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

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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.

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
We₁	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
Ut₁	Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balie van Utrecht (ARDOU), inv.nr. 181	Around 1509–10	U	c.1–774 ¹⁴⁰	Utrecht bailiwick
[Ut₂]	<i>Olim</i> : 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]	<i>Olim</i> : Library of Maximilian III, archduke of Austria, K. 62	Unknown, <1618	-	-	Netherlands
Ut₃	Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181-bis	Between 1675–93	-	Abridgement: c.242–72; c.234–716; c.728–74	Utrecht bailiwick
[Al-Sc]	<i>Olim</i> : Collection Van Alkemade & Van der Schelling	Unknown, <1699	-	Complete (c.1–774)?	Utrecht bailiwick?
[Ma₁]	<i>Olim</i> : 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
Ma₂	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. 1253 vol. 13	<1710	-	?	Utrecht
[Wa]	<i>Olim</i> : Utrecht, ARDOU <i>Olim</i> : “Library of Wach(t)endorff”	Unknown, <1732, between 1732–44	-	-	Utrecht bailiwick
Ut₄	Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181-ter	18th c.	-	c.728–74	Utrecht bailiwick
[Ws₁]	<i>Olim</i> : Collection Van Westreenen <i>Olim</i> : Utrecht, ARDOU	Unknown, <1809	-	-	Utrecht bailiwick
[Ws₂]	<i>Olim</i> : Collection Van Westreenen <i>Olim</i> : Utrecht, ARDOU	Unknown, <1809	-	-	Utrecht bailiwick
Ut₅	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
Ha₂	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
Ha₁	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 municipale, CGM : 868, ff. 31r-39v	17th c.?	-	c.731? (coats of arms)	French	Cambrai
We₂	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 103	Between 1710–80	-	c.75–727, excl. privileges	French	Alden Biesen bailiwick?
Ha₃	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 Matthaëus' 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 Matthaëus edition, which means that they were not known to Hirsch.

¹⁴¹ See also: Olivier, *L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maitres*, 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

Signature	Location	Date	Hirsch	Chapters	Language variant	Localization
St	Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamml., E8722, ff. 1-255r	First half 16 th 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?
[Fu₁]	<i>Olim?</i> : Collection Johann Funck	Unknown, <1552	-	-	-	Prussia?
[Fu₂]	<i>Olim?</i> : Collection Johann Funck	Unknown, <1552	-	-	-	Prussia?
Ta	Tartu, Ülikooli Raamatukogu, Mscr. 154, ff. 1r-267r	Middle 16 th c.?	-	c.75-726	Low German	Livonia
Vi₁	Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-5	16 th c.	-	c.75-?	High German	Prussia?
Vi₂	Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-1	16 th c.	-	c.107-?	High German	Prussia?
[Pü]	<i>Olim</i> : Pürksi, Collection Baron Rudolf von Ungern-Sternberg	2 nd half 16 th c. (<1595)	E	c.75-727?	Low German	Livonia
[Kö]	<i>Olim</i> : Königsberg, Königliche und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Hs. 1569, ff. 1r-137v, ff. 199r-283v	Late 16 th c.	-	c.75-727	High German	Prussia?
Gd	Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, rps 1262, ff. 1r-112r, ff. 195r-198v	Late 16 th c. (1584-1595?)	-	c.75-727	High German	Prussia?
[Ri]	<i>Olim?</i> : Riga, Stadtbibliothek, Fol. 2316	1592	R	c.75-727?	Low German	Livonia (Riga)
Up	Uppsala, Carolina Rediviva, H. 152, f. 1r-53r	End 16 th c., first half 17 th 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 Schicksal 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 (**[Fu₁]**, **[Fu₂]**). The Lutheran pastor and historian Balthasar Rüssow, who

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. Strehle 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

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 Balthasar 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 dreizehnerigen Kriegs in Preussen* (Wittenberg: Krafft 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-Maitres*, 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

Signature	Location	Date	Localization
Wb.We₁	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 148	1528–38	Bailiwick Franconia
Wb.We₂	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 129, ff. 3r-270r	2 nd quarter 16 th c.	Mergentheim?
Wb.Sg₁	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB V 74, ff. 3v-414v	1554–6	Germany; Mergentheim?
Wb.We₃	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 465	2 nd half 16 th 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.We₄	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 443	2 nd or 3 rd third 16 th c.	Southern Germany
We.Lu₁	Ludwigsburg, Staatsarchiv, B 236 Bü. 106	2 nd half 16 th c.	?
Wb.We₅	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 144, ff. 1r-230r/234v	2 nd half 16 th c. (>1557)	Franconia
Wb.Sg₂	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB V 75	1592–5	Germany
Wb.Sg₃	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB V 76	1599–1601	Germany or Austria
Wb.We₆	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 442	End 16 th c.	?
Wb.Lu₂	Ludwigsburg, Staatsarchiv, B 236 Bü. 107	End 16 th c.	?
Wb.St	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, D 1453, ff. 1r-30v	18 th c.	Sweden
Wb.We₇	Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 477	18 th 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 Tieshausen, ‘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.To₁	Toruń, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna i Książnica Miejska, rps 95	2 nd half 16 th c. (<1564)	Königsberg
Wf.Be₁	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 175	2 nd half 16 th c.	Königsberg?
Wf.Be₂	Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, StUB Königsberg, nr. 3	2 nd half 16 th c.	Königsberg?
[Wf.Kö₁] ¹⁶⁰	<i>Olim</i> : Königsberg, Staatsarchiv, Msc. A 1 2°	1571	Königsberg
[Wf.Kö₂]	<i>Olim</i> : Königsberg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Nr. 1545	4 th quarter 16 th c. (>1572)	Königsberg?
Wf.To₂	Toruń, Archiwum Państwowe, Kat. II-XIII 3a	1579	Heilsberg (Polish: Lidzbark Warmiński)
[Wf.Kö₃]	<i>Olim</i> : Königsberg, Stadtbibliothek, Nr. 24 Fol.	1582	Königsberg?
Wf.Be	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 592	End 16 th c.	?
Wf.Co	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 697 2°	End 16 th c., begin 17 th c.	?
Wf.To₃	Toruń, Archiwum Państwowe, Kat. II-XIII 5	1 st half 17 th c. (<1657)	Königsberg?
Wf.Wm	Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Cod. Fol. 104	17 th c.	?
Wf.Kr	Kraków, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, rps 1330	18 th 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/kgb_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 I); 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 form¹⁶⁷), 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 regl Maglster
Pr, f. 249v	[absent]
Gd, f. 112 ¹⁶⁹	Luce cras Lucae planatur regi magister
Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, rps 1277, Bl. 525; <i>Ibid.</i>, rps 1278, Bl. 488b. (Both manuscripts belong to group B of the <i>Ferber Chronik</i>) 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).

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.

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.

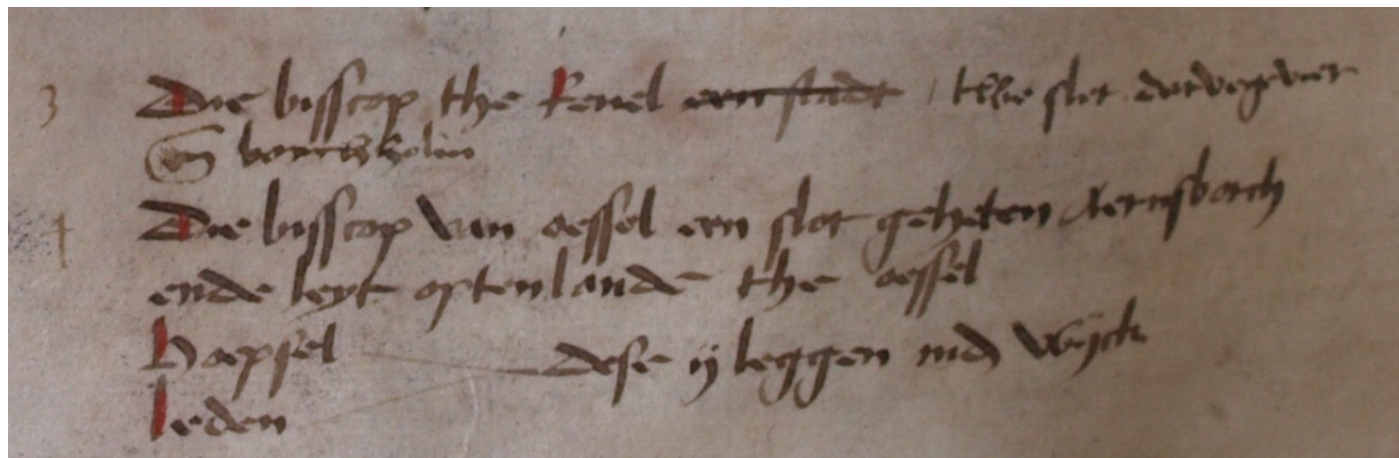


Figure 2.1 Manuscript We, f. 177v.

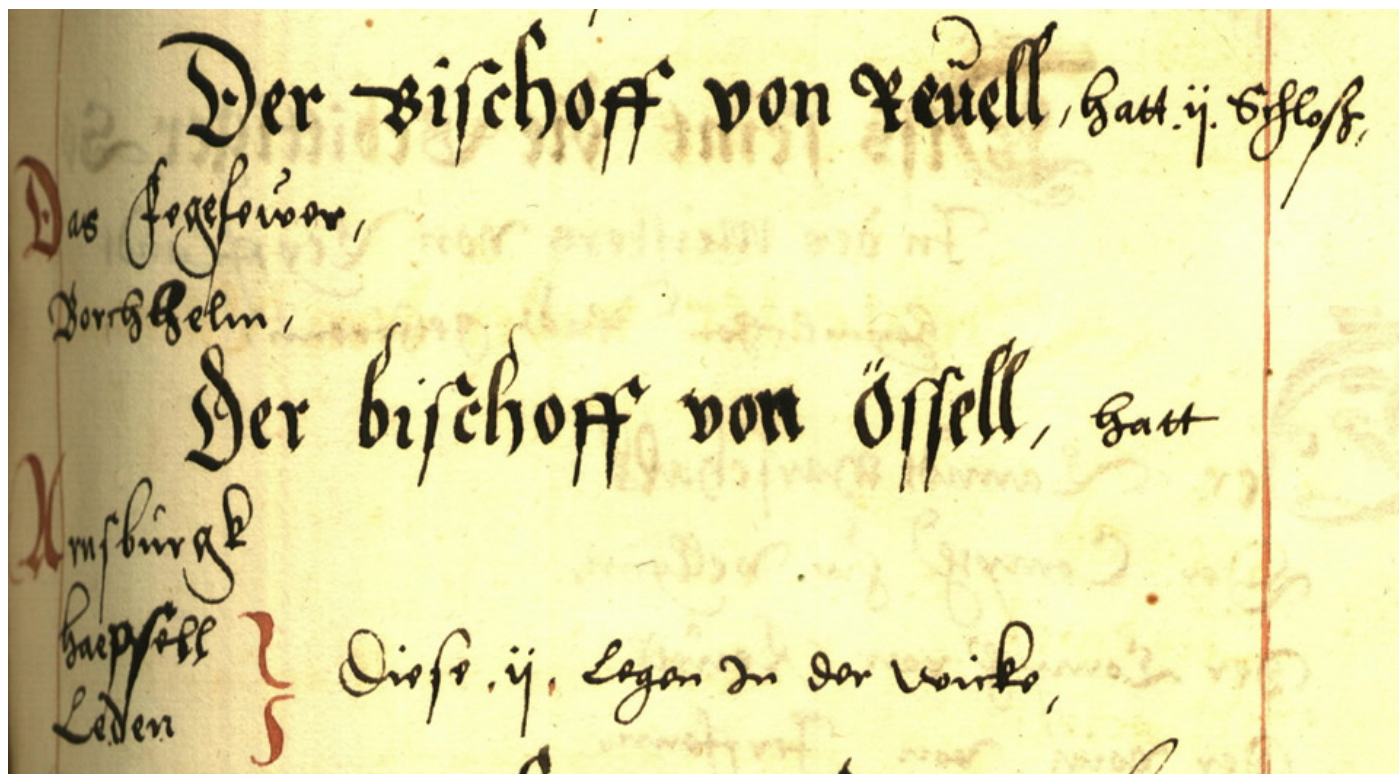


Figure 2.2 Manuscript Pr, f. 257r.

Der bisschop van Reuel hat .ij. gheslote,
 Des heylighen,
 Borsghelm,
 Der bisschop van Ostell hat,
 Arnsborch,
 Gaeppel, Die .ij. leggen in der crichte,
 Leden.

Figure 2.3 Manuscript Be, f. 205v.

De bisschop van Reuel ij gheslote Augustus vint Borsghelm,
 De bisschop van Ostell
 Arnsborch ij gheslote, Gaeppel vint Leden Dese ij in Dordrecht

Figure 2.4 Manuscript Ta, f. 266v.


De Bisschop te Reuel D at vergeminer ij slot B orsghelm eyn slot 	De Bisschop van Ostell A rnstborch eyn slot G aeppel eyn slot L eden eyn slot yn der Leghe
--	---

Figure 2.5 Manuscript St, f. 254v.

Die bisscop the Reuel een stadt

Figure 2.6 Manuscript Ge, f. 126r (the rest of the passage is on the next folio and identical to manuscript We₁).

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.

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 Vannieuwenhuysse, *Archiefgids I: Oud Archief*.

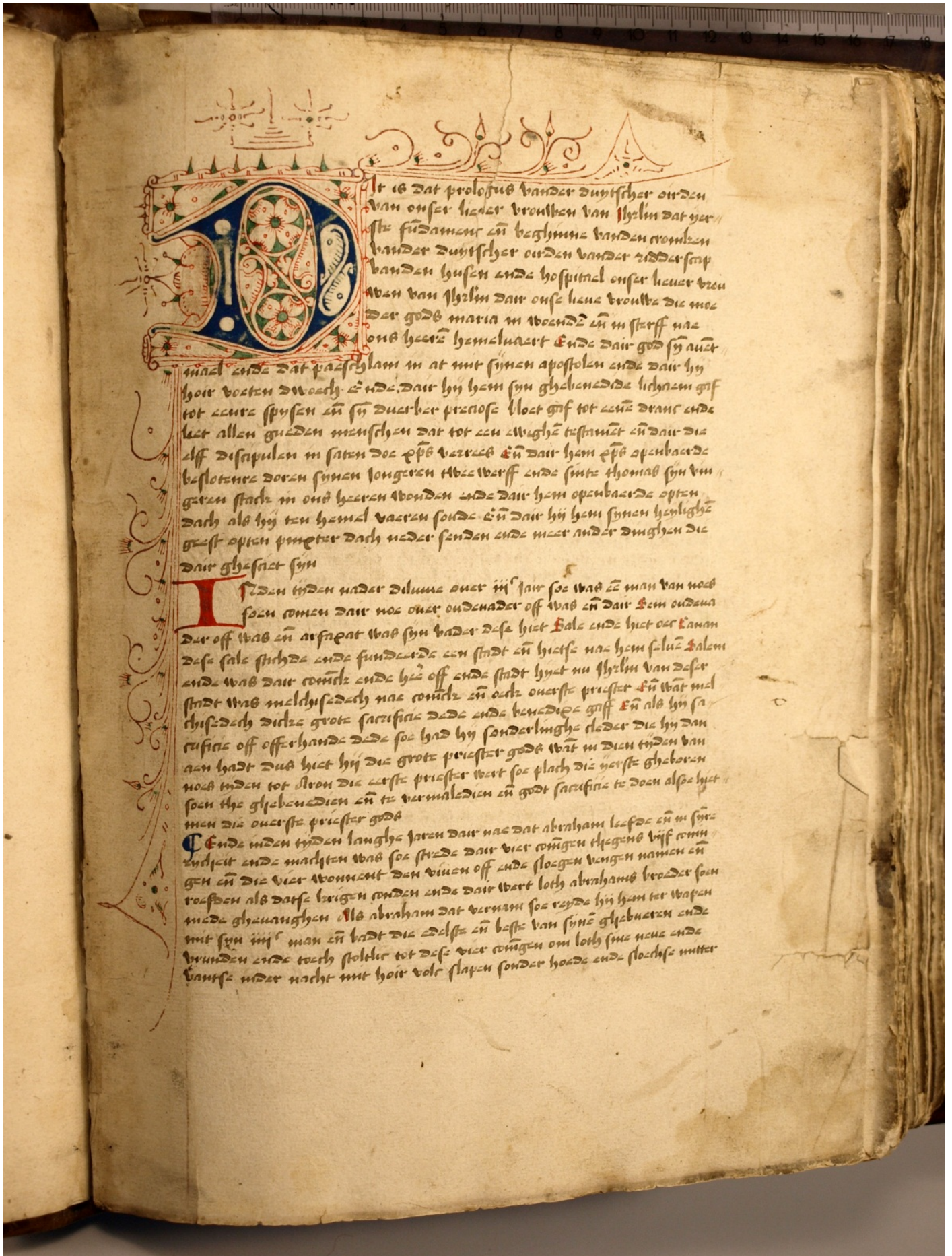


Figure 2.7 Manuscript Ge, f. 9r.

Dijn die na
 me vā frāsc
 als gesellen
 die ierst van
 ghe geroepen
 ware totter or
 den. Die ierste was frāscus
 selue. Die nider brued ber
 naert. Die derde brued sil
 uester. Die vierde brueder
 massus. Die vyfte brueder leu
 we. Die sesste brueder iustia
 van assis. Die seuende brue
 der ephidius. Die achste brue
 der iohan. Die negende brue
 der philippus. Die tiende brue
 der denaet. Die elfte brue
 der peter. Die twaelste brue
 der richernus. Die dertien
 de brueder anthonnus. Ten
 iersten sellen wi wete d; die he
 lige man frāscus seer ghe
 lyk was in veel punten onser
 heer ihu xpm. Want alsoe als
 onse heere hadde mit begin
 sine predicacie twelf winge
 ren wtgerore. Die bi hem al
 toes bleue. Des gheles had frā
 scus en gesellen wtgeroren
 die om gode alle ducht oter ga
 uen. Ende volghden hem in nul
 liger armoeden sonder afkee
 ren. sonder een die judas hiet.
 Die onsen heer verroft ende v
 riet ende daer nae hem selue
 verhinck. Ende des gheles had

De frāscus eenē geselle die
 iohannes vander capellen hiet
 die oec hem selue verhinck. En
 alsoe die apostelen inde beti
 ue der wercken seer wondlic
 ware woer der werelt om d; hi
 veruult ware mitē heilige geest.
 Des gheles ware frāscus ge
 sellen die hem volghde soe ver
 uult mitē heiligen geest. Dat
 nider tyt uader apostele doot
 hoers gheles opter eiden me
 ghesē en ware. Voert soe
 leestme d; een brueder die egi
 dius hiet van waert geuoert in
 de derde hemel. Als paulus
 geuoert waert. Oec leestme
 van brueder philippus d; hi op ge
 voert waert vade engele. Als
 ysayas die prophete. Plues
 ter plach in gode te spreken.
 Als deen vriet mitē andere glo
 monses dede. Brueder bernaet
 waert van hemelcher wyse boue
 die ander geleert soe d; hi vlah
 hofte als ee aere als iohannes
 ewangelista dede. Brueder ru
 sijn was soe heilich d; he god d;
 ewige leue hier nider tyt hadde
 vsekert. recht of hi voer sine
 doot geuoerte ghehele had
 geweest als iohannes baptista.
 Nu hoert van sinte bernaet
 die van althij was geuore van ecle ghesla
Den sinte frāscus die
 die werelt vader en

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

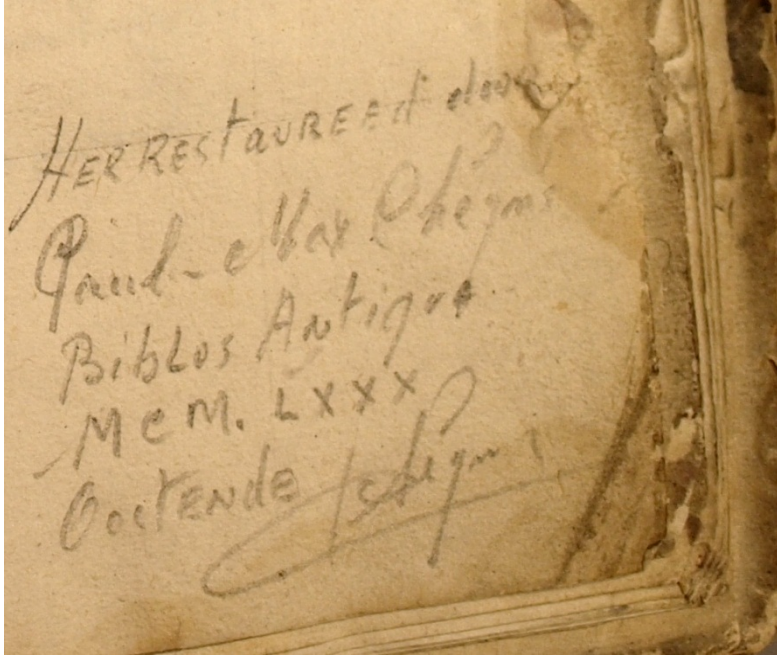


Figure 2.9 Restoration notice in manuscript **Ge**, f. 1r.

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 examina-

tion 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 **Ut₁** or **[Ma₁]**, 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 **Ut₁** caused by two occurrences of the phrase “keyserlicke hof” shows that the manuscript cannot have been a direct copy of **We₁** (see Table 2.8): in **We₁** 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. **We₁** can therefore not have been the exemplar used by the scribe of **Ut₁**, as the conditions that would be able to cause an eye-skip were not met. Manuscript **We₁** 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 **Ut₁** and the conjectural manuscript used by Antonius Matthaeus for his edition of the *Croniken* (**[Ma₁]**). 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, **[Ma₁]** does not appear to derive from **Ut₁**. It does not replicate one of the haplographies in **Ut₁** (Table 2.9) and an analysis of specific spelling variations in the different witnesses of the *Croniken* supports that **Ut₁** was not used as an exemplar for Matthaeus’ edition (Appendix, A.5, **[Ma₁]**). Two other options stand out. First, that **Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]** 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 **Ut₁** 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 **Ut₁** are absent in its supposed exemplar **[Ma₁]** (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 **[Ma₁]**.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ This question is addressed in more detail in the manuscript description in Appendix, A.5, **[Ma₁]**. 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 **Ut₁** 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 bran- den veel van den landen, ende toghen ende branden omtrent des conincs Mondouwen borch	ende venck alte veel volcs, ende verwoesten ende bran- den [...] 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 barn- den [...] omtrent des Conincks Mandouwen borch

Table 2.7 Eye-skip in Croniken c.374, We₁, Ge, Ut₁ and [Ma₁] manuscripts.

We ₁ , ff. 45r-45v	Ge, f. 35v	Ut ₁ , f. 36r	[Ma ₁]
Ende dat die meester soe dick ende menichwerf hij comende is in 't keyserlicke hof soe sal hij wesen een huis [f. 45v] gesin des keyserli- cken hoefs	Ende dat die meester soe dick ende menichwerff hij comende is in 't keyserlicker hof soe sal hij wesen een huisgesin des keyserlicken hoefs	Ende dat die meester soe dick ende mennich werff hy comende is in 't [...] keyserli- ker hoijffs	[Absent: privilege]

Table 2.8 Eye-skip in Croniken c.227, We₁, Ge, Ut₁ and [Ma₁] 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 lie- ten hem daer leggen	ende sloegen den man doot ende twijf sloech mede over den man ende sij sleepten den man in 't bosch ende lie- ten 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 bos- sche, ende lieten hem daer leggen.

Table 2.9 Eye-skip in Croniken c.297, We₁, Ge, Ut₁ and [Ma₁] manuscripts.

We ₁ , f. 9r	Ge, f. 9r	Ut ₁ , f. 7r	[Ma ₁], § 1
van deser stat was Melchise- dech na coninc ende oic over- ste priester. Ende want Mel- chisedech dicke grote sacrifi- cie dede ende benedixie gaf	van deser stadt was Mel- chisedech nae coninck ende oeck overste priester. Ende want Melchisedech dicke grote sacrificie dede ende benedixe gaff	van deser stadt was Mel- chisedech [...] dije dicke grote sacrificy dede ende benedixie gaff	Van deser Stadt was Mel- chisedech, [...] die dicke grote sacrificie dede, ende benedi- xie gaff.

Table 2.10 Eye-skip in Croniken c.76, We₁, Ge, Ut₁ and [Ma₁] manuscripts.

Both scenarios, the existence of a common ancestor of Ut₁ and [Ma₁] or the fact that Ut₁ derived from [Ma₁], lead to the conclusion that in the very short time span between the production of Ge (ca. 1508) and Ut₁ (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, Ma₂, Ut₃, Ut₄, and Ut₅) derive from this set of manuscripts (Ge, the possible common ancestor of Ut₁ and [Ma₁], and Ut₁ and [Ma₁] 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.

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 Duitse Orde, balie van Utrecht, inv.nr. 134, passim.

¹⁸⁷ “Up dat nemanth tho syner eygener vorkortheynge twyvelen dorffe an dyssen yegenwardygen aller-vullen-komensthen Romensken afflathe des ffreuderyken gulden yares und der crusse-ffarth [...] tho under-stande unde reddinge unde redynghe 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 ketttersken unde aff-ge-sunderden Russen myt sommygen ungelovygen Tartaren [...] ys hyr eyne korthe unde schone uth-fferyng vorrameth van selsemen unde wunderlyken umsthendycheiden 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 **Ut₁**. 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 (**Ut₃**, 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 Matthaëus, 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 **Ut₁** 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”; **We₁**, **Ge**, [**Ma₁**]). This misreading is likely caused by the representation in **Ut₁** “IIII”, where “j” represents ½ instead of the Roman numeral i. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 181, f. 155v; Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balie van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-bis, f. 26v.

¹⁹⁰ “Met groote belangstelling heb ik vernomen dat de Kronijk der geschiedenis onzer Duitse Balije, in de geleerde wereld door professor ... [left blank; i.e. Antonius Matthaëus] 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 predecessor, 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

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 where 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

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 Wachendorffiana. 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 Biscoppen 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

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 gheregert 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, Rynsburgsche 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 Matthaëus got hold of the Alkemade-Schelling codex, in spite of the fact that Matthaëus 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 Matthaëus’ 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 Matthaëus. 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,

²¹⁶ Among the “Libri Miscellanei in Folio” is found: “Fasciculus Temporum cum Continuatione manuscript ad ann. 1585. Item Oude Chronijk van Brabant 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 Romem, 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 [**Ut₂**] (now presumed lost), **Ut₃**, **Ut₄**, **Ut₅** (an armorial that is based on the coats of arms in the *Croniken (Ka)*), and the aforementioned **Ma₂**. 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.

huy

in ruysslant Die meester dede gebued dat hem elc veld
maecte om the storme beide borch en stat. Die ruyssche
begard ene veld En die van pleskoudte bodt hem
ten onde te gheue. en daer wort ene veld ghemact
mitte ruyssche als dat Garpolt hon come die behefde
dat die borch ende stat ende datter bij lach die ghinge
inder onde hand en vborde kerste Die meester besette
borch ende stat mit twee van sijn broedre ende mit
kerste volck ende loude got ende sijn ghemede maed
vander groter victorie ende tath vborde om

¶ Ende da dese edel vrom heer heer Harma van zalsappp
suer lande mit soe groter vromtheit en wysheit sijn onde
soe grotelic mitter hulpe gods en mit groter victorie ende
hulp van vorste ende princ soe heerliche verbrut ver
merret en gheuet had. soe tath hy mit leste tot Akers
om aldaer the visten en van der wederom tot sene
gry. en van daer in apullie ende daer wort hy sick
en sterf daer ende wort verliche begrave in des on
dus kerk in ene stat gehete Balets der groten von
de om was alle sijn onde don Anno ay n^o xl

Ich Luderich König zu Franckreich
Hab geroben Willhalmich.
Von meine Wappen dieser Lihen vier
Diesem schilt zu grosser Zier

1270
Dieses soll Achen:
1250. 20 Augusti fol: 78. 2. 170.

Dem acit Lantgrawe tot dermygthen en
tot hessen lantgrawe ladbijch sinte Eli
sabetten mans brader. en vbas oem
van come henrich roemscome, sinte ely
sabette saen, die von come Willm de
hollat roemscome was, Dese was die vyfte hoch
meister vander durtcher onde van onser heuer vrou

ay. n^o xl
Conradt Lantgraff von
Thuringen s. Hochmeister



71

f3

Figure 2.12 Manuscript We₁, f. 71r.

2.2 Manuscript We₁ (Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 392)²²¹

Manuscript We₁ 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

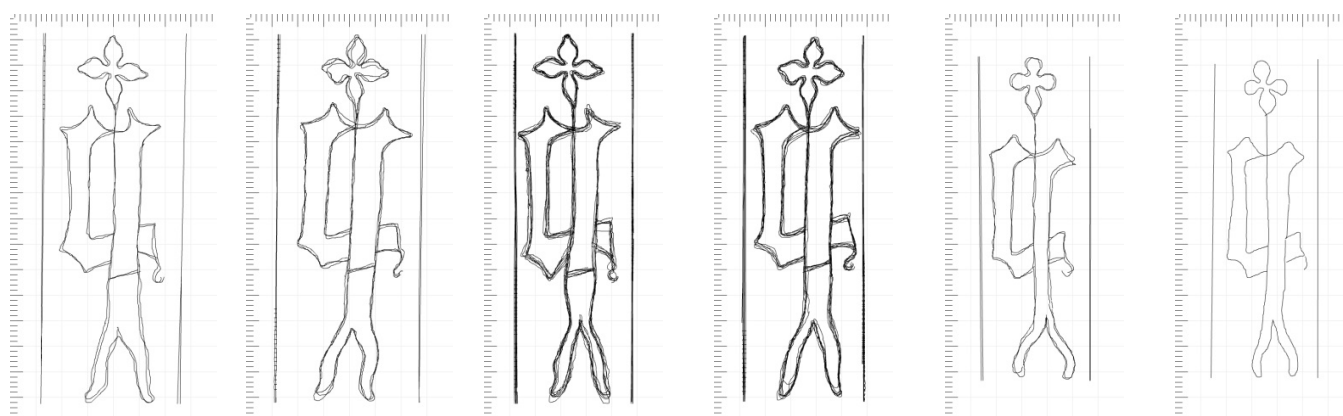


Figure 2.13 P1.

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

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].

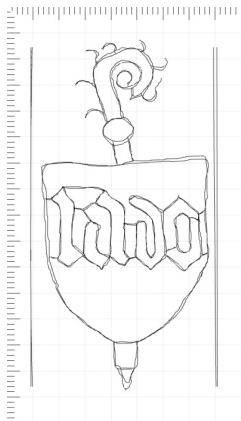


Figure 2.19 J1.

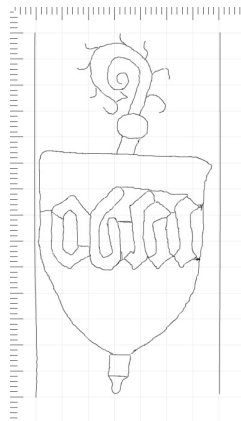


Figure 2.20 J2.

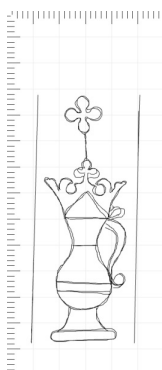
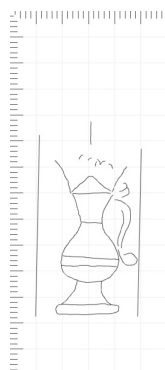
Figure 2.21 K1.²²⁴

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 Médiévisique 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, Düsseldorf, 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, Hambach	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, Mechten	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, Cologne	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 *We*₁.²²⁷

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 *We*₁ containing the watermarks; Quires in *We*₁ 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 accidentally mirrored in the *WILC* database, the watermark

The paper containing these watermarks has only been used occasionally in **We**₁. 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).

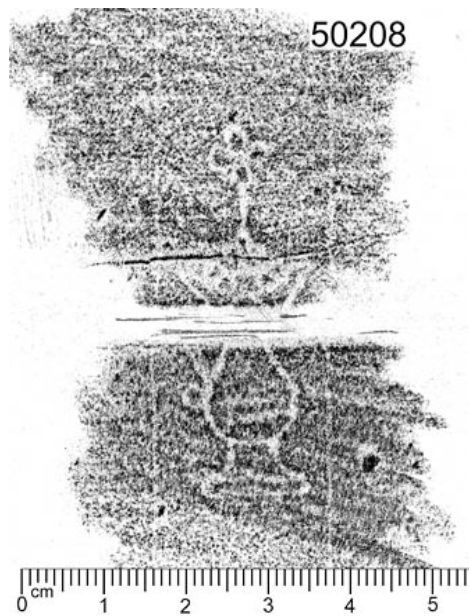


Figure 2.23 WILC 50208 (Deventer 1496).

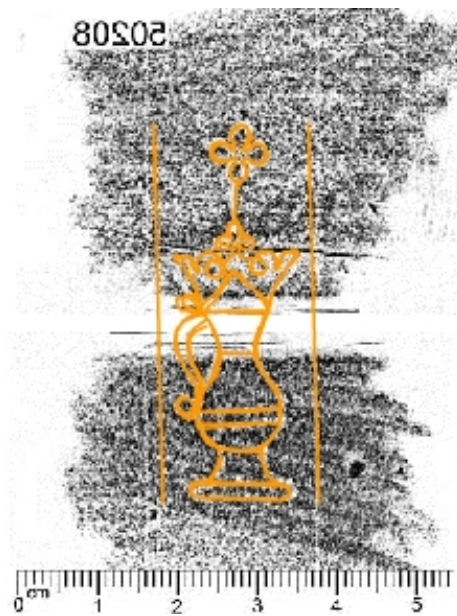


Figure 2.24 WILC 50208 (mirrored upper half); K1 as overlay (see note 228).

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.

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, *Filigraanes*.

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

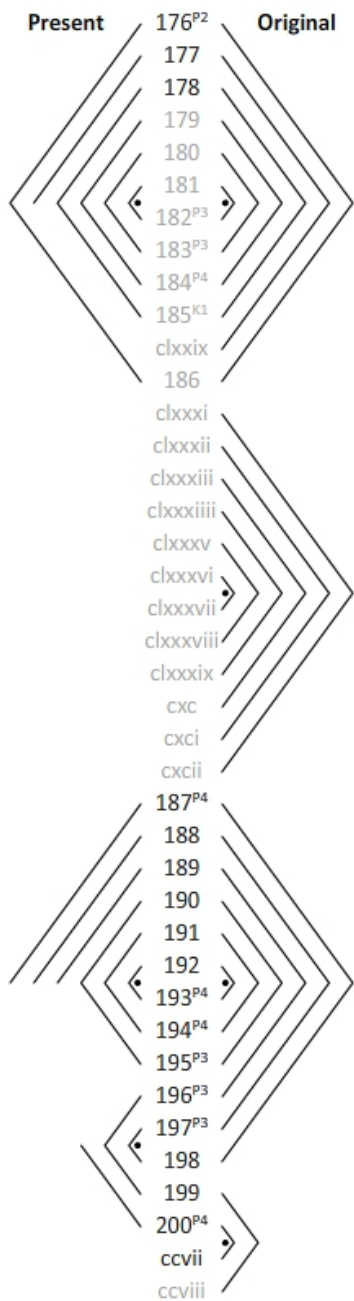


Figure 2.25 Most likely composition of the quires 17, 17a, 18 and 19.²³²

The composition of the quires in manuscript **We**₁ 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} (CCIII=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^{II+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.

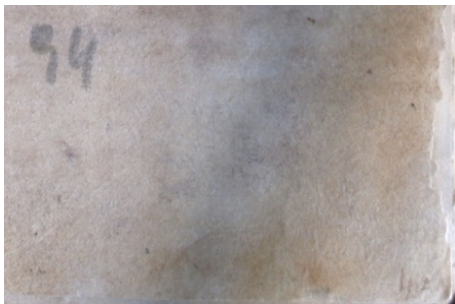


Figure 2.28 Quire and leaf signature *h2* (f. 94r).

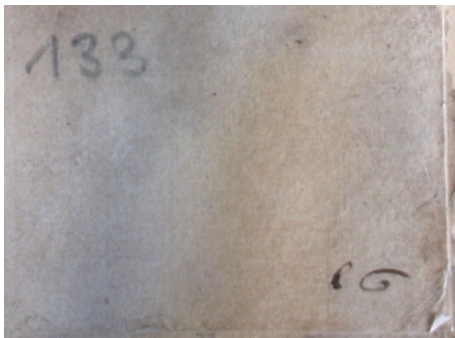


Figure 2.29 Quire and leaf signature *l6* (f. 133r).

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, “*Inden tijden*”, 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.

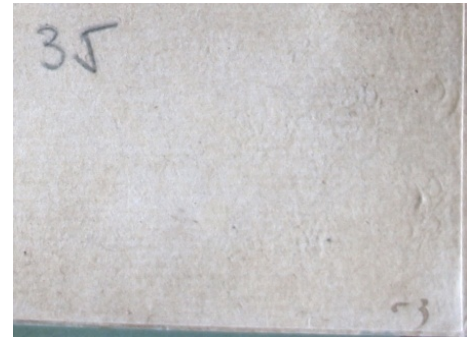


Figure 2.26 Quire and leaf signature *c3* (f. 35r).

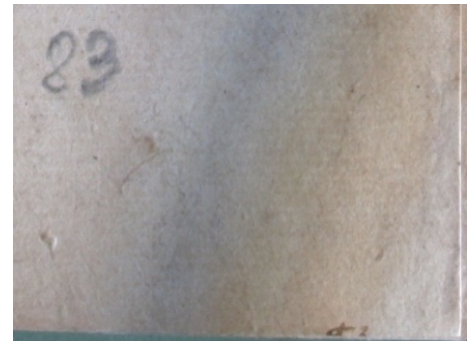


Figure 2.27 Quire and leaf signature *g3* (f. 83r).

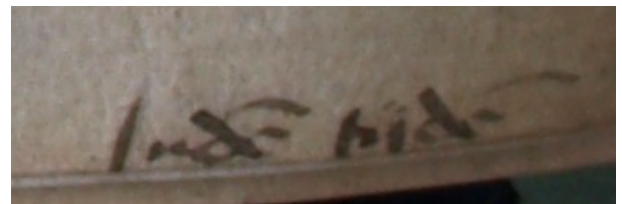


Figure 2.30 Catchword “*Inden tijden*” (f. 56v).

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 *f*, 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

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, ‘lets 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 “*ende*” (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*.” (“*voirseit*”: aforementioned) or a *r* rotunda with a cut at the end of “*voirscr*.” (“*voirscreven*”: 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, f, 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

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.

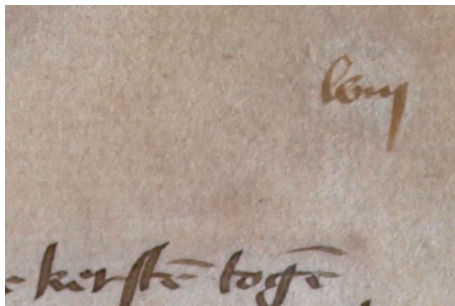


Figure 2.31 Use of loops in foliation (f. 66r).

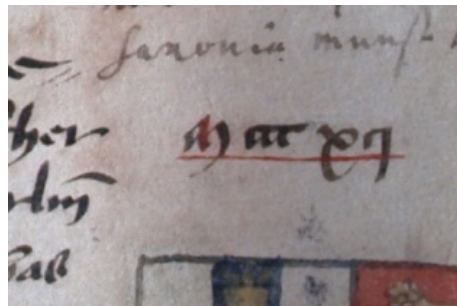


Figure 2.32 Intermediate form of the use of Roman numerals (f. 143r).

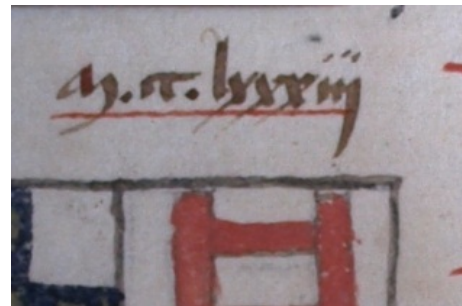


Figure 2.33 Start of term in office in the margins (f. 104v).

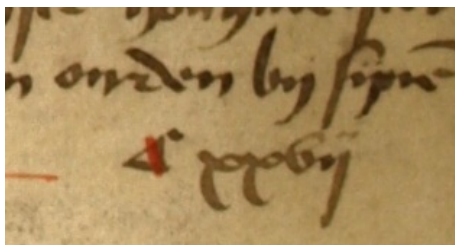


Figure 2.34 Use of Roman numerals in the running text (f. 4v).

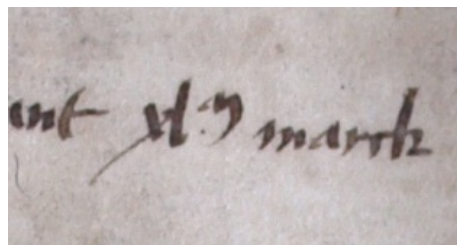


Figure 2.35 Use of Roman numerals in the main text (f. 177r).

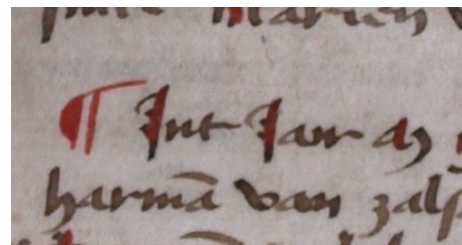


Figure 2.36 Two added dots to the shaft of the letter l/j.

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

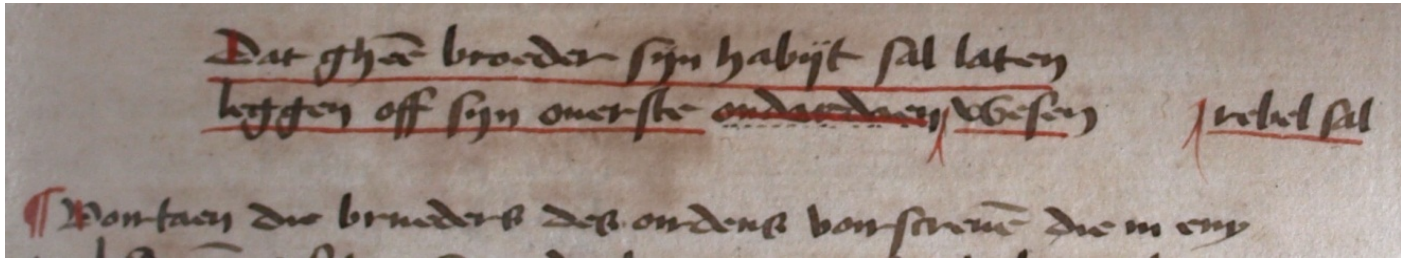


Figure 2.37 Content related correction in the margin (f. 42r).

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.

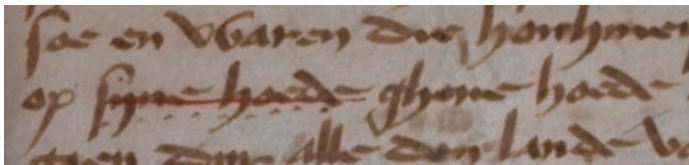


Figure 2.38 Immediate correction (f. 168v).

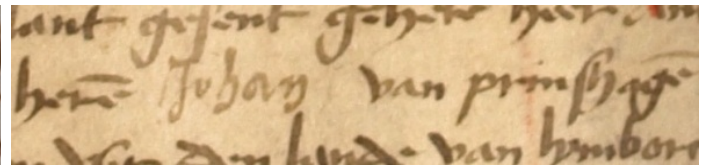


Figure 2.39 Left open space, later filled in by different hand (f. 188r).

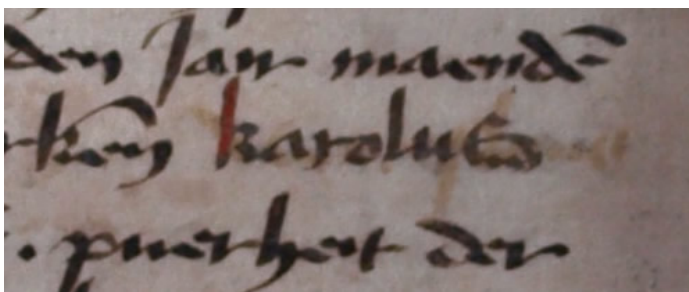


Figure 2.40 Erased and superimposed correction: "Wenceslaus" becomes "Karolus" (f. 141r).

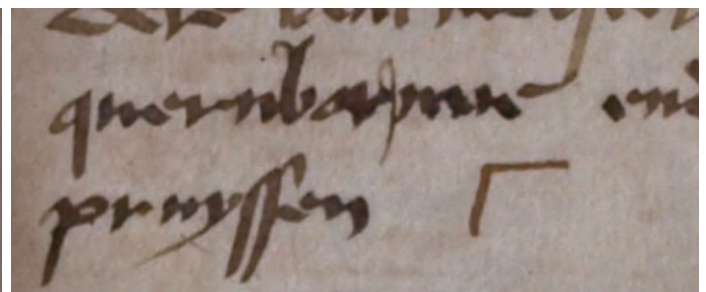


Figure 2.41 Superimposed corrections make the text hard to read (f. 114v).

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:

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

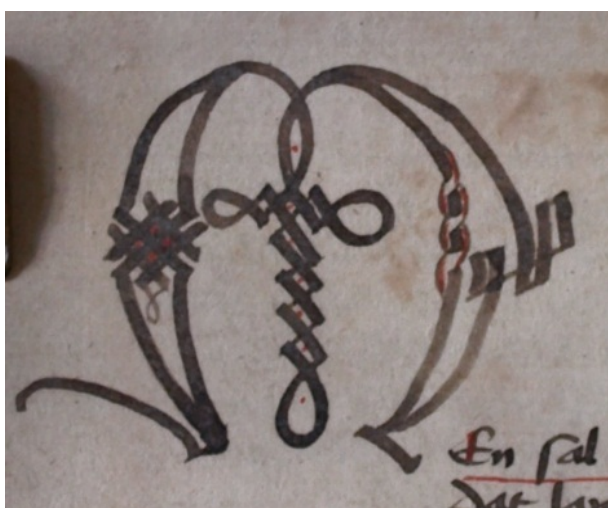


Figure 2.42 Cadel (f. 56v).

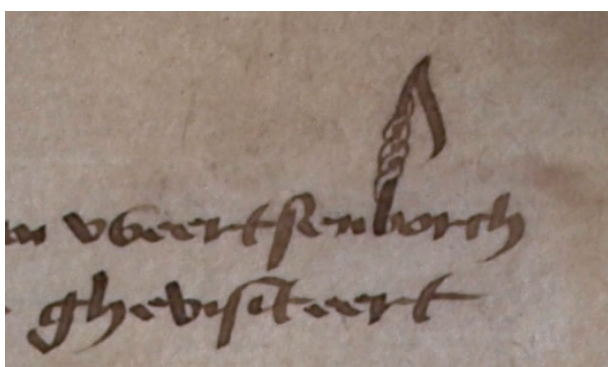


Figure 2.43 Small cadel (f. 69r).

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 cadel: 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

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.

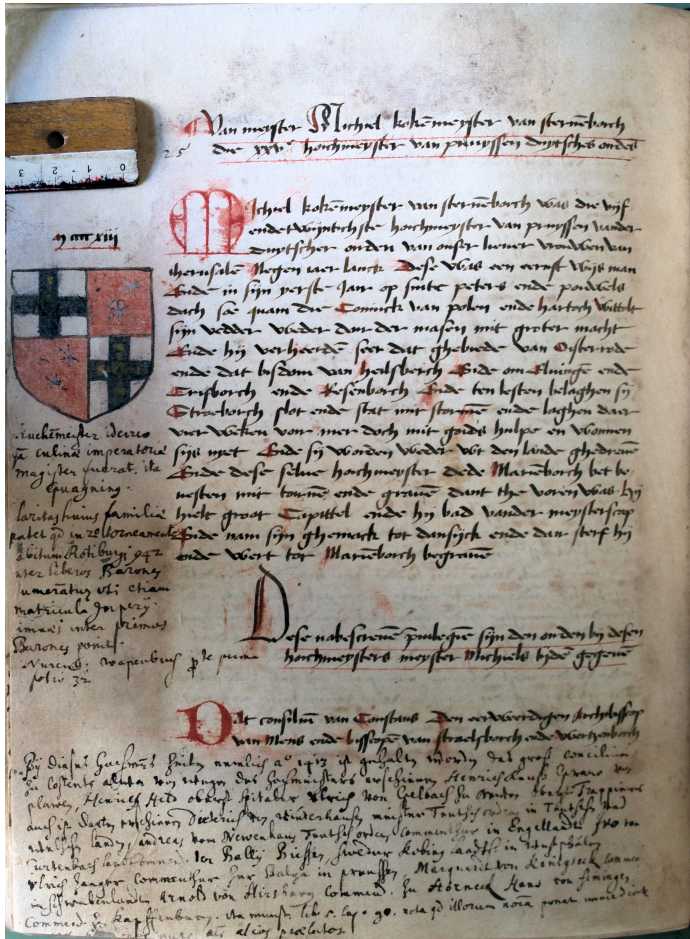


Figure 2.44 Transfer of red ink: manuscript We₁, f. 150v.

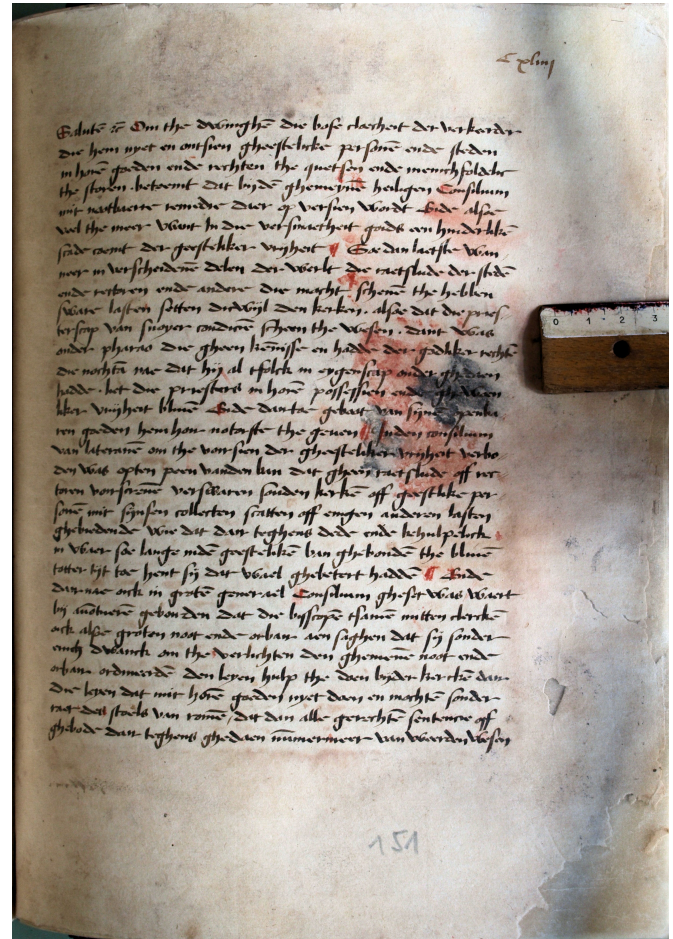


Figure 2.45 Transfer of red ink: manuscript We₁, f. 151r

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 indicate 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, varies²⁵⁵, 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.

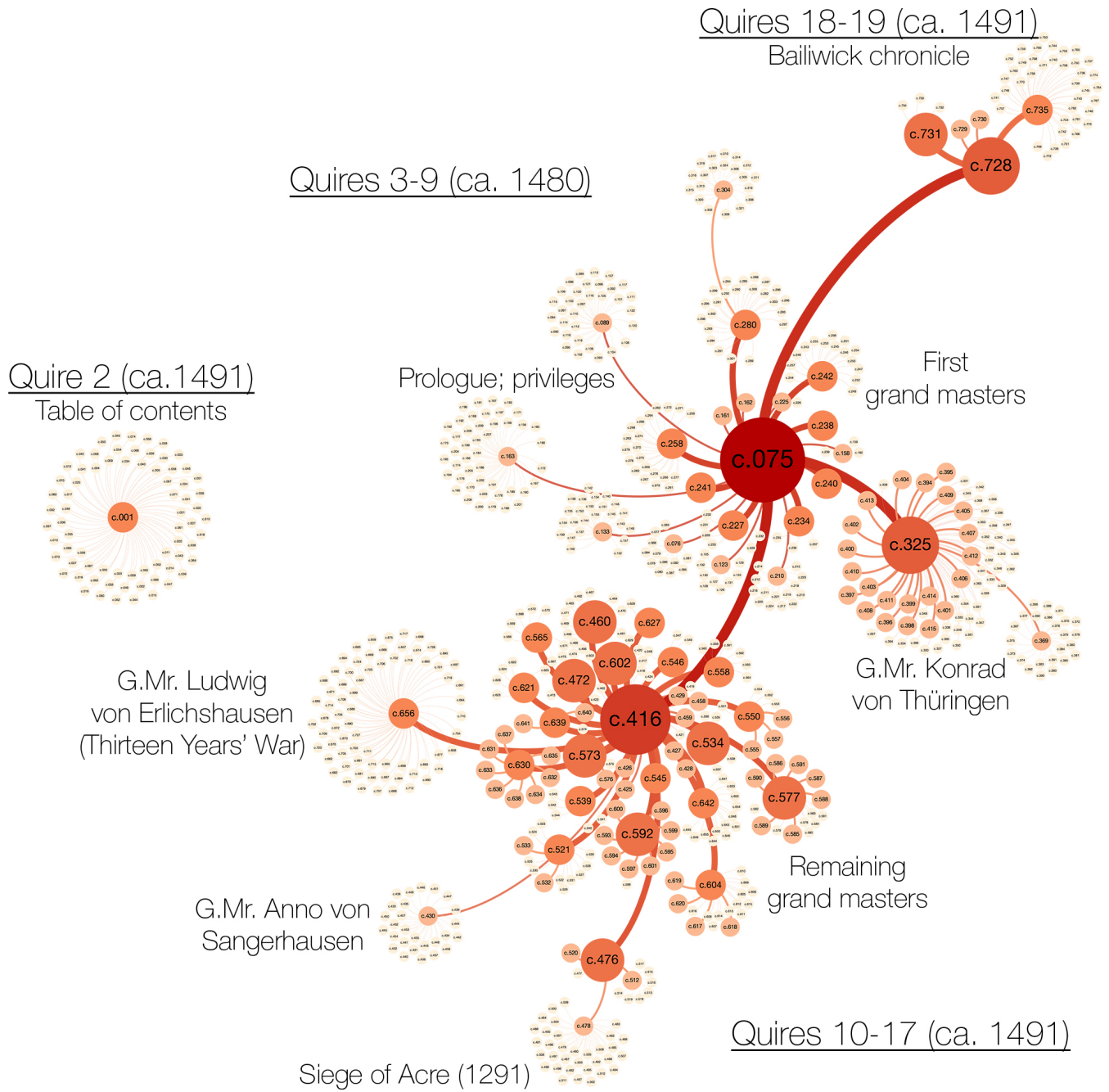


Figure 2.46 Network graph of the hierarchal structure of the Croniken based on the size (line height) and location of the initials. The larger the initial is, the higher its hierarchy. Chapters without an initial have a value of one.

Rubrication

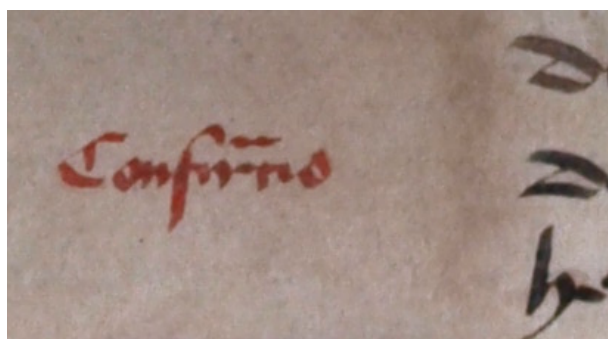


Figure 2.47 Rubrication by the hand that wrote the chronicle (f. 141v).

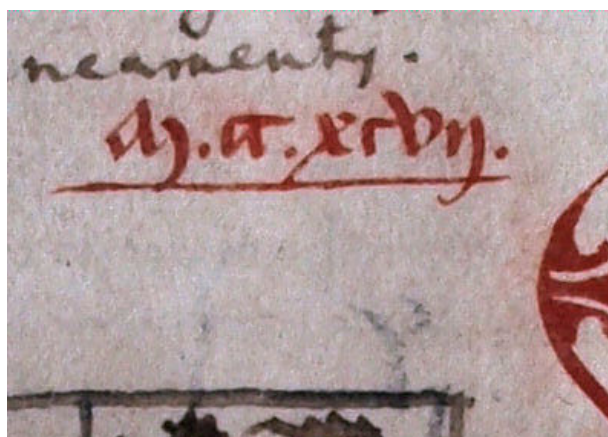


Figure 2.48 Rubrication by the hand that wrote the chronicle (f. 114v).

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

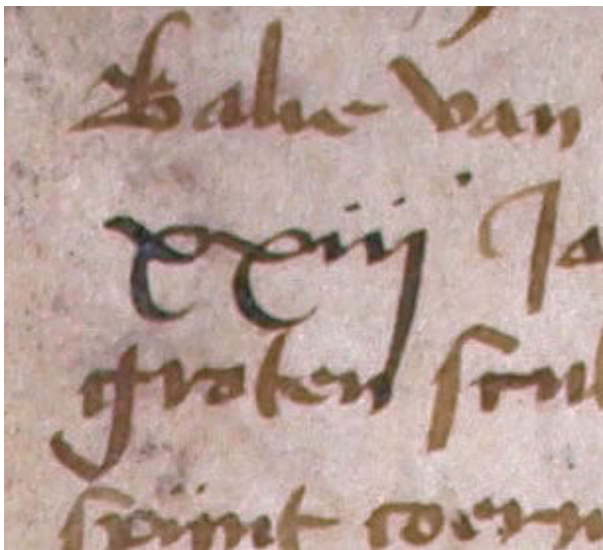


Figure 2.55 Difference in ink colour of the number of years in office of Land Commander Johan van Dronghelen (1469–1492) and surrounding text (f. 200v).

Two sets of editorial amendments may help to further date the manuscript. The chronicle ends with a description of Land Commander Johan van Dronghelen, who died on 15 August 1492. This date is mentioned in all Middle Dutch copies of the *Croniken*, 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 Dronghelen 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 Dronghelen 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 Dronghelen taking up office and do not make any reference to future occasions:

Lord Johan van Dronghelen 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 previous²⁶⁸ 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

²⁶⁶ “Heer Johan van Dronghelen was die vierendetwintichste 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 sevenenedertichhondert 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 pennynge geleent ende geholpen dat hij allencken die sculden vervallen heeft.” *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.774.

²⁶⁷ “Heer Henrick van Hackfort was die drieendetwintichste 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 [AI-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

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, Vlaminghen, 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 ghecome, 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 f, 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°).

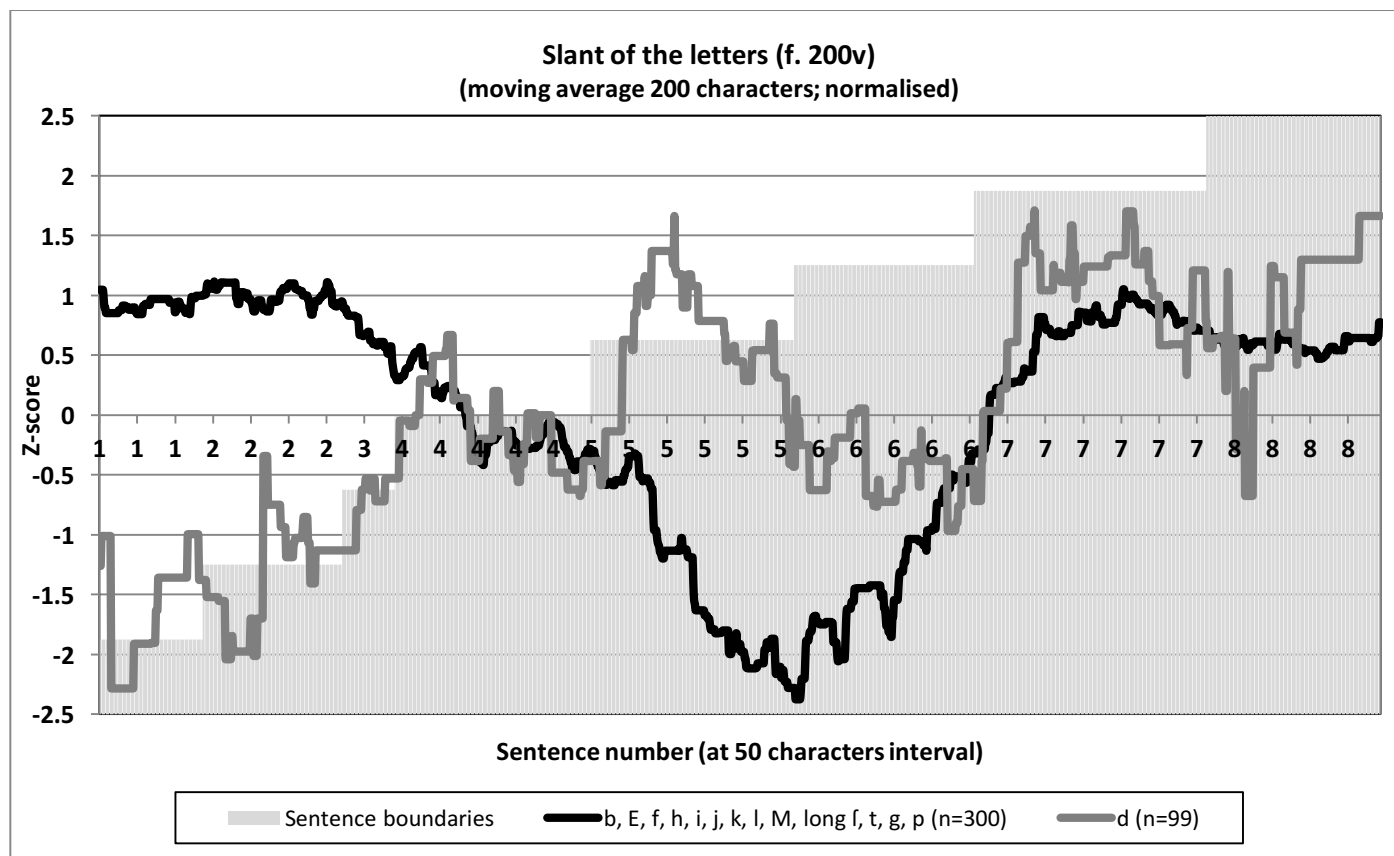


Figure 2.57 Slant of the letters (manuscript **We**₁, f. 200v).

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.

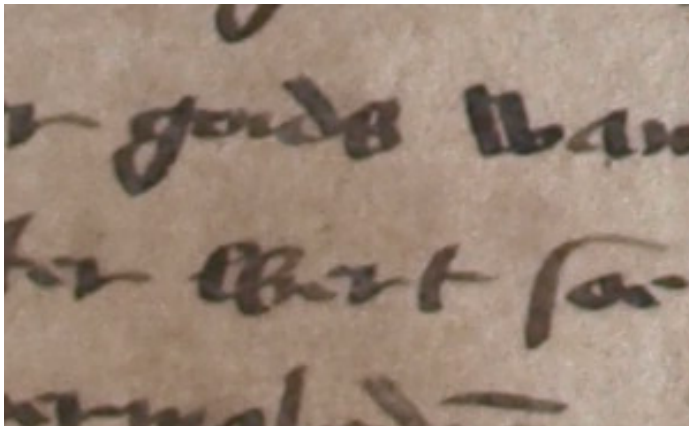


Figure 2.58 Letter *w*: ‘disjointed’ (“wan[t]”) and ‘closed’ (“wert”) (f. 9r).

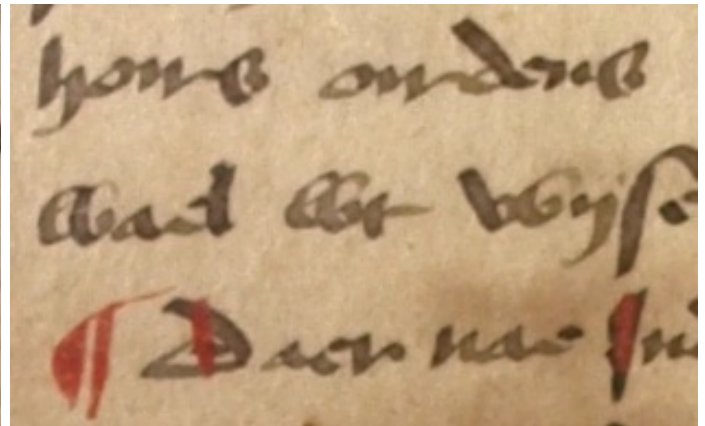


Figure 2.59 Letter *w*: ‘closed’ (“wael”, “wt”) and ‘open’ (“wijsen”) (f. 15v).

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.

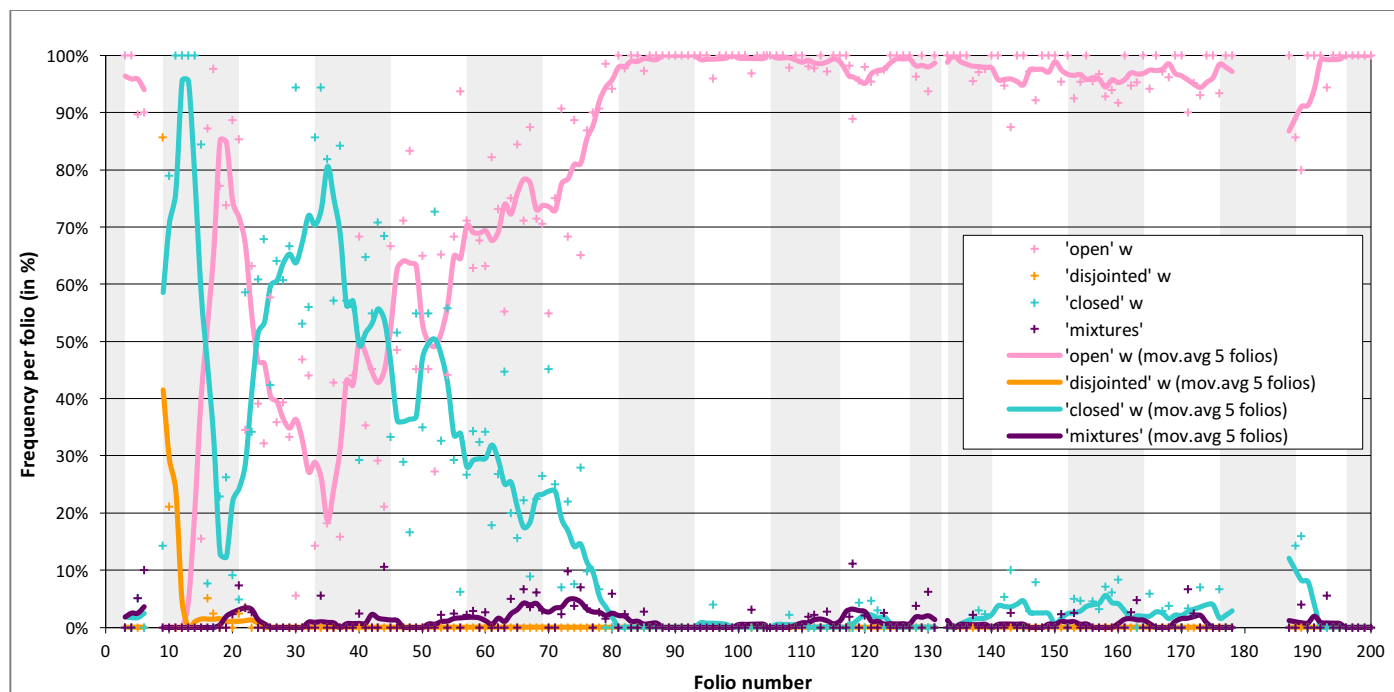


Figure 2.60 Letterforms of *w* in manuscript *We*₁. The quires are indicated in the background.

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 *We*₁ 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 **Ut₁** (Figure 2.62). Is that the consistency of a well-trained scribe?

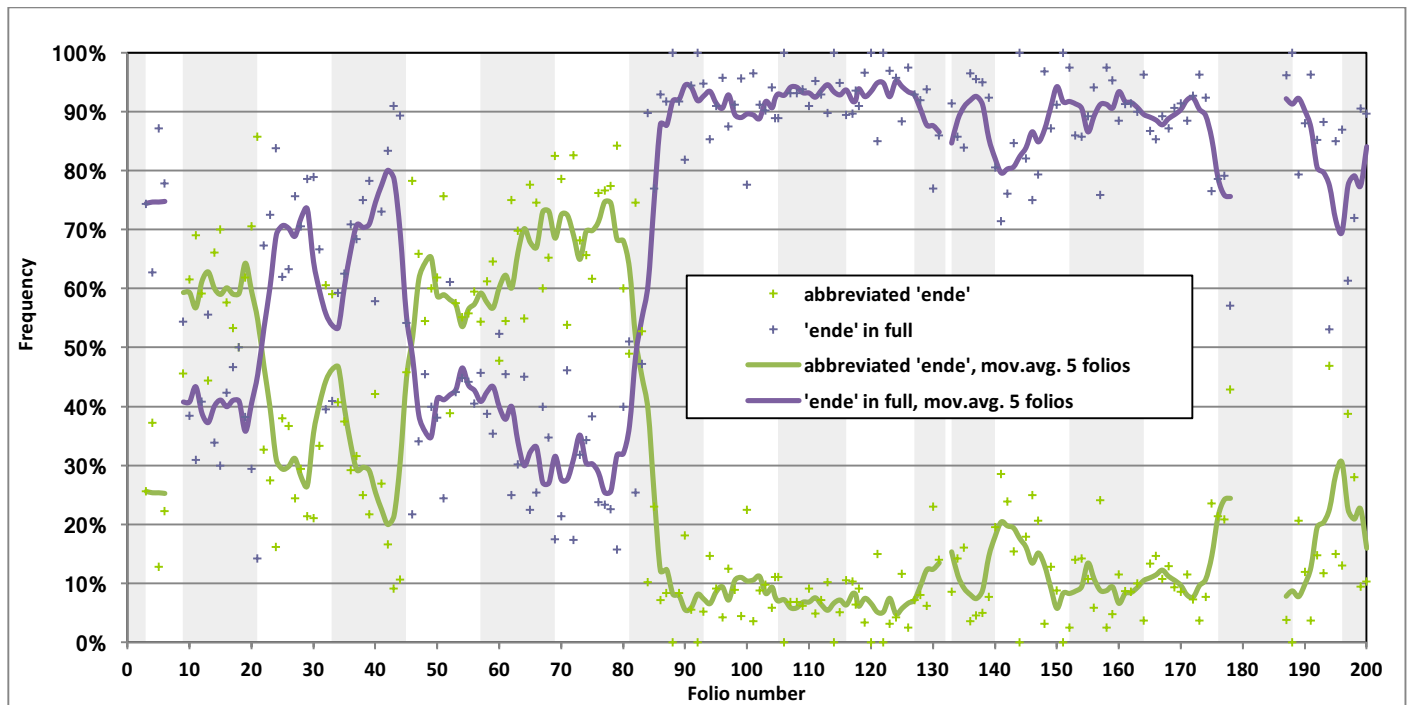


Figure 2.61 The use of abbreviations in “ende” (and) in manuscript **We₁**. The quires are indicated in the background.

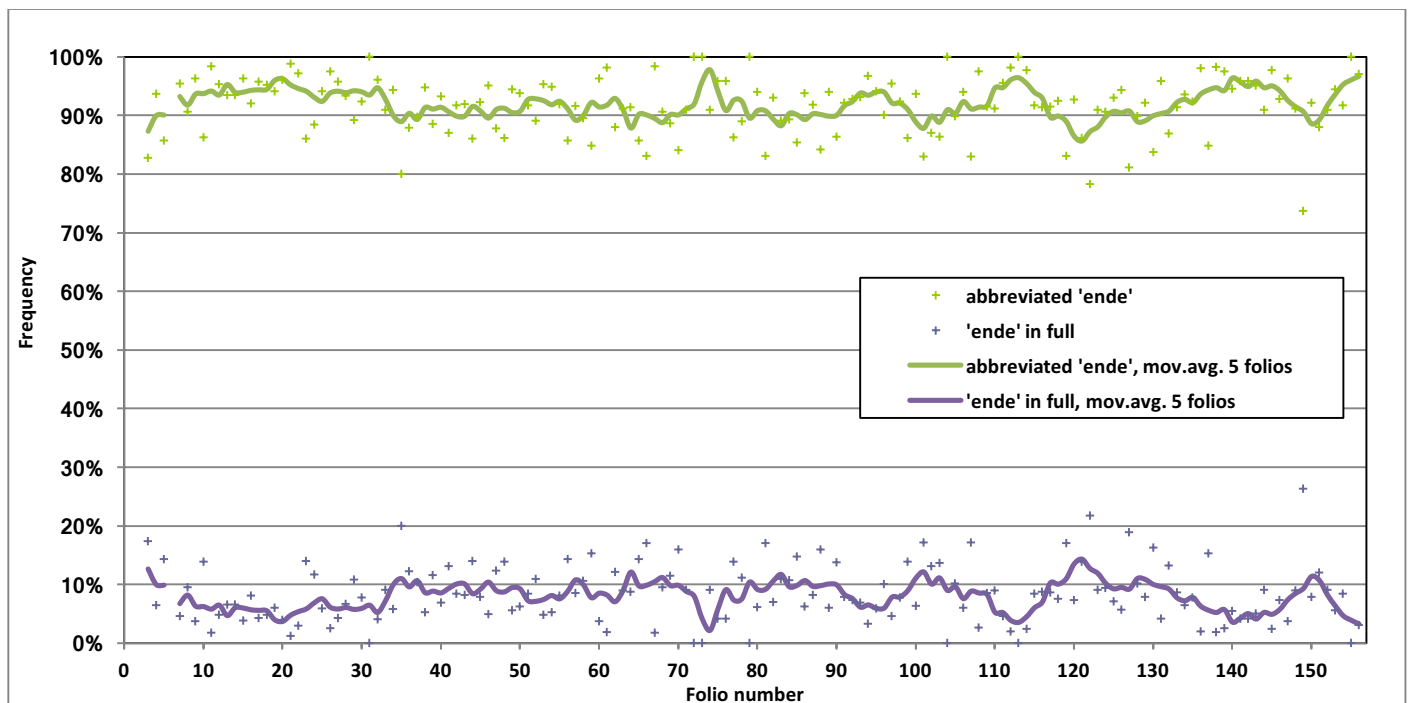


Figure 2.62 The use of abbreviations in “ende” (and) in manuscript **Ut₁**.

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 character²⁸⁹ – 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

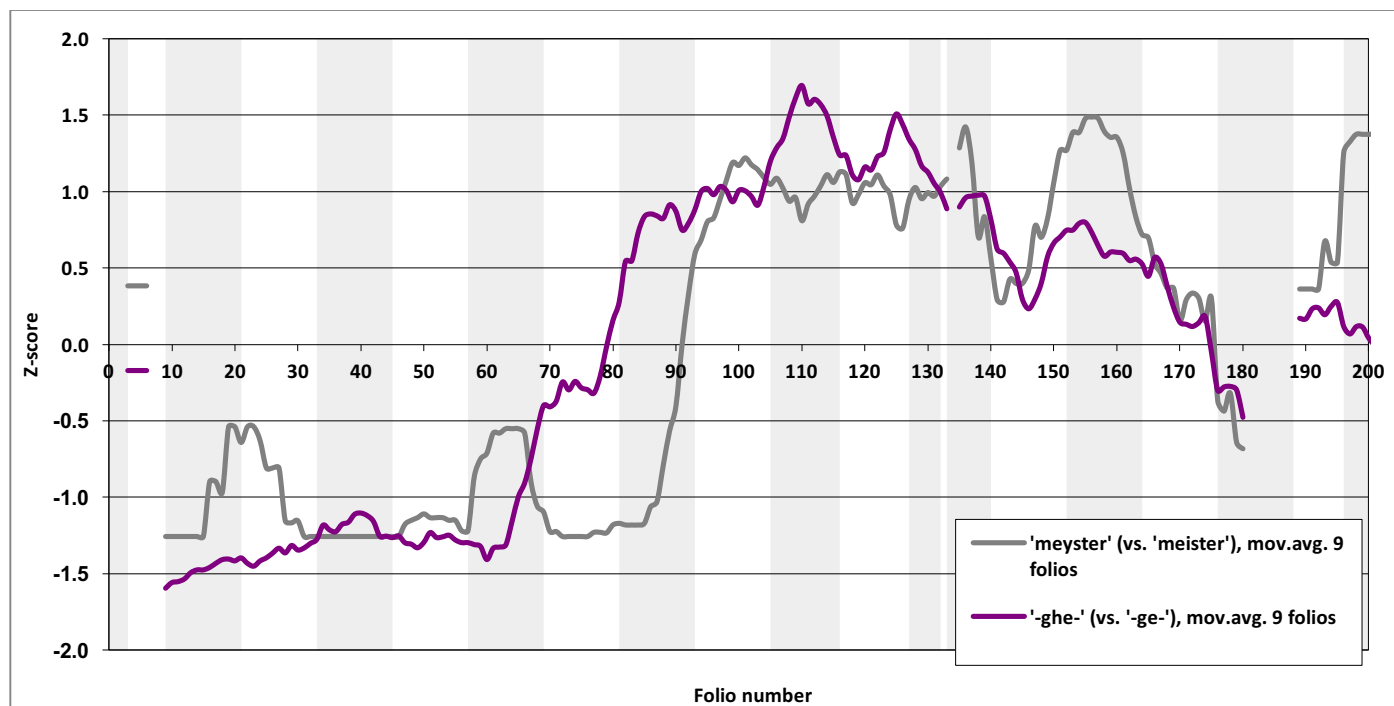


Figure 2.63 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript *We*₁ (“meyster” vs. “meister”; “-ghe-” vs. “-ge-”). The quires are indicated in the background.

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.

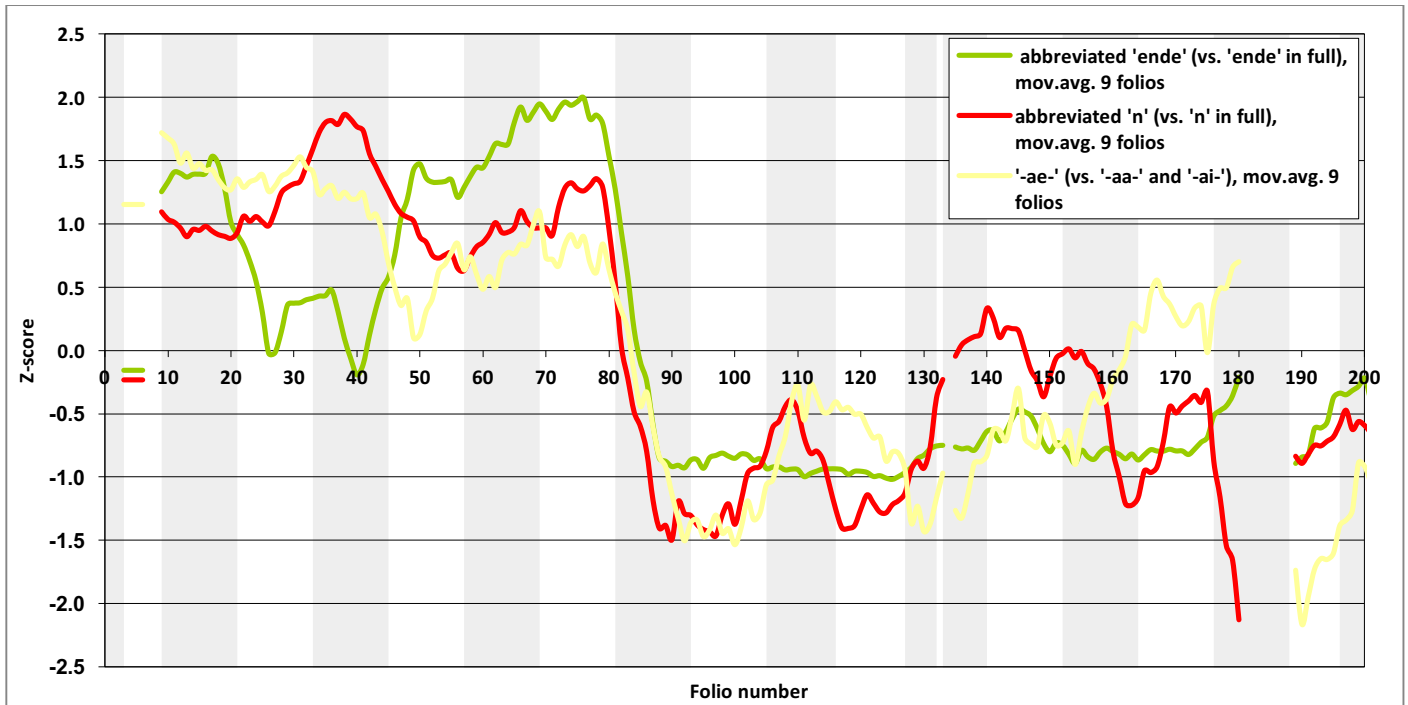


Figure 2.64 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript *We*₁ (abbreviated “ende” vs. “ende” in full; abbreviated “-n-” vs. “-n-” in full; “-ae-” vs. “-aa-” and “-ai-”). The quires are indicated in the background.

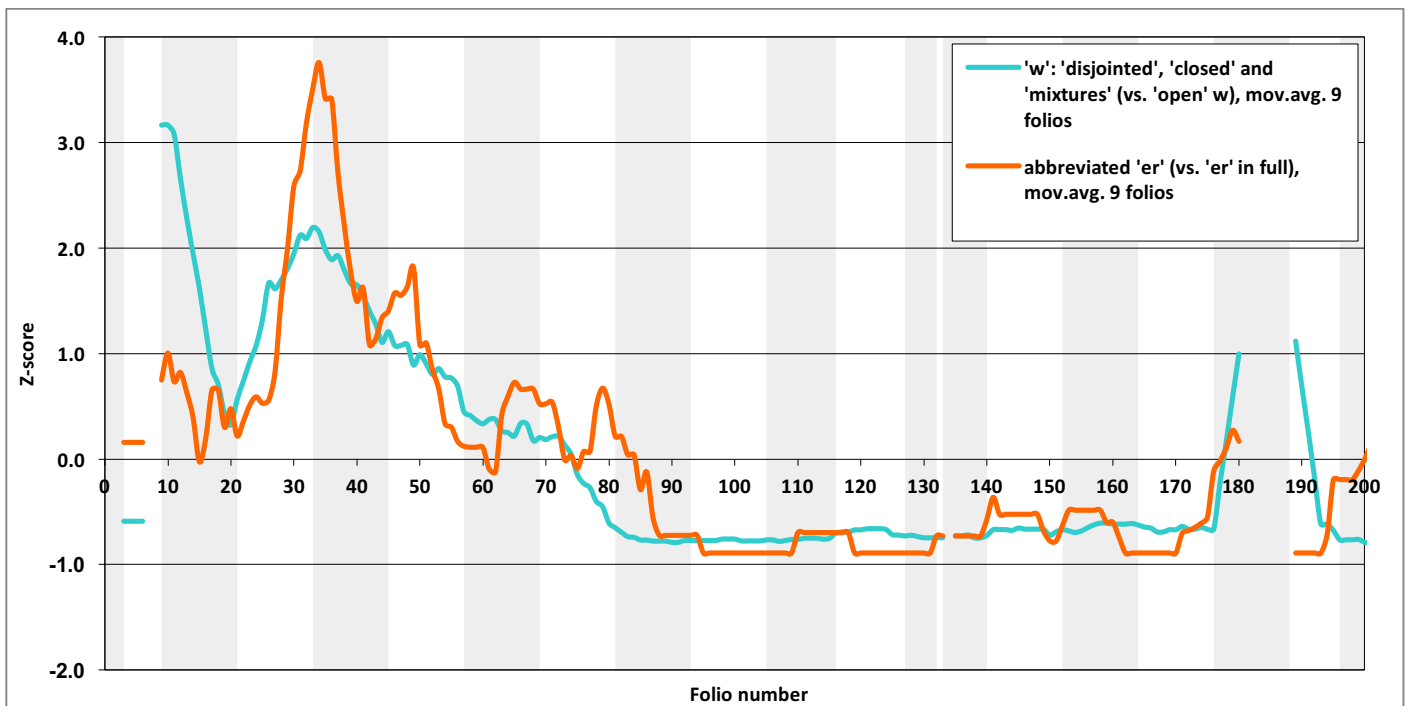


Figure 2.65 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript *We*₁ (letter w ('disjointed', 'closed' and 'mixtures' vs. 'open'); abbreviated “er” vs. “er” in full). The quires are indicated in the background.

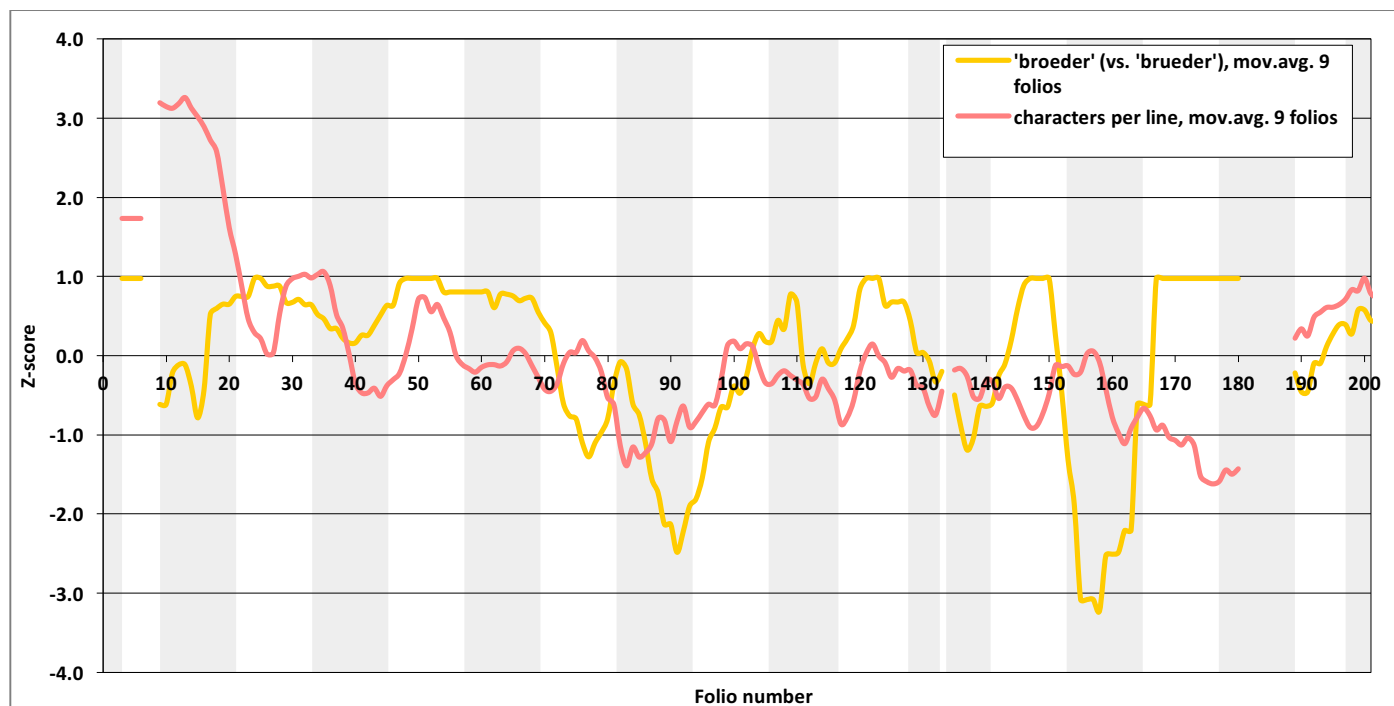


Figure 2.66 Spelling conventions, abbreviations and character width in manuscript *We*₁ (“broeder” vs. “brueder”; characters per line). The quires are indicated in the background.²⁹¹

All in all, such changes in writing conventions occur throughout the manuscript – some slowly, some abruptly. 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 time 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 Bero-linensis 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 (*I6*) 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 c.114/123–379	Prologue (separate phase?) Remainder prologue; First part of <i>Croniken</i>
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 ff. 187r–200v ff. 3r–8v	c.416–727 c.728–74 c.1–74	Remainder of <i>Croniken</i> Bailiwick chronicle (separate phase?) 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 (compiler). 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,

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 compiler 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, 'Prooemii 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

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 G6)', 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

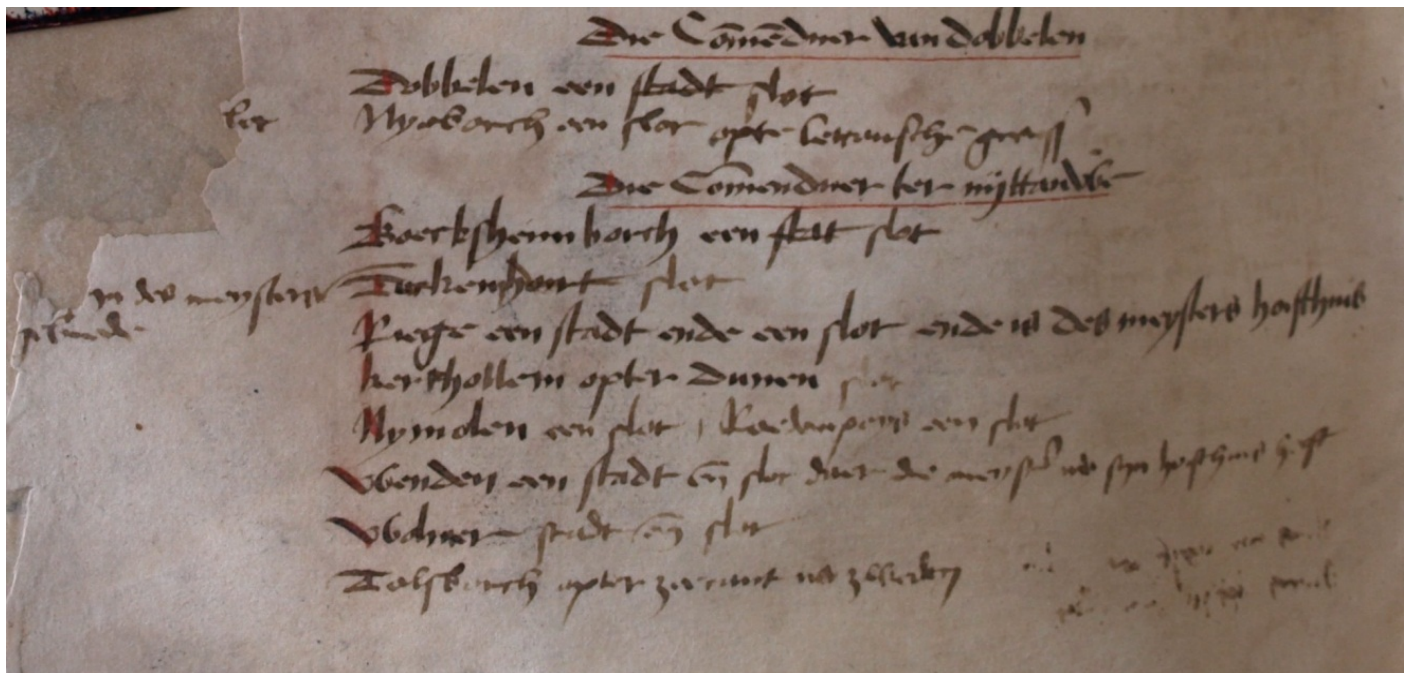


Figure 2.67 Editorial amendments to the list of Livonian commanderies (f. 176v). See also Figure 2.1.

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

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.

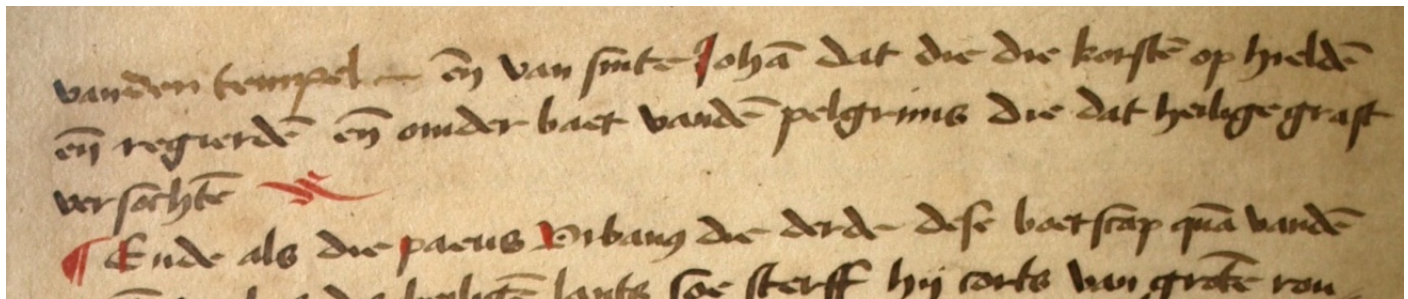


Figure 2.68 Scraped and superimposed reading in manuscript *We*₁, f. 17v.

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 *f* 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. Grosselet 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)
We₁, f. 120v	ende seynden aenden pæus heilighen vader den pæus van Romen
Ge, f. 87r	ende senden aenden heiligen vader den pæus van romen
Ut₁, f. 102v	Ende senden aenden hieligen vader den pæus van romen
[Ma₁], § 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 **We₁** (c.549).

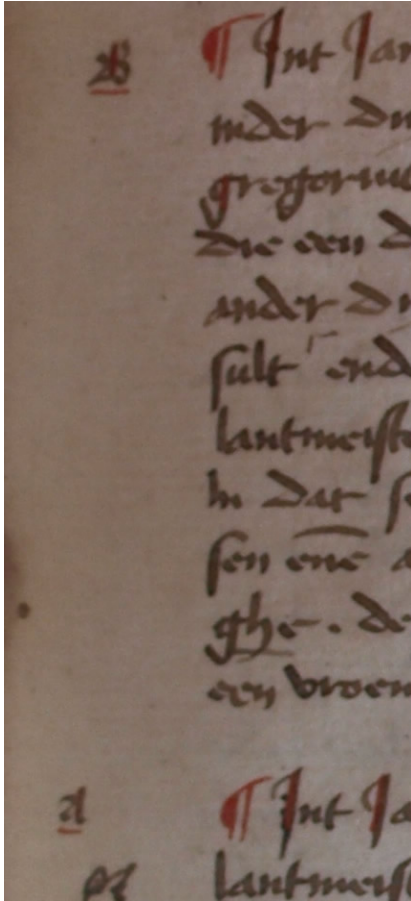


Figure 2.69 Editorial amendment, changing the order of two chapters (f. 61r).

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 **We₁** 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 **We**₁ 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 places³¹² – 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 **Ut**₁ occasionally (three times and once, respectively) retained this German spelling; each of those instances places where manuscript **We**₁ also reads “unde” or “unsen”. This demonstrates that manuscript **We**₁ stood nearest to the source of the *Croniken* tradition.

There are also striking similarities between the punctuation of the privileges in **We**₁ 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**, **Ut**₁, 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 **We**₁ 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).

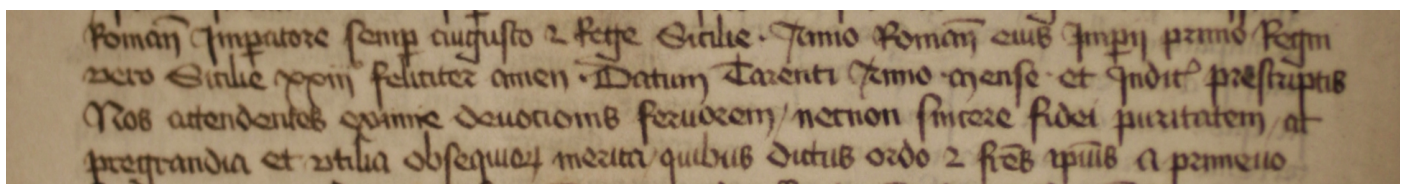


Figure 2.70 Original reading in authenticated imperial privilege collection (see Table 2.14).³¹⁷

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 Duitse 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.

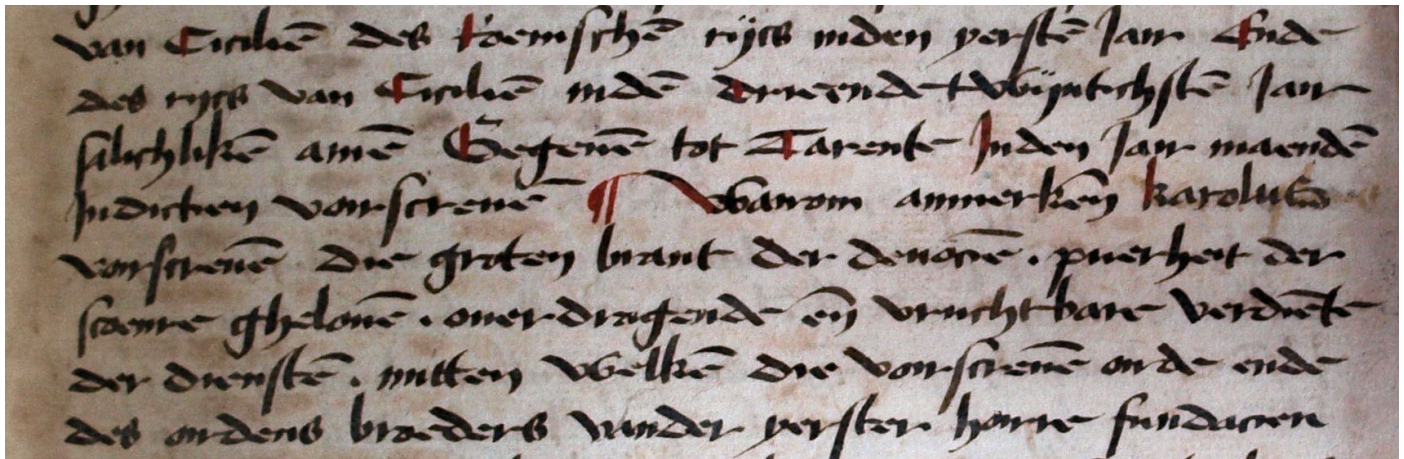


Figure 2.71 Adaptation of the privilege in manuscript *We*₁, f. 141r.

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 ^o 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
We ₁ , f. 141r (Figure 2.71)	Ende des rycs van Cicilien inden drieendetwintichsten lair salichliken amen Gegeuen tot Tarente Inden lair 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 fundacion

Table 2.14 Translation of imperial privilege in manuscript *We*₁, f. 141r (c.599).

Most revealing, however, are a couple of editorial interventions in manuscript *We*₁ 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 *We*₁ 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 **We₁**.

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 We₁		<i>Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens</i> 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 Weysse, 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).

We₁ and the various *Croniken* traditions

If manuscript **We₁** 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁**, both meaningful and otherwise, and how they were implemented in the other manuscripts of the *Croniken*.

Manuscript	Correct: Meinhart von Querfurt (c.521)
We₁, f. 114v	Mencke van quernb[orma]e
Ge, f. 82v	mencke van quernbor[u]ve
Ut₁, f. 96v	mencke van quernbrou[v]e
[Ma₁], § 287³²⁰	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 **We₁** (c.521).

³¹⁹ Hirsch, ‘Bericht Hermann von Salza’s’, 159–160.

³²⁰ The strongly aberrant name “Overbrouwe” is possibly made up by Matthaheus, 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 . . . waghen mit proviande.
St , ff. 249r-249v	Unnd alle syne tenten, unnd paulunen, artelrijs, und allent dath dar was behielden se, unnd overwogenth mith vitalie, unnd provande.
Ta , f. 259v	Und all syne tenten, und paulunen, altelrie, und allent dat daer wass behielden se, und over ___ wagen mit vitalie und provande.
Be , f. 199v	Und alles das do war behild sie von profiandt.
Pr , f. 246r	Unnd alles das do war behild sie von profiandt

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**, **Ut₁**, **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 **We₁** 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
We₁ , f. 92r	Henricus bisscop van basiliensis, ___ bisscop van leodiensis
Ge , f. 66r	henricus bisscop van basiliensis bisscop van leodiensis
Ut₁ , f. 77v	Henricus van bisscop van basiliensis, bisscop van leodiensis
[Ma₁]	[absent from edition]
St , f. 139v	henricus bisschop van Basiliensis, Bisschop van ludick
Ta , f. 131r	henricus Bischof van Basilien, N. Bischof 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 **We₁**, originally left open (c.414).

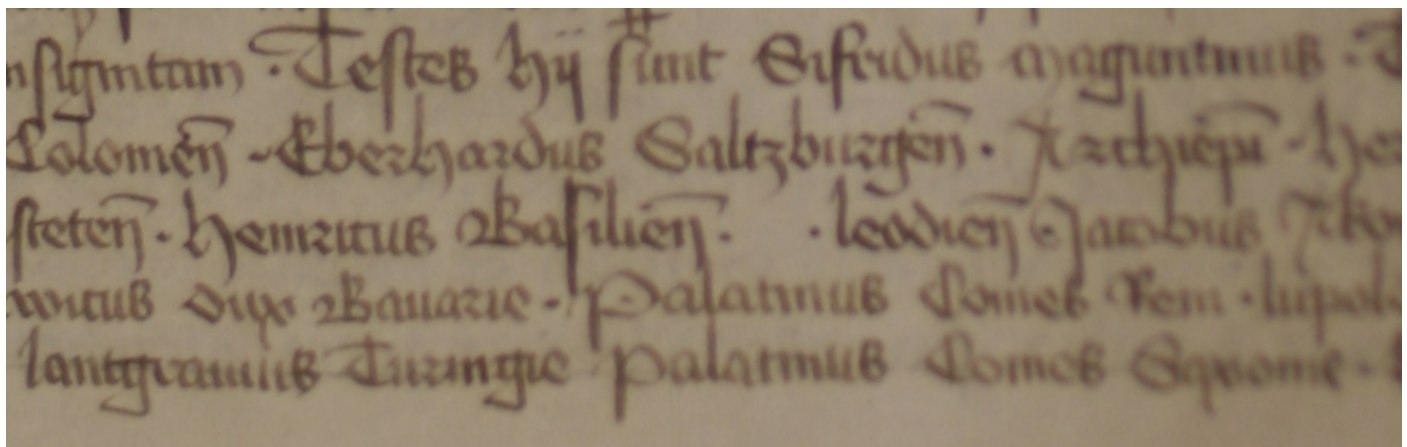


Figure 2.72 Left open space in notarised imperial privilege collection.³²⁵

Not all characteristics and editorial amendments of manuscript **We₁** 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 **We₁**, which is barely visible (Figure 2.68). Manuscripts **St**, **Ta**, **Be** and **Pr** follow the amendment in **We₁** (Table 2.19). It could mean that manuscript **We₁** 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 *) sijn broeder
Ge , f. 114r	daer hij in gheloefden ghelijck voir ghelooft hadde
Ut ₁ , f. 135r	daer hij in gheloefden ghelijck voir gheloofft 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁**, but a different copy of the *Croniken*. This copy would have been produced soon after **We₁**, 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 **We₁**, as transmitted through manuscript **Ge**, the German tradition ultimately derives from the corrected and amended manuscript **We₁**.

It is important to note that there are still numerous editorial changes to manuscript **We₁** that did find their way into the other extant Middle Dutch *Croniken* manuscripts.³²⁸ It is therefore evident that manuscript **We₁** 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 **We₁**. 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁** 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 **We₁** itself.

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, half tot be[hoef synen cameran 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*.

³³⁵ Olivier, *L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 904–907; M. Olivier, 'Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Preußen und historiographischer Wissenstransfer (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.