



A Culemborg Genealogy for Floris I and II of Pallandt*

• MEI JET BROERS •

In 2011 the Rijksmuseum acquired an extraordinary manuscript, the *Genealogy of the Lords and Counts of Culemborg* (fig. 1). Work on it commenced in 1590 by order of Floris I of Pallandt (1539-1598), first count of Culemborg, who commissioned an illustrated chronicle of his ancestors. In the manuscript, on his instructions, the line ended with his father, the fifteenth lord of Culemborg, and through the lords of Beusichem it went back to the creation of the county of Teijsterbant in around 800. In reality,

< Fig. 1
Attributed to NICOLAES DE KEMP, *Genealogy of the Lords and Counts of Culemborg*, c. 1590. Blind tooling, vellum, gouache, ink, silver paint, gold, pigskin, 422 x 312 x 40 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-2011-98; purchased with the support of the BankGiro Lottery and the Prenten- en tekeningenfonds of the Vereniging Rembrandt.

the manor of Culemborg only came into being around 1271. The highly imaginative family lineage was completed around 1593 and Floris died five years later. His son, Floris II of Pallandt (1577-1639), succeeded him as the second count of Culemborg.

The two Pallandts were not only the first counts of Culemborg (Emperor Charles V elevated the manor to a county on the appointment of Floris I), they were also sons of an ‘outside’ family (fig. 2). When the last lady of the manor, Elisabeth of Culemborg

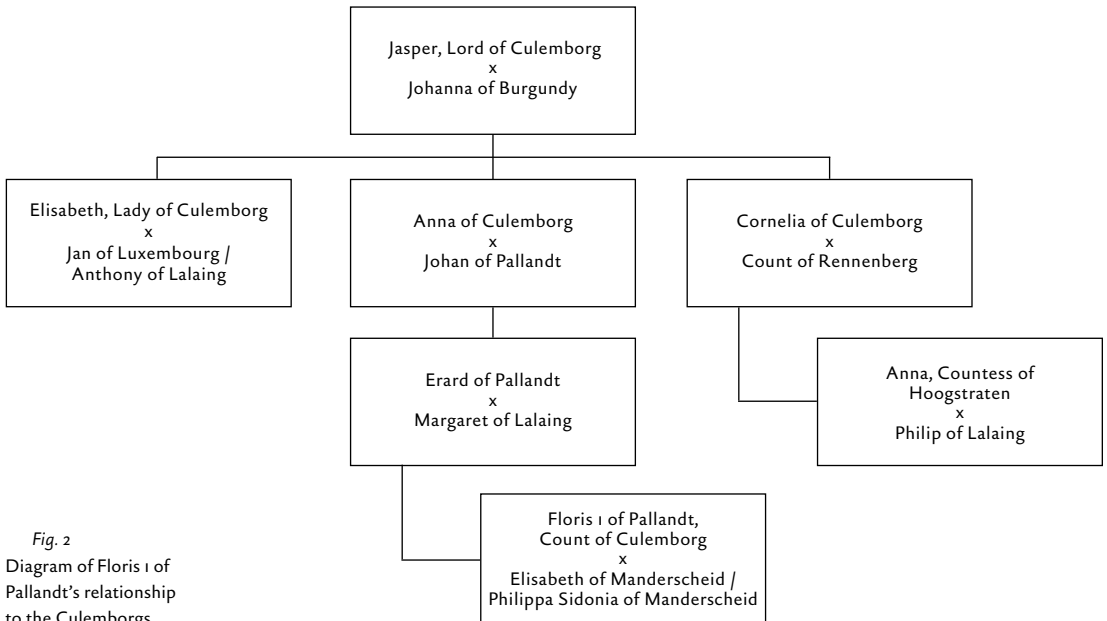


Fig. 2
Diagram of Floris I of
Pallandt's relationship
to the Culemborgs.

(1475-1555), failed to have children, she named her nephew, Erard of Pallandt (1510-1540), as her successor. His only son, Floris, followed in his footsteps.¹ It seems safe to assume that Floris I made this genealogical series to legitimize his succession. His decision to commission an ancestral line that followed his grandmother and great-

aunt's family, not the patrilineal line, reflects this ambition: a series in which the Pallandts were related to the Culemborgs could validate his succession. Nonetheless there are reasons to doubt whether this was indeed his only or most important motivation. The genealogy was commissioned well after his takeover

Fig. 3
Jasper, Thirteenth
Lord of Culemborg;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-48.



of power, when he already had a son, so that the continued existence of the new house of Pallandt appeared to be assured. It was, moreover, a single manuscript that was probably kept in the castle and had a limited reach.

This essay explores the question as to why Floris I had this manuscript made and for whom it was ultimately

intended. We begin by looking at the contents of the manuscript itself, then see how this Culemborg manuscript can be positioned in the tradition of literary and visual genealogies in the late Middle Ages. And finally, we will examine whether Floris I's life story offers further clues for possible motives behind the commission of this genealogy.

Fig. 4
Jeanne of Burgundy,
Lady of Culemborg;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-49.



The Culemborg Manuscript

The *Genealogy of the Lords and Counts of Culemborg* is a handwritten, continuous chronicle on vellum. Every lord and count described is portrayed in gouache and gold paint above the text, with their wives on the facing pages (figs. 3, 4). The figures stand on a board and hold their family arms on the end of a ribbon. Although all the women portrayed are married, they bear the lozenge-shaped arms of an unmarried daughter: the full arms of their father instead of the arms of their father combined with that of their husband. Preceding the fifty-five lords, counts and their spouses is a title page showing the different coats of arms of the Culemborg family (fig. 5). A herald painted on the first page opens the series (fig. 6).

Documents in the Culemborg archives record that in 1590 a certain 'Nicolaes Kemp, painter' painted a set of figures for the Count of Culemborg.² Who this Kemp actually was is uncer-

tain. He may have been the same Nicolaas de Kemp who had been a pupil of Karel van Mander's and had concentrated on seascapes. The *Schilder-boeck* of 1618 tells us that De Kemp was already highly skilled when he began his apprenticeship with Van Mander. However, this Nicolaas de Kemp was born in Tournai in 1574 (he died in Harlem in 1647). If this year of birth is correct, he was only sixteen when he embarked on the *Genealogy*. It is possible that it was his father, Nicolas du Camp, who came from Cambrai. There is an extant portrait, painted in 1580, with the inscription *Nicolaes de Kemp, pictor*.³

The earliest ancestors of the counts of Culemborg are for the most part fictitious (fig. 7). The chronicle begins with the words 'This is the origin of the counts of Teijsterbant'.⁴ Baldwin of Cleves is the first figure in the series to be portrayed above the text (fig. 8). On the page to the left of the count we

Fig. 5
Title page with cartouche surrounded by four allegorical figures; inv. no. NG-2011-98-1.

Fig. 6
Herald; inv. no. NG-2011-98-2.



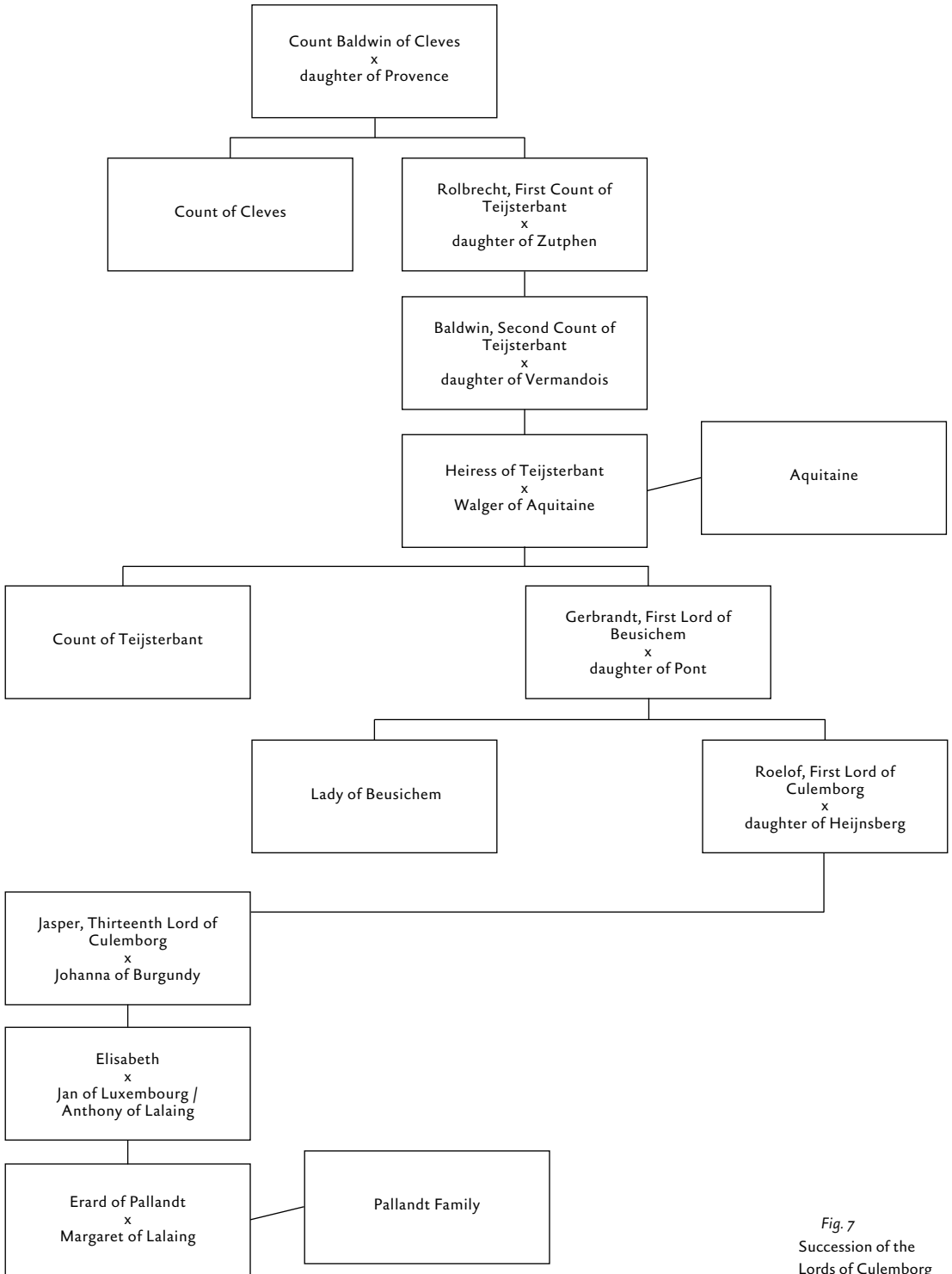


Fig. 7
Succession of the
Lords of Culemborg
in broad terms,
according to the
Genealogy.



Fig. 8
Count Baldwin
of Cleves and
Teijsterbant;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-3.



Fig. 9
Daughter of Prince
Louis of Provence,
wife of Baldwin
of Cleves and
Teijsterbant;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-4.

> Fig. 10
Count Walger
of Teijsterbant;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-9.

Fig. 11
Countess of
Teijsterbant, wife
of Count Walger
of Teijsterbant;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-10.

> Fig. 12
Jan of Luxembourg
and Anthony
of Lalaing;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-50.

Fig. 13
Elisabeth, Lady of
Culemborg; inv. no.
NG-2011-98-51.

see his consort, a daughter of Prince Louis of Provence according to the text (fig. 9). This probably alludes to Louis the Pious, the son of Charlemagne. The chronicle continues with their youngest son, the first count of Teijsterbant, who likewise married a Carolingian princess. However, this line soon died out: after two generations only a daughter was born. The chronicle has it that this nameless daughter then married Walger, the son of Prince Sigisbert of Aquitaine and oldest brother of Count Dirk 1, 'whose line and origin can be deduced as having sprung from the ancient Trojans, being kings of France' (figs. 10 and 11).⁵ His grandson, who became the first lord of Beusichem, is described.

Seven lords of Beusichem and their wives are listed, until the manor passed to a daughter. According to the chronicle, when a son was born after all, his father built the Castle of Culemborg for him around 1138.⁶ Beginning with the sixth lord – by now we are in the thirteenth century – the chronicle follows the actual line of succession of Culemborg; these people actually existed. The text states that Jasper, the last lord of Culemborg, was unable to produce a male successor and so was succeeded by his oldest daughter Elisabeth, Lady of Culemborg (figs. 12 and 13). Elisabeth remained childless and appointed her sister Anna's son, Erard of Pallandt, as her successor (fig. 14).



The chronicle ends with the description and the portraits of Erard and his wife Margaret of Lalaing (fig. 15). The only further information the author was able to report was that four of their sons died young and 'that only one son, called Floris, survived'.⁷

In the Culemborg Archives there are several copies of the manuscript, which were probably not made until later, by order of Floris II. In 1725 the manuscript in Culemborg Castle was copied by the antiquarian booksellers Cornelis van Alkemade and his son-in-law Pieter van

Fig. 14
Erard of Pallandt,
Lord of Culemborg;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-52.



Fig. 15
Margaret of Lalaing,
Lady of Pallandt
and Culemborg;
NG-2011-98-53.

der Schelling. The two had dedicated themselves to archaeology and were passionate collectors of manuscripts and rare books, which they sometimes revised. After Culemborg Castle was demolished in the early nineteenth century, the original manuscript came

into the hands of private collectors, where it remained until it was purchased by the Rijksmuseum in 2011.⁸

Early Genealogies

The Culemborg manuscript in the Rijksmuseum is part of a longer tradition.



Making genealogies began to gain ground in France in the second half of the eleventh century, when the law of inheritance was changed: property was no longer divided among all the children, but went to the oldest son. Family awareness changed from a horizontal sense of family, where relatives of the mother were just as important as those of the father, into a vertical, patrilineal succession. Genealogies served to clarify the linear succession from father to son. The further back this line of succession went, the more impressive the present holder of the title was. Rulers commissioned genealogical diagrams with lines linking the names of the forefathers (sometimes with their portraits, too). In the twelfth century, the nobility began to adopt this practice. At this point, all sorts of ancestors who were often entirely or largely products of the imagination appeared on the scene.⁹ Eventually, additions extolling the exceptional deeds of the illustrious ancestors transformed the genealogy, originally just a catalogue of a line of succession, into something more closely akin to a chronicle. The genealogical diagrams and chronicles were a way of cherishing the memory of one's ancestry, but also a way of substantiating a claim to an inheritance or a title – even to a vacant throne. A genealogy also strengthened the prestige of the family. This is why marriages and alliances with other aristocratic families were added.¹⁰

Whereas French and German nobility had already had genealogies made much earlier, it was not until the second half of the fifteenth century that families in the Northern Netherlands began to do the same. Dutch genealogies, too, were usually created with political objectives.¹¹ The Brederodes, for example, tried to justify their claim to the title of Count of Holland with a genealogical chronicle: they maintained that they descended from a son of Arnulf, the Count of Holland.¹²

The Egmonds used genealogical diagrams and chronicles to claim their right to the title of Duke of Guelders. They did this by following the female line, demonstrating their direct relationship with the dukes of Guelders through their mother Mary of Arkel.¹³ Genealogical chronicles about their father's family also strengthened their position in a local power struggle over the abbey of Egmond.¹⁴ They also raised their status by introducing illustrious ancestors into the chronicles. A Trojan who fled to France was named as the forefather of the Arkels; his descendants became kings of France and ultimately found their way to the domain of the Arkels, led to it by a magic swan.¹⁵ The counts of Holland also claimed descent from a Trojan ancestor: Count Dirk I was supposedly a son of Prince Sigisbert of Aquitaine, who could be traced back to Troy through the Merovingian kings.¹⁶

Genealogical chronicles of less prominent noble families have also survived. They were included in various manuscript compilations that were probably written between 1460 and 1480. Among them is a Culemborg chronicle in Latin and in Dutch.¹⁷ This chronicle also asserts that the lords of Culemborg descended from the Teijsterbant and Beusichem families.¹⁸ This Teijsterbant descent was not acknowledged in a late fifteenth-century chronicle written by Zweder of Culemborg, an illegitimate son of the family.¹⁹

By the second half of the sixteenth century the genealogy genre had passed its peak, but a number of interesting examples from this period have nonetheless survived. They include the genealogies of the Van Rhemens and the 'House Chronicle' of Sweder Schele. At the end of the sixteenth century, Steven van Rhemen the Elder collected genealogical records about his ancestry to find proof of his status as a knight. To prove it he went back not eleven, but twenty-nine generations,

and supplemented the diagrams with anecdotes.²⁰ In 1591 the Lutheran nobleman Sweder Schele completed a genealogical chronicle in which his family history began in a mythical past. The Scheles were supposedly a family of Roman senators who had followed Charlemagne to the Low Countries, whereas an unbroken line of succession could only be traced from the fourteenth century onwards. Nevertheless, Conrad Gietman maintains that these were not deliberate falsifications to achieve a political objective. Sweder, after all, did not make his chronicle in order to legitimize and substantiate claims; he created it for his own descendants and not for the outside world. By describing the many splendid deeds of his forefathers, he hoped to encourage future generations to perform similar acts. Heroic deeds like these were inextricably linked with nobility. Less spectacular deeds or transgressions by just one scion of the family could reduce the status of the entire house. This obviously had to be prevented: noblemen had to conduct themselves as Christian knights and noblewomen had to be paragons of virtue and purity.²¹

Memorial Culture

As well as written genealogies, the late medieval nobility also used images of the family to legitimize their standing. Memorials were an effective way of keeping the memory of an ancestry alive. The memorial culture was seen as a noble obligation and was at the same time an opportunity to express power and status. Donations, for example in the form of stained glass, adorned the Church, but were also a means of displaying the donor's genealogy and illustrious ancestry. Floris's predecessor, Elisabeth, had churches built, founded charitable institutions and created memorials to represent her and her spouses as the righteous, merciful owners of Culemborg and Hoogstraten. Alongside from this public display

of power, she and her husband also assembled private libraries for reasons of prestige.²² In 1517, for example, Elisabeth's husband, Anthony of Lalaing, bought a large collection of canonical and liturgical books from the Bishop of Utrecht.

In his study of the ownership and production of manuscripts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, H. Wijsman suggests that the patronage of manuscripts and other 'domestic' or less visible art was held in higher esteem among the nobility themselves than the creation of altarpieces that were positioned very publicly in churches. Although the production of manuscripts had come to a halt with the advent of printing, some members of the nobility continued to collect manuscripts to emphasize their elite social status. The dwindling supply often forced them turn to judicial and canonical manuscripts: not particularly interesting to collectors like Anthony of Lalaing in terms of content, but as manuscripts nonetheless prestigious.²³

The Haarlem Portraits of Counts

The family tree was a distinct type of art form to lend legitimacy to a genealogy. It was a painted or illustrated line of succession of rulers or particular holders of office designed to be hung in public buildings.²⁴ One of the best-known lines of succession is the series of portraits of the counts of Holland, made for the Carmelite convent in Haarlem (fig. 16). This lineage began with Count Dirk I and ended with Maximilian of Austria. The panels were introduced by a herald holding a scroll with lettering and concluded with a depiction of Death.²⁵ The series was probably made for the Brederodes (to corroborate their relationship with the counts of Holland) and as a declaration of support for Maximilian I. It emphasized the Trojan origin of Count Dirk: Maximilian was delighted to be connected to the Trojans. He was



related to the counts of Holland through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, and governed as guardian for the future count of Holland, his son Philip the Fair. In most of the panels only the title holders, in some cases this is a daughter or sister, are portrayed without their spouses. However, an exception was made for Mary: she has her husband Maximilian on her left.²⁶ Because a large part of the series could not be based on existing portraits, the maker used standard figures. The art historian Reindert Falkenburg believes that this made it easier to demonstrate a genetic link between the counts and Maximilian: it suggested that Maximilian, who was related only by marriage, was part of the family. The artists did try to give the counts and countesses individuality by differentiating their ages when depicting their features. The figures are identified by an escutcheon in front of the of the title holder's shoulder. They are all swathed in an imaginary 'Burgundian' style of dress.

This uniform way of dressing also emphasized the relationship between them. The presence of the herald, as the traditional expert on heraldry and genealogy, probably lent authority to the whole thing.²⁷

The series was long regarded as a succession of portraits of rulers, and scholars made a particular study of their iconography. Wim van Anrooij was one of the first to tackle the text in the series: in his view, it makes it plain that the set of counts was not a 'normal' series of portraits, but should be seen as an illustrated chronicle. The inscriptions are evidence that it was the distinguished origin of the counts, not their likenesses, that was the point.²⁸

A number of sets of prints of the Haarlem portraits of counts were published at the end of the sixteenth century, some of them by Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis Antonisz. Inspired by these, in 1550 Antonisz also made a woodcut of a line of descent for the lords of Brederode

Fig. 16
Unknown,
*The Haarlem
Count Portraits*,
c. 1486-91.
Oil on panel,
each c. 225 x 167 cm.
Photo: Haarlem,
Noord-Hollands
Archief.

(see fig. 17). The Brederode series made reference to a Trojan origin and showed the arms of Holland: a red lion in a gold shield. This series is also introduced by a herald, probably a portrait of Antonisz himself, with a herald's staff in his arms. Then follow the lords of Brederode. They are all clad in full armour. The earliest lords wear classical cuirasses and the later ones have knight's armour. Above each lord is his coat of arms, together with those of his consort contained in a lozenge. Only the men are shown, as a typical patrilineal line of succession.²⁹

A Culemborg Family Tree?

Although literary genealogies were made less often at the end of the sixteenth century, the lines of succession or illustrated genealogical chronicles were still popular. How does the Culemborg genealogy fit into the iconographic tradition of family

series and illustrated genealogical chronicles in the Northern Netherlands?

First and foremost, the Culemborg family tree is an illustrated manuscript on vellum. This was indeed unusual in the late sixteenth century – printing had been invented more than a century before – but it did chime with the special status that manuscripts enjoyed: the nobility still collected manuscripts as a way of enhancing their prestige. Floris's ancestors, Elisabeth and her husband Anthony of Lalaing, also collected manuscripts.

The Culemborg series found an individual way of depicting the patrilineal and matrilineal succession. After all, the Culemborgs not only married heiresses, the women continued the line as well. The matrilineal rather than the patrilineal line is followed twice in the chronicle. The second count of Teijsterbant only fathered a daughter. She married the illustrious Walger,

Fig. 17
Cornelis Anthonisz,
Lords of Brederode,
from *Zyphridus*
to *Reinout III*
(left page), 1550.
Woodcut,
412 x 527 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-39.792



elder brother of Dirk I, Count of Holland and a descendant of the Trojans (figs. 10 and 11). The other 'ancestress' was, of course, Elisabeth. The inclusion of a female ancestor was not uncommon in genealogical chronicles and family trees: the Egmonds followed their mother in the Arkel genealogies and Mary of Burgundy, for example, was also portrayed in the Haarlem series of counts. Unlike the traditional family trees, the Culemborg chronicle depicts the title holders and their partners. This made it possible to draw attention to the illustrious external families which were linked to the Culemborgs through the wives, and could also create the impression that it was actually an unbroken male sequence, even when the succession had actually been through the female. The husband, whether or not he had married into the family, was always portrayed on the heraldic right. In that respect, the *Genealogy* went a step further than the Haarlem portraits, where Mary of Burgundy maintained her place as an heiress on the right.

Like his predecessors, the maker of the Culemborg genealogy was faced with the fact that there were no pictures of the early ancestors available when he was charged with portraying them. Despite this, no two of the fifty-five figures are the same. From compulsion to a pronounced nose, each has individual characteristics: an achievement for a set of figures in which most had never been portrayed and some had never even existed. Anthonisz and the maker of the Haarlem series used standard figures to get around the lack of existing portraits of the early ancestors. The maker of the *Genealogy*, Nicolaas de Kemp, also appears to have created a number of recurring figures. An overview shows the features of the lords who came from the 'no portrait' period (fig. 18): the first face with the drooping eyelids and receding chin of Baldwin of Cleves is

extremely similar to the seventh face from the overview, that of Dirk, the second lord of Beusichem. When Walger, a new ancestor from the Aquitaine bloodline, joined the counts of Teijsterbant a new face, similar to Count Robrecht's but smoother, was introduced. It is repeated for his son William, third lord of Beusichem. There are other similarities and the idea of one patrilineal bloodline is reinforced. These likenesses are quite naturally depicted. Certain facial features return, but the figure in question always has something that distinguishes him from the preceding lords; a somewhat bigger nose or a wider jaw. All the figures have a high degree of individuality. Gerbrandt, first lord of Beusichem, for instance, actually borders on the obese. Kemp gave the figures the appearance of 'real' portraits. The later lords and ladies in the Culemborg series could well have been based on existing portraits. This can be seen, for instance, in the portraits of Elisabeth and her two spouses: they were copied from a memorial made between 1530 and 1570.

Apart from the fearsome armour in which some lords or counts are portrayed, most of the figures in the Culemborg genealogy wear Burgundian-style clothes. This, too, tallies with the Haarlem portraits of counts. Count Baldwin (fig. 8), from the ninth century, wears a *bourrelet* as a headdress and a short tunic or *houpelande* under his ermine cloak. The whole outfit looks like a fifteenth-century Burgundian costume and not early medieval attire. This style largely continues throughout the manuscript. Towards the end though, the fashion appears to change somewhat: trunk-hose is worn instead of *houpelandes*, and the ruff starts to make its appearance. In Erard of Pallandt we see a gentleman wearing the typical Spanish millstone ruff of the sixteenth century (fig. 14). Armour also appears to undergo a development in the

Fig. 18
Overview of the
'standard figures' in
the *Genealogy*.



Baldwin of Cleves



Robrecht of Teijsterbant



Baldwin, Second Count of Teijsterbant



Walger of Aquitane



Dirk, Fourth Count of Teijsterbant



Gerbrandt, First Lord of Beusichem



Dirk, Second Lord of Beusichem



Willem, Third Lord of Beusichem



Johan, Fourth Lord of Beusichem



Roelof, Fifth Lord of Beusichem



Hendrick, Sixth Lord of Beusichem



Roelof, Seventh Lord of Beusichem



Hubrecht, Second Lord of Culemborg



Johan, Third Lord of Culemborg



Hubrecht, Fourth Lord of Culemborg



Hubrecht, Fifth Lord of Culemborg



Fig. 19
Count Willem
of Beusichem;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-17.



Fig. 20
Gerrit I, Ninth Lord
of Culemborg;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-40.

chronicle. Willem of Beusichem (fig. 19), lord at the end of the tenth century, for example, wears a cuirass in the style of a Roman general, similar to the armour in the lords of Brederode series. As time goes by, the belligerent lords begin to wear full knight's armour, as in the woodcuts by Athonisz (fig. 20).³⁰

In the Culemborg genealogy, too, the apparently true-to-life figures and the historicized clothing reinforce the credibility of the chronicle. The presence of the herald, whom we already encountered in the Haarlem series and the series by Cornelis Antonisz, also lends authority to the series that follows him.

Floris I Succeeds

The question remains as to what prompted Floris I to commission a genealogy in 1590. By then he had already been through turbulent times: the Burgundian-Habsburg monarchs'

pursuit of centralization came to a head under Charles V and his son Philip II; the bourgeois official began increasingly to replace the nobleman in government and the coming of the professional soldier made it clear that the army of knights had had its day. For a number of historians, these changes were sufficient reason to conclude that the nobility was in a downward spiral, culminating in the Revolt and the foundation of the Dutch Republic. The role of the noble was at an end. However, Henk van Nierop demonstrated that the nobility was by no means in decline in the sixteenth century. The high nobility – the *grands seigneurs* – for example, held top government and military positions under the Habsburgs for a long time. The nobility played a major role during the Revolt and it was not until around the middle of the seventeenth century that the nobility found itself in crisis.³¹

Elisabeth's husband, Anthony of Lalaing (1480-1540), was one of the 'grande'es' (fig. 12). Anthony came from a family of stadholders, was a knight of the Golden Fleece, served as a gentleman in waiting to Philip the Fair and was appointed stadholder of Zeeland, Holland and Friesland by Charles v. He was a younger son, but thanks to his marriage to the heiress Elisabeth in 1509, came into possession of several manors (fig. 13). Elisabeth, granddaughter, through her mother, of Anthony, the Grand Bastard (the son of Philip the Good), also held posts at the Burgundian court and consolidated her high Burgundian status with this marriage. She had tried this previously with her marriage to the knight of the Golden Fleece Jan of Luxembourg, but he died prematurely. In 1516 Elisabeth assigned the manor of Hoogstraten to Anthony of Lalaing. In appreciation of his good services and to further differentiate Anthony from the lower nobility, Charles v appointed him count of Hoogstraten. Although Anthony fathered several illegitimate children, the marriage to Elisabeth remained childless. To ensure that their possessions would remain within their families Anthony and Elisabeth arranged marriages between their nephews and nieces. Elisabeth's nephew, Erard of Pallandt (1510-1540), married Margaret of Lalaing (1508-1592); Elisabeth's niece, Anna of Rennenberg (1515-1582), married Philip of Lalaing 1510-1555). Both Lalaings were children of Anthony's oldest brother Charles. Hoogstraten was assigned to Anthony's nephew and Culemborg to Elisabeth's nephew.³²

The Pallandts were part of the old aristocratic Gulliks family, but they were not as distinguished as the Lalaings and the Culemborgs: Erard's father Johan had purchased the manor of Pallandt in 1507.³³ Johan married Anna of Culemborg, the second daughter of the House of Culemborg.

At her request, Pallandt was elevated to a barony, whereupon her son Erard was allowed to call himself Baron Pallandt. Erard died young: his son Floris I was brought up by Elisabeth because his mother had become insane. Elisabeth raised Floris as a strict Catholic until her death in 1555. Just before her death, Charles v elevated Culemborg to a county in gratitude for Elisabeth's faithful services and Floris I of Pallandt was allowed to call himself count.³⁴

The Culemborg Domain

In the year of his succession Floris tried to have himself recorded as a banneret in the Knighthood of Nijmegen. The title of banneret denoted the possession of a manor with a higher jurisdiction, in an area that had not, for instance, been received as feudal property. Culemborg did not satisfy these conditions: the first lord had exchanged a farm for Culemborg with the Chapter of Utrecht in the thirteenth century. He then assigned the fief to the count of Guelders. Initially Floris was allowed to take his place at the bannerets' table nonetheless. In 1578, however, an objection was raised and Floris no longer appears as a banneret.³⁵ After Guelders had sided with the rebels the bannerets disappeared from the first rank because they had chosen the pro-Spanish side. Floris did not accede to the Pacification of Ghent (1576), the Union of Brussels (1577) and the Union of Utrecht (1579). In so doing, he strengthened the sovereignty of his county, which came under the authority of the Holy Roman Empire: Culemborg became an independent state with its own legislation and high court, as did Buren, Leerdam and IJsselstein (held by the House of Orange) and Vianen (held by the Brederodes).

Floris's predecessors had previously fought for recognition of the higher judicial powers in their domain. This

time not about Culemborg, but about the judiciary of Honswijk, where the Culemborgs had possessed high and low judicial powers since the fourteenth century. It was an attractive addition to their territory: Honswijk was on the north side of the busy River Lek, opposite their own castle. The Bishopric of Utrecht, however, thought that Honswijk came under its jurisdiction and there were repeated violent conflicts between the lords of Culemborg and the bishopric. This only came to an end under Floris I, when the bishopric exchanged Honswijk for Steenwaard.³⁶

Hero of the Revolt

In 1555, the year of his succession, Floris purchased a magnificent house in Brussels beside the court of the count of Egmond. He had to burden himself with debts to pay for it, but he was now able to hold his own with other young and important members of the nobility such as Egmond, Brederode and Orange.³⁷ A number of meetings crucial to the course of the Revolt took place in this house. After his marriage to the Lutheran countess Elisabeth of Manderscheid (1545-1570), Floris had probably gone over to the Reformation and put his house at the disposal of his religious and political associates. According to tradition this is where the league of nobles was created, the petition drawn up and the name of *geuzen* (beggars) assumed. Floris was not present in person because he arrived late. This did not detract from his fame: the fact that a count had opted so publicly for the Revolt captured the imagination and he was mentioned in the same breath as Hendrick of Brederode and even in song:

Die edele Heere van Breeroe soet,
metten Graef van Nassou,
dat edel bloetseer ingenieus,
den Grave van Culenburch metter
spoet:
Vive, vive le Geus!³⁸

The tide turned against the rebels, however, and in 1566 the Catholics regained power in Culemborg. The damage caused by the Iconoclasm³⁹ was repaired and a new altarpiece with the former – Catholic – Lady Elisabeth was commissioned. This was a clear message to Floris that he had forfeited his rights to Culemborg.⁴⁰ In 1567 Floris was summoned before the Council of Troubles, but he fled to his German territories. His possessions were declared forfeit. His mansion in Brussels was razed to the ground and the earth was sprinkled with salt so that nothing would ever grow in the garden of the rebellious count. Floris did not return to the Low Countries until 1574, when the ‘rebels’ had succeeded, and he resumed his place in the knighthood.⁴¹

Floris II

In exile Floris I had become a widower. In 1576, he remarried. His second wife was the Philippa Sidonia of Manderscheid (1557-1602), who was twenty years his junior. His son Floris II was born in the same year as his return to Culemborg.⁴² But his happiness was short-lived. Rumours about his wife’s immoral conduct soon reached Floris. The historian J. Trosée maintains that Philippa had been having an improper relationship with her brother-in-law, Michiel van Liel.⁴³ Whether adultery had taken place or not, Floris was so enraged by the rumours that he had his wife and her supposed lover imprisoned. Ultimately the affair was even discussed by the stadholder and the States of Utrecht. From then on Floris wanted to live apart from his wife, but he had to pay dearly for his ‘freedom’. The couple came to an arrangement whereby Floris would pay for the maintenance of Philippa’s position as a countess and Philippa was allowed to have control over her dowry.⁴⁴ It must have been a bitter blow for the count: whereas his deeds were once praised in song, he

was now known as a cuckold. His impetuous actions after learning about the affair also led people to publicly question his mental health.⁴⁵

When Philippa moved to Floris's German territories, the young Floris II stayed behind with his father. Floris brought up their son without her until 1591, when Philippa again tried to take control of his upbringing. Evidently, he only bore a grudge against the mother and not the son. In 1590, the year in which the genealogical chronicle was started, he had a portrait medallion struck for his son, the future count of Culemborg. On the obverse was a portrait of Floris II and on the reverse the combined arms of Pallandt, Culemborg, Lek, Zuilen, Beusichem, Aquitaine and Teijsterbant and the inscription 'Comes de Culemborg'.⁴⁶ In 1593 Floris II went to Leiden. Five years later he returned to succeed his father, now seriously ill. After his father's death, Floris II married Catherine van den Berg, Countess of Nassau.⁴⁷ Floris II had several copies made of the text and the family arms of the *Genealogy of the Lord and Counts*. Tellingly, his father and mother do not feature in these copies, whereas they do include descriptions of Floris II and his wife. They had no children and so Floris's line died out in 1639.

Claims in the Genealogy?

How can the Culemborg genealogy be linked to the biography of the man who commissioned it, Floris I? Does the genealogy, for example, contain political ambitions or territorial claims that can be directly associated with Floris I's legitimacy or aspirations?

In general, as in the majority of other late medieval genealogical chronicles, everything imaginable has been included in the *Genealogy of the Lords and Counts* in order to present the most illustrious possible ancestry. The author traced the Culemborgs back to a Trojan ancestor and elsewhere reference is made to the various

connections with distinguished houses. The message is clear: the Culemborgs came from an ancient, powerful lineage and the family was allied to other distinguished houses, like the Carolingian, and also to the house of Lalaing.

There are obvious references to the territory of the Culemborgs. The six family arms of the house appear on the title page (fig. 5): above, the red lion of Holland or Aquitaine, surrounded by the arms of Teijsterbant, Beusichem, Zuilen and Lek. Below, the arms of Pallandt, Teijsterbant, Beusichem, Zuilen and of course Lek, territories that had once been in the possession of the Culemborgs or their ancestors, are all situated around the River Lek. The title page and the arms that the counts and the lords bear in the series of figures indicate that the Culemborgs or their ancestors had been in charge of the area around the river since the ninth century.

Zuilen and Lek were added to the domain through marriages. In some cases, the arms of these heiresses have been taken over by their sons in the set. It is interesting that the heiresses and the other wives do not bear the arms of a married woman, where the family arms were shared with those of the husband, but the lozenge-shaped arms of an unmarried daughter (fig. 21). This placed more emphasis on the illustrious external families whose daughters had married a Culemborg. However there do not appear to be any specific territorial claims. Likewise, there is scant reference to this in the text. Admittedly, the fact that Hoogstraten was given away during the distribution of Elisabeth's estate is mentioned – 'and the former manors of Hoogstraten and of Borssele were separated from the House of Culemborg'⁴⁸ – but there is no hint of a possible claim in this area. The dispute between Utrecht and the Culemborgs about Honswijk on the Lek is not discussed anywhere in the

chronicle. The bishops of Utrecht are only referred to in general terms as 'magnanimous'.

Floris I's unsuccessful attempts to acquire the title of banneret rate barely a mention in the chronicle. Unlike the earlier Culemborg chronicles, which open with the 'bannerets of Culemborg', the rank of banneret is only briefly mentioned once in Floris's chronicle. Where it records that the fifth lord assigned Culemborg to the Duke of Guelders between 1256 and 1290, the manor is described as a free baronetcy. Perhaps this is not surprising, as we know that in 1590 the bannerets had disappeared for good as a first rank in the Duchy of Guelders.

In a general sense, the chronicle emphasizes the status and autonomy of the family. Floris's own family, the Pallandts, is naturally placed in the line of succession of the ancient House of Culemborg. It is made clear that the Pallandts were without doubt the only male heirs who had the right to the domain. This legitimization was of course extremely relevant in 1555, when Floris succeeded Elisabeth. But Floris did not have the genealogy made until the end of his rule, thirty-five years after succeeding and some considerable time after his uncertain years of exile, when his possessions were declared forfeit. His position as count was consolidated around 1590 and the need to legitimize his position in the form of a genealogical chronicle was far less urgent.

A Genealogy for Floris II

It would therefore seem that the genealogy was not made for Floris's own succession, but for that of his son, Floris II. His heir's position was probably under pressure because of the scandalous adultery of Floris's wife. In any event it damaged the Pallandts' reputation. In the period in which the *Genealogy* written, Floris also tried to present his son as the

rightful new count by means of a portrait medallion. The *Genealogy* provided proof of the Pallandts' indisputable rights to the territory and also diverted attention from the somewhat embarrassing present to the glorious past. This could also be why Floris I did not have himself included in the chronicle, even though it could have immortalized him for his heroic role in the Revolt and his achievement as the first count of Culemborg. After all the inclusion of a title holder also meant the inclusion of the spouse – the notorious, adulterous Philippa. Her presence could have dulled all the lustre of Floris's 'predecessors'.

There may have been several reasons why Floris did not opt for a publication in print, so as to spread the knowledge of the magnificent past and the blue blood of the Culemborgs and the Pallandts on a wider scale. Collecting manuscripts was a family tradition, as we have seen, and it became associated with noble status. His commission for an illustrated chronicle in the style of the Haarlem series of counts brought him more prestige than a publication in print. Furthermore, Floris I, like Sweder Schele, probably very deliberately wanted to send a message to his immediate family. The greatest acts of their ancestors should inspire them to lead a virtuous life themselves. After all, a true nobleman should behave in an exemplary fashion. Perhaps he wanted to drive the point home to his descendants that they should not lower themselves to the behaviour of his second wife, who as a noblewoman was anything but a paragon of virtue and purity and had endangered the whole house. This meant, though, that the first count of Culemborg had to give up his own entry in the genealogy, resulting in the admittance of not a single actual count of Culemborg in the *Genealogy of the Lords and Counts of Culemborg*.

> Fig. 21
Daughter of
Johan of Egmond;
inv. no. NG-2011-98-41.

NOTES

- * With thanks to M. Damen, A. van Steensel and G. van der Ham for their help in the research into the *Genealogy*.
- 1 G.D.J. Schotel, *Floris I en II van Pallant, graven van Culemborg*, Arnhem 1846, pp. 2-4.
 - 2 P.J.W. Beltjes, 'Een merkwaardig wapen op een portretpenning van de jonggraaf Floris II van Culemborg uit 1590', *Voetnoten* 8 (1994), nos. 11/12, pp. 60-68, esp. pp. 60-61. Arnhem, Gelders Archief (GA), Archive of the Lords and Counts of Culemborg (AHGC), inv. no. 1548a, Memorandum, 10 July 1590.
 - 3 I. van Thiel-Stroman, 'Nicolaes de Kemp I', in *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1800: The Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Ghent/ Haarlem 2006, pp. 215-17, esp. pp. 215, 217.
 - 4 'Dit is de afcomste van de graven van Teijsterbant.'
 - 5 'wiens linie stamme ende afcomste men can deduceeren gesprooten te sijn van alden Troijanen, sijnde coningen van Vranckrijk', *Genealogy of the Lords and Counts of Culemborg*, inv. no. NG-2011-98-8.
 - 6 A.P. van Schilfgaarde, *Het archief der heeren en graven van Culemborg*, The Hague 1949, pp. 7-13, <http://www.geldersarchief.nl/zoeken/?mivast=37&mizig=210&miadt=37&miaet=1&micode=0370&minr=2584984&miview=inv2> (accessed 22 May 2015).
 - 7 'datter maar een soon genaemt Floris in den leven ist gebleven'.
 - 8 Beltjes 1994 (note 2), pp. 61-62.
 - 9 George Duby, 'Le structures de parente et noblesse dans la France du Nord aux XI^e et XII^e siecles', in *Hommes et structures du Moyen Age*, Paris 1973, p. 273. See also G. Althoff, 'Genealogische und andere Fiktionen in mittelalterlicher Historiographie', in Detlev Jasper et al. (ed.), *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, Hannover 1986, pp. 417-41.
 - 10 L. Génicot, *Les généalogies*, Turnhout 1975, p. 10 and Robert Stein, 'Brabant en de Karolingische dynastie. Over het ontstaan van een historiografische traditie', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 3 (1995), pp. 329-51, esp. p. 332.
 - 11 Maaik Lulofs, 'Die van Bero heeft men eens gesien. De Brederode-kroniek van Jan van Leyden', in B. Ebels-Hoving et al. (ed.), *Genoehclieke ende lustige historiën. Laat-middeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland*, Hilversum 1987, pp. 79-99, esp. p. 84.
 - V.J.G. Roefs, *De Egmondsche abtenkroniek van Johannis a Leydis*, Sittard 1942, p. 31 and Thijs Porck, 'Een Rijnlandse serie adelskronieken (1533-1542). Het zogenaamde "Voorste Haagsche Handschrift"', *Millenium. Tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies* 20 (2006), pp. 20-62, esp. p. 46. See also M. Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de Middeleeuwen. Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen*, The Hague 1981, p. 174.
 - 12 Lulofs 1987 (note 11), pp. 89-90.
 - 13 Aart Noordzij, *Gelre. Dynastie, land en identiteit in de late middeleeuwen*, Hilversum 2009, pp. 64-70.
 - 14 Anteon Janse, 'Vergane glorie? Een Hollands adelskroniekje in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse periode', *Leidschrift* 15 (2000), no. 1, pp. 14-35, esp. pp. 21, 25-26.
 - 15 Tom Hage, 'Van zwanen en Trojanen. Laatmiddeleeuwse origografie in Noord-Brabant', in Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld et al. (ed.), *Cultuur in het laatmiddeleeuwse Noord-Brabant*, Den Bosch 1998, pp. 75-88, esp. pp. 76, 77, 79 and Anteon Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum 2001, pp. 282-83, 287.
 - 16 Hage 1998 (note 13), p. 79; Janse 2000, p. 282 and H. Bruch, *Johannes de Beke. Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, The Hague 1973, p. 42.
 - 17 M. Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de Middeleeuwen. Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen*, The Hague 1981, pp. 174-75.
 - 18 W.F. Andriessen (ed.), *Historia dominorum de Teysterband, Agrckel, Egmonda, Brederoede, IJsselsteyn etc.*, Purmerend 1933, pp. 26-29.
 - 19 Zweder van Culemborg, 'Kroniek van de heren van Culemborg', in A. Matthaëus (ed.), *Veteris aevi analecta seu Vetera monumenta hactenus nondum visa*, Leiden 1698, pp. 580-98, esp. pp. 589, 590.
 - 20 Albert Mensema, 'Pietate et virtute. Vijf aspecten van adellijk leven tijdens het ancien regime', in Arnold Gevers et al. (ed.), *Mensen van adel. Beelden, manifestaties, representaties*, Hilversum 2007, pp. 9-34, esp. pp. 14, 15.
 - 21 Conrad Gietman, 'Het adellijk bewustzijn van Sweder Schele tot Weleveld', *Overijsselse Historische Bijdragen* 107 (1992), pp. 83-110, esp. pp. 85, 89, 99, 100.

- 22 Truus van Bueren (ed.), *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen*, Utrecht 1999, p. 81.
- 23 H. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands, 1400-1550*, Turnhout 2010, pp. 402, 405, 498.
- 24 Van Bueren 1999 (note 22), p. 82.
- 25 Reindert Falkenburg, 'Politiek en propaganda omstreeks 1490', in W. van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten. Hollandse geschiedenis in woord en beeld*, Hilversum 1997, pp. 69-73, esp. p. 71.
- 26 Geertruid and Robrecht are also portrayed as a married couple, together with the young Dirk v. However, the text explains that the two are 'only' guardians of the underage Dirk, not count and countess.
- 27 Reindert Falkenburg, 'Portretten of niet?', in Van Anrooij 1997 (note 25), pp. 46-59, esp. pp. 54-58.
- 28 'Inleiding', in Van Anrooij 1997 (note 25), pp. 7-11, esp. p. 8.
- 29 D. de Hoop-Scheffer and A.J. Klant-Vlieland Hein, *Vorstenportretten uit de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw. Houtsneden als propaganda*, Amsterdam 1972, cat. no. 33.
- 30 See for example inv. nos. NG-2011-98-9, 10, 17, 21, 23, 33, 37, 40 and 44.
- 31 Henk van Nierop, *Van ridders tot regenten. De Hollandse adel in de zestiende en de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1990, p. 48.
- 32 Els Kloek (ed.), *1001 vrouwen uit de Nederlandse geschiedenis*, Nijmegen 2013, p. 100.
- 33 F.W.F.F. Pallandt van Keppel, *Genealogie van het geslacht van Pallandt. In verband met de genealogie van de graven van Culenborch*, The Hague 1900.
- 34 Schotel 1846 (note 1), pp. 2-4.
- 35 Henny Denessen, 'De Gelderse bannerheren in de vijftiende eeuw', *Virtus. Journal of Nobility studies* 30 (2013) pp. 11-37, esp. p. 31 and Frank Keverling Buisman, 'Adel en ridderschap in transitie. Van landsheerlijke naar soevereine stand, 1543-1621', in C. Schimmelpenninck van der Oije et al. (ed.), *Adel en ridderschap in Gelderland. Tien eeuwen geschiedenis*, Zwolle 2013, pp. 53-95, esp. pp. 54-55.
- 36 Schotel 1846 (note 1), p. 118 and Schilfgaarde 1949 (note 5), pp. 7-13.
- 37 Otto Jan de Jong, *De reformatie in Culemborg*, Assen 1957, p. 61.
- 38 As cited by E.T. Kuiper and P. Leendertz Jr (eds.), *Het Geuzenliedboek*, Zutphen 1924, p. 28. Originally from the *Anonieme Geuzenliedboek* of 1574.
- 39 Henk van Nierop, 'De beeldenstorm in de Nederlanden. De protestantse graaf voerde hosties aan zijn papegaaï', *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 2 (2005), <http://www.historisch-nieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/6544/de-beeldenstorm-in-de-nederlanden.html> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- 40 Van Bueren 1999 (note 22), p. 256.
- 41 Schotel 1846 (note 1), p. 71.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 J.A.G.C. Trosée, *Historische Studiën*, The Hague 1924, p. 129.
- 44 However, this was not enough for Philippa. She lived in the manors of Pallandt, Kurzweiler and Engelstorff and denied Floris the revenue from them. Floris got into financial difficulties and, for example, was no longer able to pay his sisters the thousands of guilders annually that he was obliged to. See GA, AHGC, 0370, inv. no. 320, Documents concerning the disputes between Count Floris I and his second wife Philippa Sidonia, 1580-82 and GA, AHGC, 0370, inv. no. 321, Documents concerning the disputes between Count Floris I and his wife about her maintenance allowance, and between the Countess and the Margrave of Baden about the administration of the Culemborg possessions in Gulik, 1583-97.
- 45 De Jong 1957 (note 37), p. 83.
- 46 Beltjes 1994 (note 2), pp. 60, 64.
- 47 Schotel 1846 (note 1), pp. 137, 149.
- 48 'ende zijn also die voorseide heerlichheiden van Hoochstraten ende van Borssele van den huis Culemborg gescheiden'.