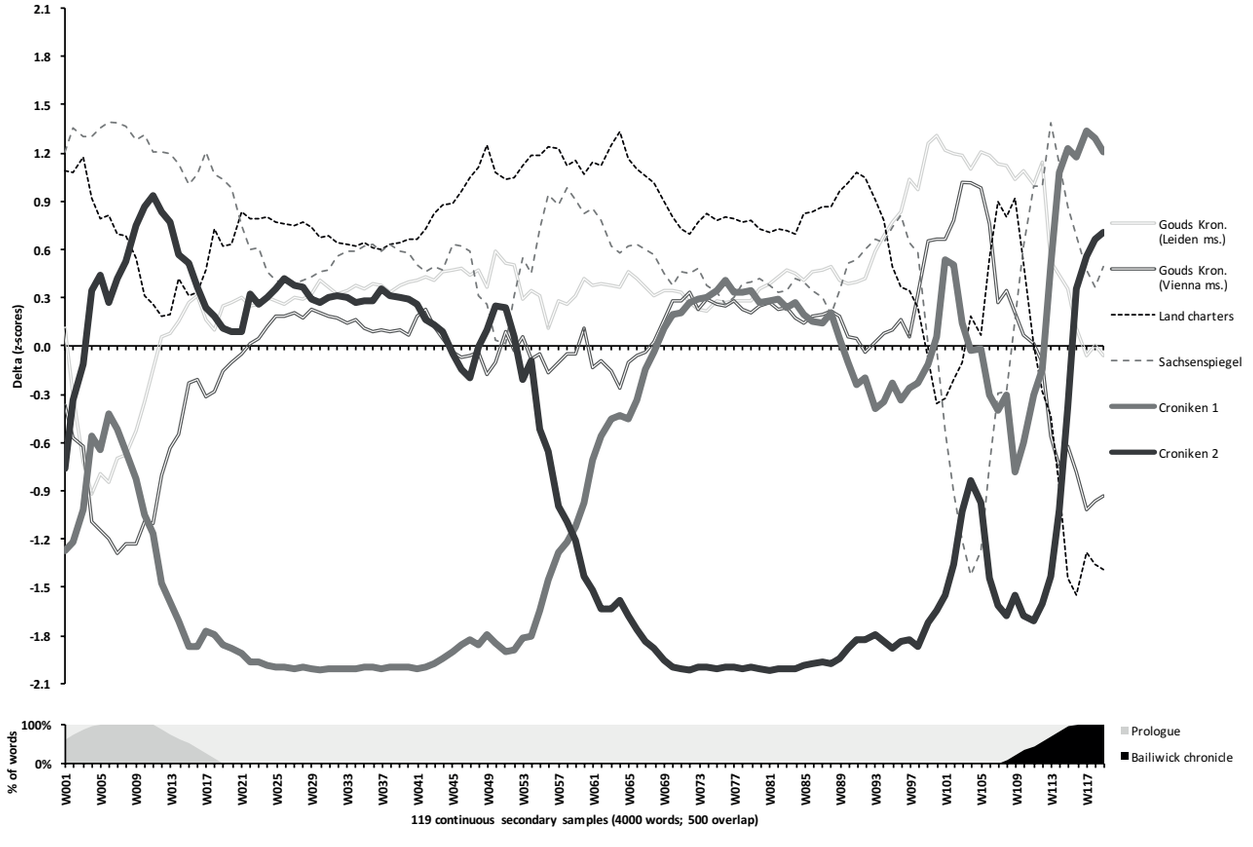


*Figure A.23* Delta *analysis of the* Croniken*, stripped of all privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples.* Croniken *divided in 119 equally sized parts of 4,000 words, 500 words overlap.*

*Varying training set sizes*

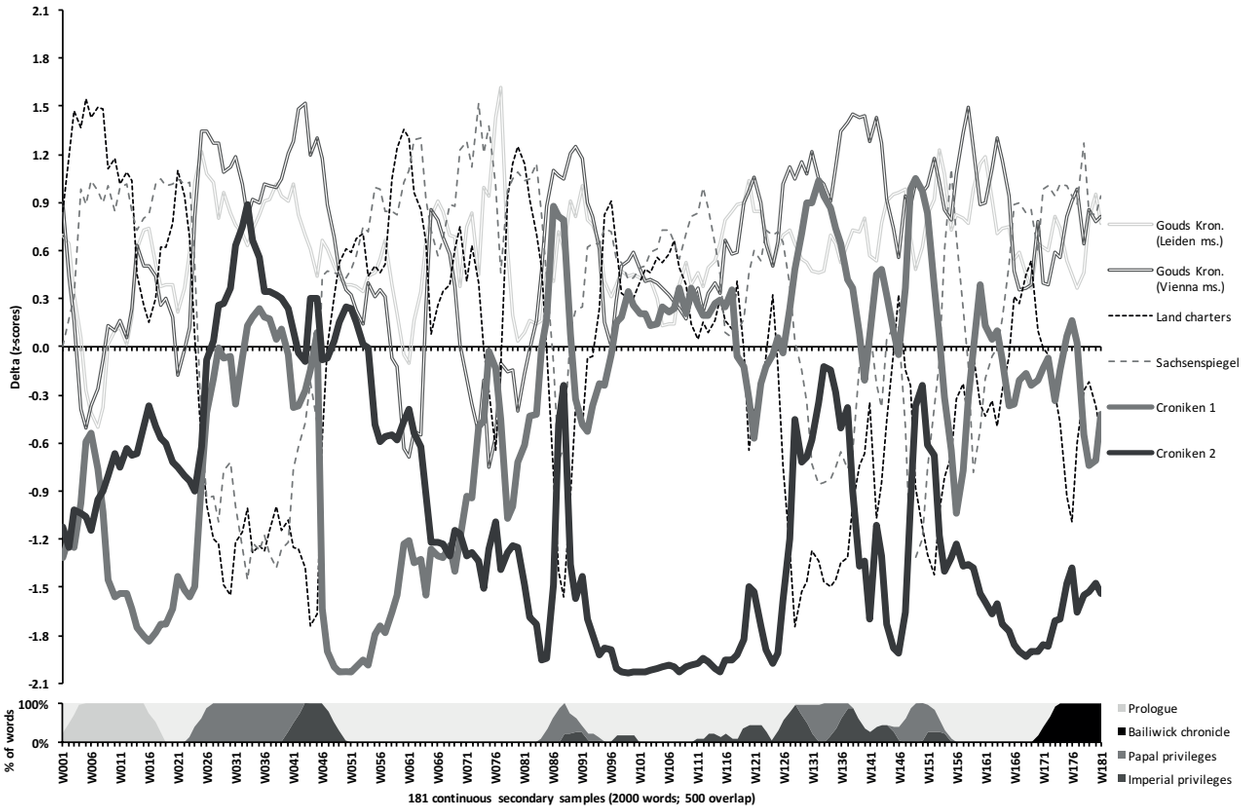


*Figure A.24* Delta *analysis of the* Croniken*: 1,000 MFW, 3,000 word training samples.*

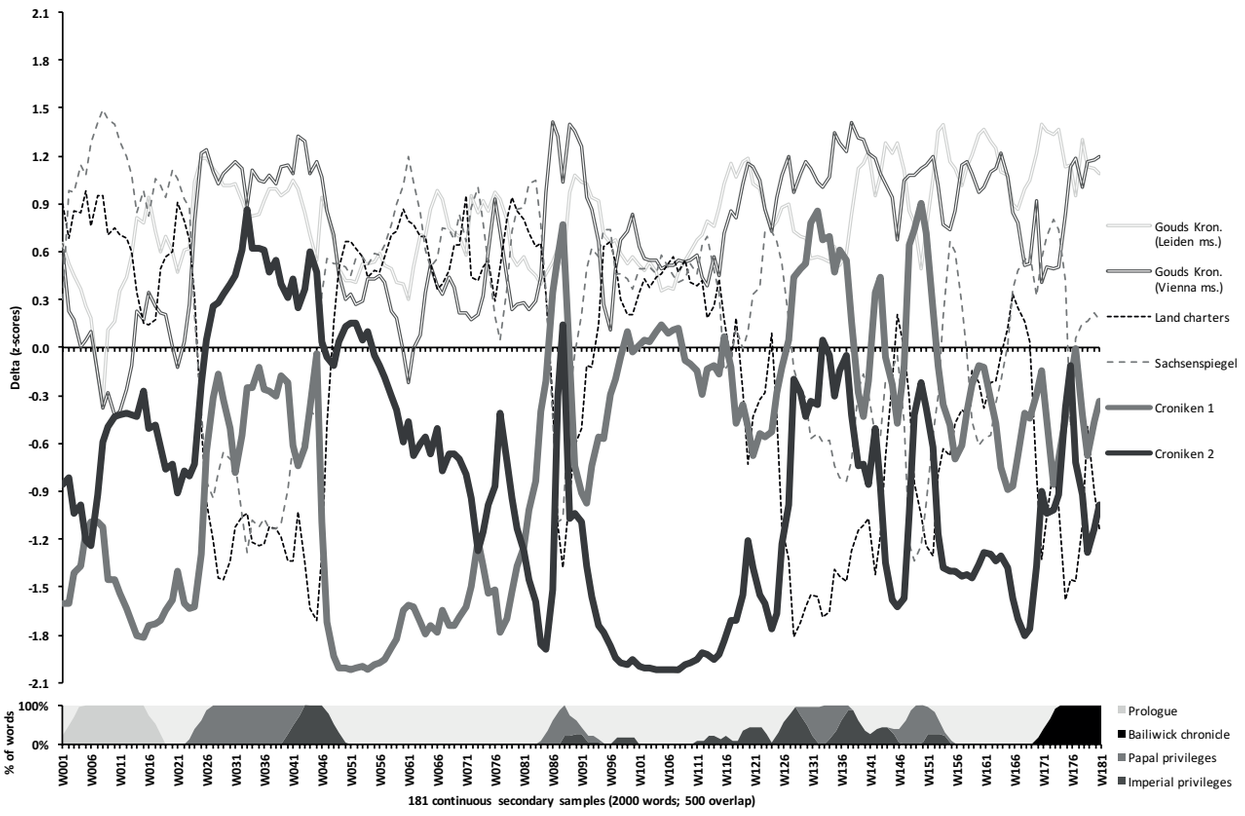


*Figure A.25* Delta *analysis of the* Croniken*: 1,000 MFW, 6,000 word training samples.*

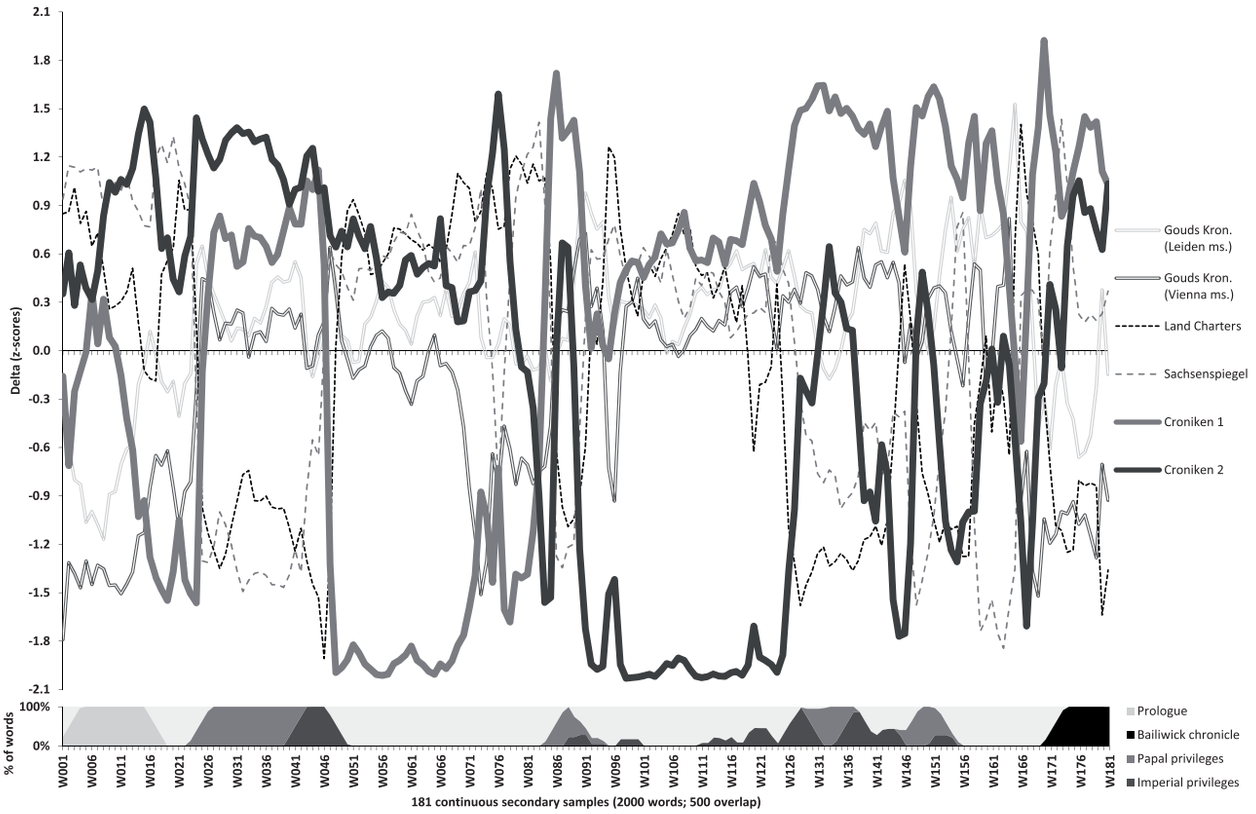


*Figure A.26 Delta analysis of the Croniken: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples (copy of Figure 4.25).*

## A.4 Conclusion

Commanderies and churches in Utrecht and Alden Biesen bailiwicks

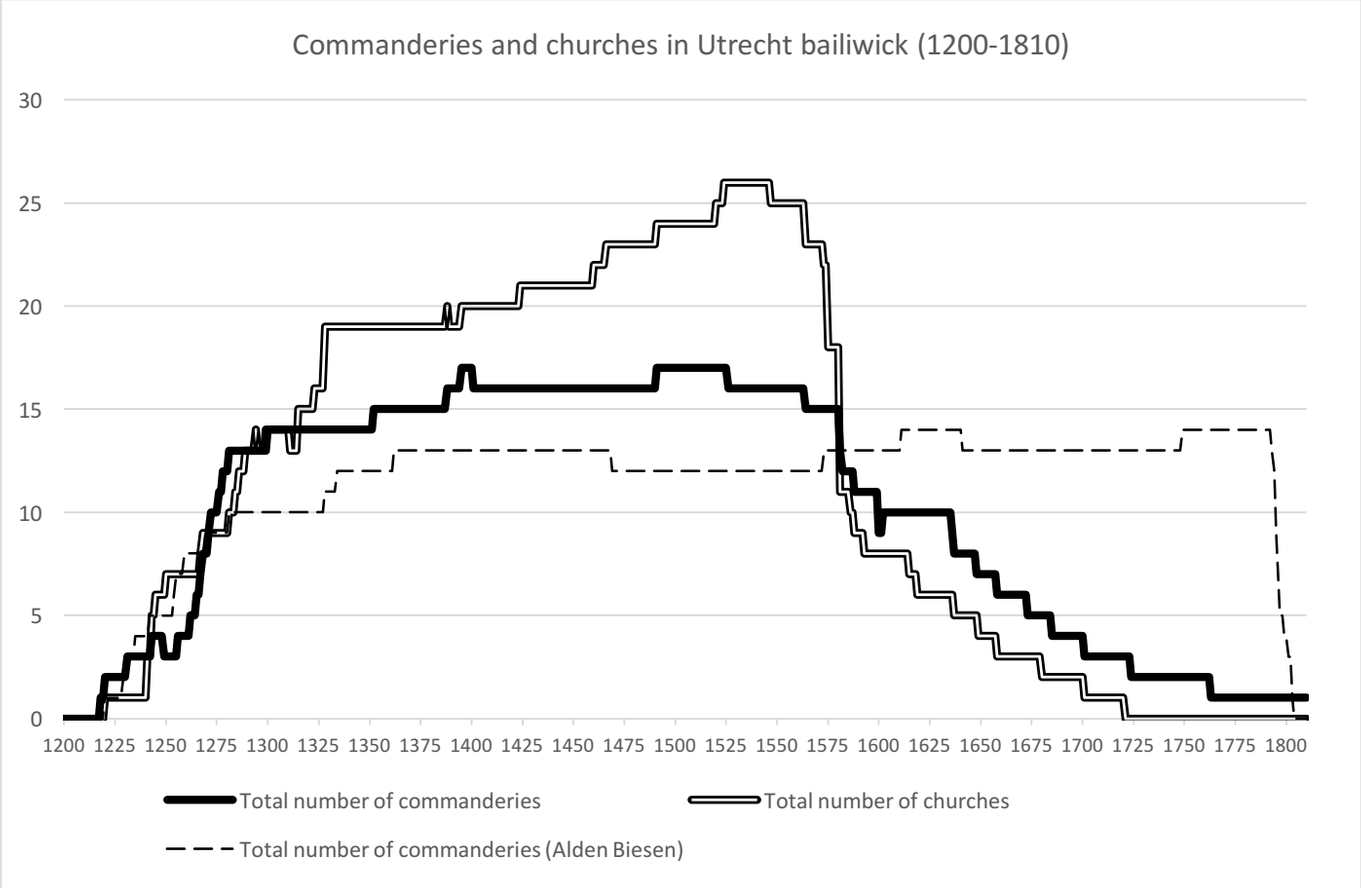


*Figure A.27 Commanderies and churches in the Utrecht bailiwick and Alden Biesen (1200-1810). Includes all commanderies temporarily under control of other bailiwicks (Bunne; Dieren; Ootmarsum).*[1460]

[1460] For the commanderies the following dates were used: Bethlehem 1276 – 1286; Bunne 1278? – 1563; Dieren 1218 – 1647; Doesburg 1286 – 1657; Hemert <1256 – 1328; Hofdijk >1272 – 1365; Katwijk aan den Rijn 1388 – 1599; Leiden 1268 – 1762; Luinjeberd 1281? – ca. 1400; Maasland 1365 – 1723; Middelburg 1317 – 1581; Nes <1243 – 1580; Ootmarsum 1262 – 1635; Rhenen 1267 – 1636; Schelluinen 1220 – <1248, 1265 – 1700; Schoonhoven 1395 – 1587; Schoten <1299 – 1580, 1602 – 1672; Steenkerk 1491 – 1525; Tiel 1328 – 1684; Utrecht 1231 – 1345, 1347 – 2015; Valkenburg <1352 – 1599; Zandvoort 1271 – 1317. For the churches: De Lier 1245 – 1574; Doesburg 1286 – 1657; Drempt 1328 – 1618; Drumpt 1328 – >1720; Eelde 1289 – 1563; Hummelo <1323? – 1328; Irnsum <1300? – 1580; Katrijp <1315 – 1580; Katwijk aan den Rijn 1388 – 1574; Katwijk aan Zee 1460 – 1572; Leiden 1268 – 1592; Luinjeberd 1281 – 1580; Maarssen 1524 – 1546; Maasland 1241 – 1614; Maassluis 1520 – 1574; Middelburg (Noordmunster) 1284 – 1310; Nes <1243 – 1580; Oldeboorn 1243 – 1580; Rhenen 1267 – 1636; Rottum <1315 – 1580; Schelluinen 1220 – 1700; Schipluiden <1294 – 1574; Schoonhoven 1395 – 1587; Terband <1491 – 1580; Tiel (St. Maarten) 1328 – 1648; Tiel (St. Walburg) 1328 – 1679; Utrecht (St. Nicolaas) 1250 – >1294; Valkenburg 1241 – 1388, 1424 – 1585; Vries 1466 – 1563. The data are largely based on archival material and Mol, 'Deutschherren und Johanniter'; Mol, 'Vechten of verplegen?'. For the commanderies in Alden Biesen the following dates were used: Alden Biesen 1220 – 1795; Aschaffenburg 1749 – 1793; Bekkevoort 1229/30 – 1796; Bernissem around 1235 – 1796?; Gemert 1270 – 1794; Gruitrode 1417 – 1801; Holt 1281 – >1793; Jungen Biesen 1573 – 1802; Kleine Biesen 1259 – 1468; Nieuwen Biesen 1362 – 1794/95; Ordingen 1611 – 1793; Ramersdorf 1230 – 1803; Siersdorf 1255 – 1794; Sint-Aegidius, Aachen 1328 – 1802; Sint-Andreas, Liège 1254 – 1795; Sint-Pieters-Voeren 1242 – 1798; Vught 1334 – 1640.

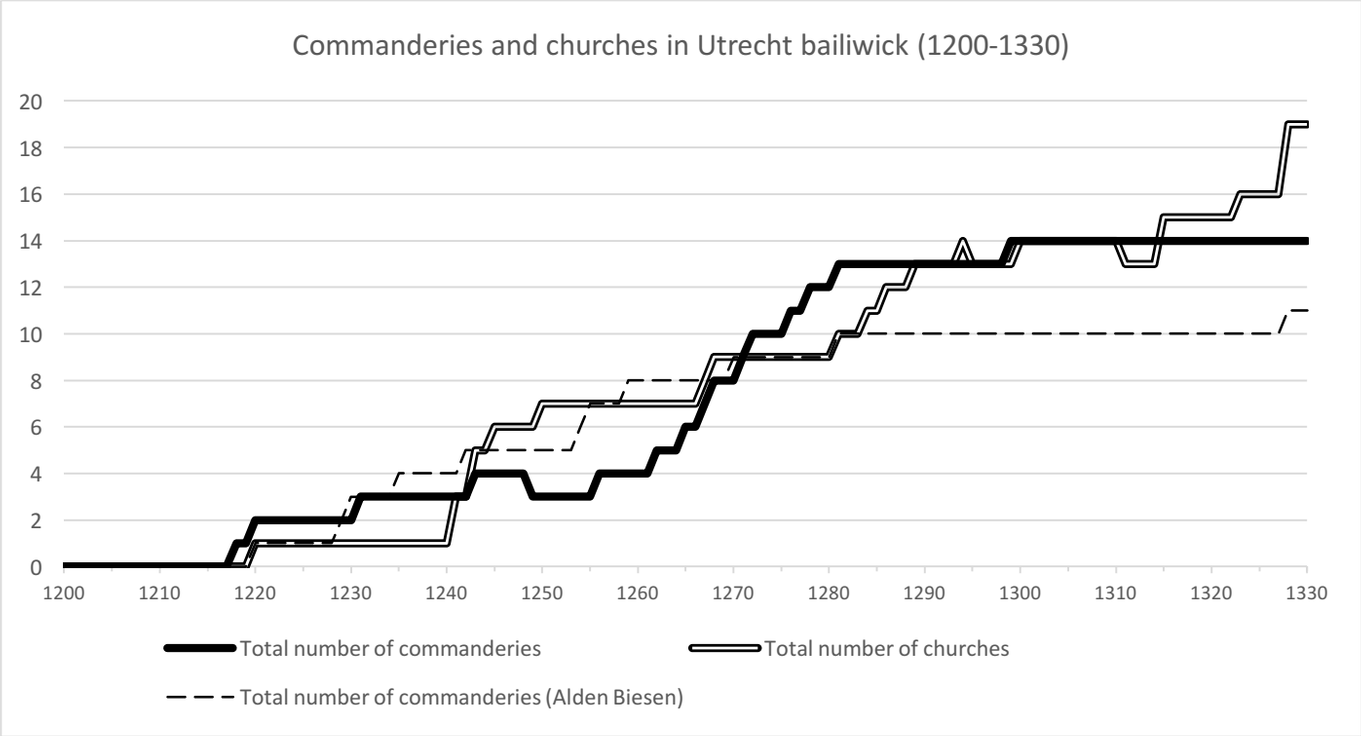


*Figure A.28 Commanderies and churches in the Utrecht bailiwick and Alden Biesen, close up of the first years (1200-1330). See Figure A.27.*

Dates of the extant manuscripts of the *Croniken*

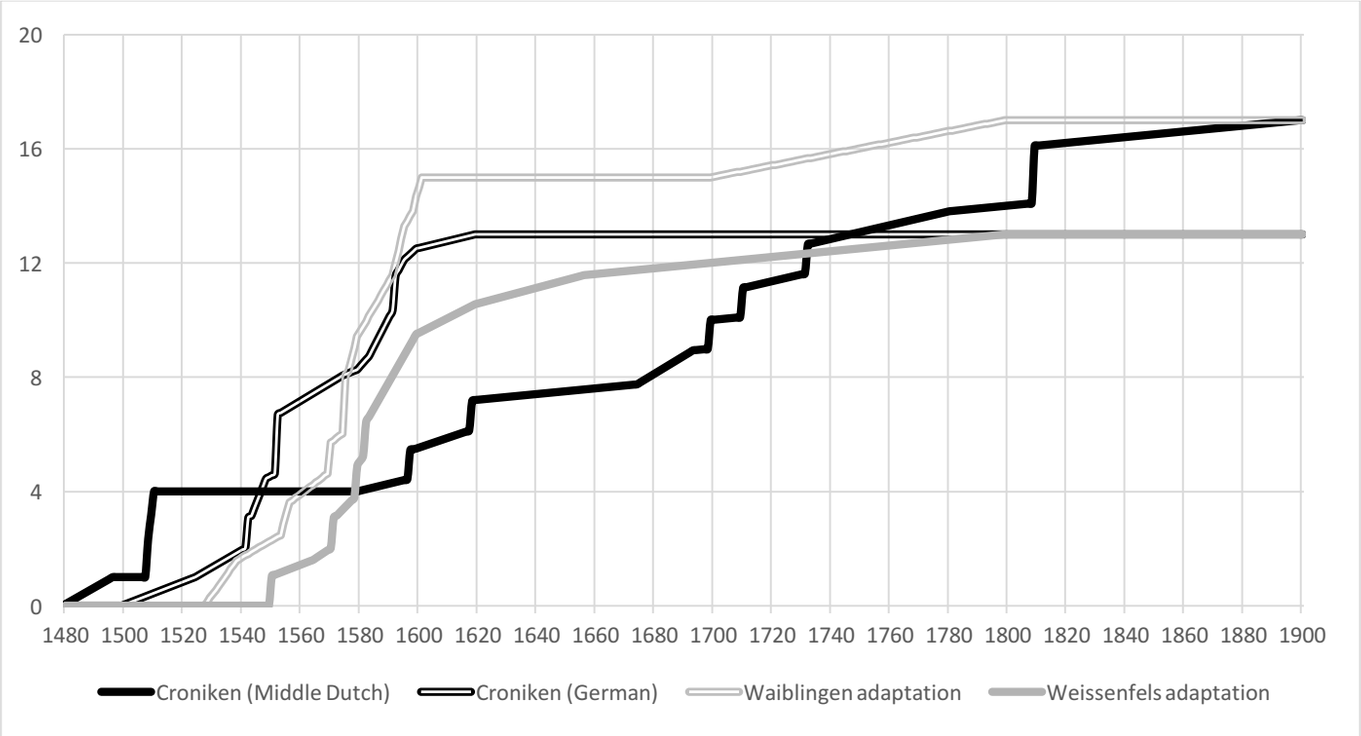


*Figure A.29 Dates of the extant manuscripts of the* Croniken *and its adaptations (cumulative). Many manuscripts were not precisely dated. In these cases, each year in a date range (e.g. '16th century') was assigned a value of one divided by the number of years in the range (in this example 1/100 or 0.01).*

## A.5 Manuscript descriptions

*Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (extant manuscripts)

*As: Assen, Drents Archief, Familie Van Heiden Reinestein, inv.nr. 1623*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (MIDDLE DUTCH) [EXCERPTS]

Paper; 17 fol.; 325 x 210. Eastern (?) Netherlands, late 16th / early 17th century

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Description:** $1^{VIII+1}$ (17). No foliation or pagination. Written by one hand in one column, no decoration. Lacks a binding.

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-10r: Part of the prologue of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-100). Inc.: *Dit is die Prologus Duijtscher Oirden*. Expl.: *nijet datmen hen geenen dege ende dede*.
- **[2.]** ff. 10r-16v: Part of the bailiwick chronicle of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.728-748). Inc.: *Dit is die Ordonnantie vanden Duijtschen Oirden*. Expl.: *mer geen ridderbrueders*. ff. 17r-17v: empty.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* A connection to the commandery of Ootmarsum in the east of the Netherlands is probable (see below). Ootmarsum originally belonged to the Utrecht bailiwick, but was effectively brought under the control of the bailiwick of Westphalia during the fifteenth century. The status of the commandery remained disputed, until it was definitively assigned to the bailiwick of Westphalia. Perhaps the excerpts, focussing on the origins of the Teutonic Order and the Utrecht bailiwick and its commanderies, were part of a response to the secularization of church goods by the Ridder-schap (Knighthood) of Overijssel, who confiscated goods of the commandery in 1600.[1461]

*Date:* The paper contains a watermark of a "Lily, in shield, above crown, beneath letters or mark (WR)". Forty-one watermarks in the Piccard database resemble this (nrs. 128251, 128278, […], 128326), but none are identical. Almost all of these watermarks were dated between 1590 and 1610 and originated in Strasbourg or the surrounding region.

*Provenance:* The manuscript probably came in the possession of the family Van Heiden-Reinestein via the Van Heiden-Hompesch family, who owned the former Teutonic Order's commandery of Ootmarsum. The last commander (1628-1638/39) was Johan Diederik van Heiden who regained access to the commandery after its secularization, left the Teutonic Order and transformed the site into a family home around 1639.[1462]

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[1461] Finke, *Heerscopinc* 1: Echteler, Klein-Ringe, Rheeze, 323.
[1462] Ibid., 323–325.

***Be**: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (HIGH GERMAN); CATALOGUE OF BISHOPS OF WARMIA

Paper?; I + 234 + I fol. Prussia, Königsberg?, 1542

**Consulted:** microfilm

**Signature Hirsch:** Schw

**Description:** Unknown quire structure. Contemporary foliation in Arabic numerals, in a different hand between ff. 202-208. The *Croniken* is written in one column by a single hand that is also responsible for (most of the?) marginalia. A different hand wrote the catalogue of bishops of Warmia. No decoration; room was left to accommodate coats of arms of grand masters. Unknown binding.

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-206r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-727). Between f. 201v (c.716) and 202r (c.717) the foliation is interrupted and 26 folios are left blank.[1463] Inc.: *Dit is der Prologus adir vorrede vonn des Teutschenn Ordens*. Expl.: *Der Compth. von Dunemunde*.
- **[2.]** ff. 206r-208v: *Nomina Episcoporum Warmiensis* (Catalogue of bishops of Warmia, from Anselm to the consecration of Marcin Kromer on 6 December 1579.[1464] Inc.: *Primus Episcopus, fuit Anselmus*. Expl.: *Varsoviae, in Conventu Regni generali die 6 Decembri 1579*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* folio 201v: "Durch mich Petrus Schwinge, anno 1542 Jar geschrieben." Little is known of this Petrus Schwinge. According to a note at the end of c.423, Schwinge was familiar with the surroundings in Breslau (Polish: Wrocław) in Silesia and visited St. Adalbert's Church there.[1465] Schwinge added a few notices to the texts, some of which were derived from the *Kronike von Pruzinlant* by Nikolaus von Jeroschin.[1466] The list of Prussian commanderies in manuscript Be is more elaborate than the list of Livonian commanderies, which would suggest a Prussian origin.[1467] The early

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[1463] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1215.

[1464] The text is similar to parts of Johannes Plastwich's chronicle of the bishops of Warmia, but not identical. This also applies to other gesta episcoporum from Warmia. 'Johannis Plastwici, Decani Warmiensis, Chronicon de vitis episcoporum Warmiensium', in: C.P. Woelky ed., C.P. Woelky and J.M. Saage, *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschrift zur Geschichte Ermlands* I. Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis oder Quellensammlung zur Geschichte Ermlands III (Braunsberg: Peter 1866) 10–137; 'Series Episcoporum Warmiensium', in: C.P. Woelky ed., C.P. Woelky and J.M. Saage, *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschrift zur Geschichte Ermlands* I. Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis oder Quellensammlung zur Geschichte Ermlands III (Braunsberg: Peter 1866) 1–9.

[1465] "Man findet sein Epitaphium nicht da, hab mit fleis darnach gesehen": Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 113v; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 15.

[1466] "und zogen dornach umb ruhe willenn an ein gebruche und wasser, das sich zoch auss dem Sehe Rennszen": Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 95v; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', 7036–7039; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.346.

[1467] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 202r–206r; Compare: Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 252r–255r; Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 174r–178r.

provenance of the manuscript may point to an origin in East Prussia, in or around Königsberg. A comparison of the hands suggests that Schwinge also copied manuscript Pr.[1468]

*Date:* 1542. The catalogue of bishops of Warmia ends with Marcin Kromer being consecrated as bishop in Warsaw in 1579. His death (1589) serves as a *terminus ante quem*.

*Provenance:* Early evidence of use and ownership suggests a provenance in East Prussia, in or around Königsberg. Note for instance the added catalogue of the bishops of Warmia and two notes in a later hand signifying a reader familiar with the *Fahrenheit Chronicle*, an adaptation of the *Croniken* by Christoph Jan von Weissenfels that was written in Königsberg in 1550.[1469] At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was owned by book collector Friedrich Karl Gottlieb von Duisburg (1764-1824; *ex-libris* f. 1r), who bestowed a large part of his library to the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin in 1818.[1470] Unclear is whether Max Töppen (1822-1894), editor of the *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* series, owned the manuscript or whether the manuscript was already in Berlin. He added a short note on the first guard leave.

**Literature:** Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1215; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 14-15; Kletke, *Quellenschrift*, 89.

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[1468] Compare for instance the pages: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 135r–135v; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 153v; See also: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 113v; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 122r.
[1469] Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, ff. 11v, 60v.
[1470] R.G. Päsler, 'Die Handschriftensammlungen der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, der Stadtbibliothek und des Staatsarchivs Königsberg', in: A.E. Walter ed., *Königsberger Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte*. Aus Archiven, Bibliotheken und Museen Mittel- und Osteuropas 1 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 2004) 189–249, there 193 (note 16).

*Gd: Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, rps 1262*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (HIGH GERMAN); FERBER-CHRONIK (FRAGMENTS); MISCELLANEA

Paper; 206 fol.; 330 x 210. Prussia?, late 16th century (between 1584-1595?)

**Consulted:** literature

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Former location:** Danzig, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 1262

**Description:** From f. 113 a second (original?) foliation starts again from 1. Headlines in red.

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-111r, ff. 195r-198v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-716?). See also 7d-7f (c.717-727). Inc.: *Chronica Teutsch Ordens und Hospitals S. Marien*. Expl.: *Luce cras Lucae planatur regi magister*.
- **[2.]** f. 111v: Papal bull by Celestine III dated 12 February 1191 (sic) (Günther).[1471] Inc.: *Wie der Orden eingetituliert und eingesetzt ist worden ihm iahre unsers Herren 1191*.
- **[3.]** f. 112v: Wealth of the order during the reign of Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen. Inc.: *Vermögen des Ordens*.
- **[4.]** ff. 113r-160v: Ferber-Chronik (fragments; so-called 'Chronicle of Georg Kunheim'). Inc.: *Dantzker chronica auf das landt zu Preussen von der zeitt, do sich der bundt hot angefangen*.
- **[5.]** ff. 161r-184v: Report of the uprising of Gdańsk (1525). Inc.: *Ursprung des auffrhurs der burger zu Dantzk*.
- **[6.]** ff. 185r-190r: Report of the Polish-Teutonic War (1519-1521). Inc.: *Dis nachfolgende gehortt zum XXXIIII hoemeinster* [sic] *M. Alb. von Brandenburg*.
- **[7.]** ff. 190v-206r: Various extracts.
    - **[7a.]** f. 190v: Inc.: *Hartter Winther*. (1557)
    - **[7b.]** f. 191r: Inc.: *Namen der Fursten und Könige, mit welchen die Preussen mit ihrer Herschaft bis in Todt gekriget haben*.
    - **[7c.]** f. 192r: Inc.: *Nahmen der Compthur in Preussen*.
    - **[7d.]** f. 195r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.717). Inc.: *Dis seindt die Stett und Schlosser, so an den Konig von Polen mit seynen Helffern gekomen und nach dem Krige by den Polen geblieben*

[1471] Perhaps the bull "Quotiens postulatur" issued by Clement III (6 February 1191) is meant here: Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 295.

- **[7e.]** f. 195v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.718). Inc.: *Das seindt die Stette und Schlosser, so der Orden in Preussen nach der Obsigung vor der Conitz in der Schlacht mit den Polen gehalten wieder eingenohmen hatt*.
- **[7f.]** f. 197r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.719-727). Inc.: *Dis hatt der Orden etc. in Lifflant*.
- **[7g.]** f. 199r: Inc.: *Vorbuntnuss Brieff der Lande Preussen*. (1440; incomplete)
- **[7h.]** f. 200r: Inc.: *Eine Copia eines Brieffes*. (from Hans von Baisen to the bishop of Warmia and Commander of Elbląg)
- **[7i.]** f. 201r: Inc.: *Ein höffliche Historia, wie Schloterkopf der Bischoff von Samlandt die Dantzker vom Schlos Fischausen gebracht hatt, ettliche wollen, es sein des Ordens 300 Soldener gewessen*.
- **[7j.]** f. 202r: Inc.: *Der 26. Hoemeister Her Paul von Russdorff*. Expl.: *Aus des Hern Beutlers Buch*.
- **[7k.]** f. 203r: Inc.: *Ketzer Kriegk zur Zeyt Pauli von Russdorffs*. Expl.: *Aus Hern Beutlers Buch*.
- **[7l.]** f. 205r: Inc.: *Kittel Brüder, aus Hans Freybergers Buch fol. 274*.
- **[7m.]** f. 205v: Inc.: *Aus eynem alten Brieffe, so unther den Fragmentis Christoff von Kunheims gefunden. Von der Müntz*.
- **[7n.]** f. 206r: Inc.: *Namen und Jahrzal der Landtmeister, so erstlich in Preussen regiret haben*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* The miscellanea (entire manuscript?) were written by historian and cartographer Kaspar Hennenberger (d. 1600), who, amongst other, was parish priest in Mühlhausen (Russian: Gvardeyskoye) near Königsberg.

*Date:* Probably written between 1584 and 1595 (Olivier).

*Provenance:* Johann III von Bodeck (f. 1r; patrician in Elbląg, 1542-1595); Kaspar Hennenberger; Ferdinand Neumann (archivist and bibliophile in Elbląg, mid-19th century); Max Töppen (historian, 1822-1893; donated the manuscript to the Gdańsk city library according to a letter dated Elbląg, 7 March 1884).

**Literature:** Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1224; Günther, *Katalog der Handschriften* 2, 184-185. See both works for more references and especially Günther for editions of the various parts.

***Ge**: Ghent, Stadsarchief, Ms SAG/2*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (MIDDLE DUTCH); TEUTONIC ORDER'S INDULGENCES (MIDDLE DUTCH)

Paper; I + 164 + I; 275 x 205. Utrecht, around 1508

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Description:** $1^{IV}$ (8), $2\text{-}7^{VI}$ (72), $8^{V}$ (82), $9\text{-}11^{VI}$ (126), $12^{V}$ (136), $13^{V+1?}$ (148), $14^{VI}$ (160), $15^{II?}$ (164).[1472] Contemporary foliation from ff. 9-134 (I-CXVIII). Modern pencil foliation, added by myself with permission of the city archive. Some of the folios appear to have been trimmed.[1473] The *Croniken* (*littera cursiva*) and the indulgences (*littera hybrida*) are written by two separate hands. Rubrication and initials in red and blue (indulgences: only red ink). Four folios of the *Croniken* contain pen-flourished initials.[1474] The manuscript contains numerous coloured coats of arms of the grand masters and Utrecht land commanders. The heavily restored leather binding may be contemporary.

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 2r-148r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.1-774). Between f. 5v (c.74) and f. 9r (c.75) and between f. 126v (c.727) and f. 137r (c.728 ) three and ten folios are left blank respectively. Inc.: *In desen nabescreven boecken dat gheheten is die Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden*. Expl.: *onder den zarck daer sijn wapen op ghe-houwen staet*.
- **[2.]** ff. 150r-159r: Indulgences of the Teutonic Order (Middle Dutch). Inc.: *Dit synt alsulcke aflaten, gracien ende genaden*. Expl.: *des stoels van Romen van pijne ende van schout van der sake*. ff. 159v-164v are left empty.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* The pen-flourished initials are associated with the Brethren of the Common Life of St. Jerome's House in Utrecht and date from the early sixteenth century.[1475] The indulgences are late medieval and originated in the Utrecht bailiwick.[1476] The presence of the Utrecht bailiwick chronicle (c.728-774) also suggests an origin in the Utrecht bailiwick.

*Date:* The codex contains eight different watermarks: six times a gothic letter P with a quatrefoil (A, B, C 1-4), twice a small pot with a crown, a quatrefoil and a double line ear (D 1-2). Watermarks A and B, possible twins, are used for two pastedowns (a separated bifolium?) at both ends of the codex, quires 14-15 (indulgences) and the two bifolia ff.

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[1472] It is unclear whether the bifolium of ff. 137 and 148 was a separate bifolium added to the rest of quire 13, or whether it was separated during a restoration attempt. The structure of the fifteenth and final quire is not clear. In its present state, the final four folios appear to be either four singletons or damaged and separated bifoliums.
[1473] E.g.: Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 52v.
[1474] Ibid., ff. 2r, 9r, 137r, 137v.
[1475] Personal correspondence based on suggestions by Margriet Hülsmann and Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz: Korteweg, to Stapel, 'RE: Pentekeningen'.
[1476] Personal correspondence: Ehlers, to Stapel, 'Summary indulgences'; The collection was not yet included in Axel Ehlers' study on the indulgences of the Teutonic Order: Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*.

1-8 and 131-132: the outside and central bifolia of quires 1 and 12 respectively. Both of these bifolia contain no text belonging to the *Croniken*.

Watermarks D 1-2 are used for five out of six bifolia of the second quire (the beginning of the prologue), supplemented by C 2. The watermarks C 1-4 are rather similar to each other, with C 1-2 and C 3-4 probably being twins. They are distributed over quires 1 (table of content) to 13, with the few exceptions mentioned above. From Table A.12 becomes clear that the watermarks C 1-4 rather coherently point at a date of around 1508. The paper that contains watermark D 1 and D 2 appears to have been slightly earlier. Perhaps this was a leftover batch of paper. Watermarks A and B cannot be definitively identified, but appear to have been near contemporaneous to the rest of the paper – perhaps a few years later.

| Watermark | Quires | Piccard nrs. | Localization and date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **A** | 12, 14-15 | 113087 (most resemblance)<br>113083<br>113084 | Neuss, 1507<br>Nykoping, 1509<br>Kopenhagen, 1511 |
| **B** | 1, 14-15 | 113070 (most resemblance)<br>113072<br>113073 | Freiburg, 1511<br>s.l., 1501<br>s.l., 1503 |
| **C 1** | 2-8, 12-13 | 109622 (identical) | Mechelen, 1508 |
| **C 2** | 3-8, 12-13 | 109872 (identical) | Culemborg, 1507/08 |
| **C 3** | 1, 9-11 | 109965 (identical?)<br>109966 (identical?)<br>110061 (identical?)<br>110887 (identical?) | Wesel, 1508/09<br>Cologne, 1508<br>Mechelen, 1508<br>Utrecht, 1508 |
| **C 4** | 1, 9-11 | 109752 (near identical)<br>109754 (near identical)<br>109962 (near identical) | s.l., 1508<br>Brabant, 1509<br>Rheine, 1508 |
| **D 1** | 2 | 031676 (identical?) | Düsseldorf, 1505 |
| **D 2** | 2 | 031766 (most resemblance)<br>031716 | Culemborg, 1504/05<br>Culemborg, 1506 |

*Table A.12 Watermarks of ms.* ***Ge****.*

Judging from the fact that the paper containing A and B was used for the pastedowns of the codex and at specific locations in quires 1 and 12 (non-intrusive to the existing text of the *Croniken*), we may conclude that this paper (and thus the indulgences) was added later to the codex – though probably soon afterwards and before the (current?) binding was added. The fact that the writing frame (in pencil; 135 x 185) runs throughout the entire codex supports such a condensed timeframe.

*Provenance:* In 1980, the manuscript was restored in Oostende (Belgium) by a certain "Paul-Max [Chéquis?], Biblos Antiqua" (f. 1r).[1477] The manuscript is not mentioned in the 1983 catalogue of the city archive in Ghent, indicating a more recent acquisition.[1478]

[1477] The only reference to this restorer we could find was a facsimile edition of *Van den vos Reynaerde*, published by the same Biblos Antiqua in Oostende in 1981: <http://anet.ua.ac.be/record/opacanet/c:lvd:185482/N>.
[1478] Decavele and Vannieuwenhuyse, *Archiefgids* I: Oud Archief.

*$Ma_2$: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. 1253 vol. 13*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (MIDDLE DUTCH) [EXCERPTS]; MISCELLANEA

Utrecht, 17th century (before 1710)

**Consulted:** literature (Carasso-Kok)

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Content:**

- **[1.]** pp. 1-54: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (excerpts).
- **[2.]** Miscellaneous transcriptions of charters and other sources regarding the Teutonic Order.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Transcriptions made by Antonius Matthaeus III (1635-1710), most likely in preparation of his edition of the *Croniken*.

*Date:* 17th century (Tiele). The edition by Matthaeus was published in 1710.

**Literature:** Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 164 (nr. 137); Tiele, *Catalogus Rheno-Trajectinae*, 299.

***Pr**: Prague, Národní Museum, Cod. XVII C 8*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (HIGH GERMAN); FERBER-CHRONIK (SECOND PART)

Paper; I + 441 + I fol.; 320 x 215. Prussia?, Königsberg?, before 1548 (between 1544 and 1548?)

**Consulted:** full colour reproductions

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Former location:** Prague, Museum Regni Bohemiae, 3 E 23

**Description:** Contemporary foliation at ff. 1-248 and (ranging from 1-180) at ff. 260-439. Both parts written in one column, by one hand. Decorated initials and some marginalia in red. Spaces are left blank to include the coats of arms of the grand masters. Contemporary blind-stamped leather binding, with medallions of Erasmus, Melanchthon, Luther, Charles V and John Frederick I, the Elector of Saxony.[1479]

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-257v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-727). Between f. 248v (c.716) and 252r (c.717) three folios are left blank. Inc.: *Dit ist der prologus oder vorrede von des Teutschen Ordens*. Expl.: *Der Compth. von Dunemunde*.
- **[2.]** ff. 259r-439v: *Ferber-Chronik*, second part (1438-1526; after Olivier). Inc.: *Chronica auff das Landt zu Preussen von der zeytt do sich der Bundt hatt anngefang*. Expl.: *aber der kirchen schadete nicht*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* A comparison of the hands suggests that Petrus Schwinge copied this manuscript (see ms. Be). This could suggest that the manuscript was written in or around Königsberg, as there are some indications that manuscript Be was written there. However, as people – including scribes – moved around, a precise place of origin is difficult to ascertain.

*Date:* Before 8 September 1548 (mark of ownership), Bartoš dates the manuscript 'between 1544 and 1553, around 1548' but gives no further arguments.

*Provenance:* There are several marks of ownership. On f. 249v an unidentified coat of arms was drawn. On the guard leave it states: "Melchior Fasolt vonn Schlesdorff, 1548, 8 Septembris". Melchior Fasolt was born in Schlaisdorf (Saxony) and matriculated at the University of Wittenberg on June 1542. In 1549 he travelled to Prussia were he had family connections around Deutsch Eylau (Polish: Iława).[1480] A few years later, in 1556/57, he was rector of the University of Wittenberg.[1481] Folio 1r includes an ex-libris of Václav Hanka (1791-1861; "z Hankowých"), who became librarian of

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[1479] The use of such portraits was common in German Protestant circles of the mid sixteenth century. C.J. Davenport, 'Cantor Lectures: Decorative Bookbinding', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 46 (1898) 797–805, 809–819, 821–829, there 815–816.

[1480] A certain Paul Fasolt was an army leader working for the Teutonic Order in the years shortly before the secularization of Prussia in 1525: Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.3: 1511-1525, passim.

[1481] H. Freytag, *Die Preussen auf der Universität Wittenberg und die nichtpreussischen Schüler Wittenbergs in Preussen von 1502 bis 1602*. Publication des Vereins für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreussen (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1903) 89.

the museum and bestowed his library to the museum. According to Bartoš, the manuscript was previously owned by a member of the Von Stentzsch family (with branches in Silesia, Meißen and Prague). An inserted leave mentions that the manuscript was borrowed by Max Töppen in 1866 and returned after three months.

**Literature:** Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1251; Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů* II, 388.

*St: Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamml., E8722*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (LOW GERMAN); KLEINE MEISTERCHRONIK; MISCELLANEA; CHRONICLE OF ÜXKÜLL FAMILY

Paper; II + 272 + II fol.; 310 x 215. Livonia, first half 16th century

**Consulted:** full colour reproductions

**Signature Hirsch:** Sk

**Former location:** Skokloster, Gräflich-Brahesche Bibl., F. 92

**Description:** Contemporary foliation (ff. 1-255). Part 1 (*Croniken*) written in one column by one hand. Abundant decorations, ranging from initials to full colour coats of arms. The margins of the opening page (f. 1r) is decorated with botanical motifs, animals, a hunter (?) and the Virgin Mary and Child. Rubrication in red and yellow. Leather binding dated 1633 (see provenance).

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-255r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-727). Inc.: *Dith ys de vorrede van dem duitzschen orden*. Expl.: *De Cumpthur van Dunemunde*. ff. 255v-260v: empty.
- **[2.]** ff. 261r-272v: Miscellaneous chronicles, extracts and transcriptions by Moritz Brandis, secretary of the Estonian Knighthood (d. ca. 1604).
  - **[2a.]** ff. 261r-264r: Kleine Meisterchronik (ms. $S_1$).[1482] Inc.: *Hirnach volgett ein Kurtze Cronika des Teutschen ordens von Meistern zu Meistern*. Expl.: *Hat regiret 44 Jair*. f. 264v: empty
  - **[2b.]** ff. 265r-267v: Various transcriptions of charters regarding the transfer of the Duchy of Estonia to the Teutonic Order in 1346.[1483] Inc.: *Eyne Brieve kundinge uber Privilegien und Instrumenten*. Expl.: *Anno VI. Idus Februarii, unßerß VI. Jares*. ff. 268r-269v: empty
  - **[2c.]** ff. 270r-272v: Chronicle of the Üxküll family, including a list of sources (Tallinn, 1598).[1484] Inc.: *Folgent nun mijn kurtzer, doch wolgegrundeter Bericht*. Expl.: *Maurit. Brandis, Ducatus Esthonsis Nobilitatis Secretarius, mu pp. sb-tt*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Based on the provenance of the manuscript, language, contemporary marginalia (signalling information regarding Livonia) and later additions, an origin in Livonia seems highly likely. On f. 82v the coat of arms of the Prussian

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[1482] Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 205–219; Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 49–52.
[1483] Paucker ed., *Moritz Brandis, Chronik*, 41 ff.
[1484] Hansen, *Uexküll*, 225–230.

city of Culm (Polish: Chełmno) is drawn in the margins, but it is unclear whether this is in any way related to the origin of the manuscript.

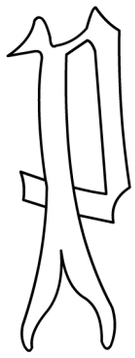

*Figure A.30 Watermark, manuscript **St**, f. 267 (chain lines not well recognizable).*

*Date:* Following Theodor Hirsch, the manuscript is usually dated 'before 1528'. Hirsch assumed that it predated the Prussian Waiblingen adaptation of 1528, but his arguments are not convincing. A quick examination of textual variants (see also chapter 2, passim) shows that manuscript St could not have been an exemplar for the Waiblingen adaptation – both texts merely share a common ancestor.

Nonetheless, for other reasons, Hirsch's date is not far off. We relied solely on the digital reproductions of the pages, but nonetheless one watermark is clearly visible (f. 267; Figure A.30): a letter P, angular, consisting of two lines, without additional motif, divided vertical stroke. This mark (approximately 48 x 16, estimated by using the size of the paper on this particular page) was not identified in the Piccard database. Similar motifs are dated between 1484 and 1546, with a peak at around 1520 (93% is dated between 1500 and 1540). One of its distinctive features (a rather upward pointy top) appears often in paper used in the Baltic region.[1485]

The motto presented on f. 251v ("Luce cras luce pacatur rege magister") is aberrant from other *Croniken* manuscripts ("Luce cras luce planatur regi magister").[1486] In the regular version, the Roman numerals add up to 1467 – the year of death of the last grand master described in the preceding chapter of the *Croniken*. In manuscript St the Roman numerals add up to 1516. Could this be a date for the manuscript? For now, a broad range of 'first half 16th century' seems fair.

*Provenance:* The decorations of f. 1r include the three letters T, L, N (or L, T, N), which could be initials of the owner. Moritz Brandis (see above), 1598. The leather binding, dated 1633, bears the arms of Gabriel Oxenstierna Bengtsson (1586-1656) and his wife Anna Gustafsdotter Banér (1585-1656). Bought by Count Carl Gustav Bielke in 1730 at Stockholm (according to a note on the first guard leave dated Gävle (Sweden), 1739), incorporating the manuscript in the Skokloster library.[1487]

**Literature:** Schröder, *Catalog öfver manuscripterna*, nr. 92. Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 9-10; Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 19-20, 49-52. Dahlberg and Radiņš, *Three stars*, 278.

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[1485] Estimating the distance between the (badly recognizable) chain lines at 24 mm and allowing for a measuring tolerance of 3 mm, 160 watermarks with this motif can be found in the database. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online'.
[1486] See Table 2.6.
[1487] For a history of the Skokloster library and references to catalogues: B. Fabian, *Handbuch deutscher historischen Buchbestände. Dänemark und Schweden* (Hildesheim: Olms 1998) 217–221.

*Ta: Tartu, Ülikooli Raamatukogu, Mscr. 154*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (LOW GERMAN); LIVONIAN GRIEVANCES PRESENTED TO PAUL VON RUSDORF; LIVES OF GRAND MASTERS (1467-1525)[1488]

Paper; I + 280 + III fol.; 195 x 140. Livonia, mid 16th century?

**Consulted:** full colour reproductions

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Description:** Contemporary foliation (ff. 1-280). Written in one hand, except for texts presented on the guard leaves at the end (for the purpose of this description referred to as ff. 281-284). Full coloured coats of arms as well as various illustrations related to the text. No rubrication. Leather binding (no further details known).

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-267r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-726 (part)). Inc.: *Dyth ist dat Prologus vann Duitschenn Orden*. Expl.: *Werenbeck I schloss.*
- **[2.]** ff. 267v-280v: Grievances of the Livonian officials presented to Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (1422-1441). Inc.: *Dijsse nageschrevene Artickel und Puncte syndt de thosprake und Clage*. Expl.: *und allem redelicken herkamen unsers oirdens uthwiesinge*.
- **[3.]** ff. [281r]-[281v]: Addition (?) to the preceding grievances. Inc.: *Item dar na spreken wi nu an*. Expl.: *de seij [Svittigbl..] gedan hadt*.
- **[4.]** ff. [282r]-[284r]: Lives of grand masters Heinrich Reuß von Plauen (1467-1470) to Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1510-1525). Inc.: *Continuatio Historia Prutenica excerpta ex Manu Scripto Anno 1660, Holmia*. Expl.: *so lange [… d…] im leben.*

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Judging from the other texts in the codex and its provenance, an origin in Livonia seems highly likely.

*Date:* Middle of the 16th century (based on the script)?

*Provenance:* "OFBV Budberg" (first guard leave): Otto Friedrich Baron Von Budberg (d. 1755?), married to Margarethe Wilhelmine von Üxküll (Latvian: Ikšķile; compare manuscript St). It seems to have been present in the Tartu university library from at least the 19th century onwards.

Of all extant German manuscripts of the *Croniken* it resembles the orthography of the Middle Dutch texts the most.

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[1488] I would like to thank Mathieu Olivier for attending me on the manuscript, who was made aware of its existence by Juhan Kreem and Tiina Kala.

***Up**: Uppsala, Carolina Rediviva, H. 152*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (EXTRACTS); KLEINE MEISTERCHRONIK

Paper; 76 fol. Stralsund?, end 16th / first half 17th century

**Consulted:** literature (Olivier)

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-53r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (without privileges).
- **[2.]** ff. 54r-76r: *Kleine Meisterchronik*.[1489] Inc.: *Nu volget hirnach die beschreibung vom Lyflande*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* According to the dedication to a certain prince, the manuscript was written in Stralsund. The watermarks however can be found in Gdańsk, whereas the content reveals an interest in Livonia.

*Date:* End of 16th century, first half of 17th century (Olivier).

*Provenance:* Leonhardus Rosenhane (ex-libris); Nils Brudtsen (f. Ir).

**Literature:** Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 996, 1260; Prowe, *Mittheilungen*, 49.

[1489] Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen'.

***Ut₁:*** *Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN

Paper; II + 157 + II; 250 x 185. Utrecht bailiwick, around 1509-1510

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Signature Hirsch:** U

**Description:** $1^{VII}$ (14=VIII), $2^{VI}$ (26=XX), 3-$5^{VIII}$ (74=LXVIII), 6-$8^{IX}$ (128=CXXII), $9^{VIII}$ (144=CXXXVIII), $10^{1+VI}$ (157=13; singleton: 145). Contemporary foliation from ff. 7 to 144 (I-CXXXVIII) and ff. 145 to 157 (1-13). The foliation used here counts continuously from the first folio. Written in one column, by one hand. With rubrication and alternating red and blue initials and coloured coats of arms. Nineteenth century binding.

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 3r-156v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.1-774).[1490] Coats of arms of Land Commander Gosen van Rossum (1492-1496) are displayed on f.157r. Inc.: *In desen nabescreven boecken dat gheheiten ys die Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden*. Expl.: *onder den zerck daer sijn wapen op ghehouwen state. Et sic est finis. Deo laus et gloria trinitatis. W.W.W*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Utrecht bailiwick, based on content (bailiwick chronicle), manuscript affiliation, and future use of the manuscript.

*Date:* The manuscript contains ten different watermarks. Five times a letter p, angular, consisting of two lines, above quatrefoil, with divided vertical stroke (P 1-5); once a hand or glove, above four-petalled flower, with phalanx (H 1); twice a hand or glove, above four-petalled flower, without phalanx (H 2-3); twice a drinking vessel, pot with cover, one handle, above crown and flower (K 1-2).

| Watermark | Quires | Piccard nrs. | Localization and date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **P 1** | 1-2 | 109355 (somewhat similar) | Frankfurt a.M., 1512 |
| **P 2** | 1-3 | 109343 (identical)<br>109341 (near identical)<br>109340 (near identical) | Cleves, 1509<br>Baden-Baden, 1506<br>Xanten, 1506 |
| **P 3** | 2 | 109352 (identical) | s.l., 1510 |
| **P 4** | 3 | 109347 (similar) | Baden-Baden, 1511 |
| **P 5** | 3 | *not identified* | |
| **H 1** | 3 | *not identified* | |
| **H 2** | 3-6, 9 | *not identified* | |
| **H 3** | 3-6, 9 | *not identified* | |
| **K 1** | 6-10 | 31551 (somewhat similar) | Düsseldorf, 1503 |
| **K 2** | 6-10 | 31590 (near identical) | Lübeck, 1512 |

*Table A.13 Watermarks of ms.* ***Ut₁.***

[1490] Missing are the following chapters: c.328, c.482, c.513, c.570, c.670, c.672, c.674, c.684-694, c.701-710, c.712, c.714.

Only P 2 (1509) and P 3 (1510) can be identified in the database of Piccard. For K 2 a near identical watermark was found, but the other watermarks were not recognized. Nonetheless, a date in the first or second decade of the sixteenth century seems in place, probably around 1509-1510.

*Provenance:* "Auxiliari ne differas. A. Lienen, 1587" (f. 1r); "Finis coronat opus. Ja. de Linden, Anno 1600" (f. 156v; perhaps aspiring Land Commander Jasper van Lynden (1619-1620)); Land Commander Hendrik Rudolph Willem van Goltstein van Oldenaller (1865-1868), who presented the manuscript, a recent acquisition for him, to the bailiwick in 1868.[1491]

Probably used as an exemplar for manuscript $Ut_3$.

**Literature:** Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 164 (nr. 137); De Geer tot Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 233-258 (nr. 193); Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 4-9.

[1491] Utrecht, ARDOU, NA, inv.nr. 79.

***Ut₃**: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-bis*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (EXTRACTS)

Paper; 32 fol. Utrecht bailiwick, between 1675-1693

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Description:** [quire structure]. [foliation]. [page layout]. [script/hands]. [decoration/rubrication/initials]. [binding].

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-32v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (abridgement: c.242-272; c.234-716 (grand masters); c.728-774). Inc.: *De gelegentheyt van Lande van Pruyssen eer dat Duijtse Orden dat ten Christen geloof bracht*. Expl.: *impotreck […] in 't jaar […] Die*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Utrecht bailiwick (based on content).

*Date:* The last land commander mentioned in the regular text is Hendrik van Solms (1675-1693). The name of Hendrik Casimir II van Nassau (1693-1696) is added later by the same hand (f. 27v).

**Literature:** Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 164 (nr. 137).

***Ut$_4$***: *Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-ter*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (BAILIWICK CHRONICLE)

Paper. Utrecht bailiwick, 18th century

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Content:**

- **[1.]** *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c. 728-774).

**Remarks:**

*Date:* Based on the script.

***Ut$_5$**: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-quater*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (BAILIWICK CHRONICLE)

Paper. Utrecht bailiwick, 19th century

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Content:**

- **[1.]** *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c. 728-774).

**Remarks:**

*Date:* Based on the script.

***Vi₁***: *Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-5*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN

Paper; 498 pages; 330 x 220. Prussia?, 16th century

**Consulted:** literature; black and white reproductions (ff. 1r-1v)[1492]; colour reproductions (ff. 187v-188r, 192v-193r)

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Former location:** Königsberg, Staatsarchiv, Msc. A 2 2°

**Description:** Decorated with grand masters holding their coats of arms, which appear to be cut from another manuscript. In the margins a quote of Cicero is written: "*Nescire quid antequam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Cic.: Orat.*"

**Content:**

- **[1.]** f. 1r-?: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-?). Inc.: *Prologus oder Vorrede von des Deutschenn Ordens*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Based on language (High German) and provenance.

*Date:* Based on script and literature (Päsler).

*Provenance:* The manuscript was brought from Königsberg to Vilnius in 1945/46.

**Literature:** Ekdahl, 'Archivalien', 53; Päsler, 'Kurzverzeichnis'.

[1492] I would like to thank Stephen Rowell for his help in attaining these reproductions.

***Vi₂:*** *Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-1*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN

Paper; 297 pages; 290 x 200. Prussia?, 16th century

**Consulted:** literature; black and white reproduction (ff. 1r, 2r); colour reproduction (ff. 119v-120r)

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Former location:** Königsberg, *unknown*

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 2r-?: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.107-?). Inc.: *Fulco welcher konig Balduini eldest tochter hett, wart konig zu Jerusalem regiert eilff Jar.*

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Based on language (High German) and provenance, an origin in Prussia, perhaps Königsberg, seems likely.

*Date:* Based on the script probably 16th century, although Kaminskas described the manuscript as dating from the 15th century.

*Provenance:* A stamp states "Ostpreuss.-General-Landschafts-Direction" in Königsberg (p. 4); The binding mentions "C.H. Münck, Buchbinder Meister in Königsberg." A small note regarding the new binding was made by (Friedrich Adolf) Meckelburg (dated 16 August 1861). Meckelburg was archivist at the Königsberg State Archive and started with a manuscript inventory for the Königsberg City Archive. After World War II the manuscript was brought from Königsberg to Vilnius.

**Literature:** Kaminskas, manuscript description, 31 August 1949.

***We₁**: Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 392*

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN[1493]

Paper; I + 201 + I fol.; 285 x 215; Utrecht, ca. 1480, ca. 1491, ca. 1496?

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Signature Hirsch:** n/a

**Description:** $1^{I}$ (2), $2^{III}$ (8), 3-$16^{VI}$ (175), $17^{VI-1}$ (186; a missing leaf between ff. 185 and 186), $18^{III+3}$ (195; singletons: ff. 187, 188, 189 (?)), $19^{II+1}$ (200; singleton: 199 or 200). Contemporary foliation in Roman numerals I-CCVI (ff. 9-200), modern pencil foliation 1-200, where f. 104a and f. 117a were missed at first. Folio 132 contains a letter dated Gruitrode, 1664. Written in one column by a single hand (*littera hybrida*), with numerous short texts, notes and marginalia by other, sixteenth- to nineteenth-century hands. Rubricated and with red initials, decorated with coloured coats of arms. Modern binding (1960).

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-2v, 7v-8v, 132r-132v, 184v-185r: Various excerpts and short notes by later hands regarding the Teutonic Order and historiography about the order.
    - **[1a.]** ff. 1r-2r: 17th century notes about authors and texts that were engaged in the history of the Teutonic Order. One of the hands is by "Paulus Schryberus", syndic of the Alden Biesen bailiwick and canon of St Cunibert in Cologne (f. 1r).
    - **[1b.]** f. 2v: Excerpts and sentences: Middle Dutch passage from *Ad milites templi* by Bernard of Clairvaux (first half 16th century); quotes regarding the Teutonic Order from *Aubertus Miraeus* and from *De signis ecclesiae* by (Thomas?) Bozius; quote from the *Revelations of St Birgitta of Sweden* (lib. 3, c. 27).
    - **[1c.]** ff. 7v-8r: *Testimonia et elogia Ordinis Teutonici Equitum per pontifices et varios Rom. imperatores*.
    - **[1d.]** f. 8v: Quote from the *Revelations of St Birgitta of Sweden* (lib. 2, c. 10).
    - **[1e.]** ff. 132r-132v: Fragment of a French letter with Latin notes, dated in the commandery of Gruitrode (Alden Biesen bailiwick) on 12 April 1664. Bound together with the manuscript in 1960.
    - **[1f.]** ff. 184v-185r: Various excerpts and short notes by different 16th century hands regarding the Teutonic Order, including some revelations by St Birgitta (same hand as before). f. 185v: *empty*.

[1493] See in more detail chapter 2.2. The descriptions of the various later added excerpts and notes are largely drawn from Lackner: Lackner, *Streubestände* I, nr. 62.

- **[2.]** ff. 3r-200v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.1-774). Inc.: *In desen nabescreven boeke dat geheten is die Cronyken van der Duytscher Oirden* Expl.: *doir den belech ende oirloge seer gedestrueert…* ff. 7r, 178v: *empty*.
- **[3.]** ff. 179r-186r: Continuation of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* from Heinrich Reuß von Plauen (1467-1470) to Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1511-1525). In a neat 16th century hand, with decorated coats of arms.[1494] Inc.: *H. Heinrich Reus von Plauwen der XXIXte hoichmeister.* Expl.: *gestorben daselbsten in der hoffcapellen begraben worden den 9 (?) Aprili anno 1543.* f. 186v: *empty*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin, date, provenance:* For a full discussion of these aspects, see chapter 2.2.

**Literature:** Lackner, *Streubestände*, nr. 62; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 995, 1003-1004; Stapel, 'Layer on layer'; Stapel, 'Development of a scribe'.

[1494] Full description: Ibid., nr. 62 (3–4).

*Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (missing manuscripts)

*[Al-Sc]: Collection Van Alkemade & Van der Schelling*

This manuscript once belonged to the collectors Cornelis van Alkemade (1654-1737) and his son-in-law Pieter van der Schelling (1691-1751). It contained a handwritten copy of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, known only in an edition printed by Johan Veldener in Utrecht in 1480,[1495] and a complete manuscript of the *Croniken*, including a bailiwick chronicle. Cornelis van Alkemade first mentioned the manuscript in 1699 and published a short section of the text.[1496] In 1745, Pieter van der Schelling further described the manuscript.[1497]

Nothing is known about the fate of the codex. The Alkemade-Schelling manuscript is included in the sale catalogue of their book collection in 1751, but it is the last that is heard of it.[1498] The manuscript is absent from auctions in 1848 and 1859 of parts of the collection that were kept together or had remained unsold in the initial auction.[1499]

*[Fu$_1$], [Fu$_2$]: Collection Johann Funck*

The Lutheran theologian Johann Funck stated that he had used two manuscripts of the *Croniken* for his *Chronologia*, printed in Königsberg in 1552: "Chronica duo Ordinis Teutonici manuscript, etc."[1500] By examining the content of the *Chronologia* it becomes clear that two manuscripts of the *Croniken* or its adaptations were used.[1501] It cannot be excluded that these manuscript were identical to some of the extant manuscripts of the *Croniken*.

*[Kö]: Königsberg, Königliche und Unversitäts-Bibliothek, Hs. 1569*

Manuscript in quarto, later 16th century, paper, 283 fol., 325 x 200. Folio 1r-137v contains a grand masters' chronicle up to 1467 in High German. Implicit (f. 1r): "Dis ist der Prologus Oder Vorrede vonn des Deutschen Ordenns vnnd hospital vnnßer liebenn frauwenn von Jherusalem erster anfangk vnd fundament". Explicit (f. 137v): "Vnnd das Jar darnach uff den Sontag Quasi modo geniti Starb der hoemeister her Ludewig vonn Erlichshausen, vnnd wart zu konigspergk jm thum begrabenn". The rest of the manuscript contains various notes and extracts from Teutonic Order's chronicles. From ff. 199r-283v numerous privileges are included, ranging from Pope Honorius III to Emperor Frederick III, which cover the range of privileges in the *Croniken*.[1502] Present whereabouts are not known.[1503]

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[1495] Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 339–346 (nrs. 311–319).
[1496] Van Alkemade ed., *Rijm-kronijk van Melis Stoke*, [Quire sign.: Cccc–Cccc2].
[1497] Pars and Van der Schelling, *Catti aborigines Batavorum / Katwyksche, Rynburgsche oudheden*, 562–563.
[1498] Amsterdam, BVBBB, Nv 208, 106.
[1499] *Catalogus handschriften Van Alkemade en Van der Schelling*; *Catalogus autographen Van Alkemade, Van der Schelling en Van der Houve*.
[1500] The reference is made in the list of texts and authors used in the making: Funck, *Chronologia* 2, "Auctorum nomina" (not paginated).
[1501] Take for instance the use of the year 1158 for the first arrival of merchants from Bremen in Livonia (the so-called Livonian "Aufsegelung"): Ibid., 149; Compare column K (page 146 ff.) for other dates extracted from the Croniken: Johansen, 'Legende', 56.
[1502] E.J.H. Steffenhagen ed., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae et Universitatis Regimontanae* 2: Codices historici (Königsberg: Schubert & Seidel 1867-1872) 9–10 (nr. CLXXXII); 'Königsberger Handschriftenschätze', *Handschriftenarchiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (2006) Königsberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 1569 (Emil Ettlinger, 1912) <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/dtm/HSA/Koenigsberg.html> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[1503] Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur*, 302 (note 5).

*[Ma$_1$]: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht*

(Conjectural) manuscript that Antonius Matthaeus found in the bailiwick archive and used for his edition of the *Croniken* first published in 1710, which was, according to him, the only manuscript in the bailiwick at that time.[1504] In the same volume of his *Veteris ævi analecta*, Matthaeus edited part of the bailiwick chronicle (c.750-774), which was continued up to Land Commander Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579-1612).[1505]

It is unclear whether this bailiwick chronicle came from the same manuscript as the rest of the *Croniken*. Matthaeus also edited the opening chapters of the bailiwick chronicle (c.728-730) in a footnote found in his edition of the *Croniken* where he stated: "In a number of handwritten pieces of paper, from my possession, and followed here…"[1506] In a different footnote, part of his edition of the bailiwick chronicle, he included c.731, which he found in a text "in the archive of the [Teutonic] House."[1507]

Together he edited almost the entire *Croniken*, except for a few missing chapters, the privileges, and c.732-749. If we take his statements literally, he had used just one manuscript found in the bailiwick archive for most of his edition. It may or may not have included a bailiwick chronicle. It seems that Matthaeus had access to several manuscripts that included (parts of) the bailiwick chronicle, both in his possession and in possession of the bailiwick archive. To what extent Matthaeus actually used and combined more than one manuscript for his editions of the *Croniken* and bailiwick chronicle cannot be determined and it is therefore not clear if and in what form(s) manuscript **[Ma$_1$]** existed. For the purpose of this study, and because no evidence to the contrary presented itself, I will assume that Matthaeus was right in claiming that he used only one manuscript for the bulk of the edition and refer to this manuscript as **[Ma$_1$]**.

To study the affiliation of manuscript **[Ma$_1$]** to the other witnesses of the *Croniken*, we may turn to less traditional methods, in this case an analysis of the spelling preferences in the four Middle Dutch witnesses of the *Croniken* (Appendix, Figures A.1-A.14). The spelling preferences of the author's copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript **We$_1$**, vary much between the first and second half of the chronicle (as we discussed in chapter 2.3). Remnants of these shifting preferences found their way into the other witnesses (see for example the shifting preferences in the use of the interchangeable diphthongs "ei" and "ey" in Appendix, Figures A.3-A.4). Of course, the personal preferences of the scribes and – in some cases – the preference of what is presumably Matthaeus himself also play a role. Taken as a whole, these evolving spelling preferences and remnants thereof in other witnesses of the *Croniken* can actually be used as an additional method to study the *stemma codicum* of the text.

The spelling preferences of manuscript **[Ma$_1$]** are not easily interpreted. Most of the time, its preferences are similar to manuscripts **Ge** and **Ut$_1$**, sometimes more close to the one, sometimes more close to the other, but seldom a pattern arises that is repeated in other charts (such repeating patterns may indicate that multiple manuscripts were used for

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[1504] Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (2nd ed.)* V, 617.
[1505] Ibid., 857–890.
[1506] "In schedis aliquot manuscriptis, quae aliunde penes me sunt, sequebatur hic ita…"Ibid., 765–766.
[1507] "Sic in domus Archivis": Ibid., 857–858.

the edition). This is especially visible in Figures A.3-A.4 and Figures A.13-A.14 in the Appendix. There are also preferences, more akin to modern Dutch, for the diphthong "oo" instead of "oe" or "oi" (Appendix, Figures A.7-A.9) and the combination "ge" instead of "ghe" (Appendix, Figures A.1-A.2). In my view these characteristics should be linked to the editor rather than the scribe of Matthaeus' exemplar manuscript (and scribes before him). Even though this means there are some interfering edits by Matthaeus, it is still possible to say something on the affiliation of the conjectural manuscript **[Ma$_1$]**. Namely, based on these charts it is unlikely that the extant manuscript **Ut$_1$** was used as an exemplar for the edition.

Note the two variants of the same diphthong "ei" and "ey" (or "eij") in Figures A.3-A.4 (Appendix). In the author's copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript **We$_1$**, there is a strong shift in preference from "ei" to "ey" in the second half of the manuscript. This shift in preference has left its mark on the other witnesses of the *Croniken*, all of whom prefer the variant "ei" throughout the text (often in contrast to manuscript **We$_1$**), but to a lesser extent also use the form "ey" in those areas where it is present in **We$_1$**. Manuscript **Ut$_1$** diverges most from the preferences of manuscript **We$_1$**; it hardly exhibits the form "ey" at all. This also means that the conjectural manuscript **[Ma$_1$]**, that *does* show small amounts of the variant "ey" in conjunction with manuscript **We$_1$**, is not likely a copy of manuscript **Ut$_1$**. The exact affiliation of manuscript **[Ma$_1$]** to the other manuscripts of the *Croniken* can however not be determined from this procedure.

Nothing is known of the fate of the manuscript and other documents that formed the basis for the first edition of the *Croniken*. No *Croniken* manuscript was found among the private collection of books owned by Matthaeus that were auctioned after his death in 1710.[1508] A manuscript produced by Matthaeus, presumably as preparation for his edition, survives in the Utrecht University Library (**Ma$_2$**). The eighteenth century manuscript **We$_2$**, that contains a French translation of the *Croniken*, should be identified as a translation of the edition published by Matthaeus.

*[Mx]: Library of Archduke Maximilian III of Austria*

Archduke Maximilian III of Austria, grand master of the Teutonic Order between 1585/1590 and 1618, owned a copy of the *Croniken* in Middle Dutch. His book catalogue lists under 'K. 62' a "Chronicle of the Teutonic Order, written in Dutch."[1509] The manuscript may have been presented to the grand master by the knight brethren of the Utrecht bailiwick that joined his campaign against the Ottomans in 1594, or it was already part of the collections at Mergentheim were he resided until 1602.[1510] Current whereabouts are unknown.

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[1508] Van der Linden ed., *Excellens nitidissimaque bibliotheca*; See also: Honkoop and Honkoop eds., *Catalogus librorum*.

[1509] "Chronick des Teutschen Ordens auf niderlandisch geschrieben": Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 128, f. 8v; Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 996.

[1510] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nrs. 457–458; Arnold ed., *Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens*, 191–197; A manuscript of the Waiblingen adaptation in the possession of Maximilian of Austria was previously owned by the land commander in Franconia. This could indicate that Maximilian also collected books that circulated in the region around Mergentheim. Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 1265.

*[Pü]: Pürksi, Collection Baron Rudolf von Ungern-Sternberg*

The manuscript was in the private collection of Baron Rudolf von Ungern-Sternberg, who resided in Birkas (Ee.: Pürksi). It was used by Karl Rußwurm, Eduard Pabst and Carl Napiersky in their excerpt editions of the *Croniken*.[1511] Theodor Hirsch, following Napiersky, referred to this manuscript using the sign 'E' (for "Ehstländisch", Estonian), but did not examine the manuscript directly. According to him, the manuscript was closely related to the Skokloster manuscript (manuscript St).[1512]

The manuscript, titled "Anfengkliche stifftunge des Deutschen Ordens", contains a (complete?) version of the *Croniken* in Low German, probably written at the end of the sixteenth century, but at least before 1595. The binding mentions "F V R." and below "1595".[1513] This probably refers to Fabian von Rosen, from the Hanse town of Groß-Roop (Latvian: Straupe).[1514]

A few chapters were edited directly by Rußwurm (c.242-253)[1515] and Pabst (c.280-281).[1516] Variants are included in the excerpt edition by Napiersky.[1517] Current whereabouts are unknown.

*[Ri]: Riga, Stadtbibliothek, Fol. 2316*

This manuscript was the primary exemplar for the excerpt edition of the *Croniken* prepared by Carl Napiersky.[1518] It was written in 1592 by Franz Nyenstedt (1544-1622), mayor of Riga, and titled "Vralte vnnd ohrsprünckliche Preussische vnnd Lifflendische Chronike."[1519] Hirsch, again, used only the edition by Napiersky and not the manuscript itself and referred to it as manuscript 'R'.[1520] The manuscript was still present in Riga after World War II, but recent attempts by Mathieu Olivier to locate it were unsuccessful.[1521]

*[Ut$_2$]: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht*

Various excerpts of the *Croniken*, which are all found in one place and are all dated 1597, and which may belong together. Mentioned in an inventory of the Utrecht commandery from 1706 describing the contents of a drawer containing "letters to Land Commander Albrecht van Egmond van Merenstein," who held office between 1536 and 1560:

> *In the drawer that states 'Miscellaneous letters from the master to Land Commander Albrecht van Egmond,' being the first drawer:*
>
> *[…]*

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[1511] Rußwurm, 'Notiz über die Handschrift'; E. Pabst, 'Die Anfänge der deutschen Herrschaft in Livland', in: F.G. von Bunge ed., *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv- Esth- und Curlands*. 3 (Dorpat: Kluge 1844) 1–55, there 39–40; Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik'.
[1512] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 11.
[1513] Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik', 836.
[1514] Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 20 (note 13).
[1515] Rußwurm, 'Notiz über die Handschrift', 502–503, 513–522.
[1516] Pabst, 'Anfänge der deutschen Herrschaft', 40.
[1517] Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik', 841–906.
[1518] Napiersky, 'Livländischen Chroniken-Kunde'; Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik'.
[1519] The year 1592 is included on the binding. However, inside the manuscript Franz Nyenstedt mentions he finished writing in 1597: Napiersky, 'Auszug aus der Chronik', 835; Napiersky, 'Livländischen Chroniken-Kunde', 419.
[1520] Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 10.
[1521] Olivier, L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres, 995.

*- This following extract from 1597 tells about the lives and behaviour of various land commanders, such as lord Dirk van Holland, lord Johan van den Zande, lord Johan van Drongelen.*

*- An extract in the same drawer from the year 1597.*

*[…]*

*- In the same drawer an extract is put, extracted from the Chronicle of the Teutonic Order, of the Knighthood of the House and Hospital of Our Lady in Jerusalem, written in a fairly old script, the size of sheet of paper, bound in a parchment cover, 2 July 1597.*[1522]

***[Wa]**: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balije van Utrecht; Library of Wachtendorff*

Both Theodor Hirsch and Jan Jacob de Geer tot Oudegein mention a separate leaf in eighteenth-century handwriting (now lost) inserted in manuscript **Ut$_1$**, containing a description of a further manuscript of the *Croniken* that was once present in the bailiwick archive in Utrecht. That manuscript is described as having been of a later date than manuscript **Ut$_1$** and the decoration of the coats of arms as much less attractive. A later hand continued the list of grand masters and Utrecht land commanders up to Clemens August of Bavaria (grand master from 1732 to 1761) and Evert Jan Benjamin van Goltstein (Utrecht land commander from 1732 to 1744). The codex ended with notes on the land commanders of Alden Biesen ("notitie der Landcommandeurs van den Olden Biessen"). The continuations should therefore be dated between 1732 and 1744, while the rest of the manuscript probably predated 1732. Hirsch hypothesized that Matthaeus used this manuscript for his 1710 edition, but this assertion can neither be confirmed nor discarded.[1523]

According to the note this manuscript was preserved in the "bibliotheek van Wachtendorff" (library of Wachtendorff).[1524] This probably refers to a member of the Utrecht family Van Wachendorff. The most likely candidate is Cornelis Antony van Wachendorff (1737-1810), an avid manuscript collector and co-founder of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Society of Dutch Literature).[1525] However, the manuscript is absent in the book sales catalogues both of Cornelis van Wachendorff and of his family member Evert Jacob van Wachendorff (1703-1758), who was a botanist and professor of medicine in Utrecht.[1526] This means either that a different collection is meant, or that the manuscript displaced before the auction of the library of Cornelis van Wachendorff. Unfortunately, attempts to locate the note in the bailiwick archives have yet remained fruitless.

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[1522] "In de lade die voor opschrift heeft, alderhande brieven van den meister aen den Landtcommanduijr Albregt van Egmondt sijnde de eerste lade: […] Dit volgende extract van 1597 verhaelt het leven en gedrag van verscheijde landtcommanduijren, als de Heer Dirck van Hollandt, Heer Johan van Sande, Heer Johan van Drongelen. Een extract in deselve Lade van den jaere 1597. […] In deselve lade is nog gelegt een extract, geextraheert uijt de Cronijcke van der Duijtsche Ordre, van de ridderschap van den huijse en hospitaele Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Jerusalem, en geschreven sijnde met een tamelijcke oude letter, in formaet van een blat papier, en gebonden in hoorne kaperkel, den 2 juli 1597": Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 53.4. See also Appendix, A.2 (book inventories).
[1523] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 244; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 8–9.
[1524] De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 244 (nr. 193); Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 8.
[1525] 'Cornelis Antony van Wachendorff', 12.
[1526] Amsterdam, BVBBB, Nv 822; Amsterdam, BVBBB, Nv 259; Kroon and Van Paddenburg eds., *Bibliotheca Wachendorfiana*.

*[Ws$_1$], [Ws$_2$]: Collection Van Westreenen van Tielandt*

Baron Willem van Westreenen van Tielandt paid for two manuscripts of the *Croniken* to be bound.[1527] At the time, around 1808-1809, he visited the Utrecht bailiwick archive where he may picked these manuscripts up. Perhaps the manuscripts are identical to any of the aforementioned manuscripts, in particular **Ut$_1$**, **[Ma$_1$]**, **[Ut$_2$]** and **[Wa]**. Westreenen was an important book collector. His collection is nowadays part of the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague, but the two *Croniken* manuscripts are missing.[1528]

[1527] The payment was made to Jan Boeseken on 9 January 1809: "2 Exemplaren Cronijk van de Duitsche Ordre &c. gr[oot]. 4to. h[alve] E[ngelse] b[and] à 36 stuivers. fl. 3:12": The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, FA 015/095.

[1528] Based on the correspondence between Jos van Heel, curator at the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, and Annesietske Stapel, archivist of the bailiwick archive in Utrecht, who was kind enough to forward me the e-mail: J. van Heel, to A. Stapel, 'MMW, handschrift 007 B 017; bindrekening Boeseken' (29 July 2013).

## Derivative texts of the *Croniken* and other manuscripts

***Ha₁***: *Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2393, ff. 150r–159v*

***Ha₂***: *Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2396-1, ff. 64v–72r*

***Ha₃***: *Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2400-2, ff. 10a–20*

Three armorials, all of which part of the archive of the Utrecht-based noble family Van Hardenbroek.[1529] All three contain numerous coats of arms, ranging from European monarchs to those of noble families in the (Northern) Low Countries. Manuscripts **Ha₁** (ca. 1650) and **Ha₂** (ca. 1620, additions until 1710) contain the coats of arms of both the grand masters of the Teutonic Order and the Utrecht land commanders. In the case of manuscript **Ha₁**, the Utrecht land commanders are continued up to William Frederick, Prince of Nassau-Dietz (1640–64). Manuscript **Ha₃** only contains the coats of arms of grand master Konrad of Thuringia, the fictitious German master Bodo of Hohenlohe (both depicted in the bailiwick chronicle), drawings of knights of the order, and the coats of arms of the Utrecht land commanders up to Hendrik van Isselmuden van Zwollingerskamp (1748–53). Manuscripts **Ha₂** and **Ha₃** also contain notes taken from the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* regarding the foundation of the Teutonic House in Utrecht in 1231.

It is quite possible that the three armorials are related to each other.

***Ka***: *Cambrai, Médiathèque municipal, CGM : 868, ff. 31r-39v*

An armorial containing the coats of arms of, amongst others, the grand masters and Utrecht land commanders:

> *Collection of drawings of coats of arms brought together by the abbot A.-L.-B. Carondelet de Noyelles. – Many coats of arms of the Counts of Namur, Latin emperors of Constantinople, etc. […] Fol. 31-39: Armorial of the Teutonic Order, of the grand masters and land commanders of the Utrecht bailiwick, until the seventeenth century.*[1530]

According to an earlier manuscript description, the first 35 land commanders are included, which would add up, using the most common numbering, to Land Commander William Frederick, Prince of Nassau-Dietz (1640–64).[1531] Possible sources for these coats of arms include the *Croniken* itself or the portrait gallery in the Utrecht commandery, which is in itself based on the *Croniken* and continued to the present-day.[1532] The writer of the armorial is Alexandre-Louis-Benoît de Carondelet-Noyelles (1744 - after 1796), who pursued an ecclesiastical career in the Bishopric of Cambrai. In 1796 he arrived at New Orleans, where his brother was governor in Spanish service.

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[1529] The manuscripts were not examined by me. All information is derived from J.P.M. Vaissier and C.A. van Kalveen eds., *Inventaris van het archief van het huis en de familie Van Hardenbroek, 1353-1939* (gespecificeerd, herzien en aangevuld in 2000; Utrecht: Het Utrechts Archief 1939). Special thanks to Kaj van Vliet, archivist at Het Utrecht Archief, who pointed at these manuscripts.

[1530] "Recueil de dessins de sceaux, formé par l'abbé A.-L.-B. de Carondelet de Noyelles. - Beaucoup de sceaux des comtes de Namur, des empereus latins de Constantinople, etc. [...] Fol. 31-39 Armoiries de l'ordre Teutonique des grand maîtres et de lant-commandeurs de la bailie d'Utrecht, jusqu'au début du XVIIe siècle": A. Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements. Tome XVII: Cambrai*. Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France 17 (Paris: Plon 1891) 354–355 (nr. 868, previously: nr. 771).

[1531] A. le Glay, *Catalogue descriptif et raissoné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Cambrai* (Cambrai: Hurez 1831) 166 (nr. 771).

[1532] D. Meuwissen, *Gekoesterde traditie. De portretreeks met de landcommandeurs van de Utrechtse Balije van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht 4 (Hilversum: Verloren 2011).

***We₂**: Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 103*

French translation of the printed edition by Antonius Matthaeus, first published in 1710. A note on f. 1r, by [Robert Laurent Christophe] de Lintermans, last *Großpastor* (great pastor) of the Liège commandery in the Alden Biesen bailiwick (1763-1803), is dated 1780. This means that the manuscript was created between 1710 and 1780.

*Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133 H 4*

'HOLLANDSE SAKSENSPIEGEL' [SACHSENSPIEGEL (MIDDLE DUTCH)]

Paper, guard leaves of parchment; I + 92 + I fol.; 208 x 142. Northern Low Countries, ca. 1499-1500.

**Consulted:** manuscript

**Description:** 1[II] (IV), 2-12[IV] (88), two guard leaves (two columns, *littera textualis*) attached to quires 1 and 12 respectively. Modern pencil foliation I-IV (table of contents), contemporary foliation in Roman numerals I-LXVIII (1-68), no foliation ff. 69-88. Written in one column by one hand (*littera hybrida*). Rubricated and with red initials. Possibly contemporary leather binding, stamped with geometrical patterns. Remnants of metal locks and evidence of restoration.

[page layout]. [script/hands]. [decoration/rubrication/initials]. [binding].

**Content:**

- **[1.]** ff. Iv-68v: So-called 'Hollandse *Saksenspiegel*' (Middle Dutch translation and adaptation of the *Sachsenspiegel* or *Saxon Mirror*).
    - **[1a.]** ff. Iv-IVr: Table of contents. Inc.: *Van twee zweerden*. Exp.: *Vander vrouwen leen*. ff. Ir and IVv are left empty.
    - **[1b.]** ff. 1r-68v: 'Hollandse *Saksenspiegel*'. Inc.: *God die daer is een beghin ende een eynde alre goeder dingen die makede yerst hemel ende eerde*. Expl.: *mer sij sellen heerschijn gheven mit een jair pensien onbegrepen sellen sij wesen tot enighen tuych off leenrecht sij en worden selve aengetaelt*. ff. 69r-88v are left empty.
- **[2.]** guard leaves: Isaac Judaeus, *De febribus* ('On fevers'; translated from Arabic into Latin by Constantine the African; fragment). Inc.: *Quoniam te karissime filii Iohannes lacrimas mesto corde perpetim effundere perspexi*. Expl.: *ad omnia membra corporis et eis inbibis. sed iste*.

**Remarks:**

*Origin:* Northern Low Countries, written by notary public Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen (see chapter 4.3) and possibly commissioned by Steven van Zuylen van Nijevelt, land commander of the Utrecht bailiwick. The guard leaves were written in France (manuscript description).

*Date:* The paper can be dated around 1499-1500. There are four watermarks (A-D), all hands or gloves, without additional motif, with cuff, and with phalanxes. Watermark A could not be identified. Watermark B is identical with a watermark used in an incunable printed in Leiden, 1500.[1533] Watermark C was used in incunabula printed in Delft

[1533] Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'WILC', nr. 57459; There are similarities with a watermark dated Cologne, 1504: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nr. 154516.

between 1499 and 1500.[1534] Finally, watermark D is identical to a watermark found in Deventer, 1499-1500.[1535] The guard leaves were written between the second half of the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth century (manuscript description).

*Provenance:* The manuscript was owned by Land Commander Steven van Zuylen van Nijvelt (1496-1527): "Dit boeck hoert toe h*eer* Steve*n* va*n* Zuylen van Nievelt lantco*m*mend*uer*" (f. 87v), by Land Commander Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579-1612) (coat of arms, "1610": f. Ir), and by Barthold Jacob Lintelo de Geer van Jutphaas (1816-1903): "Dit HS behoort aan B.J.L. de Geer te Utrecht, 15 December 1867" (f. Ir). Bought at the action of his library at J.L. Beijers (Utrecht, 1905) by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (f. Ir).

The manuscript is the only known handwritten copy of the so-called 'Hollandse *Saksenspiegel*' (Hollandish Saxon Mirror). This adaptation of the original Saxon Mirror by Eike of Repkow was printed for the first time by Gerard Leeu in 1479, and reprinted nineteen more times until 1556.[1536] Following Smits, the manuscript is a scribal copy, but not a copy of the printed edition.[1537]

**Literature:** Smits, 'De Spiegel van Sassen' (edition); Lintelo de Geer van Jutphaas, *De Saksenspiegel in Nederland*; Manuscript description Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 2007.

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[1534] Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'WILC', nrs. 2130 (Delft 1499–1500), 1511 (Delft 1499); A similar watermark, but with a aberrant thumb, is found in Rheine in 1500: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nr. 154503.
[1535] Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'WILC', nr. 50304.
[1536] 'ISTC', nrs. ie00028200 (1479), ie00028300 (1482), ie00028350 (1485–86), ie00028250 (1487–88), ie00028400 (1487–91); 'Universal Short Title Catalogue' nrs. 436688 (1504), 425482 (1505), 436727 (1506), 420377 (1512), 437310 (1526), 437353 (1527), 437395 (1528), 407384 (1536), 437979 (1539), 410485 (1547), 430461 (1550), 421206 (1550), 408666 (1550), 421291 (1556) <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/> [accessed 2 May 2016].
[1537] Smits, 'Spiegel van Sassen', 7.

## Quantifying palaeographical preferences in the *Sachsenspiegel* and land charters

As I have shown in chapter 2.3, Hendrik van Vianen displayed in his writing a unique combination of letterforms of *w*. This combination is not only visible in manuscript **We$_1$**, but also in his other writings: the *Sachsenspiegel* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4) and the land charters of the Utrecht bailiwick. In the land charters, the 'closed' *w* was usually the most frequent form, often even completely dominant (Figure A.31). An important factor in the popularity of the 'closed' *w* in the charters is that, in contrast to the *littera hybrida* script of manuscript **We$_1$** and the *Sachsenspiegel*, a mixture was used between a *littera cursiva* (with loops, comparable to the 'closed' *w*) and a *littera hybrida* (without loops): the so-called *littera cursiva* (C/H). Perhaps influenced by an increasing familiarity with the 'open' *w* that gained momentum throughout manuscript **We$_1$** (with its second phase dated around 1491), this letter-form became more popular in the charters dated in the late nineties of the fifteenth century.

In the *Sachsenspiegel*, dated around 1499–1500, there is a clear preference for the 'open' *w*, just as we have seen in the second half of manuscript **We$_1$** of the *Croniken* and the charters of the late nineties that were just mentioned (Figure A.32). What is also interesting in comparison to manuscript **We$_1$**, is that in the first few folios, the 'closed' and 'disjointed' *w* were more regularly employed, in contrast to the rest of the chronicle, where only 'mixtures' and 'open' *w* are present.[1538] This is echoed in the first folios of the prologue and of the bailiwick chronicle in manuscript **We$_1$** as well. The difference however, is that in the *Sachsenspiegel* the writing style has become much more stable than in the first half of manuscript **We$_1$**. Apparently, the writer developed a much more robust writing style and preference over the years. This is also reflected in other preferences not shown here, such as spelling and abbreviations. Moreover, we should probably not expect as much fluctuations as in **We$_1$**, since this *Sachsenspiegel* is not an original work but a manuscript *copy*.

[1538] Please disregard the table of contents on the first few folios that probably, just as the table of contents of manuscript **We$_1$**, was added in the end.

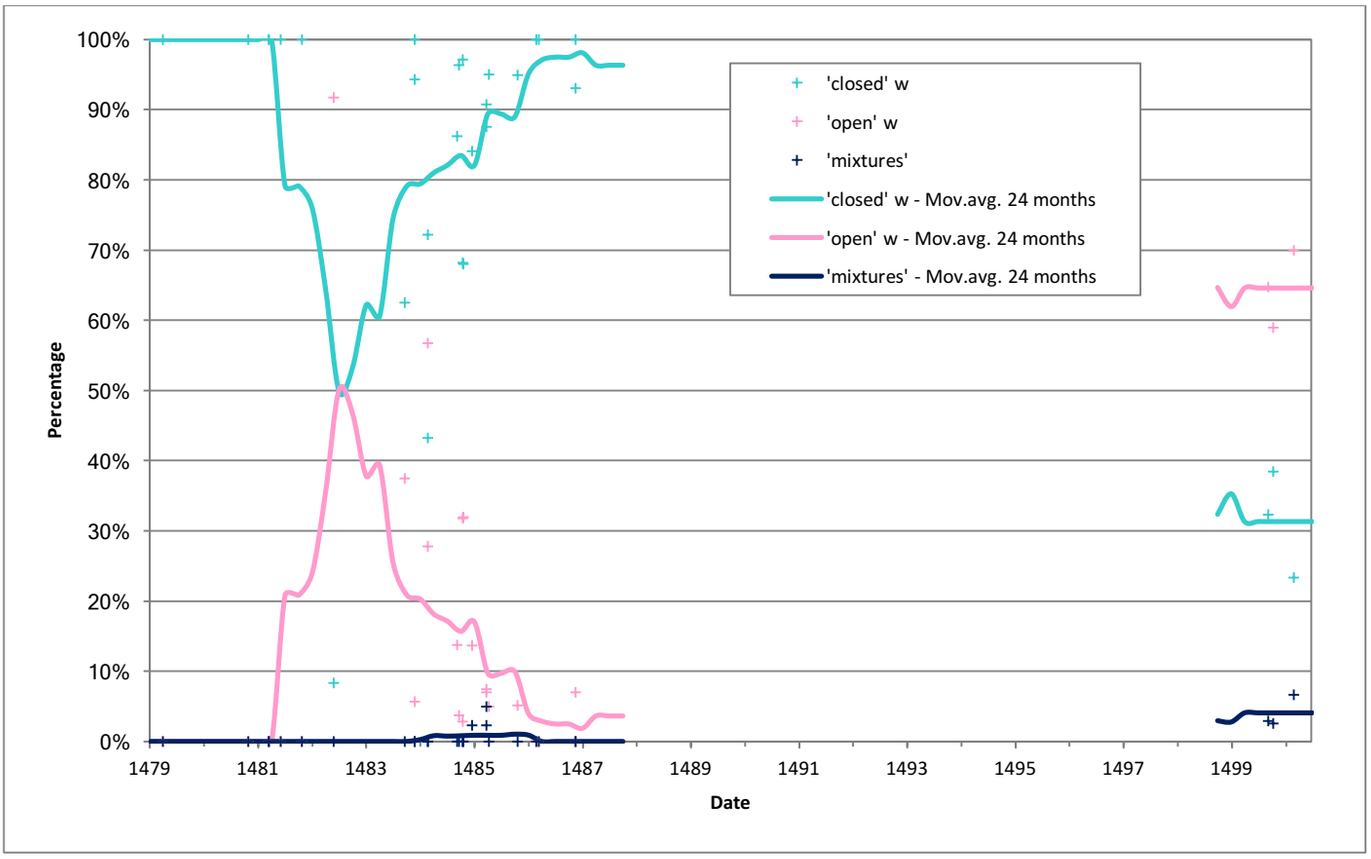


*Figure A.31 Letterforms of* w *in Middle Dutch land charters by the hand that wrote manuscript* ***We₁***.

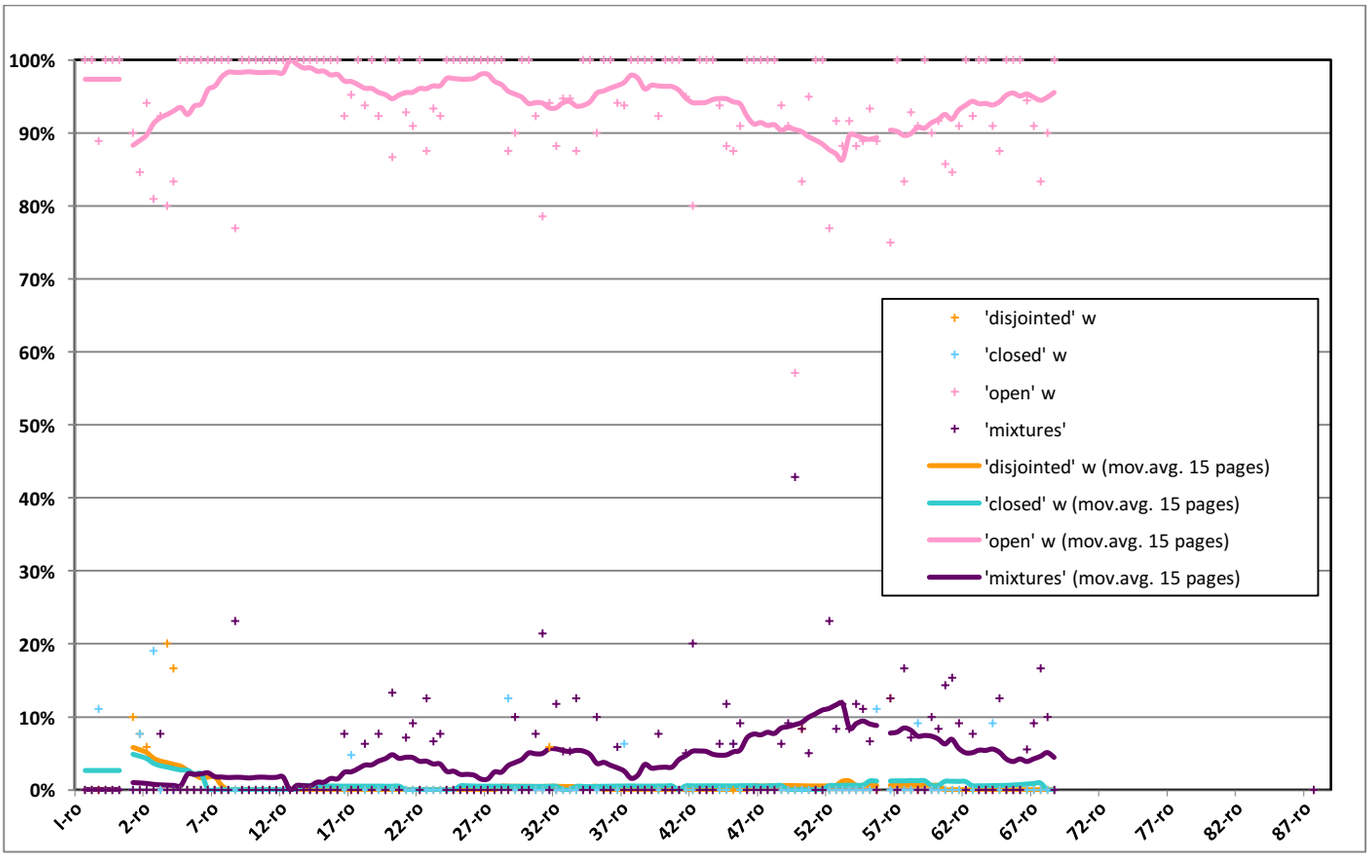


*Figure A.32 Letterforms of* w *in the* Sachsenspiegel *(The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4).*

# B Edition

## B.1 Edition principles

Here I will provide a diplomatic transcript of manuscript **We$_1$**, the author's copy by Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen. I have also created transcripts of the other complete Middle Dutch manuscripts, **Ge**, and **Ut$_1$**, together with a transcription of Matthaeus' edition, **[Ma$_1$]**. These transcripts were created in XML, according to the P5 guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative, and will be made available at some point online. I have tried to recreate the script as much as possible, by retaining capitalization, punctuation, rubrication, initials, red underlining, line breaks, and spelling variations. The latter meant keeping the distinction between u, v, and w, or ij and y, but it was not possible to distinguish between capital I and minuscule j. Both were transcribed as a capital I.

Abbreviations are coded in the XML transcripts, but I have chosen to provide the reader with expanded abbreviations. "He'n" therefore is transcribed as "He*re*n"; the expanded abbreviation is in italic. Roman numerals are shown in small capitals. Also included in the digital transcripts are evidence of editing: adding, deleting, and substituting. In the following, printed version, deletions are shown by strikethrough; additions are highlighted in green and may be placed in the margin or in the middle of the sentence, depending on its original place. Uncertain readings are displayed in grey and italic, text that was hard to read but has been deduced by using other manuscripts of the *Croniken* is displayed in blue; text that is completely lost, but whose existence can be deduced from other manuscripts is displayed in orange. The text for the final page, which is missing in manuscript **We$_1$**, was taken from manuscript **Ge**.

I have chosen to create a new numbering scheme for the chapters, since some chapters are not present in the previous editions of Hirsch (1874) and Matthaeus (1710/1738) and they did not number the chapters with privileges and those in the bailiwick chronicle. To be complete and to be able to refer to all parts of the *Croniken* in a consistent manner, I have numbered all chapters that start with a paragraph sign (¶), therefore also numbered the shorter chapters of the table of content. A concordans of the chapter numbers by Hirsch and the new edition is provided in the next table.

The current edition of manuscript **We$_1$** is intended as a supplement for this dissertation only. Intend to publish the edition or editions at some point in time after the defence.

| Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New | Hirsch | New |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **[0]** | 75 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **1** | 76 | **55** | 129 | **109** | 257 | **160** | 313 | **214** | 368 | **268** | 451 | **321** | 508 | **375** | 575 | **429** | 662 |
| **2** | 77 | **56** | 130 | **110** | 258 | **161** | 314 | **215** | 369 | **269** | 452 | **322** | 509 | **376** | 577 | **430** | 663 |
| **3** | 78 | **57** | 131 | **111** | 259 | **162** | 315 | **216** | 370 | **270** | 453 | **323** | 510 | **377** | 578 | **431** | 664 |
| **4** | 79 | **58** | 132 | **112** | 260 | **163** | 316 | **217** | 371 | **271** | 454 | **324** | 511 | **378** | 579 | **432** | 665 |
| **5** | 80 | **59** | 133 | **113** | 261 | **164** | 317 | **218** | 372 | **272** | 455 | **325** | 512 | **379** | 580 | **433** | 666 |
| **6** | 81 | **60** | 134 | **114** | 262 | **165** | 318 | **219** | 373 | **273** | 456 | **326** | 514 | **380** | 581 | **434** | 667 |
| **7** | 82 | **61** | 135 | **115** | 263 | **166** | 319 | **220** | 374 | **274** | 460 | **327** | 516 | **381** | 582 | **435** | 668 |
| **8** | 83 | **62** | 136 | **116** | 264 | **167** | 320 | **221** | 375 | **275** | 461 | **328** | 517 | **382** | 583 | **436** | 669 |
| **9** | 84 | **63** | 137 | **117** | 265 | **168** | 321 | **222** | 376 | **276** | 462 | **329** | 518 | **383** | 584 | **437** | 671 |
| **10** | 85 | **64** | 138 | **118** | 266 | **169** | 322 | **223** | 377 | **277** | 463 | **330** | 519 | **384** | 592 | **438** | 673 |
| **11** | 86 | **65** | 139 | **119** | 267 | **170** | 323 | **224** | 378 | **278** | 464 | **331** | 521 | **385** | 602 | **439** | 675 |
| **12** | 87 | **66** | 140 | **120** | 268 | **171** | 324 | **225** | 379 | **279** | 465 | **332** | 522 | **386** | 603 | **440** | 676 |
| **13** | 88 | **67** | 141 | **121** | 269 | **172** | 325 | **226** | 380 | **280** | 466 | **333** | 523 | **387** | 604 | **441** | 677 |
| **14** | 89 | **68** | 142 | **122** | 270 | **173** | 326 | **227** | 381 | **281** | 467 | **334** | 524 | **388** | 605 | **442** | 678 |
| **15** | 90 | **69** | 143 | **123** | 271 | **174** | 327 | **228** | 382 | **282** | 468 | **335** | 525 | **389** | 606 | **443** | 679 |
| **16** | 91 | **70** | 144 | **123a** | 272 | **175** | 329 | **229** | 383 | **283** | 469 | **336** | 526 | **390** | 607 | **444** | 680 |
| **17** | 92 | **71** | 145 | **124** | 273 | **176** | 330 | **230** | 384 | **284** | 470 | **337** | 527 | **391** | 608 | **445** | 681 |
| **18** | 93 | **72** | 146 | **125** | 274 | **177** | 331 | **231** | 385 | **285** | 471 | **338** | 528 | **392** | 609 | **446** | 682 |
| **19** | 94 | **73** | 147 | **126** | 275 | **178** | 332 | **232** | 386 | **286** | 472 | **339** | 529 | **393** | 610 | **447** | 683 |
| **20** | 95 | **74** | 148 | **127** | 276 | **179** | 333 | **233** | 387 | **287** | 473 | **340** | 530 | **394** | 611 | **448** | 684 |
| **21** | 96 | **75** | 149 | **128** | 277 | **180** | 334 | **234** | 388 | **288** | 474 | **341** | 534 | **395** | 612 | **449** | 685 |
| **22** | 97 | **76** | 150 | **129** | 278 | **181** | 335 | **235** | 389 | **289** | 475 | **342** | 535 | **396** | 613 | **450** | 686 |
| **23** | 97 | **77** | 151 | **130** | 280 | **182** | 336 | **236** | 390 | **290** | 476 | **343** | 536 | **397** | 615 | **451** | 687 |
| **24** | 98 | **78** | 152 | **131** | 281 | **183** | 337 | **237** | 391 | **291** | 477 | **344** | 537 | **398** | 616 | **452** | 690 |
| **25** | 99 | **79** | 153 | **132** | 282 | **184** | 338 | **238** | 392 | **292** | 478 | **345** | 538 | **399** | 621 | **453** | 691 |
| **26** | 100 | **80** | 154 | **133** | 283 | **185** | 339 | **239** | 416 | **293** | 479 | **346** | 539 | **400** | 622 | **454** | 694 |
| **27** | 101 | **81** | 155 | **134** | 284 | **186** | 340 | **240** | 417 | **294** | 480 | **347** | 540 | **401** | 623 | **455** | 695 |
| **28** | 102 | **82** | 156 | **135** | 285 | **187** | 341 | **241** | 418 | **295** | 481 | **348** | 541 | **402** | 624 | **456** | 699 |
| **29** | 103 | **83** | 157 | **136** | 286 | **188** | 342 | **242** | 419 | **295a** | 482 | **349** | 542 | **403** | 625 | **457** | 701 |
| **30** | 104 | **84** | 158 | **137** | 287 | **189** | 343 | **243** | 420 | **296** | 483 | **350** | 543 | **404** | 626 | **458** | 702 |
| **31** | 105 | **85** | 159 | **138** | 288 | **190** | 344 | **244** | 421 | **297** | 484 | **351** | 544 | **405** | 627 | **459** | 703 |
| **32** | 106 | **86** | 234 | **139** | 289 | **191** | 345 | **245** | 422 | **298** | 485 | **352** | 546 | **406** | 628 | **460** | 707 |
| **33** | 107 | **87** | 235 | **140** | 290 | **192** | 346 | **246** | 423 | **299** | 486 | **353** | 548 | **407** | 629 | **461** | 711 |
| **34** | 108 | **88** | 236 | **141** | 291 | **193** | 347 | **247** | 430 | **300** | 487 | **354** | 549 | **408** | 630 | **462** | 712 |
| **35** | 109 | **89** | 237 | **142** | 292 | **194** | 348 | **248** | 431 | **301** | 488 | **355** | 550 | **409** | 639 | **463** | 713 |
| **36** | 110 | **90** | 238 | **143** | 293 | **195** | 349 | **249** | 432 | **302** | 489 | **356** | 551 | **410** | 642 | **464** | 714 |
| **37** | 111 | **91** | 239 | **144** | 294 | **196** | 350 | **250** | 433 | **303** | 490 | **357** | 553 | **411** | 643 | **465** | 715 |
| **38** | 112 | **92** | 240 | **145** | 295 | **197** | 351 | **251** | 434 | **304** | 491 | **358** | 554 | **412** | 644 | **466** | 716 |
| **39** | 113 | **93** | 241 | **146** | 296 | **198** | 352 | **252** | 435 | **305** | 492 | **359** | 558 | **413** | 645 | **467** | 717 |
| **40** | 114 | **94** | 242 | **146a** | 297 | **199** | 353 | **253** | 436 | **306** | 493 | **360** | 559 | **414** | 646 | **468** | 718 |
| **41** | 115 | **95** | 243 | **147** | 298 | **200** | 354 | **254** | 437 | **307** | 494 | **361** | 560 | **415** | 647 | **469** | 718 |
| **42** | 116 | **96** | 244 | **148** | 299 | **201** | 355 | **255** | 438 | **308** | 495 | **362** | 561 | **416** | 648 | **470** | 719 |
| **43** | 117 | **97** | 245 | **149** | 301 | **202** | 356 | **256** | 439 | **309** | 496 | **363** | 562 | **417** | 649 | **471** | 720 |
| **44** | 118 | **98** | 246 | **150** | 302 | **203** | 357 | **257** | 440 | **310** | 497 | **364** | 563 | **418** | 650 | **472** | 721 |
| **45** | 119 | **99** | 247 | **151** | 303 | **204** | 358 | **258** | 441 | **311** | 498 | **365** | 564 | **419** | 651 | **473** | 723 |
| **46** | 120 | **100** | 248 | **152** | 304 | **205** | 359 | **259** | 442 | **312** | 499 | **366** | 565 | **420** | 652 | **474** | 724 |
| **47** | 121 | **101** | 249 | **153** | 305 | **206** | 360 | **260** | 443 | **313** | 500 | **367** | 566 | **421** | 654 | | |
| **48** | 122 | **102** | 250 | **154** | 306 | **207** | 361 | **261** | 444 | **314** | 501 | **368** | 567 | **422** | 655 | | |
| **49** | 123 | **103** | 251 | **155** | 307 | **208** | 362 | **262** | 445 | **315** | 502 | **369** | 568 | **423** | 656 | | |
| **50** | 124 | **104** | 252 | **155[a]** | 308 | **209** | 363 | **263** | 446 | **316** | 503 | **370** | 569 | **424** | 657 | | |
| **51** | 125 | **105** | 253 | **156** | 309 | **210** | 364 | **264** | 447 | **317** | 504 | **371** | 571 | **425** | 658 | | |
| **52** | 126 | **106** | 254 | **157** | 310 | **211** | 365 | **265** | 448 | **318** | 505 | **372** | 572 | **426** | 659 | | |
| **53** | 127 | **107** | 255 | **158** | 311 | **212** | 366 | **266** | 449 | **319** | 506 | **373** | 573 | **427** | 660 | | |
| **54** | 128 | **108** | 256 | **159** | 312 | **213** | 367 | **267** | 450 | **320** | 507 | **374** | 574 | **428** | 661 | | |

*Table B.1 Concordans between chapter numbers of the edition by Hirsch (1874) and the new edition.*

## B.2 Diplomatic edition of ms. $\mathbf{We_1}$ (attached separately)

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## Curriculum Vitae

Rombert Stapel (Hardenberg, 1983) studied medieval history at Leiden University where he graduated in 2008. His master thesis encompassed a prosopographical study of the priest-brethren of the Teutonic Order in the Utrecht bailiwick between 1350 and 1600. In the same year, he started to work as a PhD Student at the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden and Leiden University. He was awarded the ADHO Bursary Award for his contribution to the Digital Humanities 2011 Conference at Stanford University. Since 2013, he has been working as a researcher at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam on the project 'Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500–2000' and since 2015 as a postdoctoral researcher at the IISH within the 'Impact of Circulation' program. In 2015 he was a Global Fellow at the Weatherhead Initiative on Global History at Harvard University.

# Propositions

Belonging to the dissertation: 'The Late Fifteenth-Century Utrecht Chronicle of the Teutonic Order: Manuscripts, Sources, and Authorship', to be defended at Leiden University on Wednesday 25th January 2017, 15:00, by Rombert Jouke Stapel, born in Hardenberg in 1983.

1. Discussions on the usefulness and scope of the term 'Deutschordensliteratur' ('Literature of/by the Teutonic Order') are little fruitful without thorough codicological studies of the manuscripts that were owned and written by the brethren of the Teutonic Order. With few recent exceptions, such codicological analyses are absent from the scholarly field that studies the military orders.

   F. Löser, 'Literatur im Deutsche Orden. Vorüberlegingen zu ihrer Geschichte', in: J. Wenta, S. Hartmann and G. Vollmann-Profe eds., *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen: Leben und Nachleben.* Sacra Bella Septentrionalia 1 (Toruń: UMK 2008) 331–354; E. Feistner, M. Neecke and G. Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier. Bibelepik und Chronistik im Deutschen Orden als Modell korporativer Identitätsbildung*. Hermaea. Germanistische Forschungen. Neue Folge 114 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer 2007) 21–25.

2. The conjectural text that is commonly referred to as the *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik* rather seems a selection of short independent stories that form a loosely defined corpus. The corpus, possibly existing in different compositions, shows an entangled dissemination together with the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Livonia, the Hanse cities of North Germany, and the Low Countries.

   This dissertation, pp. 163–175.

3. The humanist influence presumed present in the works of historiographers in the late medieval Northern Low Countries such as Johannes a Leydis may not have been as great as once expected (Ebels-Hoving 1985; contra: Ebels-Hoving 2011, pp. 58-67); their networks and communities of exchange show great similarities to the humanist circles of the early sixteenth century, such as the Gouda circle of humanists which included Erasmus, and should be studied as direct precursors of such circles.

   B. Ebels-Hoving, 'Johannes a Leydis en de eerste humanistische geschiedschrijving van Holland', *BMGN* 100.1 (1985) 26–51; This dissertation, pp. 163–175; B. Ebels-Hoving, *Geschiedenis als metgezel: confrontaties met een vak, 1950-2000* (Hilversum 2011); R.J. Stapel and J.D.E. de Vries, 'Leydis, Pauli, and Berchen revisited. Collective history writing in the Low Countries in the late fifteenth century', *The Medieval Low Countries. An Annual Review* 1 (2015) 95–137; This dissertation, pp. 145–152, 284–289.

4. Lemmatization of texts with high levels of spelling variation has proven to be an effective method to prepare these texts for further computational analysis (e.g. Kestemont et al. 2016). Researchers however should be aware that spelling variation itself carries an abundance of relevant knowledge of the text and its creators as well and can be studied quantitatively as well. Lemmatization or other forms of textual normalization should therefore not lead to the neglect of the original spelling variants.

M. Kestemont, G. de Pauw, R. van Nie, and W. Daelemans, 'Lemmatization for variation-rich languages using deep learning', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* (2016; Advance Access) 1–19; This dissertation, pp. 75–84, 324–330.

5. Data aggregation is the perfect way to mask aberrant methodological approaches, spatially relevant observations, and individual disparities or those of smaller collectives. The need for aggregation becomes less pressing with modern visualization techniques, and its use should therefore be minimized as much as realistically possible.

6. Without proper schooling in computational skills for humanities students, digital humanities will not fully surpass the 'next big thing'-phase and remain associated with a hype, or, worse, the field will be taken over by non-humanities scholars.

7. Socioeconomic statistics are too often vaguely spatially defined by historians. Carefully defining which areas are covered by such statistics and which are not is essential and a necessity for meaningful temporal comparisons. It should be as normal for historical journals to demand from researchers that submit statistically-rich papers that these papers are accompanied by precise geographic definitions, for instance in the form of GIS files, as it is becoming normal to deposit the statistics themselves.

8. Questioning the 'end of the Middle Ages' by looking at the diminishing growth and rapid decline of monasteries in the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century, carries the risk of undervaluing the spectacular growth of the number of monasteries that preceded this development, especially from the 1380s onwards. The dissolution of monasteries in the sixteenth century was as much the announcement of a new era as it was a return to normality.

K. Goudriaan, *Het einde van de middeleeuwen?* (valedictory address, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 17th September 2015).