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

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4 Authorship

4.1 Introduction

The author in the *Croniken* does not have a prominent presence. He is virtually imperceptible to the reader, and only hints of his presence and his methods remain. Illustrative is the use of the first person pronoun (singular or plural), which the author used in only a handful of instances in reference to himself (Appendix, Table A.9). One of these occasions is adopted from a source text, and can therefore not straightforwardly be seen to represent the author's voice. Emperor Frederick III (1452-1493) is three times referred to as "our lord", and two recent popes, Nicholas V (1447-1455) and Paul II (1464-1471), are referred to as "our holy father" on in total four occasions. This appears to suggest that the author experienced their reigns during his active lifetime, as no other popes or emperors are mentioned using the possessive pronoun. The remaining occasions where first person pronouns are used can only be found in two distinct parts of the chronicle: firstly once at the start and once at the end of the description of the Fall of Acre in 1291, and secondly three times in the bailiwick chronicle. Apart from the references to the emperor and popes, all instances relate to either the writing process or the issue of collecting or finding sources.

In spite of their limited number, these few occasions on which the author uses first person pronouns teach us that he had a certain level of authorial self-awareness, and was conscious of the extent of, and the limits to his abilities to find particular texts and documents. In other passages, as we have seen, the author shows his confidence and ability to forcefully take position in debates, to discredit aberrant historical views, and to subsequently supply his own account of events.¹⁰³⁶ Referring perhaps to James of Vitry and others, for example, he states:

*Some ignorant individuals are saying and elaborating that John the Almsgiver founded the Order of Saint John, and that this is the reason why they are called the Order of Saint John. And these are all adorned lies, since John the Almsgiver was dead for over 500 years before the Order of Saint John was founded.*¹⁰³⁷

None of such passages were adopted from any of the numerous historiographical works that were examined as possible sources, and all seem to have a very specific function tailored for the *Croniken* itself; they therefore have to be understood as representing interventions of the author himself, rather than material merely copied from other authors. While the author of the *Croniken* may be anonymous, he is not fully obscured.

¹⁰³⁶ See also chapter 3.3. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.93, 101–102, 121–122, 235.

¹⁰³⁷ "Sommige onwetende luden seggen ende versieren dat Johannes Elemosinarius Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht heeft ende dat sy dairom heiten Sinte Johans Oirde. Ende dat is al versierde logen, want Johannes Elemosinarius was over vijfhondert jair doot geweest eer Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht werdt": Ibid., c.235.

4.2 Profile of the author

Drawing on the results of the previous chapter, a number of conclusions can be drawn about the author. Whoever wrote the *Croniken* must have had continuous access to various libraries as well as archives of the Teutonic Order. He, let us make the presumption that the author was male, strongly associated himself with the order and identified with its program. Additionally, the author was able to adopt and even develop a discourse that legitimized the order, which implies a strong familiarity with such discourses. All this seems to support the suggestion of Theodor Hirsch that the author was a member of the Teutonic Order, a view that has not been challenged since.¹⁰³⁸

What remained unnoticed is that although the author clearly picks the side of the order, the order itself is, without exception, referred to as ‘the’ order instead of ‘our’ or ‘my’ order: ‘*the* Teutonic House’, ‘*the* grand master’,¹⁰³⁹ and most notably, ‘*his* [i.e. the grand master’s] book of statutes’ (c.681).¹⁰⁴⁰ As we have noted above, the author only explicitly expressed his subordination to Emperor Frederick III and two recent popes.

Surely, the author may have chosen this distant tone deliberately, to give the chronicle an aura of objectivity. At the other end of the spectrum, a constant use of the first person plural, ‘our order’, could have had an alienating effect on potential external audiences. Other chroniclers of the Teutonic Order regularly used such a third person omniscient perspective. However, in most earlier Teutonic Order’s chronicles the affiliation of the authors to the order is revealed. In some cases this is done explicitly, such as in the prologues of both Peter of Dusburg and Nikolaus of Jeroschin or, somewhat less explicit, via the use of the first person plural in the *Chronicon Livoniae* by Hermann of Wartberge.¹⁰⁴¹ In other cases one has to look more closely, such as in the case of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*: “He captured Wikbold, brother of **our order** and bishop at Culmsee, in the cathedral at Culmsee”.¹⁰⁴²

The case of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* is especially complex, since, as Mathieu Olivier suspects, not one but two authors may have worked on the text.¹⁰⁴³ The above quote comes from the second part of the chronicle (chapters 154–99). It is much less certain whether the composer of the first part (chapters 1–153), which is basically a prose adaptation of *Jeroschin*, was a member of the order.¹⁰⁴⁴ In the case of the *Livländische Reimchronik*, too, the author has usually been assumed to be a member of the Teutonic Order, specifically a knight-brother due to his interest and knowledge of military issues and attitude towards clerics.¹⁰⁴⁵ In reality however, the author never stated he was a

¹⁰³⁸ Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 9; Töppen, earlier, was less outspoken: “der Verfasser ist ein sehr eifriger Verehrer des Ordens”: Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 56.

¹⁰³⁹ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, passim.

¹⁰⁴⁰ The combination “the grand master and ‘his’ order” or variations thereof also appear several times: *Ibid.*, c.155, c.325, c.477, c.628, c.637, c.663.

¹⁰⁴¹ Strehlke, ‘Kronike von Pruzinlant’, 305; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, 26; Strehlke, ‘Hermann de Wartberge’, 12.

¹⁰⁴² “Der ving zcu Colmenze im thume vnsers ordens bruder Wigkebolden, bischoff zcu Colmenze”: ‘Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique’, c. 168. It should be noted that two manuscripts of the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* (T and Z) give “the order” instead of “our order”. Compare also c. 160: “vnsern mynner” (our men), mentioned in all manuscripts included in the edition.

¹⁰⁴³ Olivier, *L’Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 658–659.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 593–594.

¹⁰⁴⁵ E.g.: Neecke, ‘Ältere Livländische Reimchronik’.

member of the order. He sided with the Christians in the region and frequently wrote about ‘us Christians’. He clearly supported the cause of the Teutonic Order and had inside knowledge of their campaigns. However, when he attempted to clarify the order’s organizational structure to his readers, “the commanders in this land, who are also called masters”, he did so incorrectly, or at least very archaically.¹⁰⁴⁶ Perhaps we should not assume that the author of the *Livländische Reimchronik* was indeed a brother of the order, although there is little doubt that he was closely involved with the Teutonic Order’s activities in Livonia.

The same may apply to the *Croniken*. The current state of the field is that the chronicle was written by a member of the Teutonic Order, a Utrecht based priest-brother.¹⁰⁴⁷ The fact that the author did not state his affiliation to the order anywhere in the *Croniken*, at least justifies subjecting the long-standing assumptions regarding the identity of the author to closer scrutiny. Whether the author was a member, or perhaps someone from outside the order who was commissioned to write the chronicle is of importance because these different scenarios would have different implications for the dynamics of the historiographical production of the order.

Besides the features mentioned earlier, such as the author’s continuous access to the order’s archives, his ability to adopt and develop the order’s discourse, but on the other hand also the lack of explicitly stated association to the order, the following points can be added to draw up a profile of the author. From the date and localization of the Vienna autograph manuscript and an analysis of the text and its sources we know that the author must have worked in the Northern Low Countries, probably Utrecht.¹⁰⁴⁸ He will have been active in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially in the years between circa 1480 and 1491, possibly extending into the mid-1490s. Note from the exasperated response by the author to the developments in Prussia during the Thirteen Years’ War (1453-1466) that, in his mind, these events were not yet a thing of the past.¹⁰⁴⁹

There are aspects to the text supporting the argument that the author was a cleric or a priest-brother. A description of the rituals associated to new brethren entering the order, inserted between papal privileges, shows both a high familiarity with religious songs and prayers and a good understanding of Latin abbreviations.¹⁰⁵⁰ Further, although the majority of the *Croniken’s* sources were vernacular (both Dutch and German), a substantial number were written in Latin. This includes for instance also the various hagiographies of St Elisabeth. Notable is the fact that many Latin chronicles, such as *Dusburg* or the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, were used side by side with their vernacular translations. The reason for this could be that such translations and their originals occasionally often complemented each other on details. However, an additional reason may have been that these translations could function as

¹⁰⁴⁶ “den kumentûren in die lant, / die man ouch meistere heißet”: Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik*, 4322–4323; The name “master” as synonymous for “commander” may have originated from the “Provinzialmeister” at the time of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, some sixty years before the chronicle was written. This is not completely clear though. For the “Provinzialmeister”: Jähnig, *Verfassung und Verwaltung*, 118; F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Graz: Böhlau 1965) 81–82; 223; For an example of the “magister” at Segewold (Lv.: Sigulda) in 1212: Arbusow (jr.) (†) and Bauer eds., *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik*, 106,14.

¹⁰⁴⁷ E.g.: Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 9; Arnold, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik (1983)’; Mol, *Friese huizen*, 148–153.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See chapters 2.3 and 3.6.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See chapter 3.4, “Outside Utrecht’s sphere of influence”.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.186.

a vernacular reading aid for their Latin originals – potentially very useful for an author who could read and understand Latin, but who had limited competence.

Supporting his hypothesis that the author was a priest-brother, Hirsch has pointed at the “strongly theologizing content” and the fact that the author blamed the initial lack of victories during Godfrey of Bouillon’s campaign to the Holy Land on the appropriation of tithes of all ecclesiastical goods in order to pay for the expedition.¹⁰⁵¹ Hirsch omitted to mention that the author of the *Croniken*, before mentioning the appropriation of ecclesiastical goods, also blamed the “unreasonable burdening of his [Godfrey’s] underprivileged subjects”, which shows that the author’s arguments are not just anti-clerical but rather more diverse.¹⁰⁵² Most importantly though, the arguments in this chapter are very specific and therefore give the impression that, rather than presenting the author’s personal opinion, they were adopted from a particular source.¹⁰⁵³ The same appears the case with the description of Grand Master Konrad of Wallenrode (1391–3; c.603). The *Croniken* criticises the grand master for his supposed anti-papist attitude and remarks, but this criticism is adopted from the *Kurze Hochmeisterchronik*.¹⁰⁵⁴ It was one of the very few available pieces of information about this grand master (only two chapters are devoted to him); the author may therefore have inserted it in his chronicle regardless of his personal opinions.

In fact, the chronicle is only really ‘theologizing’ in the prologue. Furthermore, whereas the author is clearly able to shape his own biblical discourse, none of the various religiously themed texts that were used as sources concern especially advanced theology. Rather, they belong to an intermediary level of devotional texts that were read and used by clergy and laymen alike.¹⁰⁵⁵ Many of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century knight-brethren of the Utrecht bailiwick were well-educated: as many as a fifth had received a university education.¹⁰⁵⁶ A significantly greater number of knight-brethren would have been able to read some Latin and a rudimentary knowledge of religious literature and of Latin most certainly does not rule them out as candidates for the authorship of the *Croniken*.

Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that the author was probably not a priest-brother. When the *Croniken* describes the function and role of the priest-brethren in the military orders, it does little more than reproduce a rather stereotypical passage from the *Statutes*,¹⁰⁵⁷ thereby failing to note most details of the complex responsibilities of the

¹⁰⁵¹ “Dass er ein Geistlicher war, schliesse ich theils aus dem stark theologisierenden Inhalte, theils aus der starken Hervorhebung der mochligerweise auf einem Missverständnisse beruhenden, wahrscheinlich aber von ihm erfundenen Notiz c. 29 [i.e. c.103], dass Gottfried v. Bouillon auf seinem Kreuzzuge deshalb so viel Ungemach erlitten habe, weil er den geistlichen Gutern zum Zuge in das heilige Land den zehnten Pfennig abgefordert habe.”: Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 9.

¹⁰⁵² “Dat hij synen armen ondersaten boven reden ofgescat had”: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.103.

¹⁰⁵³ This source was not identified, but this theme was found in chronicles from the diocese of Liège. See page 149.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 414v.

¹⁰⁵⁵ For instance, regarding the dissemination and varied readership of the gospel harmonies: Meyer, *Schone historie und ewangelien*, 249–292.

¹⁰⁵⁶ The share of academically trained knight-brethren may turn out lower (around 14 percent) if we include the numerous brethren of whom strictly speaking is unknown whether they were a priest- or knight-brother. Most will probably have been knight-brethren, since priest-brethren are more easily identified as such by the offices they upheld in pastoral care. Stapel, ‘Power to the Educated?’, 340–341.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.82, c.176.

priest-brethren, which I have recently described in detail elsewhere.¹⁰⁵⁸ It is therefore hard to imagine that a priest-brother would have written this himself.

The vast majority of the priest-brethren were not of noble descent. Only around four to seven percent of the priest-brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick came from noble families, and about two-thirds were originally townspeople themselves.¹⁰⁵⁹ Yet, there are indications that the author was either a member of a noble family himself, or was at least familiar with noble customs. Throughout the *Croniken* the author emphasizes the Teutonic Order's bond with nobility and knighthood, starting at its very foundation.¹⁰⁶⁰ At the same time, the author is generally unfavourable to townspeople. Citizens of the Prussian towns as well as those living in Acre around 1291 are described in negative terms, although there may, as I have argued in the previous chapter, particular reasons for these characterizations.¹⁰⁶¹ While the sentiments do not rule out the possibility that the author was a priest-brother, the social composition of the priest-brethren is not consistent with such content. It is important to stress that for knight-brethren in the fifteenth century a full noble background was mandatory.¹⁰⁶²

It is also interesting to take a closer look at an addition the author of the *Croniken* made to the original narrative by Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*. In Sudheim's account, the main source for the description of the Fall of Acre in 1291, the citizens of Acre are suggested to have acted like nobility while neglecting the defence of the city, thus jeopardizing the last stronghold in the Holy Land: they "practiced every day in games, tournaments, and all sorts of activities to fill the time, such as hunting and other sociable activities associated with knighthood."¹⁰⁶³ The author of the *Croniken* paraphrased this and further elaborated it with "hoveren" (feasting), "torneren" (playing tournaments), "steken" (jousting), "jagen" (hunting), "vliegen" (flying), and "beyten" (biting; the latter two both associated with falconry).¹⁰⁶⁴ This list of specific terminologies does is not essential for understanding the narrative. It is a superfluous addition by an author who was was eager to show that he knew what activities were typical for noblemen. Therefore, it is quite possible that the author of the *Croniken* was of noble descent.¹⁰⁶⁵

In various parts of the *Croniken*, including the bailiwick chronicle, the author also shows a notable attentiveness to the genealogy of noble families. When mentioning Eberhard of Sayn, for example, who acted as an envoy for the grand master in Livonia from 1251 onwards, the author of the *Croniken*, correctly, added that he was the brother of the count of Sayn – a fact absent from other sources and possibly based on conjecture rather than actual knowledge.¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁵⁸ Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders'; originally published in Dutch: R.J. Stapel, "'Onder dese ridderen zijn oec papen". De priesterbroeders in de balije Utrecht van de Duitse Orde (1350-1600)', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 11/2008 (2009) 205–248.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 116, 120.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.120.

¹⁰⁶¹ See chapters 3.5, "Acre, 1291" and 3.4, "Outside Utrecht's sphere of influence".

¹⁰⁶² Mol, 'Hospice of the German Nobility', 123–124.

¹⁰⁶³ "Vnde oueden dach by daghe spyl, torney vnde mennigerhande tijtkortinghe myt iacht vnde allerhande selschop, de to ryderschop horen mochte": Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*, 118.

¹⁰⁶⁴ "Ende alle die dinghen die totter ridderscap hoirden: van hoveren, van torneren, van steken, van jagen, van vliegen, van beyten, dat hantierden sij alle daghe.": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.483.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Compare: Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen', 271.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.380–382.

Especially in the bailiwick chronicle an extensive genealogical knowledge of noble families from the region is displayed, which must have been backed by archival research.¹⁰⁶⁷ This interest in genealogy is related to the author's interest in heraldry, which I have described in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁶⁸ The legend of the coat of arms of the Teutonic Order appears for the first time in the *Croniken*, and may have been conceived by its author. The author also displayed sensitivity to the latest innovations in the heraldic presentation of the order, and may in fact himself have been an instigator of those innovations. This is especially clear from the way the author of the *Croniken* stylized the coats of arms of the grand masters and other officeholders, which he included in the margins of the manuscript.¹⁰⁶⁹ The earliest comparable series of coats of arms of the grand masters and other officeholders which can be firmly dated, dates from the mid-1480s and 1490s, around the same time and possibly later than the *Croniken*.¹⁰⁷⁰

A final characteristic of our author is his great skill in writing. As we have seen in much detail throughout the previous chapter, he was able to combine a great number of texts and shape them into a story of his own. Inconsistencies in or between sources were resolved, explanatory notes added, the narrative cleared of uncertainties.¹⁰⁷¹ The almost obsessive need to create perfect uninterrupted chronological sequences of the years in office of the grand masters and other officials of the order was unprecedented in the Teutonic Order's historiography. To align these sequences with each other, the author had to adjust different narratives, which was at times a complex procedure.¹⁰⁷²

This complexity is also apparent in the composition of the narrative. Throughout, as I have noted previously, internal references are made to both preceding and subsequent chapters.¹⁰⁷³ This is a clear indication that the author, based on existing notes, his own memory or some detailed template, had a clear vision of the overall project in mind. In that way the chronicle has become a remarkably coherent text, rather than merely one long chronological sequence of individual chapters and stories. Particularly taking into account the time it must have taken to gather the wide selection of source texts from archives both in and well outside the Low Countries, it is clear that the author must therefore have started planning this chronicle in great detail, and probably well in advance.

So what persons could fit this profile and how should we value the aforementioned¹⁰⁷⁴ attribution of a part of the text to a bishop of Paderborn?

¹⁰⁶⁷ See note 722 (chapter 3.4, "Bailiwick chronicle").

¹⁰⁶⁸ See chapter 3.5, "Legend of the coat of arms".

¹⁰⁶⁹ Regarding the coats of arms in manuscript **We**₁, see chapter 2.2, "Illustration".

¹⁰⁷⁰ See chapter 3.2, "A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history".

¹⁰⁷¹ In this regard the author fitted in well with existing tendencies in late medieval historiography. Compare for instance: Janse, 'Historie van Hollant', 37–38; Melville, 'Heuristischen Methode', 143.

¹⁰⁷² See chapter 3.2, "A shift from the land to its members: choosing a template for the order's history".

¹⁰⁷³ See chapter 3.2, "General notes on the author's methods of composition".

¹⁰⁷⁴ See note 429 (chapter 3.3).

4.3 Possible candidates

Bishop of Paderborn

The first evidence to consider is the claim made in the prologue of the *Croniken* that a bishop of Paderborn, present at the order's foundation in Acre in 1190, was responsible for writing part of the *Croniken*. It appears in one of the polemic chapters that were incorporated in the narrative and seem to represent the author's voice. In this and the following chapter, as we have discussed before (3.3, "Inspiration: from guidebooks to the *Legends of the Hospital*"), the author strongly rejects particular views on the Teutonic Order's and the Order of Saint John's foundation proposed by others. He then states: "And this bishop of Paderborn had this order's prologue and chronicle of the Teutonic Order ('*croniken vander duytscher oirden*') written down up until Duke Frederick of Swabia died at Acre."¹⁰⁷⁵

Yet, the claim is problematic. What exactly was written down by – or on behalf of – the bishop of Paderborn? The words "this order's prologue" can be understood to be a reference to the prologue of the Teutonic Order's statutes, a text that was one of the principal sources for the surrounding chapters. Erroneously, the *Croniken* suggests in these chapters an active involvement of the bishop of Paderborn in seeking confirmation of the earliest statutes at the papal court.¹⁰⁷⁶ However, the words can also be a direct reference to the opening words of the prologue: "This is the prologue of the Teutonic Order of Our Lady of Jerusalem, the first foundation and beginning of the chronicle of the Teutonic Order ('*croniken vander duytscher oirden*') [...]."¹⁰⁷⁷ If read as echoing the chronicle's opening words, the claim is that the bishop of Paderborn was responsible for the writing of the *Croniken*'s prologue up to the death of Duke Frederick VI of Swabia (c.75-129). Interestingly enough, there is some evidence to support the implication that the first half of the prologue was not conceived simultaneously with the second half or the rest of the *Croniken*. Starting from chapter 129, which describes the death of Duke Frederick of Swabia, the prologue loses some focus. Up until then, the text is principally focused on Mount Zion and the association of the order to that holy place. This culminates in the presentation of the Jerusalem hospital to the newly founded military order at Acre in 1190, after which the theme disappears. The second part of the prologue comprises of several short, loosely related remarks on the crusades, a longer report on the Fifth Crusade and its preparations, and a description of Grand Master Hermann of Salza. There is therefore evidence of an interruption in the creative process of writing the *Croniken* halfway through the prologue.

¹⁰⁷⁵ "Ende dese bisscop van Pelborn heeft deser oirden prologus ende croniken van der Duytscher Oirden doen bescriven tot dat Hertoch Vrederick van Zwaven tot Akers sterff": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.121.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, c.117; This is not correct: Kirstein, *Patriarchen*, 385.

¹⁰⁷⁷ "Dit is dat prologus van der Duytscher Oirden van Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem, dat yerste fundament ende beginne van den croniken van der Duytscher Oirden...": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.75; Note that "Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden" can indeed be regarded as a title of the book, rather than just a chronicle of the Teutonic Order. Compare: "In desen nabescreven boeke, dat gheheten is die *Cronyken van der Duytscher Oirden* (*Cronyken vander duytscher oirden*) *van der ridderscap van den huse ende hospitaal Onser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem* [...]" (In this book hereafter mentioned, that is named the *Chronicle of the Teutonic Order of the knighthood of the house and hospital of Our Lady of Jerusalem* [...]); "In den yersten dat prologus des selven boecs" (Firstly, the prologue of this aforementioned book): *Ibid.*, c.1–2.

At least some readers of the manuscripts of the *Croniken* have indeed interpreted the words as though a bishop of Paderborn wrote either the prologue or the entire *Croniken*.¹⁰⁷⁸ In the following centuries, this notion kept appearing, which led others to refute it. While Christoph Hartknoch only expressed his doubts,¹⁰⁷⁹ Max Töppen formulated a more careful rejection of the claim that a bishop of Paderborn was responsible for (part of) the *Croniken*. He showed that the *Croniken*'s description of the bishop of Paderborn's role in the foundation of the order¹⁰⁸⁰ was flawed.¹⁰⁸¹ He suggested, that it was a deliberate attempt to provide the text with "a foisted authority to justify a self-created history".¹⁰⁸²

The evidence collected in the previous two chapters regarding the autograph nature of the Vienna manuscript and the sources used by the author of the *Croniken* show definitely that there is no truth in the attribution to the Bishop of Paderborn. Almost all the texts used by the author for the prologue part of the *Croniken* post-date the end of the twelfth century, and many, such as the *Utrecht Bible*, show a direct link to the Northern Low Countries rather than Paderborn. Moreover, sources such as the *Spiegel historiael*, Ludolf of Sudheim's *Description of the Holy Land*, and the *Speculum historiale* are used both in the first part of the chronicle, and in the part of the chronicle that contains the lives of the grand masters. They are also used in a similar fashion throughout the *Croniken*.

The interruption of the content halfway through the prologue, therefore, is not evidence of a conception by two different authors, but a manifestation of an author who at times struggled to pursue his historiographical project.¹⁰⁸³ In addition, the significance of the claim of authorship in the prologue is not that some twelfth- or thirteenth-century author may have written part of the text, but that the fifteenth-century author felt impelled to state this. Here, the location of the claim is also of importance. It can be found in the middle of two chapters intended to correct false

¹⁰⁷⁸ The two manuscripts written by Petrus Schwinge, **Be** and **Pr**, affirm this rather explicitly: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 11v, 19v (with later reference to the adaptation of the *Croniken* by Christoph Jan Weissenfels); Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, ff. 10v, 17r.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Hartknoch, 'Selectae dissertationes historicae', 4–5.

¹⁰⁸⁰ The bishop of Paderborn, who reportedly wrote part of the prologue, was mentioned by the *Croniken* as being part of an embassy seeking confirmation for the order's foundation in 1190 from the emperor and pope. This embassy is mentioned in almost every work of the order's historiography, but only the *Croniken* specifies who the ambassadors ("ambassatoirs") were, namely the bishop of Paderborn and the archbishop of Bremen. 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung', 25–26; Perlach ed., *Statuten*, 22; Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*, I–1; Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant', vv. 519–536; 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique', c. 1; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirde*, c.117.

¹⁰⁸¹ Töppen showed that the archbishop of Bremen (Hartwig II of Uthlede; 1185–90/92 and 1194–1207), could not have been present in the Holy Land during the Third Crusade: Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 65; In September 1189 and during the remainder of the Third Crusade Hartwig II was evidently present in Germany: 'Arnoldi Abbatis Lubecensis Chronica', in: J.M. Lappenberg ed., G.H. Pertz, *Historici Germaniae saec. XII. 1. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 21* (Hannover 1869) 100–250, there 179, 181, 185 (Lib. V, c. 1, c. 3, c. 11); There is also no corroborating evidence for a journey to the Holy Land by the bishop of Paderborn at that time, Bernhard II of Ibbenbüren (1188–1204): K. Hengst, 'Bernhard, Edelherr von Ibbenbüren († 1204). 1188–1204 Bischof von Paderborn', in: E. Gatz ed., *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448. Ein biographisches Lexikon*. 1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 2001) 538, there 538; H.J. Brandt and K. Hengst, *Die Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Paderborn* (Paderborn: Bonifatius-Druckerei 1984) 111–114.

¹⁰⁸² "Einer untergeschobenen Auctorität zur Begründung selbstgeschaffener Geschichte": Töppen, *Preussischen Historiographie*, 65.

¹⁰⁸³ This is also visible at the boundary between the watermarks of 1480 and 1491. See chapter 2.3 and in more detail: Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe', 75–77.

views of others about the origins of the Teutonic Order and the Order of Saint John. Perhaps anticipating opposition, the author may have felt the need to appeal to an ‘authority’ who would substantiate his own claims.

For the attribution and perceived role of the bishop of Paderborn, the author of the *Croniken* did draw from existing narratives. Although none of the historiographical texts of the Teutonic Order identify the delegates sent to the pope and emperor in 1190, the *Narratio* does mention the names of two messengers traveling to Pope Innocent III in 1198 seeking confirmation of the transformation into a military order: Grand Master Heinrich Walpot and Bishop Wolfger of Passau.¹⁰⁸⁴ The archbishop of Bremen is not mentioned, and although there is no evidence to suggest that he had any role in this mission, he is known to have travelled from the Holy Land to the pope at the same time to tend to other matters.¹⁰⁸⁵ The bishop of Passau was an important mediator between the pope and emperor at that time and therefore an appropriate choice to seek support at the papal court.¹⁰⁸⁶ It seems likely that the author of the *Croniken* mistook¹⁰⁸⁷ Paderborn for Passau, while, like many before him, he was unable to distinguish the events at Acre of 1190 and 1198.¹⁰⁸⁸ If indeed, and in that case how, the author managed to piece together this information is not clear though.

Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen

Whereas we can dismiss the possible authorship claim within the *Croniken* either as a fabrication, or as not concerning the authorship of the chronicle in the first place, palaeographical evidence points at two other possibilities for the authorship of the chronicle. After finding, by sheer luck, a few land charters in the Utrecht bailiwick archive that were written by the same person that wrote manuscript **We**₁ of the *Croniken*,¹⁰⁸⁹ I undertook a more targeted search in the bailiwick archive for charters dated around 1470 to 1510, eventually identifying thirty-two charters written by this same scribe (e.g. Figure 4.1). I have identified two further charters in other archives, as well as accounts of Frans of Borssele, stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland and *inter alia* Lord of Zuilen near Utrecht (where the document was drawn up), collated by our writer in 1491 on behalf of Frans of Borssele’s successor in Zuilen, Jasper of Culemborg. These finds appear by no means to complete the surviving documents produced by this scribe, and further documents are likely to keep appearing, even in the Teutonic Order’s archive in Utrecht (for a full list of documents identified to have been produced by the scribe, see Appendix, Table A.10).

¹⁰⁸⁴ ‘Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung’, 28.

¹⁰⁸⁵ This concerned his activities in Livonia: E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (2nd edn; London/New York: Penguin 1998) 98; Regarding his presence in 1198 in the Holy Land: ‘Arnoldi Lubecensis’, 203 (Lib. V, c. 25).

¹⁰⁸⁶ H. Heger, *Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide. Die Reiserechnungen des Passauer Bischofs Wolfger von Erla* (Vienna: Schendl 1970) 34–38; This ultimately resulted in Innocent III’s privilege of 19 February 1199: Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 297.

¹⁰⁸⁷ The fact that subsequent bishops of Paderborn were involved in writing about the crusades may also have made them more authoritative candidates as authors of the *Croniken* than any bishop of Passau. This could suggest that such a mistake was made deliberately. Used by the author of the *Croniken* are Wilbrand of Oldenburg’s *Journey to the Holy Land*: Pringle, ‘A new edition’; and Oliver of Paderborn’s *Historia Damiatina* and *Historia regum terre sancte*: Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*; Ludolf of Sudheim’s *Description of the Holy Land* was dedicated to a bishop of Paderborn, in whose diocese Ludolf was a parish priest: Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 1.

¹⁰⁸⁸ In the end this may have stemmed from a simple copyist mistake: Müller, *Jerusalem oder Akkon?*, 17 (note 66).

¹⁰⁸⁹ For a detailed palaeographical description of the hand, see chapter 2.2, “Script”.

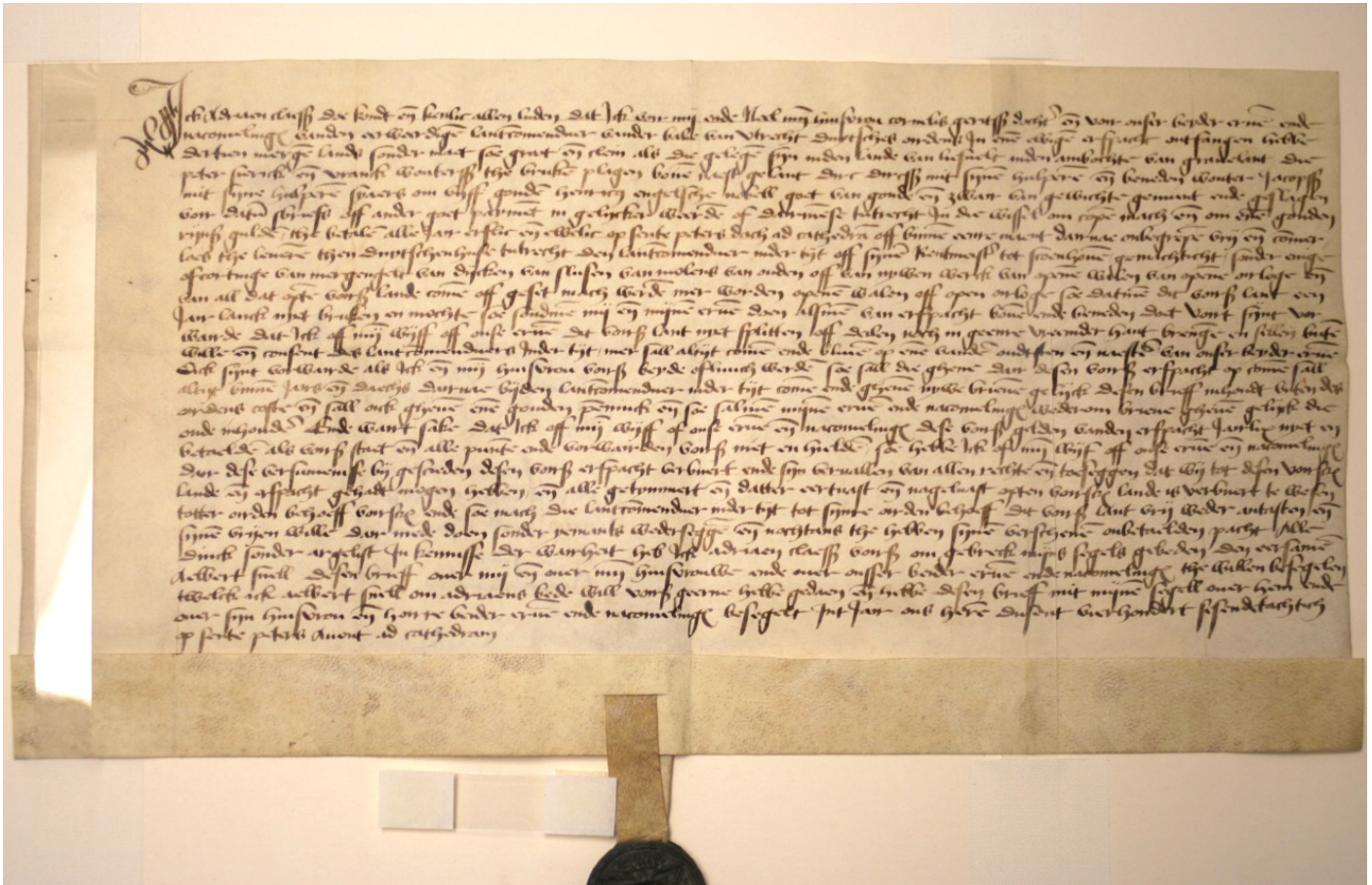


Figure 4.1 Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, ballie van Utrecht (ARDOU), inv.nr. 791.3 (22-02-1486).

I have also identified another manuscript written by this scribe, kept at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. It is a Middle Dutch translation and adaptation of Eike of Reggow's *Sachsenspiegel* (Figure 4.2). It is the only surviving manuscript of the so-called *Hollandse Sachsenspiegel*, an adaptation that reached a wide audience in print, receiving numerous reprints.¹⁰⁹⁰ The first incunable was printed in the town of Gouda by Gerard Leeu on 20 April 1479. There were at least four reprints already before 1500.¹⁰⁹¹ The manuscript in question was not copied from a printed edition.¹⁰⁹² However, since the watermarks are to be dated around 1499–1500¹⁰⁹³ and since it contains scribal errors which are absent in the printed editions, it cannot have been the source for the printed editions either. The manuscript was owned by Utrecht Land Commander Steven van Zuylen van Nijvelt (1496–1527), who may well have ordered the manuscript to be written.¹⁰⁹⁴ In 1610 Land Commander Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579–1612) added his coat-of-arms to the opening page.¹⁰⁹⁵ As with manuscript **We**₁ of the *Croniken*, a single person appears to have been responsible for creating the entire manuscript including its foliation and quire structure. That quire structure is, again similar

¹⁰⁹⁰ Smits, 'Spiegel van Sassen'; For other Middle Dutch adaptations of the *Sachsenspiegel*: B.J.L. de Geer van Jutphaas ed., *De Sachsenspiegel in Nederland*. Werken der Vereeniging tot Uitgave der Bronnen van het Oude Vaderlandsche Recht, gevestigd te Utrecht 10 (The Hague: Nijhoff 1888).

¹⁰⁹¹ 'ISTC', nrs. ie00028200; ie00028250; ie00028300; ie00028350; ie00028400.

¹⁰⁹² Smits, 'Spiegel van Sassen', 7.

¹⁰⁹³ See Appendix, A.5, 133 H 4.

¹⁰⁹⁴ "Dit boeck hoert toe heer Steven van Zuylen van Nijvelt, lantcommenduer" (This book belongs to lord Steven van Zuylen van Nijvelt, land commander): The Hague, KB, 133 H 4, f. 87v.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 1r.

to manuscript **We**₁, highly regular (Appendix, A.5, 133 H 4). Furthermore, the use and distribution of abbreviations and different forms of the letter w that can be witnessed in manuscript **We**₁, is echoed in the *Sachsenspiegel* as well. This also applies to the land charters that were written by the same scribe.¹⁰⁹⁶

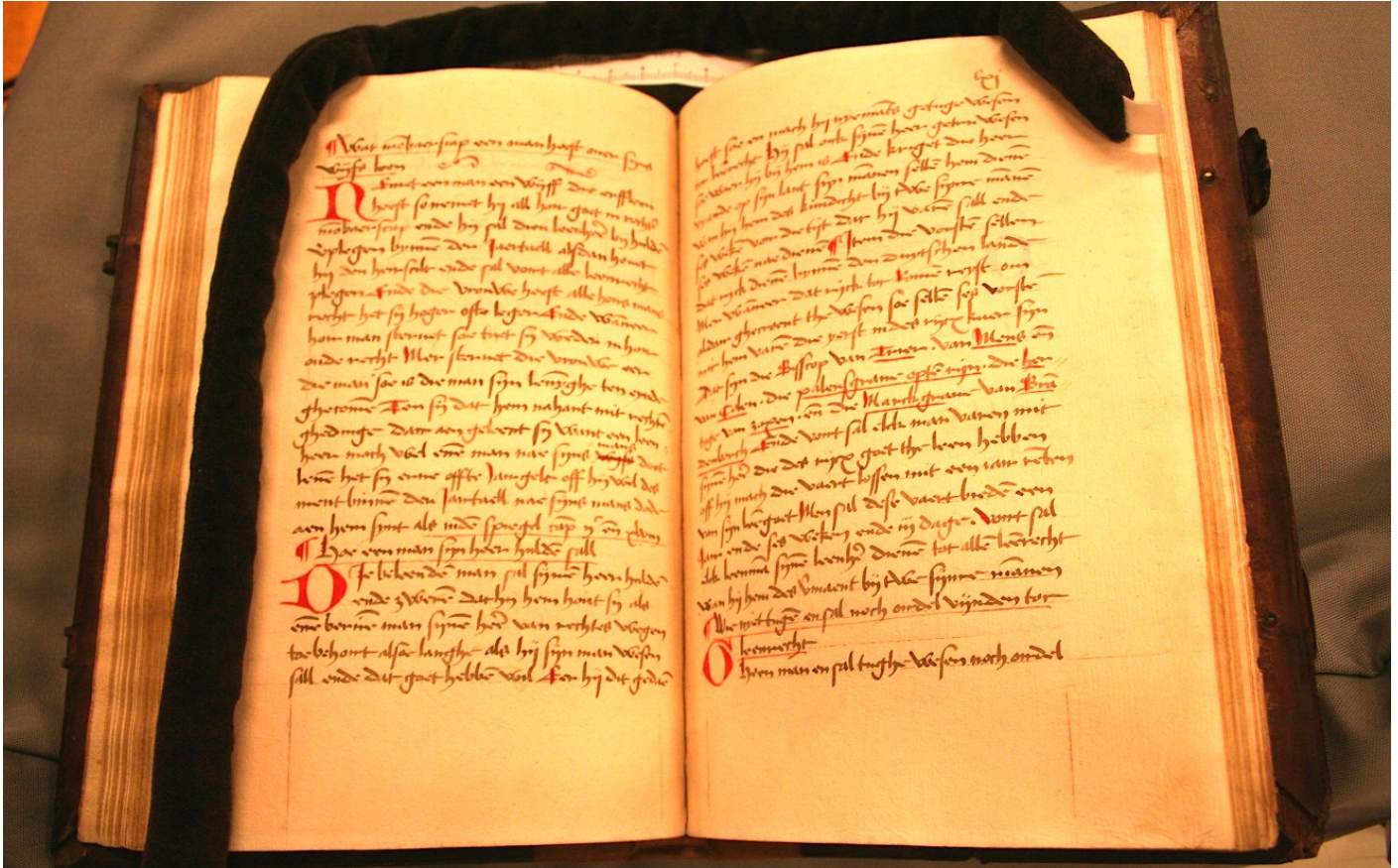


Figure 4.2 The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4, ff. 60v-61r.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Stapel, 'The development of a medieval scribe', 81–82. See also Appendix, A.5, "Quantifying palaeographical preferences in the *Sachsenspiegel* and land charters".

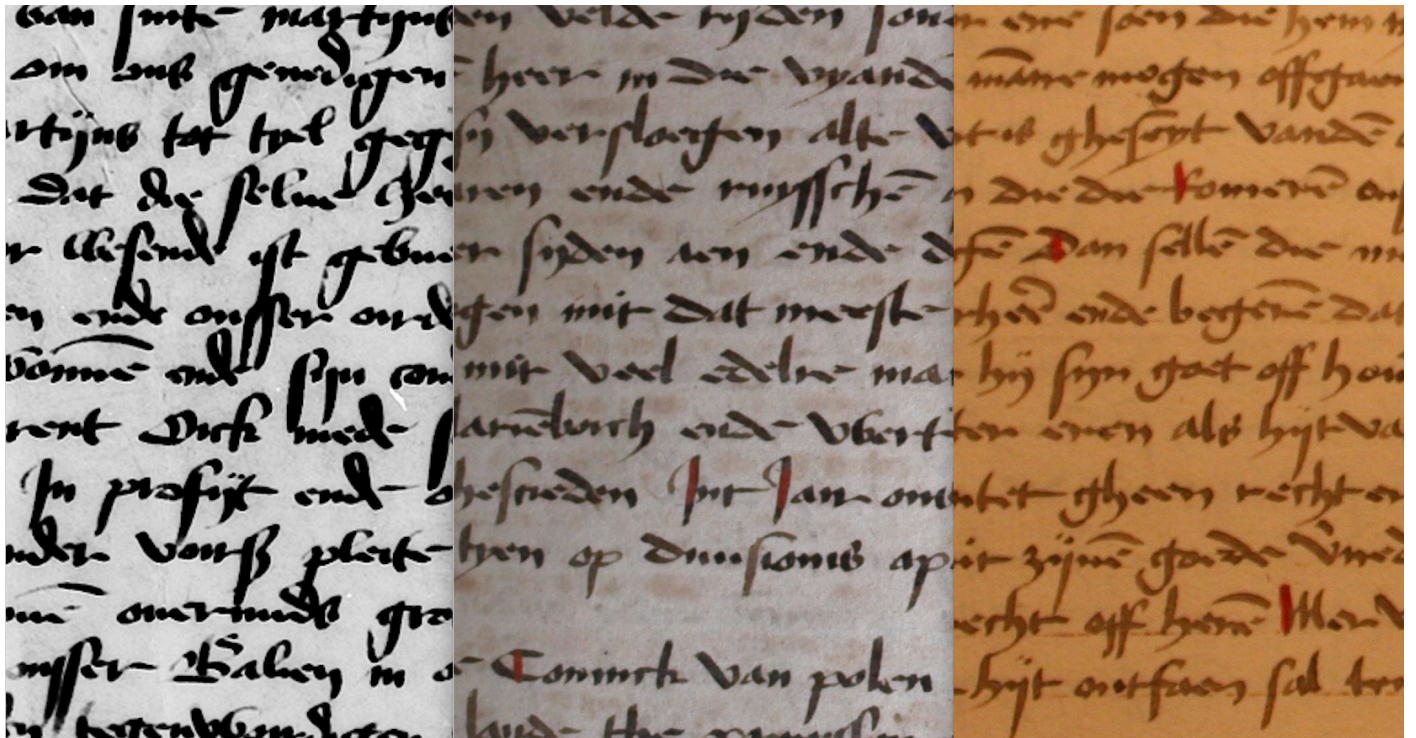


Figure 4.3 Comparison of the hand of Hendrik van Vianen: land charter (1484), Croniken, ms. *We*₁ (ca. 1491), *Sachsenspiegel* (ca. 1499–1500).¹⁰⁹⁷

As is the case in manuscript *We*₁, the scribe of the *Sachsenspiegel* manuscript is anonymous; the same is the case for all but one of the identified documents in his hand. But in the fold or *plica* of one of his more recent charters in the Utrecht bailiwick archive, his name is revealed: “Hendrik van Vianen, notary public” (Figure 4.4).

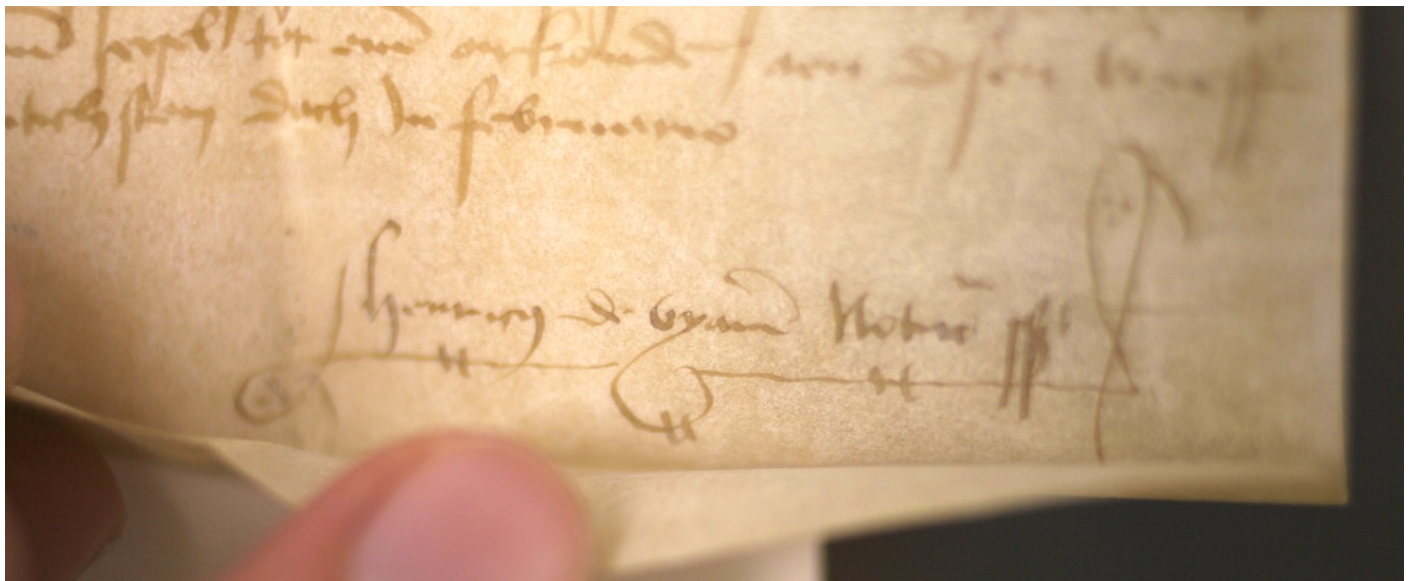


Figure 4.4 The name of “Henricus de Vyanen” is drawn out of oblivion (ARDOU, inv.nr. 825.3; 27 February 1500).

¹⁰⁹⁷ From left to right: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 491.1 (7 September 1484); Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 149r; The Hague, KB, 133 H 4, f. 63v.

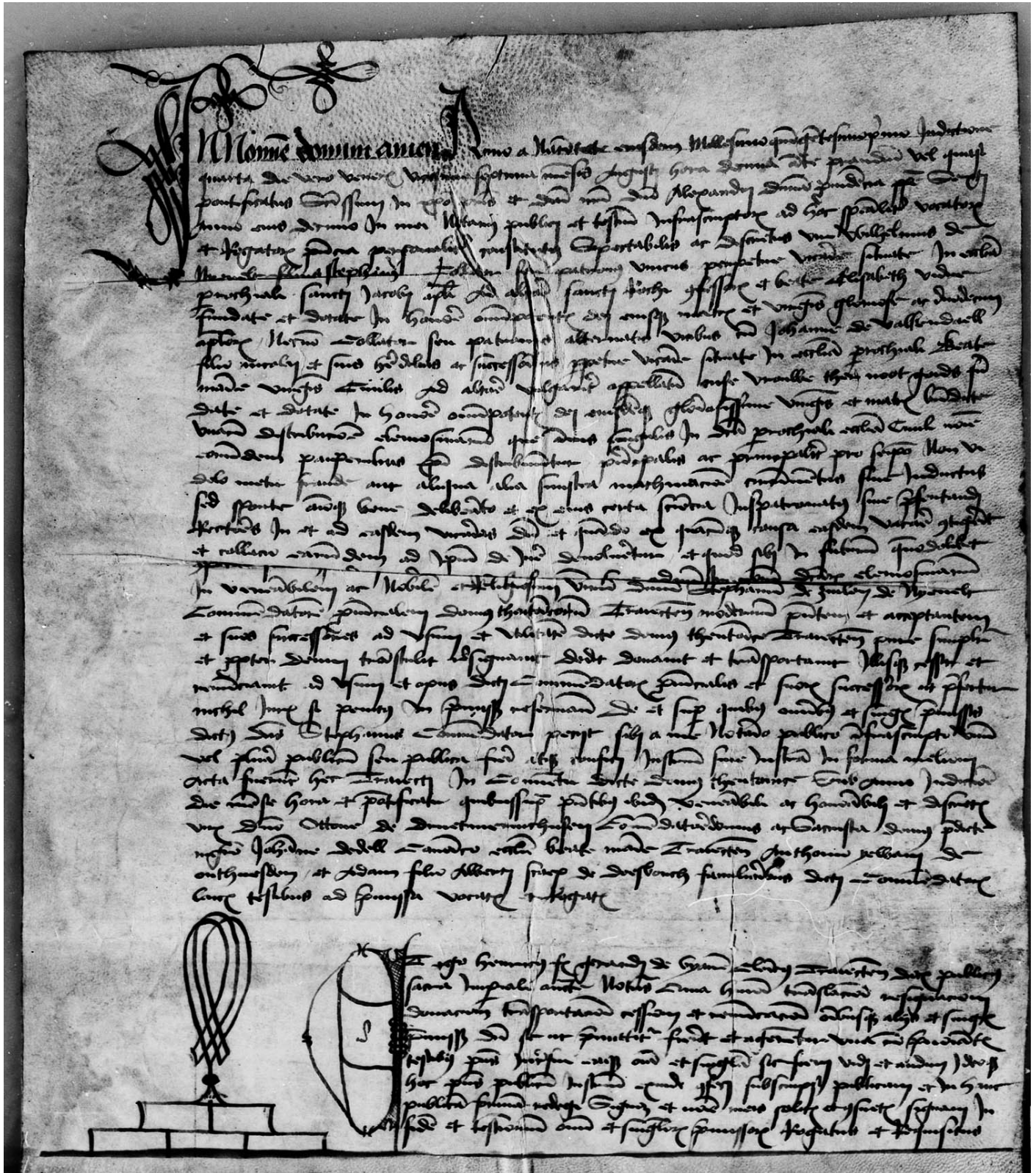


Figure 4.5 Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen's signet as notary public. Note also the cadet, which bears similarities with the cadels in manuscript We₁ (ARDOU, inv.nr. 503.1; 27 August 1501).

According to the attestation in some charters (see for instance Figure 4.5), Hendrik van Vianen was the son of Gerard, and a member of the clergy in the bishopric of Utrecht. Hendrik himself was a notary public. There is no record of Hendrik referring to himself as a member of the Teutonic Order, nor is he listed as a member in any of the roughly two

thousand sources on the basis of which I created a database of (priest-)brethren of the bailiwick.¹⁰⁹⁸ His family background is not clear, nor is his education. I have not been able to find evidence of matriculation at a university, although he may have been the “Heynricus Oestrum de Vyanen” who matriculated at Louvain in 1469.¹⁰⁹⁹ His last charter, dated 1509, was issued in the little town of Vianen near Utrecht, which suggests that he was – at least then – living in Vianen. It also suggests that the name “Vianen” was a toponym rather than a family name. Most of the documents that have been so far identified as written in his hand relate to the house and bailiwick of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht. It is likely that in the survey of the documents in his hand that have so far been discovered, the Teutonic Order is overrepresented, since writings of his outside the confinements of the bailiwick’s archive have so far only been found when his name was explicitly recorded in online inventory descriptions. Nevertheless, given the large number of charters and the two manuscripts, it seems fair to assume that the Utrecht bailiwick was an important client or employer.

A few trends among the available documents shed more information on Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen’s career as professional writer (see Appendix, Table A.10). The oldest dated document is from 1479, but he only started to mention his name and profession later in his active career: for the first time in July 1491, but especially from 1500 onwards. His name and profession often only appear in Latin texts and only once in a text issued by a member of the Teutonic Order. It could even be possible that he had yet become a notary public in his early career, but became so later in his life; although this is hard to substantiate since the current selection of documents might cause us to overlook some of his activities elsewhere. Yet, as we have seen, his writing habits weren’t fully developed when he started writing manuscript **We**₁ around 1480, whereas he became much more steady in his writing in the second half of the chronicle (see chapter 2.3 and Appendix, A.5, “Quantifying palaeographical preferences in the *Sachsenspiegel* and land charters”). His early activities for the Utrecht bailiwick and in particular for Land Commander Johan van Drongelen (1469–92) point at the possibility that he was the personal secretary of the land commander. In the period in which Johan van Drongelen had to leave Utrecht (from 13 May 1482 to at least 20 September 1483),¹¹⁰⁰ there is a noticeable cessation of Hendrik van Vianen’s activity as a scribe: there are two years of inactivity between 24 October 1481 and 24 November 1483, if one disregards document 7 (written after Drongelen had to leave Utrecht) and 8 (issued by his *locum tenens* Gosen van Rossum). This seems to suggest that Hendrik van Vianen’s activity as scribe in this period was limited to work for Johan van Drongelen. We know that several land commanders in Utrecht before Johan van Drongelen had personal secretaries, sometimes simply called ‘scribe’, but there are no accounts for these years which could be used to look for pay rolls or other evidence.¹¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁹⁸ The current database was based on the extensive work of Menno Koopstra before me. Stapel, ‘Priests in the military orders’, 103–104; Chances that Hendrik van Vianen was a brother who might have slipped our attention are slim. I calculated that between 1350 and 1600 (excluding Friesland) 158 to 292 priest-brethren were active in the Utrecht bailiwick. At the moment, the database lists 211 priest-brethren (208 at the time of publication): *Ibid.*, 104 (note 17).

¹⁰⁹⁹ 4 October 1469, “Heynricus Oestrum de Vianen, Trai.dioc., in art. (Gratis quia pauper)”: E.H.J. Reusens, J. Wils and A. Schillings eds., *Matricule de l’université de Louvain*. Collection de Chroniques Belges Inédites 31 (Brussels: Libraire Kiessling et Cie ; P. Imbreghts 1903-1969) II, 225,32.

¹¹⁰⁰ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 1777.1.

¹¹⁰¹ In 1430, German Master Eberhart of Saunsheim sent a receipt saying that he received 107 guilders from “Heinrich von Hemmersbach, the writer of the land commander of Utrecht” (“des lantcomphurs schriber zu Utricht”): *Ibid.*, inv. nr. 340–1 (1430); Land Commander Johan van Haeften in 1455/57 had a writer on his pay roll that he used almost as a personal assistant: “Bruyne

Period	Employer; client	Activities
1479–81/82	Utrecht bailiwick; Johan van Drongelen	Wide range of texts: from appointments, internal settlements, privileges.
First phase of the <i>Croniken</i>.		
<i>Land Commander Johan van Drongelen was forced to leave Utrecht between 13 May 1482 and at least 20 September 1483. Hendrik van Vianen's activities seem to have been temporarily held back accordingly.</i>		
1483–6	Utrecht bailiwick; Johan van Drongelen	Almost exclusively property related texts: leaseholds, selling of land rents
1490–1	Utrecht bailiwick; Johan van Drongelen	Writing two privileges
	Jasper van Culemborg, i.a. Lord of Zuilen	Collation of accounts of Jasper's predecessor; working as notary public
Second phase of the <i>Croniken</i>		
1499–1501, 1505	Utrecht bailiwick; Steven van Zuylen van Nijeveld	Wide range of texts: <i>Sachsenspiegel</i> , property related, privilege; working as notary public
1509	Adolf van Rechteren, Lord of Almelo; Hendrik die Hert, parish priest of Vianen	Working as notary public. A favour for a fellow townsman?

Table 4.1 Career activities of Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen.

Based on the collection of documents in Table A.10 in the Appendix, the career of Hendrik van Vianen can roughly be divided into six periods (Table 4.1). What is particularly significant is that the two main production phases of the *Croniken* that we have identified earlier (around 1480 and around 1491), correspond exactly with the first and third periods of Hendrik van Vianen's activities for Johan van Drongelen and the Utrecht bailiwick. That can hardly be a coincidence and it shows that Hendrik van Vianen combined work on manuscript **We**₁ with being hired for other writing activities for the Teutonic Order, which were probably carried out from the Utrecht commandery. It remains unclear what activities Hendrik van Vianen carried out in the intermediary years, for instance between 1486 and 1490 and from 1491 to 1499. Taking into account the possible date of the leaves with watermark that could perhaps be dated around 1496, Hendrik may have remained active in the bailiwick in some other capacity, but this remains speculation.

The question is whether Hendrik van Vianen could have been the author of the *Croniken*. We already identified the Vienna manuscript as either an autograph or an author's copy, which means that Hendrik van Vianen could not have been merely a scribe – a role that he did fulfil later in his career in the case of the *Sachsenspiegel*. As personal secretary to the land commander he would have had easy access to the order's archives. Could he have been commissioned by the Teutonic Order to write the chronicle? Nothing, however, is known about any experience Hendrik may have had in writing history, nor do we have any indication of an interest in heraldry and genealogy, or any link to nobility. There is no indication, outside the *Croniken*, that he ever showed an interest in the history and fate of the order of his employer. These various issues compel us to reconsider his role in the project.

mynen schriver voer synen jaerloen 25 R.gld.": Ibid., inv. nr. 330–1 (e.g. f. 14r); In the bailiwick of Alden Biesen a certain "Godefrido van Alondorp" (Alondorp near Utrecht) worked as secretary of the land commander and perhaps of the commander of Gemert too: De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 479 (1434); 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, inv. nr. 118, f. 48r (1436); Just like Hendrik van Vianen, Godfried van Alondorp also became active as a notary public in 's-Hertogenbosch between 1442 and 1444: A.C.M. Kappelhof ed., *Het archief van de Tafel van de Heilige Geest van 's-Hertogenbosch. Regesten van oorkonden* 8 ('s-Hertogenbosch: Centraal Bureau Godshuizen 1986) nrs. 2056, 2059, 2080, 2903.

Johan van Drongelen

Career

Before we investigate this question in more detail, we must have a closer look at the person who employed Hendrik van Vianen, Land Commander Johan van Drongelen. Drongelen was land commander of the Utrecht bailiwick from 16 July 1469 to his death on 15 August 1492.¹¹⁰² There is no evidence that he enjoyed an academic education, as a majority of the Utrecht land commanders in this period did.¹¹⁰³ He entered the order as knight-brother in the mid to late 1440s, which can be deduced from the list of invitees or attendees to his entrance ceremony (Table A.11 in the Appendix), which was written in his own hand.¹¹⁰⁴ The date, shortly after 1445, can be deduced from the watermark and the list of invitees.¹¹⁰⁵ At the latest, it was composed before 23 March 1450, when Johan van Drongelen was appointed commander of Schelluinen.¹¹⁰⁶ Drongelen held this position for thirteen years. Almost as soon as he moved into the house he began to renovate and extend the buildings of the commandery, investing much of his own money, much improving their appearance and prestige.¹¹⁰⁷ From then on, the house, once practically only suited for priest-brethren, was representable enough to once a year host the *Hoogheemraad* of the Land of Arkel: the water board of which Johan van Drongelen had become an important member.¹¹⁰⁸ In 1462 he further donated his maternal inheritance to the commandery, which proved crucial for ensuring its long term financial health.¹¹⁰⁹ In the short term it will have been a significant factor in making possible the renovation and extension of the church of Schelluinen in 1466.¹¹¹⁰

By that time, Drongelen had moved to Middelburg where he had been appointed commander in 1463.¹¹¹¹ After six years in this function he was promoted to the highest office in the bailiwick, that of land commander.¹¹¹² He retained

¹¹⁰² De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 405; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.774.

¹¹⁰³ Stapel, 'Power to the Educated?', 341.

¹¹⁰⁴ The document was not meant for his appointment as land commander in 1469, as the inventory of the bailiwick archive suggests. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 251; *Ibid.*; The hand of Johan van Drongelen can also be found in the following documents: *Ibid.*, inv. nrs. 219, 253 (verso), 255, 2192 (according to De Geer, *Archieven* II, nr. 564), 2479, and 2525.

¹¹⁰⁵ The watermark, a double headed eagle, should be dated around 1442-1446. None of the watermarks in the Piccard database are an exact copy, but these eight come very close (arranged by date): Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nrs. 42701/42702 (Venlo 1442/43), 42691 (Utrecht 1444), 42703/42704 (Arnhem 1445), 42692/42693 (Culemborg 1445/46) and 42700 (Bruges 1446); The list must have been composed after 1445, the year Yolande of Lalaing married Reinoud II of Brederode: A. Janse, 'Yolande van Lalaing (1422-1497)', in: E. den Hartog and H. Wijsman eds., *Yolande van Lalaing (1422-1497), kasteelvrouwe van Brederode*. Jaarboek van de Kastelenstichting Holland en Zeeland 2009 (Haarlem 2009) 7–36; There is a chance the list was drawn up after 1447 or 1448, as both Dirk van der Merwede and an anonymous castellan of Heusden were invited separately. Dirk van der Merwede was castellan himself until 1447. In 1448 Count John IV of Nassau took over, but most likely one of the deputies he appointed was meant here. As Dirk van der Merwede was also known to appoint deputies, this *terminus post quem* is certainly not written in stone. P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving. Het Land van Heusden, ca. 1360 - ca. 1515*. A.A.G. Bijdragen 32 (Wageningen 1992) 11, 13; Finally, the list must also predate the death of Dirk van der Merwede in May 1452: B. de Roy van Zuidewijn, 'Het graf van Dirk van der Merwede', *De Brabantse Leeuw* 5 (1956) 123.

¹¹⁰⁶ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 2525, f. 42v and f. 81v.

¹¹⁰⁷ Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 84.

¹¹⁰⁸ A. Kemp, *Leven der doorluchtige heeren van Arkel, ende jaar-beschrijving der stad Gorinchem*. H. Kemp ed. (Gorinchem: Vink 1656) 285–290; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2479.

¹¹⁰⁹ Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 56; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, 501; S.W.A. Drossaers, *Het archief van de Nassauschen domeinraad 1.5 Repertorium op de leenregisters van de Lek en Polanen 1309-1576 en index op het eerste deel I-IV* (Den Haag: Algemeen Rijksarchief 1949) nrs. 490 and 491.

¹¹¹⁰ Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 88.

¹¹¹¹ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2186.

¹¹¹² De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 405.

his position of commander in Middelburg, although it is difficult to determine whether he resided there often.¹¹¹³ Drongelen would prove to be one of the most energetic and capable land commanders, and a reformer of the late medieval Utrecht bailiwick. When he took up the office, according to the *Croniken*, he found the bailiwick in great debts, over 3,700 Rhenish guilders to be exact, and with its winter food reserves entirely depleted. In the preceding years, the bailiwick had been heavily burdened by partisan strifes and disputes, conflicts in the Duchy of Guelders, dike breaches, payment of annuities and the contribution the grand master.¹¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the costs for accommodating the numerous knight-brethren that returned to the Low Countries after they fled from Prussia at the outbreak of hostilities or because of a lack of career prospects weighed heavily on the budgets of the various commanderies.¹¹¹⁵ To overcome these immediate concerns Drongelen had to call in favours from many “honourable prelates, canons, lords and other good people and friends in Utrecht, Holland and Zeeland.”¹¹¹⁶ An ameliorating factor will have been that the living expenses for many of the brethren that fled Prussia decreased dramatically as most of these brethren died before or soon after Drongelen took up office.¹¹¹⁷

The fact that Drongelen held the office of land commander for a relatively long period, just over twenty-three years, will also have contributed significantly to the success of his policies over the years. It is striking, though, how much was accomplished in the first half decade. One of his first missions was to reform the Frisian houses, whose brethren, according to Drongelen, “disgraced the order’s habit and do not know, or do not want to know, how they should live according to our order’s rules, habits or statutes.”¹¹¹⁸ We are well informed about this attempt to reform the Frisian houses via the work of Hans Mol. The image of Drongelen that emerges from Mol’s study is that of a zealous, somewhat authoritarian person who was pursuing a strict regimen. He had little patience for the Frisian brethren who invoked spurious privileges and specious customs that confirmed their semi-autonomous status. In the long run, Drongelen’s attitude would stand in the way of real success for reform of the order in Friesland.¹¹¹⁹

In the rest of the bailiwick, Drongelen’s activities had a more favourable outcome and in some cases ensured a lasting legacy. Under his guidance, several ornaments, religious clothes, relics, and monstresances were added to the interior of the church of the Utrecht commandery, whereas existing ones were refurbished.¹¹²⁰ He documented how the prelates of the bailiwick had to wash thirteen poor men’s feet on Maundy Thursday, and how they should be buried, customs which lasted for many decades.¹¹²¹ In 1473 he received permission of the German master to sell the inheritance of his father in order to establish a yearly service in memory of himself and a pittance, an allowance of food, for

¹¹¹³ A letter tentatively dated “ca. 1490” is the last entry mentioning Drongelen as commander of Middelburg: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 28–1.

¹¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 249; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven II*, nr. 404.

¹¹¹⁵ Mol, ‘Crisis in the bailiwicks?’, 189.

¹¹¹⁶ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirde*, c.774.

¹¹¹⁷ Mol, ‘Crisis in the bailiwicks?’, 189 (note 70).

¹¹¹⁸ “Ende dragen ons habijt den oerdens regel te scanden, ende en weten niet of en willen niet weten van ons oerdens regel of gewoeneheit of statuten hoe si sculdich sijn te leven”: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2259, p. 1–4; as cited by Mol, *Friese huizen*, 264.

¹¹¹⁹ Mol, *Friese huizen*, 123–137, 145–147.

¹¹²⁰ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirde*, c.774.

¹¹²¹ De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven I*, nr. 193 (263–266).

both the brethren and thirty poor men – a service that was still held at least well into the sixteenth century.¹¹²² Two years later, in 1475, he completed a large extension to the fourteenth century convent of the Teutonic Order in the city of Utrecht (Figure 4.6).¹¹²³ Just as in Schelluinen, the extension, known as the land commander's residence, had a representative function, as is exemplified by the angel figurines, carrying coats of arms, which were added to each end of the roof beams, and of which one survived (Figure 4.7).¹¹²⁴



Figure 4.6 Three dimensional reconstruction of the Utrecht commandery complex at the end of the Middle Ages. Land Commander Johan van Drongelen commissioned the building at the centre right, against the wall, in 1475. Produced by Daan Claessen, Afdeling Erfgoed, Gemeente Utrecht.

Figure 4.7 Wooden statue of an angel holding a coat of arms found in the new extension.

One of the most enduring reforms Johan van Drongelen was responsible for, concerned the admission policy of new knight-brethren, aimed at reducing their total number in the bailiwick. The changes made during Drongelen's years in office would alter the nature of the bailiwick for years to come and had a direct and positive impact on the bailiwick's survival after the Reformation. When Drongelen took up office in 1469, around fifty brethren can be found in the bailiwick's sources (Figure 4.8). Twenty to thirty were knight-brethren.¹¹²⁵ Ten years later this was reduced to ten to fifteen knight-brethren, and their number would continue to decline to ten or fewer at the end of Drongelen's career. During the sixteenth century, it would remain stable.¹¹²⁶ Direct consequence was that the bailiwick quickly turned into an exclusive corporation that could accommodate only a few noble knight-brethren – accompanied by a stable number

¹¹²² Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 254; For this purpose, Drongelen bought a piece of land in 't Goy, south of Utrecht: Ibid., inv. nr. 1136–4; The memorial service was established a year later, in 1474: Ibid., inv. nr. 507; It was continued until at least 1531/32: Ibid., inv. nr. 641 (1531/32), f. 8r; See also: Koopstra, "Weest ritter," 35.

¹¹²³ The Croniken mentions the building activities and provided a date: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirde*, c.774; This date closely corresponded with dendrochronological evidence: B. Klück, 'Het Duitse huis in Utrecht. Bouwgeschiedenis van een stedelijke landcommanderij tijdens de Middeleeuwen', in: *Crux et arma. Kruistochten, ridderorden en Duitse Orde*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Duitse Orde in de Balije Biesen 4 (Bilzen 1997) 223–230, there 229; See also: B. Klück, *De landcommanderij van de Duitse Orde te Utrecht*. Clavis kleine kunsthistorische monografieën 13 (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura 1995).

¹¹²⁴ J.A. Mol, 'Een toevluchtsoord voor de "arme" adel. Veranderingen in de toelating van ridderbroeders tot de Duitse Orde in de vijftiende eeuw', in: J.A. Mol ed., *Vechten, bidden en verplegen. Opstellen over de ridderorden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Balije van Utrecht 5 (Hilversum: Verloren 2011) 188–205, there 203.

¹¹²⁵ The brethren of whom is not known whether they were priest- or knight-brethren were more often than not knight-brethren. Priest-brethren are generally more easily identified as such because of their functions in pastoral care.

¹¹²⁶ Stapel, 'Onder dese ridderen', 213.

of priest-brethren who were responsible for the pastoral care in the bailiwick's many parish churches.¹¹²⁷ These few knight-brethren also were increasingly interested in maintaining a noble lifestyle, as is perhaps most prominently shown in the acquisition between 1522 and 1525 of the castle Ter Meer outside the city of Utrecht by Land Commander Steven van Zuylen van Nijvelt (Figure 4.9). He renamed the castle Zuilenburg after his family name, and it functioned for some years as residence for the land commanders.¹¹²⁸ Years later, during the Reformation, the Teutonic Order in Utrecht could emphasize its noble character, whereas the neighbouring Hospitallers, without knight-brethren among their ranks, could not. The Hospitallers were regarded as a purely religious community and were consequently dissolved, just as other monasteries. The Utrecht bailiwick of the Teutonic Order remained in existence as a corporation of Protestant noblemen.¹¹²⁹

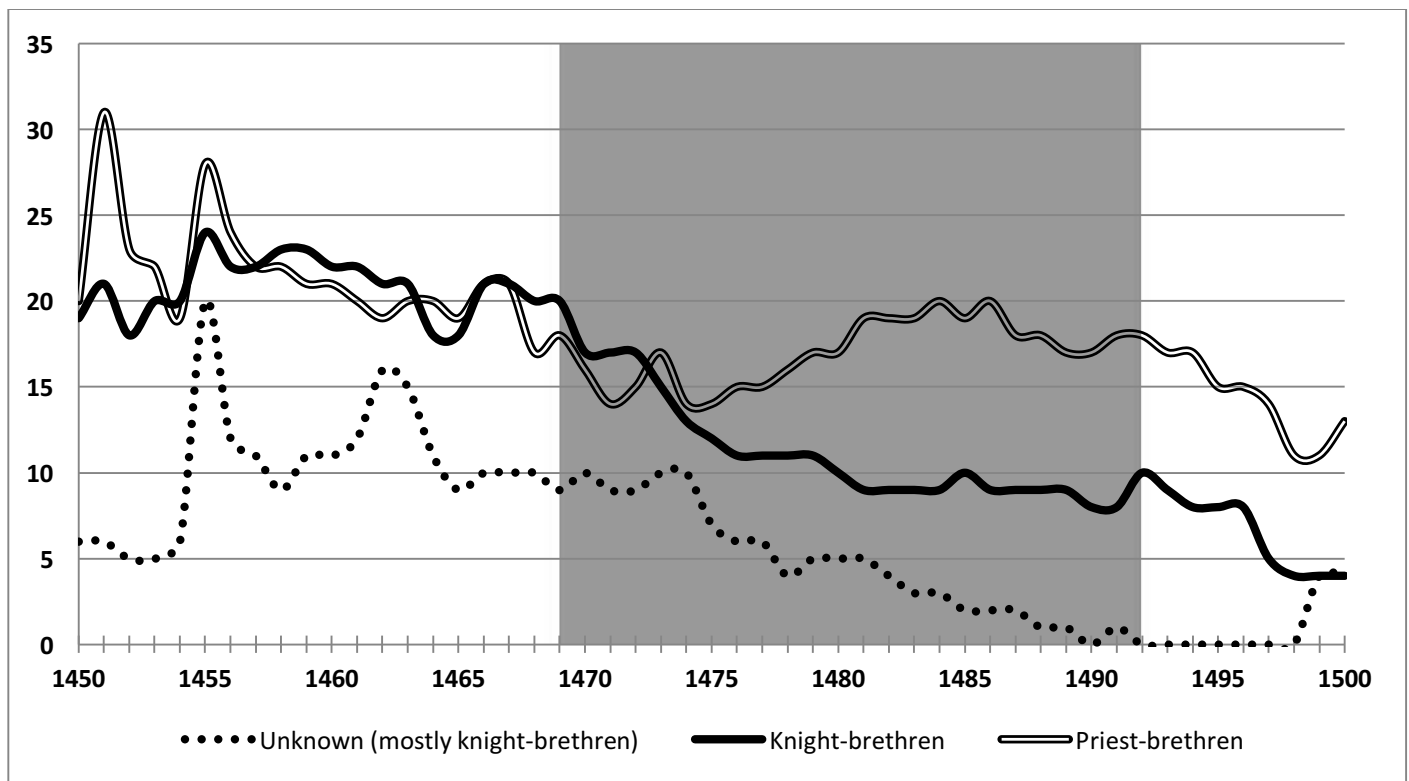


Figure 4.8 Number of recorded brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick. At the background the years in office of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen.¹¹³⁰

¹¹²⁷ Regarding this transformation in both Utrecht and elsewhere in the order: Mol, 'Toevluchtsoord'; Maschke, 'Inneren Wandlungen'.

¹¹²⁸ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 666-2.

¹¹²⁹ J.A. Mol, 'Trying to survive. The Military Orders in Utrecht, 1580-1620', in: J.A. Mol, K. Militzer and H.J. Nicholson eds., *The Military Orders and the Reformation*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Balije van Utrecht 3 (Hilversum: Verloren 2006) 181-207.

¹¹³⁰ Drawn from the data described in: Stapel, 'Onder dese ridders'.



Figure 4.9 Castle Zuilenburg or Ter Meer near Maarsse in Utrecht (Herman Saftleven, between 1619 and 1685. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

Besides the dramatic reduction in the number of knight-brethren under Johan van Drongelen's tenure, there was also a shift away from brethren from the Duchy of Guelders, towards those born in the County of Holland (Figure 4.10). In the twenty-three years before Drongelen was land commander (the precise length of his years in office), only a quarter of the new knight-brethren, including Drongelen himself, came from Holland, all of whom were raised in the eastern part of Holland, within ten kilometres from the border with Guelders; the latter accounted for 62 percent of the knight-brethren. During Drongelen's years in office this situation was diametrically altered. Of the knight-brethren whose names were first noted in the order's records during these twenty-three years, 64 percent were from the county that Drongelen was born in. The knight-brethren followed an earlier trend in which priest-brethren coming from Holland began to dominate the bailiwick already early in the fifteenth century and onwards.¹¹³¹ In the years following Drongelen's tenure, new knight-brethren predominantly came from Holland, although later in the sixteenth century a more balanced situation was established between brethren from Guelders, Utrecht and Holland.

¹¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 222, 224.

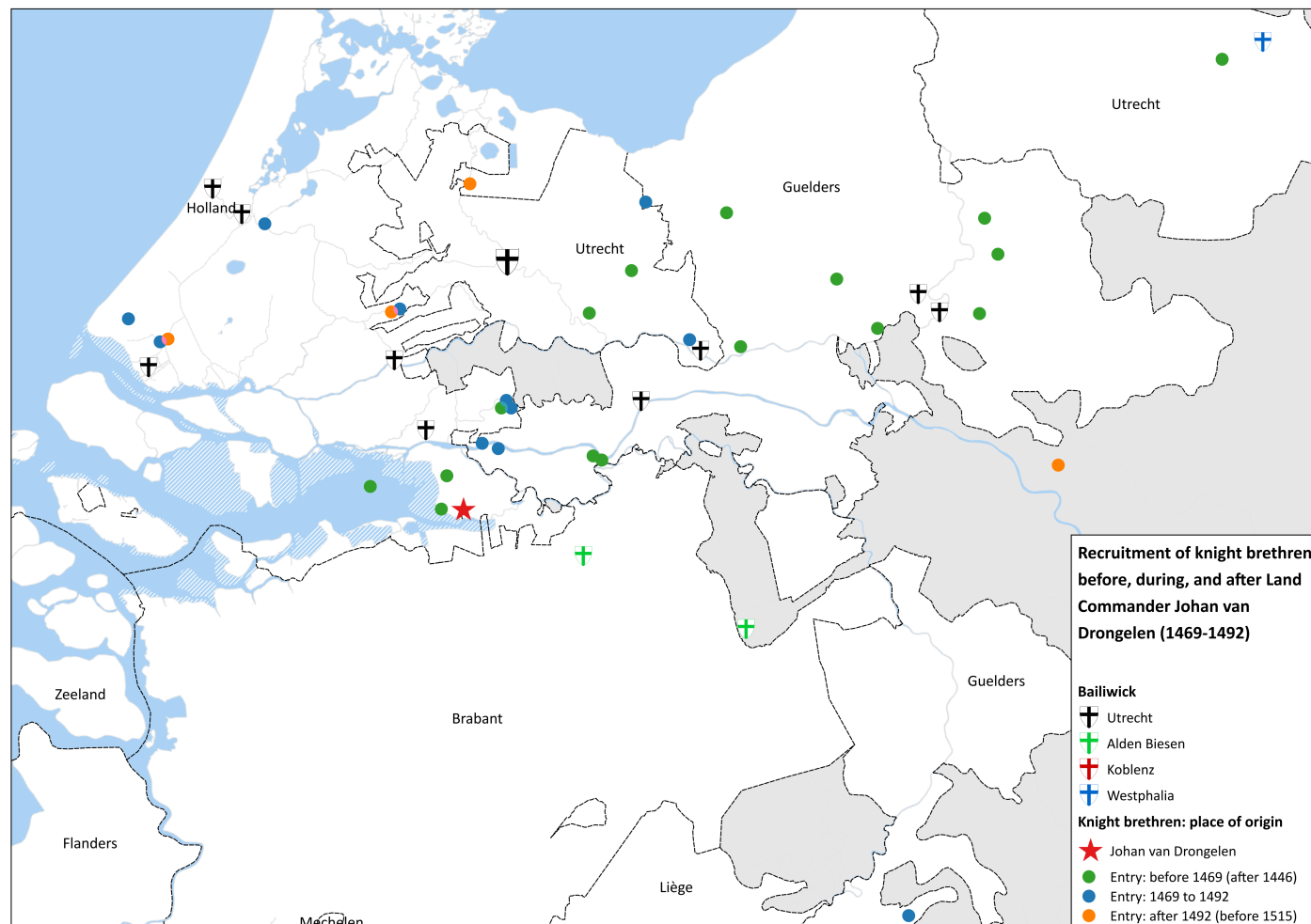


Figure 4.10 Provenance of new knight-brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick before, during and after the years in office of Johan van Drongelen.¹¹³²

These tendencies in the composition of the order's membership suggest that Drongelen made the position of knight-brother much more exclusive, and that he subsequently recruited his own confidants or sons of friends, young noblemen from the County of Holland, in the few open positions that remained. Drongelen may well have meant these changes to counteract the problems caused by the partisan strifes and the debt burden of the previous years, which was in part caused by an excess number of knight-brethren returning from the Baltic region and the huge costs involved to accommodate them. But it was also a clear attempt to reform the bailiwick, creating a smaller, leaner organization which could emphasize its noble stature and invest more in buildings and objects which were representable for noblemen. A smaller and leaner organization also meant that the bailiwick could be governed centrally by the land commander and the general chapter in Utrecht with more ease. In the handling of the Frisian brethren, but also

¹¹³² Only those brethren that were certainly or at least likely knight-brethren and of whom a place of origin could be determined or estimated with some certainty are included. Three equally sized time periods were selected. The following family names and/or toponyms are included: Almonde, Boetzelaer, Deelen, Drongelen, Dussen, Enghuizen, Fleringen, Hackfort, Lawick, Lichtenberg, Overhagen, Rossum (2x), Voorst, Wedichem, Zandwijk, Zuermont van Hinderstein (1446-1469); Boetzelaer (2x), Broekhuizen (van Brakel), Does, Dorp, Naaldwijk, Vliet, Vlodrop, Vuren, Wulf, Zuylen van Nijvelt (1469-1492); Amstel van Mijnden, Egmond van Merenstein, Hönnepel-Empel, Vliet (1492-1515).

in his own role in the partisan strifes of the 1440s and 1450s,¹¹³³ Drongelen showed how much importance he attached to obedience and the hierarchical, statutory organizational structure of the Teutonic Order.

Family and genealogy

It is fruitful to examine the increased emphasis of the noble character of the bailiwick in the light of Drongelen's personal upbringing and interests, as it becomes clear that he had a long history of being overly aware of his own (noble) family background and how to present this to the outside world. Such a personal preoccupation may have influenced his policies in the bailiwick. At the same time, the fact that Drongelen's personal interests correspond to genealogical, heraldic, and knightly interests shown in the *Croniken* strengthens the hypothesis that Johan van Drongelen was directly involved in the creation of the text.

First of all, very little is known about the family of Johan van Drongelen. The Drongelen family was a respectable noble family from the Land of Heusden, in the complex border region between Holland, Cleves, Brabant, and Guelders.¹¹³⁴ The family had sprung from the Lords of Heusden, who were the most important noble family of the region, but had died out in 1330.¹¹³⁵ The principal branch of the Drongelen family suffered the same fate when Johan III van Drongelen, namesake of our land commander, died in or around 1431. He had five daughters from two marriages, and at least two illegitimate sons.¹¹³⁶ As will become clear from what follows here, Johan van Drongelen was, in all likelihood, related to the principal branch of the Drongelen family. However, this link is not particularly close, despite of how Johan van Drongelen himself appeared it to be. To study both his family background and the way he presented this to the outside world, I will explore his personal use of heraldic symbols, the eight quarters painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht that represented his eight great-grandparents, and the invitation list to his ceremonial entry into the order that we briefly mentioned earlier (section 4.3, "Career").

¹¹³³ In 1456, Johan van Drongelen accepted Johan van Haefden as the new land commander, but not after much careful consideration and an adversarial procedure in which he consulted all concerned parties. In the letters, Drongelen showed to be a firm defender of correct procedures in accordance to the order's statutes and the governance structure of the bailiwick, in this case regarding the election of a new land commander. The importance attached to being obedient to your superior is also strongly present in the letters. De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven II*, nrs. 387–388.

¹¹³⁴ For a short political-geographical description of the Land of Heusden: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 3–11.

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 579–581.

¹¹³⁶ Janse mentions by name Katharina, Henrica, Hadewich and an illegitimate son Wouter: Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 443; A further illegitimate son, Willem, is found among the members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwen Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch: 's-Hertogenbosch, BHC, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, inv.nr. 118, f. 168r (1444); According to a transaction in 1425, this Willem is the oldest illegitimate son of Johan III van Drongelen: 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Klooster Het Hollandse Huis bij Geertruidenberg, R. 755; Johanna van Drongelen, who married Dirk van Waardenburg, may also have been a daughter of Johan III van Drongelen. Her sons are named as lords of the *heerlijkheid* and castle of Gansoyen, which was previously owned by Johan III van Drongelen's eldest daughter Katharina. Katharina inherited the castle from her mother Christina van der Oey. J.C. Kort, 'De lenen van de hertog van Brabant in en bij het Land van Heusden, 1312-1645', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 25-26 (2001-2002), there nrs. 10, 21. See Appendix, A.3 (genealogical tables), Figure A.17.



Figure 4.11 Land Commander Johan van Drongelen's coat of arms. *Croniken*, ms. *We*, f. 200v.

The coat of arms of land commander Johan van Drongelen as it is included in the *Croniken* consists of three parts (Figure 4.11). Heraldic right the cross of the Teutonic Order, left divided in two. Above is the coat of arms of an unknown branch of the Drongelen family – the main branch used either one silver wheel with six spokes against a blue background¹¹³⁷ or a coat of arms divided in four parts, with Drongelen (silver wheel against a blue background) in 1 and 4, Heusden (red wheel against a gold background) in 2 and 3.¹¹³⁸ Below in Johan van Drongelen's coat of arms is the coat of arms of the Merwede family, of which, apart from a couple of illegitimate children, Dirk van der Merwede (d. 1452) was the last male representative. Drongelen did not always use this tripartite coat of arms.

In fact, during his years in the Teutonic Order he changed the appearance of his seal and accompanying coat of arms at least

four times (Figures 4.12 to 4.15). In 1469, when he was discussing the conditions for his assumption of the position of land commander some weeks later, the Merwede coat of arms was still absent (Figure 4.12). A few years later, in 1475, Drongelen sealed with a coat of arms that was, barely visible, divided in four parts, with Drongelen in 1 and 4, Merwede in 2 and 3 (Figure 4.13; see also a reconstruction in Figure 4.16). One year later he had introduced the division in two, with the order's cross (Figure 4.14). In 1481, a more stylized version with two lions as supporters was used (Figure 4.15).

¹¹³⁷ E.g. Willem van Drongelen, knight: Dordrecht, Regionaal Archief, Heilige Geest- en Pesthuis ter Grote Kerk, inv.nr. 41 (6 March 1367).

¹¹³⁸ E.g. Johan III van Drongelen, lord of Meeuwen: 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Heerlijkheid Eethen en Meeuwen, inv.nr. 219 (1416).



Figure 4.12 Johan van Drongelen as commander of Middelburg (1469).¹¹³⁹



Figure 4.13 Johan van Drongelen as land commander (1475).¹¹⁴⁰



Figure 4.14 Johan van Drongelen as land commander (1476).¹¹⁴¹



Figure 4.15 Johan van Drongelen as land commander (1481).¹¹⁴²

¹¹³⁹ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 249; Based on the seals and charters collected by: J.H. de Vey Mestdagh and J.A. de Boo, *Liber Sigillorum. De zegels in het archief van de Ridderlijke Deutsche Orde Balije van Utrecht, 1200-1811* (Utrecht; Haren: Ridderlijke Deutsche Orde, Balije van Utrecht; Knoop & Niemeijer 1995). In this study no duplicates have been included. Furthermore, the authors chose to include the most intact examples, not necessarily their first appearance. This is important to note when piecing together a timeline of the transformation of Drongelen's coat of arms. The only applied seal, top right, was overlooked.

¹¹⁴⁰ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv. nr. 255.

¹¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, inv. nr. 1353.

¹¹⁴² *Ibid.*, inv. nr. 490.

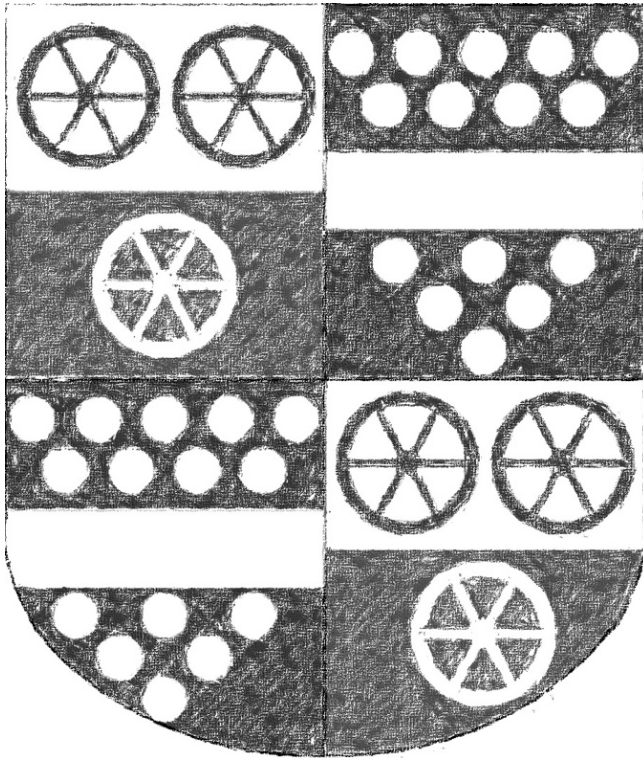


Figure 4.16 Reconstruction of the coat of arms of Johan Drongelen, used in an applied seal in 1475 (Figure 4.13). Figure 4.17 Seal of Robrecht van Drongelen Petersz., 1474.¹¹⁴³

In order to explain his combination of the Drongelen and Merwede coats of arms, it has been suggested that Johan van Drongelen, the land commander, was the son of Odilia van der Merwede, female heir of the estate of a branch of the important noble family Merwede in the County of Holland, and Robrecht van Drongelen, a member of the Eethen-branch of the Drongelen family.¹¹⁴⁴ It has since been noted that Robrecht van Drongelen, however, was never married to Odilia van der Merwede, but rather – possibly because of opportunistic motives¹¹⁴⁵ – acted as her legal guardian.¹¹⁴⁶

Moreover, I have since also been able to confirm that Odilia van Merwede was not the mother of Johan van Drongelen; his mother is actually mentioned in the previously mentioned transfer in 1462 of his maternal inheritance to the commandery of Schelluinen, where she is referred to as “joncfrouwe Adriaen,” with ‘jonkvrouw’ denoting a noble background.¹¹⁴⁷ In the accompanying charter in the archive of the counts of Nassau, she is referred to as Adriana van Veen, daughter of Jan van Veen and Liesbeth, daughter of Jan Buys. She was married to a certain Rutger Noydensz. van An del,

¹¹⁴³ Dordrecht, RA, Heilige Geest- en Pesthuis ter Grote Kerk, inv.nr. 44; See also, signing as alderman of Breda in 1453: ‘s-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Beneficie van Meer in de kerk van Breda, inv.nr. 13.

¹¹⁴⁴ For example: J.J. de Geer van Oudegein, *Register der overheden en leden van de Utrechtsche Balije der Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, mitsgaders edele en aanzienlijke geslachten vermeld in de archieven dier Balije* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon 1899) xiv.

¹¹⁴⁵ Robrecht van Drongelen had gained quite a reputation for being relentless in pursuit of his objectives and not shun of intimidation. His motives for acting as a legal guardian were therefore, it seems, not purely altruistic. In 1458 he bought the estate of Odilia van der Merwede to become lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, Babyloniënbroek, and Drongelen himself. W. de Vries, ‘De heerlijkheid Zijdwinde’, *De Brabantse Leeuw* 12 (1963) 35–40, there passim, especially 37; Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 579–581, 622–624; J.C. Kort, ‘Repertorium op de grafelijke lenen in het Land van Heusden, 1250-1648’, *Ons Voorgeslacht* 50 (1995) 236–245, there nr. 13.

¹¹⁴⁶ J.P. de Man, ‘Odilia van de Merwede (“une pucelle de plus de cinquante ans”)', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 57 (1939) 64–69; There are strong indications that Robrecht did not have purely altruistic motives in taking on this role. De Vries, ‘De heerlijkheid Zijdwinde’, passim, especially 37; Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 579–581, 622–624.

¹¹⁴⁷ De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven II*, nr. 501.

who is however never mentioned as Johan van Drongelen's father.¹¹⁴⁸ Both An del and Veen are small neighbouring villages in the Land of Heusden (Figure 4.18). Neither were important noble families in the region, both, like the Buys family, rather belonging to the village elites, although the Veen family probably had a higher standing than Noydensz. (van An del).¹¹⁴⁹

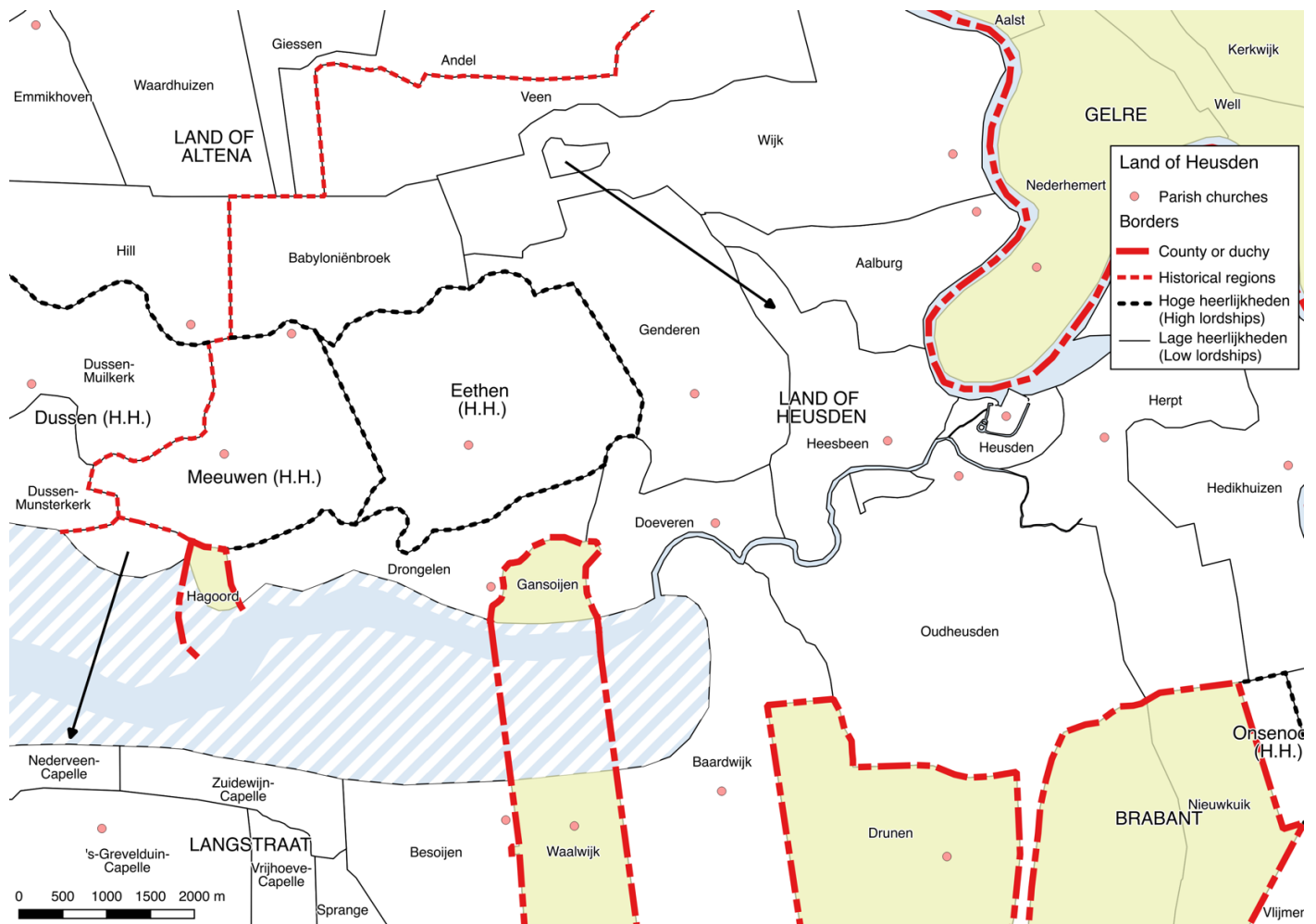


Figure 4.18 Map of the administrative-judicial boundaries in the Land of Heusden (and surrounding areas) in the County of Holland, around 1500.

Rutger Noydensz. van An del and Adriana van Veen are first mentioned together, as husband and wife, in 1415. In that year they acted as guarantees to a new buyer of the half tithe of the nearby village of Babylonienbroek, previously a

¹¹⁴⁸ Drossaers, *Nassauschen domeinraad* 1.5 Repertorium op de leenregisters van de Lek en Polanen 1309-1576 en index op het eerste deel I-IV, nrs. 490–491; For the transition of part of this inheritance from Liesbeth Jan Buysdr. to the commanders of Schel-luinen: B.W. van Schijndel, 'Oorkonden betreffende Zuidewijn', *Taxandria. Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantse geschiedenis en volkskunde* 46 (1939) 300–308; and also Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 412.

¹¹⁴⁹ Regarding the family of Jan van Veen, see below (e.g. note 1182) and F. Beelaerts van Blokland, 'Extract uyt de genealogie van de familie Van Veen, gesprooten uyt den huysse van Heusden', *Taxandria. Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantse geschiedenis en volkskunde* 7 (1900) 196–204; It is not certain whether "An del" was a family name or just a toponym. There is however a family called Noydens (or other spelling variations thereof) in the Land of Heusden. The name originally meant "son of Arnold", but it moved into the direction of a sometimes more, sometimes less fixed family name: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, passim, particularly 123–124; for the presence of the family name in neighbouring Land of Altana (which included the village An del): K.N. Korteweg, *Rechtsbronnen van Woudrichem en het Land van Altana. Werken der Vereeniging tot Uitgave der Bronnen van het Oude Vaderlandsche Recht*, gevestigd te Utrecht 14 (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon 1948) nrs. 140–141, 159, 226; Regarding the family of Jan Buys: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 760–761.

leasehold of one of the brothers of Adriana, a certain Peter van Giessen, in case legal action would damage the conditions of the sale.¹¹⁵⁰ I have been unable to find evidence suggesting that Rutger Noydensz. van An del was related in any direct way to the noble family Drongelen, or to the Merwede family.¹¹⁵¹ His coat of arms, however, showed a chief bearing two wheels with six spokes, very similar to that of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen, but without the third wheel in the field of the coat of arms that represented the main branch of the Drongelen family at the time (Figure 4.19; compare also Robrecht van Drongelen's coat of arms in Figure 4.17). The portent of this correspondence, however, is uncertain, since many members of the lower nobility in the Land of Heusden carried one or more six-spoke wheels in their coat of arms, which was originally the coat of arms of the Heusden family, as well as the Drongelen family.



Figure 4.19 Seal of Rutger Noydensz. van An del.¹¹⁵²

If there is no connection to Odilia van der Merwede, why then did Johan van Drongelen begin to use the Merwede coat of arms halfway through his career, associating himself with that family? The principal branch of the Drongelen family was indeed related to the Merwede family: Willem van Drongelen (d. <1376), lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, and Drongelen, was married to Hadewich van der Merwede (d. 1394).¹¹⁵³ As I will show shortly, Willem and Hadewich were probably Johan van Drongelen's great-grandparents. In addition, Johan van Drongelen's grandfather at his mother's side, Jan van Veen, was a kinsman of Willem van der Merwede, probably a brother of Hadewich.¹¹⁵⁴ Willem and Hadewich's father, Daniel V van der Merwede (d. 1345), lord of the Merwede, was Johan van Drongelen's great-great-grandfather. Such a connection is rather weak, which questions the

validity of appropriating the Merwede coat of arms. In any case, there is no event in the Merwede family history that

¹¹⁵⁰ 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Kloosters Mariënkroon en Mariëndonk in Heusden, inv.nrs. 169G–L, in particular 169I; See also: Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 412; A further brother, named Arnout van Wijk, owned the house and manor at Veen: Kort, 'Repertorium grafelijke lenen Heusden', 244.

¹¹⁵¹ The closest connection between the family names is that in 1369, a piece of land in Drongelen was transferred from a certain "Arnout Jan Noydensz. van Drongelen" to Hessel van Drongelen. J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Hagestein in het Land van Heusden, 1262-1797', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 50 (1995), there nr. 6.

¹¹⁵² 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, Kloosters Mariënkroon en Mariëndonk in Heusden, inv.nr. 169L (25 March 1415); Note the similarities to the coat of arms of a Adriaan Jan Noydensz, in which the chief is identical, but the shield bears three pales of vair: Dordrecht, RA, Heilige Geest- en Pesthuis ter Grote Kerk, inv.nr. 45 (26 August 1477).

¹¹⁵³ Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 349.

¹¹⁵⁴ The kinship relation between Willem van der Merwede and Jan van Veen could have come from their mothers, who both may have been members of the Both van der Eem family. For more detail, see Appendix, Figure A.16 to Figure A.21. J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de heerlijkheid Dussen Muilkerk, 1380-1771', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 31 (1976) 129–134, there nr. 1; Willem van der Merwede was a son of Daniel V van der Merwede (d. 1345) and a brother of Daniel VI van der Merwede (d. >1379). He was lord of Dussen-Muilkerk. J. Hendriks and T. van der Aalst, *Dussen. Van woontoren tot kasteel-raadhuis* (Dussen: Gemeente Dussen 1985) 3; Regarding the main branch of the Merwede family: W.H. Lenselink, 'De heren van der Merwede, 1243-1403', *Hollandse studiën* 3 (1972) 7–66; I have not been able to find direct evidence that Hadewich van der Merwede was a daughter of Daniel V van der Merwede (and thus a sister of Willem van der Merwede) but this is generally assumed. For instance: B. de Keijzer, 'Van Langerak - Van Zuylen. Mededelingen over twee middeleeuwse geslachten', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 111 (1994) 362–373, there 364.

could explain why Drongelen, somewhere between 1469 and 1475, started to use their coat of arms. Their last legitimate male representative had died many years before, and his two daughters were still alive when Drongelen started to use the Merwede coat of arms, although they both died very shortly afterwards, in 1476 and 1477.¹¹⁵⁵ The only apparent difference is that by 1475, Drongelen had taken up the office of land commander.

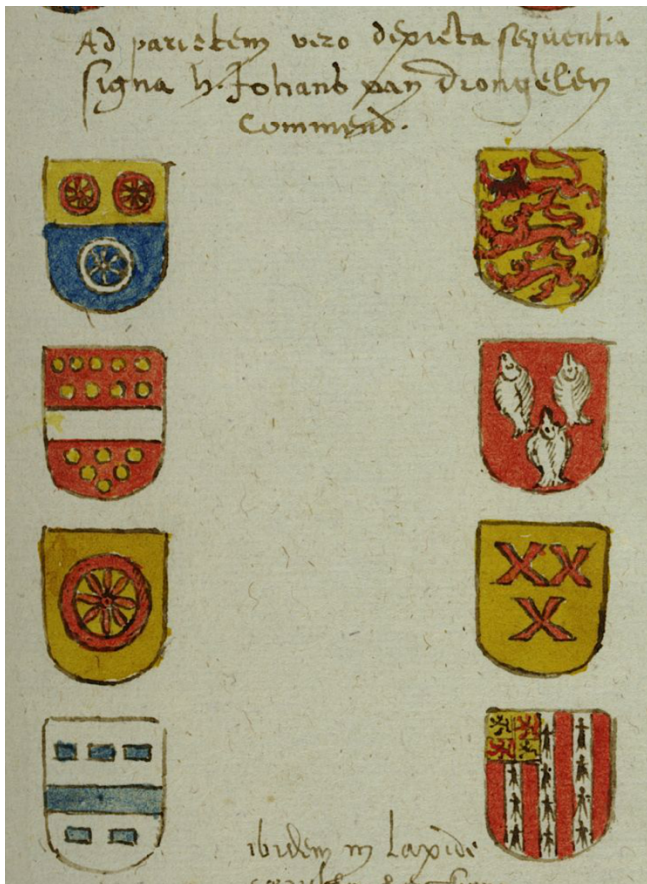


Figure 4.20 The coats of arms of Drongelen's family tree, painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht. Documented by Aernout van Buchel in the seventeenth century.¹¹⁵⁶

A further piece of evidence for Drongelen's family background are the eight coats of arms belonging to the family tree of Johan van Drongelen, painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, and documented in the seventeenth century (Figure 4.20). They represent Drongelen's eight great-grandparents and show, on the paternal side (right) from top to bottom: Drongelen (unknown branch), Merwede, Heusden?¹¹⁵⁷, and Wendelnesse; on the maternal side: Veen, Both van der Eem, Strijen?¹¹⁵⁸, and Uten Houte.¹¹⁵⁹ If we use the eight quarters to create a family tree, we come to the following reconstruction (Figure 4.21).

All eight families were important noble families in the Land of Heusden and the areas immediately to the south, the Langstraat and Barony of Breda. Most of the listed families had already died out in the male line when they were drawn on the wall of the church. The fact that the eight coats of arms represent families which were local to the area Drongelen grew up in, but whose family names were

no longer in use by the late-fifteenth century, argues in favour of the possibility that they were drawn on instigation of Drongelen himself – and not likely added by someone else at a much later stage. Moreover, the coat of arms of

¹¹⁵⁵ De Man, 'Odilia van de Merwede', 69; J.P. de Man, 'De nakomelingen van Heer Dirck van de Merwede', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 59 (1941) 320–329; 357–367.

¹¹⁵⁶ A. van Buchel, K. Smit (translator), *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Traiectinae urbis atque agri inventa* (around 1617) 172 (f. 90v) (detail) <<http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/handschriften/buchelius/monumenta>> [accessed 2 May 2016].

¹¹⁵⁷ The wheel of Heusden is found all over the Land of Heusden, for instance in the coats of arms of Aalburg, Andel, Baardwijk, Craijenstein, Doeveren, Drongelen, Eethen, Elshout, Hedikhuizen, Heesbeen, Nieuwkuijk, Onsenoort, Oudheusden, Sluis, Spiering, Wiel, and Wijk. Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 'Heraldische Databank' search term "wiel" <<http://www.heraldischedatabank.nl/>> [accessed 2 May 2016].

¹¹⁵⁸ Variants of the Strijen coat of arms (especially in different colours) are used by local families such as Almonde, Besoijen, Drimmelen, Dubbelmonde, Putte, Wioldrecht, Zevenbergen, and Zijdwinde. *Ibid.*, search terms "drie schuinkruisjes."

¹¹⁵⁹ The coat of arms of Uten Houte should contain, quartered in the canton, the Brabant and Limburg lions. Instead, here the Holland and Hainaut lions were drawn, perhaps by Aernout van Buchel by mistake. Regarding the Uten Houte family: C.R. Hermans, 'Het adelijk geslacht Uten Houte of Van den Houte te Etten', in: C.R. Hermans, *Geschiedkundig mengelwerk over de provincie Noord-Brabant 2* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Demelinne 1841) 249–255.

Drongelen's mother, Adriana van Veen, is correct and correctly placed in the hierarchy, whereas genealogies from at least the seventeenth century onwards assume that his mother was Odilia van der Merwede.¹¹⁶⁰

However, it is not clear whether the eight quarters painted on the wall of the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht are completely accurate. Nor is it clear whether, by the time Aernout van Buchel documented the coats of arms in the early seventeenth century, the coats of arms did still represent their original, fifteenth-century form (particularly in terms of colour).¹¹⁶¹ Drongelen too may have invented elements. It would not be the last time Drongelen was involved in manipulating genealogies. At the end of his life he was invited to produce statements attesting the noble descent of Gijsbert van Stoutenburg.¹¹⁶² Stoutenburg was professor at Mainz and counsellor in Bavaria and later became a Utrecht canon. According to Drongelen, he was related to the long extinct noble family Woerden. There is little apparent historical foundation for this claim and it appears to have been exaggerated or even invented.¹¹⁶³

Large parts of the family tree cannot be corroborated by archival documents. For instance, the identity and family background of Johan van Drongelen's paternal grandmother is practically unknown. Furthermore, it is not clear, perhaps even questionable, whether Jan and Liesbeth Buys did use a coat of arms with three saltires – identical to that of the important Strijen family. Nor can it be confirmed whether all people identified in the family tree were actively – and consistently – using heraldic symbols to denote their family affiliation at all. Assigning them each with coats of arms may have been an anachronism.¹¹⁶⁴

Yet, there are also parts for which some corroboration can be found in the sources. For one, the eight quarters suggest that the mother of Jan van Veen was a member of the Both van der Eem family. Given that, as we have seen, Jan van Veen and Willem van der Merwede regarded themselves as kinsmen, and that the mother of Willem van der Merwede was Johanna Both van der Eem,¹¹⁶⁵ there may indeed have been a maternal link between the two. The eight quarters also suggest a marriage between a male member of the Drongelen family and a female member of the Merwede

¹¹⁶⁰ E.g.: M. Balen Janszoon, *Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht, vervatende haar begin, opkomst, toeneming, en verdere stant...* (Dordrecht: Symon Onder de Linde 1677) 1108.

¹¹⁶¹ A specific complicating factor is that the paintwork of the eight coats of arms may have started to flake, which may have encouraged others to restore and repaint. This can perhaps be deduced from the coat of arms of (a branch of) the Wendelnesse or Nederveen family (bottom left), which is drawn by Aernout van Buchel in grey-blue – used by Buchel to indicate uncoloured stonework. Compare for instance Van Buchel, *Monumenta*, f. 21v. In reality, the coat of arms has a fess in red and five green billets (3-2) on a shield of silver. It is possible that the coat of arms of the Wendelnesse or Nederveen family on the wall of the church originally displayed these colours as well. In that case, the fact that this coat of arms – only this one – was drawn without using colours by Buchel, can be interpreted as evidence that the other coats of arms in the composition – that *do* display colours – were either construed by Buchel or retouched. In both instances, it is possible that the colours used by Buchel were not original. This is especially of importance for the Heusden and Strijen coats of arms, for which many coloured variants existed (see notes 1157 and 1158).

¹¹⁶² Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Verzameling Van Buchel - Booth, inv. nr. 524.

¹¹⁶³ B. van Hoven van Genderen, *De heren van de kerk. De kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers 1997) 237.

¹¹⁶⁴ Hoppenbrouwers, who studied the family relationships of the village elites in the Land of Heusden did not, unfortunately, study their use of heraldry. Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*. Late-fourteenth-century seals of aldermen in the nearby town of Heusden, show at least that heraldic symbols were being used in this area. The online database of seals in the archives held by the Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum (BHIC) in 's-Hertogenbosch contains many examples from Heusden (<http://www.bhic.nl/onderzoeken/zegels/>).

¹¹⁶⁵ Lenselink, 'Heren van der Merwede', 12.

family, who would have been great-grandparents of Johan van Drongelen. This can only point to the aforementioned Willem van Drongelen and Hadewich van der Merwede, which also fits well chronologically, and it implies that Johan van Drongelen was affiliated with the main branch of the Drongelen family.

In turn, it implies that Johan van Drongelen's paternal grandfather was either a brother of the eponymous Johan III van Drongelen and his sister Johanna, or Johan III van Drongelen himself (in which case Drongelen's father was born out of wedlock).¹¹⁶⁶ One hypothesis is that the paternal grandfather of Johan van Drongelen is a certain, otherwise unknown, Hillijn van Drongelen. The Utrecht bailiwick archive contains a charter, dated 1419, stating that Volcwijf, widow of Hillijn, promises to leave her inheritance with their children, except for two pieces of land in Meeuwen and Waardhuizerbroek which she will be able to use for herself.¹¹⁶⁷ It is not clear why the bailiwick archive owns this charter, although a relation with Land Commander Johan van Drongelen seems the most obvious scenario. The registers of fiefs in the area do not mention Hillijn van Drongelen and only refer to Volcwijf indirectly.¹¹⁶⁸ The pieces of land in Meeuwen and Waardhuizerbroek cannot be traced as well, although it is interesting that one of the few pieces of land in the Waardhuizerbroek was registered to the family Wendelnesse – according to Drongelen's family tree the mother of Volcwijf would have been a member of this family.¹¹⁶⁹ A validation of this hypothesis cannot be offered, however.

Although there is no substantive evidence for reconstructing Johan van Drongelen's paternal family, his descent from Willem van Drongelen as suggested by the eight quarters is tenable. This is emphasized most clearly by the close relationship between Johan van Drongelen and the descendants of the sister of his paternal grandfather, Johanna van Drongelen, who was married to Gijsbert van Langerak.¹¹⁷⁰ Four of the direct descendants of Gijsbert and Johanna (and three more associated by marriage) were invited to his entrance ceremony into the Teutonic Order, among many

¹¹⁶⁶ There are at least two known illegitimate sons of Johan III van Drongelen. Janse mentions an illegitimate son Wouter: Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 443; A further illegitimate son, Willem, is found among the members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwen Broederschap in 's Hertogenbosch: 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, inv.nr. 118, f. 168r (1444); According to a transaction in 1425, this Willem is the oldest illegitimate son of Johan III van Drongelen: 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, Klooster Het Hollandse Huis bij Geertruidenberg, R. 755; Illegitimacy was not allowed in the Teutonic Order, as the *Croniken* itself points out, but nonetheless occurred at times, at least on one occasion after special dispensation from the pope. The *Croniken* mentions Land Commander Dirk van Holland, according to the *Croniken* illegitimate son of Count William II of Holland, German king at the time, who received special dispensation of the pope "as they [i.e. the brethren] would not refuse the important prince": *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.755; Priest-brother Simon Jansz van Naaldwijk, commander and parish priest of Leiden from 1421-1445, was an illegitimate child of nobleman Jan van Polanen: J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van Gerard en Willem van Polanen, 1375-1616', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 36 (1981) 346–352, there 346; Note his seal, with the Polanen coat of arms and a baton sinister, signifying an illegitimate birth: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2003.

¹¹⁶⁷ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 3104.

¹¹⁶⁸ Two pieces of land in Meeuwen were described as being adjacent to the piece of land in use by Volcwijf: J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Meeuwen, 1366-1650', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 22-23 (1998-1999), there nrs. 93, 113; A quarter of the tithe of Drongelen was registered to a Hendrik van Drongelen, son of Hillijn. He cannot be traced further. J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Gansoyen, 1374-1729 (1776)', *Ons Voorgeslacht* 51 (1996) 548–589, there nr. 45; A second quarter of the tithe was registered to a certain Hessel van Drongelen: *Ibid.*, nr. 44. The registers are edited and available via <http://www.hogenda.nl/hogenda-leenkamers/>.

¹¹⁶⁹ J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Uitwijk, 1337-1664', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 30 (2006), there nr. 60; For other fiefs in the Waardhuizerbroek: J.C. Kort, 'Repertorium op de lenen van de hofstede Altena, 1232-1650', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bommelerwaard* 19-21 (1995-1997) 82–91, there nrs. 213–219.

¹¹⁷⁰ De Keijzer, 'Van Langerak - Van Zuylen', 364; P.G.F. Vermast, 'De Heeren van Goye. Deel III: De heerlijkheid Langherake en de heeren van Langherake', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* LXVII (1950) 165–177, 194–229, 236–251, there 221.

other family members.¹¹⁷¹ Johan van Drongelen also signed, as a family member of the bride, the marriage agreement between Kunigonde van Boetzelaer, great-granddaughter of Gijsbert van Langerak and Johanna van Drongelen, and Hendrik Valkenaar in 1471.¹¹⁷² The brother of Kunigonde, Michiel van Boetzelaer, was listed as a member of the Teutonic Order in 1455, together with Johan van Drongelen.¹¹⁷³

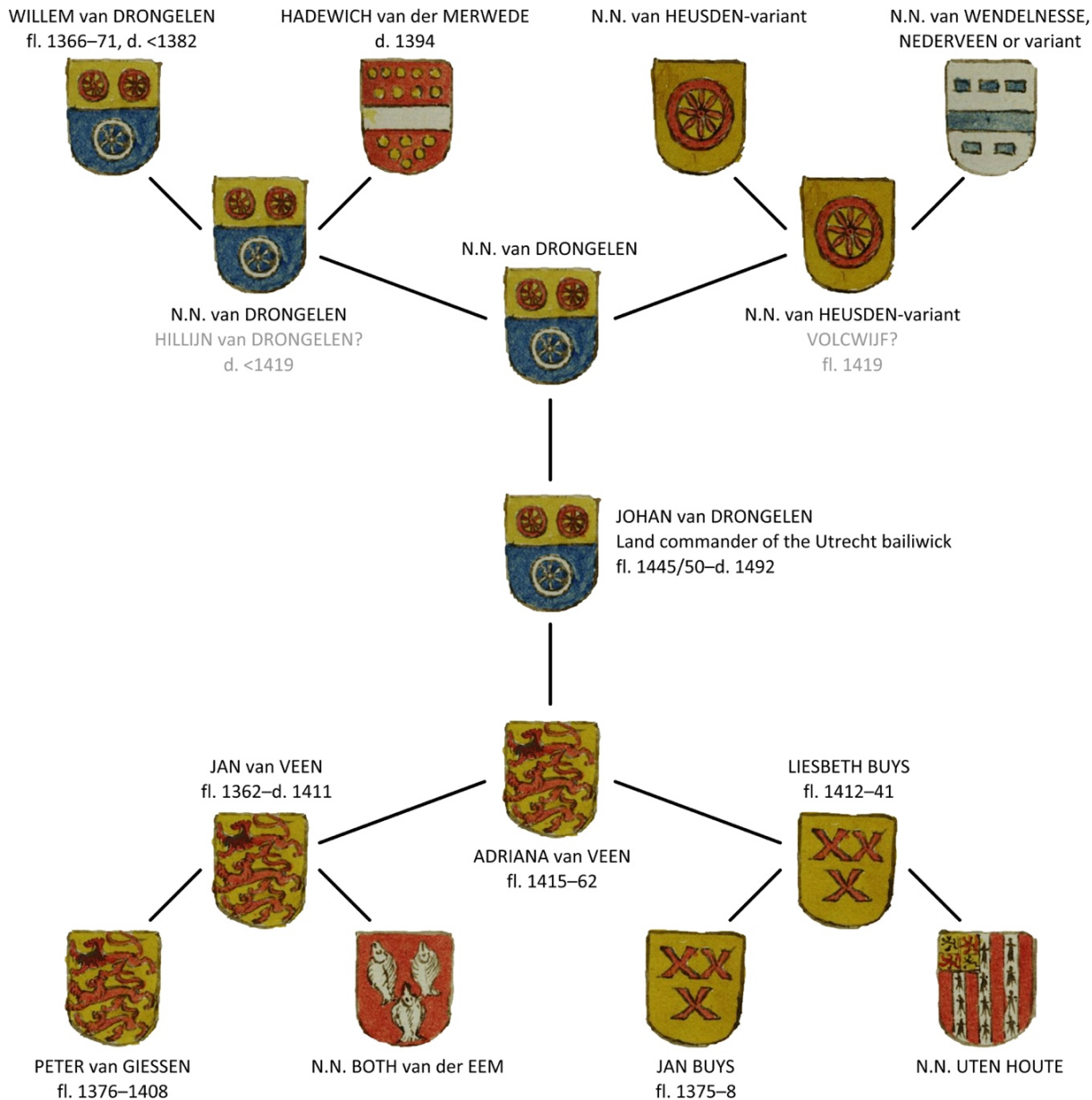


Figure 4.21 Conjectural family tree of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen by combining the eight quarters painted in the church of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht and archival documents.

¹¹⁷¹ These concern their children Willem van Langerak (or his eponymous son) and Margriet van Langerak (and her husband Willem de Rover van Montfoort, lord of Zwieten). Furthermore, their granddaughter Elburg van Langerak and her daughter Kunigonde van Boetzelaer were also invited, just like Margaretha van Doornik (granddaughter of Gijsbert van Langerak, but possibly from an earlier marriage) and her husband Gerrit van Poelgeest. Either the husband of Margaretha’s sister Aleid van Doornik or their eponymous son, Floris van Kijfhoek, also features on the list. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 251; For the genealogy of the Langerak family: De Keijzer, ‘Van Langerak - Van Zuylen’; Vermast, ‘De Heeren van Goye: Langherake’.

¹¹⁷² The Hague, Hoge Raad van Adel, Familie van Mathenesse, inv.nr. 344.

¹¹⁷³ J.W. des Tombe and C.W.L. van Boetzelaer, *Het geslacht Van den Boetzelaer. De historische ontwikkeling van de rechtspositie en de staatkundige invloed van een belangrijk riddermatig geslacht* (Assen: Van Gorcum 1969) 147; De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven II*, nr. 371.

The conjectural family tree of Johan van Drongelen seems to be consistent with, or at least not rule out, the kindred relations that can be reconstructed from the list of invitees to his ceremonial entry. Yet, at the same time both sources starkly contrast with each other, in terms of the type of social circles that are addressed. When Johan van Drongelen entered the Teutonic Order in the second half of the 1440s, he invited almost ninety persons to his entry ceremony: “These are those who would be present at Johan van Drongelen’s ceremonial entry since they were his kinsmen, and others” (Appendix, Table A.11).¹¹⁷⁴ The list included the bishop of Utrecht and a handful of other prelates from Utrecht, around two dozens of noblemen from the County of Holland and even a few more from the Prince-Bishopric of Utrecht, as well as over thirty noblewomen. Some of these invitees (or attendees; this is not clear) are clearly invited because of their function (the steward of the castle of Heusden for instance), but the majority seem to belong to the kindred (‘maagschap’) of Johan van Drongelen.¹¹⁷⁵ I don’t know of any similar lists of invitees. References to ceremonial entries into the Teutonic Order, certainly in the medieval period, are very rare, let alone that we know who attended these ceremonies.¹¹⁷⁶ Perhaps comparable, the letters and statements regarding invitations to marriages of members of the entourage of the Burgundian dukes, which Werner Paravicini edited, include no equivalent documents.¹¹⁷⁷

For the analysis of the list of invitees, I have focussed on the group of noblemen and -women from the County of Holland, as this group is most likely to provide family links to Johan van Drongelen, who grew up in the Land of Heusden in the southeast corner of the County of Holland. Having said that, among the group of noblemen and -women from Utrecht too, some family connections were found.¹¹⁷⁸ Not all individuals were properly identified, nor was it always clear how some individuals were to be linked to other family members of the list. In the end, I was able to reconstruct three descent groups (for references and details, see the genealogical tables in the Appendix, Figure A.16 to Figure A.21). In these three descent groups there is no distinction between female and male lineages. We can therefore speak of cognatic descent groups. It is likely that these three descent groups can be expanded and linked to each other, but I have not been able to connect these any further.

The first group comprised of descendants of Willem van Drongelen and his wife Hadewich van der Merwede, which included members of the Drongelen, Langerak, Waardenburg, Montfoort, Boetzelaer, Doornik, Kijfhoek, and Poelgeest families. With two exceptions, these are related to Johan van Drongelen to the third degree (in a Germanic-canonical

¹¹⁷⁴ “Dit sijn die gene tot Jans cledinghe van Drongelen souden wesen als daer hi maech toe is et cetera.”: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 251.

¹¹⁷⁵ Regarding kindred relationships in the context of the County of Holland, see P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, ‘Maagschap en vriendschap. Een beschouwing over de structuur en functies van verwantschaps- betrekkingen in het laat-middeleeuwse Holland’, *Holland. Regionaal-historisch Tijdschrift* 17. Hollandse studiën (1985) 69–108; H. Brand, *Over macht en overwicht. Stedelijke elites in Leiden (1420-1510)*. Studies in urban social, economic and political history of the medieval and modern Low Countries 6 (Leuven: Garant 1996) 273–301.

¹¹⁷⁶ On some occasions information regarding the entry of new brethren is recorded, but these do not give much information on the ceremony itself. Stapel, ‘Priests in the military orders’, 108, 121–122.

¹¹⁷⁷ W. Paravicini, ‘Invitations au mariage. Pratique sociale, abus de pouvoir, intérêt de l’État à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne au XVe siècle’, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 139 (1995) 687–711.

¹¹⁷⁸ The Utrecht family of Kronenburg was related by marriage to that of Drongelen; Willem de Rover van Montfoort was married to Margaretha van Langerak, daughter of Johanna van Drongelen; the Drakenburg family was related to the Herlaar family, who is prominently present in the cognatic descent group of Johan van Drongelen. Regarding the Drakenburg family: J.C. Kort (+), ‘Repertorium op de lenen en tinsen van de Abdij Sint Paulus, 1221-1667’ (2010), there nr. 7A <<http://www.hogenda.nl/hogenda-leenkamers/?id=9768>> [accessed 2 May 2016].

system)¹¹⁷⁹, making them actually his closest family members on the list. Although not certain, it is likely that all other invitees were at least four degrees removed from Johan van Drongelen. The second group consisted of descendants of Jan van Herlaar, lord of Ameide. Since his two daughters married two brothers of the Vianen family, descendants of these two brothers (the branch Vianen-Noordeloos and the lords of Brederode) were prominently listed on top of the list of invitees. Other branches of the Vianen family (Bevenweerd, Rijsenburg, Jaarsveld) were separated from the main branch before the double marriage between Vianen and Herlaar, and they are therefore absent from Johan van Drongelen's list of kindred. A third, smaller group brought together descendants of Willem van Besoyen, which included Beatrix van Dongen, the wife of Gerard van Assendelft, who is elsewhere mentioned as Johan van Drongelen's brother-in-law (here to be interpreted as 'kinsman by marriage').¹¹⁸⁰

It should be noted that the list, in contrast to the eight quarters on the wall of the Utrecht church, seems to be more ancestor-oriented and less ego-oriented. In this regard, the appropriation of the Merwede coat of arms, which emphasizes Drongelen's descent from Daniel V van der Merwede, can be understood more clearly as well. The sharpest confirmation of the ancestor-oriented approach can be found in the fact that Johan van Drongelen's maternal family, as well as his most direct paternal family (first and second degree) are completely absent.¹¹⁸¹ One may wonder why this is the case. Drongelen's maternal family provides a clear example of upward social mobility in the Land of Heusden; outgrowing the level of village elites and moving towards knightly status. Jan van Veen's grandfather was a parochial vicar in the village of Babyloniënbroek, but his sister married into a knightly family and at least two female members of the family were referred to as 'jonkvrouw', denoting a noble background.¹¹⁸² Yet, despite of the upward social trend it is difficult to consider the family as fully knightly or noble. None of its members or direct affiliates were manorial lords for instance. In addition, there are no indications that the trend of upward social mobility of the family was continued – next generations cannot be easily traced in the registers of fiefs in the area for instance¹¹⁸³ – which suggests that the family blended into other families and ceased to exist as an identifiable unit.¹¹⁸⁴ The family's upward trend both culminates and ends with the grandson of Jan van Veen, Johan van Drongelen himself, who clearly had, rather successfully, moved into the upper echelons of the nobility of the County of Holland and the Bishopric of Utrecht.

¹¹⁷⁹ Hoppenbrouwers, 'Maagschap en vriendschap', 84–85.

¹¹⁸⁰ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 486; Stapel, 'Priests in the military orders', 134.

¹¹⁸¹ Three male members of branches of the Drongelen family are named: Hendrik and Robrecht van Drongelen, brothers, and Hessel van Drongelen. Given what we know of their parents (see Appendix, Figure A.19 and Figure A.21) and the limited knowledge of Johan van Drongelen's parents, none of these three could have been first or second degree relatives of his.

¹¹⁸² Members of the family are alternately called "van Veen", "van Ge(i)nt" and "van Giessen". Their home base was the village of Babyloniënbroek, which borders administrative-judicial areas such as Veen and Giessen. Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 159, 762–763; Regarding *jonkvrouw* Scholastica, the daughter of Boudewijn van Geint (brother of Jan van Veen): *Ibid.*, 762–763; For *jonkvrouw* Adriana van Veen, Johan van Drongelen's mother: De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 501.

¹¹⁸³ E.g.: Kort, 'Repertorium Meeuwen', nrs. 11, 114; Kort, 'Repertorium Uitwijk (2006)', nr. 2; J.C. Kort, 'De lenen van de hofstede Polanen in Muilkerk en omstreken, 1352-1797', *Genealogisch Tijdschrift voor Midden- en West-Noord-Brabant en de Bomme-lerwaard* 26 (2002), there nr. 6. Quite possibly, the devastating effects of the St Elisabeth's floods of 1421 and 1424, which completely changed the landscape in these parts of Holland, play a role in this. Long existing revenues from land could fade in a matter of years, affecting the power relations in the region.

¹¹⁸⁴ Compare Hoppenbrouwers, *Een middeleeuwse samenleving*, 147–150.

One cannot help but think, based on the list of invitees, that Johan van Drongelen quite deliberately and selectively emphasized his descent of Willem van Drongelen and Hadewich van der Merwede, while effectively ignoring his maternal and immediate paternal family. Whereas only Willem van Drongelen, one of the eight great-grandparents of Johan van Drongelen, was a manorial lord, two fifths of the noblemen invited to his ceremonial entry belonged to this category. Counting only the noblemen from Holland, it is even a comfortable majority.¹¹⁸⁵ This had become the new social circle he affiliated himself with; not as a consequence of building a network over the course of his career as commander and land commander in the Utrecht bailiwick, but already quite early on in his life, before he entered the Teutonic Order as a knight-brother. Throughout his career he used heraldry and genealogical knowledge to underline his social position.

Historiography

Why is this important for studying the context of the *Croniken*? There is a remarkable correspondence between the way Drongelen presents his family tree or that of Gijsbert van Stoutenburg¹¹⁸⁶ to some of the methodologies displayed in the *Croniken*. There, too, we have seen an interest in genealogy, and a willingness to selectively emphasize (or even make up) parts of genealogies when insufficient information was available – while always including some elements of truth and never completely unfounded. We have also seen dates, locations and other specifics added to the narrative to create a sense of authenticity. Note some of the examples mentioned in Table 3.3 or the chapters concerning the ‘perpetual’ Peace of Brest in 1435, deliberately dated to the wrong year – but with inclusion of many details meant to convey an impression of veracity.¹¹⁸⁷

Furthermore, the interest in heraldry and its latest innovations displayed in the *Croniken*, as well as its emphasis on the knightly and noble nature of the Teutonic Order, and the display of noble customs in the description of the citizens of Acre: all correspond to what we know of Johan van Drongelen’s interests. The aversion of the partisanship during the Siege of Acre in 1291 could be a direct response to the partisan strives in the Utrecht bailiwick. Johan van Drongelen witnessed these up close, but at the same time was not clearly biased towards one party. Rather, he seems to have acted as a mediator and with the order’s interests in mind. Finally, as Hans Mol has noted earlier, the descriptions in the bailiwick chronicle of the land commanders Zeger van der Sluis and especially Herbaren van Drongelen, each sharing some of the same ancestry as Johan van Drongelen, seem to have been more detailed than other land commanders.¹¹⁸⁸

There is also more direct evidence indicating that Johan van Drongelen was involved in historical research. In two chronicles written by two of the most productive and well-known chroniclers of late medieval Holland, Johannes a

¹¹⁸⁵ In both cases I have not counted the handful of people invited solely because of their role or capacity.

¹¹⁸⁶ See note 1162.

¹¹⁸⁷ See chapter 3.4, “Outside Utrecht’s sphere of influence”.

¹¹⁸⁸ Mol, *Friese huizen*, 148–153; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oiriden*, c.751, c.756.

Leydis and Theodericus Pauli, Johan van Drongelen is explicitly mentioned. The first is the so-called *Brederode Chronicle* by Johannes a Leydis. In this chronicle about the noble family Brederode, written between 1475 and 1477, Leydis stated:

I have heard lord Johan van Drongelen, land commander of the Teutonic House in Utrecht, say that he has had such letters [concerning the 'true' origin of the Brederode family] in his hand at many locations in Holland, and also that he has some of the same type of letters placed in his convent.¹¹⁸⁹

Drongelen is presented as a collector of archival documents and specialist in the field of genealogy, who visited numerous archives across Holland. Given that he was also a commander at Middelburg, close to the County of Flanders, he could have easily visited libraries in nearby cities such as Ghent and Bruges. These libraries could in theory have provided him crucial access to crusading literature, which was perhaps, as we have seen, difficult to come by in the Northern Low Countries.¹¹⁹⁰

For Leydis, Johan van Drongelen was a living source of information regarding the ancestry of the Brederode family, one of the most prominent noble families in the County of Holland. That is significant, because the land commander is also linked to another chronicle of the Brederode family, written by Theodericus Pauli, who lived and worked just four kilometres from Schelluinen where Drongelen began his career in the order.¹¹⁹¹ Pauli's history of the Brederode family was included in a second version of his *Chronicle of Holland*, usually dated between 1477 and 1480, which was possibly, as we have seen in the previous chapter¹¹⁹², a minor source for the *Croniken* as well.¹¹⁹³ Pauli stated that many had asked him to write the "true and undisputed" history of the noble family Brederode, since so many biased things, "out of favour or hatred," were said of the family's origin. But especially, Pauli added, he was asked by Johan van Drongelen and a certain Jacob Willemsz., who was an otherwise unknown subprior of the Canons Regular of Mount Zion near Delft.¹¹⁹⁴ Whether Drongelen and Jacob Willemsz. knew (of) each other is not clear, nor why they were

¹¹⁸⁹ "Ick heb heer Johan van Dronghelen, den lantcommelduer vanden Duysschen huys binnen Utrecht, horen segghen dat hy dusdanighe brieven in Hollandt tot veel plaetsen in zyn handt ghehadt heeft ende oick mede in zyn clooster zommighe van de selfde forme heeft by hem legghende.": M.H. Porck, *De Brederodekroniek van Jan van Leiden* (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Leiden: Leiden University 2010) Appendix B (edition), c. 11 (f. 15r).

¹¹⁹⁰ See chapter 3.6, "Collecting sources".

¹¹⁹¹ It would be interesting to see whether the hand that wrote a settlement agreement in 1456 between Johan van Drongelen and Johan van Haefthen, land commander at the time, should be identified as that of Theodericus Pauli. The agreement was issued by the dean and chapter of Gorinchem, to which Pauli belonged. Although the hand seems similar to Pauli's, I do not have enough good material to compare the document with. Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 244; compare the hand for instance with Pauli's *Chronicle of Holland* (second revision), which is considered an autograph: Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79.

¹¹⁹² See chapter 3.4, "Bailiwick chronicle".

¹¹⁹³ Van der Werff, 'Twee Egmondse abtenlijsten', 147–148; Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 92v–94v; The piece is absent from an earlier version of Pauli's *Chronicle of Holland*, written between 1469 and 1475, probably around 1471: Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650, 373.

¹¹⁹⁴ "Et quia plerique de origine sive originale propagacione illustrium et prepotentum dominorum de Brederoden diversimode sompnando ex parcialitate, favore vel odio, loquuntur, ideo ego, Theodericus Pauli, natus de Ghorinchem ac eiusdem ecclesie collegiate Gorinchemensis vicedecanus, anno etatis mee LXI°, ob rogatum multorum et precipue nobilis viri domini Johannis de Dronghelen, supremus commendatoris militum ac dominorum Theutonicorum Traiectensis dyocesis, domini ac venerabilis patris Jacobi, filii Wilhelmi, subprioris conventus regularum canonicorum in Syon prope Delf etc., veram et indubitam originem scilicet a quibus propagati aut nati sunt cum ipsorum nobilissima genealogia, non accedendo aliqua parcialitatem, favorem aut aliqua hiis similia, sed ex mera et vera iusticia reddendo sibi et unicuique quod suum, est sicut decet.": Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79, f. 92v–93r; The name of Jacob Willemsz. is absent from studies concerning the convent: B.A. Vermaseren, *Het klooster "Sancta Maria in Monte*

interested in the Brederode family. It is clear though that Drongelen considered members of the Brederode family his kindred, through their (perhaps shared) relationship to the Herlaar family.¹¹⁹⁵ When Drongelen took the habit of the Teutonic Order, the first two names on the list of noblemen that were invited “since they were his kinsmen, and others” were Reinoud II van Brederode and his brother Gijsbrecht van Brederode.¹¹⁹⁶ The part of the list that included female invitees also commences with two members of the Brederode family, directly or by marriage (Appendix, Table A.11). Furthermore, in 1469, it was Gijsbrecht van Brederode who had the conditions drawn up under which Drongelen would take up the office of land commander.¹¹⁹⁷



Figure 4.22 Reinoud II of Brederode in his garments of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1473). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 E 10, f. 60r.

It is not clear how Johan van Drongelen can be linked to the Herlaar family, which in turn links to both the Vianen-Noordeloos and Brederode families. At best, Drongelen was related to the Brederodes in the fourth degree; just enough to be considered kindred in the County of Holland, but the familial link is rather diluted. Still, from the point at which he was introduced into the Teutonic Order towards well into his active career as land commander, he seems to have felt connected to the Brederode family – and, as evidenced by both Leydis and Pauli, was known as particularly interested in their genealogy.¹¹⁹⁸

There are particular circumstances which may – although, admittedly, entirely speculatively – explain Drongelen’s connection to the Brederodes, and his reputation as expert

Sion tussen Delft en Rijswijk 1433-1574. Een vrucht van de Moderne Devotie. Serie-uitgave van het Genootschap Delfia Batavorum 7 (Pijnacker: Dutch Efficiency Bureau 1981); D. van Heel, ‘Het Kapittel der Reguliere Kanunniken te Syon bij Delft’, *Historia. Maandschrift voor geschiedenis en kunstgeschiedenis* 15 (1950) 107–114.

¹¹⁹⁵ See the previous section and Appendix, Figure A.18.

¹¹⁹⁶ “Dit sijn die gene tot Jans cledinge van Drongelen souden wesen als daer hi maech toe is et cetera”: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 251.

¹¹⁹⁷ De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nr. 404; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 249.

¹¹⁹⁸ There is also a passage regarding the noble descent of the Brederode family from the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Johan Veldener, to which Johan van Drongelen can be linked. More on this later (see note 1212).

on their genealogy.¹¹⁹⁹ Leydis, in his *Brederode Chronicle*, tells how when Reinoud II van Brederode was to join the Order of the Golden Fleece – the Burgundian order of chivalry – in December 1445, concerns were raised regarding his family’s ancestry. Some claimed the Brederode family had derived from bastardry and should therefore include a charge in their coat of arms.¹²⁰⁰ According to Leydis this prompted the Duke of Burgundy to request an investigation to be carried out using archives at The Hague and Egmond, the latter the location of the important Benedictine monastery and of the castle of the Egmond family. Following this investigation, Leydis stated, all allegations were dismissed.¹²⁰¹

Whether this investigation truly took place cannot be established. The reputation Johan van Drongelen had gained with both Leydis and Pauli for being especially knowledgeable about the Brederode genealogy may have been established by the research necessitated by this case. His familial link to the Brederode family, not close enough perhaps to be accused of being biased, may have been considered an asset. It may also explain why the main representatives of the Brederode family were so prominently present at Johan van Drongelen’s ceremonial entry into the Teutonic Order. Perhaps it could even help clarify how Drongelen, whose direct family was, as we have pointed out, of humbler origin, was able to successfully activate a kindred network of almost ninety noblemen and noblewomen from Holland and Utrecht to which he may only have been related via his great-grandparents.

The examples above show that Drongelen moved around in circles of historiographers in the County of Holland, that he may have been involved in archive research, but not necessarily that he himself was involved in writing. This appears to be different in the following case. In 1480, Johan Veldener printed the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, a Middle Dutch translation of Werner Rolevinck’s Latin universal history, with addition of a series of regional chronicles.¹²⁰² In it, in reference to the ancestry of the Brederode family, we find an apparent echo of the earlier mentioned passage from Leydis’ *Brederode Chronicle* in which Drongelen is mentioned:

*For I have researched it with all my heart, I was able to find it in old writings and many old sealed letters [...] that I have read, seen, and held in my hands [...] And these letters can be found at many locations in Holland, etc.*¹²⁰³

¹¹⁹⁹ After the death of their parents in 1417 and 1418, the infant Reinoud II van Brederode and his brother and sister were raised by their uncle Willem van Brederode and especially their aunt Margaretha van der Merwede. Given Drongelen’s later appropriation of the Merwede coat of arms, the Merwede link is interesting, but could not be further elaborated. A.W.E. Dek, ‘Genealogie der Heren van Brederode’, *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 13 (1959) 105–146, there 113.

¹²⁰⁰ M.J. van Gent, ‘Een Hollandse luis in de Bourgondische pels. Het politieke optreden van Reinoud II van Brederode’, *In het land van Brederode: historisch tijdschrift voor het Land van Vianen* 20 (1995) 2–52, there 18.

¹²⁰¹ “Doe sende hertoeghe Philips tot Egmont int clooster ende inden Haeghe, om alle die olde scriften te oversien ende doen vantmen altesamen gheloghen”: Porck, *Brederodekroniek van Jan van Leiden*, Appendix B (edition), c. 48.

¹²⁰² L. Fabriek and A. Verboon, ‘Fasciculus temporum, Veldener version’, in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010); Veldener also previously published a version of the Latin chronicle by Rolevinck: ‘ISTC’, nr. ir00256000 (Louvain 1475); A. Worm, ‘Rolevinck, Werner’, in: G. Dunphy ed., *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010).

¹²⁰³ “Want ic dat ondersocht hebbe mit ganser herten, so en vijnde ic in ouden scriften ende in veel ouder bezeghelder brieven [...] die ic selve gelesen, ghesien ende in mijn hant ghehat hebbe [...] Ende dier brieven sijn noch veel in Hollant, etc.”: Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 285r; Specifically, compare: M.H. Porck, ‘De Brederodekroniek voor

The passage bears clear resemblance to the words of Leydis, who said of Drongelen that ‘he had numerous of such letters in his hand at many locations in Holland’.¹²⁰⁴ Could Johan van Drongelen, then, have been the writer of this part of the *Fasciculus temporum*, a chronicle of the County of Holland?¹²⁰⁵

Johan Seynnaeve examined the dialect of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* and identified the translator of Rolevinck’s Latin chronicle as a native from the east of the Netherlands who worked and must have had significant training in Holland or Utrecht.¹²⁰⁶ However, it is far from certain that one person was responsible for translating/composing the entire set of chronicles in Veldener’s edition, nor that this individual also translated Rolevinck’s *Fasciculus temporum* into Middle Dutch.¹²⁰⁷ And thus, while Seynnaeve’s assumptions about the geographical origin of the translator would exclude Johan van Drongelen, born in the County of Holland, this does not mean necessarily that he did not have a role in some parts of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*. After all, the above quote comes from one of the added local chronicles. Furthermore, as we have discussed at length in chapter 2.1, the only known handwritten copy of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, which is known to have existed until 1751 but is now lost, also contained a complete copy of the *Croniken*. Another codex with the *Fasciculus temporum* in possession of Antonius Matthaeus incorporated a “description of Livonia” at the back, possibly also referring to the history of the Teutonic Order in that part of Europe. A crude synopsis of the opening pages of the *Croniken* can, in turn, be found in the chronicle of the Bishopric of Utrecht that is included in the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*.¹²⁰⁸ This particular chronicle on the history of Utrecht also bears other similarities to the *Croniken*. This chronicle of Utrecht commences:

Yolande van Lalaing’, in: E. den Hartog and H. Wijsman eds., *Yolande van Lalaing (1422-1497), kasteelvrouwe van Brederode*. Jaarboek van de Kastelenstichting Holland en Zeeland 2009 (Haarlem 2009) 37–67, there 53–56.

¹²⁰⁴ “Ick heb heer Johan van Dronghelen, den lantcommelduer vanden Duysschen huys binnen Utrecht, horen segghen dat hy dusdanighe brieven in Hollandt tot veel plaetsen in zyn handt ghehadt heeft ende oick mede in zyn clooster zommighe van de selfde forme heeft by hem legghende.”: Porck, *Brederodekroniek van Jan van Leiden*, Appendix B (edition), c. 11 (f. 15r).

¹²⁰⁵ This chronicle of the County of Holland is one of a set of local chronicles added to the Middle Dutch translation of Werner Rolevinck’s *Fasciculus temporum*: Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 283r–314v; M.Z. van Boxhorn ed., *Chronyck van Hollandt, Zeelandt, ende Westvrieslandt, door Johan Veldenaer over omtrent twee hondert jaeren geschreven* (Leiden: Van Rijnneburgh 1650), for the above quote: 12-13; A later translation in Latin: A. Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta, seu vetera aliquot monumenta, quæ hactenus nondum visa* IX (1st edn; Leiden 1709) 80–167.

¹²⁰⁶ Seynnaeve noted that while almost all spelling variants pointed towards a Holland-Utrecht dialect, there were also a few remnants of the language spoken the areas bordering present-day Germany: Guelders, Overijssel, Groningen, Drenthe. He concluded that the translator was a native from the east of the Netherlands who worked and must have had significant training in Holland or Utrecht. Unfortunately, Seynnaeve is very economical in providing precise locations for the evidence for his arguments. Moreover, he does not make clear what parts of the *Fasciculus temporum* he refers to: to the complete set of chronicles, or – more likely given his focus thereon – only the part that was translated from the Latin original by Werner Rolevinck. It is perfectly feasible that the accompanying chronicles were created by someone else. J. Seynnaeve, ‘The language of the first vernacular version of the *Fasciculus Temporum*’, in: J. Hogg, A. Girard and D. Le Blévec eds., *Die Kartäuser und die Künste ihrer Zeit 2*. *Analecta Cartusiana 157* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik 2001) 31–36.

¹²⁰⁷ Perhaps the shorter local chronicles were composed by one person. E.g.: Levelt, *Jan van Naaldwijk*, 66. As of yet, no one has done extensive research on this subject.

¹²⁰⁸ Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 260r; And in a later - note the absence of the word “cogghē” (cog) for instance - Latin translation: Matthaeus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta (1st ed.)* IX, 42–43.

*These are the chronicles of Utrecht and of the Diocese and Prince-Bishopric of Utrecht, how it first began. And of all the bishops who have been there. How long they each governed, and first starting with Holland and Friesland.*¹²⁰⁹

Some formulations bear remarkable resemblances to those of the two sentences of the bailiwick chronicle:

*Hereafter follows of the bailiwick of Utrecht and all convents, churches and houses of the bailiwick of Utrecht. In what year the order first acquired them, and of all the land commanders. How long they each governed.*¹²¹⁰

*These are all the land commanders of the bailiwick of Utrecht who have been there, and how long they each governed and in what year each of them began to govern.*¹²¹¹

It is not the only correspondence between the *Croniken* and the *Fasciculus temporum*. In the part that contains its chronicle of Holland, in the chapter concerning the origin of the Brederode family, the author makes a remarkable intervention:

*And one should know why I write this. For I have heard before at some occasions by some persons, out of hatred and envy and out of partiality against the Lord of Brederode, that the Brederodes derived from bastardry of Holland via Count William I of Holland. That is just evil talk, since these are adorned lies as one will find in the truth.*¹²¹²

The choice of vocabulary in this fragment is quite similar to that in the polemic chapters of the *Croniken*: “but it is all adorned gossip”, “but this has never occurred in the truth”, “and these are all adorned lies”.¹²¹³

The evidence suggests that Johan van Drongelen, the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, and the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* had an entangled history. The authorship of the different local chronicles that make up the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* needs further research, and falls beyond the remit of the current study. However, with regard to the *Croniken*, Johan van Drongelen has emerged as the most likely candidate to bear responsibility for its content. He, better than anyone in the Utrecht bailiwick, fitted the profile of the author – the interest in genealogy,

¹²⁰⁹ “Dit sijn die cronijken van Utrecht ende van den Bisdom ende van den Ghesticht van Utrecht hoe dat yerst began. Ende van al den biscoppn die daer gheweest hebben. Hoe langhe dat elck gheregniert heeft ende eerst te beghinnen van Vrieslant ende Holland”: Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 244r.

¹²¹⁰ “Hier nae volghet van der balie van Utrecht van allen conventen, kerken ende husen der balien van Utrecht. In wat jair dat se die oirde yerst kreghe, ende van allen den lantcommenduers, hoe langhe dat elck gheregert heeft”: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.731.

¹²¹¹ “Dit syn alle die lantcommenduers van der balie van Utrecht die gheweest syn, ende hoe lange dat sij elck gheregert hebben ende in wat jair dat elck begonde the regieren”: *Ibid.*, c.750.

¹²¹² “Ende men sel weten waer om dat ic dit scrive, dat is want ic hier voermaels tot som tijden den sommighen heb horen spreken uut hatt ende nijt ende uut parthyen op ten Heer van Brederode, als dat si ghecomen souden wesen van bastardyen van Holland van den eersten Greef Willem, dat dat alte qualick ghesproken is, wantet versierde loghentael is als men in der waerheyt vijnden sel.”: Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 285r.

¹²¹³ “Mer t is al versierde dedinge”; “Mer dit en is in der waerheit alsoe niet gesciet”; “Ende dat is al versierde logen”: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.101, c.121, c.235.

the passionate commitment to the well-being of the Teutonic Order, access to and knowledge of numerous archives, likely to travel regularly on behalf of his position¹²¹⁴, an awareness of noble customs while emphasizing the role of nobility in the order, etc. And although there were certainly others in the bailiwick interested in reading or writing historiography,¹²¹⁵ only Johan van Drongelen demonstrably expressed, and was recognized by others for such an interest.

¹²¹⁴ Note for instance a journey to Frankfurt in 1479: Weiss, *Deutschordens-Ballei Franken*, 368; Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.2: 1455-1510, nr. 16819.

¹²¹⁵ See the discussion on the availability of historiographical works in the bailiwicks of the Teutonic Order in chapter 3.6.

4.4 Shared responsibilities

Introduction

It has become clear that two persons were responsible for creating the Vienna autograph manuscript. As we have seen, it was Hendrik van Vianen who physically wrote the author's copy, manuscript **We**₁, whereas his employer, Johan van Drongelen, best fits the profile of the author. This also raises the question how we should see the respective roles of Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen in creating the text of the *Croniken*. Conclusions about the responsibilities in creating the *Croniken* also need to take into account the fact that parts of the *Croniken* were only completed after Johan van Drongelen had died, in 1492.¹²¹⁶ All this points to a shared responsibility for the text. It remains to be determined, however, how the different roles were divided – a determination which will of necessity remain somewhat speculative.

In other known examples of an author and scribe working together on a text, the question the division between the different roles, and of authorship itself, is often complex. A situation possibly comparable to that of the *Croniken* is described by Valerie Vermassen, in a study of two texts by Johannes Meerhout (d. 1476), a regular canon at the priory of Korsendonk in the Duchy of Brabant. Five autograph manuscripts of Johannes Meerhout have survived, all written in an untidy script, and all including numerous revisions.¹²¹⁷ Yet another manuscript contains a final version of one of his texts, the *Tractatulus de laude terrae Brabantiae* ('Treatise in Praise of the Land of Brabant'), of which earlier drafts have also survived. This particular manuscript, a neat copy, was written by a fellow regular canon at Korsendonk, Walter Vliet. Vermassen suspects that Walter Vliet may have been responsible for some of the final editing of the text even though she considers Johannes Meerhout as the "intellectual author of *De laude* because the initiative, the structure of the text and most of the content had sprung from his mind".¹²¹⁸

Another example is presented the so-called *Continuation* of Jan van Boendale's *Brabantsche Yeesten* (Deeds of Brabant), a fourteenth-century rhymed chronicle in Middle Dutch on the history of the Duchy of Brabant. Three individuals cooperated in its creation, each with responsibility for different aspects of the writing process. Petrus de Thimo, pensionary of the city of Brussels, was the 'master builder' who oversaw the project and compiled the list of required building materials. Emond de Dynter, ducal secretary at the Burgundian court, assisted Thimo and can be characterised as the 'main supplier of building materials'. He was also responsible for directing Wein van Cotthem, the 'builder', who created the verse text.¹²¹⁹

Based on the fact that there is a manuscript, written by Hendrik van Vianen, that shows evidence of an authorial presence and the identification of someone else, Johan van Drongelen, as the principal creative force behind it, it is

¹²¹⁶ See chapter 2.3.

¹²¹⁷ V. Vermassen, 'De Nova historia ducum Brabantiae en het Tractatulus de laude terrae Brabantiae van de Korsendonkse kannik Johannes Meerhout (1399-1476)', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 88 (2010) 205–220, there 207.

¹²¹⁸ "Hoe het ook zij, Johannes Meerhout kan toch de intellectuele auteur van het *De laude* genoemd worden omdat het initiatief, de structuur van het werk en het grootste deel van de inhoud ervan aan zijn geest ontsproten is": *Ibid.*, 215–216.

¹²¹⁹ R. Stein, *Politiek en historiografie. Het ontstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*. *Miscellanea neerlandica* 10 (Leuven: Peeters 1994) 57; regarding the identification of Wein van Cotthem as the (previously anonymous) poet: Houthuys, *Middeleeuws kladwerk*, 47.

likely that the *Croniken* was the product of a similar division of the work involved in creating the text. In the previous chapter I have shown that there are some inconsistencies between the so-called ‘ordinance’, i.e., the chapters introducing the bailiwick chronicle by describing the place of the bailiwick in the hierarchies of the Teutonic Order (c.728-730), and the rest of the *Croniken*. Although the ordinance clearly refers to three preceding chapters in the *Croniken*, some of the content, such as the number of Livonian bishoprics, is aberrant (3.4, “Bailiwick chronicle”). Nevertheless, the letter form *w* used in the ordinance is identical to that in the immediately preceding chapters. The bailiwick chronicle, which starts on the opposite folio, a different, ‘closed’ form of the letter *w*, which is also found in the first chapters of the prologue. Then, gradually, the ‘open’ *w* returns to dominance, indicating a discontinuity in the writing process. Such a discontinuity is also suggested by the different dimensions of the coats of arms in the bailiwick chronicle, where they are larger than elsewhere, and the errors in the only apparent reference to earlier chapters of the *Croniken*.¹²²⁰ A further significant incongruity in the bailiwick chronicle is the omission, in the description of the commandery of Schelluinen, of any mention of Johan van Drongelen’s significant efforts to renovate its buildings and increase the potential income gained from the house when he was its commander early in his career.¹²²¹ This is particularly striking as these types of information usually are well documented in the bailiwick chronicle. Yet, the similarities in structure between the descriptions of the lives of the grand masters and those of the land commanders of Utrecht also show that the bailiwick chronicle was influenced by the other parts of the *Croniken* – or vice versa. Studying the stylistic characteristics of the bailiwick chronicle in regard to the rest of the *Croniken* more closely, we shall also look at the writing style of other parts of the *Croniken*, in particular (the first part of) the prologue, which appears to have been attributed to a bishop of Paderborn.

Quantitative analysis¹²²²

Method

To examine the stylistic characteristics of the different parts of the *Croniken* I will use a technique that was developed in the scholarly field of stylometry. Stylometry, the statistical measurement of style, which is often employed as a method to attribute texts to particular authors, can also be used as an aid to determine shifts in style in a certain document. It is founded on the assumption that every author’s writing has a number of distinct stylistic features, together comprising his or her ‘authorial fingerprint’ or ‘author’s DNA’. These features, such as lexical range, and preferences for specific words, word combinations and syntax, can be measured and subjected to statistical analysis. Some of these linguistic features will be influenced by the framework within which an author operates, and can be attributed to, e.g., gender, period, or genre. Other features will be specific to an individual author.¹²²³ Stylometry has been shown

¹²²⁰ This includes a reference to Grand Master Konrad of Thuringa as the seventh (instead of fifth) grand master; the fact that both Konrad of Thuringia and German Master Bodo of Hohenlohe were in office during the first endowments to the Teutonic Order in Utrecht in 1231 (which is contradictory to the meticulously planned chronology of the *Croniken*; and finally the titles of Konrad of Thuringia are aberrant from those in the *Croniken*. *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirde*, c.731.

¹²²¹ *Ibid.*, c.745; regarding the efforts of Johan van Drongelen in Schelluinen: Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 56–59, 84.

¹²²² The following section is an abridged adaptation of my article published as Stapel, ‘Layer on layer’.

¹²²³ M. Eder, ‘Style-Markers in Authorship Attribution. A Cross-Language Study of the Authorial Fingerprint’, *Studies in Polish Linguistics* (2011) 101–116, there 103.

in numerous studies to be effective in distinguishing different authors based on statistical analysis of their authorial style.¹²²⁴

In the following pages I shall describe my application of one of the most tried-and-tested¹²²⁵ stylometric methods, John Burrows' *Delta*, to the text of the *Croniken*.¹²²⁶ For this purpose I created a set of plain text files of the texts copied or written by Hendrik van Vianen: manuscript **We**₁ of the *Croniken*, the land charters in Middle Dutch of his hand, and his copy of the *Sachsenspiegel*.¹²²⁷ To compare the results with non-related texts, transcriptions of two different manuscripts of the *Gouds kroniekje* ('Chronicle of Gouda'), like the *Croniken* a fifteenth-century chronicle in Middle Dutch, were similarly prepared.¹²²⁸ All texts were automatically stripped from (Roman) numerals, sentences in languages other than Middle Dutch (predominantly Latin), deletions, and illegible passages. All capital letters were transformed into lower case.¹²²⁹

The authorship attribution problem presented by the *Croniken* is far from straightforward. Most regular cases concern modern texts with ample text samples by the same author in a similar genre that can be used to train the computer to recognize the style of the author. In the case of the *Croniken* there is no such wealth of comparative text material by either Johan van Drongelen or Hendrik van Vianen. The available texts for the latter each in their own ways make comparative analysis problematic: the *Sachsenspiegel* was merely copied by Vianen and therefore incorporates a different underlying authorial style. The land charters were written in a highly formulaic language, erasing much of the writer's personal style. Both are in genres fundamentally different from the *Croniken*. Perhaps as a consequence of these factors, neither the *Sachsenspiegel* nor the charters, as we shall see, prove to be effective as markers of authorial styles of the *Croniken*.

Therefore, a workaround to this issue is proposed. Instead of using external training samples only, some text samples will be taken from the *Croniken* itself. These samples are taken from the middle parts of the chronicle, for which we have no prior indications that there are possible shifts in authorial style or other kinds of discontinuity. For the purpose of selection, the *Croniken* was divided into 181 equally sized parts of 2,000 words, each with an overlap of 1,500 words. This creates a 'moving window' which advances 500 words at a time. More recently, this procedure of using overlapping, continuous sections has been dubbed 'rolling *Delta*'.¹²³⁰ The chosen size of the 'windows' here is rather small,

¹²²⁴ For a substantial list of publications: *Ibid.*, 103–104; see also: J. Grieve, 'Quantitative authorship attribution: an evaluation of techniques', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 22 (2007) 251–270.

¹²²⁵ See recently for instance: S. Evert et al., 'Towards a better understanding of Burrows's *Delta* in literary authorship attribution', in: *Proceedings of NAACL-HLT Fourth Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Literature* (Denver, CO: Association for Computational Linguistics 2015) 79–88.

¹²²⁶ J.F. Burrows, "'Delta': a Measure of Stylistic Difference and a Guide to Likely Authorship", *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 17 (2002) 267–287; D.L. Hoover, 'Testing Burrows's *Delta*', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 19 (2004) 453–475.

¹²²⁷ See section 4.3, "Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen".

¹²²⁸ The digital transcripts were kindly provided to me by Dr. Antheun Janse (Leiden University) who has been preparing a new edition. Leiden, UB, Ltk 1564 (ms. "G"); Vienna, HHStA, R 88 (ms. "F").

¹²²⁹ No lemmatization was provided. Lemmatization helps in reducing potential negative effects of, for instance, inflection and spelling variation, but time was limited for this experiment. M. Kestemont, 'Weigh your words - memory-based lemmatization for Middle Dutch', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 25 (2010) 287–301.

¹²³⁰ M. Eder, 'Rolling stylometry', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* (2015) 1–13; see also: J. Rybicki, M. Kestemont and D.L. Hoover, 'Collaborative authorship. Conrad, Ford and Rolling *Delta*', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 29 (2014) 422–431.

and lies significantly below the recommended target-size for the *Delta* method.¹²³¹ However, for the purpose of this study, where we want to uncover smaller shifts in style as well, precision and fine granularity is needed as much as reliability. Larger sample sizes smoothen out significant changes in style, as indeed experiments with a sample size of 4,000 words have shown (see also Appendix, Figure A.23).¹²³² For both the training samples and the 181 chunks taken from the *Croniken* word frequency lists were compiled. These lists form the basis of the computational procedure, and from these lists z-scores are computed.

By computing these 181 samples against the training samples from the same text, one is in effect visualizing possible discontinuities in authorial styles in the *Croniken*. In a hypothetical situation where we have three different styles in one continuous text, this might produce the following results (see Figure 4.23). The bars represent the location from where the primary samples were taken, whereas the lines represent the z-score of *Delta*. These scores are computed for every continuous section of the text. The lower the z-score of one of the three primary samples, the higher the probability that a section was correctly identified as belonging to that style sample. However, how low a z-score should be to be significant cannot always be easily defined. Typically, this will be established on an ad hoc basis. In this particular hypothetical situation, the graph clearly shows the exact locations where the changes in style occur. In real-life experiments, these transitions might be less abrupt, especially of course if overlapping secondary samples are used. It is also important to note that the second-lowest z-score should be significantly higher than the lowest z-score.

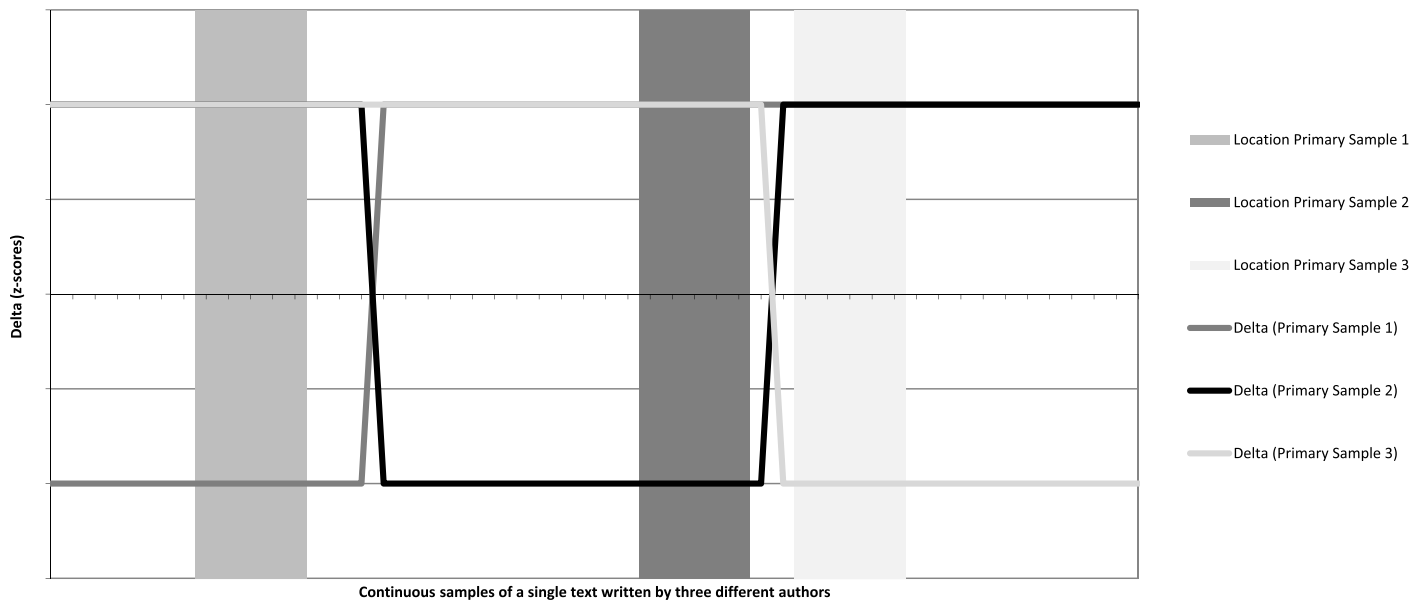


Figure 4.23 Hypothetical distribution of Delta scores and three authorial styles.

¹²³¹ Regarding the effect of sample sizes and with warning of the risk of small (under 5,000 words depending on the language and genre) sample sizes: M. Eder, 'Does Size Matter? Authorship Attribution, Small Samples, Big Problem', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 30 (2015) 167–182.

¹²³² Stapel, 'Layer on layer', 349–351.

Experiment: privileges

To test the validity of the proposed *Delta* method and workaround, it is necessary to run some experiments in a controlled environment. As I have discussed in the previous chapter (3.4, “Privileges and indulgences”), the *Croniken* contains numerous (summaries of) privileges and indulgences of the Teutonic Order, issued by both popes and emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. The imperial privileges originate from a collection of Latin and German privileges issued in 1428. In the manuscript description of **We**₁, I have also shown that these imperial privileges were directly translated and incorporated into the *Croniken* from the original – most likely by Hendrik van Vianen (chapter 2.4). The papal privileges were evidently copied from a different collection, as is evident from their dissimilar – but in itself coherent – layout to that of the imperial privileges, and from their abridged presentation. They may have existed in translated form already before they were incorporated in the *Croniken*.

Because both the papal and imperial privileges in the *Croniken* are copied or translated from existing collections they should be assumed to represent authorial styles different from those of the rest of the chronicle. With this in mind, parts of both sets of privileges were used to create two separate training samples. A third training sample consisted of the entire *Croniken*, thus incorporating the privileges as well, which acts as a baseline. These three training samples were computed against the 181 overlapping parts of the *Croniken*. The goal was to determine if it is possible to (1) single out the privileges in general, on the basis of their stylistic fingerprint, throughout the *Croniken* without wrongly identifying other areas of the text, and (2) to distinguish between papal and imperial privileges: both copied or translated from different existing collections and therefore at least in theory representatives of different styles. Furthermore (3), the experiment is used to determine the optimum settings of the procedure, in terms of training sample size, the number of most frequent words (MFW) to be included in the computation, and in terms of the size of the ‘window’ used for looking at the *Croniken*. The best results were gained by using the largest possible training samples (in this case limited to 8,000 words because of the cumulative size of the imperial privileges combined), leaving the rolling window relatively small (2,000 words) and to include the thousand most frequently iterated words in the computation. The results are displayed in Figure 4.24. I have discussed how I reached the optimum settings in detail in my earlier article on this subject.¹²³³

¹²³³ *Ibid.*, 348–350.

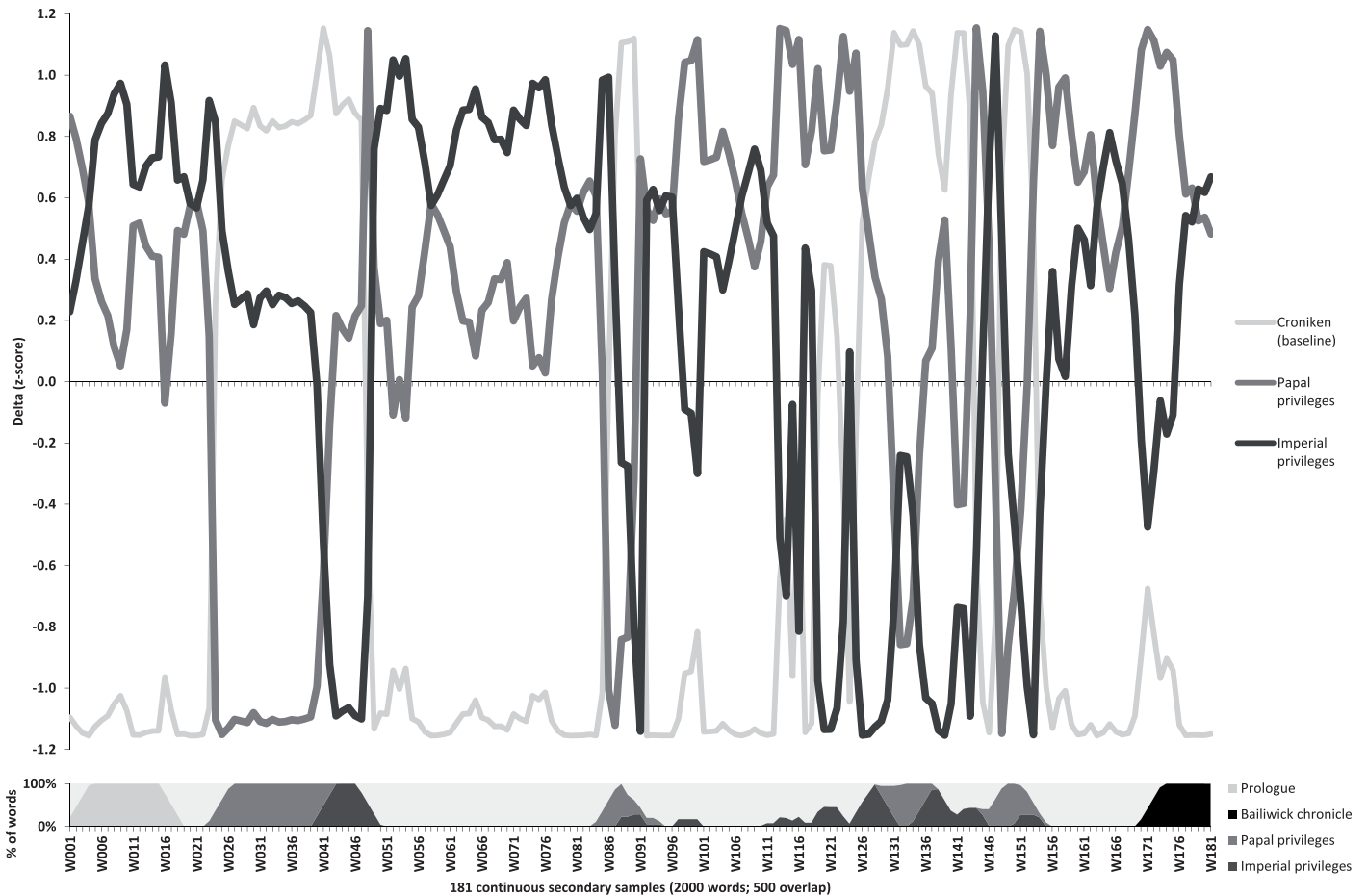


Figure 4.24 Delta analysis of the *Croniken* and its privileges: 1,000 MFW, 8,000 word training samples. Immediately below is a stacked area chart displaying the relative weight of the prologue, privileges and bailiwick chronicle in each of the 181 overlapping sections of the *Croniken*.¹²³⁴

Based on this testing experiment we can conclude that the *Delta* method works rather well for this purpose and textual corpus. It is possible to pinpoint the location of the privileges in the text. Furthermore, it is possible to distinguish papal and imperial privileges from each other. The classification is even effective in cases where the privilege is small in size, even just a couple of hundred words long.¹²³⁵ The effective distinction between papal and imperial privileges further means genre differences (between privileges and narrative text in the *Croniken*) are not the primary stylistic features identified by the method; if genre would be the most determining factor, papal and imperial privileges in the *Croniken* would be indistinguishable in the analysis. This supports the hypothesis that the method is effective in measuring authorial style – and not merely style expressly linked to a specific genre. The areas in the text that contain privileges consistently stand out as distinct from the surrounding parts of the text, even in the analyses that I will describe hereafter; where no training samples containing privileges have been used.

Analysis Croniken

Having successfully tested the method and the proposed workaround for the lack of comparable text material, the same approach can be applied to the rest of the *Croniken*. Here the goal is to study the presence or absence of shifts in style between the first part of the prologue, the bailiwick chronicle, and the rest of the narrative. Two equally sized

¹²³⁴ Originally published in *Ibid.*, Fig. 2.

¹²³⁵ A privilege of 566 words was successfully identified by the computer, whereas a privilege of 340 words was not. Thus the tipping point lies somewhere in between: *Ibid.*, 351.

training samples were chosen from the middle part of the *Croniken* that covers the lives of the grand masters.¹²³⁶ Further training samples were the Middle Dutch *Sachsenspiegel* copied by Hendrik van Vianen, his land charters, and the two adaptations of the *Gouds kroniekje* mentioned earlier. The results are presented in Figure 4.25.

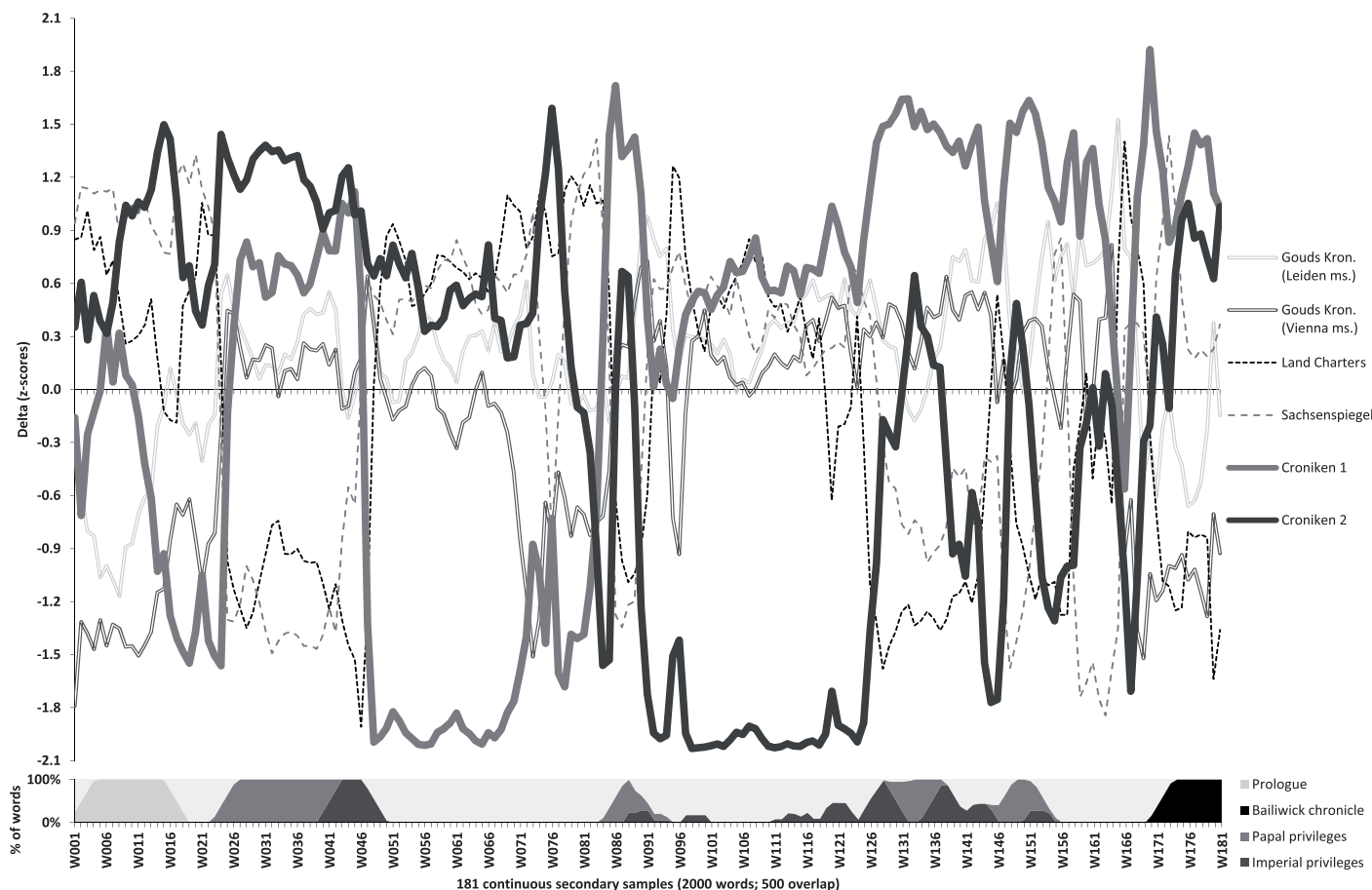


Figure 4.25 Delta analysis of the *Croniken*: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples. The two training samples taken from the *Croniken* are located roughly between part 47-67 and 100-120.¹²³⁷

One of the first striking features is that the two training samples of the *Croniken* are poor markers of the privileges, as we have addressed earlier. The land charters and *Sachsenspiegel* perform much better for these specific areas in the text, indicating a different writing style compared with the regular parts of the chronicle. This confirms the experiment with the privileges. Note that often the land charters produce lower *Delta* z-scores in the areas with imperial privileges, whereas the *Sachsenspiegel* performs slightly better for the papal privileges. An explanation for this behaviour is not apparent.

When a size of 10,000 words is chosen for the training samples, the transition between the two *Croniken* samples is not a gradual one: it shifts abruptly around part 83. This part is located almost exactly in between the two training samples, but it is also the location where, as I have observed earlier,¹²³⁸ the writing process of the *Croniken* was discontinuous. Interestingly, when using 3,000-word training samples (Appendix, Figure A.24), the two training samples

¹²³⁶ For the deliberations for choosing these samples: *Ibid.*, 352.

¹²³⁷ Originally published in *Ibid.*, Fig. 3.

¹²³⁸ See chapter 2.3.

taken from the *Croniken* become much more interchangeable and the interruption around part 83 is not noticeable. By using 10,000-word training samples, detail is preserved which is averaged out in the 3,000-word analysis.¹²³⁹

There are only a few areas in the text where the ‘non-*Croniken*’ samples more or less consistently outperform the samples taken from the *Croniken* itself: in the areas where the privileges are situated; in the beginning of the prologue, roughly until the point where the author of the *Croniken* indicates that a certain bishop of Paderborn wrote the prologue; in a number of indulgences around part 140–2; in a short area around part 158–64 where copies of the pleadings of the Teutonic Order against the Prussian Confederation before the court of the Holy Roman Emperor are recorded (which could well have been copied word-for-word)¹²⁴⁰; and, finally, at the end of the *Croniken*, where the bailiwick chronicle is found. If we compare different settings of the stylometric procedure, we see that by increasing the size (in words) of the training samples these shifts start to appear. At first, by using only 3,000-word training samples, all parts of the *Croniken* – apart from sections that contain mostly privileges – show greatest similarity with the two training samples taken from the middle part of the chronicle (Appendix, Figure A.24). When we increase the size of the training samples to 6,000 words, the bailiwick chronicle is the first area of the chronicle that stands out as distinct (Appendix, Figure A.25). Only when we increase the sample size to 10,000 words – the size that produced the optimum results in our experiment with the privileges – the other areas, as described above, start to deviate from the style of the middle part of the *Croniken*.

Most importantly, the above means that at a general level there is a stylistic coherence between all parts of the *Croniken*, perhaps excluding the privileges (as shown by the analysis using the 3,000-word training samples). However, when we delve deeper into the stylistic differences within the text, the differences which demonstrate themselves most consistently throughout the different settings of the stylometric procedure are the strongest between the bailiwick chronicle and the middle parts of the *Croniken*. These are followed by the first half of the prologue, and some minor areas in the second half of the text that were likely reproduced from an existing source, all showing stylistic differences to the rest of the *Croniken*, although to a lesser extent than the bailiwick chronicle.

The chart becomes more clearly defined when all the privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies of the Teutonic Order are filtered from the text of the *Croniken*, retaining 123 parts of 2,000 words (Figure 4.26). One may also compare the similar chart that uses a larger window of 4,000 words, which is less precise, but also more robust and roughly produces the same results (Appendix, Figure A.23). Occasionally, the *Sachsenspiegel* or land charters – both recorded by Hendrik van Vianen – provide the lowest *Delta* z-scores, which indicates that, for these areas, out of all training samples the land charters and *Sachsenspiegel* show the highest probability of belonging to the same stylistic fingerprint. However, even the samples of the *Gouds kroniekje* beat the z-scores of some of the chronicle’s own samples. It is possible that none of the training samples represent the authorial style of these areas very well.

¹²³⁹ The 6,000 word training samples produce a result somewhere in between these two outcomes: Appendix, Figure A.25.

¹²⁴⁰ A specific source was not identified. See chapter 3.4, “Outside Utrecht’s sphere of influence”.

This would imply that the author of the middle parts of the *Croniken* was not responsible for creating these particular parts.

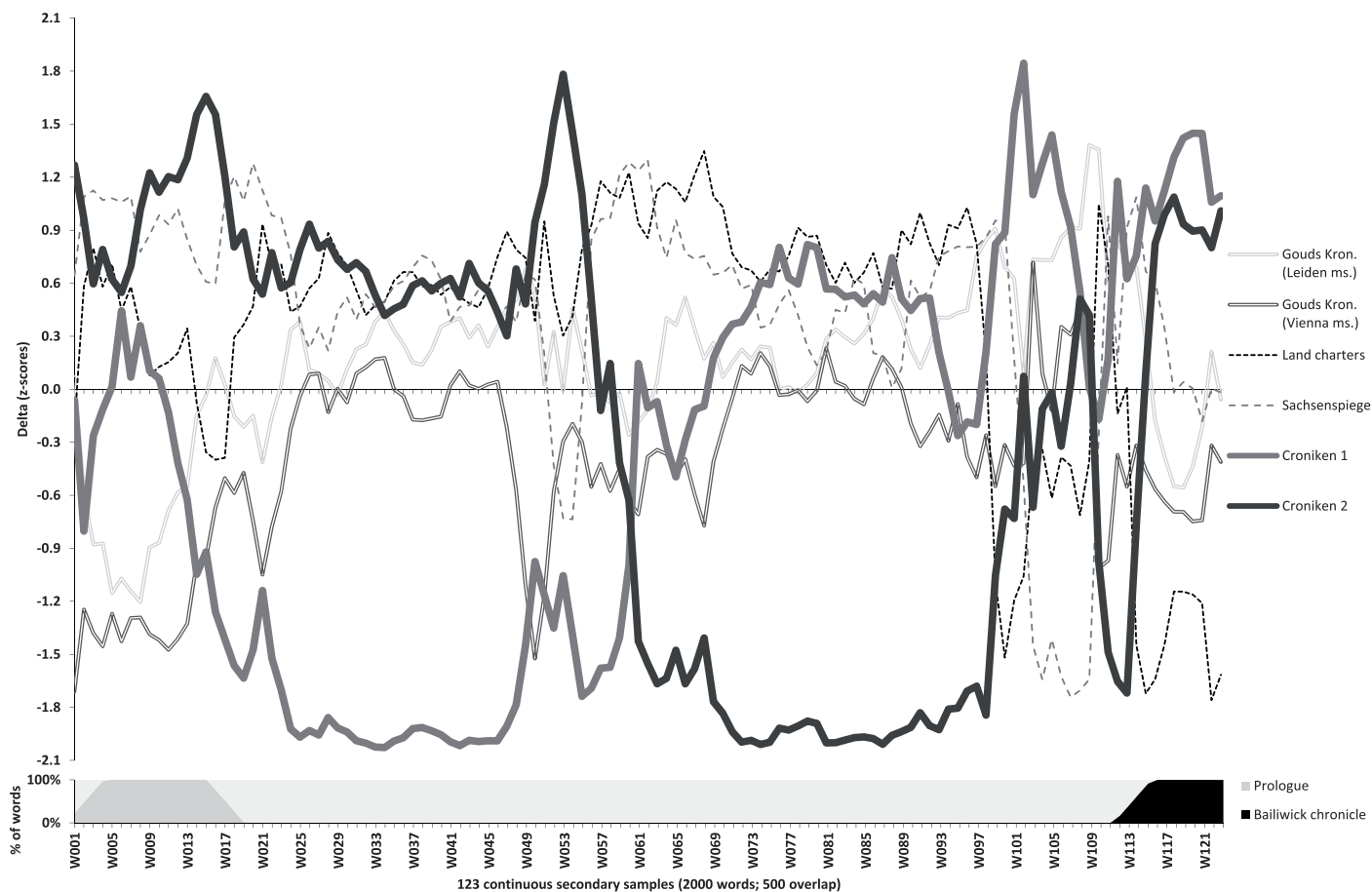


Figure 4.26 Delta analysis of the *Croniken*, stripped of all privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples.¹²⁴¹

The stylometric analysis of the *Croniken*, as proposed above, does identify the land charters by Hendrik van Vianen as the most stylistically close training set for the bailiwick chronicle (Figure 4.26 and Appendix, Figure A.23). However, the approach that was presented here is used to draw out stylistic differences only. Without the presence of appropriate large scale training samples, the method is not particularly well suited for authorship attribution. In other words, the fact that for the bailiwick chronicle at the end of the *Croniken* the land charters appear as the training sample with the lowest *Delta* z-score – meaning that their style is closest to that of the bailiwick chronicle – does not provide evidence for Vianen’s authorship. Note, again, that in the same charts, the training samples of the unrelated *Gouds kroniekje* appear to present a particularly good match to the first part of the prologue. The only thing that can be concluded from the stylometric analysis above, apart from the evident stylistic contrast of the papal and imperial privileges to the rest of the *Croniken* (Figure 4.25), is that the prologue and – somewhat more pronounced – the bailiwick chronicle shows stylistic differences to the rest of the *Croniken*.

¹²⁴¹ Originally published in Stapel, ‘Layer on layer’, Fig. 4.

4.5 Composition of the text

The results from the stylometric analysis have a direct impact on the question what the respective roles of Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen were in creating the *Croniken*. As has been discussed previously,¹²⁴² manuscript **We**₁ is the author's copy of the *Croniken*, and it was physically written by Hendrik van Vianen – and completed by him after Johan van Drongelen's death, which event is recorded at the end of the bailiwick chronicle. However, I have also shown that the description of the life of land commander Johan van Drongelen differs from all other descriptions of land commander in the bailiwick chronicle, and appears to have been added, at least partially, at a later stage.¹²⁴³

By comparing the profile of the author of the *Croniken* to the biographies of both Johan van Drongelen and Hendrik van Vianen,¹²⁴⁴ we can dismiss that Hendrik van Vianen had much more of a hand in the production than providing general assistance. Vianen can be believed to have worked on commission, but did not himself display an interest in historiography. The facts of Drongelen's life, however, together with demonstrable personal interest in historiography and subjects related to the content of the *Croniken* make it likely that he was the principal author of the *Croniken*.

Drongelen's involvement will not have been only marginal, in the sense of providing inspiration and ideas, visiting libraries and gathering sources (an activity he was noted for by historiographer Johannes a Leydis),¹²⁴⁵ and perhaps providing financial and other kinds of material support to undertake the project. Alternatively, his involvement was likely to have been much more central to the creation of the work, and he himself may have written much of the text of the *Croniken*. A crucial point in that regard is his possible involvement in the creation of an important landmark in late medieval Dutch historiography, the *Fasciculus temporum*, printed by Johan Veldener in Utrecht in 1480.¹²⁴⁶ Such involvement would indicate that Drongelen was not only known for having an interest in historical research (as reflected in the comments by both Johannes a Leydis and fellow historiographer Theodericus Pauli)¹²⁴⁷, but wrote history himself as well. This, in combination with the fact that Drongelen's personal interests are reflected in the content of the *Croniken*¹²⁴⁸, that he was able to travel far because of his position as land commander (and did so, at least on one occasion in 1479), that for years he was stationed in Middelburg, close to the libraries in the Southern Low Countries that were able to provide the essential crusading literature rarely found in the Northern Low Countries, and that the project was temporarily halted when Drongelen was forced to evacuate from Utrecht,¹²⁴⁹ provides a strong case for Drongelen's authorship of the *Croniken*.

¹²⁴² See chapter 4.4, "Introduction" and in general chapter 2.2.

¹²⁴³ The description of Johan van Drongelen's life consists of multiple, only partially related sentences instead of a coherent narrative. These sentences are also not chronologically ordered. Moreover, the coat of arms of Johan van Drongelen has a slightly aberrant layout. Finally, a space for the number of years Johan van Drongelen was in office was left open at first, indicating that he had not died yet when the first section of this chapter was written. See chapter 2.3.

¹²⁴⁴ See chapter 4.3.

¹²⁴⁵ See chapter 4.3, "Family and genealogy".

¹²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴⁸ See chapter 4.3, "Career" and "Family and genealogy".

¹²⁴⁹ See chapter 2.3 and Table 4.1.

This does not mean that Hendrik van Vianen's duties as a scribe were limited to the mere copying of an all but finished draft. I have presented evidence above suggesting that the translations of the privileges were made with the original source at hand (2.4, "Working direct from the source"). Given that I have posited Johan van Drongelen as principal author, and have not identified a third person involved, and given the fact that the translated privileges were – as demonstrated above – stylistically rather different from the rest of the text of the *Croniken*, it follows that the most likely candidate for those translations is Hendrik van Vianen, who, moreover, showed that he was fluent in Latin.¹²⁵⁰ Vianen may also have finished the description of Johan van Drongelen after his death in 1492,¹²⁵¹ and may have done some of the editing which can perhaps be dated as late as 1496 (chapter 2.3). The working relationship between Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen must have been very close, however, since the end product, the *Croniken*, is clearly a very well-coordinated effort. A different question is whether Hendrik van Vianen could have been involved in writing that part of the prologue which in the text appears to be attributed to a bishop of Paderborn, and in writing the bailiwick chronicle. However, as we have stated above, the stylometric analysis of the *Croniken* emphasizes stylistic differences only and is much less suited for authorship attribution.

The question how these parts of the *Croniken* relate to the rest of the text cannot easily be answered. The mere fact that these parts are stylistically different (and that these differences coincide with certain codicological, palaeographical, and content-related transitions of the text and/or manuscript), means that these parts display some form of a disparate genesis, either chronologically, or by the hands of multiple persons, or both. In other words, the parts were not conceived simultaneously and some may already have existed when the author's copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript **We**₁, was written. This could also help explain why elements of the prologue were abridged in the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* which was printed in 1480 by Johan Veldener – the same year work began on manuscript **We**₁.¹²⁵² This does not necessarily mean that someone else – other than Johan van Drongelen – wrote these two parts, although that possibility cannot be ruled out. It is known that writing style can change with age.¹²⁵³ It is therefore possible that the stylistic differences are not caused by a different authorial voice, but by the fact that the pieces were written earlier, possibly significantly earlier. It is quite possible that the prologue and the bailiwick chronicle started out as two separate chronicles; a project which was put on hold, or at least progressed slowly, and was ultimately re-configured as a single chronicle. This single chronicle, which was then for the greater part produced in a relatively coherent process, in which the two existing parts were each given shape as well as brought together; with only minor revision and continuation afterward. This, in turn, would explain the fact that despite any differences in writing style or content

¹²⁵⁰ See Appendix, Table A.10.

¹²⁵¹ Although this would be an interesting test case to apply the stylometric analysis to, the sample (only one half folio of written text) is much too small to us in such analyses.

¹²⁵² Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*, f. 260r.

¹²⁵³ J.W. Pennebaker, *The secret life of pronouns. What our words say about us* (New York: Bloomsbury Press 2011) 39–72; regarding the relevance of this study for the field of stylometry: J. Nerbonne, '[Review: J.W. Pennebaker, *The Secret Life of Pronouns. What Our Words Say About Us*]', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 29 (2014) 139–142; the range of studies that try to predict age (or gender) of authors is wide. For instance: C. Peersman, W. Daelemans and L. van Vaerenbergh, 'Predicting Age and Gender in Online Social Networks', in: *Proceedings of the 3rd International CIKM Workshop on Search and Mining User-Generated Contents* (New York: ACM Press 2011) 37–44.

that may be there, the design, layout and execution of the prologue and bailiwick chronicle correspond very well with the rest of the *Croniken*. In fact, these similarities are much greater than the disparities.

4.6 Conclusion

Until now, the author of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* has always remained anonymous. The possible attribution of the prologue of the *Croniken* to a bishop of Paderborn has long been rejected, and there is no reason to revise that judgement. Rather, it seems that this attribution was a deliberate attempt to add authority to the text. However, we have also shown that the general scholarly consensus that the text was written by a priest-brother of the Teutonic Order is not necessarily correct. The chronicle disparages the role of the priest-brethren in the order, and the author had a demonstrable interest in and knowledge of noble customs (few priest-brethren were of noble descent). Moreover, knight-brethren in the Utrecht bailiwick in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been known to be well-educated and therefore cannot be excluded as possible authors. Apart from this, the author of the *Croniken*, active in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and familiar with the geography of the city of Utrecht, must have had continuous access to the order's archives, the ability to adopt and develop the order's discourse, and the skills to plan the project, collect numerous sources from different parts of Europe, and transform the information from these sources into an entirely new historiographical text. He was interested in the genealogies of noble families, heraldry, but also agitated against partisan strifes and cared much about loyalty and obedience both in and outside the order.

Two possible candidates stand out. The first is Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen, who I have shown to be responsible for the writing of the author's copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript **We**₁. Hendrik van Vianen was probably the secretary of the land commander of the Utrecht bailiwick and was later in his life active as a notary public in the town of Vianen, a few kilometres south of Utrecht. The land commander for whom Vianen worked was the ambitious Johan van Drongelen, whose personal background fits the profile of the author of the *Croniken* very well. Drongelen was known in the County of Holland and the Bishopric of Utrecht as a specialist in the field of genealogy. Moreover, remarks by two of the most productive historiographers in the Low Countries of the late fifteenth century, Theodericus Pauli and Johannes a Leydis, show that Drongelen was not only engaged in history writing, but also visited numerous libraries and archives in search for source material. I have also shown there is some evidence suggesting that Drongelen may have been the author of parts of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum* printed by Johan Veldener.

In order to further investigate the roles of Drongelen and Vianen in producing the *Croniken*, I have proposed a method to study the stylistic characteristics of the various parts of the *Croniken*. The analysis of the writing style of the different parts of the *Croniken*, using quantitative data and computational techniques from the field of stylometry, showed that particularly the privileges were written in a different authorial style. Less evident, but still detectable is the difference in style of the first part of the prologue and especially the bailiwick chronicle in comparison to the middle parts of the *Croniken*. Quite possibly these are remnants of an atypical genesis of the text.

The cumulative evidence suggests that Land Commander Johan van Drongelen was the prime instigator of the project, who collected the sources and wrote most of the text of the *Croniken*. His secretary, Hendrik van Vianen, was responsible for translating the privileges which were included into Middle Dutch, and for the clerical work involved in writing and producing a presentable manuscript. Nevertheless, he also did some minor work composing and editing the text

and it cannot be excluded that Vianen occasionally had influence over the content of the chronicle as well. In any case, the collaboration between Hendrik van Vianen and Johan van Drongelen must have been a very close one.