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

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A Appendices

A.1 The manuscripts

Spelling preferences in manuscripts **We₁**, **Ge**, **Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**

Character combination “-ghe-” and “-ge-”

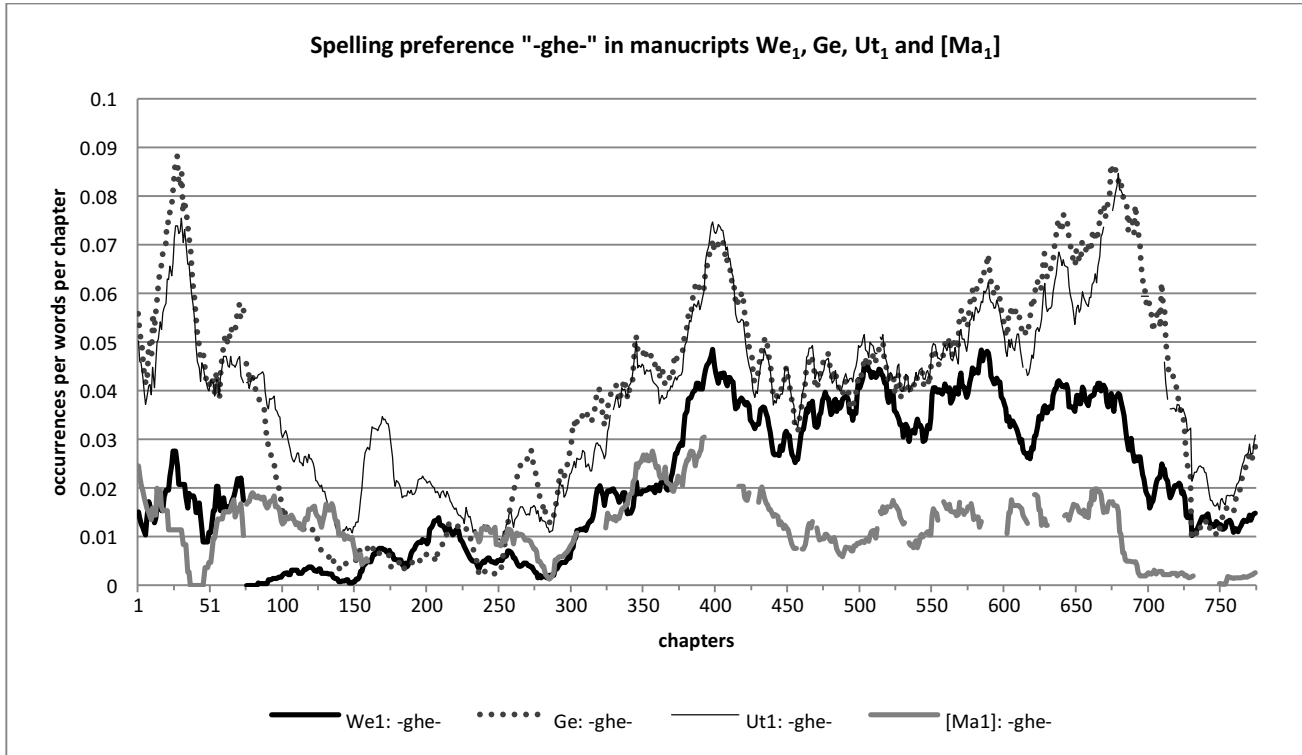


Figure A.1 Spelling preference “-ghe-” in manuscripts **We₁**, **Ge**, **Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.

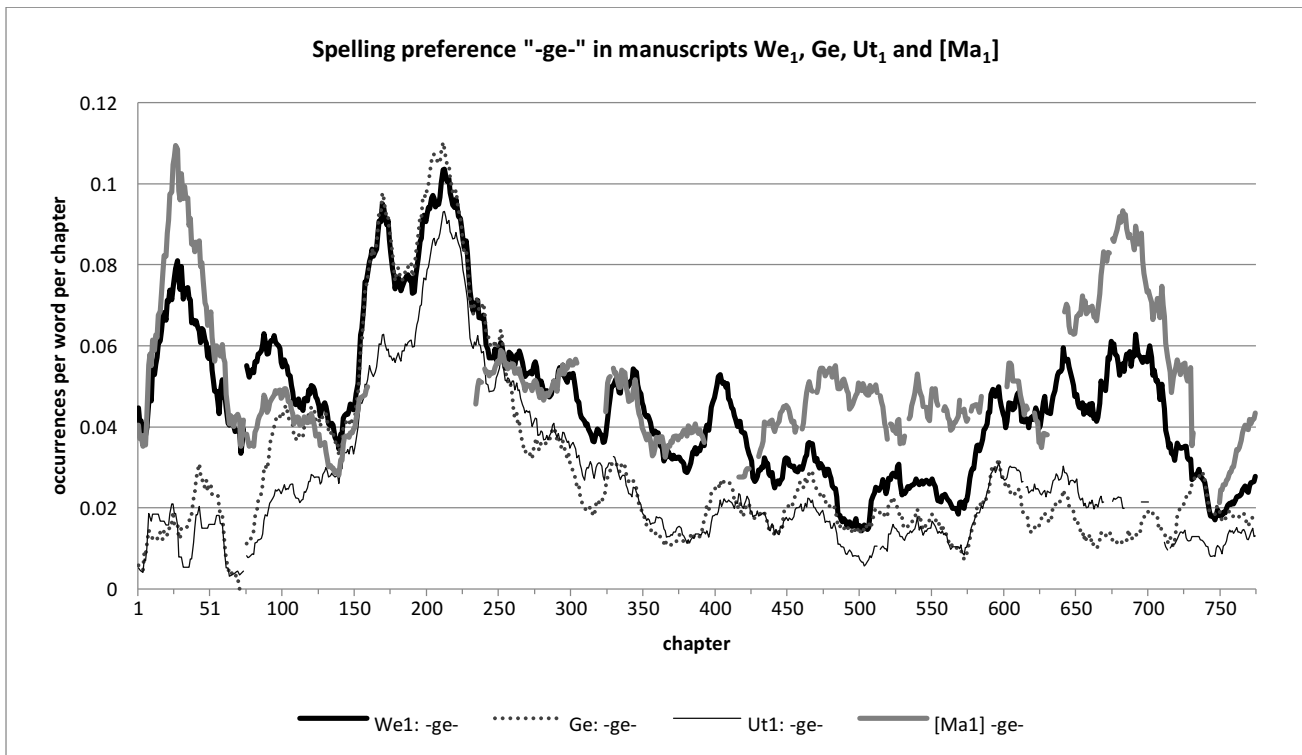


Figure A.2 Spelling preference “-ge-” in manuscripts **We₁**, **Ge**, **Ut₁** and **[Ma₁]**.

Diphthongs “-ei-” and “-ey-” (or “-eij-”)

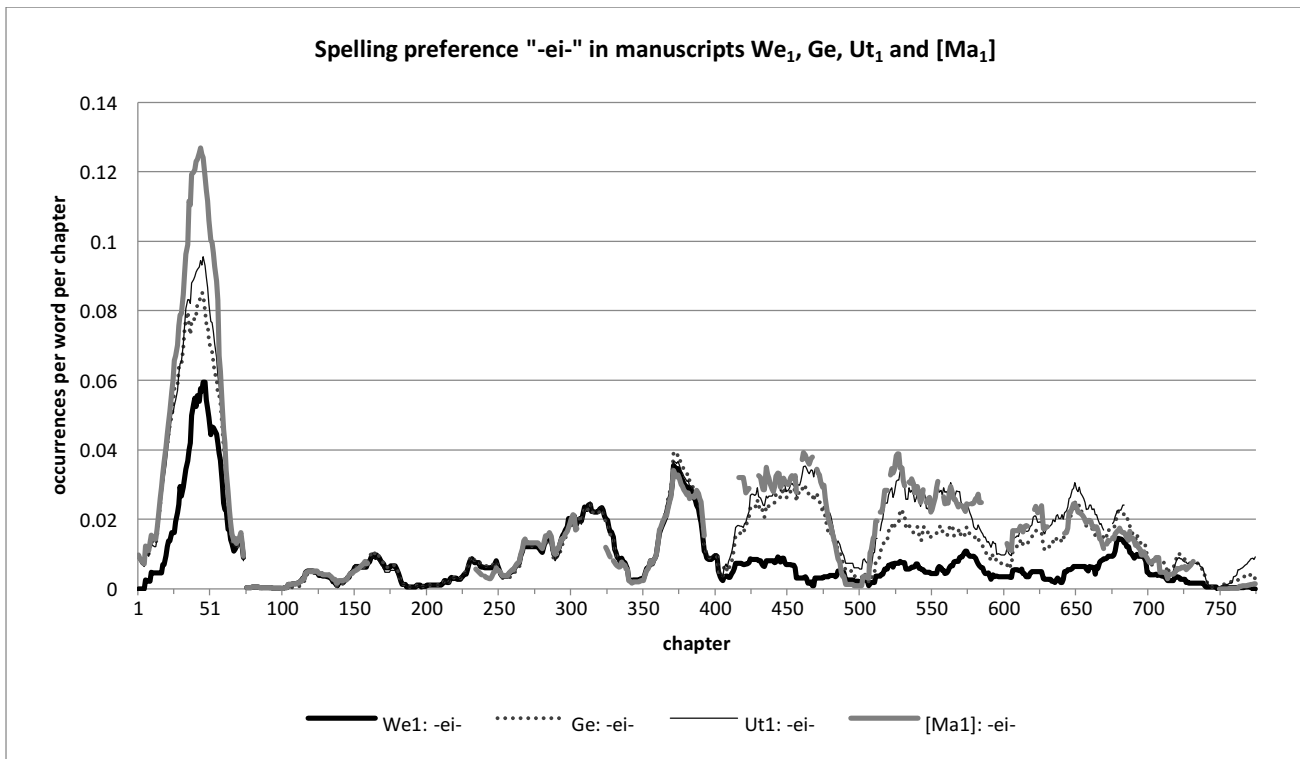


Figure A.3 Spelling preference “-ei-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and *[Ma₁]*.

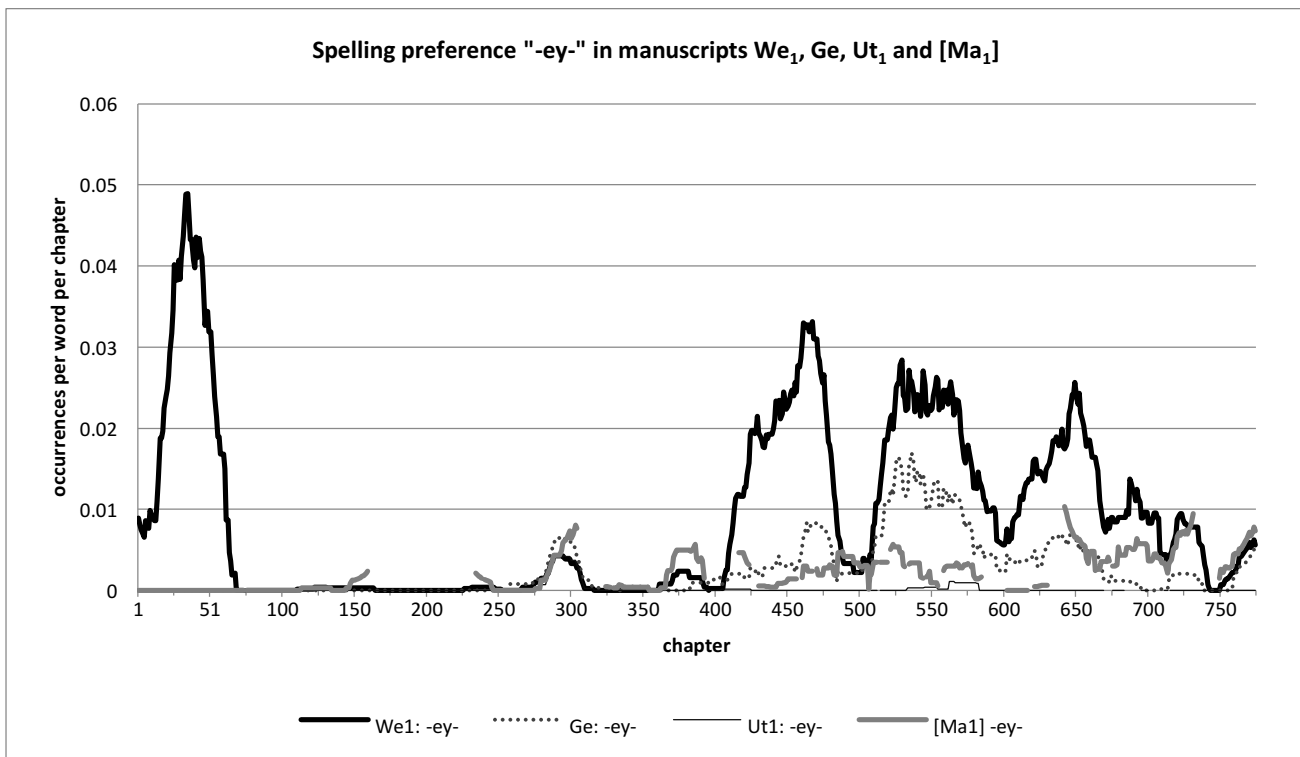


Figure A.4 Spelling preference “-ey-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and *[Ma₁]*.

Spelling of 'brother': "broeder" and "brueder"

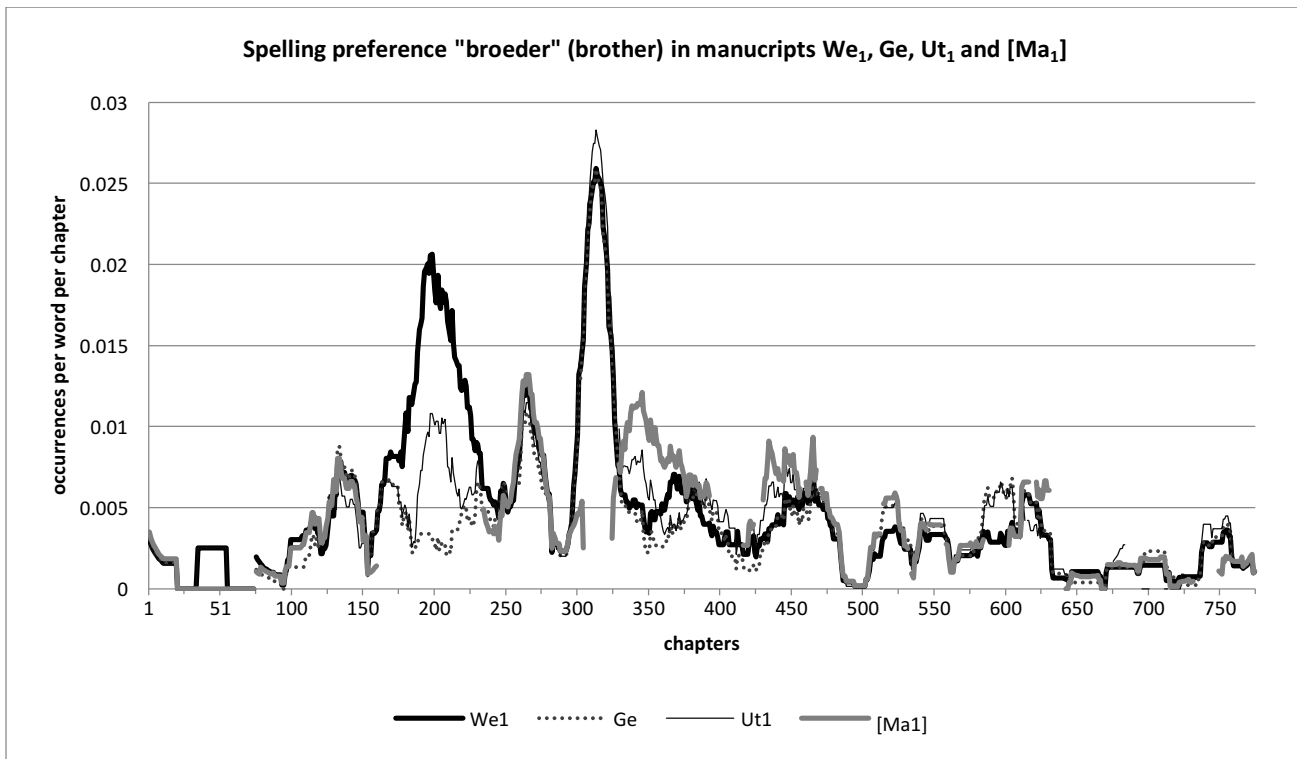


Figure A.5 Spelling preference "broeder" (brother) in manuscripts We_1 , Ge, Ut_1 and $[Ma_1]$.

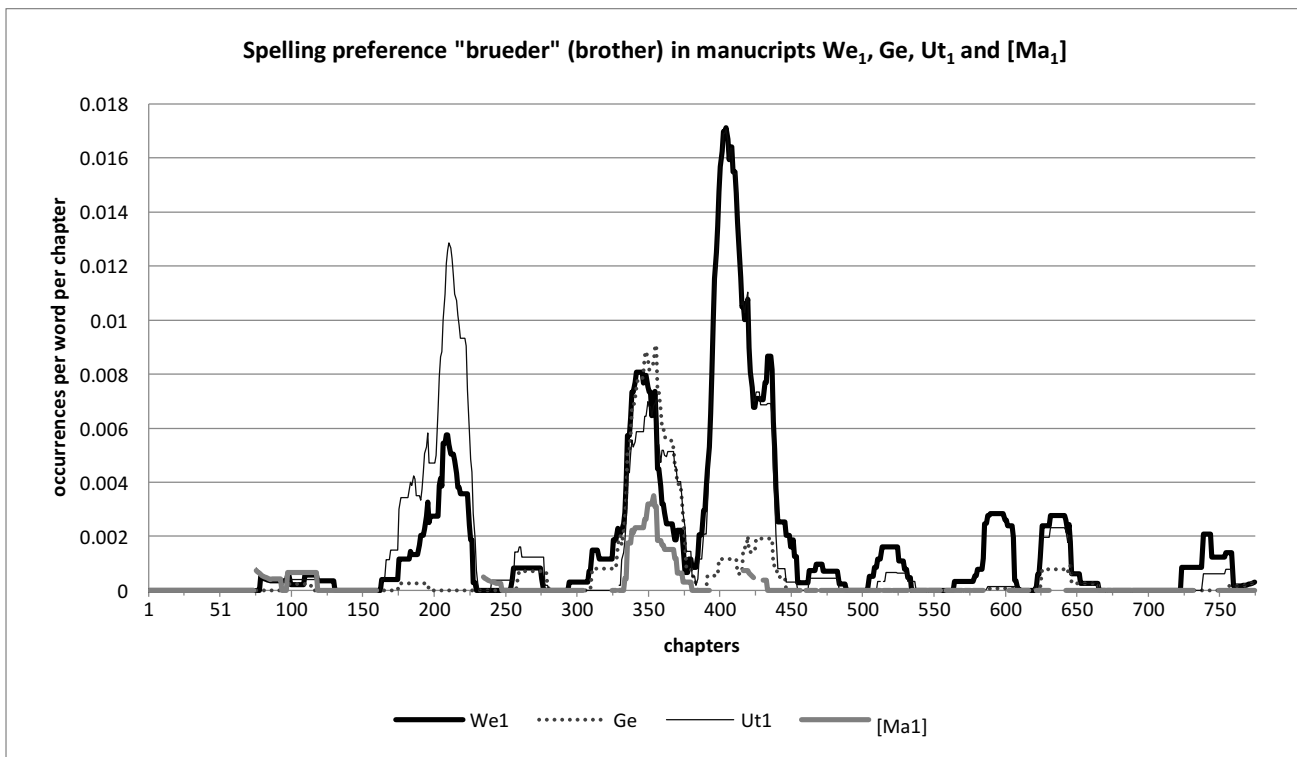


Figure A.6 Spelling preference "brueder" (brother) in manuscripts We_1 , Ge, Ut_1 and $[Ma_1]$.

Diphthongs “-oe-”, “-oi-” and “-oo-”

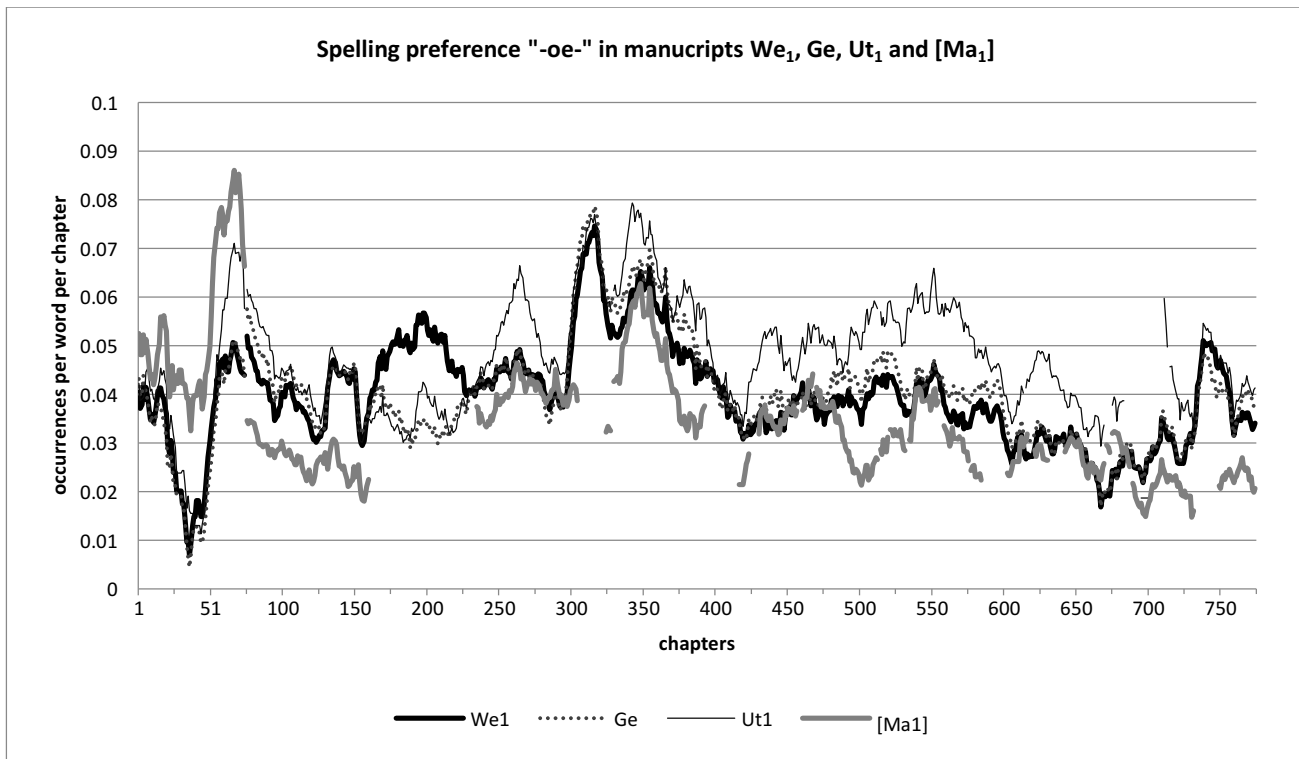


Figure A.7 Spelling preference “-oe-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and [*Ma₁*].

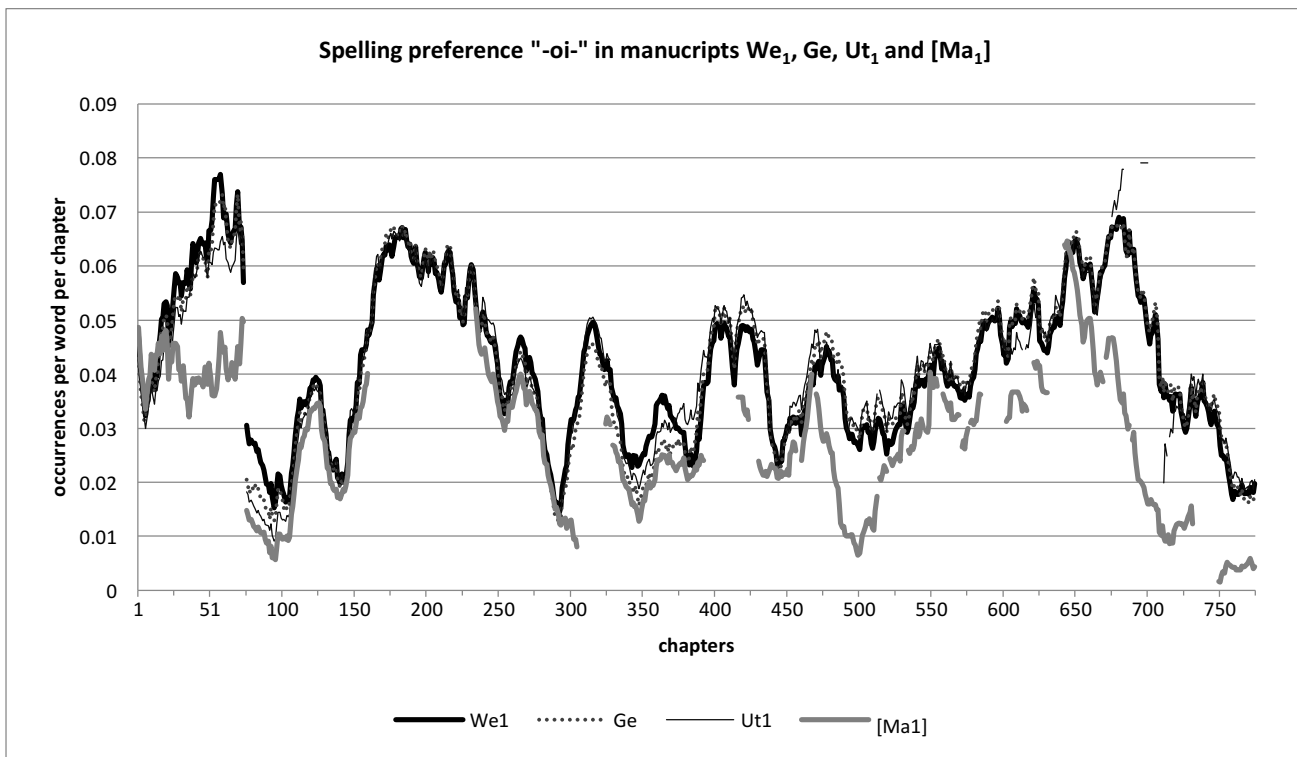


Figure A.8 Spelling preference “-oi-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and [*Ma₁*].

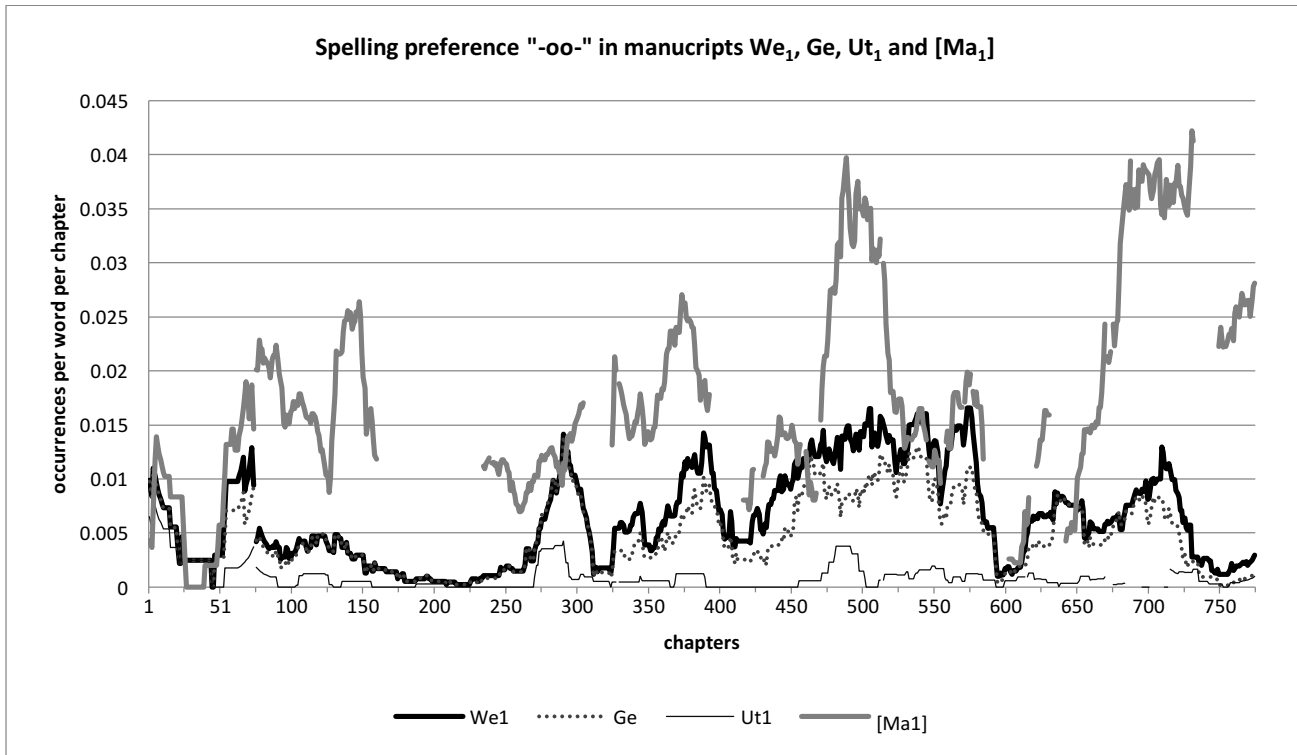


Figure A.9 Spelling preference “-oo-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and [*Ma₁*].

Diphthongs “-ae-”, “-ai-” and “-aa-”

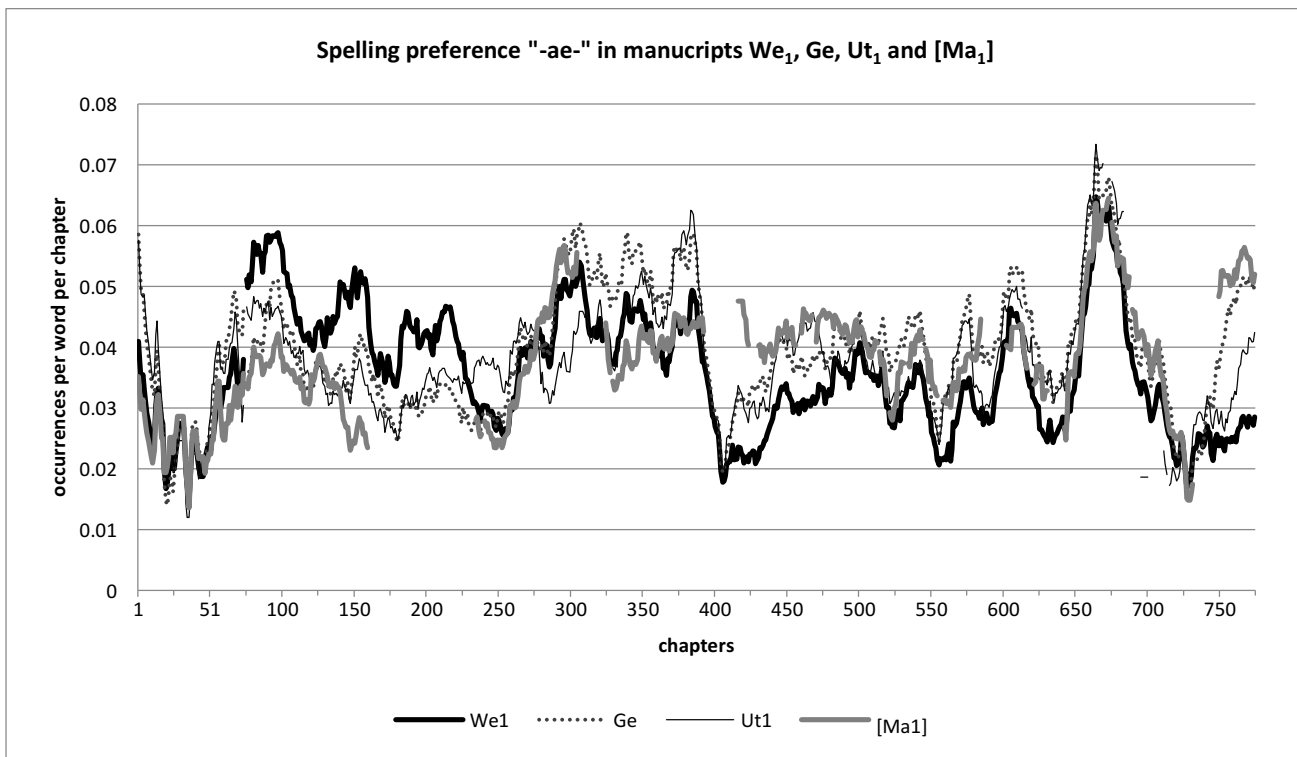


Figure A.10 Spelling preference “-ae-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and [*Ma₁*].

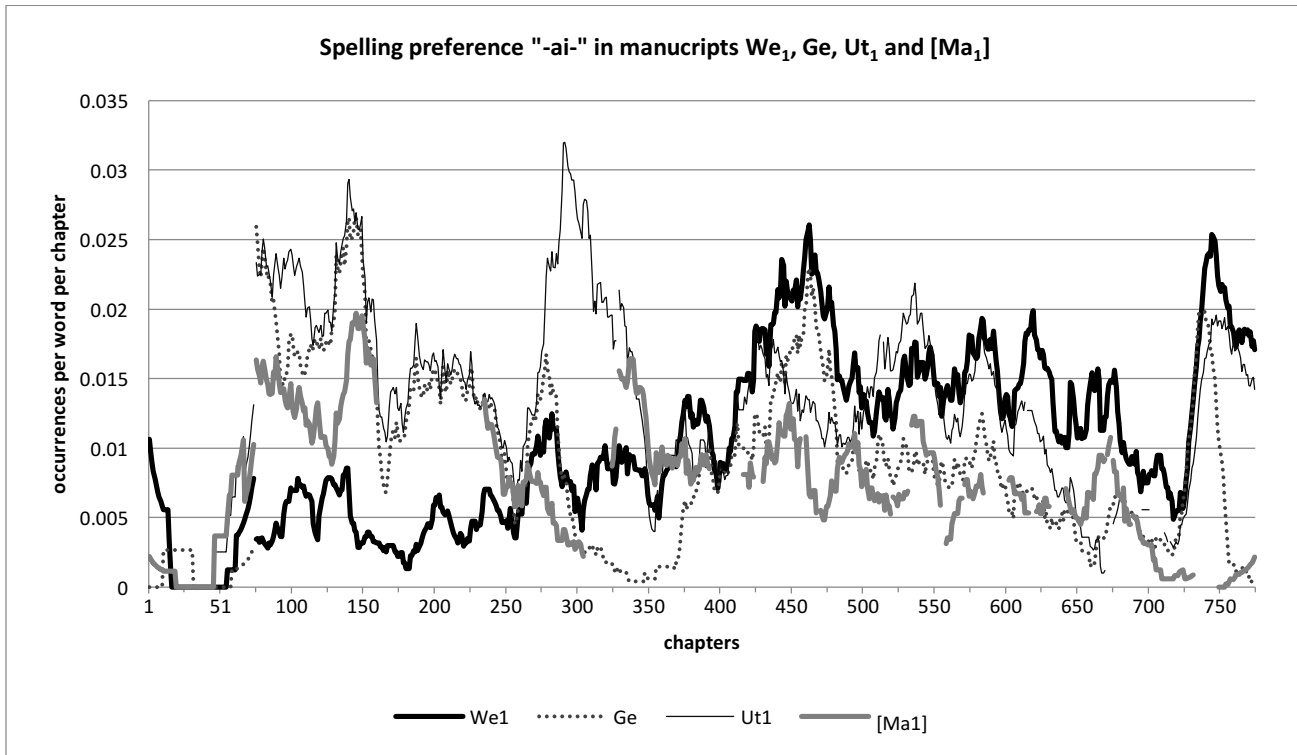


Figure A.11 Spelling preference “-ai-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and *[Ma₁]*.

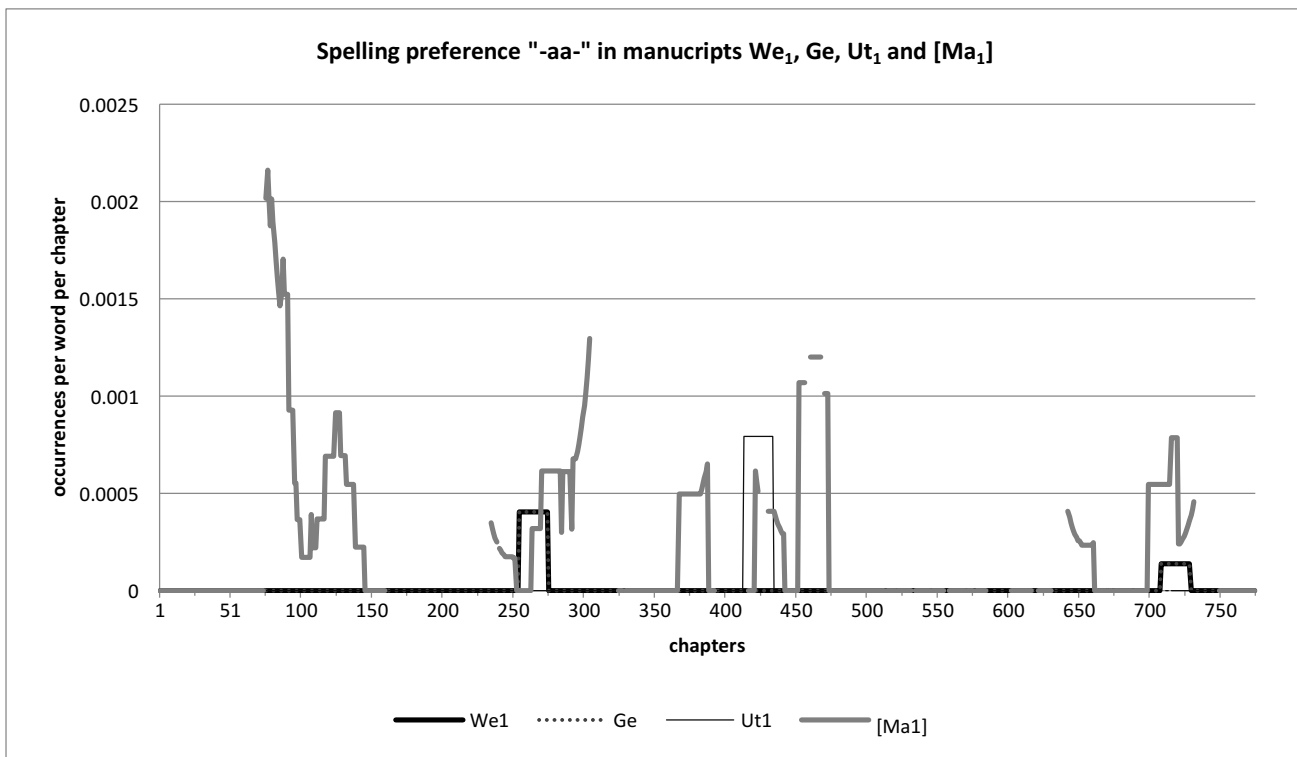


Figure A.12 Spelling preference “-aa-” in manuscripts *We₁*, *Ge*, *Ut₁* and *[Ma₁]*.

Spelling of 'there': "daer" and "dair"

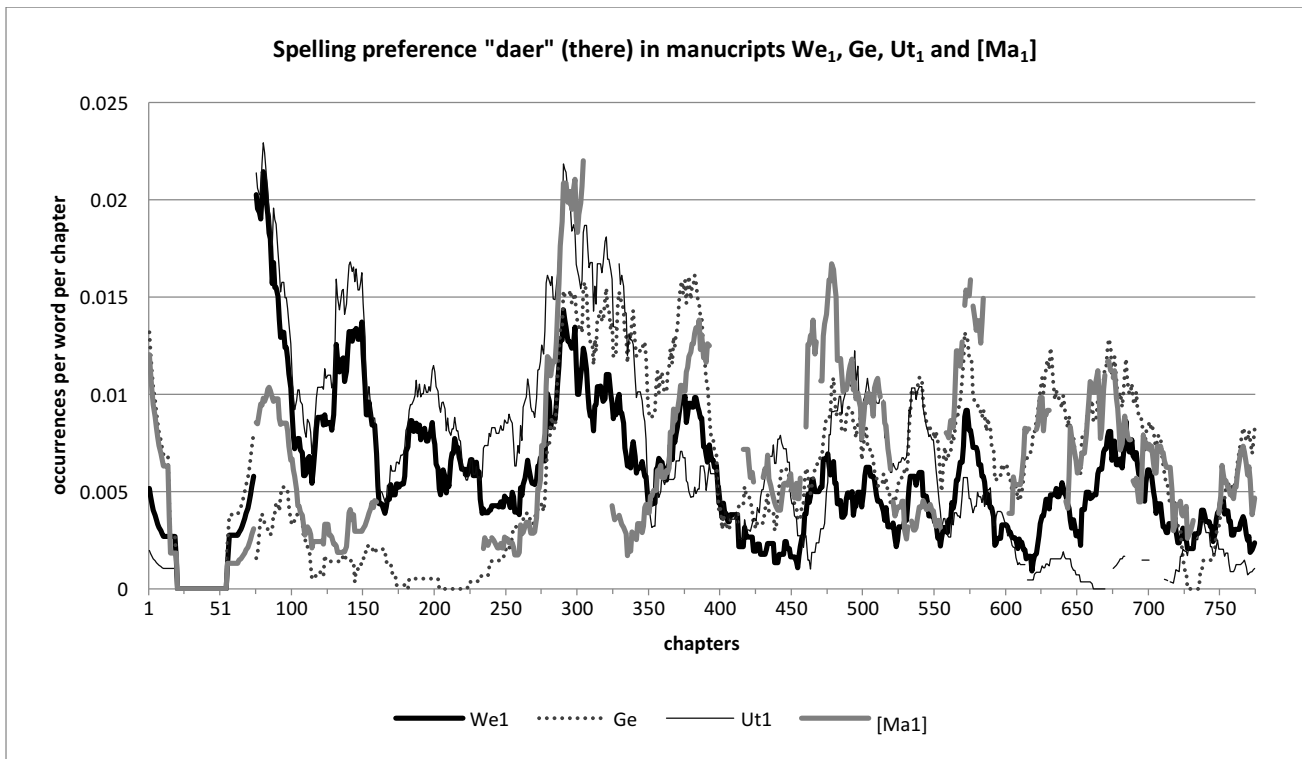


Figure A.13 Spelling preference "daer" (there) in manuscripts We_1 , Ge , Ut_1 and $[Ma_1]$.

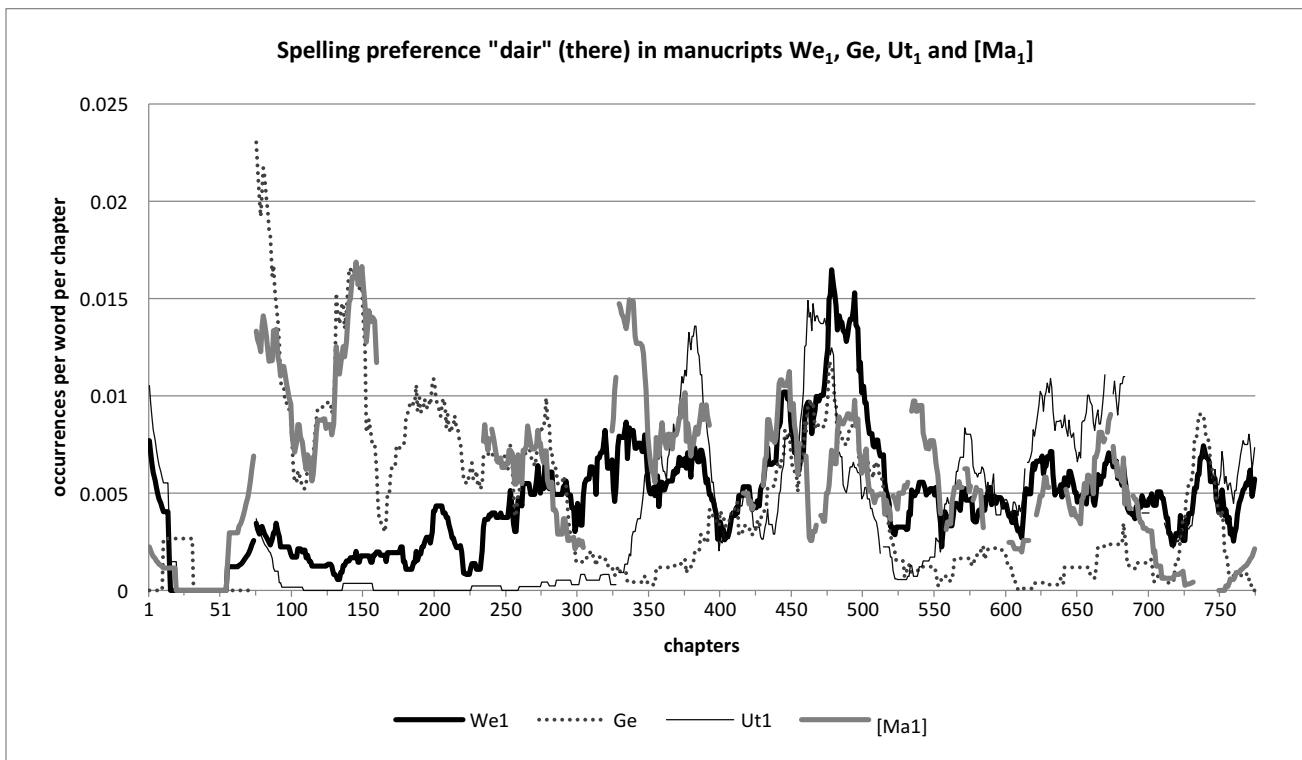


Figure A.14 Spelling preference "dair" (there) in manuscripts We_1 , Ge , Ut_1 and $[Ma_1]$.

List of editorial amendments

Chapter	Editorial amendments: deletions; additions (not part of the running text: bold); blank space (___)	Reason and circumstances	Category	Adopted by mss.: (mss. St, Ta, Be, Pr only checked on few specific occasions)
48	heif hoichmeister	Both 'hoichmeister' and (much less often) 'hoifmeister' are used in the manuscript	Form?	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
50	teghens den heidenen Coninck van Polen	The Polish-Lituanian king Władysław II Jagiełło had already converted to Christianity.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
111	die twe hospitalen van ___ den tempel ende van sinte Johan	See Table 2.19.	Content	St,Ta,Be,Pr Ge: 'onsen vrouwen' Ut ₁ ,Ma ₁ : 'onser liever vrouwen'
214	Dat gheen broeder sijn habijt sal laten leggen off syn overste onderdaen rebel sal wesen	Complete opposite.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ (absent [Ma ₁])
262	ende hiet die burch hiet Dabrijn	See Table 2.15.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
266	dat die biss hertoch	See Table 2.15.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
277, 278		Change in the (chronological) order of the chapters (see above).	Content	St,Ta,Be (not: Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁])
293	sij werp hem heymelic broet teten in die vangenisse	Not just bread, but more in general food is thrown in the prison.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
353	dat wij mit goids hulpe dat lant wael behouden souden sellen	Perhaps to avoid rhyme?	Form?	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
404	Alexander die Vierde gaff gefft den brueders	From past to present tense.	Content?	Ge,Ut ₁ (absent [Ma ₁])
414	Henricus bisscop van Basiliensis, ___ bisscop van Leodiensis	See Table 2.18.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ ,St,Ta,Be,Pr (absent [Ma ₁])
505	Ende die op ter Tempelier steinen borch ende op anderen toirnen laghen braken die toirnen van bynnen		Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
508	Beloopt the samen aen beyden sijden vierhondert-dusent ende tes tseventichdusent menschen	Produced and corrected own calculations (not found in source)	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
521	Quernbormae (?)	See Table 2.16.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁],St,Ta,Be,Pr
543, 596	e nde	Change from Latin 'et' to Middle Dutch 'ende'	Language source?	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
549	aen den paeus heilighen vader den paeus van Romanen	See Table 2.13.	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁],St,Ta (Be,Pr)
549	Ende daer wert gesloten tot penitencien dat hij in den ewighen daghen kerker sijn leven lanck bliven soude		Content	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
596	In enen cristal off in enen anderen clay claren vate	'clay' short for 'cleynode' (trinket) or 'cleyn' (small)?	Content? Language?	Ge,Ut ₁ , [Ma ₁]
596	Desgelijcx wij oick u van der selver macht verleent hebben alsoe [...] Ende ghebieden dat die executores ende conservatores off andere rechteren die u dairtoe gegeven sijn off werden [...]		Content	Ge,Ut ₁ (absent [Ma ₁])
599	wenceslaus karolus voirscreven	Scraped and superimposed (Table 2.14).	Content	Ge,Ut ₁ ,St,Ta,Be,Pr (absent [Ma ₁])
599	hoir goeden ende dingen in wesen perikelen vromelic stellen		Content? Language?	Ge,Ut ₁ (absent [Ma ₁])
647	eElvinghen	Unclear why Elbląg receives a capital letter here (in red ink) while many surrounding place names do not.	Form?	n/a

654	Soe dede dese voirscreven hoichmeyster Meyster Coenraet van Eerlichusen desen nyen Coninck Casimirus van Polen the gast bidden uut groter vruntscappen tot ___ Thoren in des oirdens huis	Originally left blank.	Content	Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁],St,Ta,Be,Pr
654	dair in hij geloefden gelijck sijn broeder voir gheloof hadde	Forgotten two words, then placed in margin. Not copied in Ge, Ut ₁ and [Ma ₁].	Content	St,Ta,Be,Pr (not: Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁])
654	Ende elek 't wert aen beyden zijden wael besworen gelijct voir gesciet was		Content	Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁],St,Be,Pr
664	Ende hij is wederom ghetogen tot onsen heyligen vader den paeus ende heeft hem in gheschrift gheset ghebrocht alle punten ende saken [...]		Content	Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁]
690	soe en waren die hoichmeister off sijn ghebiedeghers op sijne hoede ghene hoede	Complete opposite.	Content	Ge,Ut₁ (absent [Ma₁])
710	Ende over ___ wagen mit vitalie ende provande	See Table 2.17.	Content	Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁],St,Ta,Be,Pr
719-726		Editorial amendments in the list of Livonian commanderies; in less neat handwriting.	Content	St,Ta,Be,Pr (not: Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁])
725	in des meysters camer twedusent marck aen gelde ende twe ma rijns gulden sijn drie marck		Content	Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁]
732	Ende was heren ___ van Prinshagen ridder sijn soen	A later hand added the name 'Johan'.	Content	Ge,Ut₁ (absent [Ma₁])
741	hartoch Aelbrecht van Hollant Beyeren, ruwaert van Hollant		Content	Ge,Ut₁ (absent [Ma₁])
761	hij dede setten ende tymmeren dat ___ huis van den Biessen	Possibly unsure whether 'Nieuwen Biesen' or 'Alden Biesen' was meant.	Content	Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁]
766	Hij was sorchvoldich om den heren in allen dingen hoir notorft te hebben ende alle dage horen wijn	Scraped. It is unclear who is responsible for scraping the text, possible later change.	Content	(still present in Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁])
774	___ xxiii jair lanck	Number of years in office of Utrecht Land Commander Johan van Drongelen.	Content	Ge,Ut₁, [Ma₁]

Table A.1 List of editorial amendments in manuscript *We₁*.

A.2 Sources and composition

List of narrative sources

The narrative sources are thematically arranged. Square brackets signify uncertain classifications.

Short reference	Author; Common title(s) (when aberrant)	Use in Croniken ¹³²⁰	Availability in print ¹³²¹	Manuscript, edition and/or translation used
Bibles and religious texts				
Apolda (Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen)	Dietrich of Apolda: <i>Vita of Saint Elisabeth</i> (Reinhardsbrunner Rezensionen)	KT		Renner ¹³²²
Caesarius of Heisterbach's Sermon	Caesarius of Heisterbach: <i>Sermon on the Translation of St. Elisabeth</i>	KT		Huyskens ¹³²³ ; Könsgen ¹³²⁴
Caesarius of Heisterbach's Vita	Caesarius of Heisterbach: <i>Vita of Saint Elisabeth</i>	KT		Idem
[Herne Bible]	Petrus Naghel (attributed). Also known as: <i>History Bible of 1361</i> , <i>First History Bible</i> , <i>Southern Netherlands History Bible</i> , <i>Flemish History Bible</i> , <i>History Bible of 1360</i> , <i>Bible Translation of 1360</i>	[P]		De Bruin ¹³²⁵
Historia Scholastica	Petrus Comestor	P	Utrecht: Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt, 1473 (ip00459000) ¹³²⁶	Migne ¹³²⁷
[Legenda aurea (Latin)]	James of Voragine	[P]	Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, <1472 (ij00081000)	Maggioni ¹³²⁸
Legenda aurea (Middle Dutch)	James of Voragine, translated by Petrus Naghel: <i>Gulden legende</i>	P	Gouda: Gerard Leeu, 1478 (ij00139000)	Eckert van Homborch; ¹³²⁹ [Berteloot e.a.] ¹³³⁰
Libellus	<i>Libellus de dictis quator ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus</i>	KT		Huyskens ¹³³¹ ; Könsgen ¹³³²
[Northern Netherlands Bible Translation]	Johan Scutken	[P]		De Bruin ¹³³³
Northern Netherlands History Bible		P	Delft: Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer and Mauritius Yemantszoon, 1477 (ib00648000)	Van den Berg ¹³³⁴

¹³²⁰ Various locations (V); Prologue (P); Lives of grand masters (GM); Bailiwick chronicle (B); Life of Grand Master Konrad of Thuringia (KT); Life of Grand Master Werner of Orseln (WO); Siege of Acre, 1291 (SA).

¹³²¹ Only incunables printed in or before 1480 are included. When more than one print was available, only the *editio princeps* is mentioned. The codes in brackets present identification numbers in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue.

¹³²² Renner ed., *Dietrich von Apolda*.

¹³²³ 'Caesarius von Heisterbach'.

¹³²⁴ Könsgen ed., *Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*.

¹³²⁵ De Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament 1*; De Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament 2*; De Bruin ed., *Het Oude Testament 3*.

¹³²⁶ See also the edition printed in Augsburg in 1473 by Günther Zainer (ip00458000).

¹³²⁷ Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*.

¹³²⁸ James of Voragine, *Legenda aurea* (ed. Maggioni).

¹³²⁹ James of Voragine, *Winterstuc*; James of Voragine, *Somerstuc*.

¹³³⁰ Berteloot, Claassens and Kuiper eds., *De gulden legende* II.

¹³³¹ Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 112–140; Huyskens, *Libellus*, 1–86.

¹³³² Könsgen ed., *Leben der Heiligen Elisabeth*.

¹³³³ De Bruin ed., *Nieuwe Testament van de Moderne Devotie*.

¹³³⁴ Van den Berg, *Noordnederlandse historiebijbel*.

Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolphian Life of Christ		P	Gouda: Gerard Leeu, 1477 (il00212900)	De Bruin ¹³³⁵
Rijmbijbel	Jacob van Maerlant	P		Gyseling ¹³³⁶
[Translacio Sanctae Barbarae]	<i>Translacio et miracula Sanctae Barbarae</i>	GM		Töppen ¹³³⁷
Utrecht Bible		P		Mss. The Hague ¹³³⁸ ; see also <i>Herne Bible</i> and <i>Northern Netherlands Bible Translation</i>
Crusading literature and other worldly texts				
[Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum]		[KT]		Holder-Egger ¹³³⁹
Beauvais; Speculum historiale	Vincent of Beauvais: <i>Speculum historiale</i>	P; SA	Strasbourg: Adolf Rusch, around 1473 (iv00282000)	Belleri ¹³⁴⁰ ; Occasionally: Rusch ¹³⁴¹ ; Nicolini ¹³⁴² ; Ms. Douai ¹³⁴³
[Beke (Latin)]	Johannes de Beke: <i>Chronographia</i>	[V]		Bruch ¹³⁴⁴
Beke (Middle Dutch)	Johannes de Beke: <i>Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant</i>	V		Bruch ¹³⁴⁵
[Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis]		[KT]		Holder-Egger ¹³⁴⁶
Historia Damiatina	Oliver of Paderborn	P		Hoogeweg ¹³⁴⁷ ; Peters ¹³⁴⁸
Historia regum	Oliver of Paderborn: <i>Historia regum Terre Sancte</i>	P		Hoogeweg ¹³⁴⁹
Historia Trium Regum (Middle Dutch)	Johannes of Hildesheim: <i>Historien der heilgher drie coninghen</i>	SA	Delft: Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer and Mauricius Yemantszoon, 1479 (ij00340500)	Van der Meer & Yemantszoon ¹³⁵⁰
[Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews]	Flavius Josephus: <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>	[P]	Augsburg: Johann Schüssler, 1470 (ij00481000)	Mason (Feldman, Whiston) ¹³⁵¹
[Josephus' Jewish War]	Flavius Josephus: <i>Jewish War</i>	[P]	Idem	Mason (Whiston) ¹³⁵²

¹³³⁵ De Bruin ed., *Pseudo-Bonaventura-Ludolfiaanse Leven van Jesus*.

¹³³⁶ Van Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*.

¹³³⁷ Töppen, 'Translacio Sanctae Barbarae'.

¹³³⁸ The Hague, KB, 69 B 10; The Hague, KB, 128 C 2.

¹³³⁹ Holder-Egger, 'Annales Erphordenses'.

¹³⁴⁰ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (1624).

¹³⁴¹ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 1 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072933-4> [accessed 13 February 2016]; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 2 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072934-9> [accessed 13 February 2016]; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 3 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072935-4> [accessed 13 February 2016]; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 4 (Strasbourg: Rusch around 1473) <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00072936-0> [accessed 13 February 2016].

¹³⁴² Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (1591).

¹³⁴³ Vincent of Beauvais, 'Speculum Historiale (Ms. Douai B.M. 797)'.

¹³⁴⁴ Bruch ed., *Chronographia*.

¹³⁴⁵ Bruch ed., *Johannes de Beke*.

¹³⁴⁶ Holder-Egger, 'Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis'.

¹³⁴⁷ Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*.

¹³⁴⁸ Peters ed., *Christian Society and the Crusades*.

¹³⁴⁹ Hoogeweg ed., *Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*.

¹³⁵⁰ Johannes of Hildesheim, *Drie coninghen*.

¹³⁵¹ Josephus, 'Judean Antiquities'.

¹³⁵² Flavius Josephus, 'The Judean War', *PACE: Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement* (2003-2005) <<http://pace-ancient.mcmaster.ca/york/york/showText?text=wars&version=whiston>> [accessed 22 June 2015].

Korner	Hermann Korner: <i>Chronica novella</i>	V		Von Eckhart ¹³⁵³ ; Schwalm ¹³⁵⁴
[Pauli I; Pauli II]	Theodericus Pauli, <i>Chronicle of Holland</i> (in two versions)	B		Ms. Utrecht ¹³⁵⁵ ; Ms. Trier ¹³⁵⁶
Richard of San Germano	Richard of San Germano: <i>Chronica</i>	P		Pertz ¹³⁵⁷ ; Garufi ¹³⁵⁸
Spiegel Historiae	Jacob van Maerlant, Philip Utenbroeke, Lodewijk van Velthem	P; SA		De Vries and Verwijs ¹³⁵⁹ ; Vander Linden and De Vreese ¹³⁶⁰ ; Ms. Berlin ¹³⁶¹
Sudheim (Latin)	Ludolf of Sudheim: <i>Description of the Holy Land and of the way thither</i>	P; SA	Strasbourg: Heinrich Eggestein, around 1475–80 (il00362000, il00363000)	Eggestein ¹³⁶² ; Deycks ¹³⁶³ ; see also Korner. ¹³⁶⁴
Sudheim (Low German)	Ludolf of Sudheim: <i>Description of the Holy Land and of the way thither</i>	P; SA		Kosegarten ¹³⁶⁵ ; Von Stapelmohr ¹³⁶⁶
Tyre (Latin or Old French)	William of Tyre: <i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i> . Also known as: <i>Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum</i> (A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea)	P		Huygens ¹³⁶⁷ ; Paris ¹³⁶⁸
Tyre: Rothelin continuation	Old French Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre: <i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i>	P		Recueil des Historiens des Croisades ¹³⁶⁹ ; Shirley ¹³⁷⁰
Veldener	Johan Veldener (printer): <i>Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum</i>	V	Utrecht: Johan Veldener, 1480 (ir00278000)	Veldener ¹³⁷¹
Vitry	James of Vitry: <i>Historia Orientalis</i>	P		Bongars ¹³⁷² ; Martène and Durand ¹³⁷³ ; Grosse ¹³⁷⁴ ; Donnadieu ¹³⁷⁵
Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Peregrinatio	Wilbrand of Oldenburg: <i>Journey to the Holy Land</i>	P; [SA]		Allatius ¹³⁷⁶ ; Laurent ¹³⁷⁷ ; Pringle ¹³⁷⁸

¹³⁵³ 'Hermann Corneri'.

¹³⁵⁴ Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*.

¹³⁵⁵ Utrecht, UB, Hs. 1650.

¹³⁵⁶ Trier, SB, Hs. 1288/79.

¹³⁵⁷ 'Ryccardi de S. Germano'.

¹³⁵⁸ Garufi ed., *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano*.

¹³⁵⁹ M. de Vries and E. Verwijs eds., *Jacob van Maerlant's Spiegel Historiae, met de fragmenten der later toegevoegde gedeelten, bewerkt door Philip Utenbroeke en Lodewijk van Velthem* 1 (Leiden: Brill 1863); De Vries and Verwijs eds., *Spiegel Historiae* 2; De Vries and Verwijs eds., *Spiegel Historiae* 3.

¹³⁶⁰ Vander Linden and De Vreese eds., *Voortzetting* I.

¹³⁶¹ Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Quart. 2018.

¹³⁶² Ludolf of Sudheim, *De itinere ad terram sanctam*.

¹³⁶³ Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*.

¹³⁶⁴ Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, 198–202.

¹³⁶⁵ Kosegarten ed., *Ludolf von Suchen. Reisebuch*.

¹³⁶⁶ Von Stapelmohr ed., *Sudheim*.

¹³⁶⁷ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*.

¹³⁶⁸ P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continueurs. Texte français du XIIIe siècle, revu et annoté* 1 (Paris 1879); P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continueurs. Texte français du XIIIe siècle, revu et annoté* 2 (Paris 1880).

¹³⁶⁹ 'L'Estoire d'Eracles'.

¹³⁷⁰ Shirley ed., *Crusader Syria*.

¹³⁷¹ Johan Veldener ed., *Dat boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum*.

¹³⁷² Bongars ed., *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

¹³⁷³ Martène and Durand eds., *Thesaurus* III.

¹³⁷⁴ James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale* (transl. Grosse).

¹³⁷⁵ James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale* (ed./transl. Donnadieu).

¹³⁷⁶ 'Itinerarium'.

¹³⁷⁷ Laurent ed., *Wilbrands von Oldenburg Reise; 'Wilbrandi de Oldenburg'*.

¹³⁷⁸ Pringle, 'A new edition'; English translation: Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg'.

Prussian history and history of the Teutonic Order in general				
Aeneas Sylvius	Aeneas Sylvius: <i>De situ et origine Pruthenorum</i>	GM	Cologne: Arnold ther Hoernen, 1471–5 (ip00745000)	Ther Hoernen ¹³⁷⁹ ; Hirsch ¹³⁸⁰
Ältere Hochmeisterchronik		GM		Olivier ¹³⁸¹
Bericht Hermann von Salzas	Henry of Hohenlohe: <i>Bericht Hermann von Salzas über die Eroberung Preussens</i>	GM		Hirsch ¹³⁸²
Dusburg	Peter of Dusburg: <i>Chronicon terrae Prussiae</i>	P; GM		Scholtz and Wojtecki ¹³⁸³
[Hochmeisterverzeichnisse]	<i>Verzeichniss der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens</i>	[P]; [GM]		Strehlke ¹³⁸⁴ ; Kętrzyński ¹³⁸⁵ ; Wenta ¹³⁸⁶
Jeroschin	Nikolaus of Jeroschin: <i>Di Kronike von Pruzinlant</i>	P; GM		Strehlke ¹³⁸⁷ ; Fischer (English transl.) ¹³⁸⁸
Kurze Hochmeisterchronik		P; GM		Ms. Berlin ¹³⁸⁹ ; Hirsch ¹³⁹⁰
Narratio	<i>De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio</i>	P		Arnold and Hubatsch ¹³⁹¹ ; see also Korner ¹³⁹²
[Statutes (German)]		[WO]		Perlbach ¹³⁹³
[Statutes (Latin)]		P		Idem
Statutes (Middle Dutch)		V		Idem
Livonian history				
Bericht Hartmanns von Heldringen	Hartmann of Heldringen (?): <i>Bericht Hartmanns von Heldringen über die Vereinerung des Schwertbrüderordens mit dem Deutschen Orden</i>	GM		Hirsch ¹³⁹⁴
[Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik]		GM		Höhlbaum ¹³⁹⁵ (reconstructive edition)
Livländische Reimchronik	(Ältere) Livländische Reimchronik	GM		Meyer ¹³⁹⁶
Rhymed narrative of famine of 1315-1318	OF 215: Fragment II	GM		Olivier ¹³⁹⁷ ; see also the <i>Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik</i>
History of the Order of St. John				
Legends of the Hospital	<i>Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem; Miracles</i>	P	A version by Caoursin was printed but not used in the	Calvet ¹³⁹⁸

¹³⁷⁹ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *De situ et origine Pruthenorum*.

¹³⁸⁰ Hirsch, 'Aeneas Sylvius'.

¹³⁸¹ 'Ancienne Chronique des Grands-Maîtres: édition critique'.

¹³⁸² Hirsch, 'Bericht Hermann von Salza's'.

¹³⁸³ Scholz and Wojtecki eds., *Peter von Dusburg*.

¹³⁸⁴ Strehlke, 'Hochmeisterverzeichniss'.

¹³⁸⁵ Kętrzyński, 'Magistri generales'.

¹³⁸⁶ Wenta, 'Pelplińska modlitwa'.

¹³⁸⁷ Strehlke, 'Kronike von Pruzinlant'.

¹³⁸⁸ Fischer, *Chronicle of Prussia*.

¹³⁸⁹ Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Germ., Fol. 1289, f. 407r–445v.

¹³⁹⁰ Hirsch, 'Danziger Ordenschronik'.

¹³⁹¹ 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung'.

¹³⁹² Schwalm ed., *Chronica novella*, 597–598.

¹³⁹³ Perlbach ed., *Statuten*.

¹³⁹⁴ Hirsch, 'Bericht Hartmanns von Heldringen'.

¹³⁹⁵ Höhlbaum ed., *Jüngere Livländische Reimchronik*.

¹³⁹⁶ Meyer ed., *Livländische Reimchronik*.

¹³⁹⁷ Olivier, 'Zwei Excerpte aus der "Jüngere Livländischen Reimchronik"?'.

¹³⁹⁸ Calvet, *Légendes*.

Croniken: Venice: Erhard
 Ratdolt, 1480 (ic00108000)

Table A.2 List of narrative sources used in the *Croniken*.

Unidentified sources	Use in <i>Croniken</i>
Pilgrimage guidebook(s) to Jerusalem (probably)	Prologue
Narrative regarding Empress Helena	Prologue
Narrative regarding Godfrey of Bouillon's financial preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land, similar to for instance the <i>Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Hubert</i> . ¹³⁹⁹	Prologue
List of participants of the Third Crusade, similar to for instance the <i>Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris</i> . ¹⁴⁰⁰	Prologue
General (world) chronicle, other than those included in Table A.2	Various locations
(Additional) lists of land masters in Prussia and Livonia	Lives of grand masters
Various Livonian sources, including narratives on the false papal legate and Master of Livonia Eberhard of Monheim (see Table 3.31)	Lives of grand masters

Table A.3 List of unidentified narrative sources of the *Croniken*.

Short reference	Author; Common title(s) (when aberrant)	Manuscript, edition and/or translation used
Anonymous Franciscan Vita of St. Elisabeth		Pieper ¹⁴⁰¹
Berchen	Willem van Berchen, <i>Chronicle of Holland</i>	Tilmans ¹⁴⁰²
Chronicon Hollandiae		Obreen ¹⁴⁰³
Chronik der vier Orden von Jerusalem		Töppen ¹⁴⁰⁴
Kleine Meisterchronik		For a list of manuscripts and editions: Thumser ¹⁴⁰⁵
Leydis I	Johannes a Leydis, <i>Chronicle of Holland</i> (first version)	Ms. London ¹⁴⁰⁶
Leydis II	Johannes a Leydis, <i>Chronicle of Holland</i> (second version)	Sweertius ¹⁴⁰⁷
Life of Christ	<i>Life of Christ</i> (Middle Dutch Diatessaron)	Bergsma ¹⁴⁰⁸ ; De Bruin ¹⁴⁰⁹
Posilge	Johann of Posilge: <i>Chronik des Landes Preußen</i>	Strehlke ¹⁴¹⁰
Wartberge	Hermann of Wartberge: <i>Chronicon Livoniae</i>	Strehlke ¹⁴¹¹

Table A.4 Returning references to narrative sources, not used in the *Croniken*.

¹³⁹⁹ Hanquet ed., *Cantatorium*.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Loud ed., *Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*.

¹⁴⁰¹ Pieper, 'A New Life'.

¹⁴⁰² Tilmans, *Hollandse kroniek* (thesis/edition).

¹⁴⁰³ 'Chronicon Hollandiae'.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Töppen ed., *Chronik der vier Orden*.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen'.

¹⁴⁰⁶ London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E vi.

¹⁴⁰⁷ 'Chronicon Hollandiae comitum'.

¹⁴⁰⁸ J. Bergsma ed., *De levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*. Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche letterkunde 54-55 (Groningen: Wolters 1895-1898) <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_lev005leve03_01/index.php> [accessed 2 May 2016].

¹⁴⁰⁹ De Bruin ed., *Luikse diatessaron*; De Bruin ed., *Diatessaron van Cambridge*; De Bruin ed., *Haarensche diatessaron*.

¹⁴¹⁰ Strehlke, 'Johann von Posilge'.

¹⁴¹¹ Strehlke, 'Hermanni de Wartberge'.

Explicit references to sources

Chapter	<i>Croniken</i> (ms. We ₁)	Reference to:
c.93	Ende Onsse Vrouwe sterff als men xxxvi screef, twe jaer nae Ons Heren opvaert als sommige seggen, ende sommige seggen langher.	Various contradicting sources regarding the age of Mary, as described originally in the <i>Legenda Aurea</i> . ¹⁴¹² See also Table 3.17.
c.101	Daer sijn enige personen geweest ende hebben gescreven van desen heiligen berch van Sion, ende scriven dat daer een religie was nae Ons Heren opvaert, ende dat Sente Steven daer die yerste prelaet off was, ende die religie duerden dat sommige oirden dair uut gesticht worden. Mer 't is al versierde dedinge. Leest Actus Apostolorum , leest Josephus ende Scolastica ende ander: ghij en sultet nergens vijnden.	<i>Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem.</i> <i>Acts of the Apostles</i> ; Josephus' <i>Jewish War</i> and/or <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> ; Jacob van Maerlant's <i>Rijmbijbel</i> or Petrus Comestor's <i>Historia Scholastica</i>
c.102	Welck oirde doe gegeven wert dat hospitaal van den Duytschen Huse van Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem, [...], dat dat wesen solde dat hoifhuis ende tittel van hoirre oirden, als men claerlic mit des paeus bullen bewijsen sal. Gelijk dat Sinte Johans Oirde die niet lange voir gesticht en wert, gegeven wert dat hospitaal van Sinte Johans Baptisten, [...]. Ende dat hospitaal solde wesen hoirs oirdens tittel ende hoifhuis, als des paeus bullen dat oick wael uut wijsen.	Papal bulls to prove the origins of the Teutonic Order and Hospitallers in Jerusalem.
c.121	Daer sijn enige personen geweest ende hebben in sommige boeken gescreven van der Duytscher Oirden begin , ende sommige van Sinte Johans Oirden begin , daer sij seer in missen ende blijkt dat se dair weynich off weten. Want sij screven doe Hertoch Vrederic van Zwaven mitten anderen princen voir Akers lach, dat Hertoch Vrederic enen cappellaen had ende die tymmerde tot Akers een capelle in Onsser Vrouwen eer ende noemden die dat Hospitaal van Onser Vrouwen van den Duytschen Huse. Ende doe Akers gewonnen wert dat se doe enen sconen tempel in der muer van Akers tymmerden. Mer dit en is in der waerheit alsoe niet gesciet. [...]	<i>De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio</i> . ¹⁴¹³ <i>Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem.</i>
c.122	Oic syn som personen geweest ende hebben in sommyge boeken van Sinte Johans Oirde gescreven dat die gesticht ende gefundeert wert van Johannes Elemosinarius ende dat se daer den naem of hebben souden. Daer sij alte seer in missen off niet van geweten en hebben want die eersaem Raymundus die gardiaen ende regierre was van den Hospitaal van Sente Johans Baptisten tot Jherusalem die yerst Sinte Johans Oirde begreep [...] Ende des Paeus ende Keysers bullen bewijsen volcomelick van der oirden uut.	<i>Legends of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem.</i> William of Tyre, <i>Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum</i> . ¹⁴¹⁴ Or also: James of Vitry, <i>Historia Orientalis</i> ¹⁴¹⁵ Papal and imperial bulls.
c.186–7	Ende soe sal een priesterbroeder van der oirden over hem lesen, als hier nae bescreven staet: [Then follows a list of prayers in Latin] Ende dan sal se die priester mit wijwater besprengen ende heten se opstaen. Soe sal die overste seggen: [Then follows a prescribed pledge in Dutch]	Admission procedure for new brethren.
c.209	Noch heeft dese selve Honorius Tercius voirscreven den Duytschen Oirden van den Hospitaal van Onsser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem veel scoenre bullen ende privilegien gegeven die hier voir nyet genoemt en staen want men die bullen off transumpten autentijc dair off niet doirsien en hadde.	Papal bulls and authentic transcriptions. ¹⁴¹⁶
c.224	Noch heeft dese selve paeus Gregorius die Negende voirscreven den Duytschen Oirden van Onser Liever Vrouwen van Jherusalem meer ander bullen ende privilegien ghegeven die hier voir nyet genoemt en staen want men die bullen off autentijck transumpten daer niet off doir sien en hadde.	See c.209
c.235	Sommige onwetende luden seggen ende versieren dat Johannes Elemosinarius Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht heeft ende dat sy dairom heiten Sinte Johans Oirde. Ende dat is al versierde logen want Johannes Elemosinarius was over vijfhondert jair doot geweest eer Sinte Johans Oirde gesticht werdt. [...]	See c.122

¹⁴¹² Berteloot, Claassens and Kuiper eds., *De gulden legende* II, Assumption of Mary.

¹⁴¹³ 'Anfänge der Deutschordens-Geschichtsschreibung'.

¹⁴¹⁴ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Lib. I–10; XVIII–4,5.

¹⁴¹⁵ James of Vitry, *Histoire Orientale* (ed./transl. Donnadieu), c. 64.

¹⁴¹⁶ Note the use of the undetermined 'they' ("men") instead of the first person. It looks like the author himself had not been able to witness these authenticated bulls, but rather the composer of his source.

c.255	Ende [Emperor Frederick II] gaf hem daer goede bullen off besegelt mit synen gulden segel Ende [Duke Conrad of Masovia] gaven daer goede besegelde brieven off Ende alle dit heeft die Paeus sijn heylicheit belieft ende confirmeert mit sine bullen	Golden Bull of Rimini (1226/1235), Treaty of Kruschwitz (1230), Bull of Rieti (1234). ¹⁴¹⁷
c.280	Hier beghinnen die Croniken van Lieflant ende Coerlant , ende hoe die totter gelove quamen yerst by den Heren van den Zweerde, ende nae an der Duytscher Oirden quamen, die voort dat geheel lant ten kersten gelove brochten.	<i>Livländische Reimchronik</i> and perhaps other Livonian chronicles. ¹⁴¹⁸
c.325	Ende dat [the nomination of St Elisabeth as patron saint of the Teutonic Order] wert voort in der oirden gheset , ten ewighen dagen alsoe the houden ende the bliven.	The ‘Laws’ (‘Gesetze’) of the <i>Statutes of the Teutonic Order</i> (?). ¹⁴¹⁹
c.488	Ende dit was die eerlike stadt Akers die in der Biblyen genoemt staet Tholomayda, daer Jonathas van Triphone ghevangen wert ende verraden.	Old Testament, 1 Macc. 12:42-48. ¹⁴²⁰
c.488	Ende dair den afgod Belsebuyc plach te wesen, dair Ochosias die coninck van Israhel toe seynde om off hij hem van sijnre siecten ghenesen mocht, als men in der Bibel leest bij den tijden des Propheten Helie, doe hij dair bij woenden op ten berch van Carmeli.	Old Testament, 2 King 1:2. ¹⁴²¹
c.502	Men leest dat om der borgher boosheit: ten yersten die lucht wart nevelich ende alsoe duyster.	Ludolf of Sudheim’s <i>Description of the Holy Land</i> . ¹⁴²²
c.549	Ende alsoe des oirdens reghel ende statuten holden: wat broeder des oirdens enich broeder des oirdens ther doot brengt, die sal men ghevanghen holden [...] Ende als die nywe hoichmeister meyster Ludert hertoghe van Bruynswijck hoichmeister gheworden was, soe dede hij groot capittel scriven...	The ‘Laws’ added by Luther of Braunschweig to the <i>Statutes of the Teutonic Order</i> . ¹⁴²³
c.658-659	Ende dit is die manier van der huldinge ende den eet als hier nae bescreven staet: [Then follows the oath of allegiance from start to finish]	Oath of allegiance of the Prussian estates to the grand master.
c.(668)/674-84	Die Pruyssche steden mit horen bontghenoten ende aenclevers dese namen principaelijk voir hem drie punten daer sij den Hoichmeister van Pruyssen ende der Oirden mede beclaechden... [Later follow three articles of complaint (with glosses by the Order) of the Prussian Confederation]	Preparations for the trial at the imperial court of Frederick III regarding the establishment of the Prussian Confederation and some of the trial proceedings, ranging from 10 November 1452 to 6 December 1453. ¹⁴²⁴
c.695-8	Soe senden die steden den hoichmeister ende der Duytscher Oirden enen ontsegbrieff tot Marienborch op Sinte Valentijns avont in ‘t jair dusent vierhondert ende vierendevijftich. Ende luden aldus: [Then follows the letter from start to finish, including the salutation and address]	Declaration of enmity by the Prussian Confederation dated 13 February 1454.
c.717-27	Dit sijn die steden ende sloten die aen den Coninck van Polen mit horen hulperen aen die Pomersche sijde gebleven sijn: [Then follows a list of (former) commanderies in Prussia and later Livonia]	List of commanderies in Prussia and Livonia. It is unclear whether the list is taken from one source or many.
c.734	Ende die kerck ende sael kosten tusschen tyen ende twaleff dusent oude scilde, daer som die rekenscap off ghesien hebben.	Account of the building costs for the convent church in Utrecht, “witnessed by some.”

¹⁴¹⁷ This information is also available in Dusburg, Jeroschin and the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*. It should be noted that the role of the emperor has changed in comparison to other chronicles. In Dusburg and Jeroschin duke Conrad of Masovia plays the lead role, while the emperor merely advises him. In the *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* the emperor is absent all together. In the *Croniken* however, the emperor grants – independently of the duke – privileges himself. By doing so, the author follows the trichotomy of the Golden Bull of Rimini (issued by emperor Frederick II in 1226; newly dated 1235), Treaty of Kruschwitz (issued by duke Conrad of Masovia in 1230) and the Bull of Rieti (confirmation by pope Gregory IX in 1234). It is unclear though, whether the author had indeed access to (abridged versions of) these documents. For these bulls see: Jasiński, *Kruschwitz, Rimini und die Grundlagen*.

¹⁴¹⁸ Or should we interpret “*Croniken*” more generic as chronicles rather than a specific chronicle? In any event, the *Ältere Livländische Reimchronik* is used as an important source immediately after this announcement.

¹⁴¹⁹ Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 77 (Gesetze 32).

¹⁴²⁰ The information is taken quite literally from Ludolf of Sudheim’s *Description of the Holy Land*. However, the *Croniken* must have been familiar with the Biblical story since Sudheim wrongfully referred to Judas Maccabeus instead of Jonathan. Deycks ed., *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae*, 41.

¹⁴²¹ Again, Sudheim provides the same information but refers to the Book of Kings, instead of the Prophet Elijah. *Ibid.*

¹⁴²² *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁴²³ Perlbach ed., *Statuten*, 86 (c.39), 149 (c.6).

¹⁴²⁴ E.g.: J. Sarnowsky, ‘Das virtuelle Preußische Urkundenbuch. Regesten und Texte zur Geschichte Preußens und des Deutschen Ordens’, *Das virtuelle Preußische Urkundenbuch. Regesten und Texte zur Geschichte Preußens und des Deutschen Ordens* (1999-2011) JH I 11560 (11 November 1452), JH I 11625 (21 December 1452), JH I 11663 (ca. 1452?) <<http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Landesforschung/orden.html>> [accessed 2 May 2016].

c.758 ff.	<p>[E.g.] Hij [Goswijn van Garnaer] leit begraven t' Utrecht midden in 't choer ten Duytschen Huse.</p> <p>[E.g.] Hy [Lodewijk van Kenswielre] sterff t' Utrecht ende wert begraven ten Duytschen Huse in 't choer, besijden heren Goessen van den Garner die voir hem lantcommenduer was.</p> <p>Hij [Dirk van Enghusen] sterff tot Leyden ende wert t' Utrecht gebrocht ende leyt ten Duytschen Huse voir 't choer, voir dat doxael begraven.</p> <p>Ende heer Dirck van Enghusen wert gemaect commenduer tot Middelborch ende aldair sterf hij ende leyt aldair in des oirdens capelle begraven in 't choir.</p> <p>Hij [Nicolaas van der Dussen] sterff tot Maestricht ende wert aldair begraven.</p> <p>Hij [Johan van Drongelen] sterff in 't jaer Ons Heren dusent vierhondert ende xcii op ten vijftienden dach in augusto ende leijt begraven then Duytschen Huse in 't choer voir dat heilighe sacrament onder den zerck daer sijn wapen op ghehouwen staet.</p>	<p>The pinpointing of exact locations of the land commanders' tombs in the convent churches in Utrecht, Middelburg, Tiel and perhaps Nieuwen Biesen (Maastricht, bailiwick of Biesen) can probably be traced to personal observations.¹⁴²⁵</p>
c.767	<p>Hij [Land Commander Zweder Cobbing] vercoft veel van des huis selverwerck, bij namen op ene tijt soe veel dair hij vijfhonder Rijnsguldens off nam, daer ick bescheit off gesien heb.</p>	<p>Documents regarding the sale of silverware.</p>

Table A.5 Explicit references to written and other sources.

¹⁴²⁵ Especially revealing is c.773, where the tomb of Land Commander Hendrik van Hackfort is said to be located next to that of the "old dean of the cathedral church." The tomb of this former dean, Lubbert Bol (see also c.764), was still present when Aernout van Buchel described his epitaph in the 17th century: Van Buchel, *Monumenta*, f. 90r.

Book inventories, libraries and writing and binding activities Utrecht bailiwick

*Utrecht commandery*Account books; 1377/78¹⁴²⁶

[f. 36r, Oct. 1378] De scaffenar gegeven van enen boec te scriven ende reescap daer toe 10 lb 5 s
De scaffenar om froncijen ende papier gegeven in der scafferien 40 s

[f. 36v, Nov. 1378] Heren Everard om papier 11 s 3 d
Van drien boeken te binden in der kerken 10 lb 15 s
Herman den slotemaker gegeven van hencsel ende van sloten 4 lb 15 s 8 d

[f. 39r, Apr. 1379] Den lantcommendur van boeken scriven ende van reescappen daer toe 27 lb

[f. 44r, May 1379] Om een boec papyers 11 s 3 d

Bailiwick chronicle; office of Land Commander Johan van de Zande (1409?-1419)¹⁴²⁷

Oick heeft hij meest alle die boeken in 't choer costelick ende nywe doen scriven

Account books sacristy; 1524¹⁴²⁸

[f. 9r] Item noch 3 st om sloot of leren aan die boeken te maken daermen uut singet
Item noch 1 st om 1 slotel aen die library

Account books sacristy; 1535/36¹⁴²⁹

[f. 6v] Item gegeven van drie sluetels te maken: een tot dat scapken in die sacristie, een tot dat scapken onder 't latrijn aen die luchter sijde van 't choer daer die boecken in leggen, ende een tot dat besemhuijs ende dat slot te verstellen 3 st.

Inventory; 1706¹⁴³⁰

- Een boek met wit parkement bekleedt voerende voor tijtel keijserlijcke privilegie en ook van de pausen aen de ordre gegeven. Nog twee ongebonden pampierre boeken het eene in 't Hoogduijts en het andere in Neerduijts geschreven, spreekende van verscheijde privilegia en dat der altijdt twee broeders bij den keijser als aelmoesseniers sig moesten ophouden.

In de lade die voor opschrift heeft, alderhande brieven van den meister aen den Landtcommanduijrer Albregt van Egmond sijnde de eerste lade:

- Een brief aen de ordre geschreven, in den jaere 1537 meldende van landtcommanduijrer, huijscommanduijrer, en vordere commanduijren, waer in aengetoogen ende gesproken wordt van insettingen, statuten, ende gewoontens van de Duijtsche Ordre

¹⁴²⁶ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 641-2.

¹⁴²⁷ *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.766.

¹⁴²⁸ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 641-1.

¹⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 641-5.

¹⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 53.4.

- In deselve lade een notarieele extract, rakende verscheijde statuten, ordonantie van de Duijtsche Ordre, beginnende aldus in den jaere Cristi Ons Heeren duijsent vierhondert en twee en veertigste jaere aen den sonnntag naest voor St. Egidius
- Dit volgende extract van 1597 verhaelt het leven en gedrag van verscheijde landtcommanduijren, als de Heer Dirck van Hollandt, Heer Johan van Sande, Heer Johan van Drongelen
- Een extract in deselve Lade van den jaere 1597
- Nog een extract in deselve lade, daer in vermeldt staet van een capittelboek, waer in geschreven waeren verscheijde resolutien, en articulen, bij den landtcommanduijre ende tien sijn onderhoorige commanduijren, die het selve samentlijck onderteekent hebben, den 7 maij 1550. Dit was geextraheert, uijt seker boek, gebonden in kaperkel
- Nog een extract, vermeldende van een capittelboek, gebonden in kaperkel, in deselve lade gelegd
- In deselve lade is nog gelegd een extract, geextraheert uijt de Cronijcke van der Duijtsche Ordre, van de ridderschap van den huijse en hospitaale Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Jerusalem, en geschreven sijnde met een tamelijcke oude letter, in formaet van een blat papier, en gebonden in hoorne kaperkel, den 2 juli 1597
- Nog een extract in deselve lade, geextraheert uijt seker boeck, in francijn geschreven, en gebonden in bardere, met root leer overtrokken, inhoudende verscheijde statuten en ordonantie, der Duijtschen Ordre, beginnende aldus, in den jaere Cristo Ons Heeren veertien hondert en twee en veertigste jaer, aen den sonnen tage, naest voor St. Egidius dag

Lijste der boeken tegenwoordig gevonden wordende, in het camertje, het tweede van de Landtcommandurie komende, aen de regterhandt, op den 20 october 1706

- Beginnende in de jaere onses Heeren duijsent vierhondert en twee en veertigste jaer aen den sonnendage naigst sint Egidius, nog een van der selven inhoud in kleijnder formaet
- Een groot foliant met wit leer overtrokken beginnende "jani prima dies et septima fine timetur: januaris habet dies triginta unum"
- Een boek van de vijftig psalmen in 't het Latin
- Een boek beginnende "incipit rationale divinatorum officiorum"
- Een boek beginnende "benedictio salis et aquae"
- Een boek beginnende "de virtutibus theologiae"
- Nog een boek beginnende met duijtsche reimen geschreven
- Nog een boek beginnende "ergo unum habens filium charissimum"
- Nog een boek beginnende "in nocte nativitatis domini"
- Een boek half vergaen beginnende "in festo pachae"
- Een boek beginnende "in cento novella", een historie van reisbeschrijvinge
- Een boek van Johan Leisentrit, sprekende van geestelijcke saeken
- Een boek Ludolfus in spalmen
- Nog een boek beginnende "in den naeme des vaders, des soons, en des heyligen geestes", geschreven sijnde
- Nog een boek int Latin over de tien geboden
- Nog een boek genaemt "posterior pars eiusdem rapsodie historiarum", sijnde gemeene historie
- Nog een boek beginnende "repertorium alfabeti" en is alleen geestelijck
- Nog een groot foliant beginnende "registrum huius operis libri chronicarium, cum viguris et imaginibus ab initio mundi, ad septicimam etatem mundi"
- Nog een boek dat half vergaen is, beginnende "hier begint der regtsboek, rigteren, der koningen" sijnde geestelijck

- Nog een boek beginnende “dertienhondert ses en seventig”, is een geestelijck boeck
- Een boek beginnende “in vigilia pachae”, ook geestelijck
- Een boek beginnende, “cosmografie universalis”
- Een boek beginnende, “ecce dies veniunt dicet dominus”

Inventory; 1819¹⁴³¹

Welke op de secretarye aanwezig waren van diferenten aart en groote

1. Een boek op parkement geschreven of gedrukt in het Latijn zeer beschadigt
2. Een Latijns boek op papier gedrukt
8. Een boek van den jaare 1377 etc. houdende aanteekening van oude pand brieve certificaten, pacht en erfpacht brieven, opdragten etc. etc.
9. Een oud boek van den jaare 1450 houdende aanteekening van oude pandbrieven, opdragten, overzichten, pachten en erfpachten etc.
10. Een ingenaaid boek houdende een formulier voor de ridders
11. Een oud boek van den jaare 1505 etc. houdende aanteekeninge van oude pantbrieven op- en overdragten, pagten en erfpagten etc.
12. Een oud boek van den jaare 1533 houdende korte aanteekeningen van gedane betaalingen
13. Een oud boek van den jaare 1526 zynde een register van pagters
14. Een oud boek van den jaare 1500 en 1600 zynde een oud memoriaal van alle de lasten, thynsen, stedigheden, los- en lyfrenten, beleeningen waarmede het Duitsche Huis was bezwaard
15. Zynde een oud manuaal van den jaare 1525
16. Een oud beschadigt boek in het Latyn
- [...]
22. Een Hoogduits boek hebbende tot opschrift “RAY. DUELII EXCERPTA Genealogico Historico”
23. Een Latyns Boek hebbende van buiten het volgende opschrift “DUELII HIST. ORD. EQUITUM TEUTON.”
24. Zyn vyf deelen hebbende van buiten tot opschrift “A. MATTHAEI Analecta VET. AEVI”
- [...]

De Boeken welke by deeze onder No. 3, 4, 5, 6, en 7 moesten voorkomen, dan van welke alhier geen mentie is gemaakt zyn door den Heer Fouclet, commissaris van het gouvernement, over genomen waarvan door denzelve aan de Commissaris E. Temminck een behoorlijk bewijs is afgegeven zoals het zelve is voorkomende onder de verdere door dien commissaris overgegeven stukken

Bunne commandery

Inventory; 1553¹⁴³²

[f. 7v]

[One missal]

¹⁴³¹ *ibid.*, inv.nr. 53.11.

¹⁴³² *ibid.*, inv.nr. 1458.

Dieren commandery

Account books; 1449/50¹⁴³³

[f. 3r] Item 2,5 r. gulden van onser regulen to scriven

Doesburg commandery

Inventory; 1448¹⁴³⁴

3 bockenen

Inventory; 1461/62¹⁴³⁵

Item op der librarien:

I Bijbel

I Decretael sext ende cleyment[arium] in uno volumine

Summa confessoris

Summa Raymundi

Lyra super quatuor ewangelica

Beda super Lucam

Sermones estivales super dominicalia ewangelia

Sermones sensati

Pars quedam moralium beati Gregorii

Katwijk commandery

Bequeathed goods priest brother Frans Worms; 1598/99¹⁴³⁶

[f. 1r] Inventaris ende speceficatie van alle alsulke moebelen, als nae het overlijden van zaliger here Frans Worms, commandeur tot Catwijk upten 1^{en} januarii 1599 nae den nijen stijl, in de commanderije binnen Leijden overleden zijnde, bevonden, ende upgebrekent zij in punten van der heer Jacob Dircxs van der Goude ende Mr. Matthijs Lanceur

[...]

[f. 3r] Inventaris van boucken bij den commandeur van Catwijk heer Frans Worms achtergelaten circa setten december anno 1598

Biblia cum concordantiis vetris et novi testamenti

Ludolphus Carthusianus in psalmis

Postilla totius anni super epistula et evangelia

Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis commentaria in 4 evangelia

Dionisii Carthusianus in 4 evangelia enarrationes

Josephus

Homeliae doctorum ecclesiasticorum iussu domini Caroli Magni in unum codicem redactae, opera Alchuini

¹⁴³³ Ibid., inv.nr. 1531.

¹⁴³⁴ Ibid., inv.nr. 1789.

¹⁴³⁵ Ibid., inv.nr. 1827, f. 10r.

¹⁴³⁶ Ibid., inv.nr. 1926.

Lanspergii super epistula et evangelia dominicalia pars aestivalis
 Eiusdem pars hyemalis
 Eiusdem de sanctis
 Innocentii papae 3 de sacro altaris mysterio
 Thesaurus bibliorum Guiellmi Allotti Angli
 Franciscus Polygranus super epistula dominicalis pars quarta
 Idem super evangelia dominicalia ab adventu ad pentecostem pars prima
 Idem super evangelia de Sanctis pars tertia
 Concordantiae breviones per Antonium a Koninghstein
 D. Haymonis homiliae pars aestivalis
 Margarita evangelica
 Catechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos
 Isedorus Hispalensis epistula in vetus testamentum
 Alter tomus operum d. Caecilii Cypriani
 Cypriani opera
 Epitome sermonum Joannis Feri
 Psalmi Davidici cum paraphrasibus Reynerii Snoy Goudani
 Breviarii Romani pars estivalis
 Zeelen artzney Urbani Regii
 Orationes patrum utriusque testamenti
 Thuribulum aureum precationum per Cornelius Loos
 Enchiridion psalmorum d. Hieronimo interprete una cum Joannis Campensis e regione paraphrasi
 [f. 3v] Antonius Flaminius in psalmos
 Breviarium Romanorum in uno volumine
 Breviarium Romanorum in duobus voluminibus novis
 Royardi homelie in dominicalia evangelia
 Breviarium secundum usum dominorum Teutonicorum
 Divini amoris pharetra Joannis Lanspergii
 Psalmi divi Hieronimi
 Homelie Frederici Nauseae
 Contemplationes idiotae ad vera pietatem exhortantes
 Hermannus Bodius de unione dissidentium
 Joannes Lenzeus de unita religione
 Joannes Roffensis defensio contra Babilonicam captivitatem
 De dissidiis ecclesiae componendis Bredenbachii
 Christianae vitae speculum f. Thomae Herentalini
 De Christi imitatione libellus Thomae Kempensis
 Psalterium e collatione Joannis Draconitis
 Canones Concilii Tridentini
 Perfectionis speculum per Antonium Hemerium

Scintillae sive loci communes d. defensoris theologi

Bulla super forma iuramenti professionis fidei

Virtutum et vitiorum exempla per Nicolaum Hanapum [in]

Joannes Hoffmeisterus de verbo Dei carnem facto

Explicatio symboli et decalogi per Erasmus Roterodamus

Methodus confessionis

Joannes Cassianus de confessione theologica

Institutio ad pietatem Joannis Gropperi

Cathechismus Claudii Wicxmontii

Pariensis

Index librorum prohibitorum

De mundi termino carmen et disputatio de cultu imaginum

Manipulus curatorum

Vincentius Lirinensis

De doctrina moriendi

De vita et laudibus Deiparae virginis autore Franscisco Costero

Onder desse boucken isser je weder of genomen dat de commandeur geleent hadden

Middelburg commandery

Inventory; ???¹⁴³⁷

[f. 8r]	Item 1 missael
	1 gradael
	1 nocelaer
	1 zalter

Inventory; 1524¹⁴³⁸

[f. 4r]	In die capelle: twee missalen geprent
[f. 4v]	Noch twee missalen in parkement gescreven
[f. 10r]	Item noch twe missalen van perkament ghescreven

Inventory; 1541¹⁴³⁹

[f. 1r]	In die capelle: twee missalen geprent, twe missalen in parquement ghescreven
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Rhenen commandery

Inventory; around 1430/32¹⁴⁴⁰

Liberaria

¹⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2197.

¹⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2346.

Bibblia

Scolastica historia

Passionale

Horologium sapientiae

Summa Johannis media

Decretale

Summa Raymundi...

et Hugacio

Hic sunt suppellectilia in domo Renensi que dominus Johannes Borre in nominavit.¹⁴⁴¹

Account books; 1472/73¹⁴⁴²

[f. 5r] Item 7,5 st. een doir te maken op die liberie

Schelluinen commandery

Account books; 1437/38¹⁴⁴³

[f. 6v] Item 3 kr. vor 1 bock pappys.

Inventory; 1554/58¹⁴⁴⁴

Inventaris van den huysse van Scaluynen ende die kerck mede. Anno 1554 [re-examined in 1558]

Boecken in die kerck ende in 't huys

Item een missael boeck, noch een boeck om die kinderen te kerstelen

Noch twee ghescreven sanghe boecken, daer die missen in staen die men des jaerlix singdt

Item noch sanghe boecken die niet en dooghen

Item een latijnsch bibel

Noch een boeck ghenempt Paratus

Item Robertus de Litorio

Nicolaus de Bloni

Summa Angelica

IIsidorus de vocabulis sive aethimologia

Robertus Holkot

Item Terentius

Augustinus de constitutione creaturarum sive de mirabilibus sacrae scripturae

Item sermones Vincentii de tempore et de sanctis

Sermones Roberti de Litorio de laudibus sanctorum

¹⁴⁴¹ Johan Borre van Leersum. Mentioned as parish priest in Valkenburg in 1424 and again from 1432 to 1451. Once referred to as commander of Valkenburg in 1437, but this was not normally referred to as an independent commandery. He was mentioned as commander of Rhenen between 1431 and 1432. The list of books is dated by a modern hand "around 1430 = 1432". De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven II*, nrs. 518; 520?; 581; Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nrs. 1931; 1932; 1940?; 2346 (ca.1430/32); 2417.

¹⁴⁴² Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2346.

¹⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2525–3.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2515, ff. 2v–3r; With explanatory notes: Zuidervaart, *Ridders, priesters en predikanten in Schelluinen*, 178–180.

Item sermones aurei de sanctis

Sanctus Thomas de Aquino

Tractatus beati Thomae de divinis moribus

Item manuale parochialium

Item manupulus curatorum

Item quaedam epistolae beati Hieronimi

Schoonhoven commandery

Inventory of appropriated goods in Tiel; 1444/45¹⁴⁴⁵

Dit sijn die dinghen die die Nylanders my ontfoert hebben uten huys van Schoonhoven na uutwising der cedele die my heer Baernt broeder duysches ordens conventuael te Tyel gesent hevet. Also als hi die dinghen te Tyel ongesien had die daer van Schoonhoven gebracht hadden die Nylanders ende my toebehoren.

Item I blaeuwe tabbert

Item I olde hoyc

Item I ander beter hoyc

Item een ny wamboys

Item II kovelē

Item II oerkussen

Item II pelsen

Item I cleyne pelsgen

Item II deken

Item dit sijn die boeke

Summa Raymundi

Sermones dominicales

Summa Pisana

Glosa super Matheum et Marcum

Lira super Lucam et Johannem

Summa quidam iuris canonici

Quedam tabula secundum ordinem alphabeti

De materna decretalium

Compendium theologie

Quidam sermones in magister [Belvien]

Quidam libellus de anima et eius potentiis

Quidam liber theologie copulatus per fratrem Jhohannem [speg.]

Quidam sermones de tempore

Quidam pars biblie

Liber topicorum Aristoteles

¹⁴⁴⁵ Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 2612 (1444/45), ff. 10v–11r.

Quidam liber medicinales
 Sermones et postille super ewangelia
 Sermones de quibusdam sanctis
 Quoddam opusculum poetrie
 Quidam quaestiones in grammatica
 Libellus de modo significandi
 Item quidam sermones
 Textus Alexandri cum glosa
 Quidam sermones de tempore
 Quidam liber de sacramentis
 Quidam expositio vocabulorum
 Quidam liber in qui habentur sermones
 Tractatus de sacramentis ecclesie
 Tria corporalia
 Statuta provincialia
 Liber de naturis animalium
 Computus cum aliis annexis
 Liber de vita Jhesum
 Antiquam psalterium
 Liber de quatuor novissimus

In numero xxxiiii boeken

Voort heeft my heer Baernt gescreven datter noch meer ander boeken sijn van welken van welken dat hi my niet en scriven, ende een dose mit gelde ende een mes ende voort ander dinghen die by namen niet gescreven en sijn.

Account books; 1445/46¹⁴⁴⁶

[f. 17v] Item des dinxdag daer na uut ghegeven om twee boeck pappiers onse nyewe regell in te scriven, elke boeck ghecofft om 3,5 cr. maect 7 cr.

Testament priest brother Andries van Dorp; 1466¹⁴⁴⁷

Item soe is mijn uuterste wille [...]

Item soe heb ic ghegeven heer Bartholomeus iiiii boecken ende sijn:

Sermones de Villa Abbatis
 Jordanus de sanctis
 Nycolaus de Lyra super ewangelista dominicalia
 Ende omelia Gregorij

Dair by gheweest heeft Jan mijn broeder ende onse moeder die hi oec wel verdient heeft

¹⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., inv.nr. 2615.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., inv.nr. 2612 (1468/69) (sic), f. 3v.

Bequeathed goods priest brother Claes Paets/Paedze; 1532¹⁴⁴⁸

[f. 6v] Item zyn boucken die zyn the Leyden in verleden tyden vercoft

Inventory; 1562¹⁴⁴⁹

Boecken

Inde xx groote boecken ende inde xx cleyn, behalven die gene die mit [cauetneren] gebonden zyn

Tiel commandery

Account books; 1465/66¹⁴⁵⁰

[f. 1v] Item voer een 0,5 boeck pappiers geg. 1 vlems

Item 1 boeck pappierss 2 vlems

Account books; 1466/67¹⁴⁵¹

[f. 4v] Item 3 vlems om 1,5 boeck papiers

¹⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2605.

¹⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2611.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2755–2.

¹⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, inv.nr. 2755–3.

List of privileges and indulgences

Chapter	Cadels	Initial 3 lines	Initial 2 lines	Title	Dated?	Place?	Pope	Emperor/ King
160-209			First three	Summary	Some	Some	Honorius III	
210-224			First	Summary	All	Some	Gregory IX	
225			First		All		Celestine IV	
226-233	All	First		Name issuer	All	All		Frederick II
393-413	First	First	All	Name issuer			Innocent IV; Alexander IV	
414-415			All	Name issuer	All	All		Henry (VII); Conrad IV
424-428	First		All	Name issuer			Urban IV; Nicholas IV	
429			All	Name issuer	All	All		Richard of Cornwall
457-459	First		All	Name issuer	All	All		Rudolph I
520	First		All		All	All		Adolf of Nassau
532-533	First		All		All	All		Albert I; Henry VII
545	First	First			All	All		Louis IV
555-557	First		All		All	All		Louis IV
576	First		All		All	All		Charles IV
585-591	First		All		All	All		Charles IV
593-598	First		All				Boniface IX; (Martin V)	
599-601			All		All	All		Wenceslaus
617	First		All		All	All		Wenceslaus
618-620	First		All		All	All		Rupert
631-635	First		All		First	First	Council of Constance; Martin V	
636-638			All		All	First		Sigismund
640-641	First		All				Eugene IV	
ARDOU 118 ¹⁴⁵²		Every new pope	All		All	All	Honorius III – Eugene IV	
ARDOU 120 ¹⁴⁵³			All	Summary ¹⁴⁵⁴			Honorius III – Urban IV	
ARDOU 121 ¹⁴⁵⁵	Mixture between cadels and initials				All	All		Frederick II – Sigismund

Table A.6 Layout and content of privileges in Croniken and three Utrecht cartularies.

¹⁴⁵² Notarial transcription, dated 9 September 1434, of 87 papal privileges ranging from 1216 to 1431. Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 196.

¹⁴⁵³ Middle Dutch translation, written around 1390, of 88 papal privileges ranging from 1216 to 1263, including archive locations of the original charters and optionally of papal confirmations thereof up to Pope Urban IV.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Only the privileges issued by Pope Honorius III contain a summary in the title.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Notarial transcription, dated 21 March 1428, of 38 imperial privileges ranging from 1214 to 1415. Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 194.

Chapter	Pope	Emperor/ King	ARDOU 118	ARDOU 120	ARDOU 121	De Geer	Strehlke, Tabulae	Date (Strehlke)	Remarks
118	Celestine III		-				296	21-12-1196	
120	Celestine III		-				296	21-12-1196	
160/161	Honorius III		-				303	8-12-1216	
162	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
163	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
164	Honorius III		1			5	304	19-12-1216	
165	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
166	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
167	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
168	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
169	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
170	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
171	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
172	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
173	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
174	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
175	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
176	Honorius III		-						Statutes
177	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
178	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
179	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
180	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
181	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
182	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
183	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
184	Honorius III		-						Indulgences
185	Honorius III		-						Indulgences/ Entry rituals
186	Honorius III		-						Indulgences/ Entry rituals
187	Honorius III		-						Indulgences/ Entry rituals
188	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
189	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
190	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
191	Honorius III		3	73		7	306	15-12-1220	
192	Honorius III		6	17		11	314	16-1-1221	
193	Honorius III		6	17		11	314	16-1-1221	
194	Honorius III		6	17		11	314	16-1-1221	
195	Honorius III		6	17		11	314	16-1-1221	
196	Honorius III		6	17		11	314	16-1-1221	
197	Honorius III		9	26		13	316	16-1-1221	
198	Honorius III		-	66			413	24-7-1216 – 18-3-1227	
199	Honorius III		10	3		9	313 (305)	16-1-1221	ARDOU 59
200	Honorius III		11	5		16	327	18-1-1221	
201	Honorius III		13	25		18	338	20-1-1221	
202	Honorius III		14	23		19	339	20-1-1221	
203	Honorius III		15	47		17	340	20-1-1221	
204	Honorius III		16	52		20	343 (307)	21-1-1221	
205	Honorius III		17	22		21	342	21-1-1221	
206	Honorius III		18	33		22	347	5-2-1221	
207	Honorius III		19			25	353	5-2-1221	

208	Honorius III	21	69	24	354	5-2-1221	
209	Reference to further privileges issued by Honorius III, not included since they were "not witnessed authentically".						
210	Gregory IX	-			469	19-3-1227 – 22-8-1241	
211	Gregory IX	32		49	431	5-8-1227	
212	Gregory IX	33		50	435	13-8-1227	
213	Gregory IX	37		58	458	10-10-1231	
214	Gregory IX	37		58	458	10-10-1231	
215	Gregory IX	37		58	458	10-10-1231	
216	Gregory IX	37		58	458 (453)	10-10-1231	
217	Gregory IX	29		54	444	4-2-1228	
218	Gregory IX	35		51	439	31-8-1227	
219	Gregory IX	28		53	443	3-2-1228	
220	Gregory IX	28		53	443	3-2-1228	
221	Gregory IX	38		59	465	28-11-1235	
222	Gregory IX	39	76	60	466	22-5-1237	ARDOU 70
223	Gregory IX	-					Indulgences
224	Reference to further privileges issued by Gregory IX, not included since they were "not witnessed authentically".						
225	Celestine IV	-					Non-existent
226/227	Frederick II			1	3	254	23-1-1214
228	Frederick II			2	4	253	5-9-1214
229	Frederick II			3	30; 31	257	4-1221 ARDOU 102
230	Frederick II			4	32	258	12-1222
231	Frederick II			5	33	259	1-1223
232	Frederick II			6	40	260	3-1223
233	Frederick II			7	41	261	4-1223
237	Innocent III	-			298	27-6-1209	
393/394	Innocent IV	43		69	514 (473)	20-7-1247	
395	Innocent IV	45	79	76	528	18-5-1254	ARDOU 75
396	Innocent IV	44		75	526 (523)	9/10-2-1254	
397	Innocent IV	-					Indulgences
398	Innocent IV	-			497	4-1-1245	Indulgences
399	(Innocent IV)	-					Indulgences
400	Innocent IV	40		66	499 (474)	21-4-1246	
401	Innocent IV	-			475	20-4-1244	
402	Innocent IV	42		68	512	13-6-1247	ARDOU 74
403	Innocent IV	45	79	76	528	18-5-1254	ARDOU 75
404	Alexander IV	47		79	545	3-6-1257	
405	Alexander IV	48		80	552	15-6-1257	
406	Alexander IV	49	86	82	560	28-7-1257	
407	Alexander IV	51	83	84	563	8-8-1257	
408	Alexander IV	52		85	564	9-8-1257	
409	Alexander IV	54		87	572 (544)	9-9-1257	
410	Alexander IV	57		91	588 (543)	1-11-1258	
411	Alexander IV	55		88	574	5-11-1257	ARDOU 77
412	Alexander IV	-			535	11-7-1256	

413	Alexander IV	60	94	594	22-11-1258	
414	Henry (VII)		8	47	262	27-3-1227
415	Conrad IV		9	62	263	6-1242
424/425	Urban IV	63	99	633	23-8-1264	
426	Urban IV	-		629	1-10-1263	
427	Nicholas IV	66	112	663	1-4-1289	
428	Nicholas IV	-		665	1-3-1290	
429	Richard of Cornwall		10	89	264	28-11-1257
457/458	Rudolph I		11	106	266	21-2-(1274)
459	Rudolph I		12	109	265	14-11-1273
520	Adolf of Nassau		13	114	267	23-5-1293
532	Albert I		14	117	268	22-9-1298
533	Henry VII		15	120	269	6-3-1309
545	Louis IV		18	123	270	17-4-1323
555	Louis IV		16	124; 2	271	5-5-1330
556	Louis IV		17	125	272	5-5-1330
557	Louis IV		19	126	273	20-12-1331
576	Charles IV		20	127	274	18-11-1347
585	Charles IV		22	131	278	17-12-1355
586	Charles IV		23	132	277	17-12-1355
587	Charles IV		24	130	276	13-12-1355
588	Charles IV		25	136	280	1-9-1376
589	Charles IV		26	137	281	19-8-1378
590	Charles IV		27	129	188	29-4-1355
591	Charles IV		28	133	279	19-4-1365
593	Boniface IX	69		142	693	11-5-1396 ARDOU 88
594	Boniface IX	71		146	696	25-2-1399 ARDOU 89
595	Boniface IX	70		143	695	7-4-1397
596	Boniface IX	72		149	699	13-4-1400
597	Boniface IX	73		152	701	10-12-1402
598	Martin V	81		164	710	24-9-1420
599	Wenceslaus		29	138	283	17-10-1383 ARDOU 105
600	Wenceslaus		30	139	282	17-10-1383
601	Wenceslaus		31	140	284	7-5-1389
606	Boniface IX	-			697	25-2-1399 Indulgences
607	(Pelagius II)	-			697	25-2-1399 Indulgences
608	(Pelagius II)	-			697	25-2-1399 Indulgences
609	(Urban VI)	-			697	25-2-1399 Indulgences
610	Boniface IX	-			697	25-2-1399 Indulgences
611	Boniface IX	-			697	25-2-1399 Indulgences
612	Boniface IX	-			700	16-6-1400 Indulgences
613	Boniface IX	71		146	696	25-2-1399 ARDOU 89
614	Boniface IX	70		143	695	7-4-1397
615	Boniface IX	69		142	693	11-5-1396 ARDOU 88
617	Wenceslaus		32	144	285	9-1-1398
618	Rupert		33	151	286	3-11-1402
619	Rupert		34	153	287	19-8-1403
620	Rupert		35	154	288	25-2-1404
631	Council of Constance	75		159	704	4-9-1417
632	Martin V	78		162	708	17-5-1419

633	Martin V	81	164	710	24-9-1420	
634	Martin V	83	168	712	4-3-1423	
635	Martin V	84	170	715	6-11-1429	
636	Sigismund		36	155	290	19-11-1414
637	Sigismund		37	156	291	27-2-1415
638	Sigismund		38	157	292	19-6-1415
640	Eugene IV	86	172	719	15-12-1431	
641	Eugene IV	87	171	718	18-2-1431	
651	Eugene IV	-		720	9-6-1442	
652	Council of Basel	-			8-8-1444 ¹⁴⁵⁶	
653	Frederick III (as King)		-		18-7-1442 ¹⁴⁵⁷	
653	Frederick III (as Em- peror)		-		26-9-1467 ¹⁴⁵⁸	

Table A.7 Detailed list of privileges in the Croniken.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Arnold and Tumler eds., *Urkunden*, nr. 3444.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, nr. 3474 (also nr. 3477: 11 December 1442).

¹⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, nr. 3948 (transsumpt of nr. 3474 above).

List of cities and castles in Prussia and Livonia (ms. **We**₁, c.717–26)

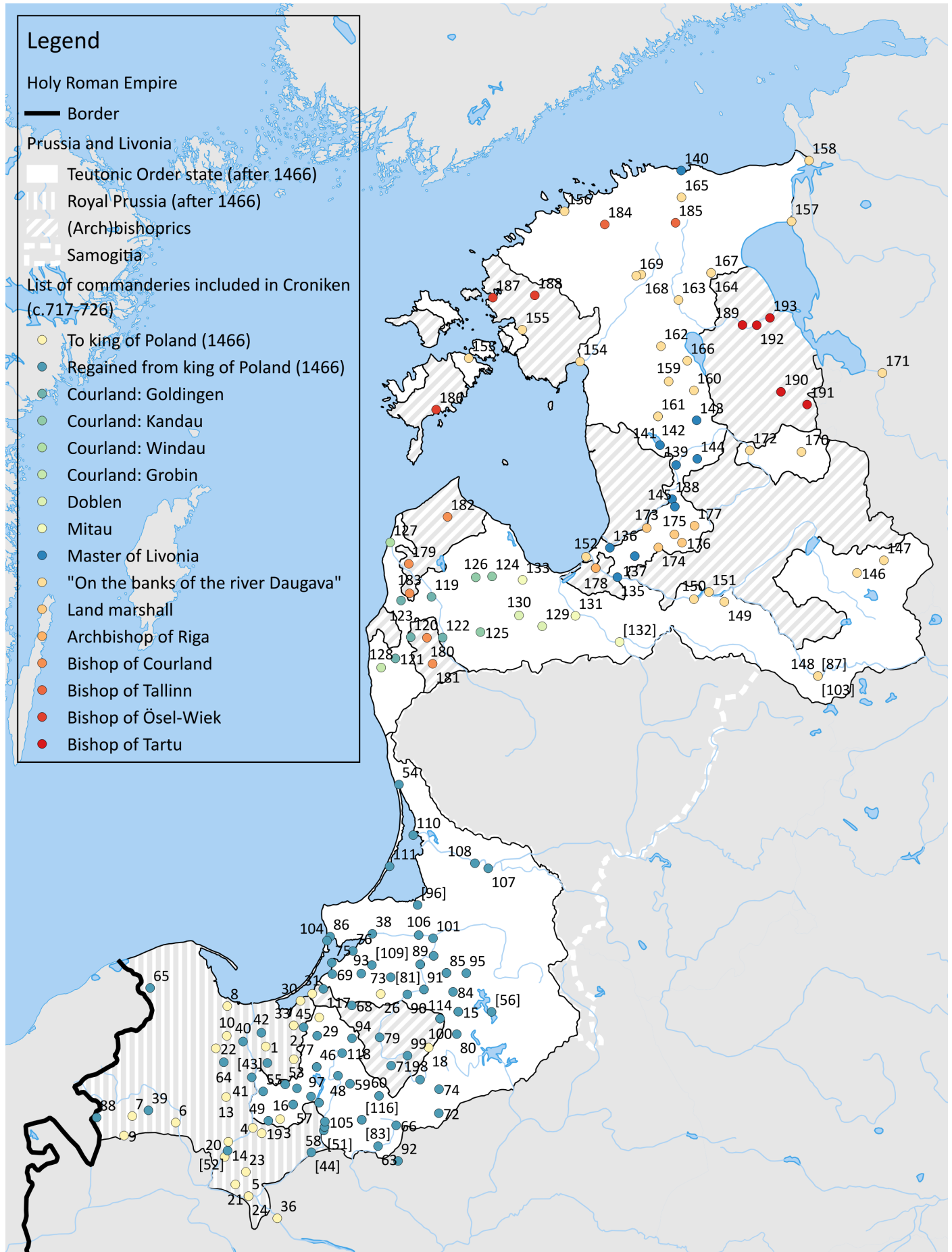


Figure A.15 Locations of the Prussian and Livonian cities and castles mentioned in the Croniken (ms. **We**₁) in c.717–26, ordered per chapter.

Chapter	ID	Transcription	Identification	Pl.:	Present-day name	See ID
c.717		Dit sijn die steden ende sloten die aenden Coninck van polen mit horen hulperen aen die pomersche sijde gebleuen sijn				
		These are the cities and castles that remained with the King of Poland and his allies on the Pomeranian side				
	1	Marienborch stad ende slot	Marienburg	Pl.:	Malbork	
	2	Eluinghen een stad dat slot off geworpen	Elbing	Pl.:	Elbląg	33?
	3	Lossen een stad	Lessen	Pl.:	Łasin	
	4	Grundens een slot	Graudenz	Pl.:	Grudziądz	
	5	Thoren twe steden slot off geworpen	Thorn	Pl.:	Toruń	24
	6	Tauchel een stad ende een slot	Tuchel	Pl.:	Tuchola	
	7	Slechauw een slot	Schlochau	Pl.:	Człuchów	
	8	Dansijc twe steden dat slot verdoruen	Danzig	Pl.:	Gdańsk	
	9	ffridelant bijder kons een stad	Preußisch Friedland	Pl.:	Debrzno	
c.717		Dit hout die coninck tot synre hant				
		This keeps the king to himself				
	10	Sabevijts een slot	Sobbowitz	Pl.:	Sobowidz	
	11	Scoen elke een stad				
	12	Bern een stad				
	13	Mossijc een slot	Ossiek	Pl.:	Osiek (Powiat Starogardzki)	
	14	Swetse een stad	Schwetz	Pl.:	Świecie	
	15	Rostenborch een stad	Rastenburg	Pl.:	Kętrzyn	65
	16	ffristat een stad	Freystadt in Westpreußen	Pl.:	Kisielice	20
	17	Gherijcs een hoff				
	18	Bisscops weerda	Bischofswerder	Pl.:	Biskupiec	
	19	Engelborch een slot	Engelsberg	Pl.:	Góra Aniołów (Pokrzywno (Powiat Grudziądzki))	
	20	Dat alle huis een slot	Althaus-Kulm	Pl.:	Starogród Chełmiński	
	21	Burgelate een slot	Birgelau	Pl.:	Bierzgłowo	
	22	Scoennes een stad ende een slot	Schöneck	Pl.:	Skarszewy	
	23	Colmesej een stad	Kulmsee	Pl.:	Chelmza	
	24	Toern een slot	Thorn	Pl.:	Toruń	5
	25	Cawyns een slot				
	26	Landesborch een stad	Landsberg in Ostpreußen	Pl.:	Górowo Iławeckie	
	27	Saluenter een stad				
	28	Cransborch een stad	Christburg?	Pl.:	Dzierżoń	72?
	29	Melhusen een stad	Mühlhausen in Ostpreußen	Pl.:	Młynary	
	30	Tolkemits een stad	Tolkemit	Pl.:	Tolkmicko	
	31	ffrouwenborch een stad	Frauenburg	Pl.:	Frombork	
	32	Bemenspirich een nystadt				
	33	Elffinc een slot	Elbing	Pl.:	Elbląg	2?
	34	Aldenborch een stad	Allenburg	Ru.:	Дружба (Druschba)	45
	35	Gardouwen een slot	Gerdauen	Ru.:	Железнодорожный (Zheleznodorozhny)	48
	36	Nessiten een slot	Nessau	Pl.:	Nieszawa	
	37	Reynkitten een slot				
c.718		Dese nabescruen steden ende sloten hebben die duytsche oirden van pruyssen weder in ghekrege sint dat sy den strijt wonnen voir der Coentse tegens den Coninck van Polen				
		The cities and castles named hereafter did the Teutonic Order of Prussia recapture, after they won the Battle of Chojnice against the King of Poland				
	38	Conincsberch drie steden ende een heerlick slot	Königsberg	Ru.:	Калининград (Kaliningrad)	
	39	Der Coents een stat	Konitz	Pl.:	Chojnice	
	40	Dersouwe een stad	Dirschau	Pl.:	Tczew	
	41	Der meuwe een stad ende een slot	Mewe	Pl.:	Gniew	
	42	Nywendyck een stad	Neuteich	Pl.:	Nowy Staw	
	43	Steyn een slot	Stuhm?	Pl.:	Sztum	
	44	Stroeyborch een stad	Strasburg in Westpreußen?	Pl.:	Brodnica	
	45	Pruyssche marck een slot	Preußisch Mark	Pl.:	Przemark (Elbląg)	
	46	Saltfeld een stad	Saalfeld	Pl.:	Zalewo	60
	47	Sconenborch een slot	Schönberg	Pl.:	Szymbark (Iława)	
	48	Lieuemolle een stad	Liebemühl	Pl.:	Miłomłyn	
	49	Roehusen een slot	Roggenhausen	Pl.:	Rogóżno-Zamek	
	50	Rosenborch een stad	Rosenberg in Westpreußen	Pl.:	Susz	
	51	Kaawerner een slot	Kauernik?	Pl.:	Kurzętnik	
	52	Kelum een stad	Kulm?	Pl.:	Chełmno	
	53	Resenborch een stad	Riesenburg	Pl.:	Prabuty	
	54	Memmel een slot	Memel	Lt.:	Klaipėda	
	55	Marienweerder een stad ende een slot	Marienwerder	Pl.:	Kwidzyn	
	56	Lesen een stad	Lötzen?	Pl.:	Giżycko	

57	ffreystat een stadt	Freystadt in Westpreußen	Pl.:	Kisielice	16
58	Nymerck een stadt	Neumark in Westpreußen	Pl.:	Nowe Miasto Lubawskie	
59	Oesterrode een stadt ende een slot	Osterode	Pl.:	Ostróda	
60	Housteyn een stadt ende een slot	Hohenstein	Pl.:	Olsztynek	
61	Duutsche eylauwe een stadt	Deutsch Eylau	Pl.:	Ława	75
62	Ielgenborch een slot	Gilgenburg	Pl.:	Dąbrówno	46; 79
63	Saldauwe een stadt ende een slot	Soldau	Pl.:	Działdowo	
64	Stargart een stadt	Preußisch Stargard	Pl.:	Starogard Gdański	
65	Louwenborch een stadt	Lauenburg in Pommern	Pl.:	Łębork	
66	Nydenborch een stadt ende een slot	Neidenburg	Pl.:	Nidzica	
67	Brudenborch een stadt ende een slot				39?
68	Maelsac een stadt	Mehlsack	Pl.:	Pieniężno	
69	Den heyligen bil een stadt	Heiligenbeil	Ru.:	Мамоново (Мамонowo)	
70	Rosenhein een stadt				
71	Allesteyn een stadt ende een slot	Allenstein	Pl.:	Olsztyn	
72	Wildenborch een slot	Willenberg	Pl.:	Wielbark	
73	Pruyssche eylauwe een slot	Preußisch Eylau	Ru.:	Багратионовск (Bagrationowsk)	
74	Oertesborch een slot	Ortelsburg	Pl.:	Szczytno	
75	Die balgij een slot ende een heel gebiede	Balga	Ru.:	замок Балга (Balga)	
76	Brandenborch een slot ende een heel gebiede	Brandenburg	Ru.:	Ушакóво (Ushakovo)	
77	Hollant een stadt ende een slot	Preußisch Holland	Pl.:	Pasłęk	
78	Die stapelborch een stadt ende een slot				
79	Gustat een stadt	Guttstadt	Pl.:	Dobre Miasto	
80	Sestes een slot	Seehesten	Pl.:	Szestno	
81	Scemepyl een stadt	Schuppenbeil?	Pl.:	Sępopól	54?
82	Allenborch een stadt	Allenburg	Ru.:	Дрúжба (Druschba)	34
83	Ghildenborch een slot	Gilgenburg?	Pl.:	Dąbrówno	25; 79
84	Berten een slot	Barten	Pl.:	Barciany	
85	Iardauwe een stadt ende een slot	Gerdauen	Ru.:	Железнодорожный (Zheleznodorozhny)	35
86	vishusen een stadt ende een slot	Fischhausen	Ru.:	Примóрск (Primorsk, Kaliningrad Oblast)	
87	Dunenborch een slot	Dünaburg?	Lv.:	Daugavpils	66
88	Hamersteyn een stadt	Hammerstein	Pl.:	Czarne	
89	Vredelant een stadt	Friedland in Ostpreußen	Ru.:	Правдинск (Pravdinsk)	78
90	Bartestein een stadt	Bartenstein	Pl.:	Bartoszyce	
91	Scippenpael een stadt	Schuppenbeil	Pl.:	Sępopól	44?
92	Millauwe een stadt	Mielau	Pl.:	Mława	
93	Sinten een stadt	Zinten	Ru.:	Корнево (Kornewo)	
94	Libescat een stadt	Liebstadt	Pl.:	Miłakowo	
95	Noerdenborch een stadt	Nordenburg	Ru.:	Крылово (Krylowo)	
96	Lebbie een stadt	Labiau (4.1)? Leipe (2.1)? Leba (2.1)?	Ru.:	Полесск (Polesk)	
97	Saluelt een stadt	Saalfeld	Pl.:	Zalewo	9
98	Possenheim een stadt	Passenheim	Pl.:	Pasym	
99	Wartenberch een stadt	Wartenburg in Ostpreußen	Pl.:	Barczewo	
100	Resel een stadt ende een slot	Rößel	Pl.:	Reszel	77
101	Wellauwe een stadt	Wehlau	Ru.:	Знаменск (Snamensk)	
102	Rastenborch een stadt	Rastenburg	Pl.:	Kętrzyn	15
103	Dunenborch een slot	Dünaburg?	Lv.:	Daugavpils	50
104	Lochsteden een slot	Lochstädt	Ru.:	Пáвлово (Pawlowo, Baltiysk)	
105	Bretsem een slot	Brattein	Pl.:	Bratian	
106	Thabauwe een slot ende dat heel maerscalck ampt	Tapiau	Ru.:	Гвардейск (Gvardejsk)	
107	Regniet een slot	Ragnit	Ru.:	Неман (Neman)	
108	Teylse een slot	Tilsit	Ru.:	Советск (Sovjetsk)	
109	Crunsburch een slot	Creuzburg in Ostpreußen?	Ru.:	Славское (Slawskoje)	28?
110	Wijnborch een slot	Windenburg	Lt.:	Ventė	
111	Rositen een slot	Rossitten	Ru.:	Рыбачий (Rybatschi)	
112	Duytsche yle een slot	Deutsch Eylau	Pl.:	Ława	24
113	Pijnsteren een stadt				
114	Resel een stadt ende slot	Rößel	Pl.:	Reszel	63
115	ffredelant een stadt	Friedland in Ostpreußen	Ru.:	Правдинск (Pravdinsk)	52
116	Ghillenborch een stadt	Gilgenburg?	Pl.:	Dąbrówno	25; 46
117	Brunsburch een stadt	Braunsberg	Pl.:	Braniewo	
118	Merinck een stadt ende een slot	Mohrunen	Pl.:	Morağ	

c.719	In Coerlant: Dat gebiede tot goldinghen In Courland: the territory at Goldingen			
119	Goldinghen een stadt	Goldingen	Lv.: Kuldīga	
120	Hasenpot	Hasenpoth	Lv.: Aizpute	
121	Doerben	Durben	Lv.: Durbe	
122	Stronden	Schrunden	Lv.: Skrunda	
123	Alswangen sloot	Alswangen	Lv.: Alsunga	
c.720	In Coerlant: Die voicht van Candauwen In Courland: the Vogt of Kandau			
124	Candauwen	Kandau	Lv.: Kandava	
125	vrouwenberch	Frauenburg	Lv.: Saldus	
126	Sabelen	Zabeln	Lv.: Sabile	
c.721	In Coerlant: Die Commenduer van wijndo In Courland: the commander of Windau			
127	wijndo een stadt ende een slot	Windau	Lv.: Ventspils	
c.722	In Coerlant: Die voicht van grobijn In Courland: the Vogt of Grobin			
128	Grobijn een [stadt] ende een slot	Grobin	Lv.: Grobiņa	
c.723	Die Commenduer van dobbelen The commander of Doblen			
129	Dobbelen een stadt slot	Doblen	Lv.: Dobeļe	
130	Nyeborch een slot opte lettausche grenss	Neuenburg	Lv.: Jaunspils	
c.724	Die Commanduer ter nijttauwe The commander at Mitau			
131		Mitau	Lv.: Jelgava	
132	Boecksheimborch een slot	Bauske?	Lv.: Bauska	
133	Tucken slot	Tuckum	Lv.: Tukums	
c.724	In des meysters gebiede In the master's territory			
134	Riege een stadt ende een slot ende is des meysters hoifthuis	Riga	Lv.: Rīga	178
135	kerthollem opter dunen slot	Kirchholm	Lv.: Salaspils	
136	Nymolen een slot,	Neuermühlen	Lv.: Ādaži	
137	Roedenpeys een slot	Rodenpois	Lv.: Ropaži	
138	Wenden een stadt ende slot daer de meyster nv zijn hoofthuis heeft	Wenden	Lv.: Cēsis	
139	Wolmer stadt ende slot	Wolmar	Lv.: Valmiera	
140	Tolsborch opter zeecant na zweden	Tolsburg	Et.: Toolse	
141	Bertenic slot,	Burtneck	Lv.: Burtnieki	
142	Roeyen slot,	Rujen	Lv.: Rūjiena	161
143	Armes een slot,	Ermes	Lv.: Ērgeme	
144	Tricaten een slot,	Trikaten	Lv.: Trikāta	
145	Aries een slot	Arrasch	Lv.: Āraiši	
c.725	Opter dune die ryuier die sloten gelegen Along the river Dūna are these castles			
146	Item een voicht the Rosseyten	Rositten	Lv.: Rēzekne	
147	ende ludsen opte Ruysche grenss	Ludsen	Lv.: Ludza	
148	Een commenduer tot dunenborch slot	Dünaburg	Lv.: Daugavpils	
149	Een voicht tot seelborch slot	Selburg	Lv.: Sēlpils	
150	Een commenduer van assenrode een slot,	Ascheraden	Lv.: Aizkraukle	
151	Alchenaee een slot	Altona	Lv.: Alteni	
152	Een commenduer tot dunemunde opter salter zee slot	Dünamünde	Lv.: Daugavgrīva	
153	Een voicht van soenenborch ander salter zee slot	Soneburg	Et.: Maasi	
154	Een commenduer te parnauwe ander salter zee een stadt ende slot	Pernau	Et.: Pärnu	
155	Een commenduer te lehael . heeft die bisscop van oesel half ende is oick vander oirden	Leal	Et.: Lihula	
156	Een commenduer the Reuel . een grote stadt end is ghelegen ander salter zee	Reval	Et.: Tallinn	
157	Een voicht vanden nywen slote gelegen aen rüyslant die onkristen zijn een slot	Neuschloß	Et.: Vasknarva	
158	Een voicht van narwe gelegen aen rüyslant stadt ende slot	Narwa	Et.: Narva	
159	Een voicht van karcs	Karkus	Et.: Karkski	
160	helm	Helmat	Et.: Helme	
161	ende royen Ende dese voicht geeft alle iair in des meysters camer twedusent marck aen gelde ende twe rijnsgulden sijn drie marck	Rujen	Lv.: Rūjiena	142

162	Een commenduer van valyen ende is een stadt ende een slot ende is die meeste commenduer in lieflant. Ende Tauses ende valyen plegen tsestich off seuentich heren the houden ende somtijt hondert heren off the riden	Fellin	Et.:	Viljandi	
163	Een voicht van ouerpoel	Oberpahlen	Et.:	Pöłtsamaa	
164	ende van lagges	Lais	Et.:	Laiuse	167
165	Een voicht van wesenbergen ende lecht in wyerlant	Wesenberg	Et.:	Rakvere	
166	Noch ter wyst een slot	Tarwast	Et.:	Tarvastu	
167	Noch lagis een slot	Lais	Et.:	Laiuse	164
168	Een voicht van wittesteyn	Weißenstein	Et.:	Paide	
169	ende yerwen ende hier toe behoren lairlicx dertichdusent marck	Jerwen	Et.:	Järvamaa	
170	Een commenduer van Marienborch ende is gelegen harde	Marienburg	Lv.:	Alüksne	
171	voir plescouwe dat een heidensche stadt is	Pleskau	Ru.:	Псков (Pskov)	
172	Noch een slot ende heet atsel	Adsel	Lv.:	Gaujiena	
c.726	Onder den lantmaerscalck ende die meeste syn naest den meyster Subject to the land marshall, mostly close to the master				
173	Seechwolt	Segewold	Lv.:	Sigulda	
174	leeuenberch	Lemberg	Lv.:	Mālpils	
175	Myttouwe op dese set die maerscalck sijn amptluden offte drossaten	Nietau	Lv.:	Nītaure	
176	loriens borch	Jurgensburg	Lv.:	Zaube	
177	Scoyn	Schujen	Lv.:	Skujene	
c.726	Item die Eertsbisscop van Riege heeft twijntich goede sloot ende is vander oirden ende heeft een domkerke Furthermore, the archbishop of Riga has twenty good castles. He belongs to the Teutonic Order and has a cathedral church				
178		Riga	Lv.:	Riga	134
c.726	Die bisscop van Coerlant een slot geheten The bishop of Courland has a castle named				
179	Pilten ende	Pilten	Lv.:	Piltene	
180	Nyehuis gelegen voirt lant van sameyten	Neuhaußen	Lv.:	Valtaiki	
181	Amboten een slot	Amboten	Lv.:	Embūte	
182	Doen danghen een slot	Dondangen	Lv.:	Dundaga	
183	Edualen slot	Edwahlen	Lv.:	Ēdole	
c.726	Die bisscop the Reuel een stadt twe slot The bishop of Reval has a city and two castles				
184	dat vegevier	Fegefeuer	Et.:	Kiviloo	
185	ende borch holm	Borkholm	Et.:	Porkuni	
c.726	Die bisscop van oessel The bishop of Ōsel-Wiek				
186	een slot geheten Aernsborch ende leyt opten lande the oessel	Arensburg	Et.:	Kuressaare	
187	Hoepsel dese II leggen inden wijck	Hapsal	Et.:	Haapsalu	
188	leden	Lohde	Et.:	Koluvare	
c.726	Die bisscop van derp The bishop of Dorpat				
189	ende is een stadt ende slot ende lecht voir die heydenisse	Dorpat	Et.:	Tartu	
190	kyerenpeel een slot	Kirumpäh	Et.:	Kirumpää	
191	Nyenhuis een slot	Neuhausen	Et.:	Vastseliina	
192	Den olden toirn een slot	Oldentorn (Altenturm)	Et.:	Vana-Kastre	
193	Weerdenbeeck slot	Warbeck (Kaster)	Et.:	Uue-Kastre	

Table A.8 Locations of the Prussian and Livonian cities and castles mentioned in the Croniken (ms. *We*₁) in c.717–26, ordered per chapter.

A.3 Question of authorship

Use of first person

Chapter	<i>Croniken</i> (ms. We ₁)	Source (if applicable)
c.477	Want wij van Akers nyet swigen en willen om te horen hoe dat vergaen is.	n/a
c.512	Hier eyndet nu van Akers. Ende wy willen voirt van der Duytscher Oirden scriven.	n/a
c.629	Mar wairom hij [Grand Master Heinrich of Plauen] offgeset ende in vanghenisse gheset wert, dat en vijnd ic nyet.	[<i>Ältere Hochmeisterchronik</i> , c.197] Addir ich weis nicht, was seyne gebittiger bedawchte, sy satczten en von dem meisterampt ken Engelsing, dornoch ken Dantczk, do her wol vii iar gefangen sas.
c.664 (c.58; c.663; c.716)	Onsse heilighe vader die Paeus Nicolaus Quintus [Pope Nicholas V, 6 March 1447 – 24 March 1455]	n/a
c.668 (c.667; c.679)	Ons alre genadichste heer die Keyser Ffredericus [Emperor Frederick III, 16 March 1452 - 19 August 1493]	n/a
c.746	Mer bij heren Goessens tijden van den Garner, soe betaelden die lantcommenduer heer Goessen voirscreven der baliën van Westvalen vijftienhondert pont ende dair meyn ick dat hij Bun weder voir kreech.	n/a
c.763	Mer off hij [Land Commander Hendrik van Hoehorst] ander beveil nae kreech, dat en vijnde ick nyet.	n/a
c.767	Hij [Land Commander Zweder Cobbing] vercoft veel van des huis selverwerck, bij namen op ene tijt soe veel dair hij vijfhonder Rijnsguldens off nam, daer ick bescheit off gesien heb.	n/a

Table A.9: Use of the first person in the *Croniken*. The numerous instances of the first person in quoted dialogues, in reference to God, Jesus or Mary, and inserted privileges have been excluded.

List of land charters by Hendrik van Vianen

#	Signature	Date	Issued by	Description	Writer	Language
1	ARDOU, inv.nr. 807.2	30-03-1479	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
2	ARDOU, inv.nr. 43.2	27-10-1480	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Appointment of priest-brother	Anon.	Middle Dutch
3	ARDOU, inv.nr. 2248.2	13-03-1481	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Settlement with Frisian commandry of Nes	Anon.	Middle Dutch
4	ARDOU, inv.nr. 2287.1	15-03-1481	Ludolf Idsens, parish priest of Oldeboorn		Anon.	Middle Dutch
5	ARDOU, inv.nr. 490.1	01-06-1481	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Appointment of priest-brother	Anon.	Middle Dutch
6	ARDOU, inv.nr. 107.2	24-10-1481	Johan van Riet, suffragan bishop of Utrecht	Vidimus of a T.O. privilege	Anon.	Middle Dutch
7	Schiedam, Gemeentearchief, Familie Van Mathenesse, inv.nr. 253	27-05-1482	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Permission granted to knight brother to sell his inheritance	Anon.	Middle Dutch
8	ARDOU, inv.nr. 1777.1	20-09-1483	Gosen van Rossum, commander Tiel and L.C. <i>ad interim</i>	Appointment of priest-brother	Anon.	Middle Dutch
9	ARDOU, inv.nr. 806.2	24-11-1483	Lourens Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
10	ARDOU, inv.nr. 808.2	24-11-1483	Jacob Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
11	ARDOU, inv.nr. 443.1a	22-02-1484	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Selling of land rent	Anon.	Middle Dutch
12	ARDOU, inv.nr. 443.2g	22-02-1484	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Selling of land rent	Anon.	Middle Dutch
13	ARDOU, inv.nr. 491.1	07-09-1484	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Selling of land rent	Anon.	Middle Dutch
14	ARDOU, inv.nr. 443.3	17-09-1484	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Selling of land rent	Anon.	Middle Dutch
15	ARDOU, inv.nr. 772.1	14-10-1484	Luytgen Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
16	ARDOU, inv.nr. 747.3	14-10-1484	Willem van Schaik; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
17	ARDOU, inv.nr. 836.1	18-10-1484	Johan van Damme; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
18	ARDOU, inv.nr. 786.4	17-12-1484	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
19	ARDOU, inv.nr. 772.3	25-03-1485	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
20	ARDOU, inv.nr. 772.2	25-03-1485	Gijsbert Gerritsz. Van Schaik; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
21	ARDOU, inv.nr. 791.2	10-04-1485	Frank Woutersz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
22	ARDOU, inv.nr. 853.1	20-10-1485	Aernt Jacobsz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
23	ARDOU, inv.nr. 791.3	22-02-1486	Adriaen Claesz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
24	ARDOU, inv.nr. 825.2	10-03-1486	Floris Alaertsz.; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
25	ARDOU, inv.nr. 735.1	16-11-1486	Willem Aerntsz. Van Overrijn; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
26	ARDOU, inv.nr. 735.5	16-11-1486	Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
27	ARDOU, inv.nr. 470.8	19-09-1490 [Utrecht]	David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht; Johan van Drongelen, L.C.	Confirmation of a T.O. privilege	Anon.	Latin

28	Arnhem, Gelders Archief, Heren en graven van Culemborg, inv.nr. 6555	27-07-1491 [Zuilen]	Jasper van Culemborg, i.a. Lord of Zuilen	Collation of accounts of Frans van Borssele, i.a. Lord of Zuilen (1446/47)	Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, notary public	Latin
29	ARDOU, inv.nr. 1291.2	19-11-1491 [Utrecht]	Gerard ter Herenhove, dean of the chapter of St. Mary in Rees	Vidimus of a T.O. privilege	Anon.	Latin
30	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4	[ca. 1499-1500]	Steven van Zuylen van Nijeveld, L.C.?	Manuscript copy of so-called 'Hollandse Saksenspiegel' ¹⁴⁵⁹	Anon.	Middle Dutch
31	ARDOU, inv.nr. 820.5	09-09-1499	Johan Dammasz.; Steven van Zuylen van Nijeveld, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
32	ARDOU, inv.nr. 853.2	14-10-1499	Cornelis Aertsz.; Steven van Zuylen van Nijeveld, L.C.	Leasehold	Anon.	Middle Dutch
33	ARDOU, inv.nr. 825.3	27-02-1500	Floris Alaertsz.; Steven van Zuylen van Nijeveld, L.C.	Leasehold	Hendrik van Vianen, notary public	Middle Dutch
34	ARDOU, inv.nr. 503.1	27-08-1501	Willem Stevensz. van Nijeveld	Handing over vicarage in church of St. James (Utrecht) to T.O.	Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, notary public	Latin
35	ARDOU, inv.nr. 1433.5	29-10-1505	Bernard van Tiel, Dean of the Chapter of St. Mary in Utrecht	Vidimus of a T.O. privilege	Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, notary public	Latin
36	Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Huisarchief Almelo, inv.nr. 1836 (R795)	[.]8-07-1509 [Vianen]	Adolf van Rechteren, Lord of Almelo; Hendrik die Hert, parish priest in Vianen	Appointment of the Vianen parish priest in a vicarage in the church of Almelo	Hendrik van Vianen, notary public	Latin

Table A.10 All recovered writings by Hendrik Gerardsz van Vianen, other than manuscript **We**₁. L.C.: land commander; T.O.: Teutonic Order.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Smits, 'Spiegel van Sassen'.

List of persons invited or attending Drongelen's entry ceremony

Most emphasis has been put on identifying the persons from the County of Holland, less so much on those from the Bishopric of Utrecht. Some of the identifications are partial and/or incomplete.

Code	Transcription	Normalised name	Function	Year of death	Remarks
f. 1r	Dit sijn die gene tot Jans cledinghe van drongelen souden wesen als daer hi maech toe is et cetera. Ende die van buten sijn:				
A1	die heer van brederoy	Reinoud II van Brederode	Lord of Brederode etc.	1473	Married to C1, brother A2, C2
A2	die doemproest	Gijsbrecht van Brederode	Provost of the Utrecht cathedral	1475	Brother A1, C2
A3	die joncker van gaesbeec	Jacob van Gaasbeek	Lord of Gaasbeek, Abcoude, etc.	1459	
A4	die joncker van seuenberghe	Arend van Strijen (sr.)	Lord of Zevenbergen (1453)	>1453	
A5	heer dirc van der merwen	Dirk van der Merwede	Lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, Drongelen, etc.	1452	
A6	heer ghijsbert van vianen	Gijsbert van Vianen	Lord of Noordeloos etc.	1458	Brother of A7, possibly son of C3
A7	heer jan van vianen	Jan van Vianen	Knight	>1465	Brother of A6, possibly son of C3
A8	heer gerijt van poelgeest	Gerijt van Poelgeest	Lord of Hoogmade etc.	1458	
A9	willam van langeraec	Willem van Langerak	Lord of Wadenoijen (sr.); squire (jr.)	>1448 (sr.; jr.)	Aunt and cousins: C5, C7, C10, C11
A10	floris van kijfhoec	Floris van Kijfhoek	Lord of Zwijndrecht etc.	<1448 (sr.); <1473 (jr.)	
A11	die joncker van hemert	Jan van Hemert	Lord of Nederhemert (1457)	>1458	
A12	robbrecht van drongelen	Robbrecht van Drongelen	Lord of Eethen, Meeuwen, Drongelen, etc. (1458)	>1478	Brother of A13
A13	heynrijc van drongelen	Hendrik van Drongelen		>1463	Brother of A12
A14	dirc van weerdenborch	Dirk van Waardenburg		1456	Married to C15
A15	zweer van weerdenborch	Zweder van Waardenburg	Lord of Gansoyen (1459)	<1467	Son of A14 and C15
A16	gerijt van assendelft	Gerard van Assendelft	Lord of Assendelft, Besoyen	1486	Married to C17
A17	die cassteleyn van huesden	[Deputy of] 1431–47: Dirk van der Merwede (A5) / 1448: Count Jan IV of Nassau	'Kastelein' (steward) of the Heusden castle		
A18	die drossaet van huesden	[Arend Spiering van Aalburg, 1451]	'Drost' (bailiff) of Heusden		
A19	willam van bisoyen	Willem van Besoyen	Lord of Besoyen (1439–47)	>1453	Father (?) of C16, grandfather of C17
A20	floris van der dussen	Floris van der Dussen	Lord of Dussen, Aartswaard; Bailiff South Holland	<1457	
A21	jan van goer	Jan van Ghoor		>1450	Owns land next to Teutonic House in Schelluinen
A22	hessel van drongelen	[Multiple options, possibly son of C8] Hessel van Drongelen		>1457	Son of C8?

f. 1v	Item dit sijn die daer wesen souden vten sticht ende vter stat:			
B1	mijns heren genade van vtrecht	Rudolf van Diepholt	Bishop Utrecht	1455
B2	die doemdecken	Jan Proeys	Dean of the Utrecht cathedral church	
B3	die proest van sinte jan	Dirk van Wassenaar	Provost of St John, Utrecht	
B4	die proest van s marien	Hendrik Raescop	Provost of St Mary, Utrecht	1455
B5	die koer bisscop	Evert Zoudenbalch	Chorbishop Utrecht	
B6	die scolaster	Bernard Proeys	Scholaster Utrecht	
B7	heer jan van drakenborch	Jan van Drakenburg	Lord of Vuursche	Married to C26?
B8	heer willam van zweten	Willem de Rover van Montfoort	Lord of Zwieten	Married to C10
B9	heer heynric van kronenborch	Hendrik van Kronenburg (jr.)	Lord of Kronenburg	Nephew of former husband C6
B10	melis van mijnden	Amelis van Mijnden		Nephew of B10
B11	heer vredeijc vten ham	Frederik uten Ham	Lord of Den Ham	Possibly related to C13, father of C21
B12	vredeijc van renesse	Frederik van Renesse		Married to C18?
B13	jan van renesse	Jan van Renesse		Married to C19?
B14	jonge jan van renesse	Jan van Renesse (jr.)		Married to C19?
B15	jonge vredeijc van renesse	Frederik van Renesse (jr.)		Married to C18?
B16	steuen van nyevelt jacobssoen	Steven van Nijvelt, son of Jacob		
B17	steuen van nyevelt willamssoen	Steven van Nijvelt, son of Willem		
B18	willam van nyevelt	Willem van Nijvelt		
B19	bertelmeus van nyevelt	Bartholomeus van Nijvelt		Married to C32
B20	staes van loenresloet	Staes van Loenersloot		
B21	ghijsbert van sterkenborch	Gijsbert van Sterkenburg		Married to C20
B22	jacop proys	Jacob Proeys		Married to C24
B23	lichtenberch	[Multiple options]		
B24	roetaert	[Multiple options]		
B25	ghijsbert van nyenroy van velsen	Gijsbert van Nijenrode van Velsen		Married to C21
B26	aernt van amerongen	Arend van Amerongen		Married to C27
B27	souwe van rijen	Souwe van Rijn		Married to C28
B28	vredeijc van drakenborch	Frederik van Drakenburg (jr.)		
B29	jan van drakeborch	Jan van Drakenburg		Compare B7; Married to C26?
B30	eerst van herdenbroec	Ernst van Hardenbroek		Married to C29
B31	godscalc van winsen	Godschalk van Winsen		
B32	gerijt van kulemborch	Gerard van Culemborg		1466
B33	aert bijndop	Arend Bijndop		

f. 2r				
C1	die vrouwe van breroye	Yolande van Lalaing	1497	Married to A1
C2	die joffer van bre- roye	Walravina van Brederode		Sister A1, A2. Widow of Gerrit van Broekhuizen (d. 1443)
C3	die vrouwe van via- nen die oude	[Possibly] Fije Johanna van Herlaar	>1420	Mother of A6, A7
C4	die vrouwe van drongelen	Maria van Schoonhout	around 1458	Widow of Johan III van Drongelen
C5	die vrouwe van langeraec	Elburg van Langerak	>1483	Married to Rutger van Boetzelaer; mother of C11; cousin of C10; cousin or nephew of A9; nephew of C7
C6	die vrouwe van kronenborch	[Probably] Katharina van Drongelen	>1451	Oldest daughter of Johan III van Drongelen's first marriage. Widow of Jan van Kronenburg, uncle of B9
C7	die vrouwe van poelgeest	Margaretha van Doornik		Married to A8
C8	die vrouwe van nyesteyn	Margaretha Millinc		Married (again?) to Hendrik van Nijenstein, mother of Hessel van Drongelen, possibly A22
C9	die vrouwe van noerdeloos	Meine van Heemskerk	<1475	Married to A6
C10	die vrouwe van zweeten van mont- foort	Margaretha van Langerak		Married to B8; see C5
C11	die joffer van as- speren van boetse- laer	Kunigonda van Boetzelaer		Daughter of C5
C12	die vrouwe van nyevelt			
C13	die vrouwe van baersel			Possibly related to B11
C14	die joffer van weer- denborch van brak- kel			
C15	die joffer van weer- denborch dircs wijf	Johanna van Drongelen		Married to A14, sister or half-sister of C6
C16	die joffer van by- soyen	Katharina van Besoyen (or her mother Beatrijs van der Wale?)		Mother C17, daughter A19 (?)
C17	die joffer van as- sendelft	Beatrijs van Dongen		Married to A16, daughter C16 (?)
C18	de joffer van re- nesse vrederics			Married to B12 (or B15)
C19	de joffer van re- nesse jans			Married to B13 (or B14)
C20	die joffer van sterkenborch			Married to B21
C21	die joffer van nyen- roy van welsen	Geertruida Uten Ham		Married to B25, daughter of B11
C22	die oude joffer van drakenborch			Compare B7, B28, B29
C23	de joffer van rumelaer			
C24	de joffer prois ja- cobs wijf			Married to B22

C25	die joffer van steenre willams wijf	Married to Willem van Steenre
C26	de joffer van drakenborch jans wijf	Married to B7 or B29
C27	de joffer van amerongen	Married to B26
C28	de joffer van rijnsouwen wijf	Married to B27
C29	de joffer van herdenbroec	Married to B30
C30	de joffer van moerdrecht	

Table A.11 List of persons invited or attending the ceremony for Johan van Drongelen entering the Teutonic Order (ARDOU, inv.nr. 251).

Genealogical tables

Please note that I have not tried to retain the order of the siblings in which they were born, as this would complicate the layout and increase the size of the tables. The purpose was to reconstruct the extended family of Land Commander Johan van Drongelen and make visible connections between the persons present or invited at his entry ceremony (Table A.11).

Persons who were also invited to the ceremonial entry of Johan van Drongelen into the Teutonic Order (Table A.11) are labelled with a *.

The abbreviation “Rep.” refers to the *leenreperetoria* (registers of fiefs), which are published and available via <http://www.hogenda.nl/hogenda-leenkamers/>.

The following tables are included. The main tables, divided in three:

- Figure A.16: Johan van Drongelen’s maternal family (Veen, Buys) and link with the Drongelen family.
- Figure A.17: The main branch of the Drongelen family and their descendants (Langerak, Waardenburg).
- Figure A.18: The main branch of the Merwede, Brederode, Vianen families and affiliated families (Both van der Eem, Herlaar).

Three detailed tables:

- Figure A.19: Eethen-branch of the Drongelen family and the sale of the lordships of Eethen, Meeuwen, and Drongelen.
- Figure A.20: Besoyen and Assendelft families.
- Figure A.21: Margaretha Millinc and Hessel van Drongelen.

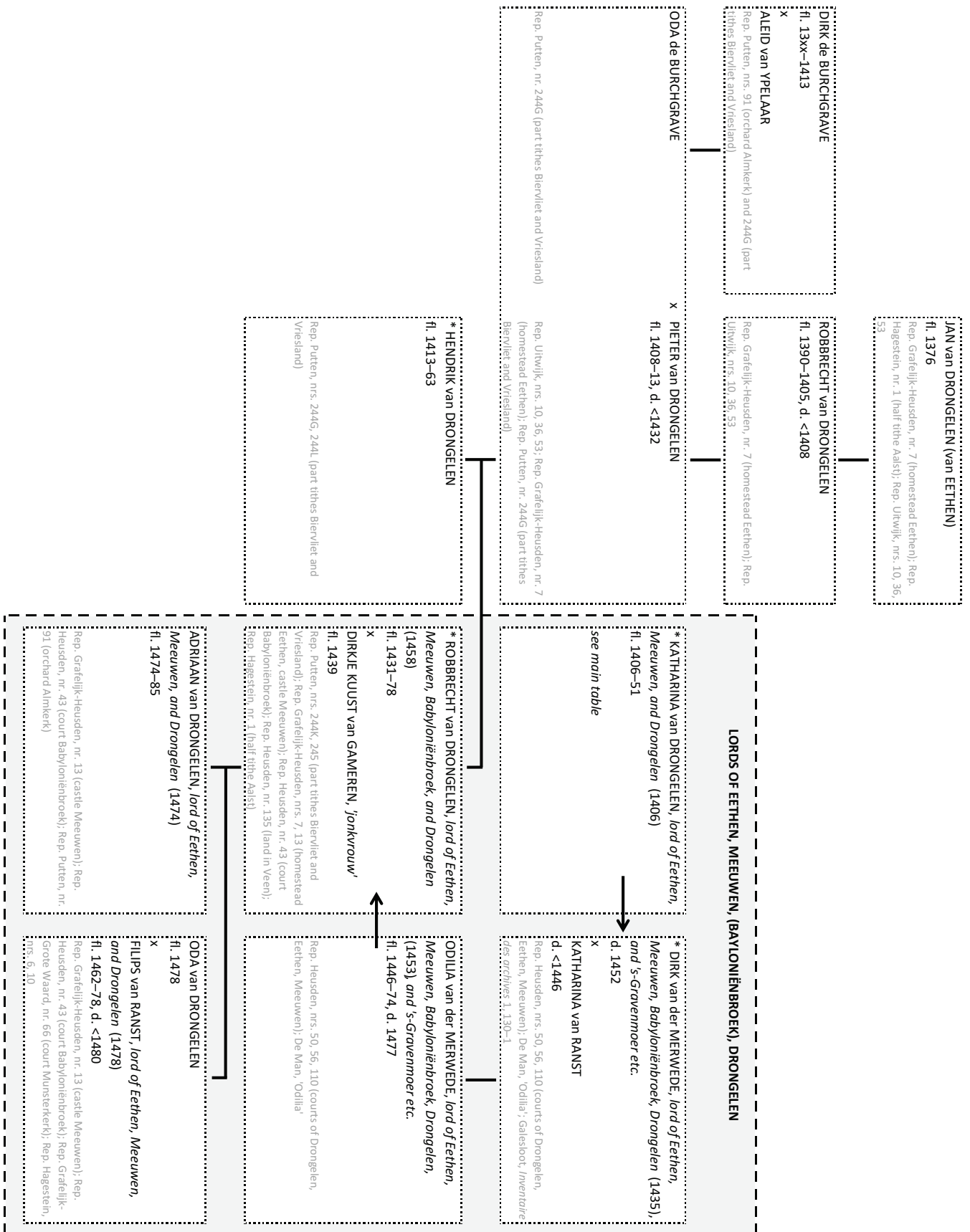


Figure A.19 Detailed genealogical table: Eethen-branch of the Drongelen family and sale and inheritance of the Eethen, Meeuwen, Drongelen lordships.

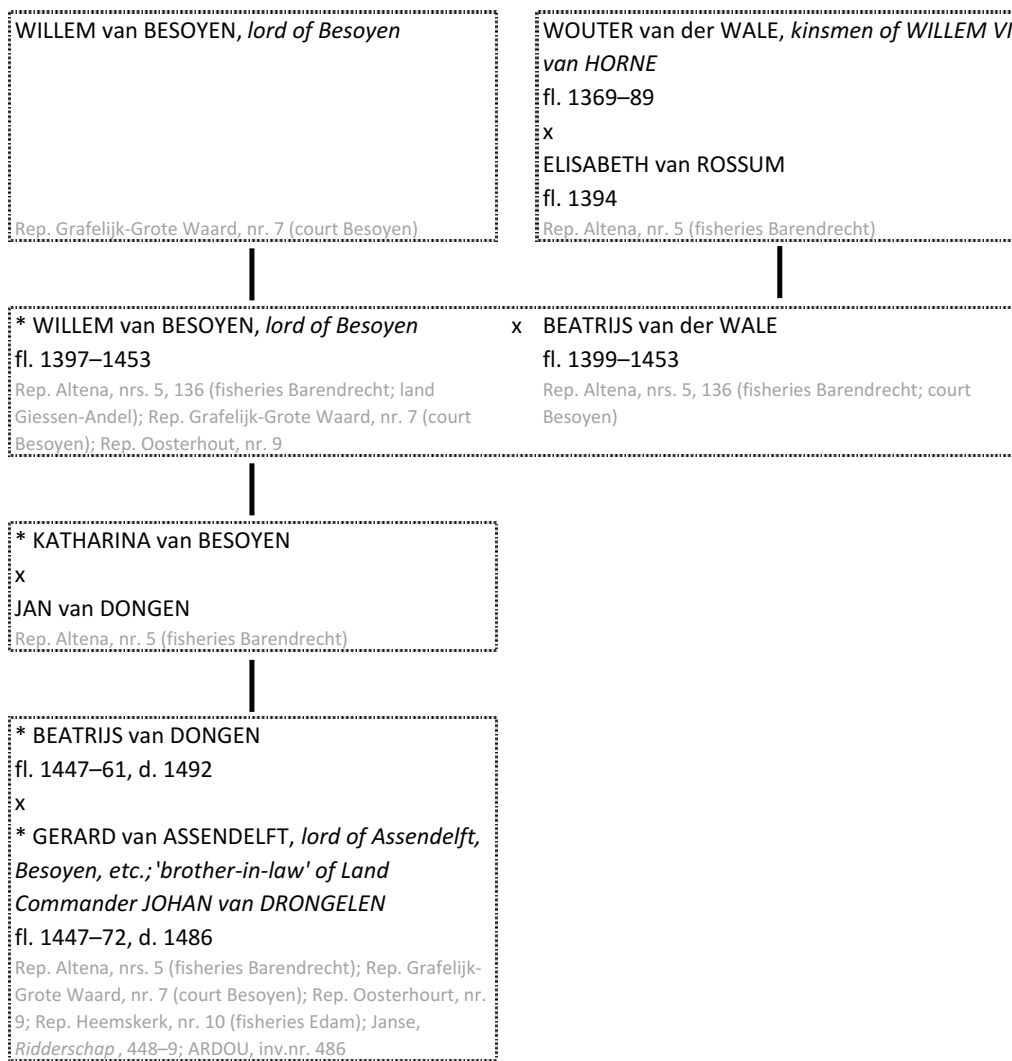


Figure A.20 Detailed genealogical table: Besoyen and Assendelft.

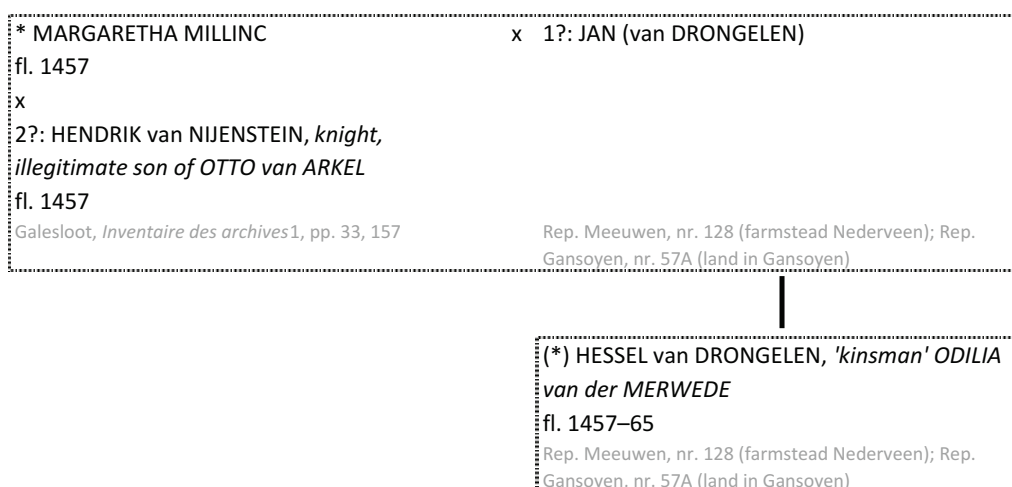


Figure A.21 Detailed genealogical table: Margaretha Millinc and Hessel van Drongelen.

Stylometric analysis: comparison of different sample sizes

Varying size of 'window' of the Croniken

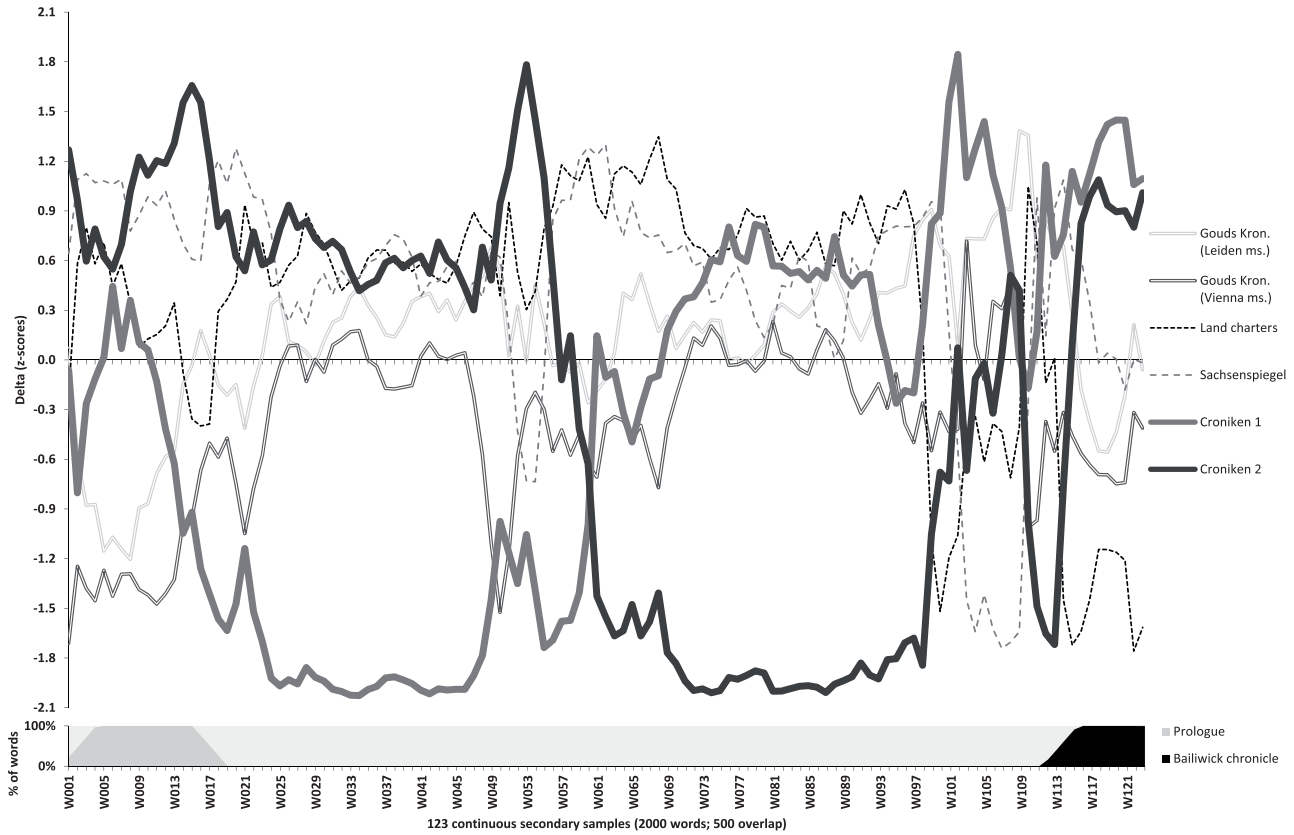


Figure A.22 Delta analysis of the Croniken, stripped of all privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples. Croniken divided in 123 equally sized parts of 2,000 words, 500 words overlap (copy of Figure 4.26).

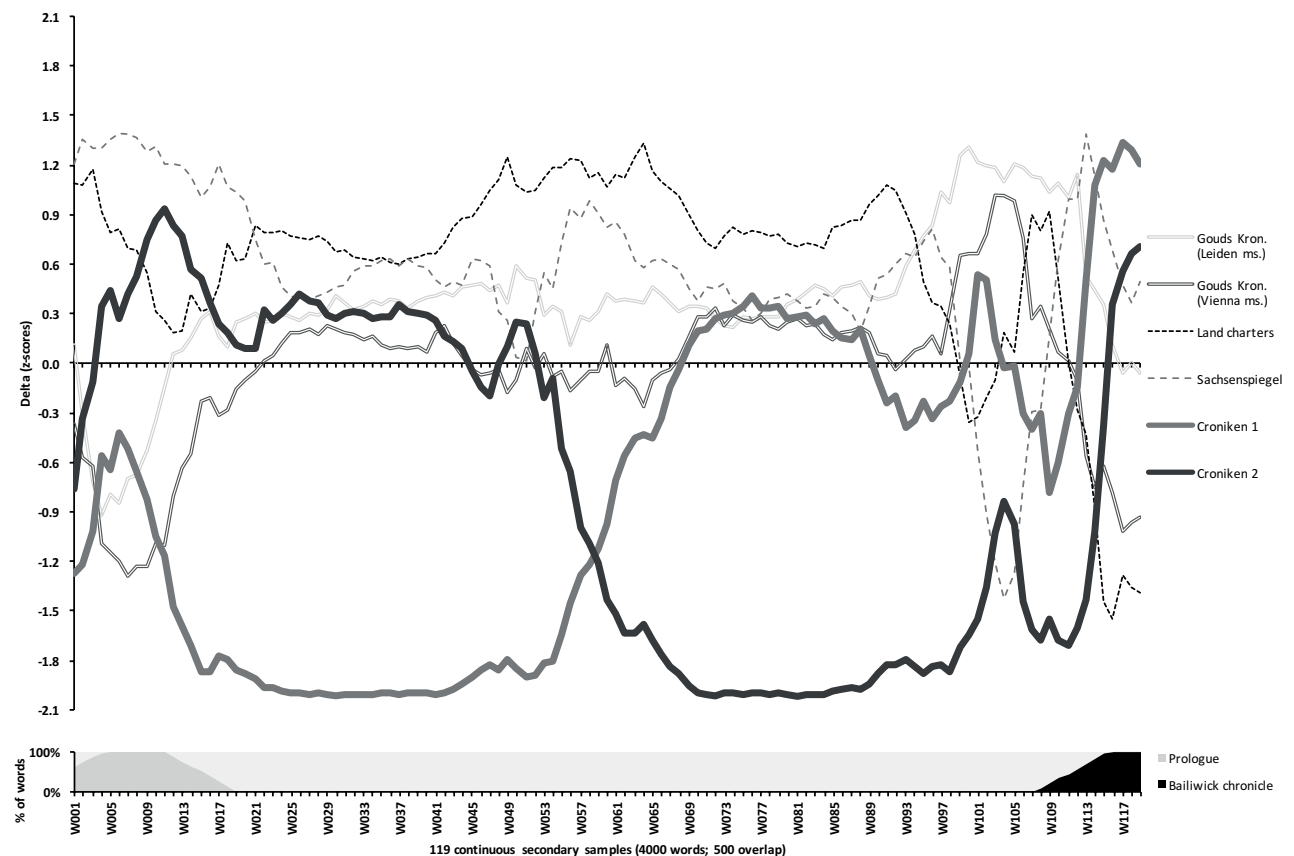


Figure A.23 Delta analysis of the Croniken, stripped of all privileges and the list of Prussian and Livonian commanderies: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples. Croniken divided in 119 equally sized parts of 4,000 words, 500 words overlap.

Varying training set sizes

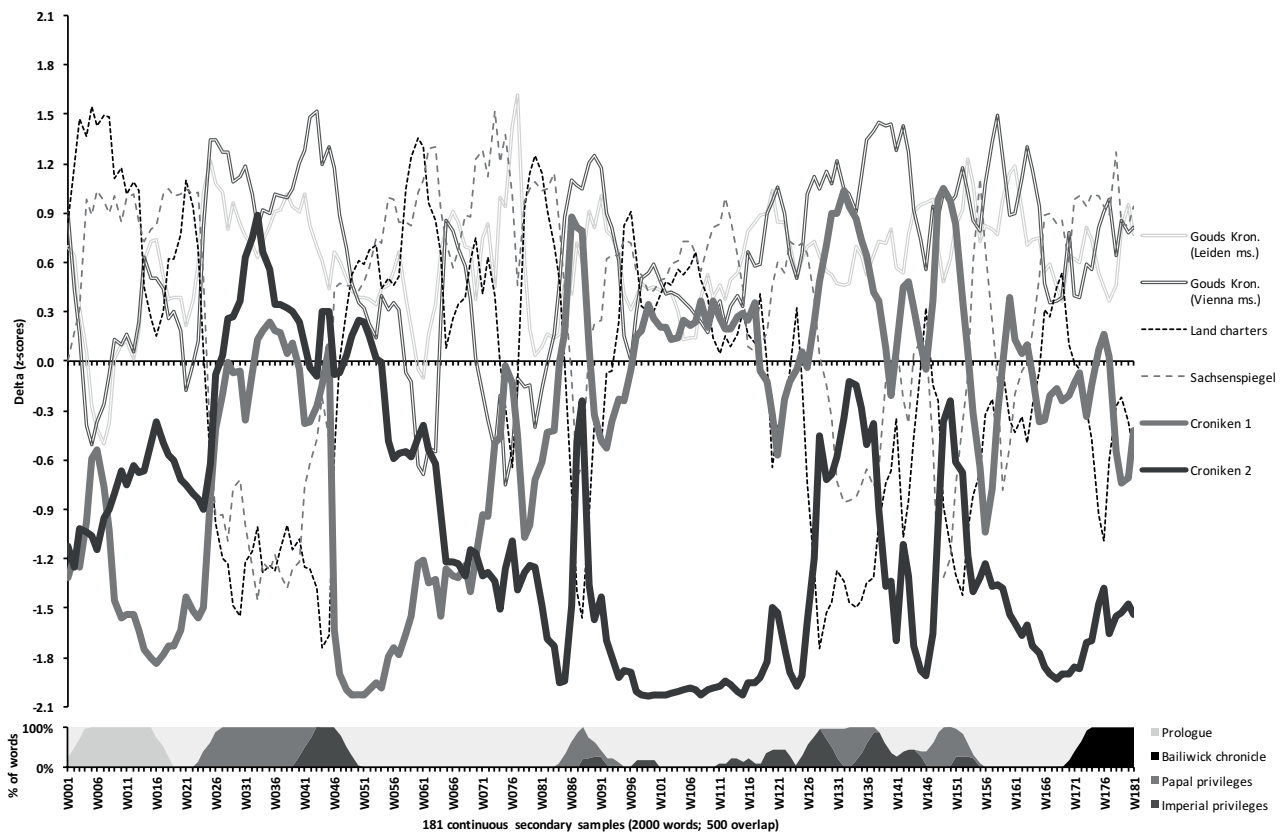


Figure A.24 Delta analysis of the Croniken: 1,000 MFW, 3,000 word training samples.

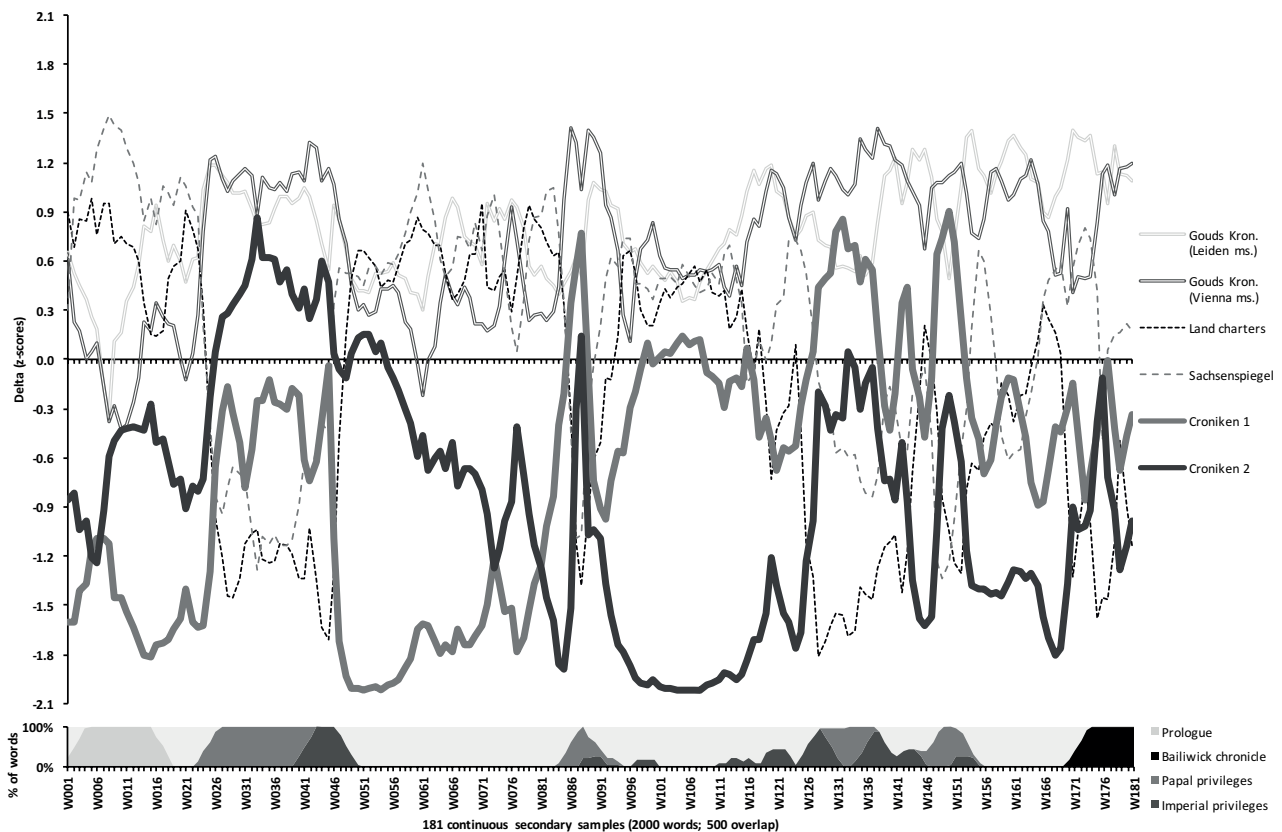


Figure A.25 Delta analysis of the Croniken: 1,000 MFW, 6,000 word training samples.

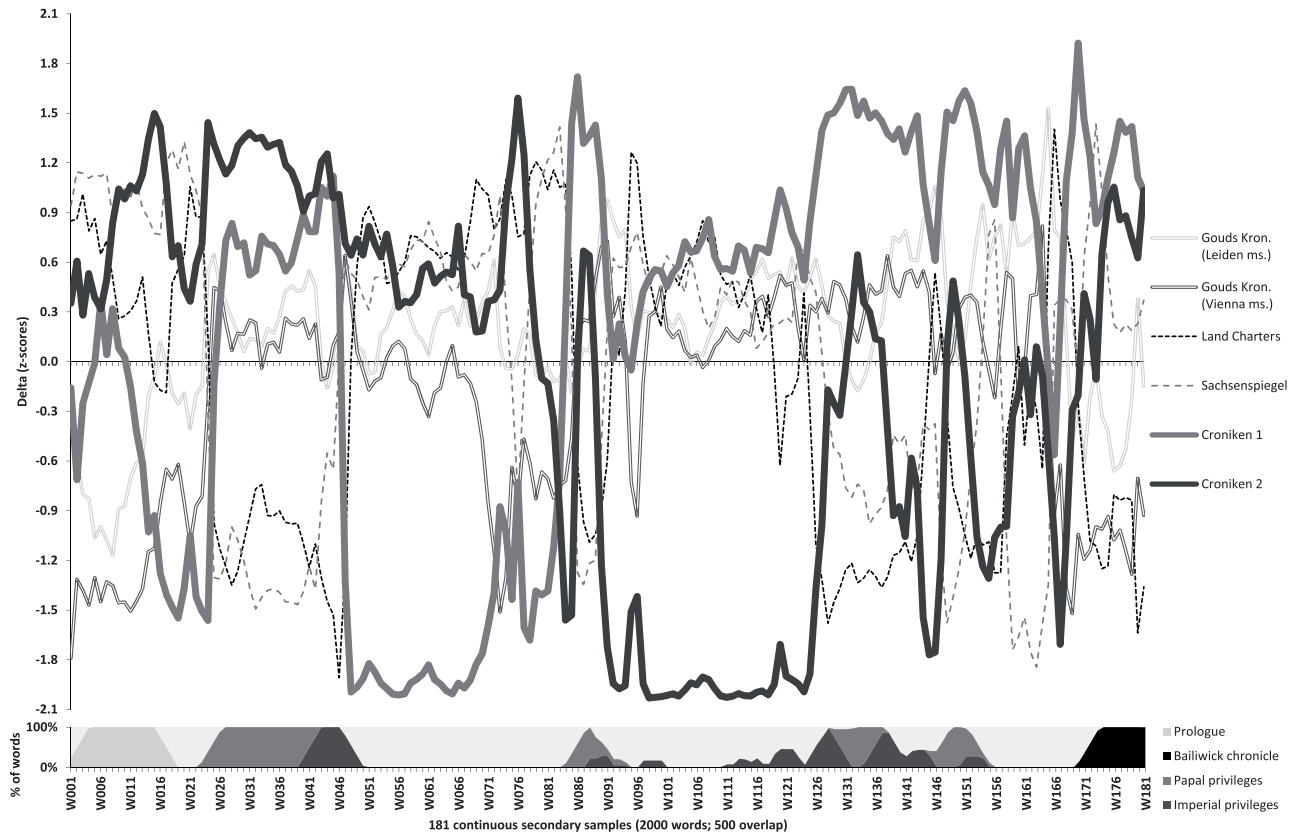


Figure A.26 Delta analysis of the Croniken: 1,000 MFW, 10,000 word training samples (copy of Figure 4.25).

A.4 Conclusion

Commanderies and churches in Utrecht and Alden Biesen bailiwicks

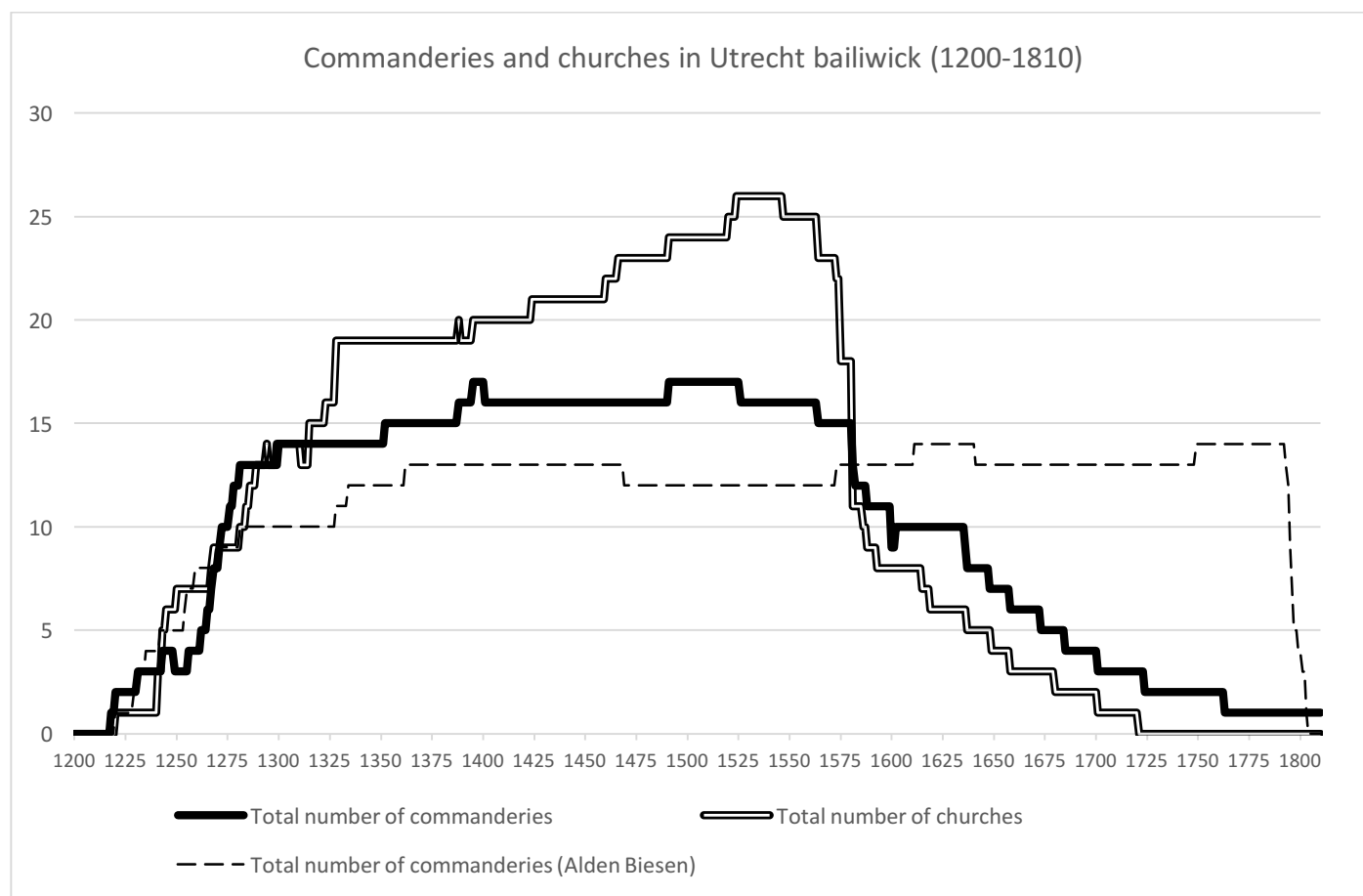


Figure A.27 Commanderies and churches in the Utrecht bailiwick and Alden Biesen (1200-1810). Includes all commanderies temporarily under control of other bailiwicks (Bunne; Dieren; Ootmarsum).¹⁴⁶⁰

¹⁴⁶⁰ For the commanderies the following dates were used: Bethlehem 1276 – 1286; Bunne 1278? – 1563; Dieren 1218 – 1647; Doesburg 1286 – 1657; Hemert <1256 – 1328; Hofdijk >1272 – 1365; Katwijk aan den Rijn 1388 – 1599; Leiden 1268 – 1762; Luinjeberd 1281? – ca. 1400; Maasland 1365 – 1723; Middelburg 1317 – 1581; Nes <1243 – 1580; Ootmarsum 1262 – 1635; Rhenen 1267 – 1636; Schelluinen 1220 – <1248, 1265 – 1700; Schoonhoven 1395 – 1587; Schoten <1299 – 1580, 1602 – 1672; Steenkerk 1491 – 1525; Tiel 1328 – 1684; Utrecht 1231 – 1345, 1347 – 2015; Valkenburg <1352 – 1599; Zandvoort 1271 – 1317. For the churches: De Lier 1245 – 1574; Doesburg 1286 – 1657; Drempt 1328 – 1618; Drumpt 1328 – >1720; Eelde 1289 – 1563; Hummelo <1323? – 1328; Irnsum <1300? – 1580; Katrijp <1315 – 1580; Katwijk aan den Rijn 1388 – 1574; Katwijk aan Zee 1460 – 1572; Leiden 1268 – 1592; Luinjeberd 1281 – 1580; Maarssen 1524 – 1546; Maasland 1241 – 1614; Maassluis 1520 – 1574; Middelburg (Noordmunster) 1284 – 1310; Nes <1243 – 1580; Oldeboorn 1243 – 1580; Rhenen 1267 – 1636; Rottum <1315 – 1580; Schelluinen 1220 – 1700; Schipluiden <1294 – 1574; Schoonhoven 1395 – 1587; Terband <1491 – 1580; Tiel (St. Maarten) 1328 – 1648; Tiel (St. Walburg) 1328 – 1679; Utrecht (St. Nicolaas) 1250 – >1294; Valkenburg 1241 – 1388, 1424 – 1585; Vries 1466 – 1563. The data are largely based on archival material and Mol, 'Deutschherren und Johanniter'; Mol, 'Vechten of verplegen?'. For the commanderies in Alden Biesen the following dates were used: Alden Biesen 1220 – 1795; Aschaffenburg 1749 – 1793; Bekkevoort 1229/30 – 1796; Bernissem around 1235 – 1796?; Gemert 1270 – 1794; Gruitrode 1417 – 1801; Holt 1281 – >1793; Jungen Biesen 1573 – 1802; Kleine Biesen 1259 – 1468; Nieuwen Biesen 1362 – 1794/95; Ordingen 1611 – 1793; Ramersdorf 1230 – 1803; Siersdorf 1255 – 1794; Sint-Aegidius, Aachen 1328 – 1802; Sint-Andreas, Liège 1254 – 1795; Sint-Pieters-Voeren 1242 – 1798; Vught 1334 – 1640.

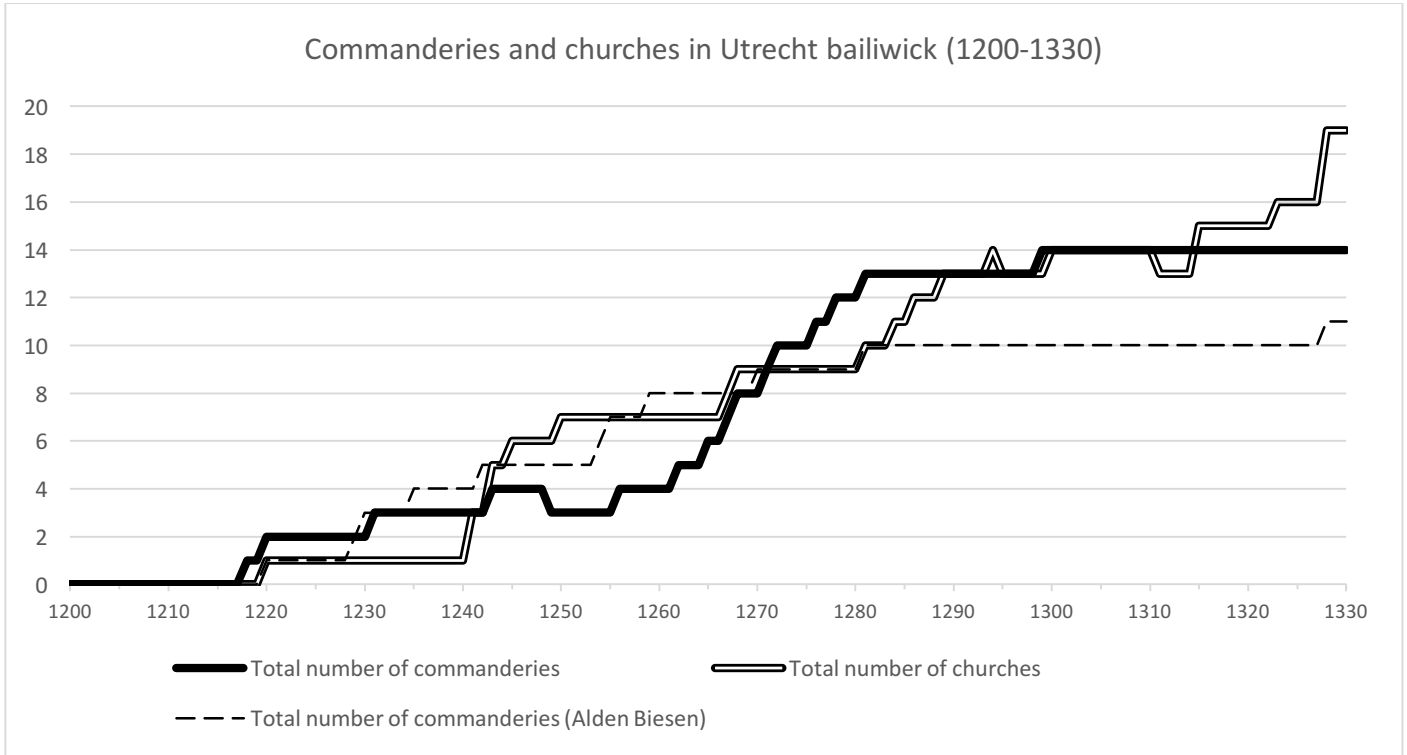


Figure A.28 Commanderies and churches in the Utrecht bailiwick and Alden Biesen, close up of the first years (1200-1330). See Figure A.27.

Dates of the extant manuscripts of the *Croniken*

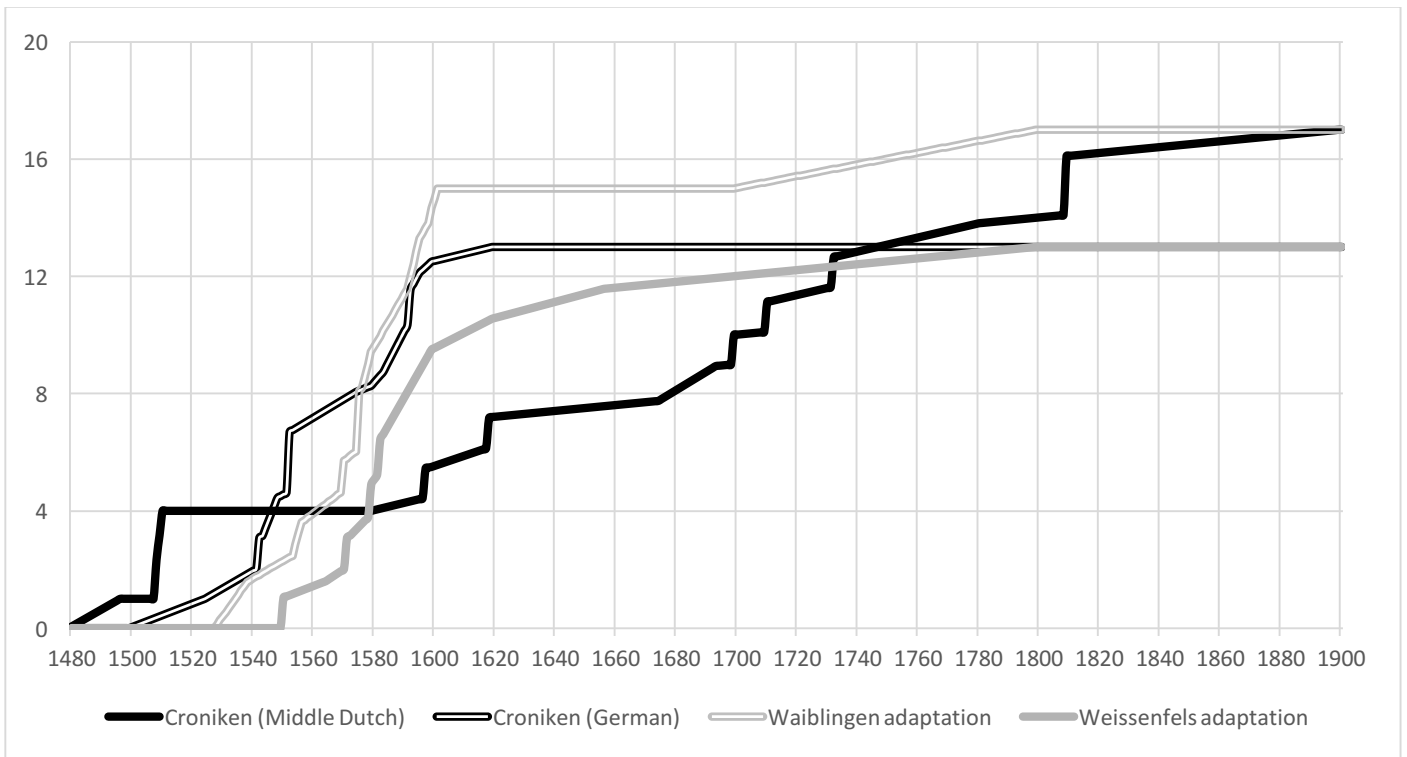


Figure A.29 Dates of the extant manuscripts of the *Croniken* and its adaptations (cumulative). Many manuscripts were not precisely dated. In these cases, each year in a date range (e.g. '16th century') was assigned a value of one divided by the number of years in the range (in this example 1/100 or 0.01).

A.5 Manuscript descriptions

Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden (extant manuscripts)

As: Assen, Drents Archief, Familie Van Heiden Reinestein, inv.nr. 1623

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUITSCHER OIRDEN (MIDDLE DUTCH) [EXCERPTS]

Paper; 17 fol.; 325 x 210. Eastern (?) Netherlands, late 16th / early 17th century

Consulted: manuscript

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Description: 1^{viii+1} (17). No foliation or pagination. Written by one hand in one column, no decoration. Lacks a binding.

Content:

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-10r: Part of the prologue of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-100). Inc.: *Dit is die Prologus Duytscher Oirden*. Expl.: *nijet datmen hen geenende dede*.
- **[2.]** ff. 10r-16v: Part of the bailiwick chronicle of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.728-748). Inc.: *Dit is die Ordonnantie vanden Duytschen Oirden*. Expl.: *mer geen ridderbrueders*. ff. 17r-17v: empty.

Remarks:

Origin: A connection to the commandery of Ootmarsum in the east of the Netherlands is probable (see below). Ootmarsum originally belonged to the Utrecht bailiwick, but was effectively brought under the control of the bailiwick of Westphalia during the fifteenth century. The status of the commandery remained disputed, until it was definitively assigned to the bailiwick of Westphalia. Perhaps the excerpts, focussing on the origins of the Teutonic Order and the Utrecht bailiwick and its commanderies, were part of a response to the secularization of church goods by the *Ridderschap* (Knighthood) of Overijssel, who confiscated goods of the commandery in 1600.¹⁴⁶¹

Date: The paper contains a watermark of a "Lily, in shield, above crown, beneath letters or mark (WR)". Forty-one watermarks in the Piccard database resemble this (nrs. 128251, 128278, [...], 128326), but none are identical. Almost all of these watermarks were dated between 1590 and 1610 and originated in Strasbourg or the surrounding region.

Provenance: The manuscript probably came in the possession of the family Van Heiden-Reinestein via the Van Heiden-Hompesch family, who owned the former Teutonic Order's commandery of Ootmarsum. The last commander (1628-1638/39) was Johan Diederik van Heiden who regained access to the commandery after its secularization, left the Teutonic Order and transformed the site into a family home around 1639.¹⁴⁶²

¹⁴⁶¹ Finke, *Heerscopinc* 1: Echteler, Klein-Ringe, Rheeze, 323.

¹⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 323–325.

Be: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (HIGH GERMAN); CATALOGUE OF BISHOPS OF WARMIA

Paper?; I + 234 + I fol. Prussia, Königsberg?, 1542

Consulted: microfilm

Signature Hirsch: Schw

Description: Unknown quire structure. Contemporary foliation in Arabic numerals, in a different hand between ff. 202-208. The *Croniken* is written in one column by a single hand that is also responsible for (most of the?) marginalia. A different hand wrote the catalogue of bishops of Warmia. No decoration; room was left to accommodate coats of arms of grand masters. Unknown binding.

Content:

- [1.] ff. 1r-206r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-727). Between f. 201v (c.716) and 202r (c.717) the foliation is interrupted and 26 folios are left blank.¹⁴⁶³ Inc.: *Dit is der Prologus adir vorrede vonn des Teutschenn Ordens*. Expl.: *Der Compth. von Dunemunde*.
- [2.] ff. 206r-208v: *Nomina Episcoporum Warmiensis* (Catalogue of bishops of Warmia, from Anselm to the consecration of Marcin Kromer on 6 December 1579).¹⁴⁶⁴ Inc.: *Primus Episcopus, fuit Anselmus*. Expl.: *Varsoviae, in Conventu Regni generali die 6 Decembri 1579*.

Remarks:

Origin: folio 201v: “Durch mich Petrus Schwinge, anno 1542 Jar geschrieben.” Little is known of this Petrus Schwinge. According to a note at the end of c.423, Schwinge was familiar with the surroundings in Breslau (Polish: Wrocław) in Silesia and visited St. Adalbert’s Church there.¹⁴⁶⁵ Schwinge added a few notices to the texts, some of which were derived from the *Kronike von Pruzinlant* by Nikolaus von Jeroschin.¹⁴⁶⁶ The list of Prussian commanderies in manuscript Be is more elaborate than the list of Livonian commanderies, which would suggest a Prussian origin.¹⁴⁶⁷ The early

¹⁴⁶³ Olivier, *L’Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 1215.

¹⁴⁶⁴ The text is similar to parts of Johannes Plastwich’s chronicle of the bishops of Warmia, but not identical. This also applies to other gesta episcoporum from Warmia. ‘Johannis Plastwici, Decani Warmiensis, Chronicon de vitis episcoporum Warmiensium’, in: C.P. Woelky ed., C.P. Woelky and J.M. Saage, *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschrift zur Geschichte Ermlands I. Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis oder Quellensammlung zur Geschichte Ermlands III* (Braunsberg: Peter 1866) 10–137; ‘Series Episcoporum Warmiensium’, in: C.P. Woelky ed., C.P. Woelky and J.M. Saage, *Scriptores rerum Warmiensium oder Quellenschrift zur Geschichte Ermlands I. Monumenta Historiae Warmiensis oder Quellensammlung zur Geschichte Ermlands III* (Braunsberg: Peter 1866) 1–9.

¹⁴⁶⁵ “Man findet sein Epitaphium nicht da, hab mit fleis darnach gesehen”: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 113v; Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 15.

¹⁴⁶⁶ “und zogen dornach umb ruhe willenn an ein gebruche und wasser, das sich zoch auss dem Sehe Rennszen”: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 95v; Strehlke, ‘Kronike von Pruzinlant’, 7036–7039; *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden*, c.346.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 202r–206r; Compare: Stockholm, RA, Skoklostersamml., E8722, f. 252r–255r; Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 392, f. 174r–178r.

provenance of the manuscript may point to an origin in East Prussia, in or around Königsberg. A comparison of the hands suggests that Schwinge also copied manuscript Pr.¹⁴⁶⁸

Date: 1542. The catalogue of bishops of Warmia ends with Marcin Kromer being consecrated as bishop in Warsaw in 1579. His death (1589) serves as a *terminus ante quem*.

Provenance: Early evidence of use and ownership suggests a provenance in East Prussia, in or around Königsberg. Note for instance the added catalogue of the bishops of Warmia and two notes in a later hand signifying a reader familiar with the *Fahrenheit Chronicle*, an adaptation of the *Croniken* by Christoph Jan von Weissenfels that was written in Königsberg in 1550.¹⁴⁶⁹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was owned by book collector Friedrich Karl Gottlieb von Duisburg (1764-1824; *ex-libris* f. 1r), who bestowed a large part of his library to the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin in 1818.¹⁴⁷⁰ Unclear is whether Max Töppen (1822-1894), editor of the *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* series, owned the manuscript or whether the manuscript was already in Berlin. He added a short note on the first guard leave.

Literature: Olivier, *L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 1215; Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 14-15; Kletke, *Quellenschrift*, 89.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Compare for instance the pages: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 135r–135v; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 153v; See also: Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, f. 113v; Prague, NM, Cod. XVII C 8, f. 122r.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Berlin, SBB-PK, Ms. Boruss., Fol. 242, ff. 11v, 60v.

¹⁴⁷⁰ R.G. Päsler, 'Die Handschriftensammlungen der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, der Stadtbibliothek und des Staatsarchivs Königsberg', in: A.E. Walter ed., *Königsberger Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte*. Aus Archiven, Bibliotheken und Museen Mittel- und Osteuropas 1 (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau 2004) 189–249, there 193 (note 16).

Gd: Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, rps 1262

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (HIGH GERMAN); FERBER-CHRONIK (FRAGMENTS); MISCELLANEA

Paper; 206 fol.; 330 x 210. Prussia?, late 16th century (between 1584-1595?)

Consulted: literature

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Former location: Danzig, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 1262

Description: From f. 113 a second (original?) foliation starts again from 1. Headlines in red.

Content:

- [1.] ff. 1r-111r, ff. 195r-198v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-716?). See also 7d-7f (c.717-727). Inc.: *Chronica Teutsch Ordens und Hospitals S. Marien*. Expl.: *Luce cras Lucae planatur regi magister*.
- [2.] f. 111v: Papal bull by Celestine III dated 12 February 1191 (sic) (Günther).¹⁴⁷¹ Inc.: *Wie der Orden eingetiliert und eingesetzt ist worden ihm iahre unsers Herren 1191*.
- [3.] f. 112v: Wealth of the order during the reign of Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen. Inc.: *Vermögen des Ordens*.
- [4.] ff. 113r-160v: Ferber-Chronik (fragments; so-called 'Chronicle of Georg Kunheim'). Inc.: *Dantzker chronica auf das landt zu Preussen von der zeitt, do sich der bundt hot angefangen*.
- [5.] ff. 161r-184v: Report of the uprising of Gdańsk (1525). Inc.: *Ursprung des auffrhurs der burger zu Dantzk*.
- [6.] ff. 185r-190r: Report of the Polish-Teutonic War (1519-1521). Inc.: *Dis nachfolgende gehortt zum XXXIII hoemeinster [sic] M. Alb. von Brandenburg*.
- [7.] ff. 190v-206r: Various extracts.
 - [7a.] f. 190v: Inc.: *Hartter Winther*. (1557)
 - [7b.] f. 191r: Inc.: *Namen der Fursten und Könige, mit welchen die Preussen mit ihrer Herrschaft bis in Todt gekriegt haben*.
 - [7c.] f. 192r: Inc.: *Nahmen der Compthur in Preussen*.
 - [7d.] f. 195r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.717). Inc.: *Dis seindt die Stett und Schlosser, so an den Konig von Polen mit seynen Helffern gekommen und nach dem Krige by den Polen geblieben*

¹⁴⁷¹ Perhaps the bull "Quotiens postulatur" issued by Clement III (6 February 1191) is meant here: Strehlke ed., *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, nr. 295.

- **[7e.]** f. 195v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.718). Inc.: *Das seindt die Stette und Schlosser, so der Orden in Preussen nach der Obsigung vor der Conitz in der Schlacht mit den Polen gehalten wieder eingenommen hatt.*
- **[7f.]** f. 197r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.719-727). Inc.: *Dis hatt der Orden etc. in Lifflant.*
- **[7g.]** f. 199r: Inc.: *Vorbuntnuss Brieff der Lande Preussen.* (1440; incomplete)
- **[7h.]** f. 200r: Inc.: *Eine Copia eines Brieffes.* (from Hans von Baisen to the bishop of Warmia and Commander of Elbląg)
- **[7i.]** f. 201r: Inc.: *Ein höffliche Historia, wie Schloterkopf der Bischoff von Samlandt die Dantzker vom Schlos Fischhausen gebracht hatt, ettliche wollen, es sein des Ordens 300 Soldener gewesen.*
- **[7j.]** f. 202r: Inc.: *Der 26. Hoemeister Her Paul von Russdorff.* Expl.: *Aus des Hern Beutlers Buch.*
- **[7k.]** f. 203r: Inc.: *Ketzer Kriegk zur Zeyt Pauli von Russdorffs.* Expl.: *Aus Hern Beutlers Buch.*
- **[7l.]** f. 205r: Inc.: *Kittel Brüder, aus Hans Freybergers Buch fol. 274.*
- **[7m.]** f. 205v: Inc.: *Aus eynem alten Brieffe, so unther den Fragmentis Christoff von Kunheims gefunden. Von der Müntz.*
- **[7n.]** f. 206r: Inc.: *Namen und Jahrzal der Landtmeister, so erstlich in Preussen regiret haben.*

Remarks:

Origin: The miscellanea (entire manuscript?) were written by historian and cartographer Kaspar Hennenberger (d. 1600), who, amongst other, was parish priest in Mühlhausen (Russian: Gvardeyskoye) near Königsberg.

Date: Probably written between 1584 and 1595 (Olivier).

Provenance: Johann III von Bodeck (f. 1r; patrician in Elbląg, 1542-1595); Kaspar Hennenberger; Ferdinand Neumann (archivist and bibliophile in Elbląg, mid-19th century); Max Töppen (historian, 1822-1893; donated the manuscript to the Gdańsk city library according to a letter dated Elbląg, 7 March 1884).

Literature: Olivier, *L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 1224; Günther, *Katalog der Handschriften* 2, 184-185. See both works for more references and especially Günther for editions of the various parts.

Ge: Ghent, Stadsarchief, Ms SAG/2

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (MIDDLE DUTCH); TEUTONIC ORDER'S INDULGENCES (MIDDLE DUTCH)

Paper; I + 164 + I; 275 x 205. Utrecht, around 1508

Consulted: manuscript

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Description: 1^{IV} (8), 2-7^{VI} (72), 8^V (82), 9-11^{VI} (126), 12^V (136), 13^{V+1?} (148), 14^{VI} (160), 15^{II?} (164).¹⁴⁷² Contemporary foliation from ff. 9-134 (I-CXVIII). Modern pencil foliation, added by myself with permission of the city archive. Some of the folios appear to have been trimmed.¹⁴⁷³ The *Croniken* (*littera cursiva*) and the indulgences (*littera hybrida*) are written by two separate hands. Rubrication and initials in red and blue (indulgences: only red ink). Four folios of the *Croniken* contain pen-flourished initials.¹⁴⁷⁴ The manuscript contains numerous coloured coats of arms of the grand masters and Utrecht land commanders. The heavily restored leather binding may be contemporary.

Content:

- [1.] ff. 2r-148r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.1-774). Between f. 5v (c.74) and f. 9r (c.75) and between f. 126v (c.727) and f. 137r (c.728) three and ten folios are left blank respectively. Inc.: *In desen nabescreven boecken dat gheheten is die Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden*. Expl.: *onder den zarck daer sijn wapen op ghehouwen staet*.
- [2.] ff. 150r-159r: Indulgences of the Teutonic Order (Middle Dutch). Inc.: *Dit synt alsulcke aflaten, graciën ende genaden*. Expl.: *des stoels van Romē van pijnē ende van schout van der sake*. ff. 159v-164v are left empty.

Remarks:

Origin: The pen-flourished initials are associated with the Brethren of the Common Life of St. Jerome's House in Utrecht and date from the early sixteenth century.¹⁴⁷⁵ The indulgences are late medieval and originated in the Utrecht bailiwick.¹⁴⁷⁶ The presence of the Utrecht bailiwick chronicle (c.728-774) also suggests an origin in the Utrecht bailiwick.

Date: The codex contains eight different watermarks: six times a gothic letter P with a quatrefoil (A, B, C 1-4), twice a small pot with a crown, a quatrefoil and a double line ear (D 1-2). Watermarks A and B, possible twins, are used for two pastedowns (a separated bifolium?) at both ends of the codex, quires 14-15 (indulgences) and the two bifolia ff.

¹⁴⁷² It is unclear whether the bifolium of ff. 137 and 148 was a separate bifolium added to the rest of quire 13, or whether it was separated during a restoration attempt. The structure of the fifteenth and final quire is not clear. In its present state, the final four folios appear to be either four singletons or damaged and separated bifoliums.

¹⁴⁷³ E.g.: Ghent, SA, Ms SAG/2, f. 52v.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., ff. 2r, 9r, 137r, 137v.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Personal correspondence based on suggestions by Margriet Hülsmann and Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz: Korteweg, to Stapel, 'RE: Pentekeningen'.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Personal correspondence: Ehlers, to Stapel, 'Summary indulgences'; The collection was not yet included in Axel Ehlers' study on the indulgences of the Teutonic Order: Ehlers, *Ablaßpraxis*.

1-8 and 131-132: the outside and central bifolia of quires 1 and 12 respectively. Both of these bifolia contain no text belonging to the *Croniken*.

Watermarks D 1-2 are used for five out of six bifolia of the second quire (the beginning of the prologue), supplemented by C 2. The watermarks C 1-4 are rather similar to each other, with C 1-2 and C 3-4 probably being twins. They are distributed over quires 1 (table of content) to 13, with the few exceptions mentioned above. From Table A.12 becomes clear that the watermarks C 1-4 rather coherently point at a date of around 1508. The paper that contains watermark D 1 and D 2 appears to have been slightly earlier. Perhaps this was a leftover batch of paper. Watermarks A and B cannot be definitively identified, but appear to have been near contemporaneous to the rest of the paper – perhaps a few years later.

Watermark	Quires	Piccard nrs.	Localization and date
A	12, 14-15	113087 (most resemblance) 113083 113084	Neuss, 1507 Nykoping, 1509 Kopenhagen, 1511
B	1, 14-15	113070 (most resemblance) 113072 113073	Freiburg, 1511 s.l., 1501 s.l., 1503
C 1	2-8, 12-13	109622 (identical)	Mechelen, 1508
C 2	3-8, 12-13	109872 (identical)	Culemborg, 1507/08
C 3	1, 9-11	109965 (identical?) 109966 (identical?) 110061 (identical?) 110887 (identical?)	Wesel, 1508/09 Cologne, 1508 Mechelen, 1508 Utrecht, 1508
C 4	1, 9-11	109752 (near identical) 109754 (near identical) 109962 (near identical)	s.l., 1508 Brabant, 1509 Rheine, 1508
D 1	2	031676 (identical?)	Düsseldorf, 1505
D 2	2	031766 (most resemblance) 031716	Culemborg, 1504/05 Culemborg, 1506

Table A.12 Watermarks of ms. *Ge*.

Judging from the fact that the paper containing A and B was used for the pastedowns of the codex and at specific locations in quires 1 and 12 (non-intrusive to the existing text of the *Croniken*), we may conclude that this paper (and thus the indulgences) was added later to the codex – though probably soon afterwards and before the (current?) binding was added. The fact that the writing frame (in pencil; 135 x 185) runs throughout the entire codex supports such a condensed timeframe.

Provenance: In 1980, the manuscript was restored in Oostende (Belgium) by a certain “Paul-Max [Chéquis?], Biblos Antiqua” (f. 1r).¹⁴⁷⁷ The manuscript is not mentioned in the 1983 catalogue of the city archive in Ghent, indicating a more recent acquisition.¹⁴⁷⁸

¹⁴⁷⁷ The only reference to this restorer we could find was a facsimile edition of *Van den vos Reynaerde*, published by the same Biblos Antiqua in Oostende in 1981: <<http://anet.ua.ac.be/record/opacanet/c:lvd:185482/N>>.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Decavele and Vannieuwenhuysse, *Archiefgids I: Oud Archief*.

*Ma*₂: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. 1253 vol. 13

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (MIDDLE DUTCH) [EXCERPTS]; MISCELLANEA

Utrecht, 17th century (before 1710)

Consulted: literature (Carasso-Kok)

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Content:

- [1.] pp. 1-54: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (excerpts).
- [2.] Miscellaneous transcriptions of charters and other sources regarding the Teutonic Order.

Remarks:

Origin: Transcriptions made by Antonius Matthaeus III (1635-1710), most likely in preparation of his edition of the *Croniken*.

Date: 17th century (Tiele). The edition by Matthaeus was published in 1710.

Literature: Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 164 (nr. 137); Tiele, *Catalogus Rheno-Trajectinae*, 299.

Pr: Prague, Národní Museum, Cod. XVII C 8

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (HIGH GERMAN); FERBER-CHRONIK (SECOND PART)

Paper; I + 441 + I fol.; 320 x 215. Prussia?, Königsberg?, before 1548 (between 1544 and 1548?)

Consulted: full colour reproductions

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Former location: Prague, Museum Regni Bohemiae, 3 E 23

Description: Contemporary foliation at ff. 1-248 and (ranging from 1-180) at ff. 260-439. Both parts written in one column, by one hand. Decorated initials and some marginalia in red. Spaces are left blank to include the coats of arms of the grand masters. Contemporary blind-stamped leather binding, with medallions of Erasmus, Melanchthon, Luther, Charles V and John Frederick I, the Elector of Saxony.¹⁴⁷⁹

Content:

- [1.] ff. 1r-257v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-727). Between f. 248v (c.716) and 252r (c.717) three folios are left blank. Inc.: *Dit ist der prologus oder vorrede von des Teutschen Ordens*. Expl.: *Der Compth. von Dunemunde*.
- [2.] ff. 259r-439v: *Ferber-Chronik*, second part (1438-1526; after Olivier). Inc.: *Chronica auff das Landt zu Preussen von der zeytt do sich der Bundt hatt anngefang*. Expl.: *aber der kirchen schadete nicht*.

Remarks:

Origin: A comparison of the hands suggests that Petrus Schwinge copied this manuscript (see ms. Be). This could suggest that the manuscript was written in or around Königsberg, as there are some indications that manuscript Be was written there. However, as people – including scribes – moved around, a precise place of origin is difficult to ascertain.

Date: Before 8 September 1548 (mark of ownership), Bartoš dates the manuscript ‘between 1544 and 1553, around 1548’ but gives no further arguments.

Provenance: There are several marks of ownership. On f. 249v an unidentified coat of arms was drawn. On the guard leave it states: “Melchior Fasolt vonn Schlesdorff, 1548, 8 Septembris”. Melchior Fasolt was born in Schlaisdorf (Saxony) and matriculated at the University of Wittenberg on June 1542. In 1549 he travelled to Prussia where he had family connections around Deutsch Eylau (Polish: Iława).¹⁴⁸⁰ A few years later, in 1556/57, he was rector of the University of Wittenberg.¹⁴⁸¹ Folio 1r includes an ex-libris of Václav Hanka (1791-1861; “z Hankowých”), who became librarian of

¹⁴⁷⁹ The use of such portraits was common in German Protestant circles of the mid sixteenth century. C.J. Davenport, ‘Cantor Lectures: Decorative Bookbinding’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 46 (1898) 797–805, 809–819, 821–829, there 815–816.

¹⁴⁸⁰ A certain Paul Fasolt was an army leader working for the Teutonic Order in the years shortly before the secularization of Prussia in 1525: Joachim (†) and Hubatsch eds., *Regesta historico-diplomatica* 1.3: 1511-1525, passim.

¹⁴⁸¹ H. Freytag, *Die Preussen auf der Universität Wittenberg und die nichtpreussischen Schüler Wittenbergs in Preussen von 1502 bis 1602*. Publication des Vereins für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreussen (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1903) 89.

the museum and bestowed his library to the museum. According to Bartoš, the manuscript was previously owned by a member of the Von Stentzsch family (with branches in Silesia, Meißen and Prague). An inserted leaf mentions that the manuscript was borrowed by Max Töppen in 1866 and returned after three months.

Literature: Olivier, *L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 1251; Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů II*, 388.

St: Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamml., E8722

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (LOW GERMAN); KLEINE MEISTERCHRONIK; MISCELLANEA; CHRONICLE OF ÜXKÜLL FAMILY

Paper; II + 272 + II fol.; 310 x 215. Livonia, first half 16th century

Consulted: full colour reproductions

Signature Hirsch: Sk

Former location: Skokloster, Gräfllich-Brahesche Bibl., F. 92

Description: Contemporary foliation (ff. 1-255). Part 1 (*Croniken*) written in one column by one hand. Abundant decorations, ranging from initials to full colour coats of arms. The margins of the opening page (f. 1r) is decorated with botanical motifs, animals, a hunter (?) and the Virgin Mary and Child. Rubrication in red and yellow. Leather binding dated 1633 (see provenance).

Content:

- [1.] ff. 1r-255r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-727). Inc.: *Dith ys de vorrede van dem duitzschen orden*. Expl.: *De Cumpthur van Dunemunde*. ff. 255v-260v: empty.
- [2.] ff. 261r-272v: Miscellaneous chronicles, extracts and transcriptions by Moritz Brandis, secretary of the Estonian Knighthood (d. ca. 1604).
 - [2a.] ff. 261r-264r: *Kleine Meisterchronik* (ms. S₁).¹⁴⁸² Inc.: *Hirnach volgett ein Kurtze Cronika des Teutschen ordens von Meistern zu Meistern*. Expl.: *Hat regiret 44 Jair*. f. 264v: empty
 - [2b.] ff. 265r-267v: Various transcriptions of charters regarding the transfer of the Duchy of Estonia to the Teutonic Order in 1346.¹⁴⁸³ Inc.: *Eyne Brieve kundinge uber Privilegien und Instrumenten*. Expl.: *Anno vi. Idus Februarii, unßerß vi. Jares*. ff. 268r-269v: empty
 - [2c.] ff. 270r-272v: Chronicle of the Üxküll family, including a list of sources (Tallinn, 1598).¹⁴⁸⁴ Inc.: *Folgent nun mijn kurtzer, doch wolgegrundeter Bericht*. Expl.: *Maurit. Brandis, Ducatus Esthonsis Nobilitatis Secretarius, mu pp. sb-tt*.

Remarks:

Origin: Based on the provenance of the manuscript, language, contemporary marginalia (signalling information regarding Livonia) and later additions, an origin in Livonia seems highly likely. On f. 82v the coat of arms of the Prussian

¹⁴⁸² Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen', 205–219; Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 49–52.

¹⁴⁸³ Paucker ed., *Moritz Brandis, Chronik*, 41 ff.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Hansen, *Uexküll*, 225–230.

city of Culm (Polish: Chełmno) is drawn in the margins, but it is unclear whether this is in any way related to the origin of the manuscript.

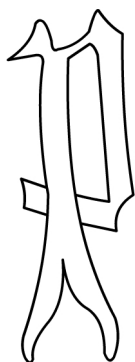


Figure A.30 Watermark, manuscript St, f. 267 (chain lines not well recognizable).

Date: Following Theodor Hirsch, the manuscript is usually dated ‘before 1528’. Hirsch assumed that it predated the Prussian Waiblingen adaptation of 1528, but his arguments are not convincing. A quick examination of textual variants (see also chapter 2, *passim*) shows that manuscript St could not have been an exemplar for the Waiblingen adaptation – both texts merely share a common ancestor.

Nonetheless, for other reasons, Hirsch’s date is not far off. We relied solely on the digital reproductions of the pages, but nonetheless one watermark is clearly visible (f. 267; Figure A.30): a letter P, angular, consisting of two lines, without additional motif, divided vertical stroke. This mark (approximately 48 x 16, estimated by using the size of the paper on this particular page) was not identified in the Piccard database. Similar motifs are dated between 1484 and 1546,

with a peak at around 1520 (93% is dated between 1500 and 1540). One of its distinctive features (a rather upward pointy top) appears often in paper used in the Baltic region.¹⁴⁸⁵

The motto presented on f. 251v (“Luce cras luce pacatur rege magister”) is aberrant from other *Croniken* manuscripts (“Luce cras luce planatur regi magister”).¹⁴⁸⁶ In the regular version, the Roman numerals add up to 1467 – the year of death of the last grand master described in the preceding chapter of the *Croniken*. In manuscript St the Roman numerals add up to 1516. Could this be a date for the manuscript? For now, a broad range of ‘first half 16th century’ seems fair.

Provenance: The decorations of f. 1r include the three letters T, L, N (or L, T, N), which could be initials of the owner. Moritz Brandis (see above), 1598. The leather binding, dated 1633, bears the arms of Gabriel Oxenstierna Bengtsson (1586-1656) and his wife Anna Gustafsdotter Banér (1585-1656). Bought by Count Carl Gustav Bielke in 1730 at Stockholm (according to a note on the first guard leave dated Gävle (Sweden), 1739), incorporating the manuscript in the Skokloster library.¹⁴⁸⁷

Literature: Schröder, *Catalog öfver manuscripterna*, nr. 92. Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 9-10; Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 19-20, 49-52. Dahlberg and Radiš, *Three stars*, 278.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Estimating the distance between the (badly recognizable) chain lines at 24 mm and allowing for a measuring tolerance of 3 mm, 160 watermarks with this motif can be found in the database. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, ‘Piccard Online’.

¹⁴⁸⁶ See Table 2.6.

¹⁴⁸⁷ For a history of the Skokloster library and references to catalogues: B. Fabian, *Handbuch deutscher historischen Buchbestände. Dänemark und Schweden* (Hildesheim: Olms 1998) 217–221.

Ta: Tartu, Ülikooli Raamatukogu, Mscr. 154

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (LOW GERMAN); LIVONIAN GRIEVANCES PRESENTED TO PAUL VON RUSDORF; LIVES OF GRAND MASTERS (1467-1525)¹⁴⁸⁸

Paper; I + 280 + III fol.; 195 x 140. Livonia, mid 16th century?

Consulted: full colour reproductions

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Description: Contemporary foliation (ff. 1-280). Written in one hand, except for texts presented on the guard leaves at the end (for the purpose of this description referred to as ff. 281-284). Full coloured coats of arms as well as various illustrations related to the text. No rubrication. Leather binding (no further details known).

Content:

- [1.] ff. 1r-267r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-726 (part)). Inc.: *Dyth ist dat Prologus vann Duitschenn Orden*. Expl.: *Werenbeck ı schloss*.
- [2.] ff. 267v-280v: Grievances of the Livonian officials presented to Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (1422-1441). Inc.: *Dijse nageschrevene Artickel und Puncte syndt de thosprake und Clage*. Expl.: *und allem redelicken herkamen unsers oirdens uthwiesinge*.
- [3.] ff. [281r]-[281v]: Addition (?) to the preceding grievances. Inc.: *Item dar na spreken wi nu an*. Expl.: *de seij [Svittigbl..] gedan hadt*.
- [4.] ff. [282r]-[284r]: Lives of grand masters Heinrich Reuß von Plauen (1467-1470) to Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1510-1525). Inc.: *Continuatio Historia Prutenica excerpta ex Manu Scripto Anno 1660, Holmia*. Expl.: *so lange [... d...] im leben*.

Remarks:

Origin: Judging from the other texts in the codex and its provenance, an origin in Livonia seems highly likely.

Date: Middle of the 16th century (based on the script)?

Provenance: "OFBV Budberg" (first guard leave): Otto Friedrich Baron Von Budberg (d. 1755?), married to Margarethe Wilhelmine von Üxküll (Latvian: Ikšķīle; compare manuscript St). It seems to have been present in the Tartu university library from at least the 19th century onwards.

Of all extant German manuscripts of the *Croniken* it resembles the orthography of the Middle Dutch texts the most.

¹⁴⁸⁸ I would like to thank Mathieu Olivier for attending me on the manuscript, who was made aware of its existence by Juhan Kreem and Tiina Kala.

Up: Uppsala, Carolina Rediviva, H. 152

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (EXTRACTS); KLEINE MEISTERCHRONIK

Paper; 76 fol. Stralsund?, end 16th / first half 17th century

Consulted: literature (Olivier)

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Content:

- [1.] ff. 1r-53r: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (without privileges).
- [2.] ff. 54r-76r: *Kleine Meisterchronik*.¹⁴⁸⁹ Inc.: *Nu volget hirnach die beschreibung vom Lyflande*.

Remarks:

Origin: According to the dedication to a certain prince, the manuscript was written in Stralsund. The watermarks however can be found in Gdańsk, whereas the content reveals an interest in Livonia.

Date: End of 16th century, first half of 17th century (Olivier).

Provenance: Leonhardus Rosenhane (ex-libris); Nils Brudtsen (f. Ir).

Literature: Olivier, *L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 996, 1260; Prowe, *Mittheilungen*, 49.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Thumser, 'Livländische Amtsträgerreihen'.

*Ut*₁: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN

Paper; II + 157 + II; 250 x 185. Utrecht bailiwick, around 1509-1510

Consulted: manuscript

Signature Hirsch: U

Description: 1^{vii} (14=viii), 2^{vi} (26=xx), 3-5^{viii} (74=LXVIII), 6-8^{ix} (128=CXXII), 9^{viii} (144=CXXXVIII), 10^{1+vi} (157=13; singleton: 145). Contemporary foliation from ff. 7 to 144 (I-CXXXVIII) and ff. 145 to 157 (1-13). The foliation used here counts continuously from the first folio. Written in one column, by one hand. With rubrication and alternating red and blue initials and coloured coats of arms. Nineteenth century binding.

Content:

- [1.] ff. 3r-156v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.1-774).¹⁴⁹⁰ Coats of arms of Land Commander Gosen van Rossum (1492-1496) are displayed on f.157r. Inc.: *In desen nabescreven boecken dat gheheiten ys die Cronike van der Duytscher Oirden*. Expl.: *onder den zerck daer sijn wapen op ghehouwen state. Et sic est finis. Deo laus et gloria trinitatis. W.W.W.*

Remarks:

Origin: Utrecht bailiwick, based on content (bailiwick chronicle), manuscript affiliation, and future use of the manuscript.

Date: The manuscript contains ten different watermarks. Five times a letter p, angular, consisting of two lines, above quatrefoil, with divided vertical stroke (P 1-5); once a hand or glove, above four-petalled flower, with phalanx (H 1); twice a hand or glove, above four-petalled flower, without phalanx (H 2-3); twice a drinking vessel, pot with cover, one handle, above crown and flower (K 1-2).

Watermark	Quires	Piccard nrs.	Localization and date
P 1	1-2	109355 (somewhat similar)	Frankfurt a.M., 1512
P 2	1-3	109343 (identical) 109341 (near identical) 109340 (near identical)	Cleves, 1509 Baden-Baden, 1506 Xanten, 1506
P 3	2	109352 (identical)	s.l., 1510
P 4	3	109347 (similar)	Baden-Baden, 1511
P 5	3	<i>not identified</i>	
H 1	3	<i>not identified</i>	
H 2	3-6, 9	<i>not identified</i>	
H 3	3-6, 9	<i>not identified</i>	
K 1	6-10	31551 (somewhat similar)	Düsseldorf, 1503
K 2	6-10	31590 (near identical)	Lübeck, 1512

Table A.13 Watermarks of ms. *Ut*₁.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Missing are the following chapters: c.328, c.482, c.513, c.570, c.670, c.672, c.674, c.684-694, c.701-710, c.712, c.714.

Only P 2 (1509) and P 3 (1510) can be identified in the database of Piccard. For K 2 a near identical watermark was found, but the other watermarks were not recognized. Nonetheless, a date in the first or second decade of the sixteenth century seems in place, probably around 1509-1510.

Provenance: "Auxiliari ne differas. A. Lienen, 1587" (f. 1r); "Finis coronat opus. Ja. de Linden, Anno 1600" (f. 156v; perhaps aspiring Land Commander Jasper van Lynden (1619-1620)); Land Commander Hendrik Rudolph Willem van Goltstein van Oldenaller (1865-1868), who presented the manuscript, a recent acquisition for him, to the bailiwick in 1868.¹⁴⁹¹

Probably used as an exemplar for manuscript Ut₃.

Literature: Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 164 (nr. 137); De Geer tot Oudegein, *Archieven I*, 233-258 (nr. 193); Hirsch, 'Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik', 4-9.

¹⁴⁹¹ Utrecht, ARDOU, NA, inv.nr. 79.

*Ut*₃: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-bis

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (EXTRACTS)

Paper; 32 fol. Utrecht bailiwick, between 1675-1693

Consulted: manuscript

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Description: [quire structure]. [foliation]. [page layout]. [script/hands]. [decoration/rubrication/initials]. [binding].

Content:

- [1.] ff. 1r-32v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (abridgement: c.242-272; c.234-716 (grand masters); c.728-774). Inc.: *De gelegentheyt van Lande van Pruysen eer dat Duijtse Orden dat ten Christen geloof bracht*. Expl.: *impotreck [...] in 't jaar [...] Die*.

Remarks:

Origin: Utrecht bailiwick (based on content).

Date: The last land commander mentioned in the regular text is Hendrik van Solms (1675-1693). The name of Hendrik Casimir II van Nassau (1693-1696) is added later by the same hand (f. 27v).

Literature: Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 164 (nr. 137).

Ut₄: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-ter
CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (BAILIWICK CHRONICLE)

Paper. Utrecht bailiwick, 18th century

Consulted: manuscript

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Content:

- [1.] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c. 728-774).

Remarks:

Date: Based on the script.

Ut₅: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balije van Utrecht, inv.nr. 181-quater
CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN (BAILIWICK CHRONICLE)

Paper. Utrecht bailiwick, 19th century

Consulted: manuscript

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Content:

- [1.] *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c. 728-774).

Remarks:

Date: Based on the script.

*Vi*₁: Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-5

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN

Paper; 498 pages; 330 x 220. Prussia?, 16th century

Consulted: literature; black and white reproductions (ff. 1r-1v)¹⁴⁹²; colour reproductions (ff. 187v-188r, 192v-193r)

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Former location: Königsberg, Staatsarchiv, Msc. A 2 2°

Description: Decorated with grand masters holding their coats of arms, which appear to be cut from another manuscript. In the margins a quote of Cicero is written: "*Nescire quid antequam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Cic.: Orat.*"

Content:

- [1.] f. 1r-?: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.75-?). Inc.: *Prologus oder Vorrede von des Deutschenn Ordens.*

Remarks:

Origin: Based on language (High German) and provenance.

Date: Based on script and literature (Päsler).

Provenance: The manuscript was brought from Königsberg to Vilnius in 1945/46.

Literature: Ekdahl, 'Archivalien', 53; Päsler, 'Kurzverzeichnis'.

¹⁴⁹² I would like to thank Stephen Rowell for his help in attaining these reproductions.

*Vi*₂: Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, F15-1

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN

Paper; 297 pages; 290 x 200. Prussia?, 16th century

Consulted: literature; black and white reproduction (ff. 1r, 2r); colour reproduction (ff. 119v-120r)

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Former location: Königsberg, *unknown*

Content:

- [1.] ff. 2r-?: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden (c.107-?)*. Inc.: *Fulco welcher konig Balduini eldest tochter hett, wart konig zu Jerusalem regiert eilff Jar.*

Remarks:

Origin: Based on language (High German) and provenance, an origin in Prussia, perhaps Königsberg, seems likely.

Date: Based on the script probably 16th century, although Kaminskas described the manuscript as dating from the 15th century.

Provenance: A stamp states "Ostpreuss.-General-Landschafts-Direction" in Königsberg (p. 4); The binding mentions "C.H. Münck, Buchbinder Meister in Königsberg." A small note regarding the new binding was made by (Friedrich Adolf) Meckelburg (dated 16 August 1861). Meckelburg was archivist at the Königsberg State Archive and started with a manuscript inventory for the Königsberg City Archive. After World War II the manuscript was brought from Königsberg to Vilnius.

Literature: Kaminskas, manuscript description, 31 August 1949.

We₁: Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 392

CRONIKEN VAN DER DUYTSCHER OIRDEN¹⁴⁹³

Paper; I + 201 + I fol.; 285 x 215; Utrecht, ca. 1480, ca. 1491, ca. 1496?

Consulted: manuscript

Signature Hirsch: n/a

Description: 1^I (2), 2^{III} (8), 3-16^{VI} (175), 17^{VI-1} (186; a missing leaf between ff. 185 and 186), 18^{III+3} (195; singletons: ff. 187, 188, 189 (?)), 19^{II+1} (200; singleton: 199 or 200). Contemporary foliation in Roman numerals I-CCVI (ff. 9-200), modern pencil foliation 1-200, where f. 104a and f. 117a were missed at first. Folio 132 contains a letter dated Gruitrode, 1664. Written in one column by a single hand (*littera hybrida*), with numerous short texts, notes and marginalia by other, sixteenth- to nineteenth-century hands. Rubricated and with red initials, decorated with coloured coats of arms. Modern binding (1960).

Content:

- **[1.]** ff. 1r-2v, 7v-8v, 132r-132v, 184v-185r: Various excerpts and short notes by later hands regarding the Teutonic Order and historiography about the order.
 - **[1a.]** ff. 1r-2r: 17th century notes about authors and texts that were engaged in the history of the Teutonic Order. One of the hands is by “Paulus Schryberus”, syndic of the Alden Biesen bailiwick and canon of St Cunibert in Cologne (f. 1r).
 - **[1b.]** f. 2v: Excerpts and sentences: Middle Dutch passage from *Ad milites templi* by Bernard of Clairvaux (first half 16th century); quotes regarding the Teutonic Order from *Aubertus Miraeus* and from *De signis ecclesiae* by (Thomas?) Bozius; quote from the *Revelations of St Birgitta of Sweden* (lib. 3, c. 27).
 - **[1c.]** ff. 7v-8r: *Testimonia et elogia Ordinis Teutonici Equitum per pontifices et varios Rom. imperatores*.
 - **[1d.]** f. 8v: Quote from the *Revelations of St Birgitta of Sweden* (lib. 2, c. 10).
 - **[1e.]** ff. 132r-132v: Fragment of a French letter with Latin notes, dated in the commandery of Gruitrode (Alden Biesen bailiwick) on 12 April 1664. Bound together with the manuscript in 1960.
 - **[1f.]** ff. 184v-185r: Various excerpts and short notes by different 16th century hands regarding the Teutonic Order, including some revelations by St Birgitta (same hand as before). f. 185v: *empty*.

¹⁴⁹³ See in more detail chapter 2.2. The descriptions of the various later added excerpts and notes are largely drawn from Lackner: Lackner, *Streubestände I*, nr. 62.

- [2.] ff. 3r-200v: *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* (c.1-774). Inc.: *In desen nabescreven boeke dat geheten is die Cronyken van der Duytscher Oirden* Expl.: *doir den belech ende oirloge seer gedestruert...* ff. 7r, 178v: *empty*.
- [3.] ff. 179r-186r: Continuation of the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden* from Heinrich Reuß von Plauen (1467-1470) to Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1511-1525). In a neat 16th century hand, with decorated coats of arms.¹⁴⁹⁴ Inc.: *H. Heinrich Reus von Plauwen der XXIXte hoichmeister*. Expl.: *gestorben daselbsten in der hoffcapellen begraben worden den 9 (?) Aprili anno 1543*. f. 186v: *empty*.

Remarks:

Origin, date, provenance: For a full discussion of these aspects, see chapter 2.2.

Literature: Lackner, *Streubestände*, nr. 62; Olivier, *L'Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 995, 1003-1004; Stapel, 'Layer on layer'; Stapel, 'Development of a scribe'.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Full description: *Ibid.*, nr. 62 (3–4).

Croniken van der Duytscher Oirden (missing manuscripts)

[Al-Sc]: *Collection Van Alkemade & Van der Schelling*

This manuscript once belonged to the collectors Cornelis van Alkemade (1654-1737) and his son-in-law Pieter van der Schelling (1691-1751). It contained a handwritten copy of the Middle Dutch *Fasciculus temporum*, known only in an edition printed by Johan Veldener in Utrecht in 1480,¹⁴⁹⁵ and a complete manuscript of the *Croniken*, including a bailiwick chronicle. Cornelis van Alkemade first mentioned the manuscript in 1699 and published a short section of the text.¹⁴⁹⁶ In 1745, Pieter van der Schelling further described the manuscript.¹⁴⁹⁷

Nothing is known about the fate of the codex. The Alkemade-Schelling manuscript is included in the sale catalogue of their book collection in 1751, but it is the last that is heard of it.¹⁴⁹⁸ The manuscript is absent from auctions in 1848 and 1859 of parts of the collection that were kept together or had remained unsold in the initial auction.¹⁴⁹⁹

[Fu₁], [Fu₂]: *Collection Johann Funck*

The Lutheran theologian Johann Funck stated that he had used two manuscripts of the *Croniken* for his *Chronologia*, printed in Königsberg in 1552: “Chronica duo Ordinis Teutonici manuscript, etc.”¹⁵⁰⁰ By examining the content of the *Chronologia* it becomes clear that two manuscripts of the *Croniken* or its adaptations were used.¹⁵⁰¹ It cannot be excluded that these manuscript were identical to some of the extant manuscripts of the *Croniken*.

[Kö]: *Königsberg, Königliche und Unversitäts-Bibliothek, Hs. 1569*

Manuscript in quarto, later 16th century, paper, 283 fol., 325 x 200. Folio 1r-137v contains a grand masters’ chronicle up to 1467 in High German. Implicit (f. 1r): “Dis ist der Prologus Oder Vorrede vonn des Deutschen Ordenns vnnd hospital vnnßer liebenn frauwenn von Jherusalem erster anfangk vnd fundament”. Explicit (f. 137v): “Vnnd das Jar darnach uff den Sontag Quasi modo geniti Starb der hoemeister her Ludewig vonn Erlichshausen, vnnd wart zu konigsperrgk jm thum begrabenn”. The rest of the manuscript contains various notes and extracts from Teutonic Order’s chronicles. From ff. 199r-283v numerous privileges are included, ranging from Pope Honorius III to Emperor Frederick III, which cover the range of privileges in the *Croniken*.¹⁵⁰² Present whereabouts are not known.¹⁵⁰³

¹⁴⁹⁵ Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium*, 339–346 (nrs. 311–319).

¹⁴⁹⁶ Van Alkemade ed., *Rijm-kronijk van Melis Stoke*, [Quire sign.: Cccc–Cccc2].

¹⁴⁹⁷ Pars and Van der Schelling, *Catti aborigines Batavorum / Katwyksche, Rynburgsche oudheden*, 562–563.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Amsterdam, BVBBB, Nv 208, 106.

¹⁴⁹⁹ *Catalogus handschriften Van Alkemade en Van der Schelling; Catalogus autographen Van Alkemade, Van der Schelling en Van der Houve*.

¹⁵⁰⁰ The reference is made in the list of texts and authors used in the making: Funck, *Chronologia 2*, “Auctorum nomina” (not paginated).

¹⁵⁰¹ Take for instance the use of the year 1158 for the first arrival of merchants from Bremen in Livonia (the so-called Livonian “Aufsegelung”): *Ibid.*, 149; Compare column K (page 146 ff.) for other dates extracted from the *Croniken*: Johansen, ‘Legende’, 56.

¹⁵⁰² E.J.H. Steffenhagen ed., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae et Universitatis Regimontanae 2*: Codices historici (Königsberg: Schubert & Seidel 1867-1872) 9–10 (nr. CLXXXII); ‘Königsberger Handschriftensätze’, *Handschriftenarchiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (2006) Königsberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 1569 (Emil Ettlinger, 1912) <<http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/dtm/HSA/Koenigsberg.html>> [accessed 2 May 2016].

¹⁵⁰³ Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur*, 302 (note 5).

[Ma₁]: *Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balijs van Utrecht*

(Conjectural) manuscript that Antonius Matthaëus found in the bailiwick archive and used for his edition of the *Croniken* first published in 1710, which was, according to him, the only manuscript in the bailiwick at that time.¹⁵⁰⁴ In the same volume of his *Veteris ævi analecta*, Matthaëus edited part of the bailiwick chronicle (c.750-774), which was continued up to Land Commander Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579-1612).¹⁵⁰⁵

It is unclear whether this bailiwick chronicle came from the same manuscript as the rest of the *Croniken*. Matthaëus also edited the opening chapters of the bailiwick chronicle (c.728-730) in a footnote found in his edition of the *Croniken* where he stated: “In a number of handwritten pieces of paper, from my possession, and followed here...”¹⁵⁰⁶ In a different footnote, part of his edition of the bailiwick chronicle, he included c.731, which he found in a text “in the archive of the [Teutonic] House.”¹⁵⁰⁷

Together he edited almost the entire *Croniken*, except for a few missing chapters, the privileges, and c.732-749. If we take his statements literally, he had used just one manuscript found in the bailiwick archive for most of his edition. It may or may not have included a bailiwick chronicle. It seems that Matthaëus had access to several manuscripts that included (parts of) the bailiwick chronicle, both in his possession and in possession of the bailiwick archive. To what extent Matthaëus actually used and combined more than one manuscript for his editions of the *Croniken* and bailiwick chronicle cannot be determined and it is therefore not clear if and in what form(s) manuscript [Ma₁] existed. For the purpose of this study, and because no evidence to the contrary presented itself, I will assume that Matthaëus was right in claiming that he used only one manuscript for the bulk of the edition and refer to this manuscript as [Ma₁].

To study the affiliation of manuscript [Ma₁] to the other witnesses of the *Croniken*, we may turn to less traditional methods, in this case an analysis of the spelling preferences in the four Middle Dutch witnesses of the *Croniken* (Appendix, Figures A.1-A.14). The spelling preferences of the author’s copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript We₁, vary much between the first and second half of the chronicle (as we discussed in chapter 2.3). Remnants of these shifting preferences found their way into the other witnesses (see for example the shifting preferences in the use of the interchangeable diphthongs “ei” and “ey” in Appendix, Figures A.3-A.4). Of course, the personal preferences of the scribes and – in some cases – the preference of what is presumably Matthaëus himself also play a role. Taken as a whole, these evolving spelling preferences and remnants thereof in other witnesses of the *Croniken* can actually be used as an additional method to study the *stemma codicum* of the text.

The spelling preferences of manuscript [Ma₁] are not easily interpreted. Most of the time, its preferences are similar to manuscripts Ge and Ut₁, sometimes more close to the one, sometimes more close to the other, but seldom a pattern arises that is repeated in other charts (such repeating patterns may indicate that multiple manuscripts were used for

¹⁵⁰⁴ Matthaëus ed., *Veteris ævi analecta* (2nd ed.) V, 617.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 857–890.

¹⁵⁰⁶ “In schedis aliquot manuscriptis, quae aliunde penes me sunt, sequebatur hic ita...”*Ibid.*, 765–766.

¹⁵⁰⁷ “Sic in domus Archivis”: *Ibid.*, 857–858.

the edition). This is especially visible in Figures A.3-A.4 and Figures A.13-A.14 in the Appendix. There are also preferences, more akin to modern Dutch, for the diphthong “oo” instead of “oe” or “oi” (Appendix, Figures A.7-A.9) and the combination “ge” instead of “ghe” (Appendix, Figures A.1-A.2). In my view these characteristics should be linked to the editor rather than the scribe of Matthaeus’ exemplar manuscript (and scribes before him). Even though this means there are some interfering edits by Matthaeus, it is still possible to say something on the affiliation of the conjectural manuscript **[Ma₁]**. Namely, based on these charts it is unlikely that the extant manuscript **Ut₁** was used as an exemplar for the edition.

Note the two variants of the same diphthong “ei” and “ey” (or “eij”) in Figures A.3-A.4 (Appendix). In the author’s copy of the *Croniken*, manuscript **We₁**, there is a strong shift in preference from “ei” to “ey” in the second half of the manuscript. This shift in preference has left its mark on the other witnesses of the *Croniken*, all of whom prefer the variant “ei” throughout the text (often in contrast to manuscript **We₁**), but to a lesser extent also use the form “ey” in those areas where it is present in **We₁**. Manuscript **Ut₁** diverges most from the preferences of manuscript **We₁**; it hardly exhibits the form “ey” at all. This also means that the conjectural manuscript **[Ma₁]**, that *does* show small amounts of the variant “ey” in conjunction with manuscript **We₁**, is not likely a copy of manuscript **Ut₁**. The exact affiliation of manuscript **[Ma₁]** to the other manuscripts of the *Croniken* can however not be determined from this procedure.

Nothing is known of the fate of the manuscript and other documents that formed the basis for the first edition of the *Croniken*. No *Croniken* manuscript was found among the private collection of books owned by Matthaeus that were auctioned after his death in 1710.¹⁵⁰⁸ A manuscript produced by Matthaeus, presumably as preparation for his edition, survives in the Utrecht University Library (**Ma₂**). The eighteenth century manuscript **We₂**, that contains a French translation of the *Croniken*, should be identified as a translation of the edition published by Matthaeus.

[Mx]: Library of Archduke Maximilian III of Austria

Archduke Maximilian III of Austria, grand master of the Teutonic Order between 1585/1590 and 1618, owned a copy of the *Croniken* in Middle Dutch. His book catalogue lists under ‘K. 62’ a “Chronicle of the Teutonic Order, written in Dutch.”¹⁵⁰⁹ The manuscript may have been presented to the grand master by the knight brethren of the Utrecht bailiwick that joined his campaign against the Ottomans in 1594, or it was already part of the collections at Mergentheim where he resided until 1602.¹⁵¹⁰ Current whereabouts are unknown.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Van der Linden ed., *Excellens nitidissimaque bibliotheca*; See also: Honkoop and Honkoop eds., *Catalogus librorum*.

¹⁵⁰⁹ “Chronick des Teutschen Ordens auf niderlandisch geschrieben”: Vienna, DOZA, Hs. 128, f. 8v; Olivier, *L’Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 996.

¹⁵¹⁰ De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* II, nrs. 457–458; Arnold ed., *Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens*, 191–197; A manuscript of the Waiblingen adaptation in the possession of Maximilian of Austria was previously owned by the land commander in Franconia. This could indicate that Maximilian also collected books that circulated in the region around Mergentheim. Olivier, *L’Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 1265.

[Pü]: Pürksi, *Collection Baron Rudolf von Ungern-Sternberg*

The manuscript was in the private collection of Baron Rudolf von Ungern-Sternberg, who resided in Birkas (Ee.: Pürksi). It was used by Karl Rußwurm, Eduard Pabst and Carl Napiersky in their excerpt editions of the *Croniken*.¹⁵¹¹ Theodor Hirsch, following Napiersky, referred to this manuscript using the sign ‘E’ (for “Ehstländisch”, Estonian), but did not examine the manuscript directly. According to him, the manuscript was closely related to the Skokloster manuscript (manuscript St).¹⁵¹²

The manuscript, titled “Anfengliche stiftunge des Deutschen Ordens”, contains a (complete?) version of the *Croniken* in Low German, probably written at the end of the sixteenth century, but at least before 1595. The binding mentions “F V R.” and below “1595”.¹⁵¹³ This probably refers to Fabian von Rosen, from the Hanse town of Groß-Roop (Latvian: Straupe).¹⁵¹⁴

A few chapters were edited directly by Rußwurm (c.242-253)¹⁵¹⁵ and Pabst (c.280-281).¹⁵¹⁶ Variants are included in the excerpt edition by Napiersky.¹⁵¹⁷ Current whereabouts are unknown.

[Ri]: Riga, *Stadtbibliothek, Fol. 2316*

This manuscript was the primary exemplar for the excerpt edition of the *Croniken* prepared by Carl Napiersky.¹⁵¹⁸ It was written in 1592 by Franz Nyenstedt (1544-1622), mayor of Riga, and titled “Vralte vnnd ohrsprünckliche Preussische vnnd Lifflendische Chronike.”¹⁵¹⁹ Hirsch, again, used only the edition by Napiersky and not the manuscript itself and referred to it as manuscript ‘R’.¹⁵²⁰ The manuscript was still present in Riga after World War II, but recent attempts by Mathieu Olivier to locate it were unsuccessful.¹⁵²¹

[Ut₂]: Utrecht, *Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balije van Utrecht*

Various excerpts of the *Croniken*, which are all found in one place and are all dated 1597, and which may belong together. Mentioned in an inventory of the Utrecht commandery from 1706 describing the contents of a drawer containing “letters to Land Commander Albrecht van Egmond van Merenstein,” who held office between 1536 and 1560:

In the drawer that states ‘Miscellaneous letters from the master to Land Commander Albrecht van Egmond,’ being the first drawer:

[...]

¹⁵¹¹ Rußwurm, ‘Notiz über die Handschrift’; E. Pabst, ‘Die Anfänge der deutschen Herrschaft in Livland’, in: F.G. von Bunge ed., *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv- Esth- und Curlands*. 3 (Dorpat: Kluge 1844) 1–55, there 39–40; Napiersky, ‘Auszug aus der Chronik’.

¹⁵¹² Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 11.

¹⁵¹³ Napiersky, ‘Auszug aus der Chronik’, 836.

¹⁵¹⁴ Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*, 20 (note 13).

¹⁵¹⁵ Rußwurm, ‘Notiz über die Handschrift’, 502–503, 513–522.

¹⁵¹⁶ Pabst, ‘Anfänge der deutschen Herrschaft’, 40.

¹⁵¹⁷ Napiersky, ‘Auszug aus der Chronik’, 841–906.

¹⁵¹⁸ Napiersky, ‘Livländischen Chroniken-Kunde’; Napiersky, ‘Auszug aus der Chronik’.

¹⁵¹⁹ The year 1592 is included on the binding. However, inside the manuscript Franz Nyenstedt mentions he finished writing in 1597: Napiersky, ‘Auszug aus der Chronik’, 835; Napiersky, ‘Livländischen Chroniken-Kunde’, 419.

¹⁵²⁰ Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 10.

¹⁵²¹ Olivier, *L’Ancienne Chronique des Grand-Maîtres*, 995.

- This following extract from 1597 tells about the lives and behaviour of various land commanders, such as lord Dirk van Holland, lord Johan van den Zande, lord Johan van Drongelen.

- An extract in the same drawer from the year 1597.

[...]

- In the same drawer an extract is put, extracted from the Chronicle of the Teutonic Order, of the Knighthood of the House and Hospital of Our Lady in Jerusalem, written in a fairly old script, the size of sheet of paper, bound in a parchment cover, 2 July 1597.¹⁵²²

[*Wa*]: Utrecht, Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, balije van Utrecht; Library of Wachtendorff

Both Theodor Hirsch and Jan Jacob de Geer tot Oudegein mention a separate leaf in eighteenth-century handwriting (now lost) inserted in manuscript **Ut**₁, containing a description of a further manuscript of the *Croniken* that was once present in the bailiwick archive in Utrecht. That manuscript is described as having been of a later date than manuscript **Ut**₁ and the decoration of the coats of arms as much less attractive. A later hand continued the list of grand masters and Utrecht land commanders up to Clemens August of Bavaria (grand master from 1732 to 1761) and Evert Jan Benjamin van Goltstein (Utrecht land commander from 1732 to 1744). The codex ended with notes on the land commanders of Alden Biesen (“notitie der Landcommandeurs van den Olden Biessen”). The continuations should therefore be dated between 1732 and 1744, while the rest of the manuscript probably predated 1732. Hirsch hypothesized that Matthaeus used this manuscript for his 1710 edition, but this assertion can neither be confirmed nor discarded.¹⁵²³

According to the note this manuscript was preserved in the “bibliotheek van Wachtendorff” (library of Wachtendorff).¹⁵²⁴ This probably refers to a member of the Utrecht family Van Wachendorff. The most likely candidate is Cornelis Antony van Wachendorff (1737-1810), an avid manuscript collector and co-founder of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Society of Dutch Literature).¹⁵²⁵ However, the manuscript is absent in the book sales catalogues both of Cornelis van Wachendorff and of his family member Evert Jacob van Wachendorff (1703-1758), who was a botanist and professor of medicine in Utrecht.¹⁵²⁶ This means either that a different collection is meant, or that the manuscript displaced before the auction of the library of Cornelis van Wachendorff. Unfortunately, attempts to locate the note in the bailiwick archives have yet remained fruitless.

¹⁵²² “In de lade die voor opschrift heeft, alderhande brieven van den meester aen den Landtcommanduijzr Albregt van Egmond sijnde de eerste lade: [...] Dit volgende extract van 1597 verhaelt het leven en gedrag van verscheijde landtcommanduijren, als de Heer Dirck van Hollandt, Heer Johan van Sande, Heer Johan van Drongelen. Een extract in deselve Lade van den jaere 1597. [...] In deselve lade is nog gelegd een extract, geextraheert uijt de Cronijcke van der Duijtsche Ordre, van de ridderschap van den huijse en hospitaale Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Jerusalem, en geschreven sijnde met een tamelijcke oude letter, in formaet van een blat papier, en gebonden in hoorne kaperkel, den 2 juli 1597”: Utrecht, ARDOU, inv.nr. 53.4. See also Appendix, A.2 (book inventories).

¹⁵²³ De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 244; Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 8–9.

¹⁵²⁴ De Geer van Oudegein, *Archieven* I, 244 (nr. 193); Hirsch, ‘Jüngere Hochmeisterchronik’, 8.

¹⁵²⁵ ‘Cornelis Antony van Wachendorff’, 12.

¹⁵²⁶ Amsterdam, BVBBB, Nv 822; Amsterdam, BVBBB, Nv 259; Kroon and Van Paddenburg eds., *Bibliotheca Wachendorfiana*.

[Ws₁], [Ws₂]: *Collection Van Westreenen van Tielandt*

Baron Willem van Westreenen van Tielandt paid for two manuscripts of the *Croniken* to be bound.¹⁵²⁷ At the time, around 1808-1809, he visited the Utrecht bailiwick archive where he may have picked these manuscripts up. Perhaps the manuscripts are identical to any of the aforementioned manuscripts, in particular **Ut₁**, **[Ma₁]**, **[Ut₂]** and **[Wa]**. Westreenen was an important book collector. His collection is nowadays part of the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague, but the two *Croniken* manuscripts are missing.¹⁵²⁸

¹⁵²⁷ The payment was made to Jan Boeseken on 9 January 1809: "2 Exemplaren Cronijk van de Duitse Ordre &c. gr[oet]. 4to. h[alve] E[ngelse] b[and] à 36 stuivers. fl. 3:12": The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, FA 015/095.

¹⁵²⁸ Based on the correspondence between Jos van Heel, curator at the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, and Annesiëtske Stapel, archivist of the bailiwick archive in Utrecht, who was kind enough to forward me the e-mail: J. van Heel, to A. Stapel, 'MMW, handschrift 007 B 017; bindrekening Boeseken' (29 July 2013).

Derivative texts of the *Croniken* and other manuscripts

*Ha*₁: Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2393, ff. 150r–159v

*Ha*₂: Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2396-1, ff. 64v–72r

*Ha*₃: Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Van Hardenbroek, inv.nr. 2400-2, ff. 10a–20

Three armorials, all of which part of the archive of the Utrecht-based noble family Van Hardenbroek.¹⁵²⁹ All three contain numerous coats of arms, ranging from European monarchs to those of noble families in the (Northern) Low Countries. Manuscripts *Ha*₁ (ca. 1650) and *Ha*₂ (ca. 1620, additions until 1710) contain the coats of arms of both the grand masters of the Teutonic Order and the Utrecht land commanders. In the case of manuscript *Ha*₁, the Utrecht land commanders are continued up to William Frederick, Prince of Nassau-Dietz (1640–64). Manuscript *Ha*₃ only contains the coats of arms of grand master Konrad of Thuringia, the fictitious German master Bodo of Hohenlohe (both depicted in the bailiwick chronicle), drawings of knights of the order, and the coats of arms of the Utrecht land commanders up to Hendrik van Isselmuden van Zwollingerskamp (1748–53). Manuscripts *Ha*₂ and *Ha*₃ also contain notes taken from the *Croniken van der Duytscher Oirde*n regarding the foundation of the Teutonic House in Utrecht in 1231.

It is quite possible that the three armorials are related to each other.

Ka: Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, CGM : 868, ff. 31r–39v

An armorial containing the coats of arms of, amongst others, the grand masters and Utrecht land commanders:

*Collection of drawings of coats of arms brought together by the abbot A.-L.-B. Carondelet de Noyelles. – Many coats of arms of the Counts of Namur, Latin emperors of Constantinople, etc. [...] Fol. 31-39: Armorial of the Teutonic Order, of the grand masters and land commanders of the Utrecht bailiwick, until the seventeenth century.*¹⁵³⁰

According to an earlier manuscript description, the first 35 land commanders are included, which would add up, using the most common numbering, to Land Commander William Frederick, Prince of Nassau-Dietz (1640–64).¹⁵³¹ Possible sources for these coats of arms include the *Croniken* itself or the portrait gallery in the Utrecht commandery, which is in itself based on the *Croniken* and continued to the present-day.¹⁵³² The writer of the armorial is Alexandre-Louis-Benoît de Carondelet-Noyelles (1744 - after 1796), who pursued an ecclesiastical career in the Bishopric of Cambrai. In 1796 he arrived at New Orleans, where his brother was governor in Spanish service.

¹⁵²⁹ The manuscripts were not examined by me. All information is derived from J.P.M. Vaissier and C.A. van Kalveen eds., *Inventaris van het archief van het huis en de familie Van Hardenbroek, 1353-1939* (gespecificiseerd, herzien en aangevuld in 2000; Utrecht: Het Utrechts Archief 1939). Special thanks to Kaj van Vliet, archivist at Het Utrechts Archief, who pointed at these manuscripts.

¹⁵³⁰ "Recueil de dessins de sceaux, formé par l'abbé A.-L.-B. de Carondelet de Noyelles. - Beaucoup de sceaux des comtes de Namur, des empereurs latins de Constantinople, etc. [...] Fol. 31-39 Armoiries de l'ordre Teutonique des grand maîtres et de lant-commandeurs de la bailie d'Utrecht, jusqu'au début du XVIIe siècle": A. Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements. Tome XVII: Cambrai*. Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France 17 (Paris: Plon 1891) 354–355 (nr. 868, previously: nr. 771).

¹⁵³¹ A. le Glay, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Cambrai* (Cambrai: Hurez 1831) 166 (nr. 771).

¹⁵³² D. Meuwissen, *Gekoesterde traditie. De portretreeks met de landcommandeurs van de Utrechtse Balije van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde*. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Balije van Utrecht 4 (Hilversum: Verloren 2011).

*We*₂: Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv, Hs. 103

French translation of the printed edition by Antonius Matthaeus, first published in 1710. A note on f. 1r, by [Robert Laurent Christophe] de Lintermans, last *Großpastor* (great pastor) of the Liège commandery in the Alden Biesen bailiwick (1763-1803), is dated 1780. This means that the manuscript was created between 1710 and 1780.

Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133 H 4

'HOLLANDSE SAKSENSPIEGEL' [SACHSENSPIEGEL (MIDDLE DUTCH)]

Paper, guard leaves of parchment; I + 92 + I fol.; 208 x 142. Northern Low Countries, ca. 1499-1500.

Consulted: manuscript

Description: 1ⁱⁱ (IV), 2-12^v (88), two guard leaves (two columns, *littera textualis*) attached to quires 1 and 12 respectively. Modern pencil foliation I-IV (table of contents), contemporary foliation in Roman numerals I-LXVIII (1-68), no foliation ff. 69-88. Written in one column by one hand (*littera hybrida*). Rubricated and with red initials. Possibly contemporary leather binding, stamped with geometrical patterns. Remnants of metal locks and evidence of restoration.

[page layout]. [script/hands]. [decoration/rubrication/initials]. [binding].

Content:

- [1.] ff. Iv-68v: So-called 'Hollandse *Saksenspiegel*' (Middle Dutch translation and adaptation of the *Sachsen-spiegel* or *Saxon Mirror*).
 - [1a.] ff. Iv-IVr: Table of contents. Inc.: *Van twee zweerden*. Exp.: *Vander vrouwen leen*. ff. Ir and IVv are left empty.
 - [1b.] ff. 1r-68v: 'Hollandse *Saksenspiegel*'. Inc.: *God die daer is een beghin ende een eynde alre goeder dingen die makede yerst hemel ende eerde*. Expl.: *mer sij sellen heerschijn gheven mit een jair pensien onbegrepen sellen sij wesen tot enighen tuych off leenrecht sij en worden selve aengetaelt*. ff. 69r-88v are left empty.
- [2.] guard leaves: Isaac Judaeus, *De febribus* ('On fevers'; translated from Arabic into Latin by Constantine the African; fragment). Inc.: *Quoniam te karissime filii Iohannes lacrimas mesto corde perpetim effundere perspexi*. Expl.: *ad omnia membra corporis et eis inbibis. sed iste*.

Remarks:

Origin: Northern Low Countries, written by notary public Hendrik Gerardsz. van Vianen (see chapter 4.3) and possibly commissioned by Steven van Zuylen van Nijeveld, land commander of the Utrecht bailiwick. The guard leaves were written in France (manuscript description).

Date: The paper can be dated around 1499-1500. There are four watermarks (A-D), all hands or gloves, without additional motif, with cuff, and with phalanges. Watermark A could not be identified. Watermark B is identical with a watermark used in an incunable printed in Leiden, 1500.¹⁵³³ Watermark C was used in incunabula printed in Delft

¹⁵³³ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'WILC', nr. 57459; There are similarities with a watermark dated Cologne, 1504: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, 'Piccard Online', nr. 154516.

between 1499 and 1500.¹⁵³⁴ Finally, watermark D is identical to a watermark found in Deventer, 1499-1500.¹⁵³⁵ The guard leaves were written between the second half of the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth century (manuscript description).

Provenance: The manuscript was owned by Land Commander Steven van Zuylen van Nijvelt (1496-1527): “Dit boeck hoert toe heer Steven van Zuylen van Nievelt lantcommenduer” (f. 87v), by Land Commander Jacob Taets van Amerongen (1579-1612) (coat of arms, “1610”: f. Ir), and by Barthold Jacob Lintelo de Geer van Jutphaas (1816-1903): “Dit HS behoort aan B.J.L. de Geer te Utrecht, 15 December 1867” (f. Ir). Bought at the action of his library at J.L. Beijers (Utrecht, 1905) by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (f. Ir).

The manuscript is the only known handwritten copy of the so-called ‘Hollandse *Saksenspiegel*’ (Hollandish Saxon Mirror). This adaptation of the original Saxon Mirror by Eike of Repkow was printed for the first time by Gerard Leeu in 1479, and reprinted nineteen more times until 1556.¹⁵³⁶ Following Smits, the manuscript is a scribal copy, but not a copy of the printed edition.¹⁵³⁷

Literature: Smits, ‘De Spiegel van Sassen’ (edition); Lintelo de Geer van Jutphaas, *De Saksenspiegel in Nederland*; Manuscript description Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 2007.

¹⁵³⁴ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ‘WILC’, nrs. 2130 (Delft 1499–1500), 1511 (Delft 1499); A similar watermark, but with a aberrant thumb, is found in Rheine in 1500: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, ‘Piccard Online’, nr. 154503.

¹⁵³⁵ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ‘WILC’, nr. 50304.

¹⁵³⁶ ‘ISTC’, nrs. ie00028200 (1479), ie00028300 (1482), ie00028350 (1485–86), ie00028250 (1487–88), ie00028400 (1487–91); ‘Universal Short Title Catalogue’ nrs. 436688 (1504), 425482 (1505), 436727 (1506), 420377 (1512), 437310 (1526), 437353 (1527), 437395 (1528), 407384 (1536), 437979 (1539), 410485 (1547), 430461 (1550), 421206 (1550), 408666 (1550), 421291 (1556) <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>> [accessed 2 May 2016].

¹⁵³⁷ Smits, ‘Spiegel van Sassen’, 7.

Quantifying palaeographical preferences in the *Sachsenspiegel* and land charters

As I have shown in chapter 2.3, Hendrik van Vianen displayed in his writing a unique combination of letterforms of *w*. This combination is not only visible in manuscript **We**₁, but also in his other writings: the *Sachsenspiegel* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4) and the land charters of the Utrecht bailiwick. In the land charters, the ‘closed’ *w* was usually the most frequent form, often even completely dominant (Figure A.31). An important factor in the popularity of the ‘closed’ *w* in the charters is that, in contrast to the *littera hybrida* script of manuscript **We**₁ and the *Sachsenspiegel*, a mixture was used between a *littera cursiva* (with loops, comparable to the ‘closed’ *w*) and a *littera hybrida* (without loops): the so-called *littera cursiva* (C/H). Perhaps influenced by an increasing familiarity with the ‘open’ *w* that gained momentum throughout manuscript **We**₁ (with its second phase dated around 1491), this letterform became more popular in the charters dated in the late nineties of the fifteenth century.

In the *Sachsenspiegel*, dated around 1499–1500, there is a clear preference for the ‘open’ *w*, just as we have seen in the second half of manuscript **We**₁ of the *Croniken* and the charters of the late nineties that were just mentioned (Figure A.32). What is also interesting in comparison to manuscript **We**₁, is that in the first few folios, the ‘closed’ and ‘disjointed’ *w* were more regularly employed, in contrast to the rest of the chronicle, where only ‘mixtures’ and ‘open’ *w* are present.¹⁵³⁸ This is echoed in the first folios of the prologue and of the bailiwick chronicle in manuscript **We**₁ as well. The difference however, is that in the *Sachsenspiegel* the writing style has become much more stable than in the first half of manuscript **We**₁. Apparently, the writer developed a much more robust writing style and preference over the years. This is also reflected in other preferences not shown here, such as spelling and abbreviations. Moreover, we should probably not expect as much fluctuations as in **We**₁, since this *Sachsenspiegel* is not an original work but a manuscript *copy*.

¹⁵³⁸ Please disregard the table of contents on the first few folios that probably, just as the table of contents of manuscript **We**₁, was added in the end.

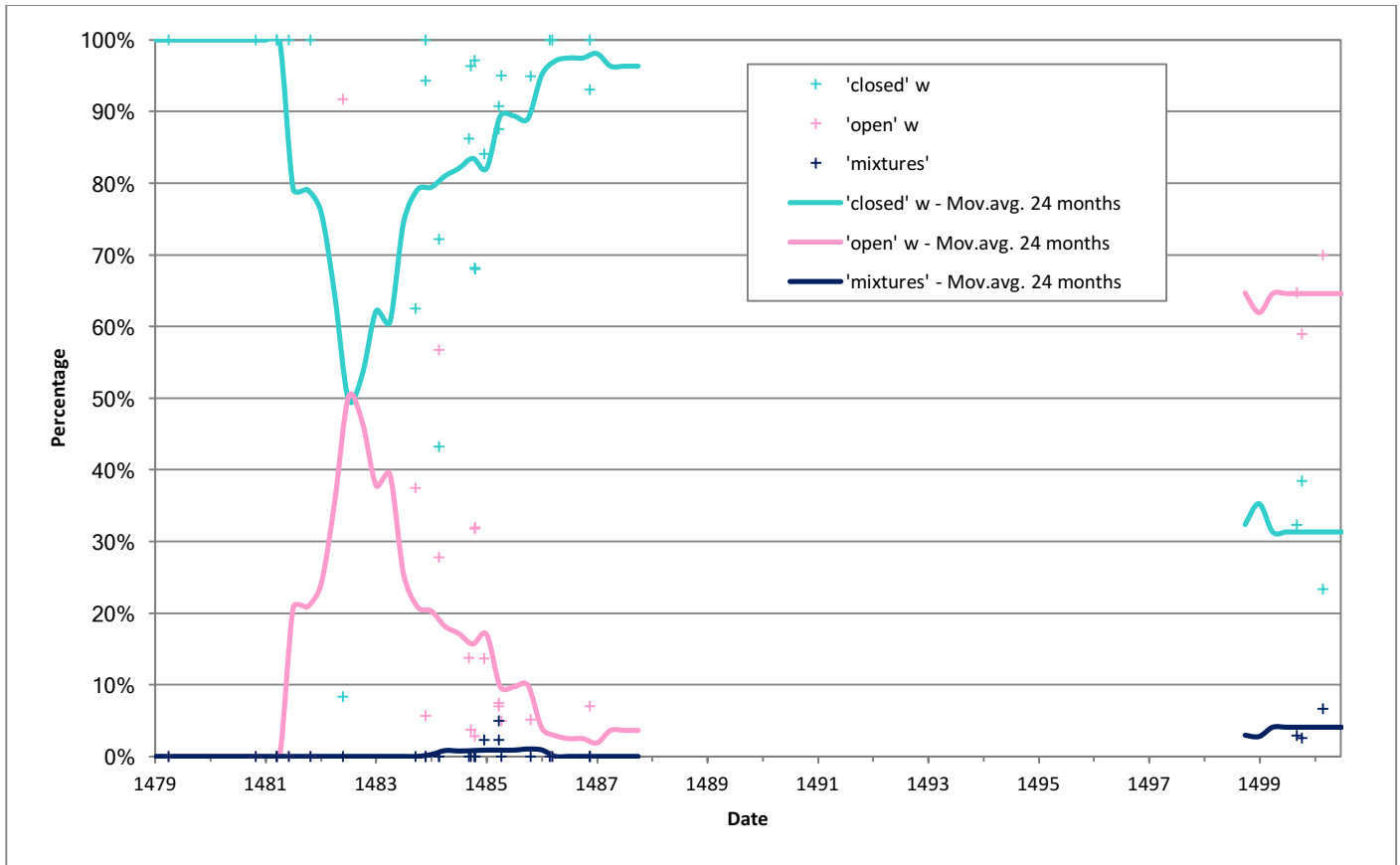


Figure A.31 Letterforms of w in Middle Dutch land charters by the hand that wrote manuscript *We*₁.

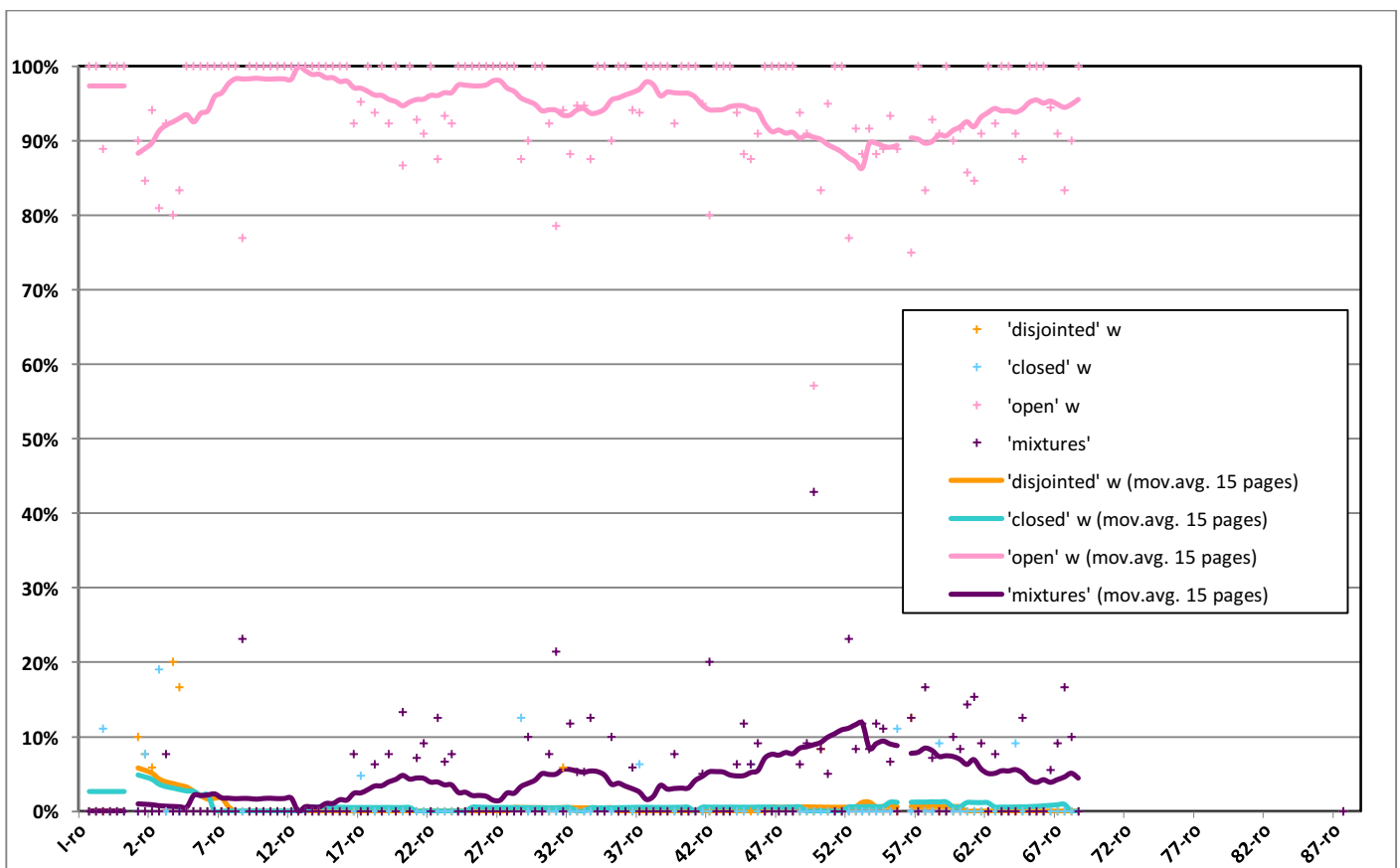


Figure A.32 Letterforms of w in the Sachsenspiegel (*The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 H 4*).