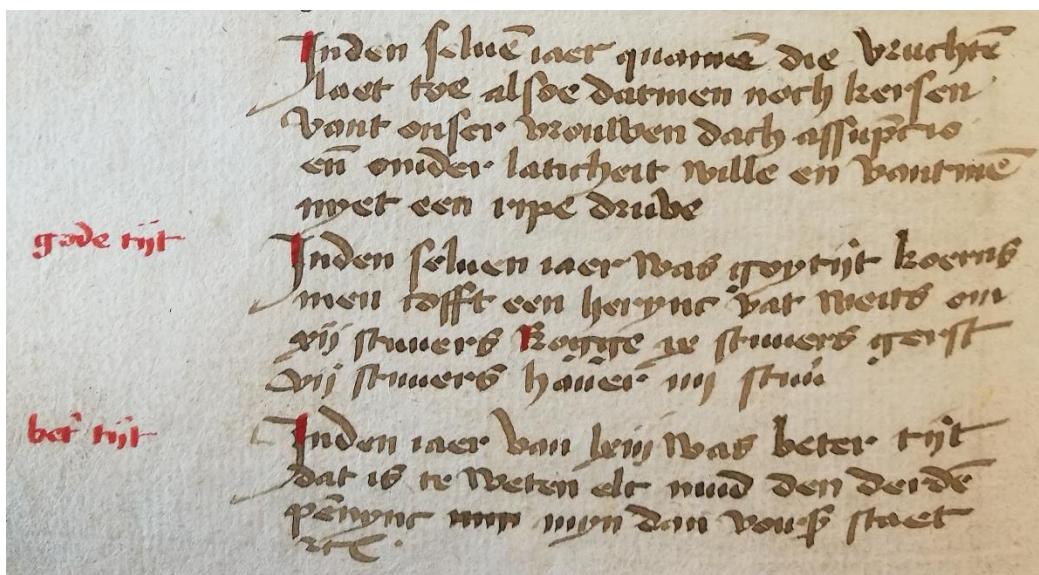


# Identity and space in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript ‘Het Utrechts Archief, VII F 5’ (c. 1477)



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## Abstract

This study attempts to distinguish the local, regional and supraregional identities that are produced in manuscript *Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, VII F 5* ('the Utrecht chronicle manuscript'). This fifteenth-century manuscript in Middle Dutch (c. 1477) contains a world chronicle, followed by an extensive series of regional chronicles. The codex was compiled by an Utrecht canon, who was almost certainly part of a network of historiographers centred around Willem van Berchen, Theodoricus Pauli and Johannes a Leydis. Codex-internal references and overlap between several of the manuscript's chronicles reveal that the texts in the manuscript form a unity, but, at the same time are able to function independently. The forward references in the manuscript's world chronicle indicate that the regional chronicles were an intended part of the manuscript. Since identities are partly rooted in space, the manuscript's represented space is analysed. A *Geographical Information System* (GIS) is used to perform a data analysis on more than 2500 references to geographical locations. Space is represented on three levels. The manuscript includes a local Utrecht space, several regional spaces and a supraregional space roughly corresponding with the core areas of the medieval Low Countries. In all, the combination of the manuscript's codicological features, overlap, codex-internal references and represented spaces are able to produce local, regional and supraregional identities. Although most territories situated in the Low Countries were ruled by the Burgundian dukes, the promoted supraregional identity does not coincide with a possible Burgundian identity.



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Map 1. Visual representation of the regional chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

## 1. Introduction

Over the course of the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the dukes of Burgundy came into possession of nearly the entire Low Countries. For inhabitants of territories like Brabant, Holland or Flanders, it meant that they could identify themselves as being subject to the Burgundian dukes, in addition to the already existing possibility of possessing a local Brabant, Holland or Flanders regional collective identity.<sup>1</sup> As most Low Countries' territories now had one ruler, new opportunities rose to produce supraregional 'Burgundian' collective identities. These opportunities were not seized instantly. In fact, according to Peter Hoppenbrouwers,

it would have been extremely unlikely for a supra-regional, 'Netherlandish', identity, to have developed anywhere before the end of the fifteenth century. And even at that point the principalities and autonomous regions (Friesland!) of the Low Countries were separated by large demographic, economic, linguistic and cultural differences, that were almost impossible to bridge.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, Robert Stein states about the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlands that 'its culture was characterised by strong localism'.<sup>3</sup> In short, when the Burgundian dukes got hold of most principalities within the Low Countries, a 'Burgundian national identity' was not established right away.

On another level, the Burgundian unification of territories did trigger authors to start writing and copying historiographical narratives, mainly regional chronicles.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, the unification set people thinking about their local past. The Burgundian unification coincides with a peak in the production of regional chronicles, and the copying of existing narratives into new manuscripts in the second half of the fifteenth century. These regional chronicles do not merely survive on their own in single-text manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts contain series of regional chronicles, meaning that the histories of multiple territories are collected into a single volume.<sup>5</sup> For example, the so-called 'Berghs kroniekenhandschrift' (Bergh chronicle manuscript) contains chronicles of the Popes, the bishops of Cologne, Liège, Utrecht, Münster, the German Kings, the lords of Guelders, Holland, Brabant, Mark, France

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of identity will be explained in the theoretical framework below.

<sup>2</sup> Hoppenbrouwers 2010a, 38-39.

<sup>3</sup> Stein 2010a, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Caers 2019, 21. Cf. Levelt 2011, 39.

<sup>5</sup> The four most extensive chronicle collections in Middle Dutch are 's-Heerenbergh, Archief Kasteel Huis Bergh, 2095 (c. 1453-61, Lower Rhine area); Leiden, UB, BPL 76 C (1476, Holland); Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, VII F 5 (1477, Utrecht) and the printed Dutch edition of *Fasciculus temporum* (Johan Veldener, Utrecht, 1480).

and Cleves.<sup>6</sup> Although most chronicles in this series may be typified ‘regional’, the collection as such can hardly be called an expression of regional historiography. When regionally orientated histories are being collected next to each other in a manuscript, the individual texts still may be analysed as markers of a regional identity. Yet, since the combination of texts supersedes one region (here I mean a single county or duchy) the codex as a whole may express a supraregional historical interest with the compiler, or even may be read as an attempt to produce a supraregional identity. In this study not the Bergh chronicle manuscript, but a different manuscript will be the focal point of attention. The Utrecht Archive is custodian of *Het Utrechts Archief, VII F 5*, a paper manuscript which can be dated to the year 1477 and contains a large series of chronicles. Since the opening world chronicle narrates many events that happened in or around Utrecht, it is assumed that the book was produced in the city of Utrecht.<sup>7</sup> This world chronicle is often being referred to as ‘Utrechtse kroniek 65-1477’.<sup>8</sup> Henceforward, I will refer to the manuscript as the ‘Utrecht chronicle manuscript’. In spite of its rich collection of regional histories, the Utrecht chronicle manuscript has barely been studied by (literary) historians.<sup>9</sup> The only extensive study is a master thesis from 1987 with an edition of the entire manuscript by Liesbeth Orthel.<sup>10</sup>

In this study, I will investigate how a collection of historiographical texts can produce (multiple) collective identities. These identities may be local, regional and/or supraregional. When a single (regional) chronicle text is studied, the process of producing identities is fairly straightforward: the chronicle presents a certain version of the past, leading to the promotion of a collective memory with its readers. This collective memory may lead to the production, alteration or deconstruction of a collective identity. In short, a regional chronicle promotes a certain identity to its readers. Yet, how this process works with a collection of chronicles in a single manuscript is unclear. The promoted identity of a multi-text manuscript is probably not as simple as being the sum of all regional chronicles. The main research question of this study is as follows: *Which local, regional and supraregional identities are promoted in the Utrecht chronicle collection ‘Utrechts Archief, VII F 5’?* As I already linked the production of chronicles to the Burgundian unification, I attempt to answer the following related question as

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<sup>6</sup> ‘s-Heerenbergh, Archief Kasteel Huis Bergh, 2095 (c. 1453-1461), olim. Anholt, Fürstlich Salm-Salmsche Bibliothek, Schmitz 42.

<sup>7</sup> Carasso-Kok is careful in attributing the manuscript to Utrecht (Carasso-Kok 1981, 299ff.). In the online *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Neerlandica* (BNM), the manuscript is attributed to Utrecht without a question mark. See: <https://bnm-i.huygens.knaw.nl/tekstdragers/TDRA000000011377> [03-06-2019]. The manuscript is present in the BNM under its old signature ‘Utrecht, HUA, Bibliotheek der stad nr. 56’.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. Van den Hoven van Genderen 2001, 157.

<sup>9</sup> The history of Guelders contained in the manuscript has been edited in Van Doorninck 1908.

<sup>10</sup> Orthel 1987.

well: *Is the supraregional identity that is promoted in the Utrecht chronicle collection a ‘Burgundian identity’?* Answering these interrelated questions will reveal multiple things. First, it will show how a collection of texts produces multiple, layered identities. Second, it enables me to discern how the identities in this manuscript possibly relate to the Burgundian unification. Third, it shows a possible way in which the Burgundian unification was perceived relatively far from the Burgundian court. If the supraregional identity promoted in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript (partly) coincides with the Burgundian ‘national’ identity, this signals that there may be evidence of efforts to promote a Burgundian identity – contrary to what current scholarly opinion holds.

To answer my research questions, several intermediary steps should be set. First, it is important to gain knowledge on how the Utrecht chronicle manuscript came into being and was compiled. A clear view on the codex’s genesis and intended audience is needed to understand the book’s contents, its function and, consequently, the way it produces identities. Here I will perform the *Material philology* approach to manuscripts.<sup>11</sup>

Next, I want to find out how the individual chronicles in the collection relate to each other. When connections are made between chronicles in the manuscript – either through their contents or through cross-references – this would point at the production of supraregional identities. Therefore, this analysis will be a close reading with two focal points: overlap in the events which are narrated in multiple chronicles and, second, codex-internal references.

Overlap means that a single story is expected to be narrated in multiple regional chronicles. This is the case in many instances. The dukes of Brabant and Guelders, for example, fought many wars against each other, which one may expect to be narrated in both histories. How does the compiler of the manuscript deal with this? Does he include two different versions of the event, or, alternatively, harmonise the two possible perspectives on the event? He might even omit it in one (or both) instance(s). Codex-internal references are for a modern book producer a logical solution to the problems of overlap and repetition. These references are also present in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, but the extent and nature of this should be studied in detail.

Finally, this study seeks a new way of researching the production of identities in chronicles, that is, to quantitatively investigate the geographical space that is represented in the manuscript. The production of a collective memory and a collective identity is for a considerable part rooted in space.<sup>12</sup> As we already saw above, scholars call the world

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<sup>11</sup> See Nichols 1990; - 1997.

<sup>12</sup> Misztal 2003, 101; Tomaszek 2018, 118. See Chapter 2.

chronicle in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript ‘Utrechtse kroniek 65-1477’, mainly because it narrates many Utrecht-related events. On the surface in this world chronicle is a represented Utrecht space. This space helps producing an ‘Utrecht identity’. However, other locations are mentioned as well, whose represented spaces are able to produce other local, regional or supraregional identities. These are harder to trace by close reading. In order to reveal which other identities are produced by referring to geographical locations, I will create a dataset. Containing over 2500 references to geographical locations, the analysis of such a dataset makes it possible to establish clusters of locations in a quantitative manner. Collected are not only references to specific places like ‘Utrecht’, ‘Flanders’ or ‘Brussels’. Also indirect ones, like in names, e.g. ‘John of Brabant’ or ‘David of Burgundy’ are collected. The resulting dataset will be visualised using a *Geospatial Information System* (GIS).<sup>13</sup> The use of GIS in the Humanities is rising – a field of ‘Spatial Humanities’ is emerging, but its use by (literary) historians is still scarce.

The current study presents an exploration of new methods to study medieval chronicles. In applying GIS and the combining of research into medieval chronicles and multi-text manuscripts, it will steer the study of medieval historiography in new directions. Moreover, by not focussing on centralised institutions, but on a piece of historiographical activity not originating from the Burgundian court, this study investigates the production of supraregional identities from the bottom up.

In the following chapter I will first present a brief state of the art in the relevant fields of research. There, I will also explain the methods and theories I will use. Next, the Utrecht chronicle manuscript is introduced. This is followed by three chapters presenting analyses: the manuscript’s genesis and compilation, a close reading with attention to textual overlap and codex-internal references and, finally, an analysis of the represented space. After the concluding chapter, one appendix can be found, containing a provisional edition of the manuscript.

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<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 2 and Chapter 6. An introduction to GIS for non-specialists is presented by Gregory 2005.

## 2. State of the art and theoretical framework

In this chapter this study's main concepts are introduced. Since my approach incorporates methodologies and theories from multiple research traditions, the relevant subdisciplines will be introduced in separate sections, including indications of the state of the art in the respective fields. As the individual research disciplines are often large fields of research, these overviews are, naturally, non-exhaustive.

### Chronicles

Central to this study are chronicles. Many scholars researching historiography (with this I mean *all text types dealing with historical topics*) have attempted to find a medieval or modern justification to distinguish chronicles from annals, *gestae*, *vitae* and other types of historical texts. Unfortunately, the terminology used by medieval historiographers is insufficient to produce a scholarly sound typology. As Dunphy concludes in a discussion on typology:

Thus medieval usage gives us a series of terms which are generally synonymous, with at most tendential preferences of distribution. However it is clear that within this vast textual tradition there are significant variations of genre, and only very occasionally do we observe medieval authors attempting to link terminology to form.<sup>14</sup>

For the current study, it is not important whether we are actually dealing with chronicles, histories or annals. Since each text present in the Utrecht chronicle is a historical text following the same principles – a single diocese/duchy/county, earliest history up to the present, structured around the succession of rulers – I will call each text a chronicle.

The study of Middle Dutch chronicles has long been a small research area. This is mainly because historians long assessed chronicles ‘too literary’, meaning that according to them the histories contained too many fabricated stories. Literary historians, on their part, neglected them for being ‘not literary enough’.<sup>15</sup> The repetitive enumerations of ‘historical’ facts were nothing like the well-composed verses other authors had written.

The founding father of the most popular approach to Dutch medieval chronicles is probably Jan Romein. He published his main study on North-Netherlandish (modern-day Netherlands) Middle Dutch medieval historiography in 1932. In *Geschiedenis van de Noord-Nederlandse geschiedschrijving in de Middeleeuwen* he argued that apart from disentangling

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<sup>14</sup> Dunphy 2010, 279.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Van Anrooij 1991, 102-103; - 107. ‘Ze [= chronicles, MV] bevinden zich thans, zo lijkt het, in een soort “niemandsland”, dat door historici en neerlandici nauwelijks, of althans te weinig, wordt betreden’ (p. 107).

facts from fables in chronicles, one should ask the question of *how* a source presents a certain version of the past. What made an author decide to represent the past in particularly *this* way? Similar to how present-day scholars study the representation of history in chronicles, Romein proposed an approach in which chronicles are to be read as ‘een spiegel van het zelfbewustzijn der Nederlandsche natie’ [a mirror of the self-consciousness of the Dutch nation].<sup>16</sup> This progressive approach of reading chronicles was only picked up on by other Dutch scholars some fifty years later, when Carasso-Kok’s repertory of North-Netherlandish historiographical sources was published in 1981.<sup>17</sup> This study eased the path for two important pieces of scholarship on Dutch historiography: the collection of articles on North-Netherlandish historiography by Ebels-Hoving, Santing & Tilmans in 1987 and the dissertation by Verbij-Schillings on the Bavaria Herald in 1995.<sup>18</sup> These studies were the first to operate Romein’s framework. A repertory of South-Netherlandish (modern-day Belgium) historiography in 1995 complimented Carasso-Kok’s work and, eventually, led to the online database *The Narrative Sources from the Low Countries*, which is kept up-to-date regularly.<sup>19</sup> The presence of this database – and the revival of research on historiography in general – have led to an increase of studies on Middle Dutch historiography. Nowadays, articles and monographs on Middle Dutch chronicles are published regularly by both literary historians and historians.<sup>20</sup>

The vibrant study of Dutch medieval chronicles can be regarded as a part of an international movement of ever-increasing scholarship on medieval historiography. The formation of *The Medieval Chronicle Society* just before the turn of the century has helped building an international community of scholars working with medieval chronicles. A recent landmark in the study of medieval chronicles has been the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*.<sup>21</sup>

Studies on medieval chronicles often focus on topics like intertextuality, source analysis and official court historiographers (e.g. the French or Burgundian courts). In fact,

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<sup>16</sup> Romein 1932, XXII.

<sup>17</sup> Carasso-Kok 1981.

<sup>18</sup> Ebels-Hoving, Santing & Tilmans 1987; Verbij-Schillings 1995.

<sup>19</sup> Deploige et al. 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Most monographs on (Middle Dutch) medieval chronicles by Dutch-speaking scholars are published by publisher Verloren (often in Dutch). A non-exhaustive list of titles: Janse & Biesheuvel (2005); Koene (2005); Tigelaar (2006); Houthuys (2009); Van Moolenbroek, Mol & Loer (2009); Doedens & Looijesteijn (2010); Levelt (2011); Keesman (2017); Caers [2019].

<sup>21</sup> Dunphy 2010.

research on chronicles in (multi-text) manuscripts is still very rare. In a recent collection of articles on historiography in the Anglo-Norman period Cleaver & Worm state:

[...] a wide range of medieval histories are readily available to scholars and students working in different disciplines. Yet easy access to printed [scholarly, *MV*] editions has often obscured the different levels of circulation of these texts in the Middle Ages, and drawn attention away from the manuscripts in which they survive, resulting in a tendency for scholars to treat such works as sources of historical facts and, more recently, as pieces of literature.<sup>22</sup>

Following Cleaver & Worm's critique on the neglect of the manuscript context of medieval chronicles, I will not study the Utrecht chronicle collection as merely a source of historical facts or literary work only. Rather, I aim to connect the production of a manuscript containing a collection of historiographical literature to the production of identities. This requires a different way of reading these texts. Jezierski has demonstrated a fruitful way of analysing medieval chronicles, as he parallels them to the modern-day concept of *heritage*. Heritage is described as follows by Jezierski:

By the term heritage I mean the kind of historical knowledge delivered by schoolbooks, theme-museums, memorial parades or national monuments. Heritage is meant to be exclusive; it is 'ours' as it is to attest the distinctiveness of 'our past'. It is, and is supposed to be, selective in the presentation of historical data, exposing the victories and successes of 'our' ancestors and keeping the shames and defeats hidden.<sup>23</sup>

By approaching chronicles as being similar to the historical knowledge promoted by heritage, Jezierski avoids the comparison between medieval chronicles and the work of modern-day professional historians. In Jezierski's words: '*historicity* and *rationality* are modern inventions, valid neither universally nor eternally, and to require these standards from medieval authors is absurd, at any rate'.<sup>24</sup> Naturally, chronicles are far more than merely rhetorical treatises celebrating an appropriated past, but studying chronicles as heritage helps focussing on the ways in which chronicles are able to promote a certain past in order to build a collective memory, as will be shown below.

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<sup>22</sup> Cleaver & Worm 2018, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Jezierski 2008, 100.

<sup>24</sup> Jezierski 2008, 100.

## Multi-text manuscripts

The Utrecht chronicle manuscript contains a multiplicity of (historiographical) texts. There are multiple names to refer to such books comprising more than one text. Frequently used terms to designate these kinds of codices are ‘miscellany’, ‘anthology’ or ‘composite’. In a recent collection of articles Pratt, Besamusca, Meyer & Putter have suggested to use the more neutral term ‘multi-text codex’ for books with multiple texts. The main advantage of this term is the absence of any positive or negative connotations regarding the alleged miscellaneous or homogeneous nature of the manuscript’s contents.<sup>25</sup> In this study I will use the term multi-text codex or multi-text manuscript to refer to manuscripts with multiple texts in it.

A major impulse to the study of texts in its manuscript context has been the *New Philology* (later often called *Material Philology*) approach to manuscripts. In a special edition of *Speculum* in 1990, Nichols proposed a ‘new’ philological approach to literary texts, which should move beyond the mere analysis of text and language when working with medieval manuscript. He emphasised the fact that a manuscript is more than only a text carrier.

According to Nichols, a manuscript page represents multiple ‘systems’.<sup>26</sup> These are for instance text, illumination, rubrications, glosses, marginal text, etc. One may extend this list to also include, for example, the decision to use parchment or paper, the book’s binding, the way in which gatherings are formed, etc. Nichols states that ‘each system is a unit independent of the others and yet calls attention to them; each tries to convey something about the other while to some extent substituting for it’.<sup>27</sup> In other words, when researching manuscript books, one ought to study as many aspects as possible in order to understand the book as a cultural object, as there is an interplay between all elements constituting a book.<sup>28</sup> This study will take as a starting point a codicological analysis of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, paying attention to the different ‘units’ that shape the interpretation of the texts, the book as a whole and its produced identities.

Nichols’ *New Philology* has had a profound influence on the scholarly work of many (literary) historians. In the last few years Nichols’ approach to medieval manuscripts has been especially popular, being operated in a wide range of contexts. With regard to my research, especially one of these contexts is important to introduce in some detail. This is the study of the interpretation of texts in multi-text manuscripts. Already in 1997 Nichols demonstrated the potential of studying texts in relation to its co-texts in a manuscript:

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<sup>25</sup> Pratt et al. 2017, 13.

<sup>26</sup> Nichols 1990, 7.

<sup>27</sup> Nichols 1990, 7. In a 1997 article, he calls the manuscript ‘a multi-dimensional space’. See Nichols 1997.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Nichols & Wenzel 1996, 1-6.

One can alter some words in a song that one sings without changing the song's meaning or general implication nearly so much as by presenting it in an altered context. By writing it down amidst other songs with which it will be immediately compared, one may radically change many aspects of how we understand the song, even without changing its lyrics.<sup>29</sup>

When trying to interpret a text – a song, a poem, a chronicle – it is of seminal importance to include in the analysis also the surrounding co-texts in a manuscript. Furthermore, as Bouwmeester pointed out in a recent article, it should not make a difference how long these co-texts are.<sup>30</sup> Often only the longer texts of a multi-text manuscript are taken into account in analyses. Shorter texts are neglected or overlooked as they are short and therefore regarded less important. Bouwmeester argues that also the shorter texts are worth analysing, since ‘all too often the meaning of a medieval text is shaped (or influenced) by all its co-texts, regardless of their length’.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, this does not mean that text length should not be taken in account. In fact, in the case of chronicles the length of a text may be an indication of the importance given to it by the compiler. Chronicles are flexible texts, an compiler could easily expand or shorten a chronicle narrative. As long as the main structural element – chronology – is being adhered to, it is fairly easy to produce a larger or shorter chronicle. Sequential items in a chronicle do not necessarily have to relate to each other and can therefore be added or removed with ease.

The final aspect of multi-text manuscripts I want to point out is the following. The selection of texts in a manuscript by a compiler can be seen as a form of reception.<sup>32</sup> Questions like why the compiler decided to include precisely these texts, in these order, in this version, etc. are part of ascertaining the intended audience and, in the case of historiography, the compiler’s conceptions of history.<sup>33</sup>

### The production of identities through chronicles

As mentioned above, the Utrecht chronicle manuscript will be analysed as a site in which local, regional and supra-regional identities are being produced. As research on (national) identities is a major international field of research, I will single out only those aspects relevant

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<sup>29</sup> Nichols 1997, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Bouwmeester 2017, 57ff.

<sup>31</sup> Bouwmeester 2017, 57-58.

<sup>32</sup> Pratt et al. 2017, 25. Cf. Corbinellini, Murano & Signore 2018.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Besamusca 2017, 50; Pani 2018, 131.

for this study. This section will attempt to explain how identities may be produced through historiography.

Probably the most important work on the study of nationalism and national identities is Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, which was first published in 1981.<sup>34</sup> The main argument of Anderson's study is that the concept of 'nation' is a construct. In almost any community a member will not know every other member of that community. Therefore, all mentalities towards being part of a community with shared values are imagined.<sup>35</sup> When all communities are imagined, it means that having a single ruler – say, a Burgundian duke – does not automatically lead to people 'being' a nation. The other way around, a group of people can claim to possess a collective identity without being part of the same political unity.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, being part of a single political unity does not mean that all its inhabitants would identify themselves as being part of a single nation. Thus, identities are no *a priori* facts, they are created or produced.

Assman has worked on this process of identity creation and uses the concept 'cultural memory'. He describes cultural memory as 'a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation'.<sup>37</sup> This is a broad definition going way further than describing how past events shape current actions. Since cultural memories consist of discursive knowledge steering our behaviour in certain directions, Assman argues that cultural memories are a major (but not exclusive) factor in a group's 'awareness of unity and particularity'.<sup>38</sup> One of the ways in which a cultural memory may be constructed (and maintained) is through (literary) texts, although rites and monuments are factors as well.<sup>39</sup>

The concept of 'collective memory' certainly helps getting a grasp on how past behaviour shapes current and future actions. Yet, it fails to explain how (historical) texts create mentalities or identities. The work by Misztal on 'collective memory' and remembrance theory is a more productive way in making sense of how a chronicle produces identities. According to Misztal a collective memory is

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<sup>34</sup> In this study I use the 2006 reprint. Anderson 2006.

<sup>35</sup> Anderson 2006, 5-6.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Stein 2010b.

<sup>37</sup> Assman 1995, 126.

<sup>38</sup> Assman 1995, 132.

<sup>39</sup> Assman 1995, 128-129.

[...] the representation of the past, both that shared by a group and that which is collectively commemorated, that enacts and gives substance to the group's identity, its present condition and its vision of the future.<sup>40</sup>

Whereas Assman attempts to explain all social behaviour in the model of cultural memory, Misztal focuses on how representations of the past create group identities. Collective memory asserts that when a group agrees on a certain representation of the past, a collective memory is produced, thereby contributing to the group's identity. Here, we are getting closer to how chronicles may produce identities. According to Misztal there are two competing views on how collective memories are constructed. First, there is the 'invention of tradition perspective'. This perspective supports the idea that the construction of memories is a top-down process. A collective memory is created by political elites; groups of people coming from other sections of the population are no active agents in creating their own version of the past.<sup>41</sup> Since this study aims to demonstrate that collective identities can be constructed through a bottom-up process – that is, through a chronicle collection produced outside a court environment – the second, alternative approach will prove to be more fruitful. This 'dynamics of memory approach' acknowledges that identities are temporal and able to transform:

Seeing collective identities as historically constructed enables this perspective to account for changes in groups' identities and their aspirations for themselves and others. [...] The role of agency and the temporal dimension of memory as well as the historicity of social identities are stressed and analysed.<sup>42</sup>

The dynamics of memory approach understands collective identities as the result of competing discourses. In this model it would still be possible that the social elite could promote a certain collective identity, only now the elitist discourse is one of many competing views on the past. Texts, especially chronicles, can be regarded as being part of these discourses. They promote a certain version of the past, eventually being able to shape the production of a collective memory, and, indirectly, a collective identity. It should finally be stressed that people possess multiple (collective) identities.<sup>43</sup> In an international context one might for instance identify himself as 'French', whereas the same person would call himself 'Parisian' in a national context. This conceptualisation may be transposed to discursive texts

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<sup>40</sup> Misztal 2003, 7.

<sup>41</sup> Misztal 2003, 56, 67-68.

<sup>42</sup> Misztal 2003, 69.

<sup>43</sup> Burke & Stets 2009, 3.

as well. A chronicle of Brabant may produce a regional Brabantine identity when assessed in isolation. However, when being part of a series of chronicles in a manuscript, it can function as one of the building blocks of a supraregional Dutch or Burgundian identity.

### From space to identity

It has become clear that chronicles can be read as sites where multiple collective memories are produced, and, consequently, collective identities may be promoted. What remains to be explained is how the concept of ‘space’ relates to identity theory. The most influential study on the concept of space has been the book *La production de l'espace* (translated as *The production of space*) by Marxist theorist Lefebvre.<sup>44</sup> Lefebvre’s main achievement is the conceptualisation of space. In his study on the production of space three ‘types’ or ‘fields’ of space are important: physical space (concrete objects, materialised ‘things’ in nature), mental space (the physical space people envision in their mind) and social space (the space that is produced in interaction with others).<sup>45</sup> According to Lefebvre, social space should be analysed as being a social product.<sup>46</sup> This social product is a triad composed of *spatial practices* (the ‘perceived space’), *representations of space* (‘lived space’) and *representational space* (‘conceived space’).<sup>47</sup> Note that all these aspects of social space are related. Spatial practices encompass the space one lives in and moves through on a daily basis, i.e. the commute to work. The representations of space are where spatial practices gain meaning or value. One could say that this is where different spaces are ‘ranked’, or gain power (remember that Lefebvre is a Marxist scholar). Finally, the representational space is the area in which spaces are dominated. Since space has power (Bourdieu would say that space is a form of ‘capital’), it can be appropriated and changed through imagination.<sup>48</sup>

All three of Lefebvre’s spaces are related to the Utrecht chronicle manuscript (and manuscripts in general), be it on different levels. Physical space is represented through each location that is mentioned in the chronicles in the codex. The manuscript’s texts have been brought together by a compiler, whose selection of chronicles included is the result of an imagined mental space. This mental space is materialised in the manuscript and enters a social space as soon as it interacts with an audience.

It should by now have become clear how a chronicle represents different types of space on different levels. However, this model does not explain how an analysis of

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<sup>44</sup> I will here use the English translation of 1991. The original French work was first published in 1974.

<sup>45</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 11-12.

<sup>46</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 26.

<sup>47</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 33.

<sup>48</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 38-39.

represented physical space helps to answer this study's main research question, that is, how a collection of chronicles produces identities. Lefebvre does expand on how space relates to identity:

[...] one (i.e. each member of the society under consideration) relates oneself to space, situates oneself in space. One confronts both an immediacy and an objectivity of one's own. One places oneself at the centre, designates oneself, measures oneself, and uses oneself as a measure. One is, in short, a 'subject'. A specific social status – assuming always a stable situation, and hence determination by and in a *state* – implies a role and a function: an individual and a public identity. It also implies a location, a place in society, a position.<sup>49</sup>

According to Lefebvre one's identity is related to one's place in society, which, naturally, has a strong spatial emphasis. Yet, to what extent is this model useful for analysing medieval identities? When writing about space and identities Lefebvre clearly roots his theory in modern society. However, scholars working on medieval identities have also started to stress the importance of space for medieval identities. In a recent collection of articles on collective identities in medieval Europe, several scholars stress the importance of space in the construction of identities. Tomaszek, for instance, analyses monastic identities and articulates that space is 'a factor playing a part in the construction of any monastic identity'.<sup>50</sup> In the case of monks, the space in which they lived – the 'spatial practice' – was the monastery. This space heavily determined their identities, as this is where they would spend the most part of their lives. In the same volume Rhys Roberts' contribution brings forward another aspect of group identities, which is the fact that groups of people in the Middle Ages are often indicated by their territorial background.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in designating groups there is at play a strong territorial component. As will be shown below, this also applies to the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. Although a general study on the relationship between (the representation of) space and group identity is still a desideratum, it can be assumed that there is a connection between space and group identities, and that chronicles should be seen as parts of discourses being able to create such group identities. Moreover, mentioning place names and other locations in a chronicle can be seen as a way of appropriating this location. When a reference

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<sup>49</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 182-183.

<sup>50</sup> Tomaszek 2018, 118ff.

<sup>51</sup> Rhys Roberts 2018, 270. Cf. Stein 2002, 231.

to a place is included in the chronicle, the author implicitly says: ‘this place is part of our history, it helps determining who we are.’

## Spatial Humanities

Before zooming in on the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, one field of research should be introduced, which is the emerging field of ‘Spatial Humanities’. Ever since personal computers have become part of our daily lives, scholars have sought ways in which computers can provide research tools to scholarship. Since the 1980s geographers have begun to use *Geographic Information Systems (GIS)*.<sup>52</sup> In the simplest explanation a GIS refers to computer software that allows you to assign points, lines and areas (often called ‘polygons’) to coordinates on a map with additional metadata.<sup>53</sup> As GIS software is able to communicate with large databases, it provides scholars with a powerful tool in doing quantitative research. In the words of Gregory & Geddes: ‘[...] a Geographic Information System is really a database for managing georeferenced data’.<sup>54</sup> GIS software has had a profound influence on the field of geography, but already in the 1990s social scientists pioneered in incorporating GIS’s in their research. Not surprisingly, these studies had a clear quantitative approach to history.<sup>55</sup> Increasingly, GIS software is being used by a wide range of scholars from different disciplines in the Humanities; the field of GIS research is now often called ‘Spatial Humanities’.<sup>56</sup> Although GIS has some clear advantages with regards to data visualisation, data structuring and incorporating a wide range of sources into a single dataset,<sup>57</sup> there are also some methodological problems which are hard to overcome. The most important problem is that a GIS has trouble dealing with non-binary data. Elements like vague borders or approximate dates are hard to define in a GIS.<sup>58</sup> In this paragraph, I will not be going into the methodological problems I have faced working with a GIS and how I have dealt with them. It would result in a meta-discussion, whereas the issue can be explained best when working on a concrete case, which will be the Utrecht chronicle manuscript (see Chapter 6).

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<sup>52</sup> Gregory & Geddes 2014, ix.

<sup>53</sup> Gregory 2005, 8-9.

<sup>54</sup> Gregory & Geddes 2014, xi.

<sup>55</sup> Gregory & Geddes 2014, ix.

<sup>56</sup> Gregory & Geddes’ collection of articles in 2014 was called *Toward Spatial Humanities. Historical GIS and Spatial History*. The 2018 volume by Gregory, DeBats & Lafreniere *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History* assumes the existence of a Spatial Humanities discipline.

<sup>57</sup> Gregory & Geddes 2014, xiv-xvi.

<sup>58</sup> Gregory 2005, 13, 33, 62.

### 3. The Utrecht chronicle manuscript

The Utrecht chronicle manuscript is kept under signature ‘VII F 5’ at Het Utrechts Archief (*HUA*, ‘Utrecht municipal archive’) in Utrecht, The Netherlands. Its contents are the following:

No.	Chronicle	Pages	Incipit
1a	World chronicle (beginning is missing)	1-35	<i>dopen als voorseit is ende opten selven dach een jaer dair nae maecte hij wijn van water.</i>
2	Lords of Arkel	36-42	<i>Inden jaer M CCC XCVI sterff Otto heer van Arkel die nae hem liet Jan sinen zoen die te ...</i>
1b	World chronicle (continued)	43-99	<i>Inden jaer hijr te voeren als men screeff M CCC XCIII quam biskop Frederick van...</i>
3	Counts of Holland	105-111	<i>Int jaer Ons Heren VIII<sup>C</sup> ende LXIII was die ierste greve van Hollant gheheten Diderick...</i>
4	Dukes of Cleves	112-116	<i>Helyas die ierste greve van Cleve ende quam uten eertschen paradise myt enen zwaen...</i>
5	Bishops of Utrecht	117-144	<i>WILLIBRORDUS was die ierste biskop tUtrecht ende was omtrent doemen screeff VI<sup>C</sup> ende...</i>
6	Dukes of Guelders	145-155	<i>In dien tiden dattie Roemsche keyseren ende conynghen van Vrancrijc een gheheten Kaelr...</i>
7	Bishops of Cologne	157-167	<i>Item te weten dattie kerck van Coelen ierst dat ghelove an nam bij toedoen ende prediken...</i>
8	Counts of Flanders	169-178	<i>JULIUS CESAR doe hi die Walen nederghetoghen had ende dat sticht van Trier...</i>
9	Dukes of Brabant	179-184	<i>KAROLOMANNUS die ierste vorst ende heer van Brabant ende van Haspengouwen.</i>
10	Bishops of Liège (beginning is missing)	185-204	<i>edel ende gheboirtich vol van allen duechden hi broch die heerlicheit an Tricht.</i>

Figure 1: overview of the contents of Het Utrechts Archief, VII F 5.

The extensive world chronicle with which the manuscript opens encompasses almost half the manuscript and is – besides the inserted Arkel chronicle – followed by as many as eight regional chronicles. As indicated in Figure 1, in its current state the manuscript is missing pages at both the beginning of the world chronicle and the Liège chronicle. How much text exactly is missing can be explained best when addressing the quire structure.

The manuscript currently counts 102 (medieval) paper folios (paginated 1-204) and measures around 213x142mm. In its current binding it also includes four modern flyleaves at both the beginning and end of the manuscript. Most gatherings are regular quaternions or ternions, although in the second half of the manuscript the gatherings become increasingly irregular. Between gathering thirteen and fourteen it is unclear whether the folio ‘page 191-192’ is part of the preceding or following gathering. In the quire formula below it is part of gathering fourteen. The quire formula states the quire number with, in Roman numerals

(superscript), the amount of bifolios. Any folio not part of a bifolio is designated with an Arabic numeral. Page numbers are added between brackets. The quire formula representing the current arrangement of gatherings is as follows:

1-6<sup>IV</sup> (1-96), 7<sup>II</sup> (97-104), 8-9<sup>IV</sup> (105-136), 10<sup>III+1</sup> (137-150), 11<sup>III+1+1</sup> (151-166),  
12-13<sup>III</sup> (167-190), 14<sup>III+1</sup> (191-204).

Some gatherings require additional explanation. The first six gatherings are regular quaternions, followed by a binion to complete the world chronicle. The Holland and Brabant chronicles are the only regional chronicles to start on the first page of a new gathering. Initially, the scribe decided to make quaternions again from the eighth gathering onwards. Yet, already at the tenth gathering this scheme is deviated from as this quire is a ternion with in its centre an added folio (page 143-144). As there is no loss of text, it is safe to assume a folio is added and not removed (in which case the gathering would have been a quaternion like the preceding gathering). The eleventh gathering is constructed like gathering ten (it also has an added folio in the gathering's centre), but it contains an extra folio at the gathering's end.<sup>59</sup> As said, in the book's current binding it is hard to distinguish whether the folio with page numbers 191-192 is part of gathering thirteen or fourteen. This folio lacks a stub as well. Apart from loss at the beginning, there is also text missing at the beginning of the Liège chronicle. The first mentioned bishop in this text is 'Amgondolphus', according to the numbering of bishops in the manuscript the thirteenth bishop of Liège. It may be assumed that originally there was an extra folio or bifolio in this quire between page 184 and 185. These would have formed the gathering's centre pages.

At several places in the manuscript medieval custods are still visible at the bottom of the page. These are the following: J II (p. 107), J III (p. 111), M III (p. 155), N I (p. 167), N II (p. 169), N III (p. 171). Assuming the scribe started counting with a gathering called 'A', it becomes clear that in its current state the manuscript is missing the first gathering. The manuscript now starts in the middle of a sentence narrating Christ's death. It would be safe to assume the original manuscript started with the Creation. It is now possible to reconstruct the original manuscript (see Figure 2).

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<sup>59</sup> Orthel claimed that the eleventh quire (the twelfth in her study, as she includes the flyleaves as a quire) was originally a quaternion with an added folio (page 165-166). As there is a stub between the empty page 156 and 157, containing the beginning of the Cologne chronicle, Orthel submitted that the original gathering would have been a quaternion. This is highly unlikely, since an extra page at this spot – right in the middle of a gathering, just before the beginning of a new chronicle – would only result in two extra blank pages. It makes more sense to see it as an addition, like in the tenth and fourteenth gathering. Cf. Orthel 1987, 5.

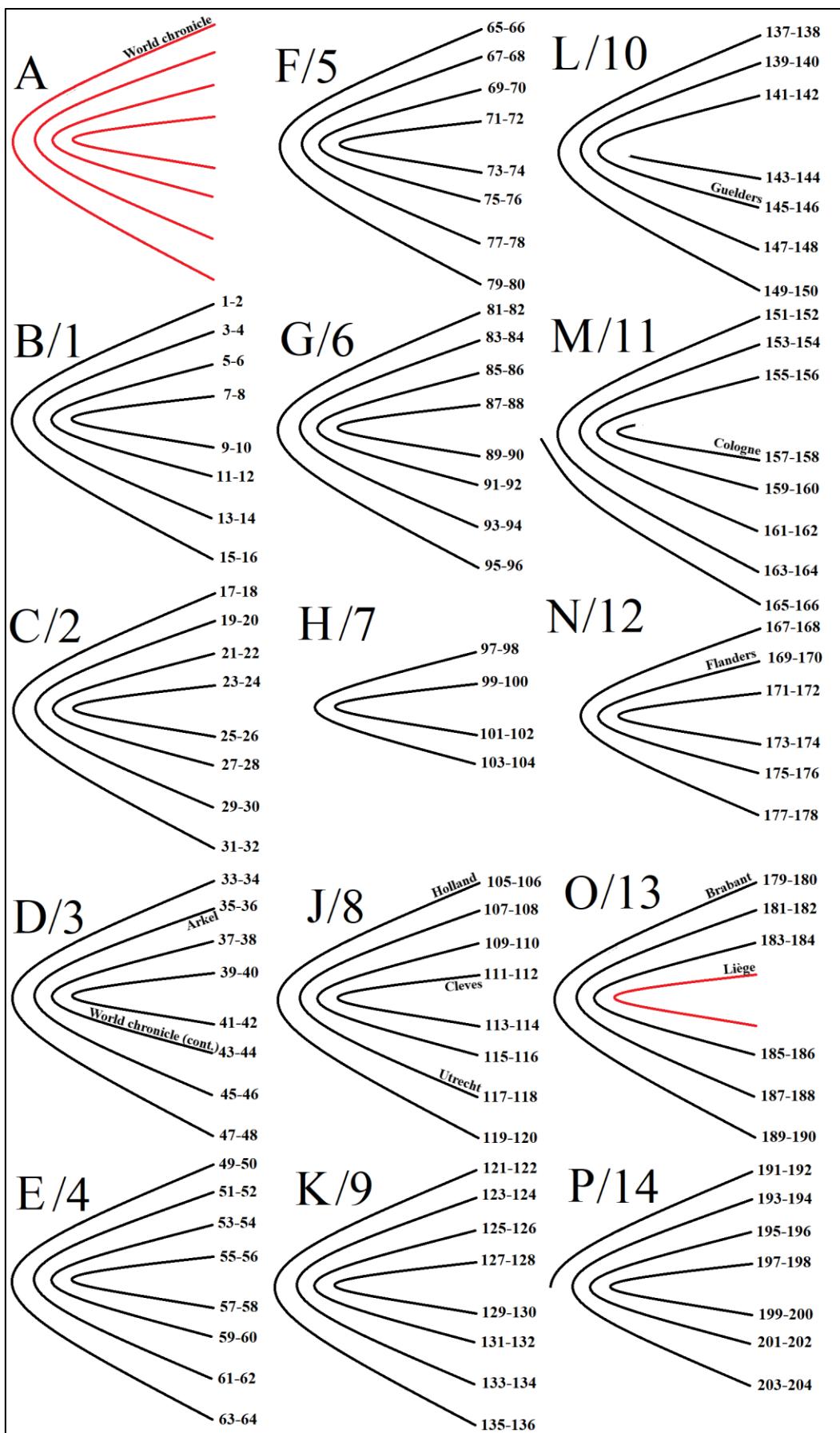


Figure 2: Quire structure visualised. Red lines represent reconstructed non-surviving bifolios.

The manuscript was copied by a single scribe who wrote in a *littera gothica hybrida*. In the Dutch context this script type is often called the *Netherlandish hybrida*, as it was used for writing many fifteenth-century Dutch vernacular books.<sup>60</sup> The scribe used a pencil with a relatively broad nib. He worked on the manuscript in three stages. First, he copied the main text which is written in a single column spanning the full width of the page. Next, he added the marginal text at the outer margins of each page. The marginal text is written down in the same level of execution and seems to facilitate selective reading of the manuscript. In this stage some text corrections were made as well. At times, when the scribe had forgotten a word somewhere, he added the missing word in the margin and marked the place where it should be inserted. The character he uses for these corrections is best represented by our modern quotation mark (""). Finally, the scribe also executed the rubrication of the manuscript.<sup>61</sup> Sometimes red ink is used as well for headings marking the start of a new chronicle. A second round of correcting the main text was also part of this stage's work, as sometimes full lines of text are crossed out with red ink and additional marginal annotations were added in red.

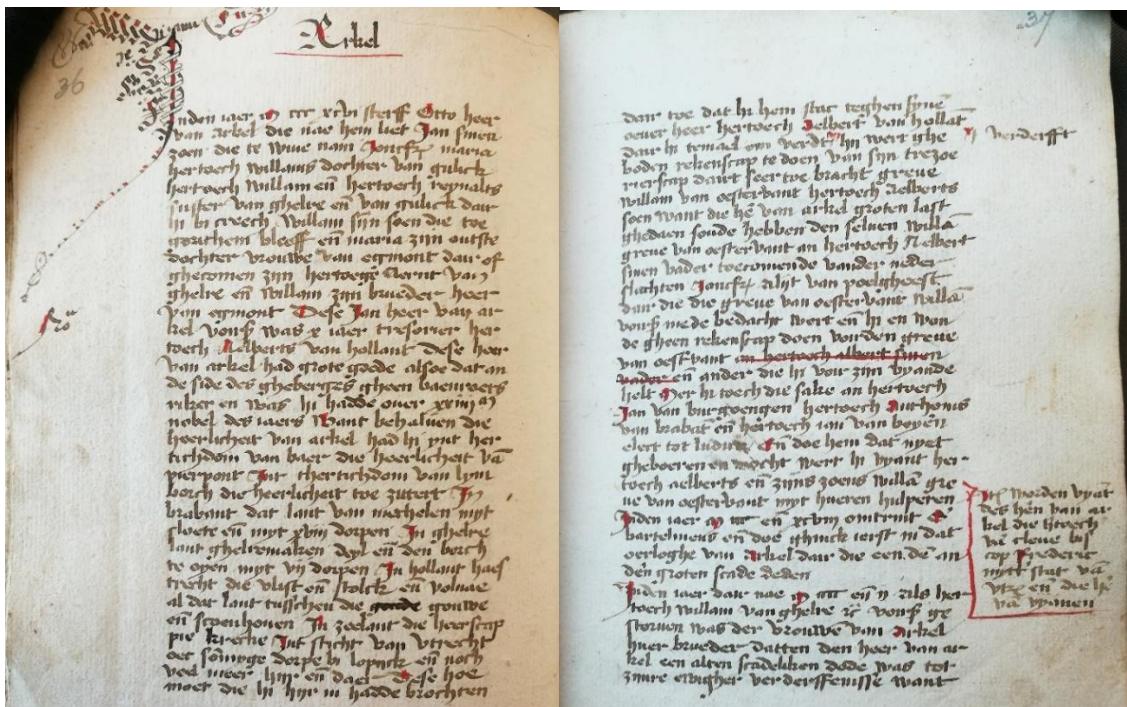


Figure 3. Two (separately photographed) pages of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript showing the beginning of the Arkel chronicle. The margin shows a ‘nota’ sign which was later rubricated, as well as the marginal addition ‘verderfft’ which ought to be inserted inside the third line of page 37. An entire entry is added in the margin as well. Text corrections are made with both black and red ink.

<sup>60</sup> See Derolez 2003, 165ff.

<sup>61</sup> The scribe forgot to rubricate several pages, e.g. page 6, 11.

The scribe's execution of letterforms is overall quite stable. This suggests that the scribe was a regular writer, or at least knew how to write in a consistent hand. In contrast, on almost every page corrections and revisions had to be made. Therefore, it seems that the scribe valued speed over tidiness when copying the manuscript. This is also visible in two individual scribal features. The most eye-catching scribal feature in the manuscript is the broad *n* which is occasionally used at line endings. Where the second stroke of *n* – this is the second minim – usually moves more or less horizontally downwards before ending on baseline (sometimes bending away in a right, upward movement), the broad *n* at line endings has a second stroke which travels a much larger horizontal span before going downwards in a direction equalling seven o'clock. Compare the 'normal' executions of the scribe's letter *n* versus the *broad n*:



Figure 4. 'normal *n*' versus 'broad *n*'.

A second eye-catching feature concerns the two different executions of *d* which can be found throughout the manuscript. The scribe uses both a looped and non-looped *d*, although the occurrence of looped *d*, a feature adopted from cursive script, is limited. Compare the two different executions of this letter:



Figure 5. 'normal *d*' versus 'looped *d*'.

Both the broad *n* and looped *d* suggest that the scribe wrote at a fast pace.<sup>62</sup> At line endings his hand sometimes already began moving towards the left before lifting his pen from the paper. This also occurs with other letters having minimis as final strokes.

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<sup>62</sup> Orthel typified it as 'haastwerk' [a rushed job]. Orthel 1987, 17.

The manuscript contains some annotations by a second scribal hand. In ten instances text is added in the margins or in the main text.<sup>63</sup> The eight marginal annotations are similar to the other marginal annotations. These may be ‘nota’ signs or short annotations. The first in-text contribution is the addition of the first name ‘Ludolf’ at the spot left open by the main scribe before the surname ‘vanden Veen’. Interestingly, the second in-text addition also relates to Ludolf vanden Veen. At the end of the Utrecht regional chronicle (p. 144) the annotator added a few lines:

*Item int jaer ons Heren doemen screef dusent vijfhondert ende acht den XVsten dach  
in december sterf die eerbaer prelaet Ludolf vanden Veen ende was doemdeken  
tUtrecht.*

[Item in the year of our Lord, when they wrote thousand five hundred and eight, on the fifteenth day of December the honourable prelate Ludolf vanden Veen passed away, who was dean at Utrecht.]

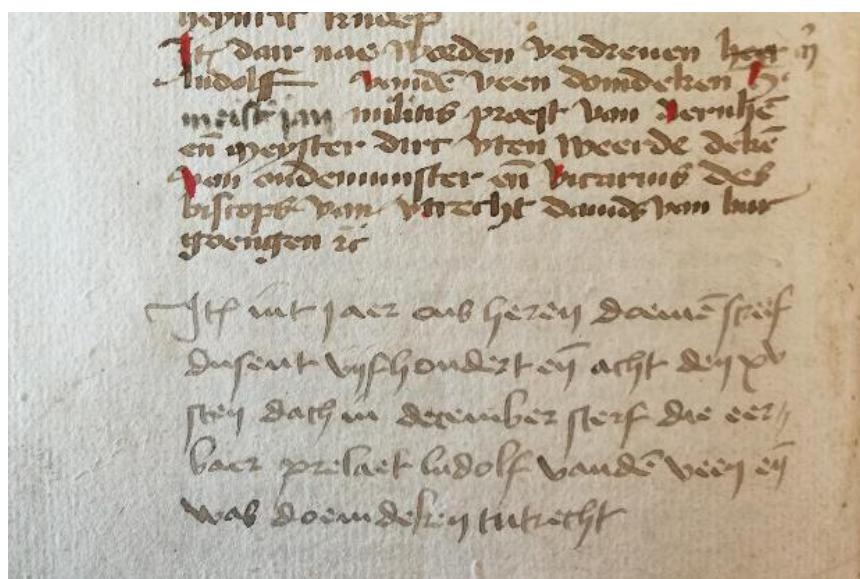


Figure 6. Annotation on the last page of the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle (p. 144).

The two in-text additions yield some of the scarce pieces of information about the afterlife of the codex. Shortly after the year 1508 the codex was in possession of someone who was well-informed about what happened in the city of Utrecht, or at least knew about the passing away of Utrecht dean Ludolf vanden Veen.

<sup>63</sup> Marginal annotations can be found on pages 6, 13, 15, 16, 17, 23, 27 and 28. On page 92 and 144 text is added in the main text.

Orthel in her study concluded that the paper used for the manuscript can be dated c. 1475 based on its watermarks, with a localisation of Utrecht.<sup>64</sup> In Piccard's watermark database, entry 108100 matches the Utrecht chronicle manuscript's watermarks, which is a gothic letter P with a height of 49mm and a width of 20mm.<sup>65</sup> The entry refers to a document from the Sint Jan (Utrecht) archive.<sup>66</sup>

The paper's edges were cut at least once, perhaps a second time with the book's rebinding. Not much of the pages' edges were cut off, as prickings are still visible on multiple pages. The scribe did not rule every line; the margins usually have four or five prickings. As the writing surface was paper, the scribe would have had assistance from the paper's chain lines to keep writing on baseline.

Decoration and illustration in the manuscript is scarce. At some pages the first letter is decorated, using the regular brown ink and the red ink used for rubrication. This decoration is executed large – it spans the height of up to ten lines of text, but it uses simple motifs. See Figure 3 above for an example.

The book has a modern binding with cardboard platters, which are covered with parchment and a paper motif (see Figure 7). Orthel mentions fragments of medieval manuscript pages being glued to the inner side of the platters, but this is not the case.<sup>67</sup> As the book has a modern binding (nineteenth or twentieth century), it would be unlikely that fragments of medieval manuscripts were pasted onto the modern binding with its rebinding.<sup>68</sup>



Figure 7. Front cover of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

<sup>64</sup> Orthel 1987, 6-7. She refers to Piccard with the reference 'nr. III 70, deel [volume] IV-2'.

<sup>65</sup> See <https://www.piccard-online.de/>. The website is hosted by the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart.

<sup>66</sup> A watermark closely resembling the Utrecht chronicle manuscript and the Sint Jan chapter's archival document is watermark 107170, found in a document from the Utrecht Domkapittel archive. This watermark is a little wider (22mm).

<sup>67</sup> Orthel 1987, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Orthel suggested a date for the modern flyleaves, which seem to be added with the rebinding of the manuscript. The flyleaves have watermarks reading 'Van Gelder Zonen', which is a company active from 1845 until today. See Orthel 1987, 7ff.

In the introduction the date of 1477 was mentioned for the manuscript. As said, the paper used for the manuscript can be dated *c.* 1475. Furthermore, the chronicle narrates events from the year 1477, providing a *terminus post quem*. As Orthel noticed, a *terminus ante quem* can also be given; the chronicle of Cleves mentions duke John of Cleves – who died in 1481 – being alive.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the chronicle was written between 1477 and 1481. In fact, this date can be set sharper. The compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript used documents from the city administration as sources for the world chronicle. One of these sources is the *Raads Dagelijksch Boek*.<sup>70</sup> This book was used for an item on the appointment of mayors ('borgermeysters') and mayor-aldermen ('overste oudermans').

Raads Dagelijksch Boek 1475-1481		Utrecht, VII F 5, p. 99
1474 (138rv)	Borgermeyster: - Jan over die Vecht - Jan van Veen Overste oudermans: - Jonge Jacob van Amerongen - Tyman Dedel	Item int jaer M CCCC ende LXXIII begeerde bisscop David van Burgoengen die vier overste te noemen ende sette doe Jan van Veen Jan van Over de Vecht borghermeisters Jacob van Amerongen Jacobsoen ende Tyman Deel overste oudermans.
1475 (3rv)	Borgermeyster: - Eerst van Drakenborch - Jan Knijff Overste oudermans: - Willam van Lochorst - Dyrck Bor van Amerongen	Item int jaer LXXV begheerde bisscop David voirseit etc als voirseit is ende sette doe Erst van Drakenborch Jan Knijff borgermeisters Willam van Lochorst Dirc Bor van Amerongen overste oudermans.
1476 (19r- 20v)	Borgermeyster: - Willem die Vosse - Gheryt van Rijn Ger ryts. Overste oudermans: - Frederick die Voicht - Gheryt uten Leen	Item int int jaer van LXXVI begerende als voirseit is sette die bisscop voirseit Willam die Vos Gherrijt van Rijn Gherrytsoen borgermeisters Frederic die Voecht ende Gherrijt ute Leen overste oudermans.
1477 (31rv)	Borgermeyster: - Jan Knijff - Henrick van Ghent Overste oudermans: - Willem van Lochorst - Dyrck Bor van Amerongen	Item int jaer van LXXVII begerende als voirseit is sette bisscop David etc Henric van Ghent Jan Knijff borgermeisters Dirc Bor van Amerongen ende Willam van Lochorst overste oudermans.

Figure 8. The mayors and mayor-aldermen in the *Raads Dagelijksch Boek* and Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

As Figure 8 shows, both the *Raadsch Dagelijksch Boek* and the Utrecht chronicle manuscript offer the same contents. Yet, the Figure above does not show that the 1477 account of the

<sup>69</sup> Orthel 1987, 17.

<sup>70</sup> This source was already indicated by Orthel 1987, 24. More on the *Raadsch Dagelijksch Boek* can be found in the next chapter.

*Raads Dagelijksch Boek* was reworked later on in 1477. Mayor Henrick van Ghent passed away on ‘Sunte Jacobs dach’ [St. Jacob’s day, July 25th] and is replaced by Peter van Zulen. Other mayor-aldermen were replaced as well.<sup>71</sup> See Figure 9.

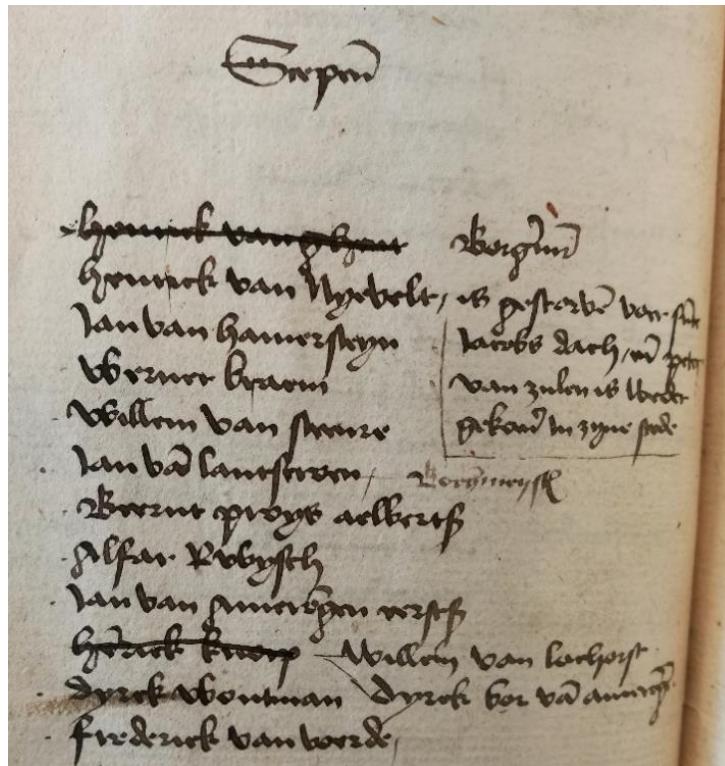


Figure 9. Detail from *Raads Dagelijksch Boek* 1475-1481, fol. 31v.  
At the top, mayor Henrick van Ghent is crossed out.

The replacement of mayors and mayor-aldermen in 1477 is not narrated in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. This means that the compiler consulted the *Raads Dagelijksch Boek* before the changes were made. These changes should be dated shortly after the 25th of July in 1477. As a consequence, the manuscript’s approximate date from 1477-1481 can be changed into a less approximate date of first half of 1477.

What happened afterwards with the manuscript is unclear. In or shortly after 1508 it would probably still have been in Utrecht, as the second scribal hand added information about Utrecht dean Ludolf vanden Veen. Since the book is still kept in Utrecht, I doubt that the book ever left the city, although there is no evidence to corroborate this. The codex was reconditioned somewhere in the second half of the nineteenth or twentieth century, but how the book came in possession of the Utrecht Archive remains unclear.

<sup>71</sup> Saint’s days are according to Groteweld 1960.

## Conclusion

The codicological description has revealed that the Utrecht chronicle manuscript was produced by a single copyist who wrote a collection of (mostly regional) chronicles. Although the manuscript is not in its original state, it is certain that the codex has been written *in one go*; it comprises of a single codicological unit. Throughout the manuscript the script has one level of execution and the same paper is used for all gatherings. The scribe wrote at a fast pace, but he did revise the manuscript in two stages. A second hand makes a small number of annotations in or after 1508.

Some important aspects of the manuscript have not yet been discussed. These are the scribe's identity, the intended audience and, naturally, the texts themselves. Since these aspects of the codex form the groundwork in assessing which identities are produced in the codex, they are analysed in a separate chapter.

#### 4. Analysis: author, compilation, sources and intended audience

The production of identities through a collection of chronicles is a communicative process in which a reader interacts with the manuscript. Yet, until now this communicative process has not been addressed. It is unclear how the manuscript could have been read or which groups of people were the intended audience. More fundamentally, a view should emerge on the manuscript's genesis. Who was the author, and how did he compile his manuscript? What sources did he use? Only after this information is gathered, a clear assessment can be made about how the manuscript is able to function, and, eventually, how it produces identities. This chapter will attempt to trace the possible author. Furthermore, the compilation, sources and intended audience will be discussed.

#### Author

The compiler (read: scribe-compiler) of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript probably lived in Utrecht. Not only did he use documents from the city's administration, the paper used to produce the manuscript contains a watermark that is also found in another Utrecht document. Furthermore, the chronicles' contents suggest that Utrecht was the compiler's home city. In various instances the description of an Utrecht location is very detailed. For instance, when a member of the Utrecht 'Lichtenberg' party is mentioned in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle on page 135, his house is situated behind the school at Janskerkhof [churchyard next to Janskerk in Utrecht].<sup>72</sup> Other examples are 'dat hoechuus van de Nuede dat ynt Glynt heet' [the corner house of Neude square which is called 'ynt Glynt'] (see Figure 10, p. 68) and 'Beernt Haserts huse' [the house of Beernt Hasert] (p. 30).



Figure 10. Corner house at Neude square, Utrecht. The sign reads 'T GLINDT / ANNO 1747'. A house with the same name probably stood right there in the late fifteenth century. Image via Google StreetView.

<sup>72</sup> 'her Jacob van Lichtenberch proest van *Sunte* Peters tUtrecht sijn huus [...] dat op *Sunte* Jans kerchoff aftert scoel staet' (p. 135).

It would be safe to conclude that the manuscript's compiler worked in Utrecht. Our scope can be narrowed down further using the manuscript's contents. For instance, one could look for biased reports on local conflicts. The late-medieval Low Countries were full of local conflicts or so-called *party strives*. The most fierce of these was without doubt the rivalry between the Hook and Cod parties in Holland. Other party strives occurred in Guelders ('Heekerens vs. Bronckhorsten'), Frisia and Groningen ('Schieringers vs. Vetkopers') and Utrecht ('Lichtenbergers vs. Gunterlingen/Lockhorsten').<sup>73</sup> Conflicts in Utrecht are present in abundance in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. Orthel has pointed out that the author in his reports usually sides with the Lichtenberg party, in particular the Proys branch of this family.<sup>74</sup> An example of this is a fight between the Lichtenberg and Gunterling parties in the 1420s. When the policies of the Utrecht bishop Zweder of Culemborg – who sided with the Gunterling party – are being described, his actions are called 'onwijssellic' [unreasonable, unwise]. Furthermore, he is criticised for the fact that he 'condet soe nyet regieren' [was not able to govern/manage it well] and 'maecte veel onleden inder stat' [caused much disharmony in the city] (p. 134). In this episode the beheading of Aernt Proys is the awful climax of the bloody encounter between both parties.<sup>75</sup> The mentioning of other events featuring the Proys family led Orthel to suggest that Rodolphus Proys, canon at the Dom chapter from 1463 on, could be the possible author of the chronicle.<sup>76</sup> Later on in her analysis she abandons the attribution of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript to him, as Rodolphus Proys himself is mentioned on page 81 in the chronicle; it would be highly unlikely for a medieval chronicler to speak about himself in the third person, she argues.<sup>77</sup> A legal act from the Dom chapter's archive written in Rodolphus Proys' hand from 11 May 1472 confirms that he was not the author, as this hand is very different from the manuscript's handwriting.<sup>78</sup> In the end, Orthel concludes that the author might have been a canon at one of the ecclesiastical chapters in Utrecht, holding an executive position and being in close contact with the Utrecht bishop David of Burgundy.<sup>79</sup>

In my view, Orthel is right in suggesting that the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript was a canon who worked at one of Utrecht's administrative bodies. There are

<sup>73</sup> See Hoppenbrouwers 2010b. The journal *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* devoted a special issue (132 (2)) to party strives in the late-medieval Low Countries in 2010.

<sup>74</sup> Orthel 1987, 54.

<sup>75</sup> See pp. 134-136.

<sup>76</sup> Orthel 1987, 52.

<sup>77</sup> Orthel 1987, 57

<sup>78</sup> The charter is kept in the Utrecht Archive, archive entry 216, no. 177.

<sup>79</sup> Orthel 1987, 57.

multiple arguments in favour of this attribution. First, a clerical background of the author is suggested by the numerous sections in the manuscript mentioning the foundation of monasteries or churches. Places of worship are mentioned over two hundred times throughout the manuscript. Second, the paper on which the chronicles were written has the same watermark as is found in an account book in the Sint Jan chapter's archive.<sup>80</sup> This suggests a link between the Utrecht chronicle manuscript and the Sint Jan chapter. Third, in the manuscript bishop David of Burgundy is mentioned twice as 'mijn heer' [my lord].

Des saterdages na onser vrouwen dach conceptio was die reyse voir Wijc vander stat van Utrecht dair ~~mijn heer~~ in lach David van Burgoengen (p. 76)

[The Saturday after the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was the journey to Wijk bij Duursteden from the city of Utrecht where resided ~~my lord~~ David of Burgundy]

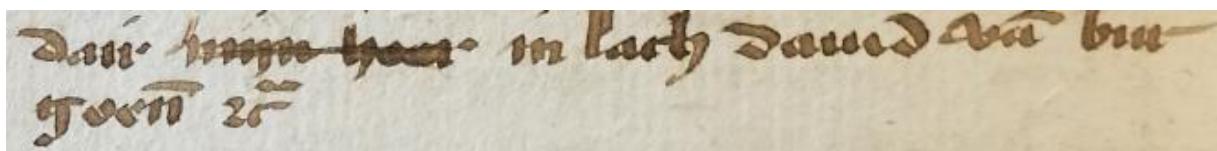


Figure 11. David of Burgundy mentioned as 'mijn heer' [my lord] on p. 76 of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. The words are crossed out.

Item inden jaer dair nae LXX mijn heer van Utrecht voirseit... (p. 91)

[Item in the following year 1470 my lord of Utrecht aforementioned...]

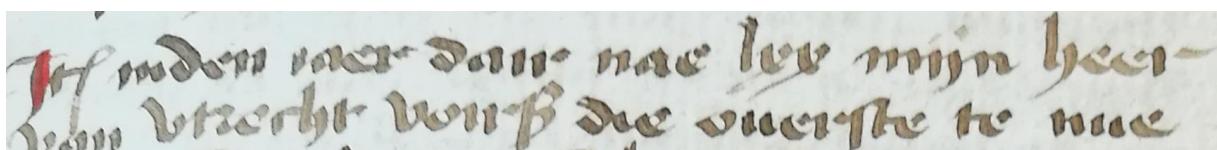


Figure 12. David of Burgundy is addressed as 'mijn heer van Utrecht' [my lord of Utrecht] on p. 91 of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

Although the two mentions are possibly only politeness formulae, they strengthen the idea that the compiler considered David of Burgundy his lord. Why 'mijn heer' was crossed out on page 76 is perhaps due to the fact that the scribe initially might have wanted to conceal his connection with the Utrecht bishop. In any case, the author was rather positive about his lord. In the Utrecht regional chronicle the bishop is introduced as 'DAVID natuerlicke soen des groten hertogen Philips van Burgoengen' [David, legitimate son of the great duke Philips of Burgundy] (p. 141). The fourth argument to ascribe the chronicle to an Utrecht canon is

<sup>80</sup> See the previous chapter.

related to the chronicles' sources. As was mentioned already, the compiler had access to at least two documents in the city's central administration, the mentioned 'Raads Dagelijksch Boek' and the so-called 'Buurspraakboek'.<sup>81</sup> In the *Buurspraakboek*, all decisions and ordinances (Dutch: 'buurspraak') made by the city council (Latin: 'civiloquium') are written down, which provided the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript with the perfect source for information on the local Utrecht history.<sup>82</sup> The *Raads Dagelijksch Boek* is a similar source, but more detailed, since this source registers everything ranging from the payments of debts and guardianship over children, to the appointment of mayors and mayor-aldermen and the banishment of thieves and lawbreakers.<sup>83</sup> These and the other sources of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript will be discussed below. For now, it strengthens the attribution of the manuscript to an Utrecht canon.

It has become clear that the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript was probably a canon working in the Utrecht city administration, or one of the ecclesiastical chapters. An abundance of archival documents has survived from these administrative bodies, which lead to an increased chance of finding the scribal hand of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, but, on the other hand, there is also the chance that a long search remains unsuccessful. Problematic in this respect is the fact that most archival documents are written in cursive scripts, whereas the Utrecht chronicle manuscript uses a hybrid script. A broad *n* at line endings and two forms of *d* are not much to work with when looking for a scribal hand in a voluminous archive. Yet, it should still be rewarding to at least explore some of the closely related documents in these archives.

The most direct link to the Utrecht chronicle manuscript would be the document written on the paper that has the same watermark. Possibly, the author wrote both the manuscript and the administrative document. This document is an account book from the Sint Jan chapter's 'Fabriekskamer' (*fabrica ecclesiae*). This part of the ecclesiastical administration had as its main task the care for the church building – in this case the Janskerk – and the church's inventory. When donations and regular income were not able to cover expenses, this body was allowed to organise an offertory or sell indulgences.<sup>84</sup> Record 162-5 of the 'Kapittel van Sint Jan te Utrecht' archive (no. 222) at the Utrecht Archive contains the accounts of the

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<sup>81</sup> Orthel 1987, 24ff.

<sup>82</sup> On 'buurspraak', see Benders 2004, 126ff. Cf. Kwakman 2005, 168. The books are kept at Utrechts Archief, 701 'Stadsbestuur van Utrecht 1122-1577', no. 16.

<sup>83</sup> Utrechts Archief, 701 'Stadsbestuur van Utrecht 1122-1577', no. 13.

<sup>84</sup> An introduction (in Dutch) to the organisation of the diocese Utrecht administration for non-specialists is Kuys 2004. For the *fabrica ecclesiae*, see Kuys 2004, 59ff.

*fabrica ecclesiae* for 1467-1479; it is a series of gatherings in folio format with a different scribe for each year. The watermarks from the Utrecht chronicle manuscript are – to state the obvious – found in the year 1475. As each yearly account starts with an incipit revealing who held the accounts for that year, this source would ideally provide the manuscript’s scribal name. The account for 1475 starts with ‘Recepta per me Jacobus de Driebergen in officio structure...’. However, Jacobus’ cursive scribal hand is not similar to the *hybrida* hand in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, see Figure 11. Jacobus de Driebergen uses many loops, whereas the Utrecht chronicle manuscript only scarcely has loops in *d*.

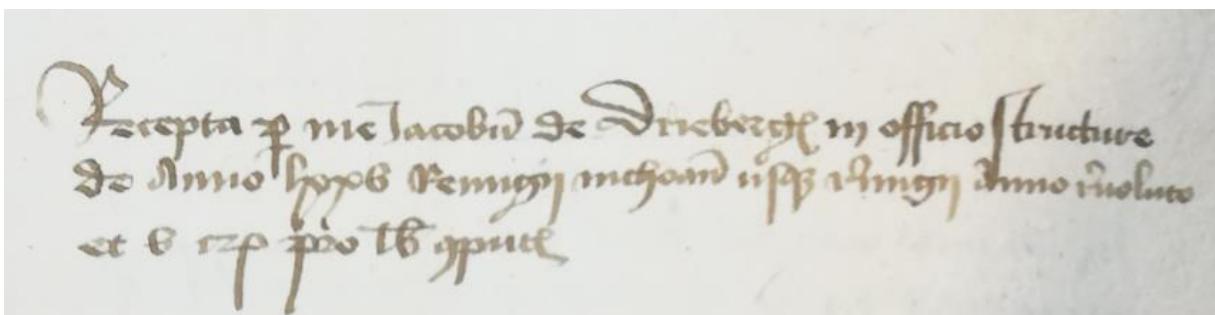


Figure 11. Incipit of the 1475 account of the Fabriekskamer.  
Het Utrechts Archief, archive no. 222, record 162-5.

A different account from this record looks more like the Utrecht chronicle manuscript’s script, although the script’s execution is still different. See Figure 12 for the 1477 accounts by Adam de Zulen, who writes in a script which has no looped ascenders, just like the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

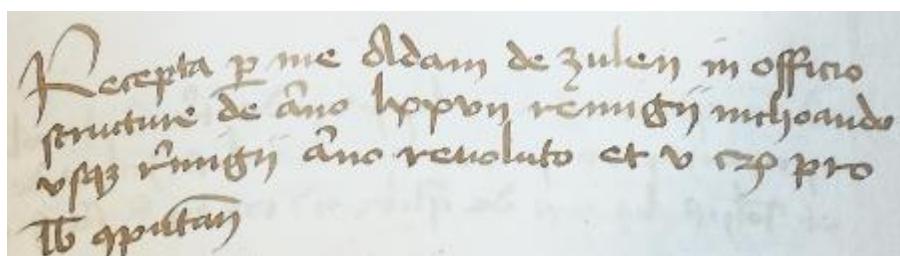


Figure 12. Incipit of the 1477 account of the Fabriekskamer.  
Het Utrechts Archief, archive no. 222, record 162-5.

The absence of looped ascenders alone in this account is not enough to ascribe the manuscript to Adam de Zulen. As said, both documents’ level of execution differs, resulting in different letter forms. In Adam de Zulen’s scribal hand, for instance, the letter *x* is written without lifting the pen’s nib from the paper, whereas *x* in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript consists of two strokes. These kinds of differences can also be found in *p* and *g*, amongst other letters forms.

The match between watermarks did not result in a match between scripts. Another possible match could be the scribal hands of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript and one of the Utrecht administration's sources used for the chronicles, which are the mentioned *Buurspraakboek* and the *Raads Dagelijksch Boek*. However, both of these sources are from different hands than the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.<sup>85</sup>

A systematic, thorough search through the Utrecht administration of the 1470s would have a considerable chance of finding the scribe of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. In this study, though, this kind of survey will not be conducted. Although it leaves an unsatisfactory feeling knowing that the scribe's identity is somewhere to be found in the Utrecht Archive, it is in the light of this study sufficient knowing that the scribe worked in the Utrecht administration.

### Compilation

The Utrecht chronicle manuscript contains ten chronicles, of which one is enclosed in the world chronicle. The territories being described cover large parts of the current Netherlands and Belgium, along with parts of Luxembourg and Germany (see Map 1 above). The interpolation of the Arkel chronicle right in the middle of the world chronicle will be discussed below. The ten chronicles vary in length. The shortest chronicles only cover a few pages, whereas the world chronicle was originally over a hundred pages long, see Figure 13.

No.	Chronicle	length in pages
1	World chronicle	93 [originally 16 more]
5	Bishops of Utrecht	28
10	Bishops of Liège	20 [originally 4 more]
7	Bishops of Cologne	11
6	Dukes of Guelders	11
8	Counts of Flanders	10
2	Lords of Arkel	7
3	Counts of Holland	7
9	Dukes of Brabant	6
4	Dukes of Cleves	5

Figure 13. The chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript sorted on text length in pages. The numbers in the first column refer to the manuscript sequence as indicated in Figure 1.

As becomes clear from Figure 13, the world chronicle is by far the lengthiest chronicle. Considering the regional chronicles, especially the histories of dioceses received a lengthy

<sup>85</sup> Orthel mentions that a book from the Paulusabdij at Utrecht was used by the compiler. From this monastery, many books have survived. I compared many (digitised) books from the Paulusabdij with the Utrecht chronicle manuscript's script, but this did not result in any match, as the Utrecht chronicle manuscript has a lower level of execution than most Paulusabdij books. Cf. Orthel 1987, 56. See also Van Engen & Van Vliet 2012.

treatment by the compiler. Since the manuscript was made in Utrecht, it does not come as a surprise to find that the most extensive regional chronicle is the history of the Utrecht bishops. In its original state the Liège chronicle would have been nearly as long as the Utrecht chronicle. It is possible that the prince-bishopric of Liège was of special interest to the compiler, or, alternatively, for whomever the compiler worked for. On another level, a simpler explanation may be that the compiler had found a lengthy source for the Liège chronicle, which resulted in a longer history of the Liège bishops. In any case, when importance is attached to text length in assessing the status of a chronicle within the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, the episcopal chronicles perform better than the histories of secular rulers.

On the other hand, when the sequence of chronicles is considered, a different image arises. The Utrecht chronicle manuscript starts with a world history and is followed by a series of regional histories. The sequence of a world history being written down in front of a (series of) regional chronicle(s), is common in medieval codices with Middle Dutch chronicles.<sup>86</sup> Yet, in this manuscript the sequence of regional chronicles seems arbitrary. The episcopal or secular chronicles are not clustered next to each other. A possible clustering of chronicles on their geography is also non-apparent. The first two regional chronicles (Holland and Cleves) are no adjacent territories, nor are the second and the third (Cleves and Utrecht). Alternatively, one could search for some kind of clustering of Northern and Southern territories. The first three regional chronicles are Holland, Cleves and Utrecht; these are relatively ‘Northern’ territories in the Low Countries. The chronicle that follows next is Guelders – already situated more Southern – and next are Cologne, Flanders, Brabant and Liège. These all belong to the Southern parts of the Low Countries. However, I doubt that the compiler would structure a manuscript according to this somewhat farfetched principle. It should be concluded, therefore, that the arrangement of regional chronicles in precisely this

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<sup>86</sup> In my unpublished MA Thesis *Middelnederlandse kronieken in verzamelhandschriften en verzameldrukken (c. 1280-1500)* this phenomenon is discussed in detail. Here, I will only list some examples of codices with world chronicles being followed by regional chronicles. Mentioned already were the Bergh chronicle manuscript 's-Heerenberg, Archief Kasteel Huis Bergh, 2095 (which actually doubles this sequence, first with the ecclesiastical histories and second with the secular history), Leiden, BPL 76 C and the 1480 printed edition of *Fasciculus temporum* (Johan Veldener, Utrecht). Other examples are the first part of the composite manuscript Brussels, KBR, 837-45 (World chronicle + Holland chronicle), Brussels KBR, 19607 (World chronicle + Brabant chronicle) and Haarlem, AVK, SA rood 21 (poem on the Nine Worthies + Holland chronicle + Haarlem chronicle). Naturally, also within a chronicle a chronicler might decide to start his regional history with a brief overview of the history of the world. On this, see Sleiderink & Visscher ‘Van Schepping tot Kruisdood’ (in preparation).

sequence is somewhat arbitrary. The order in which the chronicles are now presented may even be the order in which the compiler gained access to sources for his chronicles.

All chronicles are written in prose. The language of the entire manuscript is Middle Dutch, although throughout the manuscript an occasional Latin ‘veerse’ [verse] is added. Often, these verses are introduced with the Latin words ‘iuxta illud’. The verses sometimes refer to biblical texts, but often a source cannot be traced.<sup>87</sup> The names of persons mentioned in the chronicles are also Latinised sometimes. Whereas the Dutch name ‘Dirk’ is often written as ‘Dirck’ or ‘Diderick’, there are also several mentions of a ‘Theodericus’. The same applies for ‘Floris’, which becomes ‘Florencius’ in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle.

The individual items in the chronicles are usually short; most of them consist of two to five lines. The regional chronicles are structured around the succession of rulers, whose names are written in a larger script. See Figure 14. A structuring element is absent in the world chronicle. Often, world chronicles follow the succession of Popes or the German kings/emperors, but the Utrecht chronicle manuscript’s world chronicle lacks a structuring element like this. It probably best represents the interest of the compiler, which explains the relative emphasis on the foundation of religious orders, monasteries and events concerning the city of Utrecht.

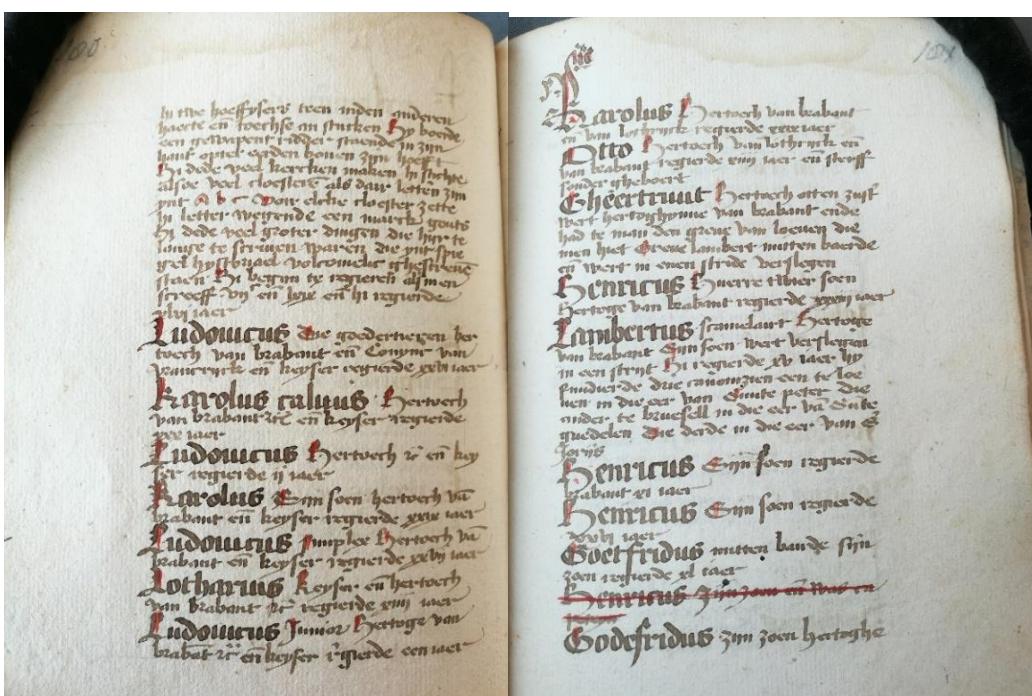


Figure 14. Page 180-181 of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript with some of the earliest rulers of Brabant.

<sup>87</sup> An example of a Bible quotations is ‘contere brachium peccatoris’ [Psalms 9:36, p. 45]. Quotation according to the Latin Vulgate and Douai-Reims Bible (<http://www.drbo.org/> [30-4-2019]).

Both the world chronicle and some of the regional chronicles contain marginal annotations. In the world chronicle these may be called ‘keywords’, relating to what is narrated in the text’s main body. Apart from ‘nota’ signs, the keywords are often names, sometimes combined with additional explanatory words like ‘hijlic’ [marriage], ‘starff’ [passed away] or ‘doot’ [death]. Marginal annotations are also present in some of the regional chronicles. The Holland, Cleves and Utrecht regional chronicles contain Roman numerals that track the sequence of the counts, dukes and bishops ruling these territories. At the end of the Utrecht chronicle three textual annotations may be noticed. From the Guelders chronicle onwards until the end of the manuscript marginal annotations become very scarce; they are only included when an error was made or in cases of a lack of clarity in the main text’s body.

### Sources

Orthel’s study lists what she argues to be the Utrecht chronicle manuscript’s sources. Since her study is unpublished and only available in the Utrecht Archive and the Utrecht University Library, I will reproduce her conclusions here:

<b>World Chronicle</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Johannis de Beke <i>Chronografia</i></li> <li>- “Dutch Beke” <i>Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant</i></li> <li>- Martinus Polonus <i>Chronicon summorum pontificum imperatorumque</i></li> <li>- Vincent de Beauvais <i>Speculum Historiale</i></li> <li>- Richardus Cluniaecensis <i>Chronicon</i></li> <li>- <i>Tielse kroniek (=Chronicon Tielense)</i></li> <li>- <i>Annales Tielenses</i></li> <li>- Willem van Berchen <i>Gelderse kroniek</i></li> <li>- Theodoricus Pauli <i>Chronicon Hollandie / Universale</i></li> <li>- Simon Mularc <i>De ortu Victoria et triumph domini Karoli ducis Burgundie moderni</i></li> <li>- Alphonsus (Lopez) de Spina <i>Fortalitium fidei</i></li> <li>- <i>Raads Dagelijksch Boek</i></li> <li>- <i>Buurspraakboek</i></li> <li>- <i>Archief Dom (RAU), inv. nr. 3155</i></li> <li>- <i>Archief bisschoppen (RAU), inv. nr. 491</i></li> </ul>
<b>Holland</b>	Johannis de Beke + Theodoricus Pauli
<b>Cleves</b>	Cleves chronicle in Dutch edition of <i>Fasciculus temporum</i> (Utrecht, Johan Veldener, 1480)
<b>Utrecht</b>	Johannis de Beke + Theodoricus Pauli
<b>Guelders</b>	Willem van Berchen + Henricus van Hervoorden + <i>Chronicon Tielense</i>
<b>Cologne</b>	<i>Cronica archiepiscoporum Coloniensium</i> (MGH edition)
<b>Flanders</b>	<i>Chronicon sancti Bavonis</i> + Dutch edition of <i>Fasciculus temporum</i>
<b>Brabant</b>	Short verse chronicle of Brabant (Ed. Serrure 1859-1860) + <i>Spiegel historiael</i>
<b>Liège</b>	Undiscovered source + Willem van Berchen (only the recent bishops)

Figure 15. Sources mentioned by Orthel 1987, p. 25-28.

This is an impressive list of sources, suggesting that the compiler had access to a large library of texts, some of them only a few years old. However, some of the texts in Orthel's list are not likely to be direct sources of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. The compiler at times copied a reference into his narrative that had been present already in his source text. Orthel sometimes mistakes this for a reference by the compiler himself. For example, when Orthel tries to trace the sources of the earliest events in the world chronicle, she concludes that Martinus von Troppau's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* is used. Considering the reference on page fifteen saying 'dit vijntmen inden cronyken van Romen' [this can be found in the chronicles of Rome], this is a safe attribution. Problematic, however, is that added to the list of sources is also a source that is cited by Von Troppau. On page nine of the world chronicle there is an item that ends with 'Hec Richardus', which is – according to Orthel – a reference to Richardus Cluniaecensis' twelfth-century world chronicle. In reality, it makes more sense that this source was used by Von Troppau and not by the compiler. Orthel nonetheless adds Richardus Cluniaecensis to the list of sources. I highly doubt that the compiler turned to Richardus' chronicle himself, especially when the same piece of information was already available in Von Troppau's chronicle. This example demonstrates that Orthel's list of sources is to be approached with caution. Some sources she lists were definitely used by the compiler, but others were probably not.

There are sources that can be ascribed with certainty. As mentioned above (and listed by Orthel), the compiler had access to the *Raads Dagelijksch Boek* and the *Buurspraakboek*, two accounts that were kept by the city administration of Utrecht. They are used for the final parts of the world chronicle.<sup>88</sup> Compare, for instance, the report on the banishment of Hendrik Trinde and Steven Witvoet from Utrecht:

<b>Raadsch Dagelijksch Boek 1460-1469, fol. 174r</b>	<b>Utrecht, VII F 5, p. 84</b>
Des dinxdaghes na Ponciani: Overdroegen die raide, out ende nywe, dat heere Henric Trynde, canonic t' Sunte Jan ende heere Steven Witfoet, vicaris in den Doem t' Utrecht om alles besten willen terstont uut der stad gaen ende bliven zellen, ende ene mile van der stadt bliven ter tijt toe hemluden die raide, out ende nywe, anders laten weten.	Inden selven jaer [1468, MV] op <i>Sunte Agnieten</i> avont wert her Heynric Trinde canonick <i>Sunte Jan</i> tUtrecht ende <del>steven</del> her Steven Witvoet vicarius inden doem die stadt verboden ende <del>her</del> dair uut gheleit

Figure 16. The banishment of Hendrik Trinde and Steven Witvoet from Utrecht in 1468, narrated in both the *Raads Dagelijksch Boek* and the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

<sup>88</sup> See footnote 82 and 83 for references to the primary sources.

The use of the *Buurspraakboek* as a source becomes certain from the final pages of the world chronicle, where two unrelated Utrecht events are narrated. These events appear in the same order in both sources.

<b><i>Buurspraakboek, 1473-1481, 10rv</i></b>	<b><i>Utrecht, VII F 5, p. 97-98</i></b>
<p>Des woensdages na Translacionis Martini  <b>Want Peter van Zulen, Jacob Borre van Amerongen, Gherit van Aemstel, ende Beernt van Everdingen</b> tot vele tijden ende plaatzen over den hoichgeboeren, duerluchtigen, ver mogenden forst den Hertoich van Bourgondien, ende over mijnen gnedigen here van Utrecht, ende oick over onsen raide ende singulaere personen van onsen raide, vele onduechdelike ende onware woerde ende sprake gehadt ende gevoert hebben, [...].</p> <p>Oick verbieden die raide, out ende nywe, <b>Peter Krom</b>, dyenre der heren van Breedrode ons stat [...].</p>	<p>Inden selven jaer LXXIII des woensdages den VII dach in julio worden mitter clocken uut die geluyt ende ve der stat geluyt ende dat ganse Sticht verboden duerende tot bisscop Davids van Burgoengen goetduncken <b>Peter van Zulen Jacob Bor van Amerongen Peter Crom Beernt van Everdingen</b> ende <b>Gherrijt van Aemstel</b> om dat si op bisscop David van Burgoengen gesproken hadden.</p>
<p><b>Want Philips Beernts. van Utrecht in verleden tijden een doetslach ghedaen heeft op Sunte Jans kerchof</b> binnen onser stat aen enen dienre des proists van Sunte Peter alhyr, [...].</p>	<p>Item opter selver tijt wert mede uitgheluut C jaer ende een durende † <b>Philips Beernts zoen van Utrecht om den dootslach die hi ghedaen had in voirtiden des nachtes op Sunte Jans kerchoff</b> hadde ghedaen.</p>

Figure 17. Two items from the *Buurspraakboek* and the *Utrecht* chronicle manuscript.

The compiler did not literally copy the events as they were written down in the *Buurspraakboek*, but rather turned them into smaller items. Whereas in the *Buurspraakboek* the sentencing of Peter Crom and four other Utrecht inhabitants is narrated in separate paragraphs, the compiler merges them into a single paragraph. Concerning the sentencing of Philips Beerntszoen, the compiler writes that Beerntszoen is banished for 101 years, whereas the *Buurspraakboek* does not mention this. It is well possible that the compiler had been present at the sentencing, or at least knew about it from an oral source.

Another source that was certainly used is a Guelders chronicle by Willem van Berchen. This author is explicitly mentioned at the beginning of the Guelders chronicle:

Dair nae, als men screeff M CCC ende XXXIX, wert greve Reynalt van Ghelre ende van Zutphen [...] ghemaect die ierste hertoeghe van Ghelre. Ende wantmen die geboirte ende gheslachten der vorsten die doe voir gheweest waren, ende huer namen, overmits der outheit vander tijt nyet en weet. Nochtan zijn zommighe dairmen off

weet, dair een goet man gheheten Willam van Berchhem, priester, uit mennigherhande boeken ende jeesten van landen sijn neersticheit toeghedaen heet, ende die bi een vergadert, als hier nae bescreven staet (p. 145).

[Afterwards, when it was the year 1339, count Reginald of Guelders and Zutphen was made the first duke of Guelders. And people do not know the birth and lineage of rulers that have been there before, and their names, because of span of time. Nonetheless, there are ones people know of, since a good man named Willem van Berchen, priest, has collected from many books and histories of lands with diligence what is described hereafter.]

Willem van Berchen was a priest from Nijmegen who is best known for his extensive Latin chronicle of Guelders titled *De nobili principatu Gelrie et eius origine*.<sup>89</sup> It is estimated that he passed away in 1481, so when the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript used his work, Willem van Berchen was still alive.<sup>90</sup> Although it would make sense to assume the long Guelders chronicle was used, it seems more probable that a shorter version of this chronicle, also by Van Berchen, was used. This is the *Cronica brevis illustrium ac magnificorum principum domus Gelrie*.<sup>91</sup> See Figure 18:

<i>De nobili principatu Gelrie (Ed. Sloet van de Beele 1870), p. 36</i>	<i>Cronica brevis (Ed. Sloet van de Beele 1870), p. 133</i>	<i>Utrecht, HUA, VII F 5, p. 147-148</i>
[...] Demum Henricus, comes, postquam comitatum Gelrie XXXII annis, in magno statu et honore, strenue gubernasset, annos Domini MCLXII, tempore dicti Fredrici magni, moritur et in moasterio Campensi, ordinis Cisteriensis, ad destrum latus a choro, luctuose sepelitur.	Henricus, filius Gerardhi, comes Gelrie tercius et Zutphanie, prefuit annis 32, temporibus Lotharii tercii, Conradi tercii et Fredrici primi, Rom. Imp. Obiitque a. D. 1162, in solempti monasterio Campensi, ordinis Cisterciensis, sepultus, cuius uxor erat Seynardis, Henrici, ducis Brabancie, filia.	HENRICUS greve van Ghelre ende van Zutphen greve Gherrijts zoen voirseit ende was in tiden keysers Lotharius die derde Coenrardi die derde ende Frederici die ierste alsoe ghenoemt. Ende sterff alsmen screeff M C ende LXII ende leyt int cloester te Camp van sunte Beernairts oerde begraven.

Figure 18. Henry I of Guelders in two chronicles by Willem van Berchen and the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

<sup>89</sup> This chronicle has been revised at least once by Van Berchen. The chronicle's first edition has been edited by Sloet van de Beele (1870), the second one by De Mooy (1950).

<sup>90</sup> Carasso-Kok 1981, 427.

<sup>91</sup> Ed. Sloet van de Beele 1870.

Both accounts by Van Berchen contain all the information that has been written down in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.<sup>92</sup> Yet, the brevity in both the *Cronica brevis* and the Utrecht chronicle manuscript make it more probable that the *Cronica brevis* was used.

In fact, more work by Van Berchen can be linked to the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, even suggesting that the compiler was in contact with Van Berchen himself. The Royal Library of Belgium (KBR) is custodian of a manuscript from the 1470s, owned and partly written by Van Berchen.<sup>93</sup> This Brussels manuscript contains Latin historiographic texts. An edition or facsimile of the manuscript does not exist. This hampers a thorough text comparison. Yet, there is compelling reason to assume the compiler used it. MeMO (*Medieval Memoralia Online*) lists the Domkerk in Utrecht as the original holding institution of the manuscript.<sup>94</sup> This means that the autograph by Van Berchen has laid under the nose of the compiler, right at the moment he worked on the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. Therefore, it seems almost certain that the Brussels manuscript was used. In fact, it would be very unlikely for the compiler to not have used this manuscript; as it was at his direct disposal. See Figure 19 for an overview of the contents of the Brussels manuscript:

No.	Title	Fols.
1	Chronicle of the St-Bertin monastery (Saint-Omer) <sup>95</sup>	fol. 16r-231r
2	Chronicle of Brabant	fol. 232r-310v
3	On the earliest history of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht	fol. 311r-313v
4a	Chronicle of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia	fol. 314r-354v
5	On duke Adolf of Guelders' imprisonment by Charles the Bold	fol. 355r-358v
4b	Chronicle of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia (continued)	fol. 359r-360v
6	Chronicle of Cologne	fol. 361r-379v
7	On the earliest history of the bishops of Utrecht	fol. 380r-389r
8	Chronicle of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia	fol. 390r-393r
9	Chronicle of Brabant	fol. 394r-395v
10	Chronicle of Utrecht	fol. 396r-398v
11	Chronicle of Egmond	fol. 421r
12	Chronicle of Culemborg	fol. 421v
13	Chronicle of Arkel	fol. 422r-439r
14	Chronicle of Heusden and Altena	fol. 440r-442v
15	Chronicle of Tongres, Utrecht and Liège	fol. 443r-458v

Figure 19. The contents of manuscript Brussels, KBR, 8037-50.

<sup>92</sup> The two other German emperors mentioned by both the *Cronica brevis illustrium* and the Utrecht chronicle manuscript are featured in *De nobili principatu Gelrie* a few pages earlier.

<sup>93</sup> Ms. Brussels, KBR, 8037-8050.

<sup>94</sup> MeMO is accessed via <https://memodatabase.hum.uu.nl/>. ‘Brussels, KBR, 8037-8050’ has text carrier ID 309.

<sup>95</sup> This text was not part of Willem van Berchen’s original manuscript. In fact, it was copied only after Van Berchen had passed away. It was bound in with the other texts by accident. Cf. Stapel & De Vries 2014, 108.

The chronicles of multiple territories in the Brussels manuscript are also present in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. The Brussels manuscript sometimes even contains two chronicles of a territory, which is the case for Brabant and Holland (including its related territories). An extensive Arkel chronicle can be found as well. There are several arguments to assume this manuscript was used by the compiler. First, the presence of the autograph manuscript by Van Berchen in the Domkerk, combined with the mentioning of him in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, fosters the idea that the manuscript was consulted by the compiler. If he knew Van Berchen's name, it would be highly unlikely that he did not know his work to be present in the Domkerk. Second, some chronicles in the Brussels manuscript share a visual presentation that is also used in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. These chronicles are the short Holland, Brabant and Utrecht chronicles.<sup>96</sup> The chronicles in both manuscripts are structured by the names of the rulers executed in a large script. Both manuscripts' rubricated titles share a similar decoration of the first capital's letter. See Figures 20 and 21.

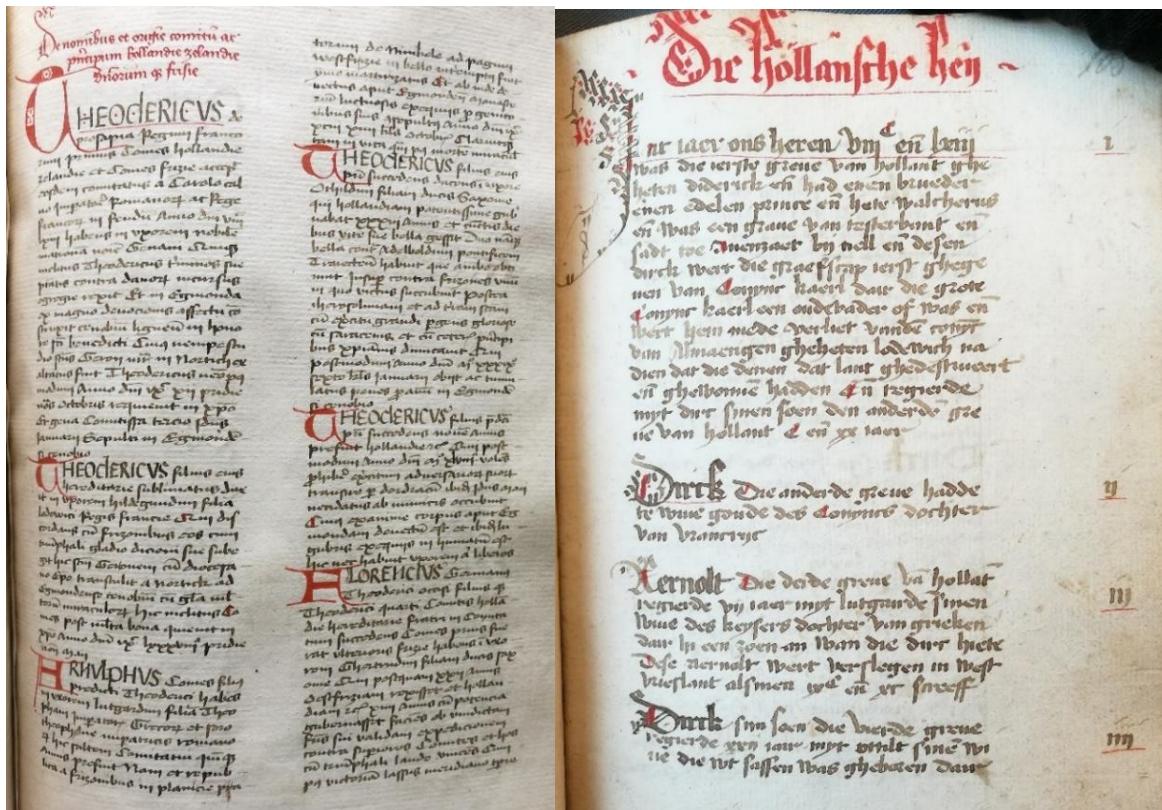


Figure 20. Left: fol. 390r of Brussels, KBR, 8037-50 with the first page of *De origine et nominibus comitum ac principum Hollandie, Zelandie dominorumque Frisie*. Right: p. 105 of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript with the first page of *Die hollansche heren*.

<sup>96</sup> Numbers 8-10 in Figure 19.

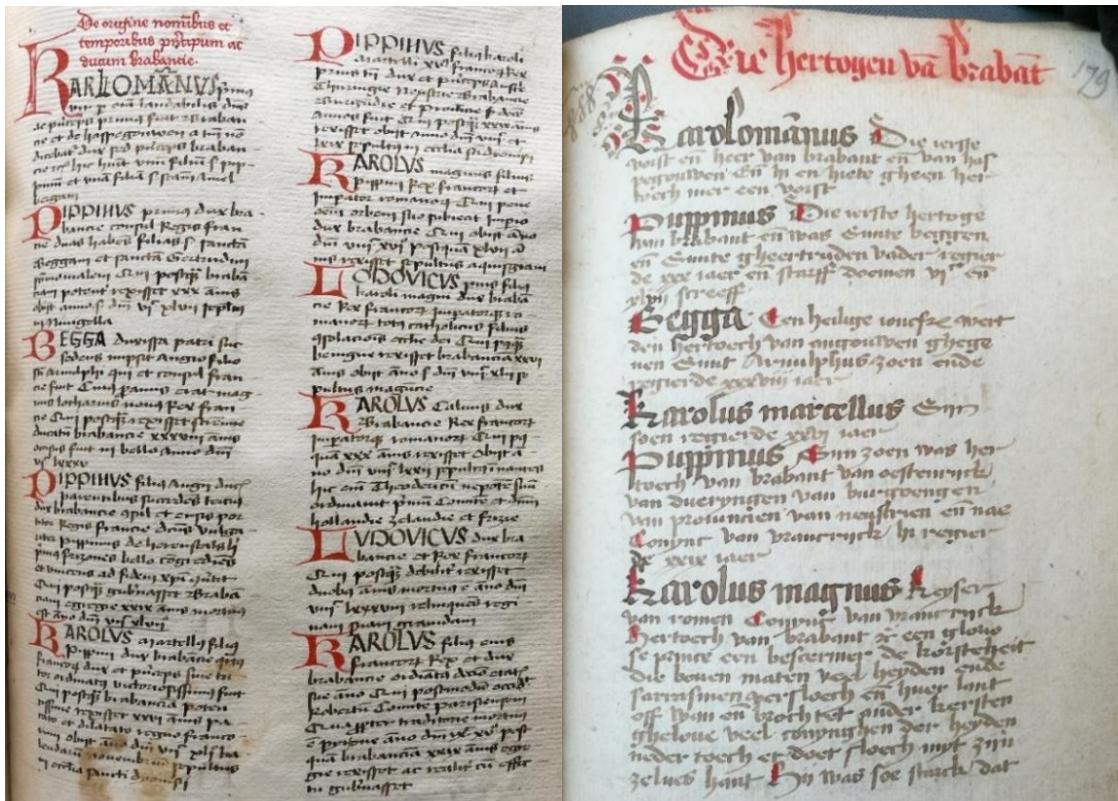


Figure 21. Left: fol. 394r of Brussels, KBR, 8037-50 with the first page of *De origine ducum Brabantie*. Right: p. 179 of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript with the first page of *Die hertogen van Brabant*. Note that the Utrecht chronicle manuscript skips the fourth duke of Brabant ‘Pippinus’.

Third, the succession of rulers in the Brabant, Utrecht and Holland chronicles are nearly identical. The only differences are the skipping of William III of Holland (Holland chronicle) and Pepin of Herstal (Brabant chronicle) in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, and the inclusion of Philip the Bold as duke of Brabant, who in reality never officially ruled this duchy.<sup>97</sup> The first two differences may be due to the sloppiness of the compiler.<sup>98</sup> Considering the inclusion of Philip the Bold: it is possible that the compiler borrowed this piece of information from the chronicle of Flanders, as in that chronicle Philip the Bold is said to have reigned Flanders for twenty years.<sup>99</sup> This number of regnal years is mentioned in the Brabant chronicle as well. The fact that the lineages of the Utrecht, Brabant and Holland rulers are

<sup>97</sup> Stein 2014a, 36.

<sup>98</sup> The compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript was especially sloppy when he copied the Brabant chronicle. Lambert I of Louvain, who is often called called Lambert ‘Stamelraet’ [‘the sputterer’], becomes Lambertus ‘Scamelairt’ [the ‘timid’, ‘modest’, but also ‘poor’ or ‘shabby’]. Moreover, scribal mistakes are plentiful. After Godfrey I, Henry I of Brabant was initially inserted, but after writing six words the compiler realised that he made a mistake and struck the words out. Furthermore, John I of Brabant was skipped and added after John III of Brabant. With a sign in the margin, the right place for this passage is indicated. Finally, the regnal years of John II of Brabant were initially mixed up with the regnal years of John III of Brabant. The mistake was repaired eventually.

<sup>99</sup> Philip the Bold is mentioned in the Flanders chronicle on p. 177.

identical in both manuscripts might be coincidental, but the inclusion of Ada of Holland as countess of Holland strengthens the theory that the Brussels manuscript was used. In most chronicles of Holland, for instance the *Chronographia* by Beke and the *Gouds kroniekje*, Ada is not listed as countess of Holland.<sup>100</sup>

Since most chronicles in the unedited Brussels manuscript are written in a fast, sometimes sloppy hand, heavily abbreviating, a thorough text comparison can due to time constraints not be conducted. For now, it is sufficient knowing that the compiler had access to this manuscript and borrowed its visual presentation and structuring of material. The way in which he compiled from this source requires a thorough, separate study. Yet, it can be concluded already that not all pieces of information in the Brabant, Holland and Utrecht chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript originate solely from the short chronicles in the Brussels manuscript. At times, regnal years, death years or places of burial are missing in the short Latin chronicles, but are included in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

It is likely that the compiler consulted (parts of) the manuscript by Van Berchen while he was still working on it. On fol. 360v, for example, Maximilian of Austria is mentioned as count of Holland. He officially became count of Holland after his marriage with Mary of Burgundy on the nineteenth of August 1477. This is a little later than the Utrecht chronicle manuscript's proposed dating – first half of 1477 –, meaning that not all texts in the Brussels manuscript were finished when the compiler consulted it. Maximilian of Austria is not mentioned in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

The connection between the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript and (the chronicles by) Willem van Berchen enables speculation about the network the compiler operated in. Stapel and De Vries have demonstrated that Van Berchen was part of a network with other historiographers like Theodoricus Pauli, Johannes a Leydis and possibly Johan van Drongelen (the commander of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht). They conclude that

This dialogue will certainly not have been limited itself to just three history writing enthusiasts, Leydis, Pauli and Berchen. Rather, it will have included other less well-known readers and writers as well; people who were part of a lively and growing group interested in (and capable of) history writing in the fifteenth-century Low Countries.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> For the *Chronographia*, see Bruch 1973; 1982. The *Gouds kroniekje* has not been edited in a modern scholarly edition yet. It was printed by Gerard Leeu in 1478. Used exemplar: The Hague, KB, 169 G 95.

<sup>101</sup> Stapel & De Vries 2014, 136.

It is likely that the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript was part of a network consisting of history writers like Van Berchen, Leydis and Pauli. The fact that he had access to the work of Van Berchen during his lifetime demonstrates that the compiler was in any case not far removed from this circle. Placing him in a network with Van Berchen, Leydis and Pauli would also explain the presence of the Arkel chronicle right in the middle of the world chronicle in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. Theodericus Pauli also incorporated a short Arkel chronicle in his *Chronicon Universale*.<sup>102</sup>

Orthel assumed that the compiler used different sources for every individual regional chronicle. As was demonstrated above, the possibility that sources (read: manuscripts) with multiple historiographic texts were used, should not be neglected. What is more, the compiler was not the first one who came up with the idea to copy a collection of chronicles. The Utrecht chronicle manuscript adheres to ‘the common pattern’ of copying a world chronicle followed by regional chronicles.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, it is not farfetched to assume he knew about other chronicle manuscripts. When one searches for fifteenth-century manuscripts in which histories of multiple territories from the Low Countries are included, two sources stand out. Both of them can be indirectly linked to the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. In the first place, this is the already mentioned Bergh chronicle manuscript.

The Bergh chronicle manuscript with signature ‘s-Heerenbergh, Archief Kasteel Huis Bergh, 2095 has recently been acquired by Huis Bergh. The manuscript was written between 1453 and 1461 and was probably ordered by the Lord of Bergh.<sup>104</sup> Bergh Castle is situated about 35 kilometres from Nijmegen – where Willem van Berchen resided – and fifteen kilometres from the town of Cleves, the former centre of the duchy of Cleves. Like the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, the Bergh chronicle manuscript is a collection of chronicles in Middle Dutch. See Figure 22.

‘s-Heerenberg, Archief Kasteel Huis Bergh, ms. 2095 (‘Bergh chronicle manuscript’)			
1	History of the popes (1r-42v)	7	Lords of Guelders (214r-222r)
2	Bishops of Cologne (49r-56v)	8	Lords of Holland (223r-224v)
3	Bishops of Liège (60r-74r)	9	Lords of Brabant (226r-231v)
4	Bishops of Utrecht (75r-90v)	10	Lords of Mark (232r-238v)
5	Bishops of Münster (91r-105v)	11	Kings of France (240v)
6	Popes and German kings (111r-212v)	12	Lords of Cleves (242r-244v)

Figure 22. Overview of the contents of the Bergh chronicle manuscript.

<sup>102</sup> Bruch 1931, 110.

<sup>103</sup> See footnote 86.

<sup>104</sup> Van Anrooij & Verbij-Schillings 2018.

The Bergh chronicle manuscript is the only source preserving a Middle Dutch chronicle of Cleves predating the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. Therefore, it is worth comparing the two Middle Dutch chronicles of Cleves. The opening lines of the Cleves chronicles in both manuscripts are very similar. Compare:

<b>'s-Heerenberg, AKHB, 2095, fol. 242r</b>	<b>Utrecht, HUA, VII F 5, p. 112</b>
<p>Die ijrste greue van Cleue was geheyten helias ende vuten eertschen paradise Den een swaen die dair had een gulden ketten an sijnen hals dair hij dat schip mede toich yn welke schip dese voirgenoemde greue helias was</p> <p>ind bracht on den rijn hier aff thent totten casteel nymmeghen dat doe hoirden totten lande van cleue In welken casteel was een edel Ioncfrouwe ende vrouwe des lands van cleue die dair stege vanden slait ind quam totten vurscreuen greue heliam</p> <p>Ind die greue helias nam dese ioncfrouw tot eenre huysfrouwen ende verwan all vyande des lands van cleue ende behield van allen sijnen will</p>	<p>Helyas die ierste greve van Cleve ende quam uten eertschen paradise myt enen zwaen die had een gulden ketten an zijn hals dair mede trekte hi een scip dair in was die voorseide greve Helyas</p> <p>ende bracht hem alsoe tot Nymmegen an dat lant dat doe Cleefs was dair wonde een vrouwe van dien lande opten borch ende die quam neder tot hem an dat scip ende leyde hem op dat huus dat huer was</p> <p>ende hi street myt huer ende halp huer dat lant behalden alsoe dat si hem trouweden ende nam hem tot hueren gheechten man</p>

Figure 23. The first sentences of two Cleves chronicles.

The similarities are striking. If the Bergh chronicle manuscript was not a direct source for this section of the Cleves chronicle, both manuscripts certainly based their narratives on the same source. Furthermore, also the sequence of rulers and the mentioned death years are exactly the same; the only difference is the mix-up of the names of Dirck and Aernt, in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript the sixteenth and seventeenth ruler of Cleves. This is probably one of the many scribal errors by the compiler. Furthermore, the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript did not copy all names literally; a name like ‘Derick’ was changed into ‘Dirck’, which was probably closer to how the compiler would usually write this name. In three instances, the Utrecht chronicle manuscript contains an epithet that is absent in the Bergh chronicle manuscript, which keeps a door open to the possibility that another source was used, or that the compiler complimented the narrative using another source.

Considering its contents, there are two other differences that should be mentioned. In the Bergh chronicle manuscript, the first duke named Aleph is told to have been married twice; first he married the daughter of the Roman emperor and after she had died, he remarried with a daughter of the duke of Burgundy. In the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, only

the second (Burgundian) wife is mentioned. In the light of the compiler working in the administration of a Burgundian bishop, it is striking that this information is left out. The second difference is the chronicle's ending. In the Bergh account, the children of Aleph (first duke of Cleves) are listed. In the Utrecht account this is replaced by a short report on the Soest Feud. This war is also narrated in the world chronicle and the Cologne chronicle in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript; it seems probable that the compiler copied it from one of those chronicles, probably the world chronicle.

Other regional chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript clearly do not originate from the Bergh chronicle manuscript. Obviously, the Flanders chronicle cannot derive from the Bergh manuscript, as a Flanders chronicle is absent in that manuscript. Furthermore, the Utrecht chronicle and the earlier discussed Guelders chronicle are certainly based on another source. Considering the fact that multiple chronicles in the Bergh chronicle manuscript were not used as a source for the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, the use of the Cleves chronicle from the Bergh chronicle manuscript has to remain hypothetical, in spite of the close resemblance. Possibly, the compiler consulted a now lost manuscript with the Cleves chronicle that was copied from the Bergh chronicle manuscript.

The second multi-text manuscript that has a potential link to the Utrecht chronicle manuscript is the Latin world chronicle *Florarium temporum*. This chronicle was written by the Eindhoven clergyman Nicolaas Clopper between 1468 and 1472.<sup>105</sup> This book includes – apart from the world history – the histories of many rulers and bishops from the Low Countries. It was written for Nicholas Clopper Sr, the author's father. Clopper Sr worked as an advisor and council member for the dukes of Burgundy. This was initially Philip the Good, and after his death Charles the Bold. Utrecht bishop David of Burgundy was the bastard son of Philip the Good and, thus, a half-brother of Charles the Bold. Since the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript worked in David of Burgundy's administration and Nicolaas Clopper Jr worked for the Burgundian dukes, it is hypothetically possible that the compiler had access to Nicolaas Clopper's work via the networks of their Burgundian rulers. Alternatively, Clopper and the compiler knew each other from their shared network of history writers. Stapel & De Vries have suggested the possibility that Clopper was part of the network of history writers mentioned above.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Pijls, Arts & Toorians 2018, also for what follows on *Florarium temporum*, Clopper Jr and Clopper Sr.

<sup>106</sup> Stapel & De Vries 2014, 134ff.

Recently, an edition was published of two *Florarium temporum* manuscripts that have been copied by Clopper Jr himself, or at least in his close proximity. The fully searchable edition makes it fairly easy to compare the Utrecht chronicle manuscript with the *Florarium temporum*.<sup>107</sup> The chronicle by Clopper is not like the Bergh and Utrecht chronicle manuscripts a collection of chronicles, but rather a compilation. Every chronicle has its own ‘lineage’, represented by a horizontal line in the manuscript (see Figure 24).

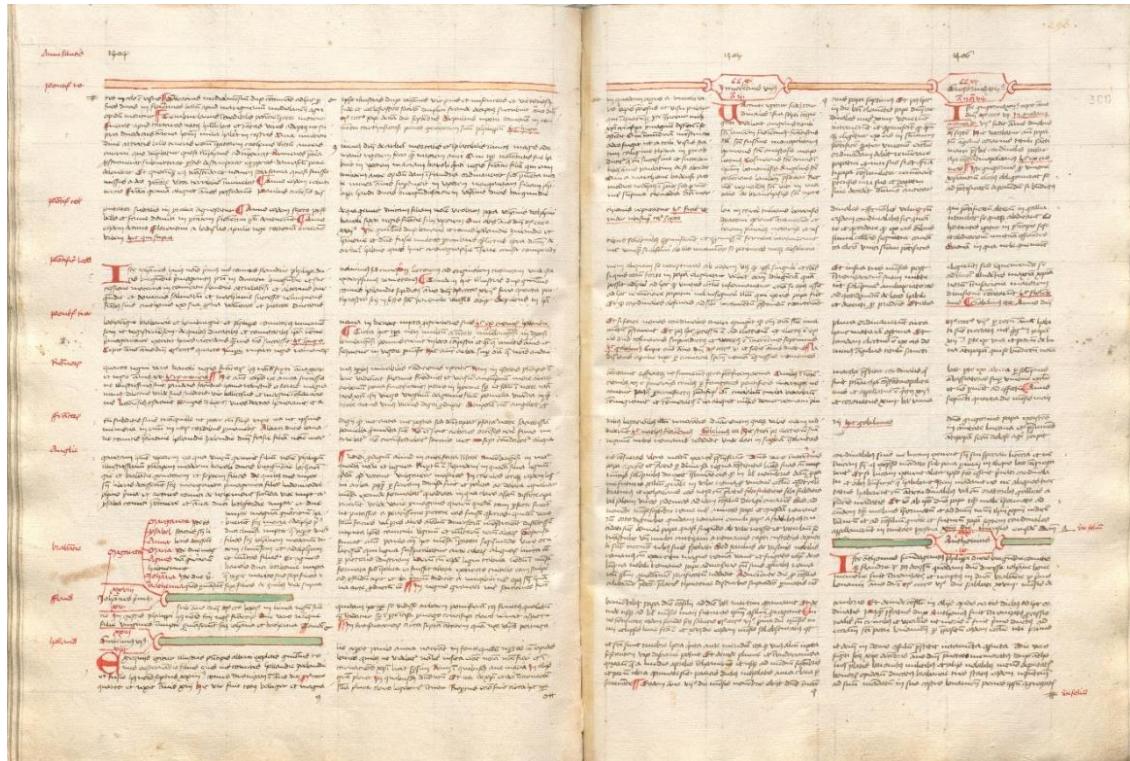


Figure 24. An opening of *Florarium temporum*. Duisburg, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Rheinland, ms. C X 2, fol. 297v-298r. In the outer margins, the ‘lineages’ are indicated. When an orange or green bar is present in the main text area, a new ruler from one of the lineages is introduced.

Almost every item in Orthel’s list is among the sources used by Nicolaas Clopper for his *Florarium temporum*. In the prologue Clopper explicitly mentions the chronicles by Martinus Polonus, Vincent de Beauvais and Alphonsus de Spina.<sup>108</sup> In addition, the chronicles by Johannes de Beke, Willem van Berchen, Henricus of Hervoorden and Theodoricus Pauli, together with the *Chronicon Tielense* and the Cologne source, have been indicated as

<sup>107</sup> The edition by Willem Erven is part of Pijl, Arts & Toorians 2018.

<sup>108</sup> Erven 2018, 5. Whether Clopper actually used Berchen and Pauli is up for debate. Cf. Stapel & De Vries 2014, 135: ‘Neither Pauli nor Leydis were explicitly mentioned by Clopper in his list of sources, but they would not have been the only contemporary texts Clopper failed to mention. It is equally uncertain whether the *Florarium temporum* used the *Chronicles of Guelders* by Berchen or only shared some sources.’

(possible) sources by editor Willem Erven.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript used *Florarium temporum*'s rich contents.

Especially the ecclesiastical lineages in *Florarium temporum* often correspond with the Utrecht chronicle manuscript's ecclesiastical chronicles. The following example from the Cologne chronicle shows an item from the Utrecht chronicle manuscript of which every piece of information is also included in *Florarium temporum*.

<b><i>Florarium temporum</i> (Ed. Erven 2018), p. 774</b>	<b>Utrecht, HUA, VII F 5, p. 158</b>
Iste sanctus Cunibertus septimus presul Coloniensis ecclesie cepit anno Domini DC XV, anno tercio Eraclii imperatoris, sedit annis XL.	CUNIBERTUS die sevende dese sat XL jaer in tijden Heraclius keyser
Hic beatus Cunibertus fuit filius Crallonis illustris ducis Lotharingie.	ende was des hertogen zoen van Doeringhen [ <i>changed to 'Lothringen' in the margin, MV</i> ]
Ipse quoque beatus Cunibertus nobilem illam possessionem, videlicet opidum Zusaziense, cum suo territorio ecclesie Coloniensi sua industria acquisivit.	dese myt zijnre nearersticheit creech die stede Zuzatielen
Extruxit quoque ecclesiam extra muros urbis Coloniensis in honore sancti Clementis martiris, conventumque fratrum ibidem instituit et possessionibus magnifice dotavit, que tandem mutato nomine sancti Cuniberti ecclesia nuncupatur.	dese stichte een kerck int convent der bruederen buten den muren van Coelen in die eer van Sunte Clement die nu hiet Sunte Cunibertus kercke ende aldair is hi begraven.

Figure 25. St. Cunibert in *Florarium temporum* and the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

As said, every piece of information on Cunibert's life in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript is present in Clopper's history. The only significant difference is that the starting date of Cunibert's reign has not been copied. In spite of the similarities, it is hard to assess whether the compiler actually used *Florarium temporum*. Clopper's chronicle often expands widely on historical events, whereas the Utrecht manuscript celebrates brevity. Also, Clopper wrote in Latin whereas the Utrecht chronicle manuscript is in Middle Dutch. This does not exclude the possibility that the compiler excerpted from *Florarium temporum*, but nor can it be confirmed.

It has been possible to ascribe the use of the Utrecht city's administration and Willem van Berchen's work as sources of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. However, for the Bergh chronicle manuscript and *Florarium temporum*, a similar relationship cannot be established yet. These sources will for now have to be regarded as 'potential sources'. On a more general

<sup>109</sup> The USB-stick in Pijl, Arts & Toorians 2018 contains a PDF-file with a twenty-five page bibliography with the sources Clopper used.

level, the search for the sources of a late fifteenth-century chronicle collection has proven to be intricate and laborious. The list of possibly consulted sources and texts seems endless, and often it cannot be identified from which source a narrative has been compiled.

### Audience

This study aims to research the manuscript's promoted identities, but so far, the focus has exclusively been on the production and compilation of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript; its possible audience should be considered as well.

As became clear earlier, at least one person read and used the manuscript. This person added a few notes, the name of Ludolf van den Veen in the running text and Van den Veen's death year. Other readers are not known and despite the compiler being part of a network of famous historiographers, the manuscript's contents have not been widely used by later historiographers.

Whereas the actual audience will remain in the dark for the largest part, a bit more can be said about the intended audience and possible functions of the manuscript. The intended audience is foremost an Utrecht audience. Not many readers from outside Utrecht would have been thoroughly interested in the local Utrecht events and quarrels that are written down in extensive detail. Moreover, even if they were interested in these events, the compiler assumed that his audience had a sound knowledge of the city's geography and their inhabitants. Not many outsiders would have been able to know where the house 'ynt Glint' was situated in Utrecht or who Beernt Hasert was and where he lived. On the other hand, the Utrecht chronicle manuscript covers the history of large parts of the Low Countries. It offers a treasury of information for those interested in one or multiple territories near their own living area. The combination of short items and marginal annotations functioning as keywords enables the manuscript to be used as a reference work. Considering the fact that the manuscript was written by someone who worked in the bishop of Utrecht's administration, it might have functioned as a reference work in the context of his rule.

The Utrecht chronicle manuscript was in any case not a showpiece copy. Although the compiler had a Burgundian as his superior, the manuscript is nothing like some of the well-known lavish Burgundian dedication manuscripts.<sup>110</sup> Its simple lay-out, paper as a writing surface, its humble and fast script and the lack of illumination rule out the possibility that the manuscript was intended as a gift to a specific person.

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<sup>110</sup> See Wijsman 2006.

## Conclusion

The Utrecht chronicle manuscript was assembled by a canon living in Utrecht. Apart from the extensive world chronicle he compiled, the ecclesiastical histories of Utrecht, Cologne and Liège are the manuscript's longest chronicles. The order in which the eight regional chronicles appear after the world chronicle, is arbitrary. The lay-out and structuring of information encourages selective reading of the manuscript. Searching for specific information is facilitated by the keywords in the margins and the execution in larger script of the names of rulers. The use of Willem van Berchen's work makes it almost certain that the compiler was part of a network of well-known historiographers from the Low Countries, centred around Willem van Berchen, Theodoricus Pauli and Johannes a Leydis. It is possible that the compiler used other extensive chronicle collections like the Bergh chronicle manuscript and *Florarium temporum*, but this should be studied in more detail. The compiler assumed knowledge of locations in the city of Utrecht with its audience.

What does this mean for the possible promoted identities in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript? A local, Utrecht identity is certainly evoked by mentioning very specific locations in Utrecht. Readers not from Utrecht would have encountered references to places they did not know. On another level, the manuscript's lay-out encourages selective reading. One the one hand, this facilitates comparison between chronicles – one may easily leaf back and forth. On the other hand, the encouragement of reading only parts of the manuscript lowers the necessity to read multiple histories. Depending on the mode of reading applied, a regional or supraregional collective memory may be fueled. Finally, assuming that the omission of the first, non-Burgundian wife of duke Aleph of Cleves was a conscious choice, this certainly helps establishing a more positive view of the Burgundian family. With the omission, Maria of Burgundy does not come across as Aleph's second choice anymore. Yet, this is not what should be regarded as something that helps to establish a Burgundian identity, as that relates more to the way in which the territories ruled by the Burgundians are addressed and represented in the manuscript.



## 5. Analysis: overlap and references

When a single text narrates the history of multiple regions in a positive manner, a supraregional identity may be produced by this text. Judging by their titles, the regional chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript confine themselves to just one territory. However, when multiple chronicles in the manuscript narrate a story in the same way, or when chronicles refer to other chronicles, comparison between narratives is encouraged. As a consequence, this may lead to the production of supraregional identities. Broadly speaking, this chapter's analysis studies the relationship between the individual chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. I will first discuss the occurrences in which two chronicles narrate the same event. In what follows, this will be called 'overlap'. Sometimes instead of overlap, the compiler added a reference; this will be discussed in detail as well.

### Overlap

The Utrecht chronicle manuscript is full of overlap. Often it occurs between the world chronicle and one of the regional chronicles. Every regional chronicle has at least one item that is also present in the world chronicle. One could, then, presume that the world chronicle was compiled from the regional chronicles, but the opposite is true. Multiple items in the regional chronicles are partly copied from the world chronicle. This can be demonstrated by a scribal correction in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle. Initially, in an item on Otto II of Lippe the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle contains the same date that was written down in the world chronicle: 'iersten dach van oest' ['first day of harvest month'].<sup>111</sup> This has been corrected into '28th day of July'. Compare the following:

World chronicle, p. 14	Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle, p. 124
dair wert verslegen die greve van Ghebre Ghijsbert van Aemstel Dirc vander Lippe des biscops brueder die proest van Deventer ende biscop Ot selve die zij zijn cruu myt zweerden off villeden ende versmoerden hem in dat veen.  Ende hijr bleeff mede doot die vermeerde ridder her Beernt diemen hiet die goede van Horstmeer  ende ghescieden opten iersten dach van oest.	dair wert verslegen die greve van Gelre Ghijsbert van Aemstel Dirck vander Lippe des biscuits brueder die proest van Deventer ende biscop Otto selve die si sijn cruu myt zweerden off willeiden ende versmoirden hem in dat veen  dit gheschiede opten <del>iersten dach in oest</del> XXVIII dach in julio

Figure 26. The heroic death of Otto II of Lippe, bishop of Utrecht, narrated in the world chronicle and the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

<sup>111</sup> Harvest month is August. See *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (<http://gtb.inl.nl/>) at 'oest'.

Perhaps an even stronger argument corroborating that the world chronicle was copied first, is the presence of forward references. These will be discussed below.

As Figure 26 also demonstrates, the compiler copied the item on the death of Utrecht bishop Otto II of Lippe almost word for word. Although exact verbatim copies of items are rare, an item is often clearly copied from another. Compare the following items on the death of Utrecht bishop Floris van Wevelinkhoven:

World chronicle, p. 35	Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle, p. 133
<p>Inden jaer M CCC XCIII op <i>Sunte Ambrosius dach</i> dat was doe goeden vridach onder tombocht sterff ten Herdenberch bispoc Florens van Wevelichoven</p> <p>ende leyt begraven tUtrecht inden doem voir dat hoge outaer nae dat hi zeer eerlic dat bisdom XIII jaer ende V maende gheregiert hadde.</p>	<p>Dese bispoc Florens regierde zeer wel hi starff ten Herdenberch opten goeden vridach onder tamborcht alsmen screeff M CCC ende XCIII</p> <p>ende wert begraven tUtrecht inden doem opt choer voir dat hoge outair. Ende hi regierde XIIIII jaer.</p>

Figure 27. The death and burial of Utrecht bishop Floris van Wevelinkhoven in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. Note that the regnal years differ a year.

The contents of both items show only minor differences. Some pieces of information have been put in a different order. Also, the wording is slightly different in the assessment of his reign ('zeer eerlic' vs. 'zeer wel') and the date (omission of '*Sunte Ambrosius dach*'). Somehow, the mentioned regnal years also differ. Thirteen years and five months in the world chronicle becomes fourteen years in the ecclesiastical chronicle of Utrecht. Perhaps this resembles the way the compiler rounds of numbers, but this difference may as well (again) be due to the compiler's sloppiness. Other almost identical items in both the world chronicle and a regional chronicle are the succession of Arnold of Egmond as duke of Guelders after Reginald IV's death (world chronicle p. 54 and Guelders chronicle p. 152), the election of David of Burgundy as Utrecht bishop (world chronicle p. 73 and Utrecht chronicle p. 141) and the Guelders-Cleves war (world chronicle p. 84 and Guelders chronicle p. 154).

The contents of different chronicles are usually in harmony. In the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle, Floris II of Holland is said to have helped in founding a monastery. He is addressed as being the eight count of Holland (p. 122), which is in accordance with the Holland regional chronicle, calling Floris 'die VIII greve' [the eight count] (p. 106). Some pieces of information can be found in three or even four chronicles. Similar reports on the Soest Feud (German: 'Soester Fehde') can be found in the world chronicle (p. 61), the Cleves

chronicle (p. 115-116) and the Cologne ecclesiastical chronicle (p. 166). The passing away of Philip the Good of Burgundy is featured in even four chronicles.

World chr. p. 81	Holland chr. p. 110	Flanders chr. p. 178	Brabant chr. p. 183
Inden selven jaer van LXVII op <i>Sunte Vitus</i> dach omtrent tusschen IX ende X uren inden avont sterff toe Brugge hertoech Philips van Burgoengen  nae dien dat hi hertoech van Burgoengen had gheweest omtrint XLVIII jaer ende hertoech van Brabant XXXVII jaer ende greve van Hollant XXIII jaer dair hi a VIII jaer te voeren ruwaert of gheweest hadde.	[...] ende regierde Hollant XXIII jaer dair hi acht jaer te voeren ruwaert off was of gheweest hadde dese had te wive Elizabeth des conyns dochter van Poirtegael  ende sterff int jaer M CCCC ende LXVII toe Brugge op <i>Sunte Vitus</i> dach tusschen IX ende X uren inden avont.	Hi was hertoech van Bergoengen omtrent XLVII jaer ende hertoech van Brabant <b>XXVI</b> XXXVII jaer greve van Vlaenderen [*gap*] ende greve van Hollant XXIII jaer dair hi acht jaer te voeren ruwaert off gheweest hadde.  Ende starff inden jair ons Heren M CCCC ende LXVII op <i>Sunte Vitus</i> dach te Brugge.	PHILIPPUS hertoech van Burgoengen des voirseide Philippus oems zoen wert hertoech van Brabant inden jaer M CCCC ende XXX ende regierde XXVII jaer.  Ende sterff etc als voirseit is.

Figure 28. Philip the Good of Burgundy in the world chronicle and the Holland, Flanders and Brabant regional chronicles.

There are some small differences between the accounts in Figure 28, but the individual items in each chronicle generally provide the same information. In the world chronicle the regnal years of Philip of Burgundy as count of Brabant and Holland are narrated after indicating the date and place of his passing away. In the regional chronicles it is the other way around. The first three accounts all name ‘*Sunte Vitus* dach’ of the year 1467 as his day of death, together with Bruges as the place in which he passed away. The Brabant chronicle omits this information and instead includes the quite unspecific reference ‘als voirseit is’ [as was mentioned before]. The scribe had written down the information concerning Philip’s death already three times, and may have decided to not include it a fourth time. By adding a reference this unspecific, the compiler probably assumed that his readers had read this piece of information before as well. Moreover, this is a possible indication that he expected his audience to read the manuscript from front to back.

The world chronicle mentions that Philip’s reign lasted thirty-seven years in Brabant and twenty-four years in Holland (eight of which as ‘ruwaert’ [‘regent’, ‘protector’]). The

Holland regnal years are copied in the Holland regional chronicle. In the Flanders chronicle both the Holland an Brabant regnal years are present. There is space left open to fill in the time span Philip had ruled Flanders. In the Brabant chronicle the Brabant regnal years have been copied erroneously, as here the regnal years are twenty-seven instead of thirty-seven.

When ‘regional’ matters are narrated in the world chronicle, one would expect them to be also present in one of the regional chronicles. However, often in these cases of ‘expected overlap’, the regional chronicle does not contain the world chronicle’s ‘regional’ matter at all. The party strife between the Hook and Cod parties in Holland, for instance, is mentioned on page 27 of the world chronicle; it is not mentioned in the Holland regional chronicle. The assassination of Aleid van Poelgeest – said to be the mistress of count Albert of Bavaria – and Willem Cuser in The Hague in 1392 (p. 34-35) is also missing in the Holland regional chronicle. This catches the eye, for both omitted events are present in most fifteenth-century chronicles of Holland.<sup>112</sup> Dissimilarities also occur between regional chronicles. In the Guelders chronicle Margaret, ‘greve Ghien dochter van Vlaenderen’ [count Guy of Flanders’ daughter], is mentioned as the second wife of Reginald I of Guelders (p. 149). In the Flanders chronicle (p. 175), Guy’s children are mentioned, but Margaret, countess of Guelders, is absent:

GWIDO van Dampier, sijn brueder, nam te wive een enige dochter van Bethunen, dair hi bi creech veel zoenen, als Robbert, Willam, Philips, Boudewijn, ende Johan, bisscop van Ludick; een dochter, hertoghinne van Brabant, een grevynne van Hollant, ende een gravynne van Gulick. Ende als dese (sijn vrouwe) ghestorven was, nam hi te wive des greven dochter van Lutzelenborch, dair bi wan Johan, den greve van Wilgen,<sup>113</sup> ende joncfrouwe Philippa, die sterff in des conyncs vangenisse van Vrancrijc.

[Guy of Dampierre, his brother, took as his wife a single daughter of Béthune, with whom he got many sons, like Robbert, William, Philip, Baldwin and John, bishop of Liège; a daughter, duchess of Brabant, a countess of Holland and a countess of Jülich. And when she (his wife) had passed away, he took as his wife the count of

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<sup>112</sup> For the assassination of Aleid van Poelgeest and Willem Cuser, see for instance *Gouds kroniekje*, fol. 82v; *Fasciculus temporum*, fol. 305rv; Bruch 1982, 237.

Luxembourg's daughter, with whom he got John, the count of Salins,<sup>113</sup> and lady Philippa, who died in the king of France's prison.]

In the Flanders chronicle, the children of Guy of Dampierre receive a relatively extensive treatment. Guy's daughters became duchesses/countesses of Brabant, Holland, Jülich and Luxembourg, but apparently Margaret, countess of Guelders, had been forgotten.

There are also historical events involving multiple territories that have been entirely left out. The Brabant Succession Wars (1356-1357), for instance, involved Brabant, Flanders and Guelders.<sup>114</sup> The world chronicle, Guelders chronicle and Flanders chronicle fail to mention anything on this succession war. Only the Brabant chronicle (p. 182) alludes to it, stating that:

JOHANNES, sijn soen, hertoech van Brabant, regierde XLIII jaer, desen hadden ontseit XVII vorsten, dair hi hem manlic teghen verweerde.

[JOHN, his son, duke of Brabant, rules for 43 years, seventeen sovereigns had opposed him, against which he defended himself manly.]

Especially interesting are cases in which two accounts both narrate a certain event, but in a different version or with different contents. These instances are numerous when year numbers are involved. The year in which Saint Willibrord of Utrecht is said to have lived is 694 in the world chronicle (p. 6), though it is 696 in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle (p. 117).

Differences like these are probably unintentional, and may be due to the compiler's lack of skill with numbers. At times he misreads the minims for the Roman numeral two (II) as five (V). In the world chronicle Utrecht bishop Rudolf van Diepholt dies in the year '[M CCCC] LII' (p. 68), but in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle this is 'M CCCC ende LV'.

Occasionally even three separate dates are mentioned for a single event. Jacqueline of Bavaria, countess of Holland, is said to have died on 'Sunte Victoers avont' [October 10th] in the Holland chronicle (p. 110). In the world chronicle, not one, but two other dates are mentioned:

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<sup>113</sup> A medieval county or lordship of 'Wilgen' did not exist. As it turns out, Wilgen should have read Salins, a former lordship in modern-day France, close to the Swiss border. In Latin, this lordship was often designated as 'Salinis'. Probably, the compiler-translator in his source misread Salinis for 'salix' or 'salignus', the Latin words used for a willow tree. In Middle Dutch, a willow tree is a 'wilge', 'wilgijn' or 'saligneus'.

<sup>114</sup> Boffia 2004, 3.

Int jaer XXVI op *Sunte* Dyonisiusdach sterf te Teylingen, te drie uren nae middach,  
vrouwe Jacob van Hollant, hertoech Willams dochter van Hollant, die dair voor  
geboren wert doemen screef M CCCC ende een, ende sij sterff op *Sunte* Meertens  
dach inden somer (p. 59).

[In the year 1426 on St. Denis' day at Teylingen, three hours after midday, lady Jacqueline of Holland passed away, duke William of Holland's daughter, who was born in 1401, and she died on St. Martin's day in summer.]

That the compiler occasionally misread a Roman numeral is sloppy, but understandable. Yet, these dates are indicated by a saint's name. Apart from the puzzling and erroneous inclusion of Saint Martin's day in summer [July 4th], the difference between Saint Denis' day [October 9th] and Saint Victor's night [October 10th] signals that a different source was used for the world chronicle and the Holland regional chronicle. Confronted with multiple dates for a single event, the compiler did not harmonise the two items.

It would have been confusing for a medieval reader to find out that a single historical event happened on different dates throughout the manuscript. There is, however, also incoherence on another level, that is, concerning the rulers of territories. In the world chronicle the Battle of Baesweiler is narrated. According to the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, duke 'Wenselijn van Brabant' lost this battle and was captured (p. 30). A duke 'Wenselijn' of Brabant is absent in the succession of rulers in the Brabant regional chronicle. In fact, his name is not even mentioned in the chronicle. Wenceslaus I, duke of Luxembourg, was married to Joanna of Brabant,<sup>115</sup> but the Brabant chronicle's item on the fifty-one-year reign of Joanna is so short – it counts a mere ten words – that Wenceslaus' role in Brabantian history remains in the dark. Here, the manuscript's possible function as a reference work fails to fulfil its purpose.

The differences between two accounts of the same historical event are not only factual. Sometimes there is disharmony in tone as well. When a difference in tone is noticeable, this always seems to involve the episcopal city of Liège. The first example features the world chronicle and the Guelders regional chronicle. It concerns the foundation of the Monnikhuizen monastery in Arnhem by Reginald II of Guelders:

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<sup>115</sup> Blockmans 1980, 205.

World chronicle, p. 24	Guelders chronicle, p. 150
Inden jaer M CCC XLV off dair omtrent stichte hertoge Reynolt die eerste hertoghe van Gelre dat cloester buten Aernhem Monichusen <b>omden groten nederslach ende scade die hi dien van Ludick ghedaen hadde.</b>	REYNALDUS die anderde soe ghenoemt greve Reynalts soen voirseit <i>ende</i> was die ierste hertoghe van Gelre <i>ende</i> stichte dat carthusier cloester te Monichusen in tiden keyser Lodewicx die vierde.

Figure 29. The foundation of Monnikhuizen in Arnhem by Reginal II of Guelders.

Whereas the Guelders regional chronicle merely mentions that Monnikhuizen ('Monichusen') was founded by Reginald, the world chronicle contains a sentence explaining why the monastery was founded: 'omden groten nederslach ende scade die hi dien van Ludick ghedaen hadde' [for the major slaughter and damage he caused on those of Liège]. The sentence seems to suggest that Reginald had to make amends for the fact that he harmed the people of Liège, making it a less neutral assessment of Reginald's deeds. It makes sense that the sentence is absent in the Guelders regional chronicle, as it would potentially damage the reputation of Guelders its rulers.

Another difference in tone is found between the world chronicle and the Liège chronicle. The narratives contain an extensive episode on the destruction of Liège by Charles the Bold, both of which are very negative about Charles' actions. See Figure 30 for a selected passage from the item on the destruction of Liège:

World chronicle, p. 82	Liège chronicle, p. 204
Dair nae inden jaer van LXVIII des sonnendages op <i>Sunte Symon</i> inden dach quam hi weder voir Ludick anderwerff <i>ende</i> becrachtichde die stat noch weder dair groten scade ghesciede  an live <i>ende</i> an goede  want nae dien dattie stat noch anderwerven uit gheslegen <i>ende</i> beroefft was wertse op <i>Sunte Brichus</i> dach an ghesteken <i>ende</i> bernde drie dage lanck dair na worden alle die vrouwen die stadt verboden	Dair nae inden jaer M CCCC LXVIII des sonnendages op <i>Sunte Symon</i> <i>ende</i> inden dach quam noch weder voir Ludick <i>ende</i> quam dair in tot sinen wille <i>ende</i> becrachtichde die stat anderwerff dair noch meer <i>ende</i> groten scade <i>ende</i> jamers ghesciede  an lijve <i>ende</i> an goede an gheestelike personen an weerlike an wive <i>ende</i> an kijnder an allen kercken <i>ende</i> goetshusen [...]  <i>Ende</i> na dien dat hi dese stadt aldus anderwerven uit gheslegen <i>ende</i> beroefft hadde <b>en wast hem noch nyet ghenoech</b> mer hi liet die stat an steken op <i>Sunte Brictius</i> dach <i>ende</i> wert dat meeste deel verbernt. <i>Ende</i> drie daghe dair nae worden alle die vrouwen die stat verboden.

Figure 30. Report on the second attack on Liège by Charles the Bold.

In the world chronicle, Charles is said to have caused great damage 'an live *ende* an goede' [to lives and possessions]. In the Liège chronicle this is expanded by also having affected

clerics, worldly people, women, children, churches and other houses of worship. Afterwards, both narratives reveal that the city was plundered and burned down by Charles. The Liège chronicle emphasises the horrific implications of the arson by writing ‘en wast hem noch nyet ghenoch, mer hi...’ [and this was not enough for him, as he...]. Even more than in the world chronicle, the account in the Liège chronicle wanted to make sure the reader understood that the attack on Liège by Charles the Bold should be condemned.

Although there are some overlapping episodes with differences in tone and contents, ‘real’ contradictions are absent. For example, there is no episode in any text in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript submitting that the Liège people caused the raid by Charles the Bold themselves. As has been demonstrated, the different chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript are not harmonised at times. However, the instances in which this happens are minor, and are often due to the compiler’s failure to be consistent.

## References

When analysing the relationship between the different chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, the most interesting category of references to study concerns references to places within the codex, ‘internal references’. References to texts outside of the codex, ‘external references’, are interesting as well, but to a lesser extent useful to gain knowledge of the codex’s ‘performance’ as a multi-text manuscript. External references can be used better to study the use of sources and the intended audience. Nonetheless, both types of references will be discussed in this section, since they have the same basic function, which is to refer to another piece of text.

External references are plentiful in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. They always refer to a certain book, text or genre. Note that the presence of an external reference not necessarily means that the mentioned book or text was used as a source. Recall the ‘hec Richardus’ reference which was discussed above. External references can have many functions. References to specific books can function as justifications for the information that is narrated. Furthermore, they encourage further reading in the book that is referred to. An example of this type of reference can be found on page six, when an item on the Anglo-Saxon history writer Bede finishes with the sentence ‘alsoe gescreven staet int spigel historiae ynt XXIII<sup>te</sup> boec’ [as is written in the 24th book of ‘*Spigel Historiae*’]. Literary historians specialising in Middle Dutch literature will immediately recognise this as a reference to Jacob

van Maerlant's thirteenth-century world chronicle *Spiegel Historiael*, though it is more likely that the Latin original by Vincent de Beauvais (*Speculum historiale*) is meant here.<sup>116</sup>

Occasionally, a general reference to chronicles or (old) books is added: ‘sic scribitur in cronicis’ (p. 3-4) and ‘nae datmen in ouden boeken vijnt’ (p. 145). The author assumed that his readers would know where to find extra information about what he just had written down for them. The reason as to why references of this type are added, is clarified by the author himself. A lengthy enumeration of the deeds of Utrecht bishop Frederick of Blankenheim (p. 133) ends as follows:

...ende noch meer, dat te lanc te scriven wair, ende men inden croniken wel vijnt.

[...and even more, that would be too long to copy, and which one surely will find in the chronicles.]

By adding a reference that basically says ‘there is more to know on this subject, just not here’, the scribe tells the readers that he has more knowledge on a certain topic or historical event, but has chosen not to write it down for reasons of brevity. Yet, he does encourage them to go search for the information elsewhere.

Besides references to books, texts or chronicles in general, the scribe also refers to authors, often history writers. These names of the authors are often accompanied by the title of a text, though sometimes the reference is just to ‘the work by him’. Willem van Berchen has already been discussed above. Other examples are ‘Athanasius bispop van Alexandrien die Quicumque valt salvus esse maecte’ [Athanasius of Alexandria who made *Quicumque valt salvus esse*] (p. 2), ‘Petrus Comestor die scolastica historia maecte’ [Peter Comestor who made *Scholastica Historia*] (p. 12) and ‘Henricus van Hervoirden een groet hystorimaker’ [Henry of Herford a great history writer] (p. 145). Perhaps the authors are added to give the references to texts some authority, or demonstrate that the scribe was a knowledgeable man. Alternatively, he might just have considered it important to mention these persons in his chronicles, as they are a part of history as well.

The Utrecht chronicle manuscript contains two types of internal references, those to things that have been mentioned earlier, and those to pieces of information that are described further in the manuscript. The majority of references relate to something that has been written down a few sentences earlier. Words like ‘voirseit’ [said earlier], ‘voirscreven’ [written

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<sup>116</sup> A second and third reference to this book can be found in the world chronicle ‘item de eo in speculo historale liber XXVI capito XXVI’ (p. 10) and the Brabant chronicle ‘Spiegel Hystoriael’ (p. 180).

earlier] or ‘voirgenoemd’ [mentioned earlier] indicate that something has been narrated already. For instance, in an item on Baldwin VII of Flanders (p. 172), the length of his reign (eight years) is mentioned twice. The second time a ‘voirscreven’ is added. These short-distance references are not very relevant for the analysis of the manuscript’s function as a collection of texts; they will not be discussed in detail.

Some references span more pages in the manuscript. Mentioned above in the section on overlap was the item on Philip the Good in the Brabant chronicle, where the scribe added a reference to something he had already written down three times. I have found three other instances of ‘long-distance’ references backwards. The Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle contains a few sentences on the death of Floris V, count of Holland. At the end of this passage, the scribe refers back to the world chronicle (p. 20) and the Holland chronicle (p. 108) using the words ‘als voir van greve Florens gescreven staet etc.’ [as has been written down earlier on count Floris] (p. 127). This reference is not very specific in where one should look. The compiler assumes that his readership either had already read the passage in the world chronicle or the Holland chronicle, or, alternatively, that they would know how to effectively navigate to the right section.

The Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle also refers back to the world chronicle (p. 93) when the escape from prison by the Brederode nobles and Jan van Amerongen is mentioned. Here, the scribe makes explicit *how* one is able to find the information. One needs to look for the same date. The words used are:

Dese voirscreven heren, ende Walraven *etc.*, quamen uter vanghenisse, ende Jan van Amerongen, als voirseit is, op dese datum, zuect dair (p.143).

[These lords, mentioned earlier, and Walraven *et cetera*, got out of prison, and Jan van Amerongen, as has been noted earlier, on this date, look there.]

A third reference to something mentioned earlier is part of an item on the destruction of Liège by Charles the Bold. In the Brabant chronicle, the scribe writes that ‘hi wan Ludick twewarff, ende verdestrueerdet als voirseit is’ [he conquered Liège twice, and destroyed it, as has been said earlier] (p. 183). Ironically, a little later in the manuscript in the Liège chronicle the story is extensively narrated again. Nonetheless, the reader is advised to leaf backward. By not mentioning in which chronicle one should search, he probably assumed that his readership would start looking in the world chronicle. Note that the compiler again uses a date and not a page number to refer to the right place where the information can be found.

Four times a sentence in the world chronicle refers to something further down in the manuscript. This demonstrates that the inclusion of a series of regional chronicles was not just an afterthought; it was already an intended part of the manuscript from the moment he had only just started writing. The first ‘forward reference’ can be found on page eight. It is the most puzzling one:

Nota van den greven van Holland vijndi nae op hem selven ghescreven, biden biscopen.

[Note: on the counts of Holland you will find hereafter on their own, at the bishops.]

It is unclear to what this sentence refers. The scribe directs his readers to a section further down in the manuscript that narrates the history of the counts of Holland and is situated in (or near?) a section on bishops. In the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, the chronicle on the counts of Holland is the first chronicle after the world chronicle, but this is followed by the Cleves chronicle. Only thereafter a chronicle on the Utrecht bishops follows. Perhaps the compiler had originally planned to include a combined history of the counts of Holland and the Utrecht bishops, like Johannes de Beke’s *Chronographia*. Eventually, however, the counts and bishops received an exclusive treatment in a separate chronicle.

A reference to the Cologne ecclesiastical chronicle can be found on page 46 of the world chronicle. When Sigismund of Luxembourg is crowned German king, Dietrich II von Meurs sings his first Mass at Cologne. This is mentioned only briefly in the world chronicle, but as the scribe mentions:

Dit staet ook hijr nae ghescreven, opter tijt dat die bispop van Coelen sterff voirgeseit etc. (p. 46)

[This is also written down hereafter, at the time/date that the bishop of Cologne died, as was said earlier *et cetera*.]

The reference backward (‘voirgeseit’) at the end of the sentence does not refer to an earlier mention of either the bishop or the German king, though the same information can be found some thirty pages further in the world chronicle (p. 77) and in the Cologne chronicle (p. 166). Again, the chronicle in which the information should be sought is not made explicit, although it is likely most readers in search for information on a Cologne bishop would start with the Cologne ecclesiastical chronicle.

The third reference does make explicit in which chronicle to look. When the world chronicle narrates that Utrecht bishop Rudolf van Diepholt passes away, the item on page 69 ends with:

Zuect voirt van hem hijr nae, dair vanden biscopen van Utrecht staet op hem selven.

[On him, look further down, where the bishops of Utrecht stand on their own.]

The fourth forward reference can be found in the world chronicle on page 77-78. It is the final sentence of an item on the capture of duke Arnold of Guelders by his son Adolf of Guelders. The full item reads:

Inden jaer M CCCC LXV IX dage in januario venck hertoge Adolph jonghe heer to  
Ghelre hertoech Aernt sinen vader dat hem qualic verghinck; bij desen woirden  
naebescreven vijntmen den datum vanden jaer dat dit ghesciede.

[In the year 1465, 9 days in January, duke Adolf, young lord of Guelders, captured duke Arnold, his father, which fared badly for him; at these words described hereafter one finds the date of the year that this happened.]

The sentence refers to the Guelders chronicle, in which both dukes feature (p. 153). It is well possible that this reference – again – was erroneously copied from the compiler’s source, as the exact date Arnold of Guelders was captured is mentioned right at the beginning of the item. The manuscript does not show any evidence of the date being added at a later stage. See Figure 31.

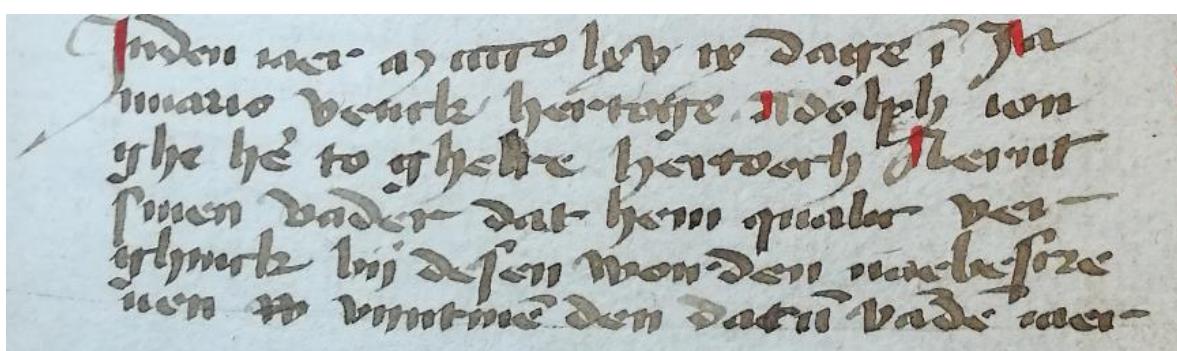


Figure 31. The capture of Arnold of Guelders by his son Adolf in the world chronicle.

Apart from the fact that the date is already mentioned in the world chronicle, the promise that one finds the date on a different place in the manuscript is not kept. In the Guelders chronicle the date is missing. The Guelders chronicle does mention the date that Arnold is released from

prison ('Sunte Thomas dach 1471'), but in the world chronicle this event is only mentioned multiple sentences after the sentence containing the reference.

## Conclusion

Relatively much attention has gone to contradictions, differences and disharmony between the individual chronicles in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. Yet, the text collection forms a unity. It should be stressed that for every difference in overlapping narratives, there are perhaps as much as ten instances in which two narratives provide exactly the same information. Striking discrepancies between two chronicles are absent. Their absence is perhaps due to the set-up of the regional chronicles. Because they are often very short, narrating not much more than the succession of rulers and one or two episodes from their lives, there is less chance that serious dissent occurs between two chronicles within the manuscript. The number of episodes that can be coined *heritage* – intentionally biased reports to mythologise one's own past – are limited in the short regional chronicles. Potentially sensitive historical events, like the Brabant Succession War, are obscured or entirely left out of all narratives. All of this contributes to the manuscript's coherence.

Moreover, the four references to chronicles further down in the manuscript demonstrate that already in an early stage of the manuscript's production, it was the scribe's intent to write a world chronicle followed by a series of regional chronicles. As has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, the order in which these regional chronicles are added does not follow a clear pattern or plan. Despite some of the references being puzzling or even erroneously copied from a source, they are functional. By adding them, readers were to realise that the histories included in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript are related.

The coherence of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript should not obscure the fact that each chronicle is able to function independently. The compiler could have saved much paper and time by not fully writing out several episodes over and over again. Nonetheless, he repeated pieces of information sometimes up to four times; he made sure it was possible to learn about the history of a single duchy/county without the need of reading all the other chronicles. In this sense, the manuscript has a layered performance and function. At the same time a chronicle operates inside a web of interrelated texts, but stands on its own as well.

By studying the Utrecht chronicle manuscript as a multi-text codex, this chapter's analysis has demonstrated that a supraregional identity is promoted in the manuscript. Besides indications that the compiler assumed his readers would read the manuscript from cover to cover, the harmonised narratives and references stimulate reading the manuscript as a single

unity, rather than a collection of individually operating texts. The fact that the inclusion of regional chronicles was planned and not an afterthought contributes to this idea. However, the manuscript is able to instigate regional identities as each chronicle is able to operate by itself. However, due to their brevity, the produced regional identities in the short regional histories are not very strong.

## 6. Analysis: represented space

In the previous chapters, multiple dimensions have been discussed: a strong focus on Utrecht, biased reports concerning Liège, possible but not very strong regional identities and a supraregional identity that is evoked by the manuscript's coherence. However, the intensity of these possible produced identities is hard to assess by close reading. From the theoretical framework, it became clear that identity is (partly) rooted in space. This means that a spatial analysis would be able to confirm which identities are produced, but also reveal how strong or persuasive these identities are. This chapter's approach is quantitative, based on the following assumption: the more a place is mentioned, the more likely it enters a reader's mental projection of the manuscript's represented space. I will explore which space is represented in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript by presenting a dataset of the manuscript's references to geographical locations. This dataset will be analysed using a *Geographical Information System* (GIS). Space is analysed on three levels: locally, regionally and supraregionally.

### Dataset

All references to geographical locations in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript have been collected into a dataset. In this dataset I distinguish two types of references. References of the first type, 'direct locations', refer to a location in a direct way. See the following example:

Alsmen screeff VI<sup>C</sup> ende XLII wert getymmert *Sunte Thomas kerc tUtrecht die men nu Oudemunster heet* (p. 6).

[In 642 Saint Thomas' church in Utrecht was constructed, which is now called 'Oudemunster'.]

There can be no mistake as to what entity is meant with 'Sunte Thomas kerc' [Saint Thomas' church]. It is a building in Utrecht, and, according to the manuscript, a church. In the dataset, references like this are classified as 'basic' references.

At times, the type of referral is direct, but the mentioned location is not specific enough to include it in the dataset. The following sentence contains three examples of non-specified locations that cannot be included: 'in den velde ende inden bosschen ende biden weghen' [in the fields, in the forests and along the sides of the roads] (p. 22). From the context it does not become clear which fields, forests and roads are meant here. As a result, these references are classified as 'non-specific locations'. These locations are excluded from the dataset. Not included as well are references that are too general, for example references to the entire world ('over al die werlt' [p. 9]) or to 'all countries' ('in allen landen' [p. 48]).

Over a thousand locations in the dataset are direct references, they are labelled as reference type ‘basic’. Yet, this covers only about forty percent of the entire dataset. The dataset contains 2508 entries. The remaining sixty percent are ‘indirect references’. An indirect reference refers to a location only by association. Again, this category contains two subtypes, of which the first carries the label ‘title’. This category consists of names, titles, functions or affiliations that can be linked to a geographical area. Territories are often implied in names. For instance, when the historical duchy of Brabant was ruled by someone named John, he would have been called ‘John of Brabant’. In the first place, Brabant is part of his name, but it also refers to the duchy of Brabant. The same applies to bishops (‘the bishop of Utrecht’) and nobles (‘Jan van Amerongen’).<sup>117</sup> As the reference to the location is secondary, these are indirect references.

Groups of people are the second type of indirect references. About 150 times the manuscript refers to a group of people that can be linked to a certain geographical area. These may be large areas like Denmark (‘die Denen’, p. 8) and France (‘Fransoysen’, p. 21), but also the residents of cities like Utrecht (‘die borgers van Utrecht’, p. 21) and Ghent (‘dien van Ghent’, p. 32). In such cases, a group of people is addressed in the first place, but at the same time a location is evoked.

In summary, I distinguish between direct and indirect references. These are subcategorised into ‘basic’, ‘non-specific’ (not in the dataset), ‘title’ and ‘people’. To analyse the dataset, not only the reference types, but also the locations need to be categorised. I distinguish eight types of locations:

Subcategory	Type of location	Visualisation
Principality	Larger administrative body (kingdom, duchy, county)	Area
Manor	Smaller piece of land (seignory), owned by a lord	Point
Diocese	Cathedral city + lands owned by the bishopric	Point + area
Region	Non-administrative area (cultural region, former administrative bodies)	Area
Place of worship	Churches, monasteries, etc.	Point
Town	Non-religious site (cities, towns, castles, etc.)	Point
Building	Non-religious site within a ‘town’	Point
Water	Rivers, lakes, seas, etc.	-

Figure 32: subcategories of location types and their way of visualisation.

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<sup>117</sup> This subcategory also contains references that are not necessarily implied in titles, but still work in the same way. When, for instance, a reference to the ‘cronyken van Romen’ is added (p. 15), in the first place this would refer to the historiographical text, and only secondary to the city of Rome.

Some categories in Figure 32 require some explanation. Manors are represented as point data in the dataset, and not as areas. Often a manor/seignory has a clear centre (a castle or stronghold), but its borders are difficult to reconstruct. Presenting them as point data saves time in building the dataset, and, perhaps more importantly, the visualisation will be easier to grasp as they would otherwise potentially overlap with the ‘principality’ subcategory. A diocese’s area is represented only by its secular lands. This means that when, for instance, the diocese Utrecht is represented on a map, its territory does not include the county of Holland. Holland was part of the bishopric of Utrecht, but its secular rule was with the count of Holland. When a diocese did not own secular lands, it is only visualised by a green cross (point data). The subcategory ‘region’ may either be a non-administrative area or a former administrative area. An example of this is Saxony. This was a former duchy in Carolingian times, but in the fifteenth century this area had already for some time been split up in smaller duchies and counties. Locations in the category ‘town’ do not necessarily have to be towns; they can be cities, castles or fortresses as well. They refer to any non-religious site that cannot be placed into another category. A ‘building’ is a non-religious site that is situated within a town. An example of this is the ‘stat huus van Bruesel’ [town hall of Brussels] (p. 35). Locations like Neude square in Utrecht are part of this category as well. Rivers, lakes, seas and other waters are included in the dataset, but are not visualised. To reconstruct the fifteenth-century course of rivers would require a thorough separate study, which has not been conducted for many rivers and lakes. Therefore, they are not represented in the data visualisations.

Each entry contains the following information. Listed first is an ID number to ensure that identical references (multiple mentions of a single location) can be kept apart. The ID is followed by the name of the location as it is mentioned in the manuscript. To take the first citation from this chapter as an example, this would be ‘*Sunte Thomas kerc tUtrecht die men nu Oudemunster heet*’. In the next column, the normalised location name is added. In the specific case of ‘*Sunte Thomas kerc*’, it is not too hard to unravel which location is meant. The manuscript mentions that the church is situated in Utrecht and provides two names for the church. Nowadays, this church is best known as the demolished ‘Sint-Salvatorkerk’. The reference type is ‘basic’ and the subtype is ‘place of worship’, as the location is a church. The entry also includes the page number (p. 6) and the chronicle in which the reference is found: the world chronicle. As Sint-Salvatorkerk in Utrecht stood at a known location, it is possible to add a reference to its geographical location using latitude and longitude degrees:

‘52.090057, 5.121351’. The Sint-Salvatorkerk in Utrecht is now *spatially referenced* (or *georeferenced*).<sup>118</sup> When georeferenced, the location can be included in a GIS.

Not all references are easy to locate. Recall that the compiler assumed that his readers knew where to find ‘Beernt Haserts huse’ (p. 30). The *Raads Dagelijksch Boek* mentions Beernt Hasert several times as one of the mayor-aldermen from the millers’ guild in the 1450s.<sup>119</sup> Yet, a search on a mill (or any estate) owned by someone called ‘Hasert’ in the fifteenth century was unsuccessful. In 26 other occasions I was not able to locate a reference.<sup>120</sup> In 21 cases the location I listed in the dataset should be approached with caution.<sup>121</sup> For instance, a mention of the ‘heerlicheit toe Zutert’ (p. 36) seems to refer to the seignory of Sittard, but it cannot be stated with full certainty. These cases are clearly marked in the dataset using brackets.

There are some cases in which someone’s surname possibly, though in a very unlikely case only, refers to a geographical location. For example, the world chronicle mentions a person called ‘Heynric van Masch’ (p. 63). This may be a reference to the former castle Ten Massche, but this is not very probable as this person and his family did not live there.<sup>122</sup> A bit more complicated is a name like ‘Dirc van Wael’ (p. 93). The Waal is a river that splits off from the Rhine, but in Middle Dutch ‘wael’ can also mean ‘pool/morass’ and ‘well/good’.<sup>123</sup> In this case, I decided to not include this possible reference in the dataset, as it is far from certain that this surname refers to a geographical location.

The ‘Dirc van Wael’ case raises another, more fundamental issue. One could question if most readers – or even the scribe – understood each reference to a geographical location. To give another example, the manuscript’s world chronicle mentions ‘Nycolaus de Cusa’, who’s surname refers to the small town of Kues (Bemkastel-Kues, Germany) on the banks of the Mosel river. Probably, not every medieval reader would have known this place. Similar questions can be raised about the reference to Columna (near Rome), implied in the name of ‘Otto de Columpna’ (p. 49). In spite of the unlikelihood users of the Utrecht chronicle

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<sup>118</sup> Gregory 2005, 9.

<sup>119</sup> Utrechts Archief, 701 ‘Stadsbestuur van Utrecht 1122-1577’, no. 13.

<sup>120</sup> These are ID numbers 191, 269, 283, 338, 382, 479, 521, 614, 622, 667, 863, 864, 881, 883, 983, 901, 903, 905, 911, 985, 1525, 1638, 1902, 1918, 2199, 2303 and 2363.

<sup>121</sup>7 These are ID numbers 156, 199, 203, 226, 264, 353, 440, 476, 902, 984, 1114, 1191, 1682, 1846, 2004, 211, 2322, 2332, 2384, 2385, 2386.

<sup>122</sup> On the castle, see Van Schaik 2008, 128.

<sup>123</sup> See *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (<http://gtb.inl.nl/>) at ‘wael’.

manuscript understood references like these, both locations are included. The aim is to reconstruct the manuscript's represented space, and not every potential reader's mental space.

## GIS

The dataset is set up with the aim to do data visualisations with a Geographical Information System. The GIS I used is *QGIS* (*Quantum-GIS*), an open source and free software program.<sup>124</sup> As mentioned in the theoretical framework, a GIS's main advantage is its ability to deal with large amounts of (geographical) data. With over 2500 entries carrying spatial data, GIS becomes a powerful research tool. Especially two features will be used. When loading a dataset in a GIS, the program is able to generate algorithms that automatically sizes point data according to how often a location is listed. In a similar way, it can also style areas in different colours or with different transparencies based on the number of mentions or any other value.

A GIS uses two data types: spatial data and attribute data.<sup>125</sup> The first type relates to a place on earth and consists of (a series of) coordinates. Spatial data are either points, lines or polygons. A point is a single pair of longitude and latitude degrees. Lines can be used to represent elements like rivers or roads; one could think of them as being connected series of points. When a series of points is connected through a line, and the first point also functions as the last point, an enclosed area is created. In GIS language this is called a polygon. The second data type, attribute data, encompasses all non-spatial data (names, dates, type of location, population, etc.) that can be attributed to spatial data.

In visualising the locations of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, especially polygons provide a challenge. GIS software demands you to draw precise borders. In many cases, the exact borders of historical regions are hard to reconstruct. There are some GIS datasets available on the historical borders of medieval territories, but this does not cover the entire category 'principalities'. There is an accurate GIS dataset for the administrative territories of the medieval Low Countries.<sup>126</sup> In contrast, there are hardly publicly available GIS datasets of non-administrative entities and areas outside the Low Countries. An alternative to using ready-made datasets, is to create polygons by drawing over georeferenced maps.<sup>127</sup> A georeferenced map is a map that contains spatial data. There are some databases with

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<sup>124</sup> I used version 3.4 'Madeira'. The program can be downloaded for free at <http://www.qgis.org/>.

<sup>125</sup> Gregory 2005, 10ff.

<sup>126</sup> Stapel 2018.

<sup>127</sup> I mainly used the following (map) sources: Colin 1898; DARMC; Shepherd 1911; Stapel 2018; Van den Bergh 1852; Van der Aa 1837-1851.

georeferenced maps, though it is also possible to georeference a map yourself.<sup>128</sup> Especially when a map contains latitude and longitude raster data, georeferencing can be performed within minutes. When on a digitised map a sufficient number of locations contains spatial data, the map can be placed on top of other maps like Google Maps or the OpenStreetMap. Now, the historical region can be drawn over and copied into a dataset. See Figure 33.

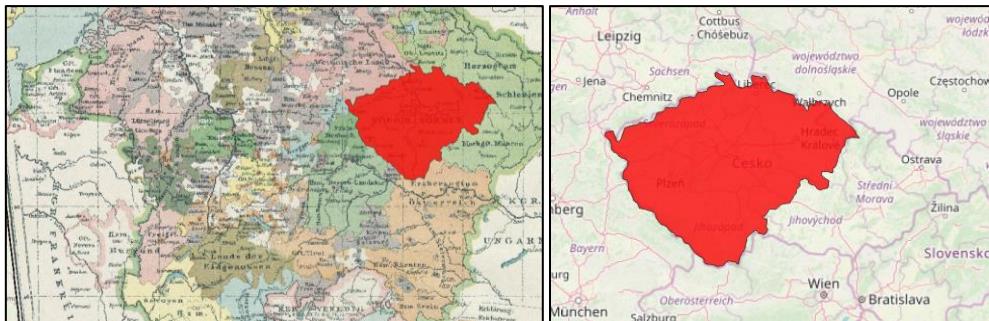


Figure 33. Left: screenshot of software program QGIS with a digitised (georeferenced) map of Central Europe (c. 1477) from Shepherd 1911. Note that the map contains raster lines with longitude and latitudes degrees. The red area is the medieval Kingdom of Bohemia. Right: the same Kingdom of Bohemia, but now the layer with the digitised map has been removed, leaving only the polygon shape with the basic OpenStreetMap on the background.

In the theoretical framework I mentioned that a GIS has trouble dealing with ‘vague borders’. For instance, the Utrecht chronicle manuscript contains a reference to ‘die Twenten’ (p. 133). Twente was a Frankish pagus, but in the fifteenth century it would have referred to the place where the ‘Twenten’ lived. This covers roughly the eastern part of the modern Dutch province of Overijssel. When this area is visualised like the Kingdom of Bohemia in Figure 33, it would suggest that Twente in the fifteenth century was an administrative unit with clear borders, which is not the case. In the data visualisations this problem is solved by using a transparent diamond pattern for areas without definable borders.

### Data analysis

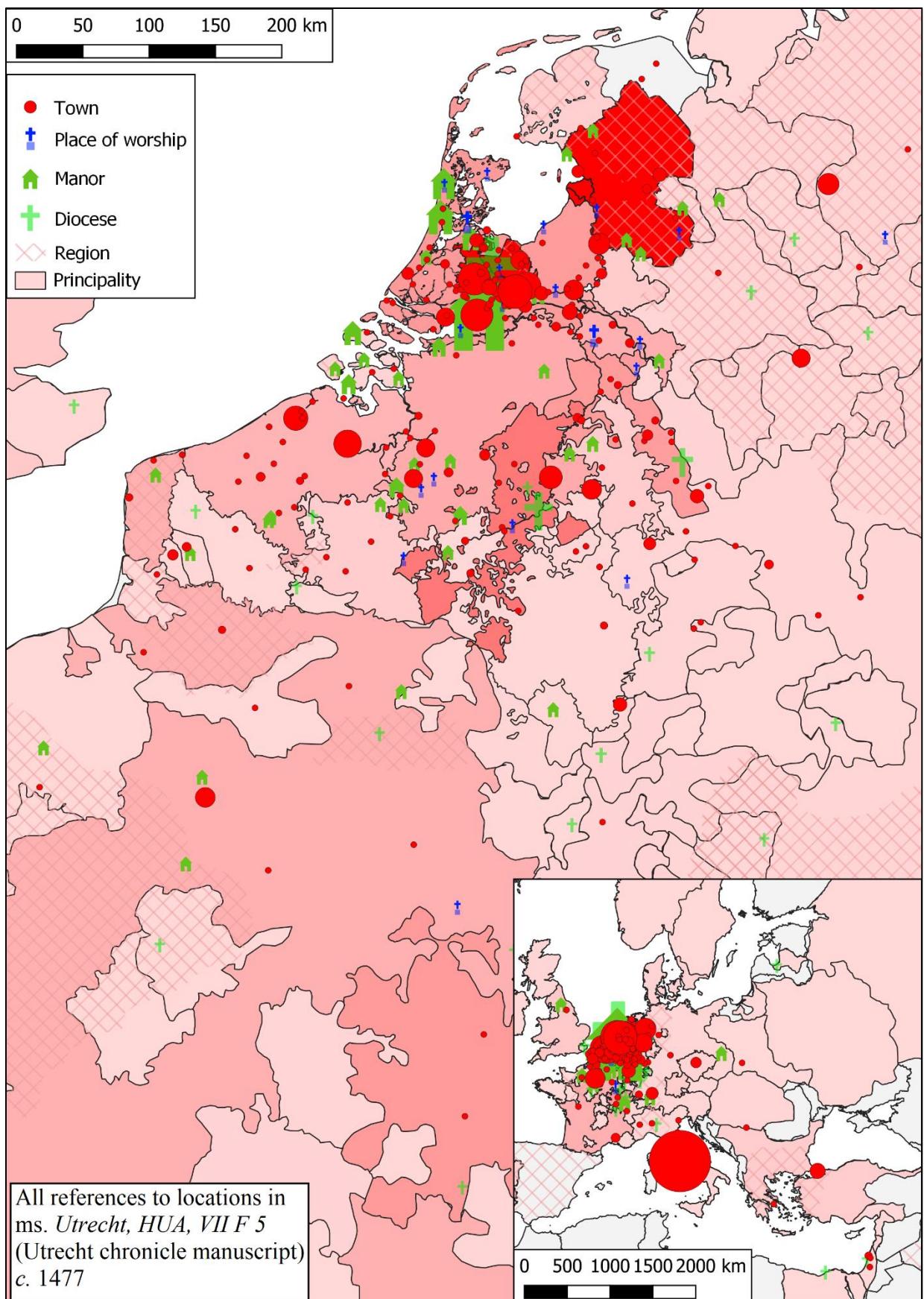
The full dataset contains 2508 references to 530 unique locations. On average, each location is mentioned almost five times. However, about half of the locations occurs only once. Only twenty percent of the locations is referred to over three times. Ten locations make up about a third of the total number of references. Figure 34 gives a general idea about the manuscript’s most mentioned locations. Listed are the top tens of the whole manuscript and the world chronicle. Each regional chronicle’s total number of references to locations and its three most mentioned places are listed as well. Maps 2 and 3 are visualisations of the full dataset.

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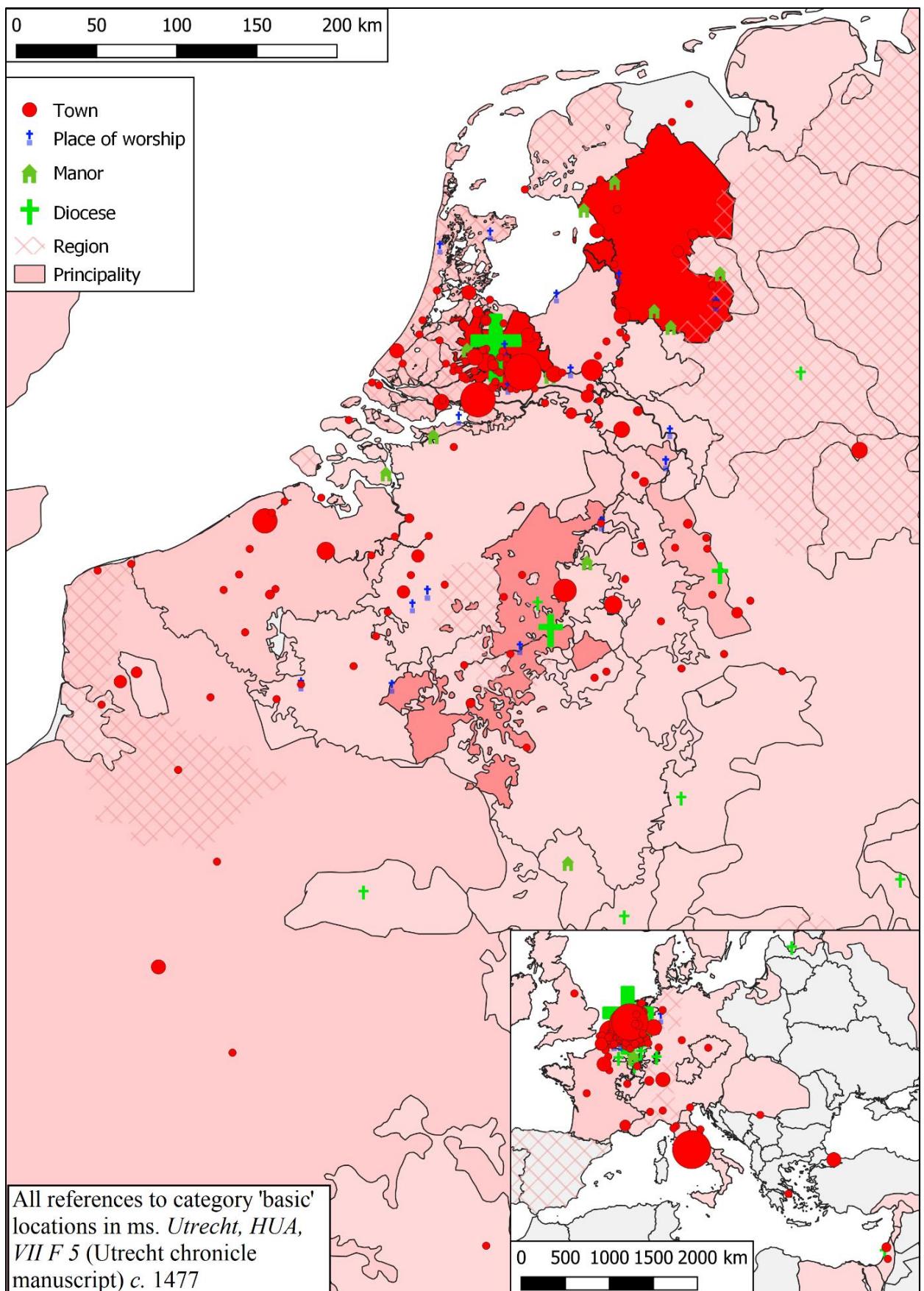
<sup>128</sup> Utrecht University Library has digitised and georeferenced a large number of historical maps. See <http://bc.library.uu.nl/georeferencing> [30-05-2019].

UTRECHT CHRONICLE MANUSCRIPT					
Number of locations per type					
Ten most mentioned locations		Ten most mentioned locations (no principalities)			
Location		Subtype	#	Location	
1	Utrecht	diocese	182	1	Utrecht
2	Liège	diocese	106	2	Liège
3	Holland	principality	91	3	Cologne
4	Burgundy	principality	91	4	Arkel
5	Guelders	principality	88	5	Rome
6	Cologne	diocese	70	6	Domkerk (U)
7	Brabant	principality	67	7	Brederode
8	Cleves	principality	60	8	Wijk bij Duurstede
9	France	principality	59	9	Montfoort
10	Arkel	manor	59	10	Gorinchem
WORLD CHRONICLE					
Ten most mentioned locations			Ten most mentioned locations (no principalities)		
Location		Subtype	#	Location	
1	Utrecht	diocese	94	1	Utrecht
2	Burgundy	principality	53	2	Arkel
3	Arkel	manor	53	3	Liège
4	Holland	principality	43	4	Wijk bij Duurstede
5	Guelders	principality	41	5	Cologne
6	France	principality	27	6	Amerongen
7	Brabant	principality	25	7	Rome
8	Cleves	principality	24	8	Montfoort
9	Liège	diocese	23	9	Lichtenberg castle (U)
10	Flanders	principality	20	10	Ghent
REGIONAL CHRONICLES					
Locations (unique)		Three most mentioned locations			
Arkel	141 (55)	Arkel (37), Gorinchem (13), Holland (8)			
Holland	70 (44)	Holland (11), France (4), England/Burgundy/Saxony (3)			
Cleves	46 (16)	Cleves (21), Cologne (4), France/Wissel/Soest(3)			
Utrecht	398 (123)	Utrecht (81), Domkerk (27), Holland (14)			
Guelders	134 (45)	Guelders (34), Zutphen (20), Rome/Cleves/Kl. Graefenthal (6)			
Cologne	122 (52)	Cologne (40), Jülich (6), Bonn/Soest (4)			
Flanders	156 (69)	Flanders (25), Holland (9), France (9)			
Brabant	57 (20)	Brabant (27), France (6), Burgundy/Lotharingia (3)			
Liège	285 (101)	Liège (74), Church of St-Lambert (11), Maastricht (10)			

Figure 34. The Utrecht chronicle manuscript's most mentioned locations.



Map 2. Visualisation of locations mentioned in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript (all categories). The more a location is being referred to, the larger/darker its representation.



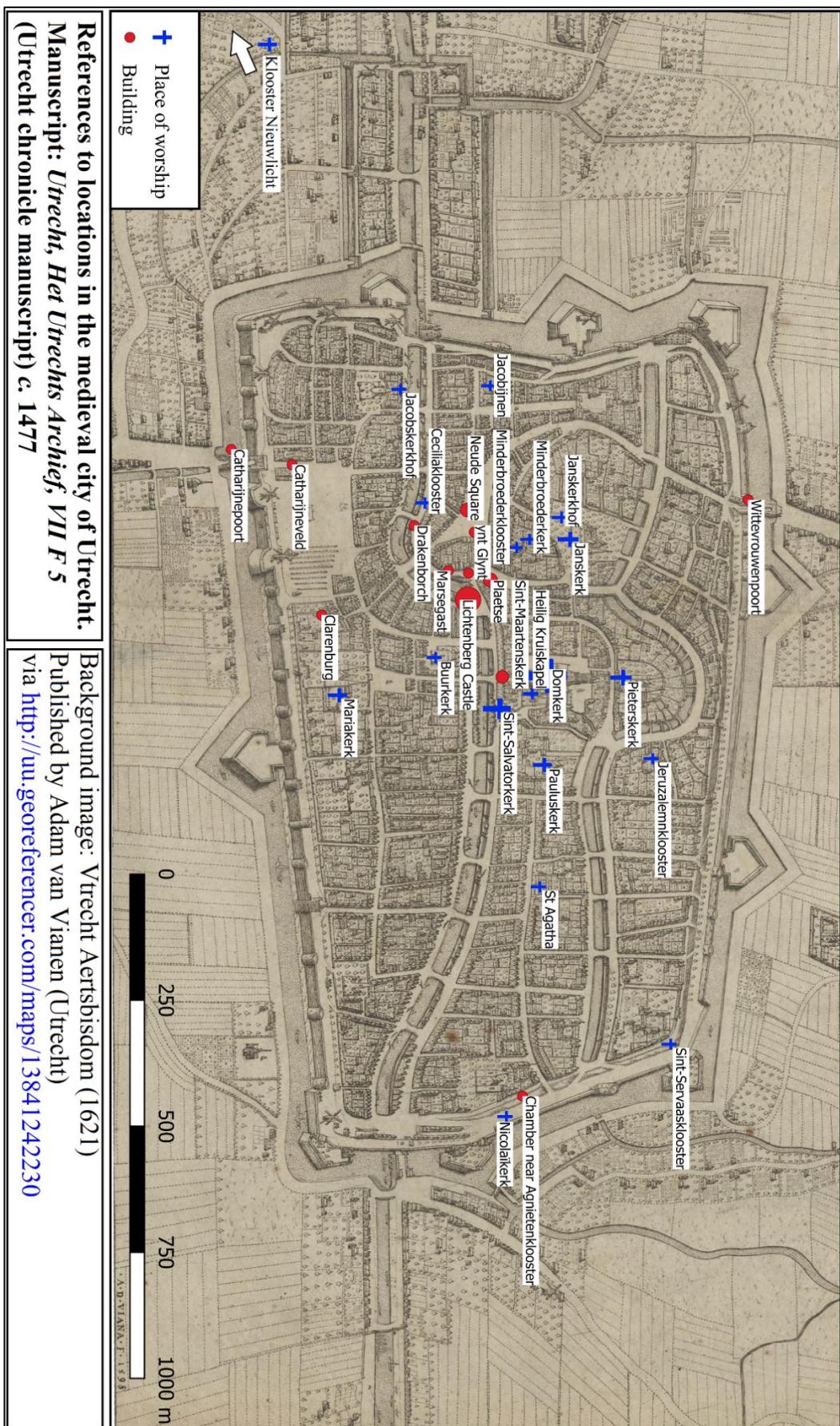
Map 3. Visualisation of category 'basic' locations mentioned in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. The more a location is being referred to, the larger/darker its representation.

Both Figure 34 and Maps 2 and 3 yield a lot of information. To get a grip on the manuscript's treatment of space, and since the aim is to distinguish local, regional and supraregional identities, the following paragraphs will analyse space on these three levels.

### Local space

A manuscript that is called after a city ('the Utrecht chronicle manuscript') is expected to have a strong spatial dimension that relates to that place. By some distance, Utrecht is the most mentioned location in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. This is clearly visualised in Maps 2 and 3. Utrecht's green cross is very large and its territory is deep red, meaning that the location is mentioned often. If one adds to the total of Utrecht-references also the mentioned locations within the city of Utrecht (these are either 'places of worship' or 'buildings'), the numbers are even more stunning. Out of 1049 direct references ('basic'), 233 are to Utrecht or a location in the city of Utrecht. This is 22 percent or one in five mentions of a location. When all references are taken in account, 317 out of 2508 references are to Utrecht, this is 12,5 percent or one in eight instances. As many as 32 unique locations in Utrecht are mentioned (Map 4).

Although locations in the city of Utrecht are unmistakably a dominant force in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript, there are other frequently mentioned cities as well. If one accumulates all Liège-related references, they add up to a total of 85 direct references (8%) and 141 total references (5,5%). The manuscript mentions eighteen unique locations within Liège (Map 5). The third most referenced city is Cologne – again an episcopal centre –, with a total of 38 direct references, 88 total references (both 3,5%) and nine unique locations within the city (Map 6). Although Liège and Cologne are referred to often, it is mainly within their 'own' regional chronicles. About 77 percent of the total references to Liège comes from the Liège regional chronicle; for Cologne this is 64 percent. A local 'urban Liège identity' or 'urban Cologne identity' is mainly produced in the regional chronicles dealing with these dioceses. This contrasts with Utrecht, of which 'only' 46 percent of the references can be found in the Utrecht regional chronicle.



Map 4. Visualisation of locations mentioned in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript that are situated inside the city of Utrecht.



Map 5. Visualisation of locations mentioned in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript that are situated inside the city of Liège. Due to the process of georeferencing, the background map has stretched.

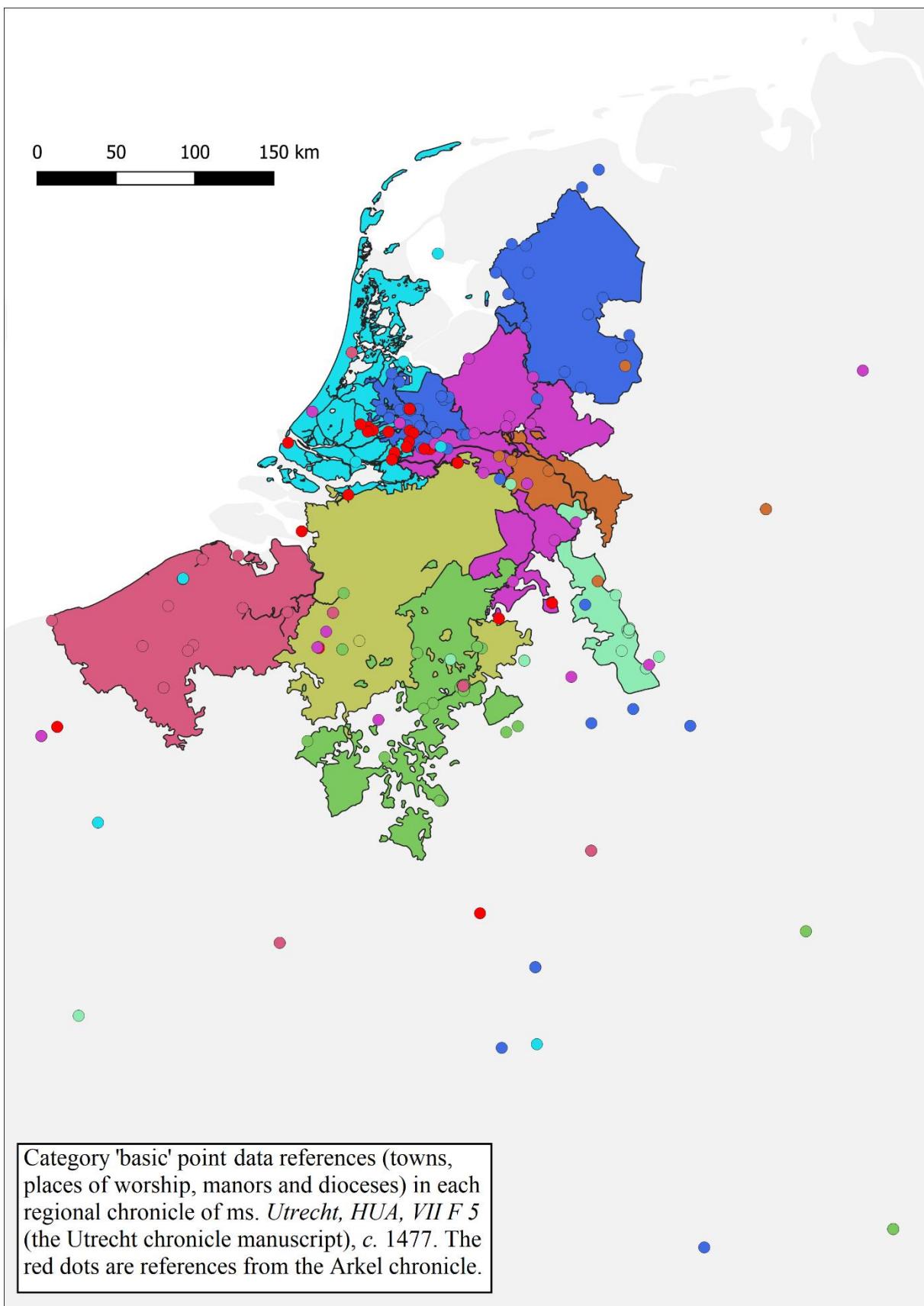


Map 6. Visualisation of locations mentioned in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript that are situated inside the city of Cologne.

## Regional space

In studying represented regional spaces, it makes sense to first look at the regional chronicles. Figure 34 demonstrates that in the top ten of most mentioned locations in the manuscript, as much as eight have their own chronicle in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. One might expect that a county like Holland is mainly referred to in its own chronicle in the manuscript, explaining why it is ranked high in Figure 34. However, the county of Holland is addressed ‘only’ eleven times in the Holland regional chronicle. This means that the county is mentioned eighty times in other chronicles. Thus, the county of Holland is not only important in the light of the history of Holland. A similar conclusion can be drawn with regards to other highly ranked locations. Their mentions show a relatively even spread throughout the manuscript as well.

In spite of a region like Holland often being mentioned outside of the regional Holland chronicle, it is worth looking at the extent in which regional chronicles mention locations within or outside their fifteenth-century territorial borders. Note that not all chronicles are extensive enough to do a reliable data analysis or visualisation – the Cleves chronicle contains a mere 46 references. Still, the lists of each regional chronicle’s most mentioned locations in Figure 34 show that on first sight some chronicles have a strong regional focus. The places most often referred to in the chronicles of Arkel, Cleves, Guelders, Cologne and Liège all concern areas within or relatively close by the chronicle’s administrative borders. Some chronicles demonstrate a lesser focus on areas nearby, like the Holland, Flanders and Brabant regional chronicles. Map 7 visualises which point data locations (type ‘basic’) are included in the regional chronicles. It demonstrates that (in general) the majority of unique locations mentioned in each regional chronicle are situated inside its territorial borders, or at least relatively nearby. Locations far outside the regional chronicles’ territories are mentioned as well, but these are a minority.



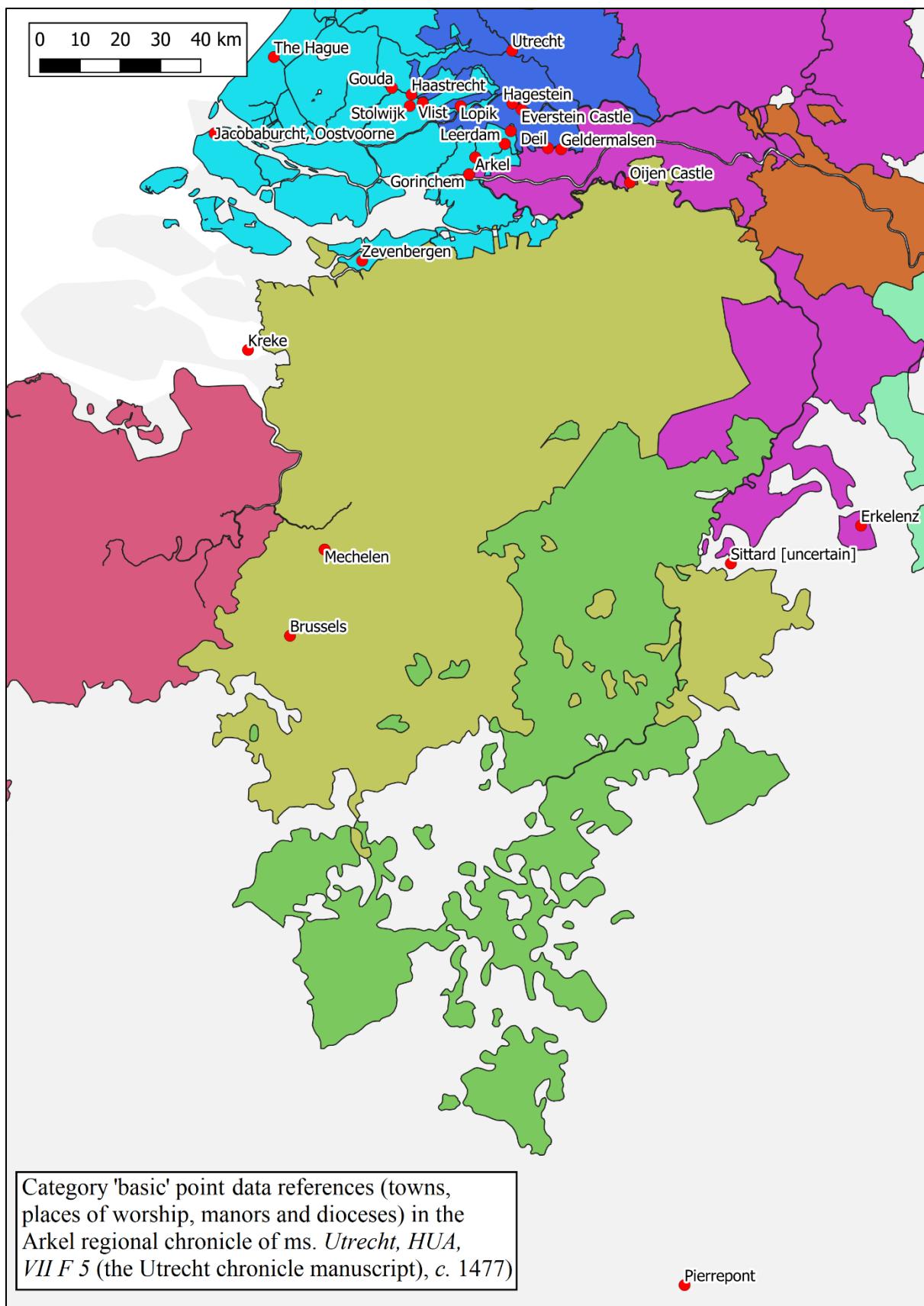
Map 7. Visualisation of all 'basic' point data references in each regional chronicle.

When single regional chronicles are visualised, this pattern becomes even more clear. It also shows differences between regional chronicles. Map 8 visualises the locations mentioned in the Arkel chronicle. A strong focus on towns nearby Arkel may be noted. The town of Arkel and its related lands are situated in the county of Holland south of Utrecht's territory. In the chronicle of Arkel, the regional space that is represented cannot be traced back to an administrative unit, but it has a clear regional focus, centring around the lands of Arkel.

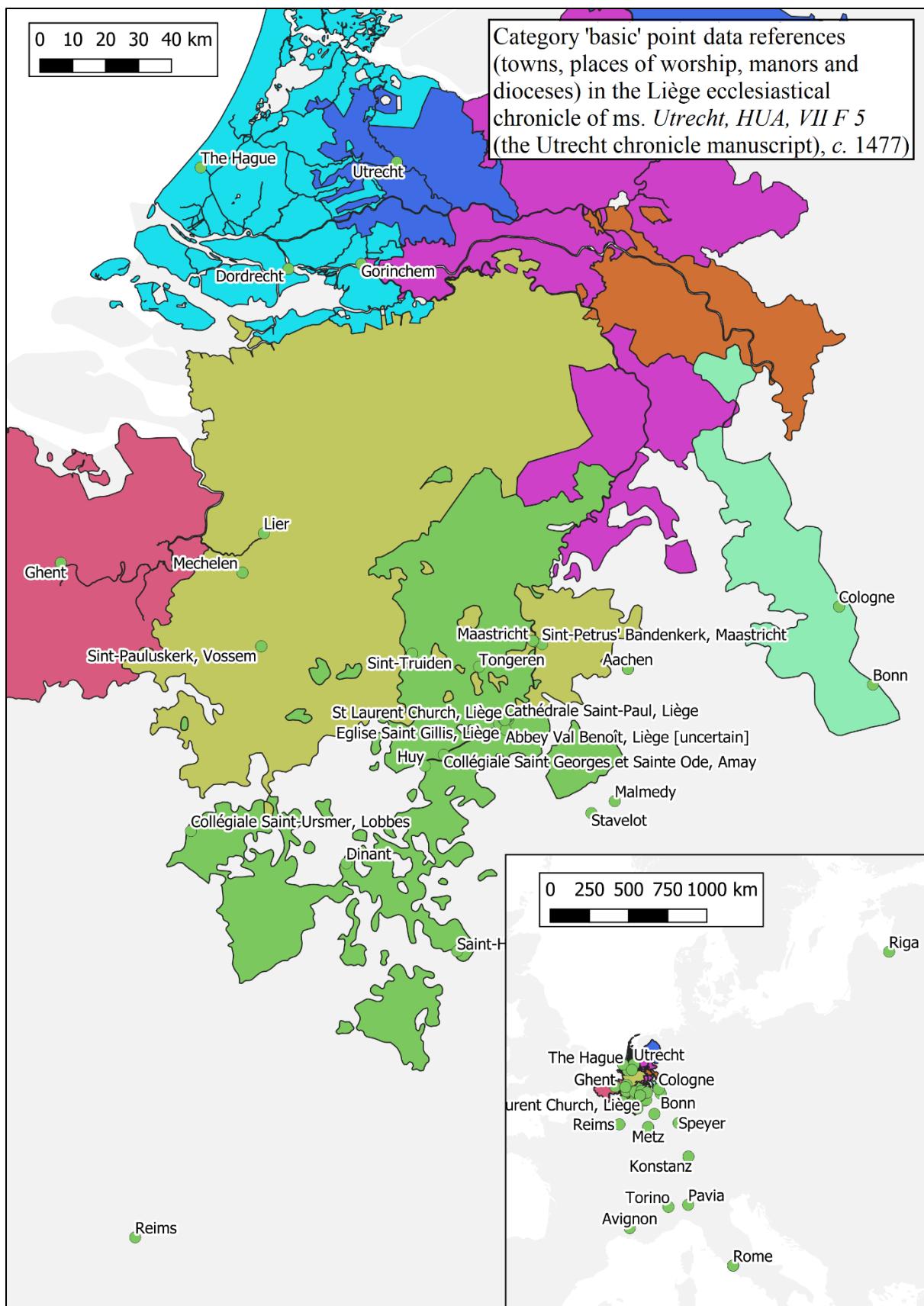
Contrasting with the Arkel chronicle is the space represented in the Liège ecclesiastical chronicle. Map 9 visualises all point data references promoted in the Liège ecclesiastical chronicle. Dots representing places inside Liège's administrative territory are plentiful, but so are locations farther away from it. The local Liège dimension here is accompanied by the mentioning of locations in Holland, Utrecht, Flanders and French and Italian domains. The relative spread signals a weaker regional identity, or at least a less spatially determined one. However, it should be noted that the bishopric of Liège was far larger than its administrative borders. Some of the locations in Holland were actually close to the borders of Liège's episcopal territory.

Not surprisingly, the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle also demonstrates a clear and strong regionally represented space coinciding with Utrecht's administrative borders. Map 10 visualises which point data locations are mentioned in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle. The fact that not only Utrecht, but also the Oversticht northeastwards is filled with blue dots, demonstrates that Utrecht's regional space encompasses both parts of Utrecht. Striking is also the absence of references to locations in Holland in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle. Recall that large parts of the county of Holland belonged to the bishopric of Utrecht. Here as well, locations far away from Utrecht are mentioned. References to places like Basel, Pavia, York and Caesarea do not directly contribute to a regional Utrecht identity. Yet, these are often only mentioned once or twice.

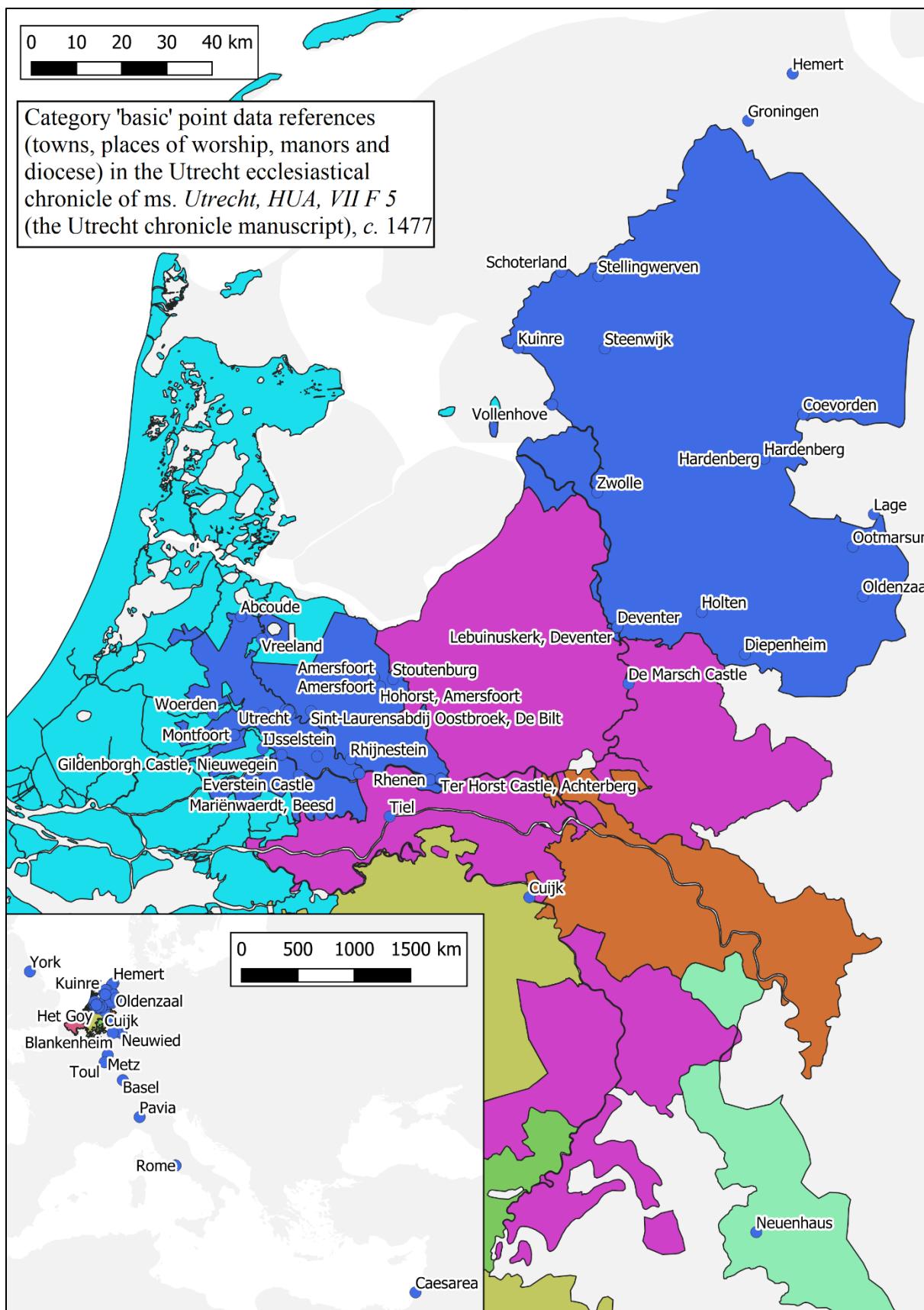
The fact that regional chronicles in general represent a regional space is not very surprising. More can be discerned about represented regional spaces when the world chronicle's locations are studied. The world chronicle is expected to have a strong Utrecht dimension. Remember that scholars before have called this text 'Utrechtse kroniek 65-1477'. However, when the locations are visualised, it appears that Utrecht is definitely not the only regionally represented space. Map 11 includes four clusters of areas that are often referred to in the world chronicle.



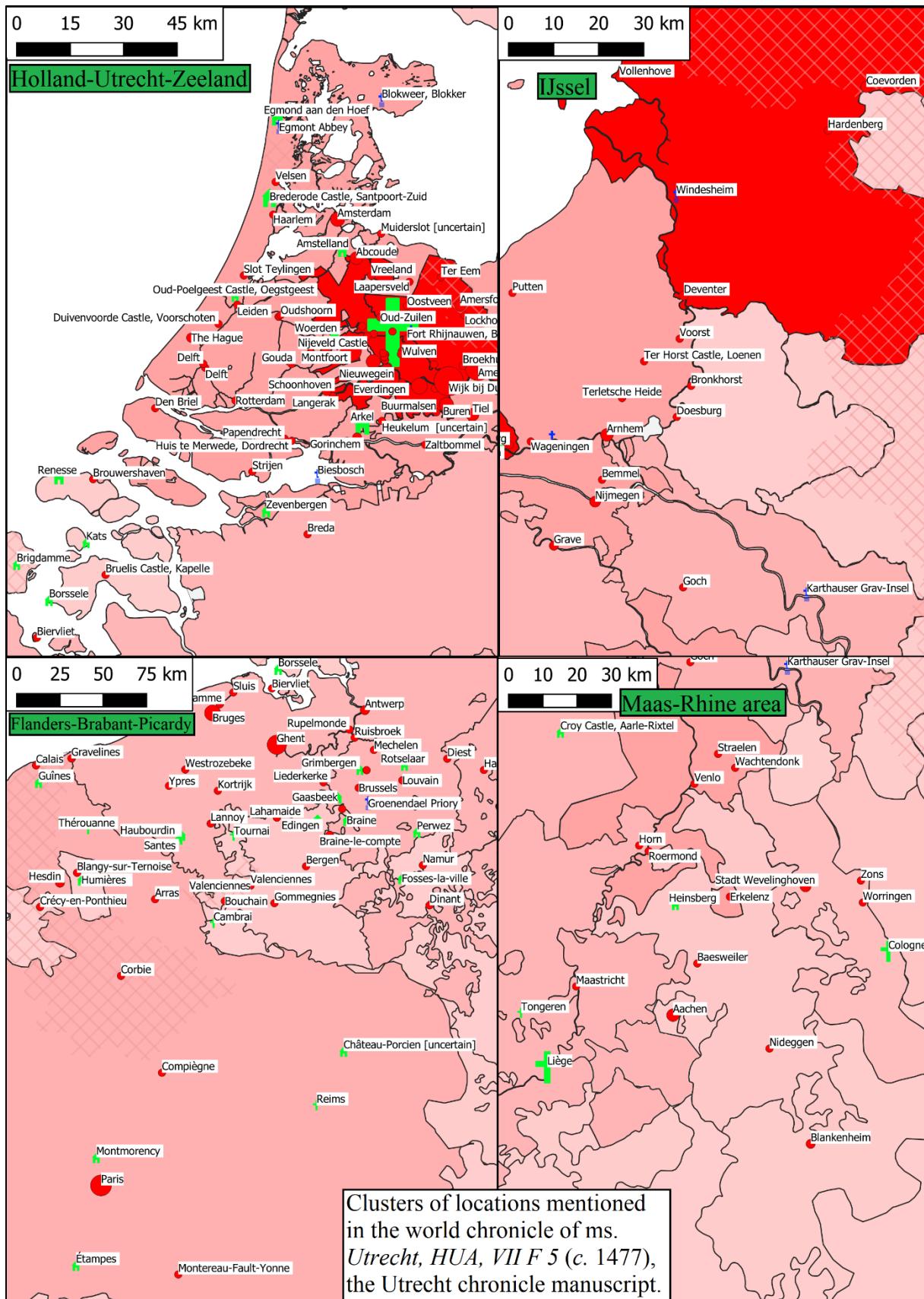
Map 8. Visualisation of all 'basic' point data references in the Arkel regional chronicle.



Map 9. Visualisation of all 'basic' point data references in the Liège ecclesiastical chronicle.



Map 10. Visualisation of all 'basic' point data references in the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle.



Map 11. Visualisation of four clusters of locations in the world chronicle.

The first regional space that is visible in the world chronicle's visualisation includes Utrecht, but extends towards Holland and Zeeland. Whereas the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle excluded places in Holland, here they are clearly part of a region that is represented very strongly. Holland's territory is also relatively dark pink, revealing that the county itself is also mentioned often.

Calling the world chronicle 'Utrechtse kroniek' does not pay tribute to the fact that more regions are represented extensively. For instance, the clustering of places on the banks of the IJssel river stands out. Although the red dots representing towns and castles are not as big as some of the locations near Utrecht, they are situated close to each other and are surrounded by large open spaces that are not specifically referred to.

Third, a rather large area is represented in the Southern Low Countries, including Flanders, southern Brabant, Picardy and to a lesser extent some French domains. This is remarkable, as the regional chronicles of Flanders and Brabant are very short and do not show a strong spatially emphasised regional focus. In the world chronicle they are clearly present; important Flemish cities like Bruges and Ghent are relatively large red dots.

The fourth and final region that shows clustering is the Maas-Rhine area. The area is not as densely packed with locations like Holland and Utrecht, but note that the administrative territories of Liège and Cologne are coloured in a darker shade of pink. Places like Liège, Aachen and Cologne are also mentioned often.

### Supraregional space

The four regional spaces above were treated as separate spaces. However, these areas are all part of the same (world) chronicle. The references are spread throughout the narrative and cannot be clustered to one or two text passages. In this sense, they can be regarded as being a single supraregional space.

In a broader perspective, practically the whole of medieval Europe is mentioned at least once in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript (Map 2). Yet, stating that the manuscript has an 'European scope' would obscure the fact that most 'European' locations are only mentioned once or twice, often in one single breath. A lot of the single-mentioned European countries are listed in the following sentence on the lands conquered by King Arthur:

Spaengen Vrancrijc Almaengen Ruussen Zweden Demarcken Noirwegen Vrieslant  
Scotlant Engelant Ierlant ende alle die landen vanden Lamperschen ghebercht totter  
zee ende alle die Walsche provincien (world chronicle, p. 4).<sup>129</sup>

[Spain, France, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Frisia, Scotland,  
England, Ireland, and all the countries from the Lombard mountains [= Alps, *MV*] to  
the sea, and all the ‘Walsche’ provinces.]

The visualisation of all references to locations (Map 2) shows that southwards into France there are still many locations that are being referred to. Burgundy is even one of the most mentioned locations in the manuscript, although this mainly originates from the ‘title’ category, that is, through names and titles. The difference in Burgundy’s colour in Map 2 and 3 demonstrates this as well: the ‘basic’ category hardly contains references to Burgundy. On another level, one might question whether Burgundy in the late fifteenth century would still refer to the French wine-growing region and not to the territories in the Low Countries that were ruled by them.

Considering ‘foreign’ places, two locations stand out. As Figure 34 and Maps 2 and 3 demonstrate, the city of Rome is mentioned often. A reference to the city occurs 36 times throughout the manuscript. As Rome was the capital of Christianity – at least in the late fifteenth century – its number of references is not all too surprising. Being mentioned in eight different chronicles, it shows a remarkable spread as well. This strengthens the idea that Rome is an important represented space in the manuscript. Just like places in the Holy Land, Rome may be geographically far from the Low Countries, but is nonetheless an important Christian space.

Another foreign place referred to often is Turkey. It is mentioned eighteen times throughout the manuscript, more than places like Maastricht, Culemborg (near Utrecht) or the county of Zeeland. However, the quantity of references obscures that Turkey is primarily mentioned in only one extensive passage in the world chronicle (pp. 69-73). Moreover, the location is mostly invoked by mentioning ‘die Turcken’ [the Turks] as a group of people. One the one hand, the fact that the manuscript contains almost five pages fully dedicated to the Turks and their invasion of Europe signals that these people were definitely part of the

<sup>129</sup> It is not clear what ‘Walsche’ means here. Normally in Middle Dutch, ‘Walsch’ refers to French as a language. Since France is already mentioned, it is not clear which French-speaking areas are meant. Perhaps Wales is meant here, but I doubt that every reader would read it that way. With regards to the confusion of which location is being referred to, it is excluded from the dataset. See *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (<http://gtb.inl.nl/>) at ‘walsch’.

compiler's worldview. However, apart from this passage the remaining two hundred pages hardly mention the Turks or Turkey. In addition, they are framed as outsiders; when they are mentioned, they are said to be the invaders of Europe. References to Denmark provide a similar case. Denmark, or rather the Danish people, are mentioned ten times throughout the manuscript. When they are referred to, they are chiefly depicted as invaders and barbaric people. By mentioning Turks or Danes in contexts like these, this does not contribute to a supraregional, international identity. In fact, it would rather contribute to the establishment of a much closer local identity by depicting a foreign nation as enemies/invaders.

## Conclusion

Over 2500 times, the Utrecht chronicle manuscript invokes a reference to a geographical location. Through the quantitative analysis of this data, three levels of represented space may be discerned: local spaces, regional spaces and supraregional spaces.

The strongest local space is Utrecht. The two other important episcopal centres in the manuscript – Liège and Cologne – are also represented well, though mainly in their ecclesiastical chronicles. The regional chronicles all represent a regional space, although some do this more clearly than others. The world chronicle contains four clusters of locations that are mentioned often, and in which a strong density of places can be discerned. These are the Utrecht, Holland and Zeeland space, the area along the IJssel river, the Maas-Rhine area and the area corresponding with Flanders, Brabant and Picardy. In fact, these spaces may be regarded as well as a single supraregional area. The areas are adjacent and represented in a single chronicle. Moreover, its locations are not clustered into a single part of the chronicle. Interestingly, the four represented areas form the core area of the Low Countries. Although large parts of Europe are mentioned at least once, an European, international space is not present in the Utrecht manuscript. And even if this would be the case, it would only be able to produce a very weak 'European' identity.

How does this relate to the manuscript's promoted identities? This analysis once again confirms a strong Utrecht identity. This may even be promoted on two levels: on an urban level within the city walls, and on a regional level encompassing also the western parts of the bishopric (including Holland and Zeeland). The clusters of locations in the world chronicle, combined with the regional chronicles, demonstrate that the manuscript is able to produce a supraregional identity. This coincides relatively well with the Low Countries' core.

Although Burgundy is invoked often, locations within the French duchy are referred to only sporadically. However, as said, ‘Burgundian’ should be regarded foremost as concerning the territories ruled and controlled by Burgundian dukes within the Low Countries.

## 7. Conclusion

Probably right before the summer of 1477 an Utrecht canon finished assembling a manuscript starting with a world chronicle, followed by a collection of regional chronicles. Despite narrating the histories of large parts of the Low Countries, this ‘Utrecht chronicle manuscript’ has after more than 500 years probably not once left the city of Utrecht. Although the physical object has only seen Utrecht during its long lifetime, its contents are able to produce local, regional and supraregional identities.

The promoted local Utrecht identity cannot be overlooked. The compiler assumed that his readership would have a sound knowledge of the city of Utrecht. Even the appointments of mayors and mayor-aldermen are narrated. The city, along with locations in the city, are mentioned over 300 times. The spatial analysis revealed that (to a lesser extent) Liège and Cologne local identities may be produced as well, for a considerable number of locations within these two cities are mentioned in their ecclesiastical chronicles. Since they are produced in the context of a regional chronicle, they may as well be regarded as contributing to the production of a regional ‘Liège’ or ‘Cologne’ identity.

The analysis focussing on overlap revealed that the regional chronicles are able to function independently. When two or more chronicles narrate the same event, they are written out in full in both instances. Furthermore, the regional chronicles mainly mention locations within their administrative bodies. The produced regional identity, on the other hand, is often not very strong. Some regional chronicles only cover a few pages, merely narrating the succession of rulers. The short narratives hardly contain passages that may be coined ‘heritage’. The Brabant chronicle, for instance, omits important events of the history of Brabant, like the Battle of Worringen (1288) or the Brabant Succession Wars (1356-1357).

The extensive ecclesiastical chronicles (Utrecht, Liège, Cologne) are able to produce regional identities. With regards to Utrecht, the spatial analysis revealed that the Utrecht ecclesiastical chronicle mainly refers to locations within Utrecht’s administrative borders, not covering other parts of the bishopric, like Holland. A Liège regional identity, closely related to its local identity may be discerned as well. The spatial analysis demonstrated a lesser focus on locations geographically close to Liège, but both the length of the Liège ecclesiastical chronicle and the biased reports in favour of Liège contribute to the production of a Liège regional identity. To a lesser extent this is also valid for Cologne. In a broader perspective, the Liège and Cologne chronicles may contribute to a regional identity covering the Maas-Rhine area. The spatial analysis of the world chronicle revealed a cluster of locations in this area.

The compiler's focus did not only ran along the Maas and Rhine rivers' banks. From a spatial perspective, also the triangle Utrecht-Holland-Zeeland, the area along the IJssel river and the area spanning large parts of Flanders, southern Brabant and Picardy are spaces referred to often in the world chronicle. Note that most of these clusters are situated in territories with their own regional chronicle in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript. These areas form a core that is able to produce a supraregional identity.

The idea of a supraregional identity is backed by the fact that the regional chronicles were an intended part of the manuscript, as forward references in the world chronicle announce several regional chronicles. Moreover, the manuscript expresses internal coherence, suggesting that the different chronicles should be read as being part of a single, supraregional narrative. The codex was written *in one go*; it is the product of one scribe who produced a single codicological unit. In addition, the regional chronicles are all structured following the same principles and lay-out. Inconsistencies regarding contents are rare.

The abovementioned aspects build a strong case to conclude that the Utrecht chronicle manuscript includes a persuasive supraregional identity. Is this produced identity, then, also a Burgundian identity? In order for it to be a supraregional Burgundian identity, two aspects should be considered. First, how are members of the Burgundian family assessed in the manuscript? Second, does the represented supraregional identity coincide with the lands controlled by the Burgundians? Both questions do not result in a convincing 'yes'. Utrecht bishop David of Burgundy is set in a positive light throughout the manuscript. Being a bastard son of Philip the Good, he is nonetheless called 'natuerlike zoen' [natural son] (p. 141). When the Burgundian dukes take over control of territories like Holland, Brabant and Flanders, this is narrated without any negative (or positive) overtone. However, the episode on the destruction of Liège (narrated in both the world chronicle and the Liège chronicle) by Charles the Bold problematises the production of a Burgundian identity. It is one of the few instances in which the manuscript expresses a real negative attitude towards events happening outside of Utrecht. With regards to the second condition, the produced supraregional identity does not cover the entire lands owned by the Burgundians. Especially the French-speaking areas are underrepresented. In sum, there is too little evidence to assume that a Burgundian supraregional identity is produced in the Utrecht chronicle manuscript.

The collection of chronicles which I baptised 'Utrecht chronicle manuscript' consists of different layers of included identities. Analysing the manuscript as an entity comprising closely related texts, I have demonstrated that this *full manuscript approach* is able to discern multiple layers of meaning. By taking a single text as a point of departure, this would not have

been possible. This research, therefore, may be read as a plea for a shift from single-text interpretation towards the manuscript-based interpretation of a text collection. Moreover, this study has demonstrated that late fifteenth-century historiography was not only regionally orientated. Knowing the Utrecht chronicle manuscript is not the only surviving extensive collection of a world history combined with regional histories, makes a comparison with other ‘chronicle manuscripts’ even more desirable.

The compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript was in all probability part of a network of well-known historiographers like the Nijmegen priest Willem van Berchen. Further research could reveal more connections between history writers and historiographical texts, manuscripts and printed editions. The possible connections between the Utrecht chronicle manuscript and other chronicle collections are exciting and deserve a separate study. The compiler of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript was active at the same moment multiple other pieces of historiography were created in Utrecht. The chronicle of Sint-Nicolaasklooster in Utrecht is dated 1477 as well.<sup>130</sup> Johan van Drongelen, commander of the Utrecht department of the Teutonic Order, finished his *Croniken vander Duytscher oorden* in the early 1480s.<sup>131</sup> The multi-text printed edition *Dat boeck dat men hiet Fasciculus temporum* was printed in Utrecht in 1480 by Johan Veldener.

The spatial analysis using a Geographical Information System (GIS) has demonstrated that such an analysis enables the visualisation of different clusters of represented spaces. Since historiographical texts are full of references to geographical places – each historical event has a ‘where’ –, the analysis of the represented spaces may both explicitly and implicitly reveal a lot about the manuscript’s horizon and, consequently, its produced identities. A GIS is a very powerful tool in enabling this type of research. In this study, only the basic functions of a GIS are exploited. Most GIS software packages are able to perform more complex analyses and visualisations, like calculating distances between frequently mentioned locations, producing heatmaps and network analyses. In that respect, this study is only the tip of the GIS iceberg.

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<sup>130</sup> It is kept in two manuscripts: Utrecht, UB, ms. 1260; Utrecht, HUA, 708-20, inv. nr. 986.

<sup>131</sup> Stapel 2017.



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## Appendix: provisional edition

Below follows a provisional edition of the Utrecht chronicle manuscript (Utrecht, HUA, VII F 5) with minor adjustments to spelling, interpunction and capitalisation. The use of the characters *u/v/w* and *i/j* is normalised to modern use. When the scribe wrote a capital letter to mark the beginning of a new sentence, a period is added to mark the end of the previous sentence. A period is also added at the end of a paragraph. Also the use of capitals in names is normalised to modern use. Abbreviations are solved by adding the abbreviated characters in italics. Rubricated characters (i.e. individual letters written with red ink) are rendered as regular letters (in black ink). Only when multiple characters, words or entire sentences are written with red ink, the text is rendered red in the edition as well. Sometimes one or more words in the manuscript are underlined or crossed out with red ink. Since text processors like Microsoft Word do not allow black letters to be underlined or crossed out with a red line, the lines used to underline or cross out text appear in black.

The main scribal hand is represented with the Times New Roman typeface (“the current typeface”). The second (annotating) hand is represented with the Courier New typeface (“this typeface”). Page numbers as they appear in the manuscript are placed between square brackets. When text in the margin was meant to appear in the main body of the text (the scribe marked these instances), the text is placed in the main body between square brackets, followed by a comma and the italicised word ‘margin’. When text has become illegible, square brackets are used with the plausible missing character. There are a few other instances where text is placed between brackets. These are explained in italics within the brackets after the comma.

The edition’s second column contains the marginal annotations made by the main scribe. The second ‘post-1508’ hand is also present in the margins from time to time. Here, the Courier New typeface is used again. Note that the second column always represents the outer margin of the page.

[1]

[*WORLD CHRONICLE, first gathering is missing*]

dopen als voirseit is ende opten selven dach een jaer dair nae maecte hij wijn van water. Ende als Onse Here God ghercruust was dat was inden XVIII jaer onder die keyser Tyberius die daer nae noch V jaer regierde. Inden jaer dair nae in den oest wert *Sunte Steven* ghesteent ende daer nae nyet lange wert *Sunte Pouwel* bekeert.

Inden jaer XXVII nae Goeds gheboert screeff *Sunte Matheus* zijn ewangelie onder Gaius tiden des vierden keysers.

Inden jaer dair nae LXV wert Anthonina dat nu Utrecht is ijerst begrepen onder den keyser Nero.

Utrecht

Inden jaer daer nae ~~I~~ LXVI quam *Sunte Peter* ierst te Romen onder *Claudius* keyser.

Inden LXXI onder Galba den sevenden keyser wert ~~g~~ Jherusalem ghedestruert.

Inden jaer hijr nae C ende XLVIII leefde die grote medicus te Romen *Galienus*.

Galienus

Inden jaer II<sup>C</sup> ende xxv leefde *Origenes*.

Origenes

Inden jaer II<sup>C</sup> ende LXVII was Philips die ierste kersten keyser.

Indesen tiden als men screef omtrent III<sup>C</sup> € L leefde *Sunte Anthonis* ende des ghe

Antonius

[2]

lijcs *Sunte Meerten*.

Item inden jaer omtrent III<sup>C</sup> wert die edel ridder *Sunte Jorijs* gemarteliziert myt mennighen anderen martelaren onder Maximianus ende Valentinianus etc.

Sunte Jorijs

Item omtrent in den jaren III<sup>C</sup> LX was *Sunte Nyclaes* ende starff doe.

Sunte Nyclaes

Inden jaer nae Goeds gheboert III<sup>C</sup> LXVIII destrueerde die keyser Valentiniaen Wiltenborch dat nu Utrecht heet om huerre misdaet.

Inden jaer III<sup>C</sup> LXVIII was *Sunte Ambrosius* ende mede die grote histori maker Orosius priester te Romen die *Sunte Augustijns* discipel was.

Ambrosius  
Orosius

Inden selven jaer leefde Basilius bispop van Cesarien *Eusebius vereelende* die vuel leedt vanden keyser Julianus Apostata Eusebius Vercellensoen Athanasius bispop van Alexandrien die *Quicumque* vult salvus esse maecte Johannes Crisostimus Donatus die den donaet maecte die *Sunte Jheronimus* meyster was *Sunte Hilarius* die *Sunte Meerten* ierst

wijde. Item Maximinus bisscop van Trier Gregorius Nazarazenus bisscop van welken *Sunte Jheronius* hem verblide dat hi zijn discipel gheweest had. Item Johannes Damascenus. Item

multi nobiles

[3]

Item Iohannes Machorita dair *Sunte Augustinius* veel duechden of seyt. Oec leefde doe Prudencius ende Rufinus grote gheleerde lude. Item doemen screeff III<sup>C</sup> LXXVIII leefde *Sunte Jheronimus*.

Item inden jaer IIII<sup>C</sup> leefde *Sunte Augustijn* die doer der reghelieren oerde stichte des ghelycs *Sunte Patricius* die *Sunte Meertijns* zuster zoen was ende die VII slapers quamen toe voert. Oec leefde noch Severus bisscop van Trier die de legende van *Sunte Meerten* screeff. Oec lefde doe Johannes Cassianus die *vitas patrum* maecte. Ende Cyrillus bisscop van Alexandrien *Sunte Servaes* bisscop van Tongeren ende *Sunte Severijn* bisscop van Coelen. Ende oec omtrent desen tyden of luttel voir leefden veel heyligher vaders in Egipten die *Sunte Anthonis* discipulen eens deels gheweest hadden als Hylarion Pafancius abt pastor abt Zozimas die Maria van Egipten vant Effrem ende voel ander.

viri nobiles

Inden jaer nae IIII<sup>C</sup> nyet lange wart te gheboren toe Yorck van een huesschen duvel ende van eenre nonnen eens conyns dochter die wilde meer Marlijn sic scribitur in cronicis Marlinus natus fuit ex incubo denone et filia regis sancte

Marlijn

[4]

Moniali. Dese wilde Mairlijn die veel dinghen te voeren seyde ende sonderlinghe van conync Artur die nae ghescieden dat hi die heylige kerc seer verheffen ende bescermen soude ende dat hi alle die west landen eylanden vander zee in zijn gewelt hebben soude als Spaengen Vrancrijc Almaengen Ruussen Zweden ~~deenmaer~~ Demarcken Noirwegen Vrieslant Scotlant Engelant Ierlant ende alle die landen vanden Lamperschen zee ghebercht totter zee ende alle die Walsche provincien ende dat hi enen twivelachtighen sterffdach hebben soude myt veel meer propheciën die nae ghescieden. Item aldus vijntmen bescreven dat dese nonne ende conyns dochter al naect ste stont voor huer bedde ende soude treden ynt bedde soe wert si ombevangen van een scoen jongeling als huer dochter in een ogenblic wert si hem qwijt. Ende van dier tijt ge voert begonde huer buuc te wassen ende creech ten laetsten een sconen zoen den wilden Mairlijn sonder vader of toedozen van enyghen man welke Marlijn een goet korsten man was ende sij ende si was een dueghende joffre sonder gheruft van yemant.

Item omtrent den jaeren IIII<sup>C</sup> XCIII leefde die grote leerre Fulgencius ende oec leefde doe Boecius.

Fulgencius  
Boecius

[5]

Inden jaer ons heren V<sup>C</sup> XLI regnierde conync Artur ende is die VII nader tijt van IX die beste ende starf ende gaaff zijn Rijc van Britanyen sinen neve den hertoech van Cornubien etc anno V<sup>C</sup> XLII.

Coninc Artur

In desen tiden leefde conync *Dagobertus* die Wiltenborch weder dede maken ende noemdet Utrecht inden jaer VC<sup>C</sup>.

Utrecht

In desen tiden leefde *Sunte Lambert*.

Inden jaer V<sup>C</sup> XXVIII leefde Cassiodorus een groet cleric ende eerst senatorum van Ravennen. Ende wert nae een heilich monnick. Ende doe leefde oec *Sunte Benedictus* abt. Item bij deser tijt leefde Priscianus een groet grammaticus.

Cassiodorus  
Benedictus  
Priscianus

Inden jaer V<sup>C</sup> ende XC leefde *Sunte Gregorius*. In zijnre tijt was groter groet water datmen meende dat die diluvie weder ghecomen wair dair alte groten sterft off quam.

Item *Sunte Remigius* bisscop van Ryemen sterff in deser tijt.

Gregorius  
Remigius

In desen tiden leefde *Sunte Hubert* die nae *Sunte Lambert* bisscop was tot Ludic.

Sunte Hubert

Omtrint doemen screef VI<sup>C</sup> ende XX began te regnieren Machumet dair die Turcken an gheloven ende was van

Machumet

[6]

Yamahels gheslachte sijn ewe is mytten zweerde begonnen ende mytten zweerde ghehouden ende dair mede selt vergaen. Ende omtrint desen tiden onder den keyser Grachus leefde Ysidorus bisscop Hispalensis die ghemaect heet *librorum Ethimologiarum* ende oec leefde *Sunte Joest*. Ende in desen tiden was *Sunte Loy* eerst een goutsmyt biden conync Clotarius van Vrancrijck nae bisscop Noemeniensis. Item onder den keyser Grachus die dat heilige cruuw wan van conync Cosdras conync van Persen verghinc dat ryc van Romen alte zeer dat dair nye verhaelt en wert.

Item alsmen screeff VI<sup>C</sup> ende XLII wert getymmert *Sunte Thomas* kerck tUtrecht die men nu Oudemunster heet.

*Sunte Thomas*  
kerck nu  
Oudemunster

Alsmen screeff VI<sup>C</sup> XCIII leefde *Sunte Wilboert* die ierste bisscop tUtrecht.

In desen tiden leefde die eersaem Beda die veel boeken ende omeleyen ghemaect hevet ende liet nae hem vier discipulen als Rabanum Alchuinum Claudium et Johannem Scotum monnicken ende ierste fundatoers des studium van Parijs alsoe gescreven staet int spigel historiael ynt XXIII<sup>te</sup> boec.

Item hijr omtrint deser tijt wert ghetymmert vanden keyser Justinianus die kerck van *Sunte Sophie* tot Constantinobel die

[7]

soe groet was dat gheen scip soe groet en is men mochtet myt sinen vollen zeil ende takel inder selver om weynden.

Alsmen screeff nae Goeds gheboert VII<sup>C</sup> began dat sticht van Utrecht.

Utrecht

Alsmen screeff VII<sup>C</sup> ende XLVII was alte ende duerde van bamisse tot onser vrouwen lichtmissoe dattet ijs inder zee XXX cubitus dic lach hondert mylen lant ende dat snee lach wel XX cubitus dick ende was an te sien als een hoech berch ende soe leggen onghesmouten tot uutgaende mey.

grote vorst

Inden jaer VII<sup>C</sup> ende LII wert *Sunte Bonifaes* verslegen myt synen ghesellen.

Item in deser tijt sette Puppinus conync van Vrancrijc die Sassen onder tribuut ende mosten hem betalen alle jaer III<sup>C</sup> peerde.

Inden jaeren VIII<sup>C</sup> ende VII was conynck Kaerl ende is een van IX die beste die achte naeder tijt gherekent. Hi began te regieren alsmen screef VII<sup>C</sup> LXIX ende regierde XLVI jaer. Ende onder conync Kaerl eynde dat conyncrijc van Lombardien. Ende onder hem wert dat studium van Romen toe Parijs gheleit dat die van Romen te Athenen te voeren verleyt hadden.

[8]

Item doemen screef VIII<sup>C</sup> ende XL leefde Alchuinus conync Kaevels meyster ende Rabanus een groet cleric. Ende doe leefde oec Theodolphus bisscop van Oirliens die in sijn vanghenisse maechte den ymmen Gloria laus et honor etc.

Nota

Item inden jaer VIII<sup>C</sup> ende L leefde toe Parijs die grote cleric Johan die Schot of *Johannes Scotus* die van sinen discipulen myt griffelen ghedoet wert.

Johannes  
Scotus

Inden jaer VIII<sup>C</sup> LVI wert Duersteden ghedestruert vanden Denen ende Utrecht.

Duersteden

Ende Duersteden was doe een alte groten stat ende had wel LV prochikerken.

Item inden jaer VIII<sup>C</sup> LXIII was die ierste greve te Hollant nae dien dat die Denen dat lant ghewoest hadden. Nota vanden greven van Hollant vijndi nae op hem selven ghescreven biden bissopen.

Item omtrent der iaren VIII<sup>C</sup> LXXV began began ierst Vlaenderen in zijnre macht te comen want voir dese tijt en wast soe ryc noch soe machting nyet. Want men placht toe te regieren bij forestiers des conyncs van Vrancrijc.

Vlaenderen

Item nae conync Kaerl regierde zijn soen conync Lodewic diemen die goe

[9]

dertieren heet ende had IIII soenen die outste heet Lotharius die hij Ytalien bevoelen had te regieren. Dese Lotharius venc synen vader ende

sloten in een cloester dat hem nyet wel en verghinck want die vader wert van synen heren cort verlost ende die zoen wert versoent mytten vader die nochtan nae synen vader nyet lange en regierde.  
Hec Richardus.

die zoen venc  
den vader

Inden jaer IX<sup>C</sup> ende LXVI worden *Sunte Ponciaen* *Sunte Agniet* ende *Sunte Benignus* van bisscop Balderic van Cleve ijerst tUtrecht ghebrocht. Inden selven tiden wert Utrecht is bemuert.

Sunte  
Ponciaen  
Sunte Agniet

Inden jaer M XXIII wert volmaect die Doemkerk tUtrecht in teghenwoirdicheit keyser Heynrics myt XII bissopen ende ghewyet in die eer Goeds ende *Sunte Meertijn*.

b<sup>132</sup>  
Den doem  
tUtrecht

Inden jaer M ende VII was over al die werlt ghemeenlic grote sterft ende duertijt alsoe seer dat die levende die de doden begraven souden van onghevalle ende armoede biden doden doot bleven.

a<sup>133</sup>  
grote sterft

Item doemen screeff M ende XV werp bisscop Adeboldus die Oude kerck ten

[10]

doem neder dat bisscop V Balderic van Cleve had doen tymmeren ende maectet veel meerre ende costeliker weder.

tnywerc

Inden jaer M ende I<sup>X</sup> XLVIII worden ghesticht van bisscop Bernoldus *Sunte Peters* kerck *Sunte Jans* kerck *Sunte Pouwels* kerck tUtrecht. Ende *Sunte Lebunuskerc* te Deventer.

Nota

Int jaer M LVII leefde *Ancelinus* bisscop van Cantelberch. Item de eo in speculo historale liber XXVI capitulo XXVI.

Inden jaer M ende LXXVII wert ghesticht *Sunte Marien* kerck tUtrecht van bisscop Coenraert.

Sunte Marien  
kerck

Inden jaer M C XXI wert ghesticht dat cloester toe Oestbroeck buten Utrecht van bisscop Godebuldus.

Oestbroeck

Inden jaer M C XXVI leefde Hugo de *Sancto Victore* een Sass gheboeren een canonic *Sunte Victore* te Parijs en een gloriose doctoer in theologien.

Hugo de  
sancto Victore

Inder selver tijt leefde *Sunte Beernaert* abt van Clarevallis of Clarendael ende s sterff doemen screef M C LIII.

Sunte  
Beernaert

Item inden jaer omtrent M C XXVIII bij tiden des pauwes Honorius die anderde begonnen die templiers.

Templiers

Inden selven jaer veel lude ende manne

<sup>132</sup> Inner margin.

<sup>133</sup> Inner margin.

[11]

lieten wassen lanc hair ende worden op een tijt in des keysers heer Lotharius die derde alsoe ghenoemt van blixem verbernt ende dus bleven doe die langhe hair after.

Inden jaer € M C XXXIX sterff Johannes de Temporibus of Jan van Tiden die III<sup>C</sup> ende LX jaer geleefht had van conyncs Kaelrs tiden die hij zijn wapentuerre geweest had tot tiden keyser Ot.

Int Jaer M C L leefden Richardus de *Sancto Victore* ende mede leefde Petrus Lombardus die die meyster vanden hogen synnen heet doctor te Parijs. Item des ghelics Gracianus die dat decreet maecte. Te weten dat dese drie als Petrus Lombardus Gracianus ende Petrus Comestor waren drie gebrueders gheboren uit Tuschia *Percium* Ytalie ongheechte kinder.

Item inden jaer M C XLVIII als Herbertus bispop tUtrecht was verbernde tUtrecht Sunte Meertenskerc Sunte Peter Sunte Pouwel Sunte Johan die cruuus capelle sonder Oudemunster kerck bleeff staen ende dat bruun cruuus sijn belt onghequets hoe wel dattet cruuus dair dat beelt an gheneghelt was te polver mytter ganser capellen voirseit verbernde.

Inden M C LXI leefde die grote cleric abt Joahim ende Peter die Lombaert *magister*.

[12]

sentenciarum bispop van Parijs ende des ghelics Petrus Comestor die scolastica historia maecte.

In desen <sup>tide</sup> wert *Sunte Thomas* eertsbispop van Cantelberch verslegen inden jaer € M C LXX.

Inden jaer M C LXX leefde Godevairt van Bulyoen ende is die negende ende die leste van IX die beste.

Item inden jaer M C ende LXX inden herfst was groet wijnt soe dattet zee water ander stat muer van Utrecht quam ende datmen doe seevisch venck inder stat graften myt seghenen bynnen mueren ende witynck myt netten inden borch wal.

Item omtrent alsmen screeff M CC leefde Helynandus een groet cleric die veel historien ghescreven heet ende was een wijs eerbair monnick.

Item opten kersnacht int jaer M C ende LXXI worden veel vreemder visschen ghesien die wonderlic waren. Ende doe worden grote onsichlike donre gehoert

Inden jaer dair nae M C LXXII bloeyden die boemen dat gras wies die vogel broyden onser vrouwen lichtmisse.

1  
Richardus  
Petrus  
Lomba[rdus]  
Gracianus

grotten brant

abt Joachim

water noet

wonder

vroech tijt

[13]

Inden jaer dair nae LXXIII quam een zwair plage die V ydus in meye van water ende toech boem ende huse neder ende had dat grote water mytten groten storm langher gheduert men had Utrecht verloren ende duerde drie dage lanck ende dair nae quam een groet brant dair die ganse stat van Utrecht volnae mede verbrande om welke plage grote penitencie ghedaen wert. Want Hildebrandus een eerbair man abt van *Sunte Pouwels* tUtrecht predicte hijr of op ons heren hemelvaerts dach seggende ende vermanende dattet ganse volc hem III beterynghen setten souden myt biechten beden aelmissen ende vasten of hi hadde ducht voir meer plaghen alst geviel want des selven daghes des avonts onstac inder stat een groet brant alsoe dat die Buerkerc verbrande ende een groet deel vander stat. Wair om bispot Godevaert van Renen sijn ghemeen raet tzamen riep ende sette een ghemeen vasten ende processie. Ende ghinc selver mytter ghemeenre processien des woensdages nae pinxteren bervoets ende versocht die heilige steden der heiligen bynnen Utrecht myt ynnyghen ghebeden als hi alre devoetelicste mochte.

*Nota*

In desen tiden wert ghetymmert van bispot Goedevaert van Renen IIII castelen

*Nota*

[14]

als die Horst Vollenhoe Montfoirde ende Woerden.

Inden jair M CC ende VIII op *Sunte Cyclaes* avont doe viel die oude toern *Sunte Meertens* tUtrecht.

Item omtrent dair nae als menscreeff M CC XXV bi bispot Otten tiden die een jongher brueder vander Lippe was gheschiede die bloedige strijt voor Coevorden tegen Roeloff van Coeverden die nae bi bispot Hillebrants tiden inden jaer XXVIII ten Herdenberch op een radt gesedt wart dese Roeloff had in zijn hulpe die Drenthen ende bispot Otto had in zijn hulpe greve Gherrijt van Ghelre den greve van Hollant den greve van Cleve den greve van Benthem den bispot van Coelen den bispot van Munsteren ende myts onvoirsienlichkeit dat des bispots heer in een veen quam soncken sij dair in dair wert verslegen die greve van Ghelre Ghijsbert van Aemstel Dirc vander Lippe des bispots brueder die proest van Deventer ende bispot Ot selve die zij zijn crun myt zweerden off villeden ende versmoerden hem in dat veen. Ende hijr bleeff mede doot die vermeerde ridder her Beernt diemen hiet die goede van Horstmeer ende ghescieden opten iersten dach van oest.

*Nota*

Inden jaer M CC XXX leyde bispot Hillebrant den eersten steen vander kercken *Sunte*

*Sunte Servaes*

[15]

Servaes tUtrecht.

Item ynt jaer M CC XXXI sterff *Sunte* Jordanus in Portu Maris *ydibus* februarij ende was een notabel doctoer ende die vierde generael vander prediker oerden nae *Sunte* Dominicus.

Inden jaer M CC XXXVI sloech greve Florens van Hollant om lieften wille Ot zijns brueders die XXVI bispot tUtrecht den Leckedijc van Amerongen tot Scoenhoven ende die greve bleeff daer nae doot inden tornoye van Cleremont.

Inden jaer dair nae M CC XXXIX versmoirden boven V<sup>M</sup> lude in Burgundien. Want een zwair berch deilde hem van den berge dair hi an stont ende sette hem selven over een deel mylen an een anderen berch ende verderff alle die dorpen die onder weghe gheleghen waren dit vijntmen inden cronyken van Romen onder den anderen keyser Frederick.

Inden jaer M CC LVII was conync Willam gheslagen in Vrieslant des dages nae *Sunte* Pouwels dach Conversio. Bij conync Williams tiden leefde Albertus Magnus ende had den conync Willam ten eten te Coelen opten dertiendach inden jaer M II LI. In welker maeltijt hi den conync veel wonders ende nywes toende om den conync te verbliden ende guetelic te onthaelen.

[16]

Ende het was op den dach ende tijt zeer cout ende lach veel snees hij dede die snee vergaan ende wert dair alsoe werm oft mydzomer had gheweest die boem bloeyden dat gras was groen die wijngaert vol blade ende driven ende die vogelkijns songen opten boemen in sijnen h boemgaert ende dit duerde alle tijt dat die conynck in sijn hofstede was. Ende doe <sup>hi</sup> van hem sceyden soude verghinc dat altemael ende snee die lach weder die boemen waren vol snees ende het was e~~o~~<sup>ut</sup> dair kout alst te voeren was etc.

Inden jaer M CC LVII sterff bispot Heynric van Vyennen die in sinen tiden veel striden wan ende venck den heer van Aemstel ende den heer van Woirden ende hi leyde den eersten steen van *Sunte* Meertens kercke doemense van nywes vertymmerde ende was bi conync Williams tiden hi regierde zeer wel ende liet dat Sticht in groten weelden.

Inden jaer dair voir M CC LII greve Ewout van Ghisen ende greef Wolfaert van Bronie Margeriten soenen grevynne van Vlaenderen vergaderden een ontallic heer uit Vlaenderen uit Vrancrijc uit Pirckardien uit Putouwen ende anders omtrent om Walcheren mede te becrachtigen. Ende dair tegens scicte conync Willam Florens sinen brueder myt enen machtigen heer in Zeelant hijr en bynnen sette die hertooge van Brabant ende maecte enen dach tot Antwerpen

[17]

om wat goets hijr tusschen te dedynghen op welken dach conync Willam ende die gravynne van Vlaenderen quamen myt veel ander heren ende

Leckedijc

lantwonder

Nota wat zondelings

een groten strijt tussen die graefinne van Vlaanderen ten eenre ende conynck Willem ten andere zyden

waeren dair drie dage onledich over die dedinge om den vrede te maken. Ende hijr en bynnen beval die gravynne van Vlaenderen heymeliken hueren vrienden dat si in Walcheren trecken souden ende nemen dat lant yn of si conden die welcke myt anderhalf hondert dusent ghewapent op die weghe gheslagen zijn dair mit groter machten teghen quam Florens conync Willams brueder voirseit ende creech die victorie opten vierden dach van julio vanden Vlemyngen ende vanden Walen waren L<sup>M</sup> & verslegen L<sup>M</sup> verdrenct ende L<sup>M</sup> ghevangen die welke die conync Willam doe hi dit verhoerde ende dair quam ende in zijn ghenaeden nam ende sende dat ghemeen volc al naect thus in Vlaenderen ende die maecten doe van gronen erude erriten broeken ende anders omclede dair si huer naecte lede mede bedecten omtrent huer lenden. Ende hijr nae maecten die conync ende die gravynne enen vasten vrede dair si op beyden ziden mede verenicht worden.

Inden jaer M CC LVII wert conync Willam gheslegen in Vrieslant des dages nae Sunte Pouwels dach conversio.

grote strijt

Inden jaer M CC LX quam die conynck

[18]

van Ungarien myt enen groten heer over lant ende had myt hem mit mennigherhande volc over CC<sup>M</sup> ende LX<sup>M</sup> peerde tegen den conync van Beemen die in zijn hulp hadde C<sup>M</sup> peerde dair onder waren wel VII<sup>M</sup> ghewapender peerde ende als dese twe onsichlike heren tzamen quamen wert den strijt opten kant vanden lande van Beemen begonnen alsoe dat uit der groter vergaderynge van peerden soe veel stofs rees dat bi sconen middage die een den anderen nyet bekennen ende nauwe sien en mochten doch wert die conync van Ungarien dair seer ghwont ende vloe mytten synen over die ryvier dair over XIII<sup>M</sup> menschen verdrencten behalven die inden stride sonder ghetal doet bleven.

Item inden jaer M CC LX nae conynck Willams doot stichte joncfrouwe Richarda conync Willams zuster voir sijnre zielen dat cloester te Conyncsvelt.

Inden jaer M CC LXXIII starff Sunte Thomas van Aquinen een groet leerre.

Sunte Thomas

Inden jaer M CC LXXIII verdreeff die meente van Utrecht al huer overste tot XL personen toe ende maecte weder scepen ende rade ute meenten bi hulpe ende toedoen der wilder Kermers Waterlanders ende Vriesen dair die van Amersf

[19]

foerdt ende van Eemlant mede toe vielen ende duerde omtrent II jaer bij tiden biscops Jans van Assouwen.

Item hijr nae inden jaer M CC LXXVI quam her Zweder van Bozichem mitten oversten die vander ghemeenten te voeren verdreven waren ende

Nota

beclam die stat van Utrecht inder dagheraet ende sette die overste weder in huerre macht ende die ghemeente uut hueren regiment niet lange dair nae sommighe vanden ghenen die her Zweder voirseit vander ghemeenten verdreven had quamen heymeliken weder inder stat ende maecten groten twidracht onder den borgeren ende bynnen deser twidracht quam her Claes van Cats ende was mombar van greve Florijs conync Willams zoen myt V<sup>C</sup> ghewapent brac die poerten op ende verdreeff wel XIII<sup>C</sup> pair volx ende sadt inder stat te recht ende sette alle dinc nae zijnre hant.

Item inden jaer M CC LXXVIII sterff Albertus Magnus ende was uit Zwaven ghebornen ende sterff te Coelen ende was een monnick vander prediker oerde een groet leerre in der heiliger schriften.

Inden jaer M CC LXXIX doe was tUtrecht wijfkens brant ende doe verbranden Sunte

[20]

Johan Sunte Peter die Buerkerc Mynrebrueder kerc Sunte Katherinen kerc ende dat meeste deel vander stat op Sunte Gregoriusdach.

Item M CC LXXVIII op Sunte Bonifaes dach vachtmens toe Woeringhen bij Coelen tusschen den hertoge van Brabant ende den bisp van Ludick.

Item inden jaer M CC XCI was Akers die grote stat destrueert dair Godevairt van Balioen in plach te regieren.

Inden jaer M CC XCIII vacht bisp Jan van Zirc op onser vrouwen lichtmisze avont op Zozerenge tegen den heer van Aemstel ende den heer van Woerden ende huer hulpers ende verloer den strijt.

Inden jaer M CC XCVII wert verslegen greve Florens van Hollant up Soezerenge opt sante Johans avont te midde somer van Gherrijt van Velsen ende den heer van Aemstel ende den heer van Woerden.

Inden jaer ons heren M CCC ende een wert gheslegen bisp Willam van Mechelen op te Hoech Woerde op Sunte Meertens scuddekorffs dach van die van Montfoerde sommige croniken houden van die van Duu<sup>v</sup>foerde die quamen in hulpe der stat van Utrecht ende her Jacobs van Lichtenberch dair die bisp tegen street *etc.*

[21]

Inden jaer M CCC ende II vacht men te Cortrijck in Vlaenderen tusschen heren Philips den Witten conync van Vrancrijck ende greve Robbrecht van Vlaenderen op Sunte Margariten avont ende die greve wan den seghe.

Item inden jaer M CCC ende III als bisp Ghie in Zeelant gevangen was ende in Vlaenderen ghevuerd wert resen die partyen in Utrecht tegen malcanderen als her Lambert die Vrese ende her Harman Tutelaer mytten Gunterlingen tegen her Jacob van Lichtenberch. Ende heren Gherrijt

Albertus  
Magn[us]

Wijfkens brant

strijt

Akers

strijt op  
Zozer[e]nge

greve Florens  
doot

Biscop Willam  
van Mechelen

strijt

partien  
tUtrecht

Vrenck ende tegen alle die Lichtenbergers dair grote manslacht ende quaet of quam.

Inden selven jaer was die strijt op Mase tusschen greve Willam van Hollant mytten Fransoysen an de een syde ende greve Ghie van Vlaenderen dair wel X<sup>M</sup> Vlemynge doot bleven ende ontallike ghevanghen myt wel XI<sup>C</sup> scepe ende XC costelike paulioen.

Int jaer M CCC ende V op *Sunte Andries* avont was die strijt op tRijnvelt tusschen her Jacob van Lichtenberch die den strijt verloes tegen die borgers ende Gunterlincs van Utrecht alsoe hem doe die stat verboden was.

Inden jaer dair nae up *Sunte Pancraes* avont verloes her Jacob van Lichtenberch

[22]

noch enen strijt teghen den borgers voirscreven tot Jutfaes bider bruggen.

In desen tijden doemen screeff M CCC ende XXI screeff Nycolaus de Lyra sijn alsoe gescreven staet in postilla *super genesis*.

Item hijr voir als men screef M CCC VIII worden die templiers over al verslegen bij tiden Johan paus die XXII. ¶ Niet lange hijr nae wert ghesticht dat mynrebrueder cloester tUtrecht van die vrouwe vander Eem een dochter van Arkel.

Inden jaer M CCC XV doe was grote duertijt ende alsoe jamerlic als ye gesien was seder Jheremias tiden uitgeseyt dat die moeder huer kijnder nyet en aten. In deser selver tijt ende int jaer dair nae was mede grote sterfft ende die honger was soe groet dat die lude rauwe vleysch ende dat gras vanden velde onghekoect aten ende die arme lude bij groten hopen sonder ghetal in den velde ende inden bosschen ende biden weghen storven ende onbegreven bleven leggen ende dese grote plage stont twe jaer ende dair nae versacht God ende die betert onmatten seer ende wert goy tijt een veerse: Die die duertijt is vergheten die macht bi cucullum weten.

Item dair voir doemen screef M CCC XIII

[23]

wert die goede keyser Heynrick vergheven van enen jacopijn inder hostien dair hijf h dat heilige sacrament in nam.

Inden jaer M CCC XVIII wert h Reynalt greve van Ghelre gevangen van sinen soen ende gheslot om dat hi zijn goede vermynde.

Inden jaer M CCC ende XX des donredages nae *Sunte Johans* dach te midzomer leyd men den eersten steen van *Sunte Meertens* toorn bij Jacop van Oesthoern domdeken ende her Ghijsbert van Everdingen canonick.

strijt opten  
Mase

strijt opt  
tRijntvelt

Nycolaus de  
Lyra

templiers

minrebrueder

sterft

duertijt

soen venct den  
vader

sinte  
Martens  
toorn

Die dair nae inden jaer M CCC LXXXII volmaect was alsoe datmen dat  
cruus ende die wederhaen dair op inde vasten.

Inden jaer M CCC ende XXII waren tUtrecht vier biscopen die een na den  
anderen als her Frederic van Zirck her Jacob van Oesthoern her Jan van  
Bronchorst ende her Jan van Diest.

Inden selven jair op *Sunte* Jans avont te mydsomer ghinc die somervloet  
in vander Leck.

Int jaer M CCC XXVI voir die conynginne van Engelant ende huer  
outste soen myt des conyncs brueder ende her Jan van Henegouwen in  
Enghelant ende vengen den conync machtich ende wonnen dat lant sonder  
weer omtrent Lamberti.

[24]

Inden jaer M CCC XXXI was een groete tafelronde tUtrecht op *Sunte*  
Katherinen velt.

Inden jaer M CCC XLIII opten XIII dach in januario wert bisscop Jan van  
Arkel consacriert bisscop tUtrecht van paus Clemens ende leefde tot inden  
jaer van LXXVIII soe tUtrecht bisscop ende te Ludick.

Inden jaer M CCC XLV off dair omtrent stichte hertoge Reynolt die  
eerste hertoghe van Ghelre dat cloester buten Aernhem Monichusen  
omden groten nederslach ende scade die hi dien van Ludick ghedaen  
hadde.

Inden selve jaer op *Sunte* Odulfs avont lach grave Willam van Hollant  
voir Utrecht myt enen hertoeghe myt XIII greven myt LII baenroersen myt  
XXVIII<sup>c</sup> ridderen ende anderhalf hondert dusent gewapent ende dair toe  
waren mede vijande gheworden der selver stat die her van Arkel des  
biscops brueder her Zweder van Apcoude ende zijn brueder her Aernt van  
Yselsteyn Jan borchgrave van Montfoerde her Heynric van Vyanen her  
Ghijsbert van Starkenborch her Jan van Broechusen her Eerst van Wlven  
ende her Frederic uten Ham ende dit besidt duerde tot *Sunte* Marien  
Magdalenen avont toe. Ende dese grave Willam voir in dit

[25]

selve jaer opten Vriesen ende wert aldair verslegen.

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte* Jacobs dach wert Jacob van Artevelt gheslegen  
bynnen Ghent nae dat hi Vlaenderen X jaer moghentlic had berecht tegen  
greve Lodewich van Vlaenderen.

Inden jaer M CCC XLVI XXVI dage in augusto street te Cressi conync  
Philips van Vrancrijc teghen conync Eduwart van Engelant ende dair  
bleven doot van des conyncs weghen van Vrancrijc die conync van  
Beemen de conync van [\*gap\*] die hertoge van Lothrijnghe die greve van  
Vlaenderen die greve van Alanchon die greve van Beloys die greve van

III biscopen

bisscop Jan van  
Arkel

Monichusen

tbelegge voir  
Utrecht

strijt  
tussch[en]  
Vrancrijc ende  
Engelant

Hercourt die greve van Tenoire die greve van Mommorim myt XV<sup>C</sup>  
edelre man behalven dat ghewoen volc dat sonder ghetall was ende die  
conync van Vrancrijc quam nauwelic ewech ende doe wert Calis vanden  
conync van eg Engelant gewonnen dair hi XLVI weken voir lach ende  
men gaft op van hongher.

Inden selven jaer wert Renen ijerst ghemuert van bisscop Jan van Arkel.

Renen

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte* Ceciliën dach vacht bisscop Jan van Arkel myt  
her Hubert van Culenborch ende myt her Robbert van Arkel ende her  
Jacob van

[26]

Nyevelt opte plaats tUtrecht tegen die Gunterlinge ende verdrevender  
omtrint III<sup>C</sup>.

Inden jaer M CCC XLVII op *Sunte* Praxedis dach streden die van Ludick  
tegen hueren bisscop heren Engelbert van der Merck toe Hasselt dair doet  
bleven her Hubert van Culenborch ende her Robbert van Arkel die ynt  
jaer voerleden vochten myt bisscop Jan van Arkel opter plaetsen tUtrecht  
*etc* ende in desen stride bleven vander ghemeenten van Ludick boven  
XXII<sup>M</sup> man doot ende verslegen.

strijt te Ludick  
toe Hasselt

Inden jaer M CCC XLVII ende XLVIII was alte groten sterft alsoe in  
hondert jaren te voeren nyot gheweest en had dattet derdendeel vander  
werlt nauwe te live en bleeff ende sommighe seyden dat die wateren  
gevenijnt waren van den Joeden die dair veel myt wive ende myt  
kynderen om verbarnt worden bij avonturen meer om haers goeds wille  
dan om hairre scult wille ende die Joeden namen den doot verduldelic  
ende blielic ijerst die kijnder ende nae die wive ende dan die manne doch  
was te duchten dattie plaghe om onser sunden wil quam ende om deser  
plagen wil soe vergaderden hem in Duitslant die gheselbrueders

sterfft

[27]

dair veel goeder lude bisscopen clercken ende leken onder waren ende  
duerde een jaer lanc tot dattet die paus verboet Gregorius die elfste alsoe  
gheheten.

Inden selven jaer was die strijt op Lapers.

*Item* nyet lange hijr nae wert die greefscap van Ghelre ende dat greefscap  
van Gulick ghemaect tot hertochdommen.

Int jaer M CCC XLIX ghingen die gheselbrueders.

gheselbrueders

Inden selven jaer lach bisscop Jan van Arkel sijn maerscalck mytter stat  
van Utrecht voir Yselsteyn des manendages in die crues daghe ende  
creghen dair will off naedat si dair V weken voir ghelegen hadden.

Yselsteyn  
tbelegge

Inden selven jaer wert Oudewater ghewonnen. Inden selven jaer street  
men voor Schoenhoven.

Int jaer M CCC ende L begonnen ierst die partien in Hollant van Hoeken ende Cabbeliaus.

Inden jaer M CCC LI was die strijt op Maese tusschen der keyserynnen keyser Lodewich vrouwe van Beyeren vander Hoececs zijden ende hertoech Willam hueren outsten soen ende was die

[28]

dolle greve hertoech Aelberts brueder vander Cabbeliaus side ende ghesciede te sceep tusschen den Briel ende tGrevensande op *Sunte Meertens* dach inden somer.

Inden jaer M CCC LVI was die strijt te Putiers tusschen den conync van Vrancrijc ende den conync van Engelant ende dair wert conync Jan van Vrancrijc ghevangen ende in Engelant ghevuert myt synen soen Philips die Herdie die doe noch een jonge was.

Inden selven jaer begonnen die partyen ~~va~~ in Ghelrelant als Hekers ende Bronchorst onder hertoech ~~ry~~ Reynolt ende hertoech Eduwaert zijn brueder.

Int jaer M CCC LVII lach grave Willam die den dollen ~~hiet~~ greve hiet voir Nyevelt ende want.

Inden jaer M CCC LVIII wert hertoech Aelbert ontfanghen in Hollant voir ruwairt voir sinen brueder hertoech Willam den dollen greve.

Int jaer M CCC LIX wert hertoech Aernt van Groenendaal in Zonyenbosch buten Bruesel dair cort dair nae alsmen screeff M CCC LXXX prior in was Johan Ruusbroeck die veel goets in Duutsch gescreven

[29]

heeft. In welken cloester Aernt van Rotterdam een groet cleric doctoer in beyden rechten brueder in was die gnatosolitos ende veel boeken ghemaect heeft.

Inden jaer M CCC ende LXI streden hertoech Reynalt ende hertoech Eduwaert voir Tiel. Ende hertoech Eduwaert venc sinen brueder hertoech Reynalt ende ghesciede op *Sunte Urbanus* dach inde mey. Sij storven beyde in enen jaer alsmen screeff LXXI. Eduwardus op *Sunte Bertelmeus* dach Reynalt op *Sunte Barbaren* dach.

Inden jaer M CCC LXII lach die bisscop van Utrecht voir Voerst ende want.

Inden jaer LXIII was die herde wijnter.

partijen in Hollant

die strijt  
opte Mase  
tussen den  
keyserin  
ende hare  
zoen

coninc Jan  
van  
Vrancryck  
gevangen  
ende in  
Engelant  
gevoert

partien in Ghelrelant

Nota

voerst

Inden jaer M CCC LXIII was die heer van Edinghen onthoeft toe Valentzijn in Henegouwen bij tiden hertoech Aelberts van Beyeren grave van Hollant ende van Henegouwen.

Inden jaer LXVI wan hertoech Eduwart Boemel dair hij veel goeder lude onthoefden dede.

Inden jaer LXVII storven in Utrecht boven XI<sup>M</sup> menschen.

Inden jaer doemen screeff M CCC LXX colligerde meyster Peter van

[30]

diemen Collector heet in Brabant zijn boeck opter souter die oec scoen cronyken ghemaect van begin der werlt tot zijnre tijt toe dat men screeff M CCC LXXXV.

Inden jaer doemen screeff M CCC LXXII was een groet brant bijder Jacopinen tUtrecht op *Sunte Odulfs* daeh nacht ende verbranden omtrint III<sup>C</sup> huse dat ierst toe quam van Beernt Haserts huse.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXII was die strijt te Basewijlre int lant van Gulick tusschen hertoech Wenselijn van Brabant die den strijt verloer ende hertoech Eduwaert van Ghelre ende hertoech Wenselijn wert ghevangen vanden hertoeghe van Gulick ende ghevoert te Nydegghen ende hertoech Eduwaert wert gescoten in sijn oge van enen scoenmaker van Tiel gheheten Harman Leerse ende die heer van Vyanen venc dair des greven soen van Sympoel ende die vader bleeff dair doot.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXIII worden die slusen op die Nyevaert eerst begrepen ende die grafft ghegreven totter waden toe.

slusen

Doe wert Ghildenborch ghelymmert.

Int jair M CCC LXXIII ghinc die Lecke vloyt alsoe groet datmen myt scuten vaeren mocht over alt velt omrent

[31]

XIII dach alsoe dat cort dair nae die raedt van Utrecht voir al dat velt over inden Hage ghelyt te betalen van Vredelant dit grote water duerde wel C daghe lanck ende doe brac Ryerweerde in.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXIII ghingen die dansers ende begonnen yerst tot Aken tot in Vrancrijc toe ende waren vergadert van manne ende wive tzamen dansende openbairclic sonder scaemte alsoe datmense bijnden most of si wouden bersten alsoe dat si ten lesten toe Ludick vermaent worden ende doe worden si verlost.

Inden selven jaer van LXXIII lach hertoech voir Ghildenborch VI weken lanck ende want ende dedet besetten. Ende als hi ewech ghetoghen was want die stat van Utrecht weder bynnen anderhalven dach op Sunte Bartholomeus dach.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXVI waren groete stormen die leste meerre dan die ierste dair die dyken off in braken alsoe dat die soute vloyt over al tlant ghynck.

Inden jaer LXXVIII began dat grote scisma of twidracht te Romen want dair worden ghecoren twe pausze ende duerde tot inden jaer M CCCC ende X dair groet quaet oft quam.

Item M CCC LXXIX wert begonnen dat cloester te Eemsteyn.

[32]

Inden jaer M CCC ende LXXX began dat grote oerloge in Vlaenderen tusschen greve Lodewijc ende die van Ghent dat ten lesten tot enen strijt quam ende die greve creech in sijn hulp den conync van Vrancrijc die doe die olyvlamme toenden dien van Ghent ende die van Ghent verloren den strijt ende dair bleven doot wel XX<sup>M</sup> man.

Inden selven jaer vochten die partien bynnen Utrecht als die Lichtenberghers an die een side ende die Gunterlinge an die ander side ende die Gunterlinghe verlorent ende doe worden der Gunterlinge verdreven omtrent XC man behalve wive ende kijnder ende ghesciede op ten xi elfsten dach in julio.

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte* Louwerens dach viel alte groeten haghel van groten stenen die onghewoenlic waren.

Inden selven jaer joncker Reynout jonxste brueder toe Vyanen vercreech an paus Clemens tot Avenyoen dat bisdom van Utrecht nae dode bisscop Florens van Wevelichoven dat hi een jaer te voeren beseten hadde datten selven Reynout ende synen vrienden tot crancken profijt quam.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXXII streden die van Ghent toe Roesbeec teghen grave

[33]

myt hueren hoeftman Fransoys Ackerman teghen greve Lodewich hueren heer ende wonnen den strijt ende wonnen Brug Yperen ende alle dat lant van Vlaenderen uitgheseit Reppermonde Biervliet ende Grevenynghen op des heylighen cruus dach in meye.

Item daer nae inden selven jaer op *Sunte* Lucien dach streden die van Ghent tegen den conynck van Vrancrijck tot Roesbeeck ende verloren den strijt ende dair bleeff doot Philips van Artevelt huer hoeftman ende van den Vlemyngen ende vanden Fransoysen omtrent XXII<sup>M</sup> man.

Inden jaer Ixx M CCC LXXXIII sterff hertoech Wenselijn van Brabant ende greve Lodewich van Vlaenderen die die leste greve was op hem selven.

twidracht van II pauszen

partyen vochten

hagel

strijt van Ghent

die van Ghent contra den conync van Vrancrijck

Item doemen screeff M CCC LXXXV hylicte hertoech Philips van Burgoengen die men Philips sonder lant off Philips die Herdi plach te heten ende hadde te wive een enygh dochter greve Lodewichs van Vlaenderen twe kijnder an hertoech Aelberts kijnder greve van Hollant dats te weten Jan sinen soen an hertich Aelberts dochter ende Margriet zijn dochter an Willam van Oestervant hertoech Aelberts soen.

Nota

Inden jaer M CCC LXXXVI sterff vrouwe Margriet des hertogen dochter van Beyeren hertoech Aelberts vrouwe ende hertoech Willam ende hartoech Jans moeder

Nota

[34]  
upten XVI in februario.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXXVII lach bisscop Florens van Wevelichoven voir Montfoirde.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXXVIII quam die conynck van Vrancrijc myt heer cracht in den lande van Gulick teghen hertoech Willam van Ghelre.

Inden selven jaer wert begonnen dat cloester te Wyndesym reguliers.

Inden selven jaer began dat oirloghe tusschen Arkel en Vyanen ende duerde II jaer lanc.

Inden jaer M CCC LXXXIX sterff die dolle greve Willam van Hollant hertoech Aelberts brueder.

Inden selven jaer sterff bisscop Aernt van Huern bisscop tUtrecht ende nae bisscop te Ludick.

hertoech Jan  
van Beyeren  
bisscop tot  
Ludic

Inden jaer M CCC ende XC in julio nae middezomer wert ghecoren bisscop toe Ludick hertoech Jan van Beyeren.

carthuser  
cloester

Inden jaer M CCC XCII op *Sunte Peternellen* dach leydmien den yersten steen van der carthuser cloester buten Utrecht.

Inden selven jaer wert begonnen dat cloester *Sunte Marien* dael.

Joffrouwe Alijt  
van Poelgeest

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte Mauricius* nacht wert gheslegen joffre Alijt van

[35]

Poelgheest myt Willam die Kuser hueren knecht dair nae veel onlusten of quam.

Inden selven jaer wert tUtrecht inder Nueden degradiert een valsche wi bisscop gheheten Jacob uter stadt van Gulick gheboeren een mynrebrueder nae dien dat hi boven X jaer veel sacramenten valschelic ghegheven had ende wert onthoeft in der Nueden ende bij gracie bisscop Florens van Wevelichoven op *Sunte Jacobs* kerchoff begraven.

valsche  
wybisscop

Inden jaer M CCC XCIII op *Sunte Ambrosius* dach dat was doe goeden vridach onder tombocht sterff ten Herdenberch bispop Florens van Wevelichoven *ende* leyt begraven tUtrecht inden doem voir dat hoge outaer nae dat hi zeer eerlic dat bisdom XIII jaer *ende* V maende gheregert hadde.

Nota

In voirscreven jaer worden begonnen tot Amsterdam dat carthuser cloester *ende* dat nonnen regularissen cloester *ende* dat regulier cloester te Hoern.

Inden jaer M CCC XCIII was begonnen dat bernaediten cloester te Yselsteyn.

Item inden jaer M CCC XCVI op *Sunte Cosmas ende Damianus* dach was die strijt tusschen conync Seghemont van Ungarien *ende* den conync van Thurkien dair ghevanghen wert hertoech Jan van Burgoengen *ende* wert nae ghecofft.

[36]

ARKEL

Inden jaer M CCC XCVI sterff Otto heer van Arkel die nae hem liet Jan sinen zoen die te wive nam *joncfrouwe* Maria hertoech Willams dochter van Gulick hertoech Willam *ende* hertoech Reynalts suster van Ghelre *ende* van Gulick dair hi bi creech Willam sijn soen die toe Gorichem bleeff *ende* Maria zijn outste dochter vrouwe van Egmont dair of ghecomen zijn hertoeghe Aernt van Ghelre *ende* Willam zijn brueder heer van Egmont. Dese Jan heer van Arkel voirscreven was X jaer tresorier hertoech Aelberts van Hollant dese heer van Arkel had grote goede alsoe dat an de side des gheberges gheen baenroets riker en was hi hadde over XXIII<sup>M</sup> nobel des jaers. Want behalven die heerlicheit van Arkel had hi ynt hertichdom van Baer die heerlicheit van Pierpont. Int thertichdom van Lymborch die heerlicheit toe Zutert. In Brabant dat lant van Mechelen myt sloete *ende* myt XXVIII dorpen. In Ghelrelant Ghelremaken Deyl *ende* den borch te Oyen myt VII dorpen. In Hollant Haestrecht die Vlist *ende* Stolck *ende* volnae al dat lant tusschen die *goude* Gouwe *ende* Scoenhoven. In Zeelant die heerscappie Krecke. Int Sticht van Utrecht oec sommyge dorpe bi Lopijck *ende* noch veel meer hijr *ende* daer. Dese hoemoet die hi hijrin hadde brochten

Nota

[37]

dair toe hi hem stac teghen synen oever heer hertoech Aelbert van Hollant dair hi temael om verdt [verderfft, margin] hij wert gheboden rekenschap te doen van sijn trezoerierscap dairt seer toe bracht greve Willam van Oestervant hertoech Aelberts soen want die *heer* van Arkel groten last ghedaen soude hebben den selven Willam greve van Oestervant an hertoech Aelbert sinen vader toecomende vander neder slachten *joncfrouwe* Alijt van Poelgheest dair die die greve van Oestervant Willam voirseit mede bedacht wert *ende* hi en woude gheen rekenschap doen voirden greve van Oestervant ~~an hertoech albert sinen vader~~ *ende* ander die

hi voir zijn vyande helt. Mer hi toech die sake an hertoech Jan van Burgoengen hertoech Anthonis van Brabant ende hertoech Jan van Beyeren elect tot Ludick. Ende doe hem dat nyet gheboeren en mocht wert hi vyant hertoech Aelberts ende zijns zoens Willam greve van Oestervant myt hueren hulperen.

Inden jaer M CCC ende XCVIII omtrint *Sunte Bartelmeus* ende doe ghinck ierst in dat oerloghe van Arkel dair die een den anderen groten scade deden.

Inden jaer dair nae M CCCC ende II als hertoech Willam van Ghelre *etc* voirseit gestorven was der vrouwen van Arkel huer brueder datten den heer van Arkel een alten scadeliken dode was tot zynre ewigher verderffenisse want

Item worden  
vyant des  
heren van  
Arkel die  
hertoech van  
Cleve bycop  
Frederic  
mytter stat van  
Utrecht ende  
die heer van  
Vyanen

[38]

doe ruerde hem hertoech Aelbert *ende* greve Willam zijn zoen alte sterkelic teghen den heer van Arkel *ende* beleyden Gorichem myt bycop Vrederick van Blankenhem *ende* in desen beleg worden ghevanghen van hertoech Aelberts vriende *her Florens van Borselen her Florens van Abeel her Claes Kervinck van Remerzwael* ridders. Op enen anderen dach joncker Walraven van Bredenroede *her Gelis van Schenghen her Daniel van Vyleyn* *ende* veel meer ander datmense nauwe husen en kost in Gorichem. Alsoe dat dat belegge op ghebroken wert in een manyer van vrede XII weken lanck.

In desen tyden ontseyde *her Jan van Rynensteyn* den heer van Vyanen dair her Jan voirseit om verderft wert.

Inden jaer M CCCC *ende* III began weder dat dat Arkelsche oirloghe. Ende inden jaer dair nae sterff hertoech Aelbert *ende* zijn zoen die greve van Oestervant wert heer alsoemen doe ghenen vrede tusschen hem *ende* den heer van Arkel maken en conde soe quam hertoech Willam voirseit voir Ghesperde *ende* Hagesteijn. Bycop Vrederick lach mit sijnre macht voir Eversteyn *ende* sij wonnense beyde *ende* slechtense totter eerden toe. Hjir nae wert een **g** bestant ghemaect tusschen den heren als hertoech Willam *ende* den heer van Arkel

[39]

voirseit. Ende joncker Willam van Arkel des heren soen buten sinen vader bi toe doen joncker Walravens van Bredenroede die doe noch ghevangen was. Ende bij toe doen sommigher van Gorichem die doe des oirloghes muede waren merckende die grote neernsticheit hertoech Willams. Als Coen Jan *ende* Aernt van Heerlair ghebrueders Bronis Woutersoen Ambrosius die Verwer Jan Doncker *her Jan Gardijn* proest toe Gorichem dese alsmen seggen woude den joncker van Arkel gheraden hebben *ende* dair toe ghebracht hem van synen vader te scheyden. Als die heer van Arkel dit vernam toech hi tot hertoech Reynalt van Ghelre sijnre vrouwen brueder. Ende dese acht voirseit waren biden joncker van Arkel *ende* waarden hem als si best costen dat hi hem nyet en ontrede die joncker van Arkel die dit verdroet *ende* oec dat hi van sinen vader ghesceiden was duchtende ofmen hem vergheven mocht off anders heymelic enwech brengen toech mede tot hertoech Reynalt *ende* verenichde hem myt sinen vader. Als joncker Willam van Arkel van Gorichem ghetoghen was *ende*

myt sinen vader verenicht was sorcheden ende duchteden dese acht voirseit  
seer voerden heer van Arkel ende voir synen soen bekennende die grote  
strenghicheit des heren van Arkel voirseit ende saghen wel dat si

[40]

Gorichem teghen hem ande een side ende den hertoge van Hollant ande  
ander side nyet houden en mochten ende mede dat si mytten heer van  
Arkel nyet dedinghen en mochten nae dien dat hem die joncker van ~~ghelre~~  
Arkel of geaen was schichten an hertoech Willam ende settent al op al  
ende dedingden myt hem ende leverden hem dat slot ende die stede van  
Gorichem doemen screef M CCCC ende VII omtrint Pinxteren ende wert  
dair gehult voir enen heer als dat behoert. Kort dair nae quam die joncker  
van Arkel myt ghewapender hant et beclam Gorichem dan hi en conde dat  
slot nyet becrachtighen. Ende aldus wert Gorichem van hertoech Willam  
weder beleghen des quam hertoech Reynalt myt enen groten *heer synen*  
neve den joncker van Arkel te hulpe om hem te ontsetten. Dat hertoech  
Willam brac op ende toech in Hollant doch quam hertoech Jan van  
Beyeren bisp toe Ludick ende maecte een bestant een deel jaren. Ende  
bynnen dien bestant gaff die joncker van Arkel hertich Reynalt die  
heerlicheit van Arkel dus wert nae ghededingt tusschen hertoech Reynalt  
ende hertoech Willam dat hertoech Reynalt overgheven soude hertich  
Willam van Hollant die heerlicheit van Arkel.

[41]

Ende hertoech Reynalt soude hebben voir sinen oncost C<sup>M</sup> cronen ende  
joncker Willam van Arkel L<sup>M</sup> cronen ende die heerlicheit vanden Boem  
ende dat huus te Oyen myt VII dorpen ende m<sup>m</sup> X<sup>M</sup> Rijnsguldens gulden  
uten tol te Lopijck ende des soude hi loven ende zweren nummermeer op  
die eerde van Arkel weder te comen uitghenomen Leerdam ende  
Scoenrewoerde. Dair nae inden jaer M CCCC ende XV alsmen hertoech  
Anthonijs van Brabant sijn uitvaert te Bruesel dede die te Blangijs bleeff  
dair die heer van Arkel mede was ende weder van daen ryden soude wert  
verlaghet ende ghevangkan onder weghen vanden heer van Sevenbergen  
ende her Dirc vander Merwen in eens monnicks cappe inden Hage  
ghevoert van daen ter Goude ende ten laetsten te Sevenberghen in die  
vanghenisse gheleit ende lach XII jaer ghevangen ende ten lesten wert hi  
ghecoft ende woende te Leerdam ende te Scoenrewoerde ende sterff te  
Leerdam ende dair begreven doemen screeff M CCCC XXVIII X in  
september XV dage dair nae als hertoech Willam ghestorven was inden  
jaer XVII beclam die heer van Egmont weder Gorichem ende uit beveel  
hertoech Jans van Beyeren quam die joncker van Arkel doe weder boven

[42]

sijnen eet ende ontseide vrouwe Jacob van Hollant hertoech Willams  
enyge dochter. Ende sij quam voir Gorichem mit hueren vrienden ende nij  
ende street myt hem ende sij wan die strijt ende dair wert joncker Willam  
van Arkel versleghen myt veel van sinen vrienden dair lach scilt ende  
speer ende nam eynde dat Arkelsche bloet ende vrou Jacob behielt  
Gorichem in huer ghewout. Aldus verghingen die grote heren van Arkel  
die seer edel ende gheboertich waren om huerre hoeverdien will.

Her Otto heer van Arkel was van zijns vader wegen	<i>van</i>	Erkell Cleve Voern Verrenborch
Her Jan van Arkel Otten soen was	<i>van</i>	Gulic Brabant Hollant Vrancrijc Ghelre Engelant Mechelen Sympoel
Die vrouwe her Jans moder her Otten vrouwe huer IIII vierdel waren		Baer Lothringen Namen Vrancrijck

[43]

Inden jaer hijr te voeren alsmen screeff M CCC XCIII quam biscop Frederick van Blanckenhem inder stadt van Utrecht gecoren heer om bede hertoech Willams van Ghelre die hem bynnen brocht. Ende dair nae inden jaer XCV als dese selve biscop voir Coevoerden lach dede hem hertoeghe Willam voirseit alle den wederstant dien hi conde om bisscop Frederic dat te hijnderen dit is heren gunst.

biscop  
Frederic

Inden jaer M III CCC XCIII nam hertoge Aelbert van Hollant vrouwe Margarete een dochter te Cleve.

Inden jaer M CCC XCV was bisscop Frederic Coevoerden als voirscreven staet op *Sunte Jans avont* Jacobs avont.

Int jaer XCVII sterff Aelbert hertoch Aelbert van Hollant zijn outste zoen.

Inden selven jaer des donredaghes nae Pinxteren was die strijt toe Cleve daer hertoech Aleph ierste hertoech van Cleve veel groter heren venck ende grote goet van sinen vyanden scatte.

Inden jaer M CCC XCVIII wert begonnen dat cloester te Wijck te Duersteden ende dat beghinien cloester *Sunte Cecilien* inde Nuede tUtrecht.

[44]

Inden M CCCC was groten sterfft tUtrecht.  
Item M CCCC ende I wert begonnen der stat huus van Bruesel.

Inden jaer dair nae ontseyde die heer van Arkel hertoech Aelbert van Hollant voirseit ende doe worden weder vyant des heren van Arkel hertoech Willam greve van Oestervant hertoech aet Adolph van Cleve

myt bispot Frederic mytter stat van Utrecht ende die heer van Vyanen als voirscreven staet.

Item dair nae M CCCC II lach hertoech Aelbert van Beyeren greve van Hollant voir Gorinchem myt dien voirscreven staen.

Inden selven jaer den XVI dach in februario sterff hertoech Willam van Gelre tot groeten afterdeel des heren van Arkel die hertoech Willams zuster voirseit te wive had dese hertoech Willam regierde XXIII jaer begraven toe Monickhusen buten Aernhem.

Inden jaer M CCCC IIII sterff die vrouwe van Burgoengen greve Lodewichs van Vlaenderen sijn enige dochter ende Philips diemen hiet die Herdi hertoech van Burgoengen vrouwe.

Inden selven jaer sterff die hertoech Philips van Burgoengen voirseit te Halle

[45]

nae dat hij XX jaer gheregert hadde.

Inden selven jaer wert Anthonis zijn zoen ruwaert van Brabant.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende VI sterff die oude vrouwe Sunna van Brabant ende Anthonis van Burgoengen hertoech Philips soen h wert hertoech van Brabant.

vrou van  
Brabant

Inden jaer M CCCC ende IIII sterff hertoech Aelbert van Beyeren greve van Hollant op *Sunte Lucien* dach naedat hij XLVII jaer gheregert hadde soe ruwaert soe here.

doot hertoge  
Aelberts

Inden jaer M CCCC ende VII op *Sunte Clemens* dach inden avont wert ghesleghen doot die hertoege van *ot Oirliens*.  
*Iuxta illud* Contere brachium peccatoris.

hertoge van  
Oirliens

Inden jaer M CCCC ende VIII den iersten dages nae *Sunte Mauricius* dach was die strijt toe Ludick tusschen den here van Parvis ende den heer van Rotselair ende meer heren myt dien van Ludick teghen hertoech Willam van Hollant hertoech Jan van Beyeren *die in sijn* bispot te Ludick hertoech Jan van Burgoengen den greve van Namen ende den greve van Zeyn ende meer ander heren. Ende in desen strijt bleven doot vanden Ludekers die den strijt verloren boven XXXVI<sup>M</sup> man ende vander Hollanscher ziden XV<sup>C</sup> manne etc.

strijt te Ludick  
etc

[46]

Inden selven jaer als die strijt van Ludick was streden die Scotten op die Enghelschen. Ende die Zwitzers streden teghen der hertoech van Oestenrijck des ghelycs die Tartaren *contra* die van Babilonyen.

In den selven jair was die grote vorst van *Sunte Nyclaes tot Sunte Pouwels* dach conversio duerende omtrent VII weken ende VIII daghe daer nae vroest weder een maent duerende.

grote vorst

Inden jaer M CCCC ende X quamen die conync van Polen myt hertoech Wittolt van Lettouwen myt soe groten heercraft in Prusen dair die Prusche heren teghen quamen des dages nae den heyligen cruus dach exaltacionis soe dat bleven inden stride doot boven XC<sup>M</sup> ghwapent dair onder waren VI<sup>C</sup> cruce hijr was mede teghen den Pruschen heren die conynck van Craechouwen.

In den selven jaer opten XX<sup>sten</sup> dach van september wert toe Franckevoirdt keyser ghecoren conync Seghemont conync van Ungherien etc. Die dair nae als men screeff M CCCC XIII acht dage in november ghecroent werdt tot Aken ~~van~~ dair op die tijt bispop Dirc van Moirse archibiscop van Coelen sijn ierste misse sanck dit staet oec hijr nae ghescreven opter tijt dat die bispop sterff van Coelen sterff voirgeseit etc.

[47]

Inden jaer M CCCC ende X waren drie pauzen ghelyck die een hiet Benedictus of Petrus de Luna ende stont synen stoel tot Avenyoen in Vranckrijck die ander Gregorius of Angelus Corario ende stont zijn stoel te Romen ende omdat dese twe nyet overdraghen en conden soe coeren die cardinalen tot Pijse enen derden ende hiet Alexander off Petrus de Condia vander mynrebrueder oorden een wijs gheleert man diemen zijn gheslacht nye en kende als een vondelinck.

drie pauzen

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XIII in julio XII dage worden die Lichtenbergers die van Clarenborch die Prusingher ende die Grawerdingher tezamen uter stat van Utrecht verdreven.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XV opten Pinster avont wert Jan van Spiegel uter stat van Utrecht verdreven myt synen vrienden wel tot IIII<sup>C</sup> borger.

Inden selven jaer M CCCC ende XV up *Sunte Crispijn ende Crispiniaens* dach was die strijt van Vrancrijc te Blangijs tegen conync Heynric van Enghelant. Dair doet bleven hertoech Anthonis van Brabant die greve van Nyevvers zijn brueder ende mennich edel man. Iuxta illud Francia fle iam Anglia te sevo vicit ense. Te weten dat in

[48]

die strijt te Blangijs bleven doet boven VIII<sup>C</sup> pair gulden sporen ende wel XX<sup>M</sup> ghwapent dair mede bleven behalven die hertoghe van Brabant etc die heer van Bair die greve van Alonso her Jan van Bair her Jan van Bourbon die heer vander Ameyde in Henegouwen die heer van Likerck her Henric van Likerc die heer van Foys mit sinen broeders die drossaet van Henegouwen die heer van Rotselair die provoest van Parijs die constavel van Vrancrijck her Jan van Bredenrode. Ende worden ghevanghen die hertoech van Oirliens die hertoech van Bourbon die greve van Haeme die greve van Ritsemont die heer van Ghistele die heer van

Lingi ende sijn zoen Kaerl van Gommegijs her Huge van Lannoy her Anthonis van Bruelis.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XV wert ghesticht dat cloester te Redichem.

Inden selven jaer began ierst die onghelove te Prague inden jair dair nae XXI predict men in allen landen dat cruus opten Praegschen.

Inden selven jaer wert die heer van Arkel ghevangen in Brabant vanden heer van Sevenbergen ende her Dirc vander Merwen ende in een monnics cap inden Hage ghevoert ende hertoech Willam ghelevert ende lach XII jaer gevangen in vanghenisse des heren van Sevenbergen ende wert nae ghemoft als voirseit is.

[49]

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XVI sterff Willam Eggart thesaurier van Hollant nae dat hi in den selven jaer proest van Oudemunster tUtrecht gecoren was.

Willam Eggart

Inden jaer M CCCC XVII sterff te Comingen die dolphijn van Vrancrijck vrou Jacobs van Hollant ~~huerr~~ hertoech Willams dochter huer ghetroude man.

dolphijn

Inden selven jaer sterff hertoech Willam van Hollant tot Boecheym in Henegouwen opten lesten dach in meye nae dat hij bi XIII jaer gheregiert hadde ende leit begraven toe Valensijn under mynrebrueder cloester myt hem derden greven die al Willam gheheten hebben.

hertoech  
Willam

Item Jan Heerman van Leyden raet hertoech Willams voirseit starff nae hertoech Willam voirseit als men screef XVIII des vridages nae beloken paeschen.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XVI worden te Constans ghebernt dair doe dat concilium was als onghelovighe lude in teghenwoirdicheit paus Meerten Jan Huus ende sijn ghesel nae hem Jheronimus. Item dit concilium began doemen screeff XIII ende duerde tot datmen screeff XVIII.

**Nota**

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XVII wert ghecoren te Constans paus Meerten die te voeren hete Otto de Columpna ende paus Jan wert dair off gheset die te voeren Baltazar

**Nota**

[50]

Cossa hiet ende ghesciede op *Sunte Meertens* dach inden wijnter.

Inden selven jaer wert van keyser Seghemont te Constans greve Adolph van Cleve die ierste hertoech ghemaect die inden jair dair nae began te stichten dat carthuser cloester opte grave inden Rijn bij Wesel.

Inden selven jaer quam hertoech Jan van Beyeren toe Dordrecht des donredages voir Sunte Victoer.

Inden selven jaer quam her Willam van Egmont tot Yselsteyn ende want op des heiligen sacraments dach.

Inden selven jair toechmen voir Yselsteyn die stat van Utrecht mytten Hollanders ende wonnent ende destrueren alte zamen slot ende mueren ende alle dat dair was ende eerden die straten om omtrent *Sunte Jans* misse te midsomer.

Inden selven jaer II daghe nae *Sunte Elizabeth* quam joncker Willam van Arkel mitten den heer van Egmont ende beclommen Gorinchem boven den eet die joncker Willam gedaen had dair nyet weder in te comen als voirseit is ende doe hi dair in was ontseyde hi vrouwe Jacob van Hollant. Ende sij quam daer mytter stat van Utrecht ende myt hueren vrienden.

[51]

ende street mit hem op *Sunte Loyen* dach ende wan den strijt ende dair wert joncker Willam verslegen dair namen eynde die grote heren van Arkel ende sijn temael vergaen die soe rijck soe edel ende soe machtich waren als voirseit is.

Inden ~~m~~ jaer M CCCC XVIII nam vrou Jacob van Hollant van Hollant ende besliep den hertoeg van Brabant gheheten hertoech Jan op *Sunte Gregorius* avont.

hijlic vrou  
Jacobs

Inden selven jaer lachmen voir Dordrecht op *Sunte Louwerens* dach wonnen die van Dordrecht dat blochus in Papendrecht.

Inden selven jaer was doetghesleghen die greve van Armeiack toe Parijs.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XIX worden verenicht hertoech Jan van Beyeren ende die hertoech van Brabant bij toedoen hertoech Philips van Burgoengen den jonghen hertoech ende den nyewen.

In desen selven jaer was gheslegen hertoech Jan van Burgoengen hertoech Philips vader toe Montroen. Iuxta illud crucifige crucifige.

Item inden selven jaer nam hertoech Jan van Beyeren hertoech Anthonis weduwe

[52]

van Brabant te Lutzelborch ende liet dat bisdom van Ludick staen dair hij nochtan subdiaeck ende die poues ~~myt~~ dispensierde myt hem.

Inden selven jaer wert ierst begrepen dat cloester toe Jheruzalem toe Jherusalem buten Utrecht.

Jherusalem

Inden selven jaer wert transferiert *Sunte Agnieten* lichaem inden doem tUtrecht bij bisscop Frederic van Blanckenhem.

Inden selven jaer wert bispot Frederic ghehult toe Groenengen dat doe lange vanden Sticht gheweest hadde.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XX lachmen voer Leyden.

Inden selven jaer began die onghelove te Prague in Bremen want doe begonnen wert ierst te prediken in desen lande tegen der selver onghelove al had sij en wijl te voeren gheweest.

Inden jaer M CCCC XXI brac die Zoute weert in dair altegroten scade ghesciede etc. Iuxta illud Hollant hoc flebat Lysabeth aque cumque furebat.

Inden selven jaer was tUtrecht grote pestilencie alsoe dat dair een wijltjts alle dage III<sup>C</sup> doden waren.

Inden selven jaer was dat oirloghe

[53]

tusschen Hollant ende Ghelrelant an die een side ende dat Sticht van Utrecht an die ander side welke last ende oirloge die stat van Utrecht heerlic wederstonden ende quamen dair myt eren off dair nochtan grote sterfft was totten last vanden oirloge. Iuxta illud Utrecht gaudete quod hec ego refero de te mira peregisti Hollant Ghelre obstanto vicisti.

Zouteweerde

oirloge van  
Utrech[t]  
contra Hollant  
ende  
Gelrel[ant]

Inden selven jaer wert dat nye choer Sunte Marien tUtrecht gewijt ende bispot Coenraet die die kercke stichtte transferiert vanden ouden coer inden nywen ende ghesciede XIII dage in meerte.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXI was die reyse toe Brusel dair ghevanghen worden bynnen der stat vanden borgheren omtret VI<sup>C</sup> man ende VII<sup>C</sup> peerde dair onder waren hertoech Jan van Brabant die heer van Hensberge die greve van Moerse die proest van Aken ende was een brueder toe Bueren ende mede II<sup>C</sup> ridder ende knechten.

**Nota**

Inden selven jaer XI daghe in aprille ghesciede alte groten scade van brande te Amstelredam dair verbrande dat raithuus dat gasthuus die nywekerc die heilige stede en wel nae dat derdendeel vander stede.

Inden selven jaer was dat koern costelic ghenoech men coft een mud weits om V *gulden* haver om II *gulden* VII

[54]

braspenningvoirden *gulden* dit waren tUtrecht drie plagen in eenre tijt zwair oorloge duertijt ende grote sterft. Men meende dat doe inder stat storven boven XV<sup>C</sup> weerachtiger borgher die si doe qualic ontberen mochten doch God halp hem ende versacht dat si daer eerlic duer quamen.

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte Jans* dach te midsomer sterff hertich Reynolt van Ghelre te Lit inde Velue ynt velt.

hertoge  
Reynout

Int jaer M CCCC XXIII sterff bispot Frederic van Blanckenhem opten IX<sup>ste</sup> dach in october opt thuis ter Horst.

bis Frederics doot

In deser tijt starff bispot Ot van Munsteren gheboeren vander Hove die den Stichte van Munsteren ghedachtenisse weerdich is.

bis Ot van Munsteren

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXIII als hertoech Reynalt ghebleven was wart daer in den selven jaer optie octave van *Sunte Peter ende Sunte Pouwel* joncker Aernt van Egmont als recht erffghenaem an ghenomen voir een heer ende hertoech van Gelre was doe XIII jaer out. Ende dair nae inden selven jaer op *Sunte Maria Magdalenen* dach wert hem ghesekert tot enen wive Katherijn hertoech Adolphs dochter van Cleve van VII jaren out.

hertoech van Gelre

[55]

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXIII wert vrouwe Jacob van Hollant ghesceyden van hertoech Jan van Brabant want si malcander te nae waren ghemaect want hertoech Jan voirseit was huer oems soen. Item hertoech Anthonis hertoech Jans vader ende vrou Jacobs moeder waren zuster ende broeder ende des ghelycs hertoech Jans vrouwe of wijff van Burgoengen was vrou Jacobs muede s hertoech Aelberts dochter etc als voirscreven staet. Aldus nam vrouwe Jacob voirseit den hertoech van Gloucester tot enen man ende was des ouden conyns van Engelant die doe doot was zijn zoen ende een oem vanden conync die doe leefden dat nyet wel en verghinck want die hertoech van Brabant nam dat onweerdelic ende toech in Henegouwen ende wan Breyn. Ende die hertoech van Closester liet ~~dat hij liek~~ vrouwe Jacob ende toech en wech ende voir weder in Enghelant dair hi bleeff ende nyet weder en quam bi hair etc.

vrou jacob  
ghescheiden van  
den hertoech  
van Brabant

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXV opten XIII avont starff hertoech Jan van Beyeren na dat hij VII jaer gheregiert hadde.

hertoech Jan  
van Beyeren

Inden selven jaer lachmen voir Schoenhoven XXIIII weken lanck ende IIII daghe ende sceiden dair off *Sunte Jans* dach decollatio.

Inden selven jaer quam hertoech Philippus van Burgoengen in Hollant ende wert ruwaert des lants des jaers dair

[56]  
nae inden meye.

Inden jaer M CCCC XXVI wert die joncker van Bredenroede ghevangen ende neder ghetoghen myt V<sup>C</sup> ghewapent op onser vrouwen avont natitatis.

Item dair nae op *Sunte Wilboerts* dach inden selven jaer quam hertoech Philips van Burgoengen voir Amersfoirdt ende stormde dat om gunsten beden wil bispot Zweders ende hi en wans nyet ende sceyde myt luttel eren van dair want hem die van Amersfoirdt manlicke weerden ende behielden huer stat.

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte Ponciaens* avont was die strijt te Brouwershaven ende doe lach vrouwe Jacob bynnen e der Goude. Inden selven jaer wert verdreven bisscop Zweder van Culenborch uit *zijne* der stat van Utrecht dat veel als men seide bi sinen sculden toe quam.

bis Zweer

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXVII lach vrouwe Jacob *etc* voir Hairlem myt hueren vrienden ende en bedreven nyet veel.

hertoge Jan  
van Brabant

Inden selven jaer up ten wittendone dach sterff hertoech Jan Brabant die XII jaer regierde ende Philips zijn brueder wert hertoech van Brabant die nyet dan vier jaer en regierde *etc*.

Inden selven jaer op die meye avont street te Alphen vrouwe Jacob *etc* myt hueren vrienden teghen

strijt tAlphen  
Nota

[57]

die vriende Philips van Burgoengen die den strijt verloren.

Inden jaer M CCCC XVIII omtrent palm lachmen voir Sevenbergen ende wert gewonnen dair wert verderfft die heer van Sevenbergen ende sterff te Coelen in armoede.

Sevenbergen

Inden selven jaer worden versoent hertoech Philips van Burgoengen ende vrouwe Jacob van Hollant. *Iuxta illud* vidi Jacob venire in civitatem de Delff **allegati**.

Nota

Inden selven jaer des donredaghes nae *Sunte Agnieten* dach bleeff in Culenborch doot die proest van Aken ende was alte coenen heer ende was een brueder tot Bueren.

Int jaer M CCCC ende XXX began dat *consilium* te Basel dair luttel goets off quam.

concilium te  
Basel

Inden selven jaer omtrent *Sunte Louwerens* sterff te Loeven hertoech Philips van Brabant. Ende Philips heer van Burgoengen wert heer van Brabant.

Nota

Inden selven jaer quam vrouwe Elisabeth van Poirtegael ter Sluus ende wert vrouwe hertoghe Philips van Burgoengen.

Inden selven jaer wert Eugenius paus ghecoren die ierst hiete Gabriel Codelmaro.

Eugenius

Int selve jaer wert ghevanghen her Vronc van Borselen die ghelost wert ende wert nae greve van Oestervant *etc*.

[58]

Int jaer M CCCC XXXII was als legaat van dess stoels weghen van Romen tUtrecht die bisscop van Machon die twidracht vanden twee bisscoppen Sweder van Culenborch ende Rodolph van Diepholt te verenighen.

Inden jaeren XXXI XXXII XXXIII XXXIII waren grote vorsten. Inden jaer XXXII duerde die vorste LXXX dage lanck ende inden jaer XXXIII begant te vriesen op *Sunte Elizabethen* dach tot *Sunte Scolastica* toe nochtan lach dat ijs dair nae soe sterc datmen over die Zuer zede myt ossen dreef tot *Sunte Mathijs* dage toe ende wert ierst gaende VI dage in meerte.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXXIII op *Sunte Peter* ende *Sunte Pouwels* avont omtrint drie uren nae middaghe was een grote eclipsis solis dair die rechte duusternisse omtrint een ure duerde.

Inden jaer XXXIII wert Philips van Burgoengen ierst greve van Hollant van Zeelant ende Henegouwen.

Nota

Inden selven jaer lach te Dygon vrouwe Elizabeth van Burgoengen van hueren derden soen Kael omtrint *Sunte Meerten* inden wijnter.

Nota

Inden selven jaer omtrint vastelavont sterff te Basel bispop Zweder van Culenborch.

bis Zweder

[59]

In den jair M CCCC ende XXXV wert gesoent die onvrede tusschen den conync van Vrancrijck ende hertoech Philips van Burgoengen tot Atrecht. In den selven jaer lach hertoech Aernt van Ghelre voir Bueren ende want ende verdreeff den heer van Bueren uten lande alsoe dat hi temael verderft was.

Bueren

Int jair dair nae lachmen voir Calion.

Int jaer XXVI op *Sunte Dyonisiusdach* sterf te Teylingen te drie uren nae middach vrouwe Jacob van Hollant hertoech Willams dochter van Hollant die dair voir geboren wert doemen screef M CCCC ende een ende sij sterff op *Sunte Meertens* dach inden somer.

vrou Jacobs doot

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXXVII quamen die keyser van Constantinobel ende sijn patriarch in Ytalien bij Eugenius den paus etc.

Nota

Inden selven jair was duer tijt alsoe datmen een herinc vat weits cofft om IIII peters.

Int jaer M CCCC ende XXXVIII sterff keyser Segemont ende was conync van Ungarien LII jaer conync van Beem XXVIII jaer keyser ghecroent VI jaer.

keyser starff

[60]

Inden jaer dair nae XXXIX was tUtrecht grote sterfft.

Inden jair M CCCC ende XL wert keyser Frederick die derde alsoe gheheten ghecoren tot enen keyser.

keyser  
Frederic

Int jaer M CCCC ende XLVI was die grote storm op palmdach.

Inden selven jaer venck joncker Heynric outste soen van Montfoirde heren Jan borchgrave te Montfoirde sinen vader die inder selver vanghenisse sterff welke soen voirseit dair nae inden jaer LIX des dages nae *Sunte* Ponciaens dach jamerlic sonder sacramenten ende bekennen starff in Lichtenberch tUtrecht in sijn bedde.

Nota  
borchgrave  
ghevangen

Inden jair XLVII sterff pauwes Eugenius ende doe wert ghecoren pauwes Nycolaus die te voeren Thomas hiet een meyster inder heiligher scrifft.

*Eugenius*

Inden selven jaer ghesciede die strijt inden lande van Gulick tusschen hertoech Aernt van Ghelre ende den hertoge van Berge om dat lant van Gulick ende die hertoeghe van Berghe behield dat velt op *Sunte* Huberts dach.

Inden jaer M CCCC XLVIII gdinghen ende

[61]

sceyden hem die van Zoest vanden sticht van Coelen ende ghaven hem onder den hertoghe van Cleve dair groete oirloge off quamen tusschen den bisscop van Coelen ende den hertoech van Cleve ende die *ele* here van Cleve behield die stat van Zoest myt groter wijsheit arbeit ende cracht ende had in sijn hulp den bis van Utrecht bisscop Roeloff die mede vyant wert des bisscopps van Coelen etc ende veel meer ander heren etc.

Zoest

Inden jaer M CCCC ende XLVIII des anderen dages nae *Sunte* Mauricius dach sterff hertoech *Ael* Aleph die ierste hertoge van Cleve unus Occubuit primus Adolphus heu Cleve dux graeff tecle vegitur cras lugubre tegitur. Item dese selve Aleph wert ghebornen alsmen screeff M CCC ende ~~I~~ LXXI dus was hi out doe hij sterff LXXVII jaer.

hertoge Aleph  
doot

Inden selven jair quam her Dirck van Moirse bisscop van Coelen mytten Bemers mytten hertoghe van Zassen ende den heer van Sternenborch ende veel ander heren ridder ende knechten boven L<sup>M</sup> gewapent voir Zoest dair hertoech Jan van Cleve in was ende wederstont dat eerlicke ende dat groete heer scheide vander stat mit luttel eren.

Zoest

[62]

Inden jair M CCCC ende XLIX op *Sunte* Blasius nacht quam bisscop Rodolph van Diepholt doer een gat dat hem ghemaect was inder stat muer van sinen vrienden die hi inder stat had ende croep selve doir dit gat mit [\*\*\*, words are illegible] *joncker van* Coenraet van Diepholt sinen neve den proest van Deventer heren Ghijsbert van Bredenrode domproest mytten joncker van Montfoirde ende myt dien van Amersfoirdt ende myt ander sinen vrienden ridder ende knapen ende *beerachtige* becrachtichde die stat ende quam myt een groet ghecrijft of gheroep inde Nuede opten selven nacht hielte die joncker van Gaesbeec hoff in Lichtenberch ende dansede mytten *þ* joncfrouwe. Doe die van Renesse mytten Pruessingher

*bis* Roeloff  
*doert gat quam*

dit verhoerden wecten zij huer vriende op die hem lauwelic te hulpe quamen doch mytten selven die si crighen conden gdinghen si huer vijande te ghemoet mit werender hant ende vochten myt hem manlic. Mer die bycop mitten synen sloegense ende sij worden seer gewont die Pruessinger ende bleven huerre zomme dair leggen vooir doot op die Gansmerct bide Bonte Kan dair sij vachten als Jan van Tiel Roetart Prues ende Jan van Lichtenberch Pruessoen was mit een pijl ghescoten dair hi des anderen dages an sterff Jacob van Amerongen was oec seer ghewont ende

[63]

Heynric van Masch was seer ghewont in beyde zijn benen dair hi nae an starff ny cort dair nae etc. Aldus dronghen die bycop mit sinen vrienden voert ende quamen an die plaets dair bycop Roeloff zeer ghewont wert in zijn been ende was oec zeer gheslegen op zijn hoeft want in zijn yseren hoet was een groet gat ende hi lach dair neder gheslegen opten hoec vande marsegast hude opter plaetsen docht stont hi op ende ghinc commerlic dat hem nyemant en kende ende clopte i anden scoutes huus Peter Grauwert dair hi in ghelaten wert ende wert gheleit op een bedde ende wert verbonden ende gherynicht vanden bloede ende sijn vriende en wisten nyet wair hi was ende waren in groten sorgen ende hadden hem lange tijt verloren ende was van sinen vrienden die hem verwaerden ghedwaelte ende lach lange tijt ziec anden wonderen ende ghinc dair nae langhe tijt op tween crucken. Item hi worden ghevangen van dien diet coregiment hadden inder stat. Die joncker van Gaesbeec wert ghesekert tot Erst van Amerongen. Item Jan Frederic van Rynesse Jan van Renesse die hem coften ende seer ghescat worden. Item Roetart Prues die in die vangenis starff Jan van Tiel Jacob van Amerongen. Item Aernt van Ameronghe ghe

[64]

vangen ende cort dair nae optie plaetse onthoeft. Item Henric Jacobsoen een out man ghevangen ende myt Aernt van Amerongen onthoeft op enen dach. Item Jacop Pruys ghevanghen ende seer ghewont ende ghevuerd op die Horst ende al myt Hubert van Pallaes ende dair in vanghenisse geleyt inden stock dair sij beyde nae uit braken myt groter subtyllicheit ende quamen vrij enwech. Ende die domdeken her Jan Pruys die quam heymelic uter stat ende veel ander vander selver partien [Aelbert Pruys verdreven myt Beernt zijn zoen, margin] ende Jan Zewiken wert ghevanghen ende zeer ghepinicht ende meer ander etc. Item als dese verslegen ende verdreven ende gevangen waren soe werttet ghededingt tusschen bycop Roeloff ende den joncker van Gaesbeec alsoe dat hi hem over gaff Wijc toe Duersteden [ende Apcoude, margin] ende behielt zijn lijftocht dair an ende had XI dusent Rijnsken gulden te toe of dair omtrent. Ende bycop Roeloff wert ghehult vooir een heer tot Wijc toe Duersteden. Aldus quit brocht hij Wijc [ende Apcoude, margin] an dat Sticht etc van Utrecht. Item nyet lange dair na her Jan Pruys wert domdeken wert ghepriviert van zijnre domdekeny en die hi nae weder creech doe de Grawerdinger verdreven worden etc. Ende in deser tijt voirseit hadden die Grawerdinger dat regiment

[65]

mitten hueren vrienden diet myt hem hielden als Goyert Bot Aernt ver Horst ende jonge Eerst van Herdenbroec *etc* diet zeer neernstich waren ende strenghe [ende meer ander goeder manne *etc, margin*]. In hueren tijden worden gherecht twe goede borghers Heynric van Renynghen die in voirtiden mit her Jan van Renesse ridder ghewoent had ende vli Oelric Liebaert een schilder des manendages nae palm in die passi weke.

[Item worden verdreven Gerrijt Knijf ende Jan Knijf, *margin*]. Item Dirc van Hagenouwen poerter tot Scoenhoven op *Sunte Meertens* dach inden somer. Item die scout vant Oestveen op *Sunte Lebuijns* dach inden *wijnter* ende ander lude van Jutfaes of lant lude die der Pruessinger vriende waren gherecht ende ghevierdelt ende die stucken van elcken vierdel boven voir elker poerten ghehanghen *etc*. Item [worden verdreve Jan Lichtenberch ende Braem van Lichtenberch ende Vreric van Mas, *margin*] Rijnouwen een zuverlic slot ~~bute~~ te Vechten dat Frederick van Renesse toe hoerden wert [van, *margin*] hem luden verbernt ende den steen off ghebroken ende inder stat ghebrocht ende vercoff. Item van Wlven dat Jan van Renesse toe hoirde Fredericks brueder braken sij ~~he~~ oec poerten ende dueren off ende lietent soe verwoest leggen. Int leste verhieff [\*\*\*, word is illegible] ~~gheeft~~ hem die heren vander ecclesien teghen hem ende haelden den domproest in teghen hueren

[66]

wil dat ~~hem~~ [dier partien voirseit, *margin*] nyet wel en verghinck *etc*.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende LI op *Sunte Ambrosius* dach ende was doe des sonnendages te midvasten wert ghecroent keyser Frederic tot Romen die derde alsoe ghenoemt van den pauwes Nycolaus den p V alsoe ghenoemt.

keyser  
Frederic  
gecroent

Inden selven jaer was die cardinael Nycolaus de Cusa als legaet vanden pauwes hijr inden lande ghesent ende predicte dat oflaet vanden gulden jaer ende predicte op *Sunte Jans* kerchoff op onser vrouwen dach nativitatis dede hi die hoechmisze *Sunte Marien*. Item sette off die abt van *Sunte Pouwels* her Willam van Huekel ende outabten onder der hoechmissen in tegenwoirdicheit bisscop Roelofs van Diepholt ende sette enen anderen abt uten cloester van Egmont een reckelic man *etc*.

Nycolaus de  
Cusa

Inden jaer M CCCC LIII des sonnendages XVI dage in februario dede hertoech Philips van Burgoengen een bancket ende dair was ierst ghesueert te trekken opten Turcken dair nyet of en quam.

Ghent

Inden selven jaer dair voir lach die hertoech van Burgoengen Philips voir Ghent die in een strijt van hem verwonnen worden *etc*.

[67]

Inden jaer M CCCC ende LV opten dertien avont reet bisscop Rodolph van Diepholt laitste in mistroesten uter stat van Utrecht dair hi nye levende weder in en quam die saeck van deser droevenissen was om dat hi luttel troest ende hulpen ende wijsheit vant anden oversten van Utrecht

Nota

als an den Grawerdingher die doe ~~dat regiment~~ regierden ende dat regiment bij synen toedoen ende incoemst ghecregen hadde etc.

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte Pouwels* dach conversio creghen die meent van Utrecht dat regiment vander stat tegen der oversten wil ende duerde nyet lange. Want sij maecten veel dinghen die voir nyet gheweest en hadden alst becken slach si wouden ghelt hebben vanden beghinien cloesteren van elcke cloester een seker somme ende setteden in elcke cloester XII of XV man die si mosten eten gheven alle dage ter tijt toe dat si die somme ghelts gaven ende sij gaven den luden eten mer die meeste hoep en wouden geen ghelt gheven ende gaven hem nyet want sij vanden elect mytten heer van Bredenroede ende mytten joncker

[68]

van Montfoirde ~~en~~ myt hueren vrienden die inde Nuede quamen myt ghewapender hant dair die meente myt een beckenschich ghewapent vergadert stonden verwonnen sonder bloetstortinge uitghenomen een houtsager bleef dair doet en een spoermaker een luttel gewont den die elect heer Ghijsbert van Bredenroede bescudde dat hi ontquam mytten live ende liepen bij groten hopen en wech ende vloegen wat si mochten. Doe ghingen die elect die heer van Bredenroede zijn brueder die heer van Gheinen die joncker van Montfoirde myt hueren vrienden boven op die camer in dat hoechhus van de Nuede datt ynt Glynt heet ende setten die borghermeysters ende overste oudermans vander meenten off ende setten weder vier overste van hueren vrienden die sij wouden ende verboden dat becken te slaen op lijf ende goet ende setten al off dat die meente ghemaect ende gheordiniert hadden etc. Dit voirseit was op *Sunte Marcus* dach.

Item inden jaer ~~hijr voir liii~~ LII op onser vrouwen avont *annunciacio* sterff te Vollenhoe bispop Rodolph van Diep

bis Roeloffs  
doot

[69]

hout die tUtrecht ghevuerd wert myt beteemliker eren ende vanden vijff calesyen myt crucen ghehaelt tot buten die Wittevrouwen poert ende inden doem ghebracht ende aldair sijn lichaem gheset des nachtes midden inder kercken ende sijn uitvaert eerlic ghedaen ende des anderen dages naeder missen al dair begraven in een scoen capelle die hi selve had doen maken ende nae zijnre doot bynnen voert volmaect ende costelic ghestoffiert ende zijn graff dair in verheven wert. Item zuect voirt van hem hijr nae dair vanden bispopen van Utrecht staet op hem selven.

Inden selven jaer ende dach sterff die pauwes Nycolaus die vijfde alsoe gheheten.

pauwes  
Nycolaus

Inden jaer hijr voir als men screeff LIII bi tiden Nycolaus den vijfden voirseit quam die grote Turck XXIX daghe in mey ende wan die grote stat van Constantinobel dair hi grote tyrannicheit ende bloetstortinge dede over die korsten man wive ende kijnder al doot sloech ende onsen Heer

Constantinobel

God veel blasphemyen ende oneeren dede al dat hi conde dat te langhe te scriven wair [\*gap\*] etc.

[70]

Item te weten dat drie sonderlinghe punten ghescieden eer die stat vanden Turck gewonnen wert van welken eenen philosophus of doctoer een Grieck gheheten Leo twe voirseyde lange te voeren.

Item in Sunte Demetrius kercke inder selver stadt staet een columpne van marmoren ghevrocht in een manyer van scake gheordinert datmen inden iersten scake sette des iersten keysers name Constantinus ende inde ander scake den naem des patriarchen als Gregorius. Ende alzoe voert inde ander dair naevolgende. Item soe seyde dese Grieck Leo vanneer dattet scaeck van dier columpnen vol ~~wair~~ ende ten eynde wair dair ~~die namen~~ die namen des keysers ende des patriarchen in elcken stonden ghescriven soe soude stat verloren werden. [Dat ander dat, margin] bij tiden Constantinus den keyser ende Gregorius den patriarche die [stat verloren soude werden, margin]. Welcke woirde aldus ghescriven stonden an der voirseyder columpnen Constantinus heet mij ghemaect Constantinus sel mij ontmaken dat alsoe gheviel als hi voirseyde dat nyet wesen mocht dant hem die heylige geest in gaaff. Want die eerste keyser die dese stadt soe rykeliken maecte ende gaaff sijn vaderlike

Constantinobel

Nota

[71]

der kercken aldair hiete Constantinus ende zijn moeder hiete Helena off Hyrena ende die ierste patriarch hiete Gregorius. Ende die leste keyser onder welken Constantinobel van den Turck gewonnen wert hiete oec Constantinus ende zijn moeder hiete Helena ende die leste patriarche hiete oec Gregorius. Dat derde wonder dat gesciede eer die Turck die stadt wan was ~~dus~~ aldus. Eens nachtes doe die Turcke die stat belegen hadde ende sterkeleic wakeden ~~soe sagen~~ ende die Turcken totter ~~wert ende saghen~~ stadt wert sagen seit openbaerden schielic voel lichten opten muren ende opten toornen vander stad voirseit dit sagen die Turcken mer die korsten en saghens nyet die bynnen der stadt waecten. Hijr om verwonderden hem die Turcken ende waren van dien mirakel verveert ende meenden ende seyden dat die stadt stont onder Goeds bescermenisse. Des ~~anderen~~ ~~nachtes dair seyden~~ s dages seyden si dit den groten Turck diet lichtelic nam ende nyet en seide. Item des anderen nachtes dair nae soe sagen die Turcken die lichten weder op die muren ende op die toerne ghelikerwijs als keersen ende ghingen op inden hemel. Ende doe bedude die grote Turck dit visioen aldus ende seyde. Die keersen ende lichten die neder

Nota

[72]

quamen opten mueren ende opten toornen beteykent dattie stat hijr toe geweest is onder die godlike bescermenisse ende God die stad behuet heet mer die keersen ende lichten die op ghingen inden hemel beteykent dat God van die bewairnisse vander stat ghegaen is ende ghelaten sonder zijn behuedenis. Nu seide hi ist tijt die stat te becrachtigen ende te wynnen. Alsoe dat si mit groeter boesheit ende verwoetheit toghen an die stat vechtende ende stormende ende wonnen die stat dat God beteren moet

ende slogen doet al dat si vonden ende maectent dair mede als si wouden.  
God gunne ons korsten dat sise onlanghe behouden moeten.

Item dair nae inden jaer M CCCC LVII bij tiden Calixti des pauwes alsoe  
ghescreven staet in zijn bulle. Doe die grote Turck belegen hadde dat slot  
Balgradi int conyncrijc van Ungarien. Een gheheten Johan Varnoda ende  
weerdich hertoech ende des kersten ghelove een alte trouwen bescermer  
myt Johan van Capistrano een heilich doctoer ende een van mynrebrueder  
orden. Dese hertoech voirseit had vergadert een deel uutghomenre  
ende coerlike vechters ende street tegen <sup>den</sup> Turck die v een utermaten  
groet heer had ende al hi

nederlage der  
Turchen

[73]

verjaechden ende vloech scandaliken op *Sunte Marien Magdalenen* dach  
uten stride ende in dier strijt worden versleghen XL<sup>M</sup> Turcken ende die  
ander vloegen ende sloegen malcander doot soe veel alsser vanden  
korsten inden stride verslegen worden. Ende die grote Turck reet confus  
in Constantinobel ende en openbairde hem in langer tijt nyet weder. *Hec  
ex fortalicio liber quarto consideracione IX de bellis.*

elect

Item int jaer M CCCC ende LV des manendages nae Paeschen VII dage  
in april wert eendrachtelic gecoren tot enen bisscop tUtrecht her Ghijsbert  
brueder al ten Bredenrode domproest ende proest tot Oudemunster  
tUtrecht.

provisie

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte Lucien* dach off dair omtrint versach die  
pauwes Calistus myt eenre nywer provisien mytt dat ~~bisdom~~ bisdom van  
Utrecht die electie eendrachtelic ghesciet als voirseit is nyet achtende den  
bisscop van Terewaen gheheten David natuerlic soen des hertogen  
Philippus van Burgoengen die nochtan dat Sticht nyet ter stont in creech  
dan myt dedinge die nae ghesciede.

[74]

Inden jaer dair na LVI worden verenicht die bisscop ende die elect alsoe  
dat die bisscop David van Burgoengen opten vijften dach in augusto inder  
stat van van Utrecht quam mytten hertoghe sinen vader den grave van  
Chairloys die jonge prince den hertoeghe van Cleve greve Adolph vander  
Merck den greve van Nyvers den grave van Stamps den greve van  
Kumers ende was des conyncks brueder soen van Poertegael die greve van  
Borchem de heer van Archijs die heer van Santes die heer van  
~~grim~~Bergen die heer Croy die heer van Grymbergen die heer vander  
Ameyden uit Henegouwen ende die heer van den Gruythuse die heer van  
Haberdam myt meer heren ridder ende knecht ende wel myt XII<sup>M</sup>  
ghewapent. Men meent dat nye bisscop tUtrecht soe scoen ende soe  
costelic ende sedelick sonder enighe onstaer ghewelt off cracht te  
gheschien in ghebrocht en wert dar soe veel ghewapent volcx ende ruthers  
waren dat vreemde is ende luttel ghesien.

incoemst bis  
Davids

Inden <sup>jaer</sup> M CCCC LVII was een groet vorst ende dair viel vuel snees want dat snee dat doe viel opten jaers avont sachmen noch leggen een deel X daghe in meerte.

Inden jaer LVIII wert ghecoren die raet

[75]

ghecoren tUtrecht des vridages nae asschel woensdach ende was die vierde dach in meerte.

Inden voirseit jaer M CCCC ende LVII was tUtrecht grote sterfft ende duerde totten jaer ende somer alsmen screeff ~~xli~~ LXXII.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende ~~xx~~ LXI starff Karolus conync van Vranckrijck coninc Lodewics vader op Sunte Marien Magdalenen dach te X uren voir middage.

coninc van  
Vrancrijc

Inden jaer M CCCC ende LXII des lesten dages van october starff vrouwe Maria van ~~elege~~ hertoghinne van Cleve hertoech Philippus zuster van Burgoengen unus. Ducem in hac via sequitur ducissa Maria quintini festo M C quater L X I ter. Hec brigittenses fundat *hec carthusiensis*.

vrou van Cleve

Int jaer dair nae LXIII op Sunte Matheus dach omtrint den middage anderhalff durende was groeten storme van wijnde dair veel scaden of ghescieden.

Inden jaer hijr voir M CCCC LIX VI dage in februario sterff joncker Jacob leste heer toe Gaesbeec te Apcoude te Wijc te Duersteden te Putte ende

joncker van  
Gaesb[eec]

[76]

ende Strien etc ende die heerlicheiden quamen anden vreemden.

Item inden jaer M CCCC ende LX was een hert wijnter dattie diepen driewerf beleghen waren ende altijt weder open worden datmen dair over gaen ende rideen mocht ende over varen ende duerde tot V dage in meerte.

Inden jaer M CCCC ende LXII lach die leik van Sunte Thomaes dage tot Sunte Peters avont ad cathedram ende ynt ey tide van desen jaer des saterdages na onser vrouwen dach conceptio was die reyse voir Wijc vander stat van Utrecht dair ~~mijn heer~~ in lach David van Burgoengen etc.

Inden selven jaer quamen die vruchten laet toe alsoe datmen noch kersen vant onser vrouwen dach assumpcio ende onder laticheit will en vantmen nyet een ripe druve.

Inden selven jaer was goytijt koerns men cofft een herync vat weits om XII stuvers. Rogge IX stuvers gerst VII stuvers haver IIII stuvers.

**gode tijt**

Inden jaer van LXIII was beter tijt dat is te weten elc mud den derden pennync ~~min~~ myn dan voirscreven staet etc.

beter tijt

[77]

Inden jaer M CCCC ende LXIII op *Sunte Valentijns* dach sterff toe Soens her Dirc van Moirse archibiscop van Coelen nae dat hi XLIX jaer bisscop gheweest hadde. Dese selve bispoc sanck zijn ierste misse to Aken als men screeff M CCCC XIIIII als die conync van Ungarien aldair ghecroent tot enen coninc van Almaengen opten dach der heylighen die hieten die vier ghecroende welke conync Seghemont twe jair dair nae als men XVI screeff in Vrancrijc ende in Engelant toech om vrede te maken tusschen den conynghen ende die grote twidracht neder te leggen inder heyligher kercken ende quam weder om doir Dordrecht ende doir eø Coelen ende toech toe Constans.

bis van  
Coelens doot

Inden jaer M CCCC LXIII XVII daghe in augusto sterff toe Anchoen paus Pius ende doe wert weder ghecoren Paulus die ierst Petrus Barbi te hieten plach ende was van Venegien gheboeren. In desen jaer gheschieden veel moertbranden tUtrecht ende oec in anderen steden dair nae.

pauwes Pius

Inden jaer M CCCC LXV IX dage in januario venck hertoge Adolph jonghe heer to Ghelre hertoech Aernt sinen vader dat hem qualic verghinck bij desen woirden naebescreven w̄ vijntmen den datum vanden jaer

vangenisse to  
Gelre

[78]

dat dit gheschiede. In Latijn funes ceciderunt michi in preclaris off aldus Adolph Edelman sich ontghinck als hi sinen vader vinck. Dese selve hertoech Aernt quam weder uter vanghenisse bij toedoen hertoech Karolus van Burgoengen inden jaer dair nae LXXI omtrent *Sunte Thomas* dach.

datum

Inden jaer voirseit XXVI dage in september sterff tot Antwerpen die gravynne van Charoloys vrouwe des jongen princen een dochter te Burboen een jonge dueghende vrouwe. Ende opten selven dach sachmen opten middage die sonne die doe des dages nyet veel en had gheschenen alsoe blauwe als een laken. Ende in desen wijnter duerde die vorst nae Korsavont VII weken.

Nota

Inden selven jaer van LXV nae Paeschen den somer voert uut duerende tot inden wijnter nae *Sunte Meerten* was die reyse die de jonge prince grave van Charelois dede in Vrancrijc myt groter heer cracht tegen den conynck Lodewic van Vrancrijck die den *erae* grave *etc* crachtelic wederstont alsoe dattet ghededigt wort. *Iuxta illud lux luxit karolo fit pax sibi cum Ludovico* ende hij reet myt zijn heer weder in Vlaenderen *etc.*

Nota

keyse in  
Vrancrijc

[79]

Inden jaer M CCCC ende LXV began dat oirloge tusschen den Cleeffschen ende den Ghelreschen. Item worden vyande hertoech Jan van Cleve mitten heer van Egmont ende mytten joncker van Culenborch ende

ontseyden hertoghe Adolph jonge heer van Ghelre myt sinen hulperen *etc* om den hertoech Aernt van Gelre ute vanghenisse te helpen *etc*. Item hertoech Jan van Cleve was des jongen hertogen van Ghelre zijn oem van zijns moeders weghen. Ende die heer van Egmont was sijn oem van zijns vaders wegen dit ierste oirloge duerde II jaer lanc. Te weten dattet oirloge † tusschen den Cleeffschen ende den Ghelreschen weder in ghinck ende duerde noch tot ynt eynde vanden jaer van LXVIII ende wert doe weder ghesoent ende omden hijnder vanden oirloghe overmits dattie tollen ghesloeten waren ende mede om dat quade ghewas vanden wijngart quamen die mosten ierst omtrint *Sunte Nyclaes* ende hijr te lande en was nyet een rijpe druve als int jaer van LXVIII.

Item inden M CCCC ende LXVI des iersten dages nae onser vrouwen dach *annunciacio* des merghens naeder dage raet wert verbernt Yselsteyn ghe

[80]

heel behalven die kerc ende dat cloester ende twe off drie huse van weghen hertoech Adolphs van Ghelre weder wille des heren van Egmonts. Dair in den selven jaer omtrint Pinxteren over XL personen van Nymmegen die daer mede gheweest hadden inden Hage op raede gheset worden.

Yselsteyn

Inden selven jaer den XXV dach inde ~~meerte~~ maent augustus wan hertoech Philippus van Burgoengen ende die greve van Chairloys zijn zoen die stat van Dynant inden stichte van Ludick dair groten scade ghesciede an live ende an goede ende die stat wert ghedestrueert ende verderfft. *Iuxta illud Dynantum bello cedit victore Philippo.*

Dynant

Inden selven jaer van LXVII achtien dage in februario ende was des woensdages quatertemper nae grote vastelavont wert verdreven van Utrecht vanden domproest myt dien van Rynesse ende myt hueren vrienden ~~Item~~ Jacob Proys Beernt Proys zijn outste zoen Beern Proys Aelbertsoen Beernt Proys heren Beernt Proys natuerlicke soen Johan Aerntsoen scepenscriver Aernt Proys natuerlike soen Johan Schinckel Henric van Apcoude Louwers Ghijsbert Taets een droechsceerre Zweder van Zulen. Ende des anderen daghes volghede her Johan Proys domdeken myt

Proysinger  
verdreven

[81]

her Rodolph Proys canonick inden doem *sijns* brueders soen Jacob sinen brueder nae heymelic buten weten off toedoen yemants ende berghede des nachtes zijn cleynoten onder sinen vrienden in stilre weer dus worden verdreven alle die van dien naem waren op die tijt.

Inden selven jair VI daghe in meye inder dagheraet *quam joncker* Frederik van Egmont myt sinen vrienden in ende overviel ende becrachtichde Waghenyngen myt brande myt ghevanghen ende myt rove tot sinen wille.

Wagenyngen

Inden selven jaer van LXVII op *Sunte* Vitus dach omtrent tusschen IX ende X uren inden avont sterff toe Brugge hertoech Philips van Burgoengen nae dien dat hi hertoech van Burgoengen had gheweest omtrint XLVIII jaer ende hertoech van Brabant XXXVII jaer ende greve van Hollant XXIIII jaer dair hi à VIII jaer te voeren ruwaert of gheweest hadde.

Philips  
Burgoengen  
hertoech

Inden jaer LXVII Kaerl nywe hertoech van Burgoengen inden maenden november ende december quam myt een groet heer voir Ludick ende belach die stadt al omme ende becommerde myt sinen volc al dat sticht van Ludick ende becrachtichde Ludick ende quam dair in tot

Ludick  
gewonnen

[82]

sinen wille ende verdarff die scoen stadt jamerlic ende sloech veel borgers doot sommige liet hi onthoefden sommighe & liet hi int water werpen ende verdrencken veel borgers venck hi ende namse myt hem alle dat harnas liet hi ute stat dragen ende nam hem alle huer goet zwair & scattingen grote tributen sette hi dair alle huer oude gewoenten ende rechten sette hi off ende maecte nywe ordinancien nae synen wille die poirten ende die toernen w van der stadt werp hi neder nyet alleen in Ludick mer in allen anderen steden des stichtes van Ludick ende in die graefscap van Loen ende dede dair sulken correctie die in ewigher ghedachten bliven soll. Dit en was hem noch nyet ghenoech hi-en. Dair nae inden jaer van LXVIII des sonnendages op *Sunte* Symon inden dach quam hi weder voir Ludick anderwarff ende becrachtichde die stat noch weder dair groten scade ghesciede an live ende an goede want nae dien dattie stat noch anderwerven uit gheslegen ende beroefft was wertse op *Sunte* Brichus dach an ghesteken ende bernde drie dage lanck dair na worden alle die vrouwen die stadt verboden ende men stacket al die keel off man ende kijnt alle die cale

[83]

sien ende alle die kercken worden ghedestruert ende verderfft ende beroefft van allen hueren cleynoten. Cassen cyborien kelcken brutsen juwelen casufelen alven boeken alle die clocken uten toernen ende die toernen verderft ende nament alle die heilige vate die tot Goeds dienst gewiet ende gheordiniert waren ende en lieten in ghenen kercken nyet ende deser cleynoten ende roeff vander heyliger kercken waeren seer veel alsoe datmen in allen merceten als Antwerpen Bergen Brugge ende ghemeenlic in allen steden dair van te coop vant ende te Gorinchem e inde merct was veel cleynots dat dair gheroeft was te coop als clocken etc als voorseit is. Item die canonicken worden een deel gevangen sommige verjaecht monicken nonnen beghinien al worden si verjaecht uit hueren cloesteren ende hem wert all ghenomen dat sij hadden sonder enighe bermherticheit ende dair nae s lach die stat lange leech ende ydel ten laetsten wert si weder begrepen ende die wive die mochten weder in comen die wouden bij consent ende wille des heroegen van Burgoengen voorseit wert dat toegelaten ende ghehenget etc.

[84]

Inden jair M CCCC ende LXVIII opten jaersavont des donredaghes wan die heer van Egmont myt sinen soen joncker Frederick des morghens als die dach op quam die stede van Doesborch dair seer veel jamers ghesciede.

Doesborch

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte Agnieten* avont wert her Heynric Trinde canonick *Sunte Jan tUtrecht* ende *steven* her Steven Witvoet vicarius inden doem die stadt verboden ende ~~her h~~ dair uit gheleit ende her Heinric Trinde voirseit wert myt ghewelt ghehaelt *Sunte Jan* uter kercken off uter choer ende alsoe uutter stadt gheleit dit ghescieden hem beyden dair om want sij hadden woirde ghemaect ende ghesproken vander heren sijs off te hebben. Ende nyet lange dair nae quamen si weder in bij hulpe ende toedoen bispop Davids heer etc. Ende doe wert die ecclesie hueren sijs verlicht.

der heren zijs

Inden selven jair van LXVIII op *Sunte Jans* avont te midsomer was die manghelinghe tusschen den Cleefschen ende den Ghelresschen voir Wachtendonck dair ~~wa~~ veel goeder ridder ende knechte doot bleven meer ghevangkan noch meer gewont alsoe datter groten scade ghesciede mer veel meer an die Cleefsche

Ghelresche  
Cleeffsche

[85]

side dan ~~a~~ an die Ghelresche side. Nae dattet veersken luyt in Latijn Corde dole Clivis nam te confudit Adolphus.

Inden selven jair int begin van julio wert ghehouden die brulofft toe Brugge van Karolus hertoech van Burgoengen etc ende hi nam tot enen wife of tot eenre vrouwen ~~h~~ Margarieten des conyns Eduwaerdus zuster van Engelant die hi al dair besliep ende sij was doe out XX jaer. Ende die hertoge ~~va~~ van Burgoengen was doe XXXIIII jaer out Ende.  
Item in deser selver brulofft starff Adriaen van Borselen heer van Brigdam etc die doe XLIII jaer out was.

hertoech  
Karolus bruloft

In den selven ~~jaer des~~ tiden ghesciede die incoemst der vrouwen van Burgoengen coninc Eduwaert zuster van Englant etc van Dam tot Brugge omtrint tien uren voir middage als hijr nae beschreven staet.  
Item inden iersten soe quamen te samen die bispop van Cantelberch ende die bispop van Mets myt hueren ridderen ende knapen.  
Item dair nae volghede die raet des heren van Burgoengen etc ghecleet myt zwaerten vol uit totter eerden toe.  
Item dair nae volchden die secretarij

Adriaen van  
Borsel[en]  
doet

Incoemst der  
vrouwen van  
Burgoengen  
etc  
Nota  
die raet  
secretarij

[86]

ghecleet mit zwarten siden clederen vol uit ter eerden toe.  
Item dair nae volchden die bispop van Utrecht ende die bispop van Camerick myt hueren ridderen ende knapen.  
Item dair nae VI peerde vanden heer van Breerdaam overdect ter eerden toe myt ziden stucken ende jonghen dair op zittende ghecleet myt

Nota  
Breerdaam

gheliken clederen behangen myt gulden bellen die groet ende scoen waren ende zijn peert behangen myt een veeder van sabelen.	
Item dair nae volghede die bispot van Doernick die heer van Burgoengen ende sijn bruut ghetrouwet hadde myt sinen ridderen ende knapen.	<u>Nota</u>
Item dair nae vier ridderen myt veel suverliker peerde wel toe gemaect.	<u>Nota</u>
Item dair nae dat huusgesin des heren van Burgoengen ghecleet myt siden clederen dier zeer veel waren mit ridderen dair onder rydende.	<u>huusgesin etc</u>
Item dair nae volchden veel ander ridderen huer peerde myt siden ende myt gulden bellen behangen die seer groet waren.	<u>Nota</u>
Item dair nae bispopen ende prelaten	<u>Nota</u>
[87]	
uit Engelant welker namen mij <u>ombekent zijn</u> .	
Item dair nae XXII herauten behangen myt hairs heren wapenen van <u>diversen landen</u> .	<u>erauten</u>
Item trompetten ende claretten ende des <u>ghelijcs sonder ghetall</u> .	<u>trompetten</u>
Item dair na quam die hertoghinne van Burgoengen die bruut sittende in een rosbair myt sconen ghelen haer ende dair bi ghingen te voet die edel heren vander oirden zeer costelic ende <u>statelick</u> .	<u>die bruut</u>
Item dair nae volchden drie witte teldenairs der voirseide bruut ende hertoghinnen toebehorende nyemant dair op sittende. Item dair nae XII witte teldenairs dair op saten scoen joncfrouwen.	<u>Nota</u> <u>Nota</u>
Item dair nae drie gulden hangende waghen dair veel edelre joncfrouwen in waren elc myt vier peerde. Ende dair nae twe hanghende wagen myt dienst joncfrouwen ende myt joncfrouwen elc <u>waghen myt vier peerde</u> .	<u>Nota</u>
Item dair nae volchden die overste vander stat van Brugge ghecleet <u>myt langen siden clederen te voet</u> .	<u>Brugge</u>
Item dair nae die Oesterlinge myt C knechten te voet hebbende elc een toerts inde hant myt ende die wapen vanden aern dairop ende alle myt paerschen	<u>Oesterlinge</u>
[88]	
ghecleet ende myt sess peerden overdeckt myt samyt myt ses jonghen dair op sittende ghecleet mytter selver verwen ende noch over C manne te peerde al myt paerschen <u>ghecleet</u> .	
Item dair nae die Spaengerts ghecleet myt groen myt viftich knechten te voet hebbende elc een toerts in die hant myt drie trompetten ende daer nae te peerde vanden Spaengolen XXXII paer ghecleet myt siden paerschen clederen ende elc hebbende een toemloper myt fluelen vamboys ende siden duernye.	<u>Spaengers</u>
Item dair nae die Venecianen vijftich ghecleet myt roden clederen hebbende elcs een torts inde hant myt Sunte Marcus voir huer wapen noch die selve III peerde myt drien jongen dair op sittende ghecleet ende overdeckt myt samyt ende noch tien vanden selven te <u>peerde myt roeden fluelen tabbairden</u> .	<u>Venetianen</u>
Item dair nae die Genevoysers myt Sunte Jorijs voir hair wapen myt eenre scoenre jonffrouwe te peerde ghecleet mytten <u>selven</u> witten syden clederen myt drie erauten ende myt drie jongen ghecleet mitten selven ende dair nae XVIII te peerde ghecleet myt langen <u>clederen van witten siden damasse</u> .	<u>Genevooyer</u>

*Item* dair nae die Florentijn myt L

Florentijn

[89]

knechten ende elcs myt een toerts inde hant ende te voet ende myt V jonghen te peerde overdeck myt wit samyt ende die jongen ghecleet mit roden flueelschen wamboys ende witte duerney. Ende dair nae noch vanden selven te peerde XII te peerde myt roden fluelen tabbairden ende noch X vanden selven te peerde myt roden siden tabbairden ghecleet ende noch XX knechten te peerde ghecleet myt blauwen.

*Item* dair nae alle man te peerde.

*Item* dese voirseit sijn ghenoemt. Mer te weten datter veel heren graven baenroedzen ridderen ende knapen waren seer costelic te peerde ende te voet die hijr nyet ghenoemt en zijn. Als die heeren van Bergen ende van Grymbergen ende van Pervys ende noch veel ander die te lange te scirven waren.

Nota

*Item* int jaer M CCCC ende LXVIII des iersten dages nader XI<sup>M</sup> meecheden dach was over al hijr omtrint last van water ende doe brack die Grebbe in ende die Leckedick te neffen Langheraeck bij Scoenhoven ende meer dyken.

*Item* inden selven jaer des sonnendages drie dage na *Sunte Symon* ende inden dach wert ingheleit die oirde vanden carmeliten tUtrecht in *Sunte Agathen* gasthuus ende dat cloester totter oirden behoeff aldair begrepen etc.

carmeliten

[90]

Inden selven jaer opten sonnendach des iersten daghes nae *Sunte Elizabeth* wert verkundicht opten stoel die onghelove ende die last die die heilige kercke had vanden Beemschen off den Praegschen. Ende doe ghescieden tUtrecht drie vreemde ende onghewoenlike dingen dat ierst was die generael processie van allen goetshusen ende cloesteren die in die processien plegen te gaen dat in desen tijden vanden jair nyet en pleecht te geschien. Dat ander was datter een observant tUtrecht inden doem predicte *vander mynrebrueder* oirden dat eer nyet ghesciet en was. Dat derde was dat in dier processien die heer van Utrecht David van Burgoengen boven hem an zijnre rechter siden gaende hadde een observant die vanden pauwes gheseynt was.

Nota

*Item* inden jaer M CCCC ende LXIX XXII dage in mey ende was des manendages nae Pinxteren sterff [\*gap\*] jonge vrouwe van Ghelre een dochter toe Burboen.

vrou van Gelre

*Item* inden selven jaer voirseit waren alre ierst gheset die vier overste tot begheerte des biscop Davids van Utrecht etc. Ende die leverde doe over in eenre cedelen Jan Knijff ende Willam de Vos borgermeysters ende Willam Foyt ende Elyas

die overste

[91]

Riquijnsoen overste oudermans.

*Item* inden jaer dair nae LXX mijn heer van Utrecht voirseit die overste te nuemen ende te setten ende leverde doe over Gherrijt Knijff Jan van Veen borghemeysters ende Vrederic die Voecht ende Henric van Leuwenberch overste oudermans.

die overste

Inden selven jaer M CCCC ende LXX op *Sunte Vitus* ende Modestus dach ende was doe des vridages op die quatertemper nae Pinxteren wert gevangen te Wijc Duersteden naden eten vanden biscoop van Utrecht David van Burgoengen die heer van Bredenrode myt Walraven sinen bastart soen die hi tot hem gebeden of gescreven had te comen etc.

heer van  
Bredenrode  
gevangen

*Item* des selven avonts wert gevangen vanden selven biscoop voirseit die domproest tUtrecht heer Ghijsbert van Bredenrode opter plaetsen tUtrecht ende wert des anderen dages te Wijck gevoert ende aldair in vangenis gheset ende al zijn huusghesin wert die stadt verboden. Ende dese selve domproest quam weder uutter vangenis van Wijc int jaer LXXIIII op *Sunte Agapitus* dach myt tusschen spraeck ende dedingen alsoe dat hi die domproestie over ~~gaff~~ geven most ende permutieren om ander gheestelike beneficien.

domproest  
gevangen

[92]

Ende en most inden Sticht van Utrecht nyet woenen. Aldus voir hij te Breda mytter woen dair hi nyet lange na en levede ende hi starff doemen screeff M CCCC LXXVI des [\*gap\*].

ballinge

*Item* des manendages nae beloken Pinxteren quamen inder stat van Utrecht alle die ballinge uitgheselt Jacob Proys Jan Aerntsoen ende Beernt heren Beernt Proissoen die dair nae op *Sunte Pouwels* dach conversio huer sentencie ghegeven wert nyet in te comen etc. *Item* dair nae quam Jacob Proys in int jaer LXXIIII in die vasten.

domdeken uter  
stat

*Item* opten XX<sup>sten</sup> dach in junio ende was doe opten heiligen Sacramentens avont ghinc uter stat van Utrecht heer Jan Proys domdeken bij beveel ende gebot biscoop Davids van Burgoengen welke domdeken dair nae ghepriviert [wert, margin] van den selven biscoop voirseit ende sette enen anderen vreemden doctoer een jonc gheleert man in sijn domdekennye die gheheten is meyster Ludo lf vanden Veen.

Jan van  
Amerongen  
gevangen

Inden selven jaer op *Sunte Peter* ende *Sunte Pouwels* dach wert gevangen Jan van Amerongen scout tUtrecht vanden selven biscoop voirseit ende des anderen dages te Wijc gevoert ende in vangenis geset.

[93]

Inden selven jaer ende dage wert over dragen dattie heer van Egmont ende joncker Frederic zijn zoen inder stat van Utrecht mochten als si wouden.

Walraven etc  
brac uit

Inden selven jaer LXX brac uten toern te Duersteden Walraven van Bredenrode des heren van Bredenrode bastart soen op *Sunte Thimotheus* ende Simphoriaens dach ende quam heymelic uter poirten van Wijck ende

zwam over die Lecke ende quam te Vyanen ende dancte God ende onser liever vrouwen dat hi alsoe ontgaen was.

Item int jaer M CCCC ende LXXI begeerde bispop David van Burgoengen etc die overste te nuemen ende sette doe Heynric van Ghent Dirck van Wael borgermeisters Henric Knoep ende Macharius van Benthem overste oudermans.

borgermeesters

Item inden selven jaer des dages nae *Sunte Agnieten* dach worden gevoert van Wijck te Duersteden biden *heer* van Bergen ute vangenisse aldair die *heer* van Bredenroede ende Jan van Amerongen ende worden ghebrocht te Cortrijck dair sij bleven tot int eynde vande mey ende doe wert die *heer* van Bredenrode gevuerd in tot [\*gap\*] in Henegouwen

heer van  
Bredenrode etc

[94]

ende Jan van Amerongen wert ghevuerd te Reppermunde. Item die *heer* quam van Bredenrode quam quijt ende vri onghescat uten vangenisse des anderen dages na *Sunte Peter ad cathedram* int jaer van LXXII. Ende Jan van Amerongen quam ute vangenisse int jaer van LXXIII doe die domproest ute vanghenisse quam off dair omtrint ende quam weder inder stat van Utrecht doemen screeff LXXVII.

Inden selven jaer <sup>LXX</sup> omtrint *Sunte Thomas* wert ghehaelt ende ghelaten ute vanghenisse vanden huse te Bueren hertoech Aernt van Gelre nae dien dat hi daer sess jaer gevangen had gheweest off dair omtrint die dair nae starff int jaer LXXIII int leste vander maent februarius.

hertoge van  
Gelre

Inden selven jaer <sup>LXXI</sup> omtrint *Sunte Valentijns* dach was die jonge hertoech Adolph van Gelre te Heddijn in Artoys biden den hertoech Kaerl van Burgoengen ende toech heymelic van dair ende quam te Namen dair hi bekent wert ende weder ghebrocht te Heddijn ende wert ghevangen ende ghevuerd te Vilvoirden in Brabant.

jonge hertoge  
van Gelre  
gevangen

Inden selven jaer LXXI omtrint des vridaghes nae Paschen quam hertoeg

[95]

Aernt van Gelre mit zijn vriende in die Grave die bynnen XII of XIIIIDage dair nae dat slot vanden Grave in creghen.

Nota

Int jaer LXXI was 't een slappen wijnter sonder veel vorst ende doe waren die kersen ende poelen riep sunte Bonifacius dage ende was van allen vruchten een seer vol jaer.

Nota

Int jaer hijr voir LXX op *Sunte Elisabetten* dach starff inden Briell her Franco van Borselen grave van Oestervant ende wert begraven *Sunte Meertens* dijck.

banclock

Item inden jaer LXXI op die octave van onser vrouwen assumpcio wert ghegoten die nye bancloc tUtrecht ende wert yerst ghelyuyt op *Sunte Matheus* avont des avonts te V uren wegende LVII<sup>C</sup> pont ende XXX. Item

die uercloc die in *Sunte Meertens* toern hanget weget meer dan die banclock V<sup>C</sup> pont want si weget LXII<sup>C</sup> pont. Item die groetste cloc *Sunter Claes* weget XXXLII<sup>C</sup> pont. Ende die sommige seggen dat si vanden ouden ghehoert hebben dat *eester Costverloren* wegen soude XVIII<sup>M</sup> pont.

Item die banclock gaet boven Costverloren een noot la sol.

Nota

Item die uerclock gaet boven die bancloc

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een halff toen fa my. Item onser vrouwen cloc gaet boven die bancloc een heel toen la sol. Item *Sunte Claes* clock ~~asren~~ gaet boven Costverloren vier tonen sol re. Item die bancloc hout een recht middel toen tusschen Costverloren ende onser vrouwen clock.

Item int jaer van LXXI voirseit opten lesten dach van augusto die steden des landes van Ghelre als Aernhem ende Nymmegen etc wonnen dat slot of huus te Vroenensteyn in die Betuwe toebehorende den heer van Egmont ende braket neder ter eerden toe.

Nota

Item int selve jaer M CCCC LXXI opten XVIII dach vander maent december sterff vrouwe Elizabeth dochter des conyncs van Poertegael hertoghinne van Burgoengen weduwe hertoech Philips van Burgoengen etc nae dat si omtrint XLI jaer hertoghinne gheweest hadde.

Nota

Inden jaer M CCCC LXXII bynnen der octaven van dertiendach sachmen een wonderlic gheveerde anden hemel offt een grote sterre hadde gheweest myt radien ende schijnselen veer ontgaende ende si vertoech huer van stede toe stede als nu int ~~westen~~ oesten

hertoghinne  
van Burgongen

cometa

[97]

dan ynt westen int zuden ende int noerden als nu hijr ende nu dair ende duerde datmense sach nae onser vrouwen lichtmissee eer si verghinck.

Item inden jaer LXXII begeerde bispkop David van Burgoengen noch die vier overste te kiesen ende sette doe Wernair Braem jonge Gherrijt Knijff borghermeisters. Ende ~~Willam Foyt~~ Aernt van Hove ende Symon Claessoen overste oudermans.

die overste

Item inden jaer M CCCC ende LXXIII starff te Grave hertoech Aernt van Gelre int lest vander maent februarius.

hertoge van  
Gelre

In desen selven jair begheerde bispkop David van Burgoengen noch te noemen die IIII overste ende sette doe Willam die Vos Jacob Jacobsoen borghermeysters. Ende Willam Foyt ende Pouwels van Malsen overste oudermans.

die overste

Inden selven jaer was 't een vroe jaer van gewas *ende* thad een slappen  
wijnter gheweest sonder vorst off luttic doe meydemen die rapen te half  
mey *ende* die kersen ende poelen worden doe rijp.

Inden selven jaer LXXIII des woensdages den VII dach in julio worden  
mitter clocken uit ~~die geluyt ende~~ ve der stat geluyt

[98]

*ende* dat ganse Sticht verboden duerende tot bispod Davids van  
Burgoengen goetduncken Peter van Zulen Jacob Bor van Amerongen  
Peter Crom Beernt van Everdingen *ende* Gherrijt van Aemstel om dat si  
op bispod David van Burgoengen gesproken hadden. Item opter selver tijt  
wert mede uitgheluut C jaer *ende* een durende † Philips Beernts zoen van  
Utrecht om den dootslach die hi ghedaen had in voirtiden des nachtes op  
Sunte Jans kerchoff hadde ghedaen.

Inden jaer M CCCC *ende* LXXIII int leste vande mey quam Kaelr die  
hertoge van Burgoengen to Tricht om voert te trekken naden lande van  
Ghelre alsoe hertoge Aernt van Gelre doot was *ende* hi den hertoech  
Adolph gevangen had die tot hem quam te Heddijn in Artoys etc. Aldus  
quam hi myt een groet heer van volck int lant van Gelre *ende* die cleyn  
steden gaven hem in handen als Remunde VIII dage in junio mit Arkelens  
Stralen *ende* Montfoort etc.

Item cort dair nae gaven hem op die van Venloe Goch *ende*  
Wachtendonck.

Item in den selven jaer ~~dus~~ *ende* LXXIII op Sunte Peter *ende* Sunte  
Pouwels dach quam hertoech Kaelr van Burgoengen *ende* belach  
Nymmegen al om.

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Item VIII daghe dair & nae ghingen in handen die van Tiel die van  
Boemel *ende* Bueren.

Item des vridagen XVI dage in julio gave hem op die van Nymmegen.  
*Ende* dair nae Zutphen *ende* Aernhem *ende* alle dat lant van Ghelre etc.

Item int jaer M CCCC *ende* LXXIII begeerde bispod David van  
Burgoengen die vier overste te noemen *ende* sette doe Jan van Veen Jan  
van Over de Vecht borghermeisters Jacob van Amerongen Jacobsoen  
*ende* Tyman Deel overste oudermans.

Item int jaer LXXV begheerde bispod David voirseit etc als voirseit is  
*ende* sette doe Erst van Drakenborch Jan Knijff borgermeisters Willam  
van Lochorst Dirc Bor van Amerongen overste oudermans.

Item int ~~int~~ jaer van LXXVI begerende als voirseit is sette die bispod  
voirseit Willam die Vos Gherrijt van Rijn Gherrytsoen borgermeisters  
Frederic die Voecht *ende* Gherrijt ute Leen overste oudermans.

quam hertoge  
van Burgongen  
in Ghelrelant

Nymmegen

Tiel

Nymmegen

die overste

overste

overste

Item int jaer van LXXVII begerende als voirseit is sette bisscop David etc Henric van Ghent Jan Knijff borgermeisters Dirc Bor van Amerongen ende Willam van Lochorst overste oudermans.

overste

[100 *empty page*]

[101 *empty page*]

[102 *empty page*]

[103 *empty page*]

[104 *empty page*]

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## DIE HOLLANSCHE HEREN

Int jaer Ons Heren VIII<sup>C</sup> ende LXIII was die ierste greve van Hollant gheheten Diderick ende had enen brueder enen edelen prince ende hete Walcherus ende was een grave van Testerbant ende sadt toe Avenzaet bij Tiell ende desen Dirck wert die graeffscap ierst ghegeven van conync Kaerl dair die grote conync Kaerl een oudevader of was ende wert hem mede verliet vanden conync van Almaengen gheheten Lodewich na dien dat die Denen dat lant ghedestruert ende gewonnen hadden. Ende regierde myt Dirc sinen soen den anderden greve van Hollant C ende XX jaer.

I

DIRCK die anderde greve hadde te wive Goude des conyncks dochter van Vrancrijc.

II

AERNOLT die derde greve van Hollant regierde VII jaer myt Lutgairden sinen wive des keysers dochter van Grieken dair hi een zoen an wan die Dirc hiete.

III

Dese Aernolt wert verslegen in Westvrieslant alsmen IX<sup>C</sup> ende XC screeff.

DIRCK sijn soen die vierde greve regierde XXII jaer myt Ottilt sinen wive die uit Sassen was gheboren dair

III

[106]  
hi soen bij had die Dirc hiet ende hij sterff doemen screeff M ende [X]XXIII.

V

DIRCK des selven Dircs voirseide soen die vijfde greve regierde ~~ierst in~~ Oesvrieslant XII jaer ~~ende nae in Hollant omtrint XII jaer~~ IX jaer sonder wijf ende en had gheen kijnder ende sterff doemen M ende XXXII screeff.

FLORENS sijn brueder die seste grave regierde ierst in Oesvrieslant XII jaer ~~ende nae in Hollant omtrint XII jaer~~ myt Geertruden sinen wive des hertogen dochter van Sassen ende wert toe Dordrecht versleghen alsmen screeff M ende XLIII.

VI

DIRCK sijn soen die VII greve dese werdt van sijnre moeder verdreven ende regierde nae XXXVI jaer mit Ottilt sinen wive des hertogen dochter van Sassen ende sterff doemen screeff M LXXVI.	<u>VII</u>
FLORENS sijn soen die VIII greve regierde XXX jaer myt Peternelle des keyzers Lotharius suster ende hiete die Witte greve ende sterff doemen screeff M C <b>XV</b> ende X.	<u>VIII</u>
DIRCK sijn soen die IX greve regierde XXXVI jaer myt Fye sinen wive hertoech Otten des palansgreven dochter ende starff alsmen screeff M C XLVI.	<u>IX</u>
FLORENS sijn soen die tiende greve	<u>X</u>
[107] regierde XXII jaer mit Ada zijnre vrouwen des conyncs dochter van Scotlant ende sterff tot Antiochien over meer doemenscreef M C LXVIII. DIRCK sijn zoen die XI greve regierde XXIII jaer myt sinen wive des greven dochter van Cleve ende starff doemen screeff M C XCI. ADA sijn dochter gravynne regierde XIII jaer ende had tot enen man Lodewich den greve van Loen ende sterf doemen screeff M CC ende V. WILLAM Dircs brueder voirseit Ada huer oem regierde XXIX jaer in Hollant ende was die XIII greve ende regierde ierst in Oesvrieslant. Sijn ierste wijff was des hertogen dochter van Gelre die ander was etc. Ende sterff doemen screef M CC XXXIII. FLORENS sijn soen die XIII greve regierde XII jaer ende had te wive Mechtelt des hertogen dochter van Brabant ende wert te Cleermont gheslegen inden torynoye alsmen screeff M CC ende XLVI. CONYNC WILLAM van Almaengen Florens soen die XV grave regierde die croen VII jaer ende die graefscap XXI jaer ende had te wive Elizabeth des hertogen dochter van Brunswijck ende wert verslegen in Vrieslant doemen screeff M CC LVII.	<u>XI</u> <u>XII</u> <u>XIII</u> <u>XIII</u> <u>XV</u>
[108] FLORENS sijn soen die XVI greve regierde XXIX jaer ende had te wive des graven dochter van Vlaenderen ende wert verslegen op Muderberch van Gherrijt van Velsen ende den heer van Aemstell ende vanden heer van Woirden die sijn huusghesin waren <del>ed</del> ende droegen sijn cleder ende staken hem XXXII wonder moerdailic dair si nae om verdorven ende verdreven worden altezamen dit gesciede op Sunte Jans avont ende starff doemen screeff M CC XCVII. JAN diemen hiet Sonder Ghenaede regierde III jaer ende had te wive des conyncs dochter van Engelant ende sterff sonder gheboert inden jaer M CC ende XCIX. JAN greve van Henegouwen dese was conync Willam zijnre zuster soen ende myt desen quam Henegouwen an Hollant ende had te wive Philippam des greven dochter van Lutzellenborch ende regierde V jaer ende starff inden jair M CCC ende IIII. WILLAM sijn soen <del>diemen hiet den dollen greve</del> XIX greve diemen hiet die Goede greve regierde XXXIII jaer ende had te wive Johanna van Valloys des conyncs zuster van Vrancrijc ende wert toe Staveren verslegen in Vrieslant alsmen screeff M CCC ende XXXVI. MARGRIET sijn suster keyse	<u>XVI</u> <u>XVII</u> <u>XVIII</u> <u>XIX</u> <u>XX</u>

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ryinne van Romen die XX<sup>ste</sup> had te man hertoech Lodewic van Beyeren den keyser van Romen *ende* regierde die croen X jaer *ende* stortede van enen peerde *ende* sterff doemen screeff M CCC LVI.

WILLAM sijn soen *ende* hiete die Dolle greve die XXI regierde XXXVI jaer sess jaer had hi zijn zynnen *ende* XXX jaer was hi dolle *ende* had te wive Mechtelt des hertogen dochter van Lancaster *ende* sterff inden jaer M CCC *ende* LXXXVIII.

ALBERT sijn brueder keyser Lodewics soen regierde soe ruwaert soe heer XLVII jaer sijn ierste wijf was Margareta des hertogen dochter van Bry dair hi veel kijnder bi hadde. Sijn anderde wijff was Margareta van Cleve dair hi gheen kijnder bij en had *ende* starff inden jaer M CCCC *ende* LXX IIII *ende* sijn ierste vrouwe sterff inden jaer M CCC *ende* LXXXVI in februario. *Ende* hi starff doemen screeff M CCCC *ende* IIII. WILLAM Aelbertsoen die XXIII greve regierde XII jaer *ende* had ierst te wive Maria dochter to Vrancrijck dair nae Maria dochter hertoech Philips die Herdi van Burgoengen *ende* sterff inden jaer M CCCC *ende* XVII opten lesten dach *van meye*.

JACOBA hertoech Williams enighe dochter voirseit die XXIIII regierde XVIII jaer *ende* had ierst te man den dolphijn van Vranckrijck nae had si toe man her

XXI

XXII

XXIII

XXIIII

[110]

toech Jan van Brabant die huer oems soen was dair van sceyden most *ende* dair na der hertoech van Clesester des conyncs van Engelants oem *ende* dair nae nam si her Franc van Borselen die nae greve van Oestervant was *ende* sterff sonder gheboert inden jaer M CCCC *ende* XXXVI op *Sunte Victoers* avont.

PHILIPPUS hertoech van Burgoengen die vrou Jacobs voirseit oems soen was van huerre moyer wegen *ende* sij was sijnre moyer dochter van sijns vaders wegen dese wert die XXV<sup>te</sup> grave van Hollant *ende* began Hollant te regieren als ruwaert inden jaer M CCCC *ende* XXV *ende* regierde Hollant XXIIII jaer dair hi acht jaer te voeren ruwaert off was of gheweest hadde dese had te wive Elizabeth des conyncs dochter van Poirtegael *ende* sterff int jaer M CCCC *ende* LXVII toe Brugge op *Sunte Vitus* dach tusschen IX *ende* X uren inden avont.

KAROLUS hertoech Philips zoen van Burgoengen wert die XXVI<sup>te</sup> grave van Hollant *ende* regierde nae zijns vader doot inden jaer voirseit die doe out was omtrint XXXIIII jaer *ende* hadde te wive ierst des conyncs dochter van Vrancrijck dair nae des hertogen dochter van Burboen dair

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hi en dochter by had *ende* dair nam hi tot enen wive off vrouwen des conyncs zuster van Engelant dese [hertoech Kaelr voirseit, margin] liet een dochter after als voirseit is *ende* en had gheen kijnder meer *ende* wert verslegen van den Zwitsen die hi huer<sup>in</sup> lant b *ende* steden belegen *ende* becommert had *ende* bleeff dair doot myt veel groter heren *ende* wert verraden vanden capeteyn vanden Lombaerden die in zijn heer lach myt hem *ende* lange tijt myt hem ghelegen hadde op Zoudie etc.

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### DIE CLEEFSCHE HEREN

Helyas die ierste greve van Cleve ende quam uten eertschen paradise myt enen zwaen die had een gulden ketten an zijn hals dair mede trecte hi een scip dair in was die voirseide greve Helyas ende bracht hem alsoe tot Nymmegen an dat lant dat doe Cleefs was dair wonde een vrouwe van dien lande opten borch ende die quam neder tot hem an dat scip ende leyde hem op dat huus dat huer was ende hi street myt huer ende halp huer dat lant behalden alsoe dat si hem trouweden ende nam hem tot hueren gheechten man ende bleeff alsoe lange bij huer ende regierde dat lant heerlic ende si cregen drie soenen te samen. Die outste hiete Dirc den gaff hi een zweert. Die ander hiete Goedert ende wert een greve van Loen dien gaff hi een hoern. Die derde hiete Conraet ende wert lantgrave van Hessen den gaff hi een vingherlijn. Ende die vrouwe woude ten lesten weten wan hi ghecomen wair dat hi huer verboet ende seyde huer woude dat zi dat nyet laten ongevraget soe soude si hem verliesen. Mer si en liet nyet off ende woude dat ummer weten doe toech<sup>hi</sup> van huer ende lijtse ende ghinc zijns weges dair hi woude ende nye en vernam mensche wair hi bleeff off ve werwart hi ghetogen was etc.

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DIRCK die ierste greeff van Cleve creech enen soen bij zijnre vrouwen die Reynolt hiete ende wert grave nae hem.

I

REYNOLT die anderde grave van Cleve creech enen soen bi sinen wive die Loeff hiete ende wert grave na hem.

II

LOEFF die had te wive des keysers suster van Romen dair creech hi enen soen bij die Jan hiete.

III

JAN die creech enen soen bij sinen wive die Robbert hiete ende wert greve nae hem.

III

ROBBERT die was die vijfte grave van Cleve ende creech een zoen bi zinen wive ende hiete Baldewijn.

V

BALDEWIJN die VI grave die stichtte dat cloester tot Oudenzeel in Twent.

VI

LODEWICH die was die VII grave dair nae van Vrancrijck geboren ghewapent half van Vrancrijck ende halff van Cleve.

VII

EVERAIRT die was die VIII greve. Inden jaer ons Heren ~~xx~~ VIII<sup>C</sup> ende XXV ende had te wive een edel vrouwe gheheten Berta ende was van des groten conync Kaelis gheslachte ende had II soenen die een hiet greve Luthart die ander Berengerus ende was biscop van Toill. Dese greve Everaert stichtte myt zijnre vrouwen twe goetshusen dat een toe Wisschel dair si canoniken

VIII

[114]

in setten ende dat ander te Nuus dair setten si canonissen ende dit ghesciede onder Guntherus eertsbiscop van Colen bij tiden conynck Lodewich van Vrancrijck des Goedertieren coninc Lodevics soen.

IX

LUTHAERT die IX grave van Cleve was dair nae etc.

X

BALDEWIJN die tiende grave van Cleve die stichtte die kerc ende dat collegium tot Zofflick hier na quam

Alaert of Arnolt	
ALEPH of greve Alart quam dair na ende wart die XI greve van Cleve.	<u>XI</u>
WYGMAN dair nae die XII greve.	<u>XII</u>
COENRAERT die was die XIII greve.	<u>XIII</u>
DIRCK gheheten Volans XIIIII greve.	<u>XIII</u>
DIRCK die XV grave was hijr nae.	<u>XV</u>
AERNT sijn brueder dese twe ghebrueders hadden een moeder die sterf inden jaer M C LXXXIX. Dese twe gebruederen gaven der kercken van Wisschel veel privilegien ende vriheyden.	<u>XVI</u>
DIRCK die de Dueghende greve hiet was die XVII greve van Cleve ende starff doemen screeff M C XCIII.	<u>XVII</u>
AERNT die XVIII greve van Cleve ende hiete die outste.	<u>XVIII</u>
AERNT die jonxste die XIX greve.	<u>XIX</u>
DIRCK die jonge greve van Dinslaken die sterff te Wisschel doemen screeff M CC XLIII.	<u>XX</u>
[115]	
DIRCK die XXI grave van Cleve ende starff doemen screeff M CC ende LX.	<u>XXI</u>
DIRCK die XXII greve dese starff doemen screeff M CC ende LXXV.	<u>XXII</u>
DIRCK die XXIII greve van Cleve.	<u>XXIII</u>
DIRCK die XXIII greve <i>etc.</i>	<u>XXIII</u>
OTTO die XXV grave van Cleve.	<u>XXV</u>
DIRCK diemen die Goedertieren hiet ende was die XXVI greve ende starff doemen screeff M CCC ende XLVII.	<u>XXVI</u>
JOHAN was die XXVII greve.	<u>XXVII</u>
ALEPH diemen hiet die Wetende ende die eerbaer greve die was die XXVIII greve van Cleve dair nae.	<u>XXVIII</u>
ALEPH des voorseide Aleph zoen die die ierste hertoge was Cleve ende had te wive Maria des hertogen Philips zuster van Burgoengen dochter hertoges Jans van Burgoengen dair hi bij creech veel kinder soenen ende dochteren <i>etc.</i> Dese starff doemen screeff M CCCC ende XLVIII. Ende die vrouwe van Cleeve starff dair na doemen screeff M CCCC ende LXIII.	<u>XXIX</u> <u>die eerste</u> <u>hertoeghe</u>
JOHAN des voorseide Aleph zoen wert hertoech van Cleve die te hant in levende live dese begost te regieren doemen screeff M CCCC ende XLVIII nae zijns vaders doot dese Johan had een zwair oerloge tegen den bispot van Colen duerende omtrent VII jaer om die stat van Zoes die van	<u>die anderde</u>
[116]	
den Coelschen ghingen ende gaven hem onder den hertoeghe van Cleve. Ende dair nae quam bispot Dirc van Moerse bispot van Coelen myt een machtich groet heer v eer voor Zoes dair veel groter heren onder waren <i>etc</i> die myt luttel eren van daer sceyden ende hertoech Jan van Cleve wederstont dat crachtelic myt sinen vrienden ende behielt die stat van Zoes die hi noch heet <i>etc.</i>	

### DIE BISSCOPEN VAN UTRECHT

WILLIBRORDUS was die ierste bispot tUtrecht ende was omrent doemen screeff VI <sup>C</sup> ende XCVI ende regierde XL jaer ende starff een heilich man doemen screeff VII <sup>C</sup> ende XXXVI.	I
BONIFACIUS quam nae hem ende regierde XVI jaer ende starff een heylich martelair dair noch die kerck van Oudemunster mede gheciert is ende starf inden jaer doemen screeff VIII <sup>C</sup> ende LII.	II
GREGORIUS die derde bispot een heylich man ende hi regierde dat bisdom XXIII jaer ende starff doemen screeff VII <sup>C</sup> ende LXXV VIII kalende decembrum.	III
ALBERTUS gheborne van Yorck uut Engelant een heilich man ende wert begraven tot Oudemunster bij <i>Sunte Gregorius</i> sinen voirsater ende sterff XX dage in augusto.	III
THEORDARDUS die vijfte bispot was een Vrese een groet prediker ende wert mede tot Oudemunster begreven.	V
HARMAKARUS een devoet man ende een goet prediker ende sterff XXVII dage in augusto ende wert tUtrecht begreven.	VI
RITFRIDUS een godlic goedertieren oetmoedich man ende groit clerc ende starff drie dage in oktober nadien dat hi omtrint XLIII gheregiert had inden jair VIII <sup>C</sup> ende X.	VII
FREDERICUS een heilich man ende starff een martelair ende wert dootghe	

steken in die crofte uit beveel der keyserynnen <i>etc</i> ende waift aldair begraven inde selver croften tot Oudemunster ende regierde XXVIII jaer ende bleeff doot inden jair VIII <sup>C</sup> ende XXXVIII.	IX
ALFRICUS ende was <i>Sunte Frederick</i> voirseit sijn brueder een duechtelic man ende sterff XIIIII dage in september doemen screeff VIII <sup>C</sup> ende LVII ende wert bi sinen brueder begraven na dien dat hi dat bisdom XX jaer gheregert had.	X
LUGERUS een devoet man ende een groet clerck ende wert begreven myt II sinen bruederen ende en regierde nyet dan en jaer ende sterff int jair VIII <sup>C</sup> ende LVIII XXIII dage in Aprille.	XI
HUNGERUS dese wert verjetaget vanden Denen ende hi starff doemen screef VIII <sup>C</sup> ende LXVIII des dages nae <i>Sunte Thomas</i> dach. Wair hi leydt dat en weetmen nyet na dien dat hi myt Lutgerus ende Alfricus XXVIII jair gheregiert hadde men scrijft tUtrecht inden doem dat hi X jaer den stoel besat <i>etc</i> .	
ODIWALDUS een heilich man goedertieren sacht moedich ende rechtveerdich ende sterff doemen IX <sup>C</sup> screeff op <i>Sunte Lucien</i> dach begraven bi sinen voir vaders ende hi regierde als inden doem ghescreven staet XXIII jaer.	XII
EGILBOLDUS die XIII bispot ende starff XXV dage in oktober ende hi en regierde nyet dan tien maende.	XIII
RABBODUS een heilich confessoer	XIII

[119]

een edel man want Rabbodus die conync van Vrieslant was sijnre moeder oudevader. Ende Guntherus eertsbiscop van Coelen was sijn oem ende was een wijs gheleert man ende een groet advocaat in conync kaerls hoff die veel historien maechte van *Sunte Williboert van Sunte Bonifaes* ende van *Sunte Meerten* hi regierde inder tijt dat dit lant gheplaget was mitten Denen omtrint XVII<sup>s</sup> jaer lanck ende sadt toe Deventer om dat Utrecht ghedestruert was ende starff int jaer IX<sup>C</sup> ende XVII ende wert begraven tot Oetmersom in Twent op *Sunte Andries* avont.

BALDERICUS eens greven soen van Cleve ende tymmerde weder die stadt myt muren ende poerten toernen kercken des biscops *stoe~~t~~* sael ende anders dat die Denen ghedestruert hadden. Ende inder jaer IX<sup>C</sup> ende LXVI vercreech hi van keyser Otten den iersten alsoe ghenoemt der heyligen lichamen *Sunte Ponciaen* ende *Sunte Agniet* ende *Sunte Benignus* ende brochtse inder kercken van Utrecht. Item hi vant die heylige lichamen *Sunte Werenfridus* sunte Lebuijn *Sunte Plechhelmus* sunte Wiro *Sunte Oetgherus* *Sunte Odulphus* ende *Sunte Rabodus* dair hi die kercken des ghestichts van Utrecht hoghelic mede versierde. Hi starff doemen screeff IX<sup>C</sup> ende LXXVII op die octave van XIII dach ende wert begraven inden doem tUtrecht nadien dat hi LIX jaer die kerc van Utrecht eerlike gheregert hadde.

FOLCMARUS was een goet korsten

XV

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man van goeden wille ende sterff doemen screeff IX<sup>C</sup> ende XC XI dage in december ende hi regierde XIII<sup>I</sup> jaer.

BALDUINUS een eerbair edel man ende sterff inden jaer IX<sup>C</sup> XCIII den tienden dach in mey ende hi regierde XVII jaer.

ANFRIDUS dese was een greve van Teysterbant bij Tiel ghelegen die veel sijns vaderliken erves der kercken van Utrecht ghegeven ende ghelaten hevet ende stichte dat cloester ten Heiligen Berge *van* bi Amersfoirdt ende starff doemen screeff M ende VIII opten iersten dach van junius ende hi regierde XV jair.

ADELBOLDUS dese was die ierste bisscop tUtrecht die hem stridens onder want ende verloes twe stride tegen den derden greve gheheten greve Dirc van Hollant dair hi veel edelre lude in verloys hi tymmerde den doem tUtrecht ende die kerck te Tiel. Hi sterff doemen screeff M ende XXVII des dages nae *Sunte Katherinen* dach ende wert begraven inden doem.

XVII

BERNULPHUS off Bernoldus ende was eerst pastoer van Oesterbeeck ende om tydinge dat die keyserynne enen jonghen soen ghecregen had in sinen huse gaff hem die keyser Coenraert die ierste alsoe ghenoemt dat bisdom dat doe open was hi was een goet man ende dede veel duechden hi stichte *Sunte Peters* kerck *Sunte Jans* kerck ende *Sunte Pouwels* kerck tUtrecht hi transferierde dat cloester ten Heiligen

XVIII

XIX

XX

[121]

Berge tot *Sunte Pouwels* bynnen Utrecht hi transferierde dat half collegium van Oudemunster *van oude* van Utrecht tot Deventer ende tymmerde aldair *Sunte Lebuijns* kerck. Hij starff doemen M ende LIII

screef opten iersten dach van augusto ende wert begraven in *Sunte Peters kerck tUtrecht* opt choer hi regierde [X, illegible] XVII jaer.

XXI

WILHELMUS was een groetmoedich man ende man van wapen onledich in hem selven. Hi sterff doemen M ende LXXV screeff den XXVII dach in aprille hi sat ~~XI~~ XXVII jaer.

XXII

CONRADUS dese was ierst een tuchtmeyster keyser Heynrics die vierde alsoe ghenoemt hi stichte dat collegium *Sunte Marien tUtrecht* hi wert heymelic verslegen van enen Vriese alsmen screef dusent ende XCIX in aprille opten XXIII dach nadien dat hi ter missen geweest hadde ende alleen in sijn ghebede lach welke Vriese nae gherecht was van keyser Heynric voirseit hi sat II jaer.

XXIII

BOECHARDUS of Luthardus een goedertieren vreedzam man ende sterff doemen screeff M C ende XIII XVIII dage in meye ende wert begraven inden doem tUtrecht hi regierde XIII jaer.

XXIII

GODEBALDUS was een wijs man ende mynde die duechde. Hi stichte dat cloester tot Oesbroeck buten der stadt van Utrecht ende nam aldair die orde an ende ghinc dair in ende starff dair ende wert aldair begreven doemen screeff

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M<sup>C</sup> ende XXVIII XIII daghe in oeto<sup>novem</sup>ber etc XV.

XXV

ANDREAS was gheboeren van Kuuck ende was proest toe Ludick een bescyden eerbair vreedzam man ende bij sijnre hulpen ende toedoen wert ghesticht dat cloester *Sunte Marien* weerde voir greve Florens van Hollants die de VIII greve was ende wert in Hemert verslegen dese bycop starf doemen screeff M C ende XXXVIII op onser Vrouwen avont nativitas XIII.

XXVI

HERTBERTUS was een stantaftich neernstich man die weder ontfenck vanden keyser Coenraet die anderde alsoe ghenoemt die graefscapen van Oestergoe ende Westergoe in desen tiden was groet brant tUtrecht ende was beleghen vanden greve van Hollant etc. Hij sterff doemen screeff M C ende L op *Sunte Meertens* dach inden wijnter ende wert inden doem tUtrecht begraven hi sat XI jaer.

XXVII

HARMANNUS van Huern gheboren proist *Sunte Gereon te Coelen* een sedich goedertieren man alsoe dat hi cranck ontsich hadde onder hem begonnen ierst die partien tUtrecht hi sterff doemen screeff M C LVI in meerte XXVII dage ende wert inden doem begraven.

XXVIII

GODEFRIDUS gheboren van Renen domproest tUtrecht een man van scoenre ghedaenten ende groetmoedich hi

[123]

tymmerde die Horst ende starff doemen M C ende LXXVIII screeff XVII daghe in meye begraven inden doem tUtrecht. Hij tymmerde vier castelen dat waren die Horst Vollenhoe Montfoirde ende Woirden hi regierde XXII jaer.

XXIX

BALDEWINUS brueder greve Florens van Hollant proist *Sunte Marien tUtrecht* ende tot Oldenzeel dese hadde noch twe brueders die een hiete Dirc ende was domproest tUtrecht die ander hiete Otto ende was greve van Benthem dese bisscop was soe kuusch van leven men meende dat hi meecheit starff hi sterff toe Mens doemen M C ende XCVI screeff XXI

dage in aprille ende wert tUtrecht gevoert ende inden doem begraven hi regierde XXVI jaer.

ARNOLDUS was proist van Deventer ende was gheboren van Ysenborch ende sterff toe Romen.

XXX

THEODERICUS was domproest tUtrecht ende bisscop Baldewijns voirseide brueder dese twe Arnoldus ende Theodericus worden tzamen gecoren inden jaer M C ende ~~XV~~ XCVIII ende si pleyten & te Romen omt bissdom en alst Arnoldus ghewonnen had sterff hi te Romen opten VI dach in aprille ende doe wert dese Dirc int bissdom gheset ende starff onderweghen als hi thuswert reysen

XXXI

[124]  
soude ende wert to Paveyen begraven.

THEODERICUS dese was gheboren van Aer ende starff toe Deventer doemen M CC ende X screeff ende wert inden doem begraven ende hi regierde XIIIII jaer.

XXXII

OTTO was proest van Zanten ende starff doemen screeff M CC ende XIIIII ende wert inden doem begraven ende was een soen toe Ghelre.

XXXIII

OTTO dese was een jongher brueder vander Lippe ende street een bloedige strijt teghen Roeloff van Coevoorden die in sijn hulpe had die Drenten. Ende bisscop Otto had in sijn hulpe greve Gherrijt van Gelre den greve van Hollant den greve van Cleve den greve van Benthem ende den bisscop van Coelen ende den bisscop van Munsteren ende overmits onversienlichkeit dat die bisscopps heer in een veen quam soncken si dair in dair wert verslegen die greve van Gelre Ghijsbert van Aemstel Dirck vander Lippe des bisscopps brueder die proest van Deventer ende bisscop Otto selve die si sijn crun myt zweerden off willeiden ende versmoirden hem in dat veen dit ghesciede opten iersten dach in oest XXVIII dach in julio dese bisscop starff aldus ghemartelijt doemen screef M CC ende XXVII XXVIII dach in julio. Ende is tUtrecht inden doem begraven ende was een alte vromen man etc hi regierde XIII jaer. Dese

XXXIII

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veersen scrijftmen van hem in Latijn Annis bisdenis septenis mille ducentis. Ad vada vaccina patuit miseranda ruina Presulis Ottonis in festo panthaleonis.

XXXV

WILBRANDUS dese was ierst bisscop van Padelboorn hi venck Roloff van Coevoorden die bisscop Otte voirseit voirseit alsoe ghemartelijt had ende dede hem op een rat setten dese leyde den iersten steen van Sunte Servaes cloester bynnen Utrecht ende ~~te~~ liet dat maken ende tymmeren etc ende wert in dat cloester begraven ende starff ~~doe~~ to Swolle doemen screeff M CC ende XXXIII. Ende hi regierde XVIII jaer.

OTTO greve Willams zoen van Hollant ende conync Willams oem vant dat Sticht seer becommert hi vercoft zijns vaderlike erve ende loste die slote ende betaelde die scout ende regierde dat bissdom lange tijt als een weerlic heer hi liet den Leckedijs slaen ende starff doemen screeff M CC en XLIX IIII dage in april en wert begraven inden doem tUtrecht ende regierde XVI jaer.

XXXVI

GOESSWINUS van Aemstel proist van *Sunte Jan tUtrecht* een sorghelois  
sympel man ende na dien dat hi omtrent een jair gheregert had wert hi off  
gheset in tegenwoerdicheit conync Willams des cardinaels Nycolaus

XXXVII

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de Capadono ende des biscops van Coelen. Ende Henric van Vyennen  
wert weder ghecoren.

HENRICUS van Vyennen domproist toe Coelen neve des biscops van  
Coelen een hert wijs heer die wel XXV jaer lanc regierde wan mennigen  
strijt ende toech zijn viande der neder dair hi zeer rijck mede wert hi  
tymmerde Vredelant hi stichte dat collegium te Steenwijck hi leyde den  
iersten steen vante nyewerck inden doem hi starff inden jair M CC ende  
LVII in junio vier dage ende wert tUtrecht inden doem begraven ende  
regierde XXV jaer.

XXXVIII

JOHANNES van Nassouwen een weerlic ende sympel man maectet Sticht  
seer arm dat hi rijck ende welich vant hi versette Vredelant hi versette  
Montfoerde dairt heel Sticht om claghede. Ende als hi aldus XVI jaer als  
een weerlic man gheregert hadde ende nyet gheconfirmiert en was screeff  
dat ghemeen Sticht anden paus voir heren Johan van Zirck die die pauwes  
confirmierde ende aldus wert her Jan van Nassouwen of gheset.

XXXIX

JOHANNES van Zirck als hi gheseten hadde [\*gap\*] wert hi gecoren  
biscop toe Tull inden jair M CC ende XCVI alsoe her Jan van Nassouwen  
voirseit Vredelant versedt had an Ghijsbert van Aemstel dair hi den Sticht  
grotten last mede

XL

[127]

dede. Soe boet die bisscop Jan van Zirc Ghijsbert zijn ghelt dat hi dair op  
gheleent had ende hij en wouts nyet ontfangen alsoe dattet hem te lesten  
off ghewonnen wert. Ende mede wert her Harman van Woirden  
Montfoerde off ghewonnen dat an hem versedt was als voirseit is. Dit wan  
alle greve Florens van Hollant van den biscops wegen doch wert dair te  
lesten een vrede ghemaect etc. Alsoe dat her Ghijsbert van Aemstel ende  
her Herman van Woirden worden rade greve Florens dat hem zijn lijff na  
coste want si huer leet nyet en vergaten als voir van greve Florens  
gescreven staet etc.

XLI

WILHELMUS van Mechelen nadien dat bisscop Jan van Zirck verset van  
Utrecht tot Toill soe gaf die pauwes hem dat bisdom van Utrecht hij was  
doe gheweest auditor causarum inden hove van Romen hi quam tUtrecht  
dair hi ghenen groten vrede en vant hi sette hem teghen zijn viande wan  
ende belach huer sloten myt hulpen der Vriesen die hem bi stonden doch  
waren hem teghen her Zweer van Montfoerde her Hubert van Vianen her  
Jan van Linscoten her Jacob van Lichtenberch ridders borghermeister  
tUtrecht Dese vengen

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den bisscop die sij omtrent een jaer ghevangen in Lichtenberch hielden  
ten lesten quam hi weder uit ende toech toe Romen ende quam weder  
ende vergaderde een heer dair hi mede quam bi Utrecht op die  
Hoechwoerde om dese voirseit te verderven ende die stat te wynnen dair  
hem dese voirgenoemde ridders ende zijn vyande manlic teghen stercten

ende streden myt hem dair hi verwonnen ende doot gheslagen wert inden  
inden stride op *Sunte Meertens* dach inden zomer int jair M CCC ende  
een. Ende is tUtrecht inden doem begraven voir welcke **þe** nederslach soe  
gheeftmen voir zijn ziel die weggen op *Sunte Meerten* scudde korfs dach  
*etc.*

GWIDO van Henegouwen ghenoemt had tot brueders Johan den greve  
van Hollant Borchart den bisp van Mets Johan den bisp van Cameric  
ende Johan den heer van Morianus. Dese Gwido was een scoen  
welspreekende wijs heer ende vant dat Sticht zeer becommert hi toech een  
wijl in Vrancrijck ende verspairde zijn renthen hi quam weder ende  
betailde die scout ende verwerff den Stichte drie sloten alst Goy  
Dulenborch ende Stoutenberch bi sinen tiden was grote duertijt ende  
pestilencie hi starff haestelic doemen screeff M CCC ende XVII XIX  
dage in meye ende wert inden

XLII

[129]  
doem tUtrecht. Ende hi regierde XVI jaer.

FREDERICUS van Zyrick proest van *Sunte Peter* tUtrecht die myt zijn  
scout dat Sticht ten afteren bracht hi sterff ter Horst doemen screeff M  
CCC ende XX e in julio den XX dach. Bij sinen tiden wert geleit die  
eerste steen van *Sunte Meertens* toorn doemen screeff M CCC ende XX  
dair nae doemen M CCC ende LXII screeff wert die wederhaen dair op  
ghesedt sat XV jaer.

XLIII

JACOBUS van Oesthoorn domdeken tUtrecht een eerbair man hi regierde  
onlange ende sterff doemen screeff M CCC ende XXII op *Sunte Matheus*  
avont.

XLIII

JOHANNES van Diest. Hijr is te weten dat nae dode heren Jacobs van  
Oesthoorn koeren die ecclesie eendrachtelic heren Johan van Bronchorst  
proest tot Oudemunster tUtrecht die hem rechte voirt seit schicte dat  
Sticht te regieren dan die edel mannen des ghestichtes als Johan hertoech  
van Brabant Willam greve van Hollant Reynalt hertoech van Gelre  
seynden huer boden te Romen biddende voirden proest van Camerijck  
heren Johan van Diest dus gaff die pauwes [hem, margin] dat bisdom  
ende conserrierden dair teghenwoirdich inden hove van Romen ende  
aldus wert her Johan van Diest tUtrecht an ghenomen ende her Jan van  
Bronchorst dat nochtan een lijftall man was ontsedt. Dese her Jan van

XLV

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Diest regierde cranckelic hi versette Vredelant anden greve van Hollant  
ende Vollenhoe myt dat lant van Overysell den hertoge van Ghelre ende  
myt dien ghelde coft hi die herscappie van Diepenhem ende stichte die  
canozie tot Amersfoirdt. Hi starff doemen screef M CCC ende XLI opten  
iersten dach van junio ende wert tUtrecht inden doem begraven hi  
regierde XV jaer.

XLVI

NICOLAUS. Hijr was twidracht in de kuer sommige coren heren Johan  
van Arkel canonic inden doem tUtrecht ter beden Williams greve van  
Hollant. Ende sommige coren weder heren Johan van Bronchorst ter  
beden hertoech Reynalts van Ghelre *Benedictus* die XII pauwes alsoe  
ghenoemt ontsettese beyde ende gaff dat bisdom enen edelen Romeyn  
ende was auditor *causarum* gheheten Nycolaus de Capono mer dese

Nycolaus gaff dat bisdom openbairiken inden selven jaer weder over in des pauwes handen. Ende die paus die doe was gheheten Clemens sextus ende was nye paus ghemaect gaff dat bisdom her Johan van Arkel die dair ter stont gheconsacriert wert vanden cardinael Albanensem.

JOHANNES van Arkel canonic inden doem tUtrecht. Dese bisscop vant dat Sticht myt zwaren sculden belast hi was een wijs man Sach dat hi den last

XLVII

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nyet lichtelic vervallen en mocht ende voir uten lande om spaeren eens ende anderwerff ende then bate nyet men vijnt dattet Sticht in sinen tiden ghenoech boven II<sup>C</sup> dusent oude scilde ten afteren was dair te lange off te scriven wair doch hi maectet soe dat hij wil van sinen vyanden creech hi loste zijn tafelgoede die volnae alte mael verset waren bij sijnre tijt lach die greve van Hollant voirder stat van Utrecht dair maecte hi den vrede off. Ende wert dair nae doe hi allen sinen last vervallen hadde ghecoren bisscop tot Ludick ende dair transferiert doemen screeff M CCC ende LXIII. Item dese bisscop Jan voirseit bemuerde Renen al omme myt eenre starcker mueren doemen screeff M CCC ende XLVI. Inden selven jair op Sunte Ceciliën dach vacht bisscop Jan voirseit myt her Hubert van Culenborch ende her Robbert van Arkel ende her Jacob van Nyevelt op die plaets tUtrecht teghen die Gunterlinge ende verwanske ende hi verdreef van den Gunterlingen omtrent III<sup>C</sup> man. Dese lach zijn maerscalc mitter stat van Utrecht voir Yselsteyn ende cregen dair hueren wil off nae dat si dair V weken voir ghelegen hadden int jaer M CCC ende XLIX. Dese bisscop Jan voirseit wert gh bisscop tUtrecht doemen screeff M CCC ende XLIII ende was XX jaer bisscop tUtrecht ende

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XV jaer bisscop toe Ludick. Ende starff doemen screeff M CCC ende LXXVIII ende wart ghebrocht tUtrecht ende wert aldair inden doem begraven etc.

XLVIII

JOHANNES van Verrenborch was ierst bisscop van Munsteren een vreedsam man ende starff haestelic doemen screeff LXXI. Ende regierde VII jaer ende wert begraven inden doem tUtrecht.

XLIX

ARNOLDUS van he Huern was een oirloges doende man dair hi des Stichtes goede nyet me en vermeerredre onder hem wert Ghildenborch op ghegheven ende weder gewonnen hi wert nae dode bisscop Jans van Arkel toe Ludic bisscop ghecoren ende starff inden jaer M CCC ende LXXXIX op Sunte Peters dach ad cathedram. Ende hi was bisscop tUtrecht VIII jaer.

FLORENCIUS van Wevelichoven was ierst bisscop toe Munsteren een out wijs man die in corten tijden verhaelde ende verviel alle dat afterwesen commer ende scult als hi opten Stichte gevonden hadde hi lach voir Montfoirde ende creech dair wil off hi tymmerde

L

[133]

den Herdenberch hi degradierde den valschen wibiscop ende doe hij  
degradiert was wert hi onthoeft inde Nuede. Dese bisscop Florens  
regierde zeer wel hi starff ten Herdenberch opten goeden vridach onder  
tamborcht alsmen screeff M CCC ende XCIII ende wert begraven  
tUtrecht inden doem opt choer voir dat hoge outair. Ende hi regierde XIII  
jaer.

LI

FREDERICUS van Blankenhem dese was ierst bisscop van Straetzborch  
ende wert gecoren bi bede hertoech Willams van Ghelre hoe wel dat  
hertoech Aelbert van Hollant teghen hem bat voir heren Rogier van  
Bronchorst cappellair toe Coelen dese bisscop dede veel dingen hi had veel  
oirlogen ende wederstants dair hi eerlic off quam hi brocht Groenyngen  
weder anden Sticht. Hi coft die heerlicheit van Kuynre bij Vollenhoe hi  
coft die heerlicheit van Holten upten palen vanden lande van Sallant ant  
Sticht hi wan Yselsteyn Rinesteyn ende Eversteyn hi bedwanck  
Stellincwerff ende Scoterwerf hi wan Coevoirden ende bedwanc die  
Twente die doe vanden Stichte ghedwailt was hi wan tNyehuus bi lage  
ende noch meer dat te lanc te scriven wair ende men inden croniken wel  
vijnt. Hij starff ter Horst na dien dat hi XXX jaer gheregiert hadde inden  
jaer

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M CCCC ende XXIII op Sunte Victoers avont ende wert begraven inden  
doem tUtrecht.

SWEDERUS een jongher brueder van Culenborch ende was ierst  
domproest tUtrecht. Te weten dat nae dode bisscop Frederix grote  
twidracht was onder der ecclesien een groet deel koren joncker Walraven  
van Moerse sommighe coren Rodolph van Diepholt die ander coren de  
domproost voorseit. Sommige den proest van Aken oick worden dair  
ghenoemt die van Carpen ende mede joncker Gherijt vander Marck.  
Alsoe dat int eynde Roedolph van Diepholt die meeste stemmen creech  
die doe domproest van Oesenbrug was. Pauwes Meerten die vijfte alsoe  
ghenoemt als hi die saeck verhoirde ende die partyen verstont liet hi die  
electie staen ende versach mytten bisdom den bisscop van Spier ende  
want hi een out eerbair man was en konde hi hem die onlede nyet  
onderwijsinden ende dair wert alsoe tusschen ghesproken dat hi sijn recht  
den domproest van Utrecht voorseit overgaff ende dair op creech hi die  
confirmacie ende wert toeghelaten ende eerlic ontfangen bynnen Utrecht  
opter octaven van onser Vrouwen assumpcio. Doch soe sette hijt  
onwijssellic an ende en condet soe nyet regieren hij en maepte veel  
onleden inder stat alsoe

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dat Aernt Proys onthoeft ende ghrecht wert ende dair ghescieden een  
ommeloep vanden sinen van lichten luden die liepen tot her Jacob van  
Lichtenberch proest van Sunte Peters tUtrecht sijn huus ende beclommen  
dat dat<sup>dat</sup> op Sunte Jans kerchoff aftert scoel staet ende sochten hem om  
doet te slaen wi ende staken allen die bedden myt zweerden ontwe ende  
namen hem alle dat hi hadde ghelyc cleder cleynoten boeken kele een kelc

vergult pullen ende pays van sulver ende her Jacob ~~va~~ proest voirseit clam  
heymelic over drie of vier mueren ende berchde hem bij meyster  
Harberen van Jutfaes in sijn bedde die zieck lach ende dit ghesciede meer  
ander. Her Jan van Renesse ridder lach ~~van~~\*iest ende berchde hem opt  
ghewolvet van der kerc toe mynrebrueder ende noch gesciede dair veel  
ondaften die te lange te scriven sijn. Alsoe dat hem hi opten pnxter avont  
dair nae verdreven wert dat tot groten oirlogen ende twidrachten quam.  
Want die hertoech van Burgoengen die doe Hollant meestedeel regierde  
ende die hertooge van Gelre myt alle huerre machten ende meestendeel  
vanden ridderscap hieldent myt bisscop Sweder. Dat Sticht van Utrecht an  
beyden ziden der Yselen ende alle die ander voirseit die bisscop Zweer  
hem tot vyande gemaect had als her Jan van Renesse ende die proest van  
Sunte Peter die op

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die tijt machtich waren ende die Pruysingher ende veel vander ecclesien.  
Dese myt allen hueren vrienden namen hueren postulaet Rodolph van  
Diepholt tot enen ruwaert ende hieldent myt hem starckelic teghen bisscop  
Zweder soe lange dat die oirloghe ghesoent worden. Ende bynnen desen  
starf pauwes Meerten doe verworven dese voirgenoemde Stichten an  
beyden ziden mytten anderen Rodolph postulaets vrienden voir hueren  
postulaet an paus Eugenius dat hi transferierde bisscop Zweder vanden  
bisdom van Utrecht totten bisdom van Cesarien ende versach ende  
confirmierde heren Roedolph van Diepholt mytten bisdom. In deser tijt  
lach bisscop Zweder toe Basel om hem mitten concilium teghen heren  
Rodolph etc te behelpen ende myt sinen rechten ende wart dair sieck an  
dat buucevel ende starff dair ende wert dair begraven nadien dat hij  
omtrent VII of jaer bisscop gheweest hadde alsmen screeff M CCCC ende  
XXXIII.

ROEDOLPHUS van Diepholt domproest tot Osenbrugge dair hijr voer  
off gheruert is edel van groter coemsten ende gheboerten was een goet  
wijs stantaftich ende temporail man groetmoedich die [hem, margin] wel  
oirloge verstont die

LIII

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mitt groten oncost ende zwairen last van oirlogen mit veel vyanden anden  
Sticht quam. Hi had pauwes ende keyser teghen den hertoech van  
Burgoengen ende tlant van Gelre. Die bi beden hertoech Alephs van  
Cleve ierst ant bisdom quam dat onghesien was in sijn beginne. Want hi  
ende alle zijn vrienden wageden dat upt tuterste op lijff ende goet ende up  
alle dat sij te verliesen hadden hi wan veel stride hi verwan sijn vyande  
manlic over al werender hant of myt dedingen. Doch om dat hi dat ende  
zijn vriende soe crachtelic wederstonden ende manlikken hielden ende hem  
die aventuer mede ghinck wert dat int lest beter myt hem alsoe dat hi in  
tiende jair van sinen beginne die confirmacie creech ende dat bisdom  
behielt dair hi dair nae noch XXIII jaer in sadt ende bynnen dien tiden  
verbeterde hij zijn hoeftsloete seer die hi costelic ende scoen vertymmerde  
ende oec mede dat hoff bynnen Utrecht Vollenhoe ende die Horst. Hi  
cofft anden Stichte die heerscappie vander Laghe tymmerde ende dat

schoen ende costelic hi coft Blankenborch hi coft Wijc ~~du~~ te Duersteden  
ende Apcoude tegen den joncker van Gaesbeec ~~ant sticht~~ ende broechtse  
ant Sticht hi was een ontsien rijck welich heer ende gheloeflic voir zijn  
scult ende stantaftich. Item int jaer van XLVIII was twidracht tusschen  
hem ende der stat van Utrecht als die Pruyssinger ende mitten

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anderen die op die tijt dat regiment hadden die hem tegen bisscop  
Rodolph hueren heer setten dat hem qualic verghinck. Her Jan Proys die  
domdeken was maectet in sijn capittel alsoe dat hijt duer creech datmen  
her Gherrijt van Randen canonic inden doem vicarius biscops Roloffs  
vangen soude dien hi myt sommigen heren vanden doem ende andere die  
hem dair toe holpen venck ende leyde hem ghevangen boven op die  
camer neffen Sunte Agnieten kass over ~~dattie~~ ende quam heymelic ute  
vangenisse dair nae ende quam en wech ende toech tot bispop Roelof  
tAmerforidt. Dit <sup>ende</sup> ander lasten die hem vander stat gheschieden ghingen  
[hem, margin] doir nae ende ter herten. Alsoe dat hi neernstelic stont [nae,  
margin] zijnre stat weder te hebben in zijn ghewout. Ende quam int jair  
van XLIX op Sunte Blasius nacht mytten joncker van Montfoirde den  
proest van Deventer sinen neve mit die ballinghe die die Pruyssynger  
verdreven hadden mytter stat van Amersfoirdt ende myt veel ander sijnre  
vriende ~~ete~~ ende croep duer die muer vander stat van Utrecht alsoe hem  
dair een gat ghemaect was van sinen vrienden die hi inder stat had ende  
alle ~~zijn~~ die voorseit cropen mede duer dat gat aldus quam hi inder stat  
ende verwan sijn vyande die hem tegen waren ende ~~ven~~ vant den joncker  
van Gaesbeec dair in die ~~hi~~

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op die tijt der Pruessinger vrient was ende die stat myt hem helt dair nae  
wertet ghededingt tusschen den bispop voorseit ende den joncker van  
Gaesbeec. Alsoe dat die joncker etc. hem overgaff Wijck te Duersteden  
ende Apcoude behoudelic hem zijn lijftocht dair an ende die bispop  
betailde [hem, margin] een seker somme van ghelde dair voir alsoe men  
seyde was die somme XI<sup>M</sup> rijns~~gulden~~ guldens. Item in deser incoemst  
was die bispop zeer ghewont in zijn been dat hi nye en verwan ende alle  
zijn leven an hincte ende hi was oec in zijn hoeft zeer gheslagen ende in  
zijn yseren hoet was een groet gat boven in gheslegen etc. Item hi venck  
Frederic van Rynesse Johan van Renesse die seer ghescat worden ende  
verdreven. Item Aernt van Amerongen dat alte vermaerden subtilen man  
was die veel scouts in deser saken had als die faem was die wert onthoeft  
opter plaetsen ende Heynric Jacobsoen dat een out man<sup>was</sup> myt hem  
gherecht opter plaetsen op enen dach Roetart Pruys starff zeer gewont op  
Sunte Katherinen poert Jan van Lichtenberch Pruyszoen sijn sterff an een  
wonde die hem ghescoten was myt een pijl. Henric van Masch was zeer  
ghewont ende starff dair an Jacob van Amerongen grotelic gescat ende  
verdreven Jacob Proys seer ghewont gevangen ende myt Hubert van  
Pallaes optie Horst gevoirt ende aldair in die

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stocke gheset dair si nae alle beyde uit braken ende quamen vri en wech. Item die domdeken quam heymelic uter stat ende wert nae ghepriviert ende zijn domdekenye wert hem genomen etc. Ende alle die ander liepen en wech diet myt desen voirseit tegen den bisscop ghehouden hadden. Item nae ~~wert~~ worden veel verdreven die die Grawerdingen [verdreven, margin] ende oec sommige onthoefft etc ende ghevierdelt ende die stucken voir der poirten ghehangen etc. Ende ghelyc hi int ierst veel wederstoets had soe en ghinct hem oec int lest van sinen leven soe wel nyet dair hi onghenoecht om hadde ~~ende~~ want hi raet helt mytten oversten van Utrecht opten dertien avont int jaer van LV ende scheide myt ongunsten van hem alsoe † dat [hi, margin] droevich haestelick reet uter stat dair<sup>hi</sup> nye levendich weder in en quam ende het scheen dat hi dair grote onghenoecht off hadde alsoet een hoechmodich *heer* was etc en verghinck van live seer. Ende starf tot Vollenhoe op onser Vrouwen avont annunciacio alsmen screeff M CCCC ende LV ende wert eerlic tUtrecht ghebrocht ende inghehaelt vanden ~~vand~~ vijf goeshusen myt crucen ende myt vanen ende zijn uutvairt ghedaen eerlic ende inden doem begraven in een capelle die hi selve had doen maken ende nae zijnre doot volmaect ende scoen ghestoffert wert ende zijn graff verheven. Item

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nadien dat hi soe postulaet soe recht *heer* omtrint XXXII jaer gheregiert hadde.

DAVID natuerliche soen des groten hertogen Philips van Burgoengen ende was ierst bisscop van Tervaen. Hijr is te weten dat nae dode bissops Roedolphs van Diepholt die ghemeen ecclesie eendrachtelic hadden ghecoren heren Ghijsbert van Bredenrode domproest ende proest van Oudemunster tUtrecht ende ghesciede opten VII dach van aprille ende was doe des manendages nae Paeschen alsmen screeff M CCCC LV Welke koer hem soe wel nyet en diende totten bisdom alst ynt ierst scheen. Want die hertoech Philips van Burgoengen neernstelic solliciterde anden pauwes voir David zinen natuerliken zoen. Alsoe dattie pauwes Kalistus ~~die~~ <sup>V</sup> mytten bisdom van Utrecht versach David van Burgoengen ende liet die electie achter ~~die~~ <sup>myt</sup> omtrint Sunte Lucie int selve jaer dair nae die bi toe doen des hertogen van Burgoengen ende dedingen die dair tusschen hem ende den domproest voirseit versproken wert vanden hertoech van Cleve tUtrecht in quam ende ontfanghen wert des jaers dair nae opten vijften dach van augusto ende was des donredages na Sunte Stevens dach invencionii

LIII

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als bisscop ende *heer* des ghestichtes van Utrecht voirseit. Item dair nae int jaer van LXIX begeerde bisscop David die vier overste van Utrecht te setten op onser Vrouwen avont ~~parif~~ te Lichtmisze dat hem vanden raet gegost ende toeghelaten wert aldus sette hij die vier overste die hij woude doe ende inden jaren dair nae LXX LXXI LXXII LXXIII LXXIII LXXV LXXVI ende LXXVII.

die *heer* van  
Bredenrode  
gevangen

Item inden jaer M CCCC ende LXX op *Sunte* Vitus ende Modestus dach  
ende was doe des vridages quatertemper nae pinxteren venck bycop  
David van Burgoengen te Wijck den heer van Bredenrode die dair tot hem  
quam ende hem nyet en huede want hi nyet en wist van enighe  
vyantschap of veersien des biscops ende Walraven die bastaert van  
Bredenrode zijn zoen. Ende dese bycop reet doe tUtrecht. Ende venck  
opten selven dage des avonts heren Ghijsbert van Bredenrode brueder des  
heren van Bredenrode domproest tUtrecht ende seynde hem des anderen  
dages te Wijck ende leyde hem dair in vanghenisse. Item op *Sunte* Peter  
ende *Sunte* Pouwels dach dair nae venc dese bycop voirseit Jan van  
Amerongen scout tUtrecht ende wert des anderen dages te Wijc ghevoert  
ende dair in vanghenisse gheset. Dese voirscreven

domproest  
gevangen

Jan van  
Amerongen  
gevangen

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heren ende Walraven *etc* quamener uter vanghenisse ende Jan van  
Amerongen als voirseit is op dese datum zuect dair. Item bisscop David  
van Burgoengen verdreeff oec her Jan Proys domdeken tUtrecht ende  
verwerff anden paus alsoe dat hi hem privierde ende nam hem zijn  
doemdekenye mitter proven ende setten dair enen anderen in een jonck  
gheleert man gheheten meester Ludolff vanden Veen. Item hi verdreeff  
heren Willam van Montfoirde proest tot Oudemunster tUtrecht. Item dede  
alle des domproestes huusghesin die stat verbieden. Item hi dede alle die  
ballinge incomen als die pruesingher ende die Grawerdingher mytten  
hueren die verdreven waren uit ghenomen Jacob Proys die dair nae in  
quam ende Beernt heren Beernt Proys natuerlike zoen die oec nae in quam  
ende Jan Aerntsoen *etc* dit ghesciede al ynt jair van LXX voirseit. Item int  
jaer M CCC ende LXXV werettet ghededingt tusschen bycop David van  
Burgoengen ende den proest van Oudemunster voirseit alsoe dat hi weder  
inder stat van Utrecht quam *etc*. Ende inden jair van LXXVI omtrint  
*Sunte* Galle wert die proest van Oudemunster voirseit weder verdreven  
van bycop David voirseit ende ende mede her Johan van Montfoirde sijn  
neve des borchgreven van Montforide sijn oem *etc* [canonick tot  
Oudemunster *etc, margin*]. Item overmits toe

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doen bycop Davids van Burgoengen wert der heren sijs verlicht ende her  
Heynric Trinde canonick *Sunte* Johans ende her Steven Witvoet die dair  
om verdreven waren weder inder stat ghelaten *etc* dit was int jaer hijr voir  
van LXVIII *etc*.  
Item dair nae int jaer M CCCC ende LXXVII na dode hertoech Kaelrs  
van Burgoengen wert twidracht ende onvrede tusschen bycop David van  
Burgoengen ende der stat van Utrecht alsoe dat sijn vriende uter stat van  
Utrecht verdreven worden als Willam Vos *daat* die int jaer dairvoir  
borgermeyster was Dirc van Wael ende Heynric Knoep.  
Item dair nae worden verdreven *heer* meyster Ludolf vanden Veen  
domdeken her [meester Jan, different ink?] Militis proest van Aernhem  
ende meyster Dirc uten Weerde deken van Oudemunster ende vicarius des  
biscops van Utrecht Davids van Burgoengen *etc*.

Item int jaer ons Heren doemen screef dusent  
vijfhondert ende acht den XV sten dach in  
december sterf die eerbaer prelaet Ludolf vanden  
Veen ende was doemdeken tUtrecht

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#### DIE GHELRESCHEN HEREN

In dien tiden dattie Roemsche keyseren *ende* conynghen van Vrancrijc  
een gheheten Kaerl *began* regierde began die heerscappie van Ghelre  
welcke sijn oerspronck nam vander heerlicheit van Pont bij Ghelre  
gheleghen *ende* dair omtrint nae datmen in ouden boeken vijnt. Het en  
was *van* sulken naem nyet off then stont tot zulker weerden nyet alst than  
doet *ende* het werdt doe gheregiert bij oversten die sij hueren voecht heten  
die nochtan bij groten zeghen *ende* victorien gheresen zijn upgaende  
greven *ende* hertogen gheworden zijn ghelyc Henricus van Hervoirden  
vander prediker oerden uten convent van Mynden een groet hystorimaker  
in sinen scriften nae ghelaten heeft. In deser manyeren dat in voirleden  
tiden een edel man overste des lants van Ghelre die edel voecht gheheten  
was *ende* nam te wive een enige dochter des greven van Zutphen dair hi  
den grevelicken naem mede behilicte. Dair nae alsmen screeff M CCC  
*ende* XXXIX wert greve Reynalt van Ghelre *ende* van Zutpheen van  
keyser Lodewich van Romen die vierde alsoe gheheten in enen stateliken  
hove van veel groter heren ghemaect die ierste hertoeghe van Ghelre.  
*Ende* wantmen die ge

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boirte *ende* gheslachten der vorsten die doe voir gheweest waren *ende*  
huer namen overmits der outheit vander tijt nyet en weet. Nochtan zijn  
zommighe dairmen off weet dair een goet man gheheten Willam van  
Berchhem priester uit mennigherhande boeken *ende* jeesten van landen  
sijn neersticheit toghedaen heet *ende* die bi een vergadert als hier nae  
bescreven staet. Hier is te weten dat doe keyseren *ende* conynghen van  
Vrancrijc gheheten Kaerl regierde die een wijl naden anderen dat was  
omtrent int jaer ons Heren VII<sup>s</sup><sup>C</sup> *ende* IX<sup>s</sup><sup>C</sup>. *Ende* dair nae als die  
keyserlike croen regierde Otto die anderde *ende* Otto die derde alsoe  
ghenoemt *ende* keyser Heynric die anderde alsoe ghenoemt dat was  
omtrent doemen M screeff doe was  
MENGOSUS een greve van Ghelre een heylisch man *ende* is begraven in  
een cloester gheheten Vilich ten neven Bonne myt zijnre vrouwen  
gheheten Gherberga dat si selve ghesticht hadde in welken cloester Sunte  
Adelheit huerre twier dochter abdisse was. *Ende* dair nae doe Coenraert  
die anderde *ende* Heynric zijn zoen die derde Roemsche conynghen  
regierden *ende* was omtrint datmen M *ende* L screef.  
OTTO was doe een greve van Gelre

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een groet vorst verkent onder den princen van Aelmaengen *ende* was  
mede greve van Zutpheen die ierste. *Ende* nae hem in tiden keyser

Heynrics die derde ende zijs zoens keyser Heynrics die vierde doe was  
ende regierde

GHERLACUS greve van Ghelre ende van Zutpheen die inden jaer M  
ende LXXVI in enen stride gheslegen wert die dede myt heren Coenraert  
biscop van Utrecht teghen greve Dirc van Hollant ende sinen stieff vader  
greve Robbrecht van Vlaenderen dair nae quam

OTTO die anderde greve van Gelre ende van Zutpheen alsoe ghenoemt  
ende was in tijden keyser Heynrics die vijfde ende starff als men screeff M  
C ende VII op die XII kalende van aprille.

GHERARDUS die ierste alsoe genoemt greve van Gelre ende van  
Zutpheen greve Otten soen voirseit ende was onder keyser Heynrics tiden  
die vijfde alsoe ghenoemt ende Lotharius die derde alsoe ghenoemt ende  
sterff als men screeff M C ende XXXI.

HENRICUS greve van Ghelre ende van Zutphen greve Gherrijts zoen  
voirseit ende was in tiden keysers Lotharius die derde Coenrardi die derde  
ende Frederici die ierste alsoe ghenoemt. Ende sterff als men screeff M C  
ende LXII ende leyt int cloester te Camp van sunte

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Beernarts oerde begraven.

GHERARDUS die anderde alsoe ghenoemt greve van Ghelre ende van  
Zutphen greve Heynrics zoen voirseit ende was in tiden keyser Fredericx  
die ierste alsoe ghenoemt ende starff doemen screeff M C ende LXX ende  
leyt begraven toe Zutpheen.

OTTO die derde alsoe ghenoemt greve van Ghelre ende van Zutpheen  
ende was greve Gerrijts brueder voirseit ende was in tiden keysers  
Fredericx de ierste ende zijs zoens keyser Heynrics die seste keyser  
Philippus die derde ende keyser Otto die vierde alsoe ghenoemt. Ende  
starff als men screeff M CC ende II. Ende wart begraven int cloester te  
Camp bi sinen vader ende Rycharda sijn vrouwe die myt Gherijt hueren  
zoen dat cloester to Ruemunde ghesticht hadde wert dair begraven.

GHERARDUS die derde alsoe ghenoemt greve van Ghelre ende van  
Zutpheen greve Otten soen voirseit ende was in tyden keyser Otten die  
vierde ende keyser Frederics die anderde. Ende starff doemen screeff M  
CC ende XXIX op Sunte Severus dach ende leyt begraven toe Rumunde  
myt zijnre moeder Richarda int cloester dat si selver ghesticht hadden.

OTTO die vierde alsoe ghenoemt

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greve van Gelre ende van Zutpheen greve Gerrijts soen die ierste greve  
van Nymmegen ende was inden tiden keysers Fredericx die anderde alsoe  
ghenoemt keyser Heynrics Willam van Hollant etc Roemsche conygen.  
Ende starff doemen screeff M CC ende LXXI X dage in januario ende  
wert begraven int cloester te Grevendall dat hi selve ghesticht hadde.  
Ende zijn ierste wijff was Margareta des greven dochter van Cleve die  
anderde was Philippa des greven dochter van Sympoll ende worden alle  
inden selven cloester begraven.

REYNALDUS die ierste alsoe ghenoemt greve van Gelre ende van  
Zuthpheen. Dese wert ghevanghen van sinen zoen da om dat hij zijn  
goede vermynde doemen screeff M CCC ende XVIII. Ende was bij

tiden keyser Lodewichs die vierde. Ende starff doemen screeff M CCC ende XXVI op *Sunte* Dyonisius dach ende wert begraven ynt cloester te Grevendail tenden sinen vader. Ende hadde te wive die ierste hiet Margriet hertoech Walravens dochter van Lymborch. Ende die anderde hiete Margareta greve Ghien dochter van Vlaenderen. Ende dese Margareta stichte dat *convent vander prediker oirden toe Zutpheen* ende worden tzamen begraven int cloester te Grevendail voirseit.

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REYNALDUS die anderde soe ghenoemt greve Reynalts soen voirseit ende was die ierste hertoghe van Gelre ende stichte dat carthuser cloester te Monichusen in tiden keyser Lodewicx die vierde. Ende sterff doemen screeff M CCC ende XLIII opten vierden ydus in october. Int cloester Grevendaal begraven ende had te wive Alienora des conync dochter van Engelant ende conync Eduwarts zuster die mede stichte dat cloester te Monichusen ende mede twe conventen van mynrebruuederen toe Deventer ende toe Herderwijck ende leyt in dat selve convent toe Deventer int choer begraven.

REYNALDUS die derde alsoe ghenoemt hertoge van Gelre ende greve van Zutpheen hertoech Reynalts zoen was in tiden Lodewichs den vierden etc keyser etc. Ende starff doemen screeff M CCC LXXI op *Sunte Barbaren* dach begraven int cloester te Grevendaal bi sinen vader ende hadde te wive hertoech Jans dochter van Brabant gheheten Maria ende die wert begraven toe Bruesell ynt choer totten carmeliten bi huuren vader. EDUARDUS die derde hertoge van Ghelre ende greve van Zutpheen. In tiden Kael de vierde soe ghenoemt Roemsch conynck. Ende bleeff

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doot inden stride te Basewijlre inden lande van Gulick ende wert ghescoten in zijn voirhoeft van enen scoenmaker van Tiel gheheten Harman Leerse doemen screeff M CCC ende LXXI op *Sunte* Bertelmeus dach ende wert begraven int cloester te Grevendail ende had te wive vrouwe Katherina hertoech Aelberts dochter van Hollant die nae te man hadde hertoech Willam van Ghelre ende wert toe Monichusen bi hem begraven.

WILHELMUS die vierde hertoge van Gelre ende van Gulick greve van Zutphen. In tiden Kael die vierde alsoe ghenoemt ende Wenzelai ende Roberti Roemsche conyngen ende sterff als men screeff M CCCC ende II op *Sunte* Juliana dach ende wert toe Monnichusen mit zijnre vrouwen Katherina van Hollant voirseit be hertoech Aelberts dochter begraven. REYNALDUS die vierde alsoe ghenoemt ende was die vijfde hertoech van Gelre ende van Gulick ende greve van Zutpheen. In tiden keyser Seghemont. Ende starff als men screeff M CCCC ende XXIII inde Veluwe te Lit int Velt des anderen dages nae *Sunte* Jan te midzomer ende wert begraven bi sinen bruueder hertoech

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Willam voirseit int cloester te Monichusen. Ende hadde te wive vrouwe Maria des greven dochter van Arturien in Noirmandien. Ende nam dair

nae heren Robbrecht hertoech Adolph zoen vanden Berghe ende is begraven te Nydeggen inden lande van Berghe.

ARNOLDUS hertoech van Ghelre ende greeff van Zutpheen ende was hertoech Willam ende hertoech Reynaldus voirseide neve ende des heren soen van Egmont dese was in tiden keyser Seghemonts ende keyser Fredericx die derde ende hadde te wive vrouwe Katherina van Cleve hertoech Adolph dochter van Cleve. Ende wert hertoech van Gelre doemen screeff M CCCC ende XXIII ende hi was doe XIII jaer out ende zijn vrouwe die hem inden selven jair ghesekert was was VII jaer out etc. Item inden jaer dair na alsmen screeff M CCCC ende LXV wert dese hertoech Aernt van Gelre ghevanghen van den jongen hertoeghe van Gelre Adolph sinen soen ende wert om dat hi onwiselic sijn lant regierde ende alle ampten bezwairde ende ve<sup>r</sup>sette ende zijn lant soe onveilich hielt ende zijn goede vermynde etc ende hi wert ghebrocht opt thuus te Bueren ende al dair be

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sloeten ende verwairt. Dese selve hertoeghe Aernt quam weder uter vangenisse bij hulpe ende toedoen hertoeghes Kaelrs van Burgoengen doemen screeff M CCCC ende LXXI omtrint Sunte Thomas dach. Ende doe hi al uit was en wouden hem steden nyet ontfangen off weder an nemen. Ende hij starff dair nae te Grave int jaer M CCCC ende LXXIII int lest vander maent februarius. Ende wert begraven etc.

ADOLPHUS hertoech van Ghelre ende greve van Zutpheen en een coen ende wijs heer. Ende hadde te wive [\*gap\*] des hertogen dochter van Burboen. Dese regierde dat lant van Gelre nae dat hi synen vader ghevangen hadde om welker vangenisse hi te vyande creech sijn oem hertoech Jan van Cleve van zijns moeders wegen ende den heer van Egmont sijn oem van zijns vaders weghen ende den joncker van Culenborch. Ende in den selven jaer worden dese voirgenoemde sijn vyande ende ontseyden

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hem alsoe dat dair een zwair oerloge began dat duerde II jaer. Item dair nae ghinc dat oirloge weder an. Item inden jaer van LXVI des dages nae onser vrouwen dach annunciacio wert Yselsteyn verbernt gheheel behalven die kerck ende dat cloester toebehoerende den heer van Egmont vanden hertoge van Gelres vriende Adolphs vanden welken int weder om comen veel ghevangen worden alsoe dat inden selven jaer omtrint pinxteren boven XL ma goeder manne inden van Nymmeghen inden Hage op een radt geset worden om deser zaken wil voirseit. Item inden jaer M CCCC ende LXVII VI dage in mey inder dagheraet quam [joncker, margin] Frederic van Egmont myt sinen vrienden in Waghenyngen overviel ende becrachtichde die stat myt brande myt ghevanghen ende myt roeff tot sinen wille. Item dair nae inden jaer van LXVIII wan die heer van Egmont myt sinen soen joncker Frederic des morghens als die dach op quam die stat van Doesborch dair seer veel jamers ghesciede. Inder selver tijt op Sunte Jans avont was ee manghelinge ende die

Cleeffsche ende die Ghelresche vochten tegen malcander voir  
Wachtendonck dair veel goeder ridder ende knechte dooet bleven meer  
ghevangen ende noch meer ghewoont alsoe datter groten scade ghe

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ghesciede mer veel meer ander Cleefscher side dan ander Ghelrescher siden. Na dien veerse Corde dole Clivis quia te confudit p Adolphus alsoe dattie hertoech van Ghelre hielt die overhant. In dat lest van desen jaer wert dat oirloge weder ghesuent want overmits den oirloge waren die tollen gesloten ende oec mede om tquade ghewas vanden wijngaert want die mosten quamen doe ierst uit omtrint Sinter Claes hijr te lande en was nyet een rype druwe int jaer va LXVIII.

Item inden jair M CCCC ende LXXI omtrent *Sunte Valentijns* dach was die jonghe hertoech Aleph van Ghelre bij hertoge Kaerl van Burgoengen te Heddijn in Artoys ende vernam aldair sulc onraet alsoe dat hi heymelic van dair toech ende quam te Namen dair hi bekent wert ende weder ghebrocht te Heddijn totten hertoech van Burgoengen die hem dede vangen ende wert ghevuer toe Vilvoirden in Brabant ende aldair in vangenissen gheset.

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#### DIE BISSCOPEN VAN COELEN

Item te weten dattie kerck van Coelen ierst dat ghelove an nam bij toedoen ende prediken van *Sunte Maternus* die *Sunte Peters* discipel was vanden LXXII discipulen ons Heren alsmen meent ende na desen iersten bisscop te Coelen III<sup>C</sup> jaer ende XIII tot dat *Sunte Severijn* quam en vijntmen ghenen bisscop toe Coelen hebben gheweest om dattie kerc van Coelen weder in ongheloven viel off onder groter persecucien die dat korsten ghelove leet bynner dier tijt.

SUNTE MATERNUS die ierste bisscop van Colen sadt XL jaer hi sterf toe Coelen ende wart dair begraven in den jair onss Heren C ende XXXIII.  
SEVERINUS die anderde bisscop van Colen began alsmen screeff CCC XXVII stichte die kerc in die eer van *Sunte Cornelis* ende *Sunte Cypriaen* ende is dair begraven dat nu *Sunte Severijn* hiet.

EVERGISLUS die derde als hi te Tongheren te prediken ghetoghen was ende des nachtes te kercken gaen soude wert hi doet gheslagen ende wert mairtelair ende dair nae lange te Coelen ghevuer ende sunte Cecilyen begraven.

SOLMUS die vierde SYMENEUS die vijfte REMEDIUS die seste

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CUNIBERTUS die sevende dese sat XL jaer in tijden Heraclius keyser ende was des hertogen zoen van Doeringhen dese myt zijnre neersticheit creech die stede Zuzatiennen dese stichte een kerck int convent der bruederen buten den muren van Coelen in die eer van *Sunte Clement* die nu hiet *Sunte Cunibertus* kercke ende aldair is hi begraven.

Lothringen

BOCALDUS VIII STEPHANUS IX BALDEWINUS X GHISO XI  
ANNO XII PHARQUNDUS XIII AGILLOLPHUS XIII. Dese was in  
tyden Karoli Marcelli ende wert van sijn ridderscap ghemertelijt ende is  
begraven *Sunte Marien ad gradus*.

TANGEFREDUS XV HILGERUS XVI. Dese was in tyden Puppinus des  
grotен conync Kaelrs vader ende wert in sijn heer versleghen.

BERCHELMUS XVII ende sadt X jair onder conync Puppijn van  
Vrancrijc.

RICOLPHUS XVIII ende regierde XXII jaer bi tiden grote conync Kaelr.  
HILDEBOLDUS XIX regierde onder den selven conync Kaelr ende  
Lodewich sinen zoen XXXIII jair ende croende den selven conync  
Lodewich.

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HALTEBALDUS XX sadt onder den selven conync Lodewich XII jair.  
GUNTHARIUS XXI sadt onder den selven conync Lodewich ende  
Lotharius bij tiden Nycolaus pauwes den iersten alsoe ghenoemt.

WILBERTUS XXII regierde XX jair.

HARMANNUS XXIII regierde XXXV jair.

WITFRIDUS XXIII sat onder den keyser Otto ende keyser Heynrick  
beyde die ierste alsoe ghenoemt.

BRUNO XXV ende was keyser Otten voirseit sijn brueder. Dese wan  
ende beroefde de scat toe Parijs hij venck den hertoghe van Lothringen  
ende setten inden stock ende vercreech Lothringen anden Sticht van  
Coelen dese verloste yerst Coelen vanden tribuut.

WOLCAMARUS XXVI sadt IIII jaer.

GERO XXVII dese hadde dicwijl schielicken hoefzweer dattet scheen off  
hi doot gheweest hadde alsoe datmen seyde dat hem zijn navolgher  
levende begraven hadde.

WARINUS XXVIII sadt IX jair dese toech toe Romen ende ontfenc dies  
penitencie ende dat cloester sunte Meerten te Coelen dat vervallen was  
dede hi eerlick weder maken.

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EVERGERUS XIX besat dat bisdom XV jaer.

HERIBERTUS XXX sadt XXI jaer. Dese nam sinen staff sinen rynck  
ende sijn biscops ghewayde van keyser Otten den derden alsoe ghenoemt  
bij consent ende toedoen des pauwes ende wert een archbiscop.

PEREGRINUS XXI sadt XV jaer dese myt sinen voirvader stichte dat  
collegium totten XII apostelen toe Coelen dair hi die heylige maertelaren  
*Sunte Felix* ende *Sunte Audactus* eerlic in dede setten.

HARMANNUS XXXII sadt XX jaer.

ANNO secundus was die XXXIII bij tiden keyser Heynrics den derden.  
Dese bispot Anno stichte V kercken. Als *Sunte Marien ad gradus* in  
Coelen *Sunte Jorijs* buten Coelen. Item te Syberch dair hi begraven leyt.  
Item die vierde te Graisscap in Westphalen. Item noch toe Salvelt in  
Doringen. Item hi transferierde die lichamen der tweer ewalden tot *Sunte*  
*Cunibertus* te Coelen inden jair M LXXIII optie V nonas van october.

HILDOLPHUS XXXIII sadt XV jaer.

SYGEWINUS XXXV sadt X jaer.

HARMANNUS *tertius* regierde XI jair.

FREDERICUS XXXVII sadt *ende* regierde XXVI jair tott deser tijt toe plagen

XXXVI

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die keyseren die bisscopen te setten *ende* men en plach ghenen bispot te kiesen.

BRUNO XXXVIII was proest *Sunte Gerson*. Hijr began ierst die kuer mer sij en had gheen stede want die keyser Lotharius sette inden bisdom Goetfridum proest toe Santen welke doet bleeff in Apulien indes keysers heervaert.

HUGO XXXIX domdeken toe Coelen gheconsecreert vanden pauwes Innocencius die anderde soe ghenoemt die oec cortelic dair nae sterf inder selver heervaert *ende* wert bi sinen voir vader begraven.

ARNOLDUS XL proost totten Apostelen *ende* regierde tien jaer.

ARNOLDUS XLI *ende* was domproest toe Coelen sadt *ende* regierde [\*gap\*].

FREDERICUS XLII *ende* wras proest *Sunte Jorijs* te Coelen sadt.

REYNALDUS XLIII proest te Hildensem sadt *ende* regierde VIII jaer in tiden keyser Frederics die ierste alsoe ghenoemt bi welken keyser bisscop Reynaldus voirseit in Ytalien was ende vercreech dair lichamen vanden heylighen drie conyngen *ende* mede die heylige mairtelaren Felicis et Naboris die hi inden jair M C LXIII toe Coelen brracht op *Sunte Jacobs* avont.

PHILIPPUS XLIII domdeken toe Colen

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Desen gaff keyser Frederick voirseit om sijnre eerbairheit wille dat hertochdom van Westpharen *ende* [\*gap\*].

BRUNO XLV domproest te Coelen sadt III jaer *ende* om sijnre outheit wille gaff hi dat bisdom over.

ADOLPHUS XLVI was oec domproest te Coelen *ende* sadt XII jaer *ende* wert offgesedt vanden pauwes Innocencius den derden alsoe ghenoemt.

BRUNO XLVI sadt drie jair nae dat Adolphus gesedt was.

THEODERICUS XLVII proest totten Apostelen sadt V jair. Dese wert om sijnre wreetheit *wille* *ende* tyrannicheit mede off ghesedt nochtant behielden dese Dirc *ende* Adolph voirseit III<sup>C</sup> merck jairlix uten tafelgoeden des bisscops.

ENGELBERTUS XLVIII *ende* was des greven soen vanden Berghe sijn moeder was een dochter van Ghelre *ende* sadt X jaer onderden pauwes Honorius dese wert versleghen van heren Frederic grave van Ysenborch die inden jair dair nae vanden bispot nae volghende te Coelen ghebrocht *ende* wert aldair op een radt gheset.

CONRARDUS XLIX domproist te Coelen en sadt omrent XXXIII jaer *ende* sadt onder den paus Innocencius quartus dese wert in een strijt ghevangen

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van greve Willam van Gulick *ende* inden stock ghesedt IX maende lang. Dese uit wijsheit [regierde, margin] die keyseren die een naden anderen.

Die ierste was keyser Heynric die VII sunte Elizabethen soen die ander was conync Willam van Hollant die derde conync Richairt hertoech van Cornvaelge des conyns bruder van Engelant.

ENGELBERTUS L domproest te Coelen. Dese wert oec ghevanghen in een strijt van greve Willam van Gulick III<sup>s</sup> jaer lanck. Ende doe hi van dair quam verrees een opstall onder den borgheren van Coelen ende wert weder ghevangen ende een tijt ghehouden wair om die pauwes te Coelen sess jair ende langher interdict leyde bynnen welker tijt bisscop Engelbert voirseit starff ende wert toe Bonne begraven.

SIFRIDUS LI domproest toe Mens sadt XXIII jair nadien dat greve Willam van Gulick te Aken gheslegen was. Dese Sifridus wan veel slote ende steden inden lande van Gulick in tiden des pauwes Meertijns die vierde. Hi regierde seer strengelic ende had veel stride myt sinen naeburen. In desen tiden venck die hertoech van Brabant den greve van Ghelre. Ende bisscop Sifridus ~~dede~~ liet doen maken vanden greve vanden Berghe voir zijn

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vanghenisse dat casteel vanden Bruel totter kercken behoeff van Coelen hij wert begraven toe Bonne om des interdicx wil.

WYBOLDUS LII domdeken toe Coelen sadt VII jaer bi hulpe van desen bisscop quamen die van Coelen van dat interdict.

HENRICUS van Vernenborch LIII domproist van Coelen myt desen waren mede ghecoren Reynairdus proest toe Bonne ende Wilhelmus van Gulick proest *Sunte Servaes* te Tricht dese was geconfirmiert vanden pauwes Bonifacius VIII mer eer dat te werck quam wert hi verslegen in een strijt in Vlaenderen dair hi een capteteyn in was teghen den conync van Vrancrijck die ander twe pleyten te Romen drie jair lanck dair bisscop Henric die overhant creech. Ende sadt XXVI jaer ende had al sijnen tijt crijch ende oirloge dair hi hem manlick ende eerlic uut ontreyde.

WALRAMUS LIII proest toe Ludic greve Willams brueder van Gulick in tiden pauwes Jan die XXII dese regierde die kerck van Coelen XII jair lanck in groten vrede ende stichte dat carthuser cloester te Coelen.

WILHELMUS € LV canonic toe Coelen proest toe Zoes ende was van Genip gheboren sadt XII jair ende IX maende ende XV dage in tiden des pauwes Clemens die seste ende sterff inden jaer M

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CCC LXII in september XV daghe bynnen Coelen begraven.

ADOLPHUS LVI bisscop toe Munsteren. Te weten Urbanus quintus ofdede die electie ende kuer die ghesciet was an heren Johan domdeken toe Coelen ende was greve Engelberts brueder vander Merck die om dat hi der kercken goede verbi brocht had anxt datmen off setten soude gaff over dat bisdom in handen des pauwes Urbani sexti int jaer M CCC LXIII.

ENGELBERTUS LVII gheboeren vander Merck ende had gheweest XX jaer bisscop van Ludick ende wart van dair gheset vanden pauwes Urbanus voirseit tot Coelen ende sadt V jaer.

CONO LVIII archibiscop toe Trier die bisscop Engelbert voirseit bij consent des capittels van Coelen in sijn hulp nam bij toedoen des pauwes

Urbanus des ~~pauem~~ pauwes Urbanus voirseit ende dus bleeff dese bispop van Trier in zijnre macht totdat zijn neve heer Frederick van Zalwaarden canonic toe Coelen bispop wert.

FREDERICUS ~~I~~ LIX van Zallwaarden sadt XLIIII jaer ende sterff doemen screeff M CCCC ende XIIIIX dage in april.

THEODERICUS LX gheboren van Moerse proist toe Bonne bispop Fredericx voirseide zuster zoen. Nam in bi wille ende consent sijns oems bispop Fredericx

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alle die slote des bisdoms ende die selve sijn oem brachte dair toe alle zijn amptlude dienre ende overste ende machten van den steden datmen sinen neve voir hueren heer tot enen bispop nemen souden. Ende souden hem dair huldinge off doen bi sinen levenden live hem tot enen heer te ontfanghen nae zijnre doot. Ende wederom soe en woude dat capittel van Coelen huer coer nyet afterlaten ende coren tot enen bispop nae dode Frederics den greve van Ravensberch hertoech Willams soen vanden Berge. Ende dair wert tusschen ghededingt dattie elect van Ravensberch nam te wive bispop Dircx suster dus bleeff hi bispop mer dair was veel onleden over eert dair toe quam. Ende inden selven jair croende hij to Aken keyser Seghemont ende sanck dair zijn ierste misse. Item onder desen bisscop ghingen die van Zoest vanden sticht van Coelen als men screeff M CCCC ende XLVII onder den hertoeghe van Cleve. Int jaer van ~~XLVIII~~ XLVIII quam dese bispop voirseit mytten Bemers mitten hertoghe van Zassen mitten heer van Sternenborch ende myt veel ander heren ridderen ende knapen boven L<sup>M</sup> ghewapent voir Zoest die cortelic van dair sceyden ende die hertoge van Cleve behielt Zoes. Ende

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dese bisscop starff int jair M CCCC ende LXIII op Sunte Valentijns dach toe Soens nae dat hij XLIX jaer bispop hadde gheweest ende wert begraven etc.

ROBERTUS XLI van Beyeren den Palansgraven broeder uptoen Rijn wert ghecoren ende gheconfirmiert vanden pauwes Pius secundus.

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#### DIE GREVEN VAN VLAENDEREN

JULIUS CESAR doe hi die Walen nederghetoghen had ende dat sticht van Trier ghewest maecte een slot opten Rijn gheheten Nymmegen ende toech dair nae die Mase neder ende quam biden drien ryvieren ende om die scoenheit van dien lande maecte hi dair een stat ende omdat hi Gayus Julius hiete noemde hise Ghent naden Duutsch na sinen name. Ende van dier tijt wert die bosschage dair op die tijt Ghent in lach te lande ghemaect datment bewoenen mocht. Ende op die kant vander zee maecte hi een ander stat gheheten Coirhout ende was die anderde stat in Vlaenderen. Dair nae inden jaer VII<sup>C</sup> ende XIII began Vlaenderen ierst sinen naem te

crighen. Ende doe beval conynck Puppijn van Vrancrijc enen ridder die korsten was gheheten Lyderick dat lant te regieren ende dese was van Arlebeeck ende hi regierde XLIIII jaer.

INGHELRAMUS sijn soen regierde onder den groten conync Kaerl ende onder Lodewich sinen soen XV jaer ende leefde heylichlic ende ordinierde volnae alle die steden van Vlaenderen.

ANDACER sijn soen regierde XIII jaer. Dese drie en waren gheen greven mer om dat sij die bosschage te lande makeden soe worden sij gheheten des conyncks forestiers ende

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waren regierres vanden lande.

BOLDEWINUS sijn soen ontfoirde Judith conynck Kaerl die Cael zijn dochter weduwe Oswaldi des conyncx van Engelant ende nae dattet ghesoent wert trouwede hise te wive ende nam dair mede greve te wesen van Vlaenderen hij ende zijn naecomelinghen ewelick. Hi brocht die reliquien van *Sunte* Donaciaen van Riemen toe Brugge ende regierde XVII jaer doemen screeff VII<sup>C</sup> ende LXXIX sterff hi.

BALDEWINUS calvus zij zoen nam te wive Etheldidam des conyncs dochter van Engelant ende regierde XXXIX jaer ende hi starff doemen screef IX<sup>C</sup> ende XIII.

ARNOLDUS MAGNUS sijn zoen dese maecte te Brugge in *Sunte* Donaciaen kercke XII canonicx provende ende regierde XLVI jair ende starff doemen screeff IX<sup>C</sup> LXIII.

ARNOLDUS IUVENIS sijn soen die zeer rechtveerdich was regierde XXV jaer ende starff doemen IX<sup>C</sup> ende LXXXIX screeff.

ARNOLDUS IUVENIS sijn soen sterff doemen IX<sup>C</sup> screeff ende LXXVII ende regierde drie jaer.

BALDEWINUS mitten sconen bairde zijn zoen regierde XVII jaer dese sette ierst die riddersapp

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doer alle Vlaenderen.

BALDEWINUS van Rijsele zijn soen maecte die stede ende kercke te Rijsele ende hadde te wive *Sunte* Adelam des hertogen dochter van Brij ende sterff doemen screeff M ende LXVII.

BALDEWINUS SIJN SOEN nam te wive Rijckelant grevynne van Henegouwen weduwe grave Harmans vanden Berge ende creech dair bij twe sonen Aernt greve van Vlaenderen ende Boldewijn grave van Henegouwen hij regiede XII jaer ende starff doemen screeff M ende LXX.

ARNOLDUS sijn soen myt Boudewijn sinen brueder ende vrouwe Rykelant huerre tweer moeder regierden II jaer. Beyde dese heren waren sympel ende onnosel ende huerre twier moeder was neerstich ende scalck. Doch hijr nae wert greve Aernt in enen stride verslegen van heren Robbert momber der landen van Hollant ende Vriesslant ende sijn moeder wert ghevangen ende greve Boldewijn bleeff greve van Henegouwen.

ROBBERTUS voirgenoemd regierde XX jaer ende hadde drie dochteren bij Geertruden des hertogen dochter van Zassen weduwe greve Florens

van Hollant die outste dochter had die conynck van Deemercken die ander hadde die greve van Bruesell die derde

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was een abdisse vander ierster dochter quam greve Kael van Vlaenderen. Ende hi starff doemen screeff M XCIII.

ROBERTUS sijn soen nam te wive vrouw Clemens des hertogen Willams dochter van Burgoengen suster des pauws Calixtus. Dese Robertus was mede int Heylige Lant dair hi hem eerlic tierde dair Godevairt van Bulyoen capeteyn was vanden here dese sette die proestie van *Sunte* Donaciaen te Brugge ende maecte den proest ewich cancellier ende seghelair des greven van Vlaenderen. Dese nadien dat hi vanden Heylichen Lande thus ghecomen was storte hi van enen peerde ende sterff doemen ~~du~~ M ende XI screeff. Ende hi regierde XVIII jaer.

BALDEWINUS Apkijn i seuris gheheten greef Bijlgen sijn soen zijn soen regierde VIII jaer doe Vlaenderen een mortkuul gheheten was ende om zijn rechte strengicheit al was hi jonck van jaren maecte hi over all ganse veylucht ende goeden vrede. Ende nam te wive vrouw Mergriet dochter heren Reynalts grave van Cleermont dair hi gheen kijnder bij en creech hij regierde VIII jaer voirscreven ende dat greefscap over sinen neve Karolo ende ghinc in een cloester. Ende starff doemen M C ende XVIII screeff.

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KAROLUS een heilich maertelair ende was des conyncx camerarus soen van Demercken oec een heilich mairteloer die XVI greve van Vlaenderen ende wert van enen gheheten Boetsaert van Santen dair hi inder kercken van *Sunte* Donaciaen in onser Vrouwen cappelle in zijn ghebede lach lelicken voir die rechtveerdicheit doetgheslagen dair die selve Boetsaert nyet lange dair nae op een radt ghesedt wert.

WILHELMUS van Loe ende van Yperen des voirseide Karolus neve onderwant hem der greeffscap van Vlaenderen ende regierde seer well nochtan wart hi nae verdreven buten sinen sculden ende wert ghelevert den borgeren van Yperen ende namen ~~heit~~ weder voir enen greve van Vlaenderen hertoech Willam hertoech van Normandien als die naeste maech greve Kael voirseit bi toedoen conync Lodewic van Vrancrijck alsoe hi zijn dochter te wive hadde.

WILHELMUS hertoech van Normandien voirseit greve van Vlaenderen ~~gh~~ regierde Vlaenderen ghelyck als pharo die conynck van Egipten die kijnder van Israel dede in groter wretheit ende eyghenscap ende wart vanden Vlemyngen myt enen venijnden pijl gheschten dair hi an starff. THEODERICUS ende was greve

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Robbert die ijerte voirseit zijnre dochter soen ende was ierst greve van Elsaten van zijns vaders wegen ende nu van zijns moeders wegen greve van Vlaenderen ende nam te wive Sibelam des conyncks dochter van Jherusalem. Hi regierde XLII jaer in vreden ende starff inden jaer doemen screeff M C XLVIII.

PHILIPPUS sijn soen sterff ynt Heilige Lant voir Akers bi keyser Frederic die hi in zijn heer ende hulpe was doemen screeff M C XCI. BALDEWINUS greve van Henegouwen die myt groter heercracht quam om Zelant te becrachtigen doemen M C ende XCV screeff ende wart vanden greve van Hollant van dair verdreven ende regierde dair nae Vlaenderen.

BALDEWINUS sijn soen regierde XI jaer dese doemen M CC screeff ende Constantinobel ghewonnen was vanden heren diet cruus ghenomen hadden wert hi ghecroent voir enen keyser van Constantinobel.

JOHANNA sijn dochter Fernandus wijff des conyncs van Poirtegail regierde Vlaenderen XXXIX jaer ende starff doemen M CC XLIIII screeff.

MARGARETA huer zuster des conyncx wijff van Engelant dese om dat si becrachtigen woude Zeelant teghen conync Willam greve van Hollant verloes vanden hueren

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wel L<sup>M</sup> ghewapent behalven die verdroncken ende ghevangen worden sij sterff doemen screeff M CC LXXXIX.

WILHELMUS van Dampier vrouwe Margariten zoen nam te wive vrouwe Beatris des hertogen dochter van Brabant.

GWIDO van Dampier sijn brueder nam te wive een enige dochter van Bethunen dair hi bi creech veel zoenen als Robbert Willam Philips Boudewijn ende Johan bisscop van Ludick een dochter hertoghinne van Brabant een grevynne van Hollant ende een gravynne van Gulick. Ende als dese sijn vrouwe ghestorven was nam hi te wive des greven dochter van Lutzelenborch dair bi wan Johan den greve van Wilgen ende joncfrouwe Philippa die sterff in des conyncs vangenisse van Vrancrijc. Inden jair M CC ende twe verloren die Fransoys buten Cortrijck enen strijt teghen die Vlemynge dair bleven doot ende ghevangen vanden Fransoisen XXXVII greven t<sup>s</sup> LXXII baenroedzen ende twischilde ridders XI<sup>C</sup> een schilde ridders [\*gap\*] ende ander ghewapende sonder ghetall uut deser groter victoerien was greve Guido seer ghemoet ende want hi wist dattie outste soen van Hollant inden stride gebleven was ende zijn vader greve Jan van Hollant van ouderdom onmachtich was

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nam hi een oirloge an tegen Hollant dair hi ierst veel zeghen hadde ende dat oirloge duerde langer dan twe jaer ende dair wert bisscop Guido van Utrecht ghevanghen ten laetsten dat greve Guido voorseit alle Noirthollant in creech tot Hairlem toe etc. Van Borselen die Bonte Koe. Ende van Renesse die Lupaert dairtoe. Die van Cats die vull partie. Brochten int lant den greve her ghe Gwy. Ende die hertoech van Brabant Zuuthollant tot Dordrecht toe die van heren Claes heer van Putte van dair verdreven worden ende myt cleynre eren ruumden. Dair nae in enen stride te water wert greve Guido ghevangen vanden Hollanden biden amiraal van Vrancrijck ende doe wert bisscop Guido ghedwint ende ontslegen.

ROBERTUS van Betunen zijn soen regierde XVIII jaer ende hadde te wive des conyncx dochter van Cecilien ende nae huerre doot nam hi een

enige dochter van Nyveers ende bi hem beyden creech hi kijnder ende hi starff doemen M CCC ende XXII screeff.

LUDOVICUS greve van Nyveers van zijnre moeder weghen nyet an ghesien zijn brueders off zusteren wert greve van Nyveers ende nam te wive Margariten des conyncx dochter van Vrancrijck hi regierde XIII jaer.

LUDOVICUS van Malen zijn zoen

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greve van Nyveers ende van Vlaenderen van Arthoys van Richers heer van Salinus ende van Mechelen. Want Mechelen coft hi vanden bisscop van Ludijck ende vanden capittel. Int jaer M CCC LXXXII was twydracht ende oirloge tusschen greve Lodewich voirseit ende der stat van Ghent ende si wonnen hem off Brug Yperen Rysel ende die Sluys ende volnae alle Vlaenderen behalven Denremonde Bievliet ende Grevenyngen ende als greve Lodewich XXXVI jaer gheregert hadde sterff hi.

PHILIPPUS gheheten de Hardi conync Jans soen van Vrancrijck hertoech van Burgoengen etc nam te wive joncfrouwe Margarite een enige dochter greve Lodewicx dair hi bi creech Johan Anthonis ende Philips. Johan maecte hi hertoech van Burgoengen greve van Vlaenderen van Burgoen ende Artoys heer van Salinis van Bethunen ende van Mechelen. Anthonis gaff hi Lothrijck Brabant ende Lymborch ende merck greve des rijcx.

Philippus wert greve van Nyveers van Rethers ende van Sympoll. Ende als hi aldus alle dinck te pointe ghescict ende gheordiniert hadde ende XX jaer gheregert hadde sterff hij doemen screeff M CCCC ende drie.

JOHANNES van Burgoengen zijn zoen nam te wive joncfrouwe Margriet hertoech Aelberts dochter van Beyeren greve van Hollant etc dair hi bi wan Philips sijn zoen die hertoghinne van

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Cleve ende die hertoghinne van Burboen D<sup>e</sup>-J<sup>e</sup> [dese, margin] Johan was mede inden strijt toe Ludick myt hertoech Willam sinen neve tegen die Ludickenaers. Ende wart dair nae verslegen vanden dolphijn van Vrancrijck int jaer M CCCC XIX.

PHILIPPUS sijn soen hertoge van Burgoengen greve van Vlaenderen etc nam te wive ende tot eenre vrouwen Elisabeth des conyncx dochter van Poirtegael doemen screeff M CCCC ende XXX ende hadde veel stride ende oirlogen in sijnre tijt ende wan ende werff veel lantscappen steden ende sloeten ende was een ontsichlic groet prince ende moegende hertoech ende heer. Hi was hertoech van Bergoengen omrent XLVII jaer ende hertoech van Brabant ~~xxvi~~ XXXVII jaer greve van Vlaenderen [\*gap\*] ende greve van Hollant XXIII jaer dair hi acht jaer te voeren ruwaert off gheweest hadde. Ende starff inden jair ons Heren M CCCC ende LXVII op Sunte Vitus dach te Brugge.

Ende dair nae doemen screeff LXXI sterff vrouwe Elizabeth des conyncx dochter van Poirtegael hertoghinne van Burgoengen na dat si omrent XLI jaer hertoghinne gheweest hadde etc.

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## DIE HERTOGEN VAN BRABANT

KAROLOMANUS die ierste vorst ende heer van Brabant ende van Haspengouwen. Ende hi en hiete gheen hertoech mer en vorst.

PUPPINUS die ierste hertoge van Brabant ende was Sunte Beggen ende Sunte Gheertruden vader regierde XXX jaer ende starff doemen VI<sup>C</sup> ende XLVII screeff.

BEGGA een heilige joncfrouwe wert den hertoech van Angouwen ghegeven Sunt Arnulphus zoen ende regierde XXXVIII jaer.

KAROLUS MARCELLUS sijn soen regierde XXVI jaer.

PUPPINUS sijn zoen was hertoech van Brabant van Oestenrijck van Dueryngen van Burgoengen van Provincien van Neustrien ende nae conync van Vrancrijck hi regierde XXIX jaer.

KAROLUS MAGNUS keyser van Romen conync van Vrancrijck hertoech van Brabant *etc* een gloriose prince een bescermer de korsteheit die boven maten veel heyden ende Sarrasinen versloech ende huer lant off wan ende brochtet ander kersten ghelove veel conynghen der heyden neder toech et doet sloech myt zijn zelves hant. Hij was soe starck dat

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hi twe hoeffysers teen inden anderen haecte ende toechse an stucken. Hy boerde een ghewapent ridder staende in zijn hant opter eerden boven zijn hoefft. Hi dede veel kercken maken hi stichte alsoe veel cloesteren als dair letteren zijn ynt A B C. Voir elcke cloester zette hi letter wegende een marck gouts. Hi dede veel groter dingen die hijr te lange te scriven waren die ynt Spiegel Historiael volcomelic ghescreven staen. Hi began te regieren alsmen screeff VII<sup>C</sup> ende LXIX ende hi regierde XLVI jaer.

LUDOVICUS die Goedertieren hertoech van Brabant ende conync van Vrancrijck ende keyser regierde XXVI jaer.

KAROLUS CALVUS hertoech van Brabant *etc* ende keyser regierde XXX jaer.

LUDOVICUS hertoech *etc* ende keyser regierde II jaer.

KAROLUS sijn soen hertoech van Brabant ende keyser regierde XXIX jaer.

LUDOVICUS simplex hertoech van Brabant ende keyser regierde XXVII jaer.

LOTHARIUS keyser ende hertoech van Brabant *etc* regierde XIII jaer.

LUDOVICUS Junior hertoge van Brabant *etc* ende keyser regierde een jaer.

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KAROLUS hertoech van Brabant ende van Lothrijck regierde XXIX jaer.

OTTO hertoech van Lothrijck ende van Brabant regierde XIII jaer ende sterff sonder gheboert.

GHEERTTUUT hertoech Otten zuster wert hertoghynde van Brabant ende had te man den greve van Loeven die men hiet greve Lambert mitten baerde ende wert in enen stride verslegen.

HENRICUS huerre twier soen hertoge van Brabant regierde XXXIII jaer.

LAMBERTUS Scamelairt hertoge van Brabant sijn soen wert verslegen  
in een strijt. Hi regierde XV jaer hy fundierde drie canonizien een te  
Loeven in die eer van Sunte Peter die ander te Bruesell in die eer van  
Sunte Guedelen die derde in die eer van *Sunte Jorijs*.

HENRICUS sijn soen regierde Brabant XI jaer.

HENRICUS sijn soen regierde XXVI jaer.

GOETFRIDUS mitten bairde sijn zoen regierde XL jaer.

~~HENRICUS zijn zoen ende was capeteyn~~

GODEFRIDUS zijn zoen hertoghe

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van Lothrijck ende van Brabant regierde IIII jaer.

GODEFRIDUS hertoeghe van Brabant zijn zoen regierde XL jaer.

HENRICUS sijn soen hertoech *etc* ende was capeteyn vanden korsten  
heer teghen den heydenen regierde XLIX jaer.

HENRICUS hertoge van Brabant na zijns vaders doot regierde beyde die  
hertoechdommen ses jaer.

HENRICUS sijn zoen hertoech van Brabant regierde XII jaer.

V

JOHANNES sijn soen hertoech *etc* regierde ~~XLIII jaer~~ XVIII jaer.

JOHANNES sijn soen hertoech van Brabant regierde XLIII jaer desen  
hadden l ontseit XVII vorsten dair hi hem manlic teghen verweerde.

JOHANNES henricus soen voirseit regierde XXXIII jaer die in enen  
stride wan dat hertoechdom van Lymborch *etc*.

II

JOHANNA sijn enighe dochter heroeghinne van Brabant regierde LI jaer.

PHILIPPUS gheheten de Herdi off Philips Sonderlant conync Jans soen  
van Vrancrijck wert hertoech van Brabant ende regierde XX jaer.

ANTHONIS sijn zoen hertoghe van Brabant bleeff inden strijt te

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Blangys ende regierde IX jaer.

JOHANNES sijn soen hertoech van Brabant ende had te wive vrouwe  
Jacob van Hollant regierde XII jaer.

PHILIPS sijn brueder regierde IIII jaer.

PHILIPPUS hertoech van Burgoengen des voirseide Philippus oems zoen  
wert hertoech van Brabant inden jaer M CCCC ende XXX ende regierde  
XXVII jaer. Ende sterff *etc* als voirseit is.

KAROLUS sijn soen hertoge van Brabant etc. Burgoengen hertoech van  
Brabant *etc* regierde nae zijns vaders doot X jaer ende wert verslegen  
inden velde vanden Zwitzen int jaer ons Heren M CCCC ende LXXVII.  
Dese hertoech Karolus hadde altijt oirloge ende stride hi wan Ludick  
twewarff ende verdestrueerdet als voirseit is hi was vyant lange tijt des  
conyns van Vrancrijck ende dede grote zwair reysen <sup>in</sup> Vrancrijck dick  
ende mennichwerff voor zijns vaders doot en nae zijnre doot dair grote  
scay gheschiede an beyden ziden ende veel volx verslegen wert *etc*. Item  
dair na toech hi myt een machtich heer ende veel groter heren voir Nuus  
dair hi veel goeder ridderen ende knapen verloes ende oec dien van Nuus  
grotten scade dede.

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Ende lach dair voir

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[*BISSCHOPPEN VAN LUIK, first pages missing*]

edel ende gheboirtich vol van allen duechden hi broch die heerlicheit an Tricht. Hi stichte onser Vrouwen kerc te Tricht *ende* sette dair den bisscops stoell totdat *Sunte Hubert* quam. *Ende* als dese bisscop versach bi ingheven des Heiligen Geestes dat die stoel noch toe Ludick comen soude maechte hi dair een oratoer in die *Sunte Cosmas* *ende* *Damiaen* *ende* mede een scamel woenyng voirden bisscop dair dat volc doe began te woenen hij starff opte VII kalende van augusto.

AMGONDOLPHUS XIII hij began inden jaer VI<sup>c</sup>.

PERPETUUS XIIIII sadt inden jaer [\*gap\*]. *Ende* hi regierde XIII jaer lanck. *Ende* starff perdie nonas novembris.

EVERGISUS XV sadt inden jaer VI<sup>c</sup> *ende* starff int lest vande meerte.

JOHANNES XVI die men Agnus hiet sadt VI jaer *ende* starff VIII kalende augusti.

AMANDUS XVII. Dese bekeerde die van Ghent *ende* mede *Sunte Bavo* greve van Haspanyen den hi in penitencien te Ghent in eenre cellen besloet dair hij in sterff doemen screeff VI<sup>c</sup> *ende* XXIX die hem openbaerde *Sunte Gheertruden* dat sij bechemeliken clede seynden soude totter uutvairt. *Item* die stat van Ghent tymmerde die keyser Gaius *ende* noemdese myt sinen naem *Gandanum* dese

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Amandus ziende *ende* merckende dat dat volck van Tricht nyet te corrigeren en was leken *ende* papen toech van dair *ende* bevall dat bisdom den domdeken aldair gheheten Laudoaldus dese regierde IX jaer. In desen tiden waren *Sunte Gheertruut* *Sunte Waldetruut* myt hueren zusteren *Sunte Aldegundus* *ende* *Sunte Regnulpha*. Dese bisscop starf doe hi XC jaer out was inden jaer VI<sup>c</sup> LXV dage in februario.

REMACLUS XVIII sadt VI jaer *ende* was opghevoet van *Sunte Sculpicius* bisscop Butiricenii ijerst *ende* nae *Sunte Loy*. *Ende* des bisscops discupelen waren *Sunte Theodardus* *ende* *Sunte Lambert* beyde martelaers *ende* die heilige confessoor Hadelinus mede leeffde doe *Sunte Truda* in Hasbanien gheboeren uten edelen bloede van Vrancrijck die uit informacien van *Sunte Remaclus* gaff alle zijn erffenisse der kercken van Mets dese Remaclus sterff II dage in septembri.

THEODARDUS XIX wert ghewyet van *Sunte Cunibertus* bisscop toe Coelen inden jaer VI<sup>c</sup> *ende* LVIII sadt I\$ jaer *ende* wert bi Spier doot gheslagen VIII dage in september.

LAMBERTUS XX. Dese brocht *Sunte Theodardus* ghebeente toe Ludick *ende* was die XXIX<sup>te</sup> bisscop van Tongeren *ende* wert mede gheconsacriert van *Sunte Cunibertus* voorseit *ende* sadt XIIIII jaer

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inden jaer VI<sup>c</sup> *ende* LX *ende* wert toe Ludick voor *Sunte Cosmas* *ende* Damiaens outaer myt eenre glavien doorsteken *ende* zijn lichaem wert te

Tricht te scepe ghevuert om ontsich van conync Puppijn ende aldair in Sunte Peters kerc begraven.

HUBERTUS XXI Began inden jaer VII<sup>C</sup> ende een ende Oda zijn wijff uit raede *Sunte Lamberts* gaff huer goet den armen. Ende nae dode *Sunte Lamberts* stichte si buten Ludick een kercke in die eer *Sunte Jorijs*. Ende *Sunte Hubert* by ingheven *Sunte Lamberts* toech toe Romen totten pauwes Sergius die uit informacien des Heylighen Gheestes *Sunte Hubert* bisscop van Tongeren wide die ynt elfste jaer *Sunte Lamberts* lichaem van Tricht weder tot Ludick bracht. Dese Hubertus tymmerde *Sunte Lamberts* kercke ende mede dat cloester *Sunte Peter* ende sette des biscops stoel van Tricht toe Ludick ende starff up die derde kalende in junio ende wert ghehouden opten anderden dach in november ende doe wert zijn lichaem van conync Karolomannus verheven. Ende wert XVI jaer nae zijnre doot vervuert in een stede in Noerdennen gheheten Andagum ende eerlic begraven dair veel miraculen ghescien.

FLORIBERTUS XXII ende die XXXI bisscop van Tongeren ende die anderde bisscop van Ludick began doemen screeff VII<sup>C</sup> ende III ende was *Sunte Huberts* soen sadt

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XVIII jaer toe Ludick ende starff VII dage voir mey.

FULCHARIUS XXIII ende die derde bisscop van Ludick sadt XIX jaer ende began alsmen screeff VII<sup>C</sup> ende XLIX.

AGILFRIDUS ende die vierde bisscop van Ludick sadt XVII jaer. Ende began doemen screeff VII<sup>C</sup> ende LXVIII. Bij deser tijt gaff die grote conynck Kaerl veel privilegien der kercken van Ludick. In deser tijt leefde *Sunte Gummarus* te Lyer begraven die zeer ghenadich is die hem in node anroepen.

GHERBALDUS XXV began inden jaer VII<sup>C</sup> ende LXXV ende was die vijfde bisscop van Ludick ende sadt XXVI jaer. In desen tiden wide die paus Leo die kerck van Aken ende starff XV kalende novembris.

WASTANDUS XXVI sadt XVIII jaer ende was die zeste bisscop te Ludick.

GYRARDUS XXVII sadt II jaer ende was die VII bisscop toe Ludic inden jaer VIII<sup>C</sup> ende XIII onder Gregorius den IIII.

HIRCARIUS XXVIII sadt XXV jaer die VIII bisscop van Ludick.

FRANCO XXIX ende die IX bisscop van Ludick sadt XLVIII jaer. Dese vercreech die abdie Lobiensis ende die proestie van Vossem myt hueren toebehoeren. In desen tiden destrueerden die Denen ende die Noirtmans uit Noirwegen volna alle

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Vrancrijck verderffden Tricht Ludick Tongheren Coelen Suntruyen Hoy þøn Bon Nabulans Maelmandrium Trier Aken ende al dat dair omtrent was. Hij starff inden jaer VIII<sup>C</sup> LXXXIII.

STEPHANUS canonick te Mens die tiende bisscop toe Ludick inden jaer IX<sup>C</sup> ende vier. Dese maecte den sanck op die historii invencionis sancta Stephani ende van *Sunte Lambert* ende onderscyeide die capitellen responsen veersen ende collecten vanden gansen jaer ende mede den dienst vander Heiligher Drievoudicheit. Hij starff inden jaer IX<sup>C</sup> XXII.

RYCHARIUS die abt van Prumen die elfste bisscop van Ludick wert gheconsecreert vanden pauwes Johan die tiende. Die maecte dat outaer van die Heylige Drievoudicheit voir Sunte Lamberts graff hij maecte weder Sunte Peters kercke die die Denen ghedestruyert hadden ende sette dair in XXX canoniken dair hi eerlike provende toe stichte ende meer ander kercken inden Stichte die ghedestruyert waren die hi alle weder maecte. Ende dat hij XXIIII jaer ghementen hadde sterff hij inden jaer IX<sup>C</sup> XLV X kalende augusti.

HUGO XII regierde II jaer onder den pauwes Gregorius die anderde ende starff op die derde kalende *in aprille*.

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FARABERTUS XIII van Ludick ende was mede abt van Prumen regierde VI jaer ende starff V kalende aprilis.

RATHERIUS XIII monachus Lobiensis ijerst bisscop van sunte Gheron die Sunte Bruno noch nae maecte bisscop van Coelen.

BALDERICUS XV bisscop began IX<sup>C</sup> LVI sadt drie jaer ende sterff XV kalende october.

ERAELIUS XV bisscop toe Ludick eerst proest toe Bonne doemen IX<sup>C</sup> ende LIX screeff hij sadt XXII jaer dese had den wolf an zijn been ende toech toe Tureynen tot Sunte Meerten bedevaert ende wert ghesont. Ende stichte daïrom Sunte Meertens kercke toe Ludick myt XXX canoniken ende eerlike provende dair toe mede soe stichte hij Sunte Pouwels kercke myt XX canoniken ende proven dair toe. Hij stichte dat cloester Sunte Lourens dat hi nyet en voleynde om dat hi eer starff inden jaer IX<sup>C</sup> LXXI up die VI kalende van november.

NOTGHERUS XVI. Dese maecte tot Sunte Lambert LX proeven hi stichte die prochikerck tot onser liever Vrouwen. Item des bishops hoff fundierde hi Sunte Pouwels kerck volmaecte hij ende maecte dair noch tien proven. Then heiligen cruus maecte hi XV canoniken ende proven Sunte Johannes ewangelisten kerck myt XXX canoniken maecte hi. Dat cloester van Sunte

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Meerten van toernen ende mueren maecte hi. Die stadt van Ludick muerde hij mit hueren toirnen. Die kerck tot Vossem fundierde hi. Om beden wille van desen bisscop gaff Antfredus die leste greve van Hoy sijn greeffscap ende heerscappie den Stichte van Ludick dat Otto die derde keyser confirmierde. Ende dese Antfredus wert nae bisscop van Utrecht. Dese Rotgherus stichte Sunte Adelbertus kercke bij Sunte Johan welke Adelbertus was ierst bisscop van Prage ende nae dat hi Hungarien bekeert had wert hi vanden Prucen ghemartelijt. Dese Rotgherus leyde die Mase die buten Ludick te lopen plach bynnen duer die stat. Hij regierde XXXIX jaer ende sterff doemen M ende VII screeff IIII ydus aprilis.

BALDERICUS XVIII sadt XI jaer hi stichte dat cloester Sunte Jacob toe Ludick ende dede veel goets hi sterff doemen screeff M ende XVII IIII kalende augusti.

WALBODO XVIII was een monnick ende deken van Tricht hi sadt II<sup>s</sup> jaer een heylich confessoer hij gaff der kercken van Sunte Lourens veel renthen.

DURANDUS XIX sadt drie jaer hi starff doemen M ende XXIII screeff.  
REGINALDUS XX canonick toe Coelen. Dese fundierde Sunter

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Claes kercke biden Heyligen Cruus hij wide *Sunte* Bartholomeus kerck  
ende stichtte dair XII proven in *ende* canoniken. Hi sterff doemen screeff  
M XXXVI II nonas decembris hi sadt XIII jaer.

RYCHARDUS XXI thesaurarius *Sunte* Lambert sadt IIII jaer *ende* starff  
doemen M *ende* XXXVI [XLI, margin] screeff opten ijersten dach in  
augusto.

WASO XXII deken van *Sunte* Lambert *ende* sadt V jaer. Dese maecte ten  
Heyligen Cruus XV provenen *ende* canoniken. Ende tot *Sunte*  
Bartholomeus maecte hi noch XII provende tot die dair te voeren waren.  
In deser tijt waren drie pausen die een teghen den anderen. Hij starff  
inden jaer M *ende* XLVIII die VIII kalende julij *ende* op sinen sarck stont  
ghescreven Ante ruet mundus *quam* surgat Waso secundus.

THEODINNUS XXIII gheboeren van Beyeren sadt XXVIII jaer dese coft  
dat greef scap van Henegouwen dat na dier tijt de greven van  
Henegouwen dat greefscap te Loen souden houden vanden stoel van  
Ludick hij sterff doemen M *ende* LXXII screeff IX kalende julli.

HENRICUS XXIIII Vreedzam gheheten *ende* goedertieren des greven  
zoen van Toel sadt XVII jaer hi starff inden jaer M XCI opten lesten dach  
in mey.

OBERTUS XXV canonick *Sunte*

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Lambert *ende* proest ten Heyligen Cruus bij deser tijt was Godevairt van  
Bilioen. Hij sterff doemen M *ende* XCVII screeff uptoen lesten dach van  
januario hij sadt XXVIII jaer.

FREDERICUS XXVI proest *Sunte* Lambert des greven brueder van  
Namen wert van pauwes Calixtus ghewiet int concilium van Riemen.  
Ende sterff int derde jaer opten lesten dach van junio.

ALBERO XXVI off Albertus brueder hertoechs Godevaert van Loeven  
sadt VI jaer. Dese maecte dat regulier cloester in Sint Lelis uptoen Berch.  
Hij starff inden jaer M C XXVIII.

ALEXANDER XXVII stont nae dat bisdom *ende* wert ghecoren *ende* sadt  
VIII jaer. In deser tijt was een grote twidracht tusschen den paeus  
*Innocentius secundus* *ende* Petrum Petri Leonis. Dit was in tiden *Sunte*  
Beernaerts die hier ve[e]l goets in dede. Dese Innocencius *quam* toe  
Ludick myt XXXII *ende* veel abten *ende* prelaten *ende* dede een eerlike  
processie van *Sunte* Meerten totten doem *ende* sanck dair die hoemisse  
*ende* croende conynck Lotharius myt zijnre conynghinnen hi sterff  
doemen M C *ende* XXXVI screeff opten lesten dach van junius.

ALBERTUS XXIX Suncerius te Mets. In deser tijt began die rechte  
ynnicheit *ende* dueget van Ludick te vergaen alsoe dattie clergie  
openbaerlic

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wive trouweden *ende* hilichten als weerlike lude. Ende in deser tijt wert die  
stadt van Ludick verlost van onser liever Vrouwen van drien plagen *ende*

dair om quam doe die ghewoente alle weke memorie te houden van onser liever Vrouwen.

HENRICUS van Lays XXX proest toe Ludick ende die volnae alle des ghestichtes sloete verbeterde ende die tafelgoede vermeerredre. In deser tijt quam Sunte Beernaert toe Ludick ende predicte dair ende dede veel myraculen. Ende als dese bisscop was in des keysers heervaert in Ytalien gaff hi hem die lichamen vanden heiligen drien conynghen mer hi starff toe Paveyen dus nam die bisscop van Coelen die lichamen ende voerdese te Coelen. Dese starff inden jaer M C LXV drie dage in october ende zijn ghebeent wert toe Ludick gevuer.

ALEXANDER XXXI proest van Ludick sadt III jaer ende sterf in Lombardien.

RADULPHUS XXXII ende was des merckgreven ~~zeen~~ van Dueringhen brueder ende was verdreven vanden sticht van Mens ende hijr ghecoren. In deser tijt wert Sunte Thomas van Cantellenberch geslegen. Ende in deser tijt verbernde <sup>toe</sup> ~~ludiek~~ toe Ludick Sunte Lamberts kerck dat bisscops Pallays der XI<sup>M</sup> meecheden kerck ende Sunte Peters kercke mitten helen cloester. Dese bisscop wert vergheven M C XCI.

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ALBERTUS XXXIII archidiake toe Ludick des hertogen brueder van Brabant die die pauwes Celestinus die derde confirmierde die hem oec dyake cardinael maecte ende was uit beveel des pauwes vanden bisscop van Riemen gheconsacriert ende ten lesten wert hi van des keysers weghen doot gheslegen ende ghemertelijt inden jaer M C ende XCIII. Hij sadt II jaer. Ende die keyser stichte voir beteringe II outaren in Sunte Lamberts kercke.

ALBERTUS XXXIII gheboeren van Kuyck sadt IIII jaer. In deser tijt was alle die werlt duer grote duertijt dair veel lude om storven. Hij starff inden jaer M C XCIX.

HUGO XXXV gheboeren van Pierpont proest toe Ludick sadt XXIX jaer. In deser tijt gaff die grave van Loen sijn greeffscap Sunte Lambert anden sticht van Ludick ende ontf[a]nget weder toe leen. In deser tijt quamen die Jacopinen ende mynrebrueder dese coft anden Sticht Santruden in wisselingen vanden bisscop van Mets. In deser tijt quam Sunte Thomas van Aquinen. Dese bisscop had een wonderlike victorie teghen den hertoghe van Brabant ende den greve van Ghelre ende stichte dair om alle weke memorie te ghescien in Sunte Lamberts kerck.

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Want hi ghesien wert bi testaen inden ~~selven~~ stride den selven bisscop. Dese starf inden jaer M CC XXIX IIII dage in aprille.

JOHANNES XXXVI gheboeren van Appia proest toe Ludick sadt IX jaer. In deser tijt was Sunte Elizabeth. In deser tijt worden ghesticht te Ludick die scolieren die mynrebrueders ende die predikers hij starff doemen screeff MCC ende XXXVIII opten lesten dach van aprille.

WILHELMUS des greven brueder van Vlaenderen confirmiert vanden pauwes Gregorius die IX ende was die XXXVII bisscop te Ludick etc.

ROBERTUS XXXVIII bisscop Lingonensis sadt VI jaer ende starff doemen screeff M CC in october.

HENRICUS XXXIX greve Otten brueder van Ghelre proest van Santen  
sadt XXVII jaer. In deser tijt verloren die Vlemynghe teghen den  
Zeelanderen soe ghevangen soe gheslegen ende verdroncken LX<sup>M</sup>  
menschen in enen stride. In deser tijt was Albertus Magnus een vermaert  
doctoer. Ende in deser tijt wert ghesedt van Urbanus die seste die  
hoechtijt vanden heyligen sacrament.

JOHANNES XL ende was bisscop van Doernick ende sadt VIII jaer  
doemen M CC ende LXXIII screeff etc.

JOHANNES XLI ende was des greven brueder

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van Vlaenderen ende bisscop van Mets sadt II jair.

HUGO DE CAMBILONE XLII geconfirmiert vanden pauwes Bonifacius  
VIII inden jaer M CC ende XCVI ende sadt VI jaer ende wert nae  
eertsbiscop van Bizanzon etc.

ADULPHUS XLIII inden jaer M CC ende een sadt I\$ jaer ende wert  
vergheven.

THEOBALDUS XLIII canonick toe Ludick ende was inden hove van  
Romen ende wert bisscop van Ludick ghemaect vanden pauwes  
Benedictus die XI inden jaer M CCC ende III ende sadt X jaer. In deser  
tijt worden die clementinen ghepubliciert int concilium Ludinensis. In  
deser tijt vergingen die Templiers dese bisscop sterff to Romen XXIII  
dage in meye.

ADOLPHUS XLV ende was des greven brueder vander Merck ende sadt  
XXXI jaer. In deser tijt wert keyser Heynrick vergheven doemen M CCC  
ende XXXIII screeff. Inden jaer dair nae vercofft dese bisscop bij consent  
des capittels den greve van Vlaenderen dat lant van Mechelen om C<sup>M</sup>  
gouden conyncx gulden om dat die van Mechelen den Brabanderen  
gunsteliker waren dan die van Ludick ende ghesci[e]den bij confirmacien  
des pauwes. In deser tijt verbernde vol na alle Mechelen op des heiligen  
sacraments avont. Inden jaer M CCC ende XXXIX hadden die korsten  
grote victorie opten heydenen welker

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heydenen si versloegen CC<sup>M</sup> ende XXX<sup>M</sup>.

ENGELBERTUS XLVI proest toe Ludick te Avenyoen vanden pauwes  
Clemens die seste gheconfirmiert sadt XX jaer. In deser tijt lach greve  
Willam van Hollant voir die stat van Utrecht. Inden jaer M CCC XLVII  
had dese bisscop enen groten strijt teghen die van Ludick dair si vee volx  
in verloren ende den strijt verloren. In deser tijt alsmen M CCC ende LXI  
screeff ende greve Dirck van Hensberch ende van Loen ghestorven was  
sonder kijnder nam dese bisscop die greefscap ende heerlicheit van Loen  
anden Sticht van Ludick ende hi wert archibiscop te Colen.

JOHANNES XLVII van Arkel bisscop van Utrecht wert te Avenyoen  
ghemaect bisscop van Ludick. Ende quam in Ludick doemen screeff M  
CCC LXVI ende regierde XV jaer. Dese stichte die canonezie toe  
Gorinchem van XIII provenen in die eer van Sunte Vincencius ende sterff  
doemen screeff M CCC ende LXXVIII ende is tUtrecht ghegreven mer  
[sijn, different ink?] inghedoemt bleeff totten Wilhelmiten te Ludick.

ARNOLDUS XLVIII gheboren van Huern ende was ierst bisscop tUtrecht hi sadt X jaer ende starff doemen screeff M CCC LXXXIX in meerte.

JOHANNES XLIX van Beyeren her

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toech Aelberts zoen ende hertoech Willams brueder greve van Hollant Zelant *etc* wert anghenomen doemen screeff M CCC ende XC van graciën ende provisien des stoels van Romen ende was omrent XVII jaer out doe hi in Ludick quam. Inden jaer M CCCC ende drie wert twidracht tusschen dien van Ludick ende den elect ende sijn tafelgoede worden toeghesleghen sijn vriende worden uit Ludick verdreven ende zijn hoff bynnen Ludick wert ghedestruyert om dat hi hem nyet en liet wyen tot enen bisscop. Ende koren voir enen momber des ghastichtes Heynrick van Parvis inden selven [j]are dit wert nochtans neder gheleit ende ghevredet dat nyet en duerde. Want inden jaer dair nae doemen sess s[cre]eff reet bisscop Jan van Beyeren in onwearden uter stat van Ludick ende sette zijn hoff ende rechte myt sinen zegel te Tricht. Wair om die van Ludick bi consent v[a]n den ghemenen steden namen voir enen bisscop heren Dirc van Pervijs ende sijn vader Heynric voirseit tot enen mombair dat gh[e]meenlic teghen den heren vanden capitell was die dit nyet volghen en wouden noch mede bezeghelen behalven een canonick ende toghen alle gader en we[c]h die een naden anderen. Inden jaer M CCCC ende VIII opten lesten dach van meye wert Tricht belegen vanden ghemenen steden ende lande des ghastichtes van Ludick XVI weken lanck ende in desen belegge quamen veel ontsegge

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brieve an heren Henrick van Parvijs ende anden ghemenen steden van weghen hertoech Willams van Hollant des voirseide bisscops brueder vanden heren uit Henegouwen ende Hollant Zeelant *etc*. Ende nyet lange dair nae ontseyde hertoech Jan van Burgoengen die bisscops Jans zuster hadde ende mede veel groter heren uit Burgongen ende uit Vrancrijck die altezamen vergaderden in Henegouwen ende toghen nae Tricht om die te ontsetten dus hebben die van Ludick myt hueren heer opghebroken des saterdaghes XXII dage in september ende toghen thuus. Ende toghen des anderen dages myt huerre macht naden heer. Ende huer weder pertye als sij vernamen die van Ludick coemende bescichten huer heer wiselick. Ende die van Ludick en maecten nyet dan een schair ende ongheschickt mit groten overmoede quamen si totten vyanden ende worden al om bereden mitten groten volck dat hertoech Willam van Hollant doe bij hem had alsoe dat sij van drange ende van allen siden anghevochten veel an hem stichten dair alle die van Ludick bleven luttel uitghenomen dair bleeff doet die heer van Parvijs ende heer Dirc zijn soen inden jaer ende dage voirseit. Ende men vijnden mach in desen vieren woirden Ecce nunc benedicite domino. Ende dair bleven vanden Ludickenairs doet alsmen seyde XXXVI<sup>M</sup> behalven die vrouwen man ende kijnder die dair nae bij groten hopen bynnen Ludick in die

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Maese gheworpen ende verdrenct worden. Inden jaer M CCCC ende XIII  
quam keyser Seghemont tot Aken ende wart aldair ghecroent conynck van  
Romen. Ende dair nae inden jaer XVI quam hi toe Ludick ende wart  
eerlick van bisscop Jan ontfangen in des bisscops hoff ende al sijn cost  
wert betailt. Item dair nae inden jaer XVII op *Sunte Petronellen* avont  
sterff hertoech Willam voirseit ende dair nae in september wert bisscop Jan  
ontfangen te Dordrecht als een nae volgher hertoech Willams zijns brueder  
voirseit nae dat hi XXVIII jaer gheregert hadde want hertoech Willam  
mer een erfdochter nae en liet die ierst te man had den dolphijn van  
Vrancrijck ende nae hertoghe Jan van Brabant hertoech Anthonis zoen  
welke Anthonis was vrouwe Jacobs van Hollant etc oem van huerre  
moeder wegen. Aldus was hertoech Jan die sij tot enen man nam huer  
oems zoen dat nyet staen en mocht ende dair van ghesceyden nam si den  
hertoech van Cloesestrie ende dair nae her Franck van Borselen. Item  
dese selve bisscop Jan nae dat hi toe Dordrecht ontfangen was en quam hi  
nye weder toe Ludick. In dien selven jaer opten iersten dach van  
december was die strijt toe Gorinchem. Item dese Jan gaff sijn electie  
over ynt concilium toe Constans bij enen sinen procuratoer ende nam te  
wive overmits dispensacie vanden pauwes want hi subdiaecke was die  
hertoghinne van Brabant

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hertoech Anthonis weduwe diemen van Lutzellenborch hiete ende men  
seyde dattet zijn ghevader was Ende ses jaer daer nae alsmen [screeff,  
*margin*] M CCCC ende XXIII seit men dat hi vergheven wart ende wert  
begraven inden Hage ten prediken. Ende regierde dat bisdom van  
Ludick XXVII jaer etc.

JOHANNES L gheheten van Waldenrode doctoir inden gheesteliken  
rechte wert uit resignacien hertoech Jans te Constans van pauwes  
Meerten uter kercken van Rige ghesedt bisscop toe Ludick. Hi began  
voirsichtelic te regieren hi quam in Ludick doemen M CCCC ende XVIII  
screeff dair hi eerliken in quam ende guetelick ontfangen wert mer hi en  
regierde mer X maende men seyde dat hi vergheven wert.

JOHANNES LI van Loen des heren soen van Hensberch archidiake  
Hasvaine omrent XXIII jaer out vanden capittel gecoren ende van  
pauwes Meerten geconfirmiert inden jair M CCCC ende XIX. Ende inden  
selven jaer wert gheslegen hertoech Jan van Burgoengen vanden dolphijn  
van Vrancrijck. Inden jaer M CCCC ende XXI dair nae quam toe Ludick  
Branda cardinael van Placens legaet des pauwes ende predicte dair tegen  
den Bemers ende die Husiten ende anderen onghelovigen ende wert dair  
eerlic ontfangen opten ijersten dach in augusto. Ende doe nam de bisscop  
mit mennighen eerliken man dat cruus om

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aldair tegen den onghelovigen te trekken als si deden ende luttick  
vorderden. Inden jaer M CCCC ende LV resignierde dese bisscop Jan  
voirseit zijn bisdom ende ghinck in een cloester nae dat hij XXXVI jaer  
bisscop gheweest hadde.

LUDOVICUS LII een soen van Burboen omtrint XIX jaer out wert ghepostuliert tot enen biscop ende van Calistus gheconfirmiert alsmen screeff M CCCC LVI. Inden jaer dair nae alsmen screeff LIX in meerte XIII dage quam hertoech Karolus van Burgoengen ende liet hem hulden toe Ghorinchem ende was doe out XXV jaer. Item onder desen bisscop leet die stadt ende Sticht van Ludick onverwinliken sea scade van hertoech Philips van Burgoengen voir ende van hertoech Kaerl zijn zoen nae. Want inden jaer LXVI in augusto XV dage wert Dynant ghewonnen ende temael ghedestruyert dair groten scade ghesciede an live ende an goede. Ende des ghelics inden jair M CCCC LXVII omtrint *Sunte Meerten* quam jonge hertoech Karolus van Burgoengen inden Sticht van Ludick ende wan die stadt van Ludick ende creech sinen wille dair van ende sloech veel borgers doot sommige gherecht sommige verdrenct sommige gevangen die hi enwech liet voeren ende hi nam alle der borgher harnasch.

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Ende beroefdese van alle hueren reden goede. Hij sette grote scatteringe huer oude rechten nam hi hem ende sette nywe rechten nae sinen wille huer muren huer poerten huer toernen verderfde hij nyet alleen in Ludick mer oec in allen steden des ghestichtes van Ludick ende in die greefschap van Loen ende dede doe den Ludickenaers zulken verdriet datmen lange dencken mach. Dair nae inden jaer M CCCC LXVIII des sonnendages op *Sunte Symon* ende inden dach quam noch weder voir Ludick ende quam dair in tot sinen wille ende becrachtichde die stat anderwerff dair noch meer ende groten scade ende jamers ghesciede an lijve ende an goede an gheestelike personen an weerlike an wive ende an kijnder an allen kercken ende goetshusen welcke kercken beroeft worden van allen hueren cleynoten kelcken casufelen alven etc clocken uten toirnen van alle heyligen Goeds gewide vate als syborien beelde van goude van sulver sonder enighe bermherticheit. Ende na dien dat hi dese stadt aldus anderwerven uitgheslegen ende beroefft hadde en wast hem noch nyet ghenoech mer hi liet die stat an steken op *Sunte Brictius* dach ende wert dat meeste deel verbernt. Ende drie daghe dair nae worden alle die vrouwen die stat verboden.