



Baanrotsen in Brabant

Title, power and nobility in the duchy of
Brabant in the long fourteenth century

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1 INTRODUCTION

*“Waer sachmen nie desgelike
Van wondre, dat daer ane dede
Die hertoge? want hi leidde mede
Ute sine lande verre te voren,
Almeest die beste al ute vercoren
Baenrotse, riddere ende cnapen:”*

At the end of the thirteenth century, this passage was written by Jan van Heelu in his chronicle of the battle of Woeringen. It narrates one of the first knightly expeditions of the duke of Brabant, Jan I, who led the best of his men on an expedition with the king of France against the kingdom of Aragon.¹ It is an interesting passage to introduce the topic of this thesis because it highlights several problems concerning the study of *baanrotsen*. Who were these *baanrotsen*? How were they different from knights and squires? Could their role be defined purely within the military sphere? What was their relation to the duke of Brabant?

Before trying to answer any of these questions, it is important to introduce the concept of the *baanrots*. Piet Avonds tried to explain this by concentrating on the origins of the word. He split the word *baanrots* in two parts: ‘*ban-*’ and ‘*-rote*’. The word ‘*ban*’ is derived from the Latin word ‘*bannus*’, which means mobilization order or public authority. The second word, ‘*rote*’, can be translated as an army unit. In this way Avonds deduced the meaning of a *baanrots* as a commander of an army unit in a war that a ruler had engaged.² This etymological explanation is often used by historians to define *baanrotsen* and it is also a point of departure in the article of Mario Damen on *baanrotsen* in the duchy of Brabant in the fifteenth century, who described them as ‘supernobles’. Damen however, added to this argument that the word *baanrots* is in fact a corruption from the word *chevalier bannerech*, which was used from the thirteenth century onwards in France and England. This *chevalier bannerech* denoted wealthy knights who could lead a company under their own banner in battle. The typical banners of *baanrotsen* were square, while the typical banners of ‘normal’ knights were triangular. For the Burgundian period, Werner Paravicini wrote how this elevation to the status of *baanrots* often happened before a battle when the duke cut off the tip of a triangular banner and in doing so, he created a square banner.³

¹ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu Betreffende Den Slag van Woeringen* (Brussels: Hayez, 1836), 98-99, v. 2580-2585.

² P. Avonds, *Brabant Tijdens de Regering van Hertog Jan III (1312-1356): Land En Instellingen* (Brussels: Koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1991), 209.

³ M. Damen, “Heren Met Banieren. De Baanrotsen van Brabant in de Vijftiende Eeuw,” in *Bourgondië Voorbij. De Nederlanden 1250-1650. Liber Alumnorum Wim Blockmans*, ed. Mario Damen and Louis Sicking

In Middle Dutch, there are many differences in the spelling of *baanrots*. For example: *baenroeds*, *baenroets*, *baenroedze*, *baenroidse*, but also *baenrits*, *baenruts*, *baenraets* and *baenradse*. The Latin translation of *baanrots* is *baneretus* and, in French and English *baanrots* is translated as *banneret*. The word *baanrots* also has a synonym, which is *baanderheer* or *banerhere* in Middle Dutch. This was adopted from German and rarely occurred in Middle Dutch.⁴ In this thesis the word *baanrots* is used because that is the word that is most commonly found in the historical sources used for this research.

What is written thus far, reflects in general the limited knowledge of historians on *baanrotsen*. Even Paul De Win, renowned for his research into the history of Brabant, wrote that the exact meaning of the title of *baanrots* remained guess-work.⁵ This is mainly caused by a lack of historical sources. References to *baanrotsen* in diplomatic and narrative sources are very rare and often these are enumerations, such as the one in the above cited passage of Van Heelu: “*Baenrotse, riddere ende cnapen*”. On the basis of such a singular enumeration, it is not possible to make deductions concerning the military, political or social aspect of *baanrotsen*. Only a systematic research of these references might reveal the men behind these titles. The one historian who performed such a research for Brabant is Mario Damen. He studied *baanrotsen* as a social category in the fifteenth century. By this time, Brabant became a part of the duchy of Burgundy and for this Burgundian period there are more historical sources available. Damen made use of two convocation lists, one of 1406 and the other of 1415. He also made use of a ‘bannertree’, which is a drawing with the most important *baanrotsen* of that time. Damen found this in *Die Alder Excellenste Cronyke van Brabant*. His article is innovating and it sheds a whole new light upon the *baanrotsen*, yet one has to be careful not to project his findings to earlier time periods such as the thirteenth or fourteenth century.⁶

The oldest references to *baanrotsen* in Brabant, I found in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu. This chronicle was created between the actual battle of Woeringen in 1288 and the wedding of Jan II van Brabant with Margareta of England on the eight of July 1290.⁷ With only a study of *baanrotsen* of fifteenth-century Brabant, there was a huge hiatus in which the end of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century was not yet studied. This period became the time span for the research of this thesis.

(Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 139-140; W. Paravicini, “Soziale Schichtung Und Soziale Mobilität Am Hof Der Herzöge von Burgund,” *Francia. Forschungen Zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte* 5 (1977), 142.

⁴ J. De Vries, “Baanderheer,” *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 24; N. Van Wijk, ed., “Baanderheer,” *Franck’s Etymologisch Woordenboek Der Nederlandschen Taal* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1912), 25; E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, “Baenrotse,” *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1885), 514-515.

⁵ P. De Win, “The Lesser Nobility of the Burgundian Netherlands,” in *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Michael Jones (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1986), 109.

⁶ M. Damen, “Heren Met Banieren,” p. 139-158. Damen himself already warns to project his findings from the second half of the fifteenth century to the first half of that same century. p. 145.

⁷ R. Sleiderink, *De Stem van de Meester: De Hertogen van Brabant En Hun Rol in Het Literaire Leven (1105-1430)* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2003), 88.

At the beginning of this research, the basic question was: who were these *baanrotsen*? The word *baanrots* and all its derivations became the principal criterion to which historical sources were subjected. This method corresponds to the methodology proposed by Damen and Antheun Janse in which they suggest to apply the prosopographical method for the study of the Burgundian nobility. Yet, instead of concentrating on the nobility as a whole, they tried to concentrate on one singular and univocal criterion that was easily traceable in historical sources, for example, titles. In doing so, a research population was created that was mutually comparable and could give insights into the social reality.⁸ Knowledge acquired, according to this method, on the *baanrotsen* of the duchy of Brabant in the fourteenth century, could, in its turn, contribute to the knowledge of the nobility of Brabant of that period.

At the beginning of this research, it was clear that *baanrotsen* were mentioned in chronicles, but did they also exist in diplomatic sources? I started a very long search to find *baanrotsen* in these sources. Once found, they still had to be identified because the names found in charters or chronicles hardly said anything about these persons and who these men were. This is why I started making small descriptions of these *baanrotsen*, compiled in the appendix. Since this appendix does not offer full biographical descriptions, nor all the references to the historical documents in which these *baanrotsen* occur, it must be considered as a first initiative to the creation of a full prosopography of all the *baanrotsen* of Brabant.

Before elaborating on these *baanrotsen* of Brabant, it is important to understand the world in which they lived. This is why I offer in the first chapter a short overview of the main characteristics of the duchy of Brabant in the fourteenth century. Evolutions in the ducal dynasty, in military and financial matters, and the importance of towns in Brabant will be discussed. A following chapter will treat the Brabantine nobility and how they were considered as a powerful element in the society of Brabant from the early days of the duchy onwards. Only by understanding this context, we can begin to comprehend the phenomenon of the *baanrotsen* in Brabant. For this, we will begin by analysing some historical sources. What sources can be used? And what information on *baanrotsen* can be deduced from these sources? After this, we will have a first image of the *baanrotsen* of Brabant and some deeper problems can be addressed, such as the confusion between the titles of *baanrots* and baron. Furthermore, we will have a look at the title of *baanrots* in neighbouring principalities. Can developments, similar to the one in Brabant, be detected in these principalities? Finally, in the last chapter, the characteristics of the Brabant *baanrotsen* will be discussed. What are the defining elements of these *baanrotsen* and what was their place within the nobility of Brabant?

⁸ M. Damen and A. Janse, "Adel in Meervoud: Methodologische Beschouwingen over Comparatief Adelsonderzoek in de Bourgondische Nederlanden," *Bijdragen En Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis Der Nederlanden*, no. 123 (2008): 1–24.

2 THE DUCHY OF BRABANT IN THE LONG FOURTEENTH CENTURY

‘The long fourteenth century’ is a denomination deliberately given in the light of this thesis to denote the period from the battle of Woeringen in 1288 until the end of the fourteenth century. The event of Woeringen is included in this century because its consequences greatly influenced some of the fourteenth-century evolutions in Brabant. One could even argue that the fourteenth century was nothing more than a shady area towards, and created by, the battle of Woeringen. However, we cannot underestimate the value of the fourteenth century for Brabant because, as phrased by Avonds, in that century the political society of Brabant gradually evolved into that of a modern state.⁹ The long fourteenth century will be elucidated by means of the evolutions in the ducal dynasty, in military and financial matters and the consequences of all of these evolutions for the towns and the nobility of Brabant.

2.1 The ducal dynasty

The ducal dynasty suffered many setbacks in the long fourteenth century. There was not one succession that elapsed without complications. Even the accession to the ducal throne of Jan I, the famous duke of Woeringen, in 1267 had its difficulties. His father, Hendrik III, had already died in 1261. He was supposed to be succeeded by his son Hendrik IV. However, due to his mental and physical condition, his mother, Aleide of Burgundy, had persuaded him to abdicate in favour of his brother Jan I. Nevertheless, when Hendrik III died, his children were still too young. As a consequence, a regency council was installed until the accession of Jan I in 1267. This was a difficult period for the ducal family in which the maintenance of power was the primary concern because the threat of undermining this power was real. Many people tried to gain advantage out of this turbulent situation, such as Hendrik, the prince bishop of Liege and Otto, the count of Guelders. Similar attempts were also made within the duchy itself. For example, Arnold III van Wezemaal started a rebellion and it was only in 1266 that he was defeated.¹⁰

⁹ P. Avonds, *Brabant Tijdens de Regering van Hertog Jan III (1312-1356). De Grote Politieke Krisissen* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1984), 12-13.

¹⁰ G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht: De Familie Berthout En de Brabantse Adel* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2003), 325-327; R. Sleiderink, *De Stem van de Meester*, 75; E. Van Ermen, *De Landelijke Bezittingen van de Heren van Wezemaal in de Middeleeuwen. 1: Tot de Dood van Jan I (1166 - 1417)* (Leuven: Belgisch centrum voor landelijke geschiedenis, 1982), 16-17; P. De Ridder, “Dynastiek En Nationaal Gevoel in Brabant Onder de Regering van Hertog Jan I (1267-1294),” *Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij Voor Taal- En Letterkunde En Geschiedenis. Handelingen* 33 (1979): 73-74.

The death of Jan I came very unexpected. Since he was a very famous duke and, according to Jan van Boendale, loved by the Brabanters, his death was narrated in the chronicle of Van Boendale: “*Ter derden josten wart hi geraect/ in de muus van sinen arme/ soe dat hi moeste, wacharme,/ met ongevallen bliven doot.*”¹¹ In 1294, Jan I died at a tournament that was organised at Bar in Lorraine. His son and heir, Jan II, was at that time eighteen years old, but he had spent most of his youth at the court of England. In 1285, he had left Brabant and, in 1290, he married the daughter of the king of England, Margareta. After the death of his father, he immediately set course for Brabant to assume his rightful position as duke of Brabant. However, his arrival led to a power struggle in Brabant. One year earlier, a war had started between France and England. His father, Jan I, had remained neutral during this conflict, yet Jan II could not remain neutral since his father-in-law was the king of England. This was in contrast with the uncle of Jan II, Godfried van Aarschot, who was the brother of Jan I, and who took sides with Philip IV, the king of France.¹² Once again, the death of a duke of Brabant led to a restless and violent period, at the end of which Jan II turned out to be the victor.

His son, Jan III, became the third successive duke of Brabant who was still very young when he acceded the throne. He was only twelve years old when his father died in 1312. In older historiography this was often seen as the cause for the creation of a power vacuum. Avonds however, showed that this power vacuum was not as severe as has been often thought. Apparently Jan II was ill, he suffered from kidney stones, and two weeks before he died, he had made some arrangements for his death. He appointed two *testamenters* who were vested with public authority. In theory they had to facilitate the succession of Jan II and they had to govern the duchy until Jan III returned to Brabant because, at that time, he was staying in France. However, due to a pressing crisis in the foreign trade of Brabant, it was decided that Jan III was too young and too inexperienced to deal with the crisis. A regency council was installed from 1313 until 1320, when Jan III became twenty years old.¹³ This meant that in the first years of his reign, Jan III had to rely on others to deal with the problems to which Brabant was confronted. In the next part this crisis and its consequences will be examined.

The last succession of the long fourteenth century became a problem in 1351, when the last son and heir to Jan III, Godfried, died. In 1353, a new arrangement for the succession was drawn up by Jan III. The towns of Brabant approved this arrangement and so did the Holy Roman Emperor in 1354. It regulated how the eldest daughter of Jan III, Johanna, was to succeed her father in all his lands. His other two daughters, Margareta, who was married to the count of Flanders, Lodewijk van Male, and Maria, who was married to the duke of Guelders, Reinoud, received an enormous amount of money. This settlement for his other daughters was to make sure, they would renounce any territorial claim. In that way the integrity of the duchy of Brabant would be maintained. However, this was

¹¹ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten of Rymkronyk van Brabant*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 1 (Brussel: Hayez, 1839), 415-416, v. 72-75.

¹² R. Sleiderink, *De Stem van de Meester*, 102-103; P. De Ridder, “Dynastiek En Nationaal Gevoel”, 79-80.

¹³ P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 17-27, 74-76.

without taking into account the secret arrangement that was made between Lodewijk van Male and Jan III in 1347. It declared how the towns of Mechelen and Antwerpen would fall to Lodewijk van Male if Jan III died. Pressured by Lodewijk van Male, the arrangement of 1353 was abolished somewhere between 1353 and 1355. Because of this, there was no arrangement left to settle the succession of Jan III as duke of Brabant when he died on the fifth of December 1355. The decision for his succession was eventually made by the land of Brabant. They chose Johanna as duchess of Brabant in return for her ratification of the *Blijde Inkomst* on the third of January 1356. It took another month before her husband, Wencslas, was acknowledged as duke of Brabant. However, the new duchess and duke still had to deal with the claims of Lodewijk van Male, which were made legitimate because of the arrangement made in 1347. Between the two parties, the Brabant War of Succession started, which lasted until 1357.¹⁴

2.2 Military and financial ‘rock bottom’?

It can hardly be contradicted that the greater part of the long fourteenth century was determined by developments in the military and the financial sphere. These developments started with the battle of Woeringen in 1288. The importance and magnitude of this battle cannot be underestimated. It is even considered as one of the greatest battles of the thirteenth century in Western-Europe in which almost ten thousand fighters participated. The victory of this battle for Brabant contributed greatly to the prestige of Brabant and to the prominent position of the ducal dynasty amongst the vassals of the Holy Roman Emperor.¹⁵ As a result of this victory, the duchy of Limburg was annexed to the duchy of Brabant in 1289. This is considered as the height of the territorial expansion of Brabant. Ever since, Jan I was entitled in charters as the duke of Lorraine, Brabant and Limburg.¹⁶

2.2.1 *Aftermath of Woeringen*

There was also a downside to the victory at Woeringen because a battle of that proportion was very expensive. In the following years, pressure on the ducal treasury only increased because of the flamboyant lifestyle and poor financial policy of Jan I and Jan II. It was especially Jan I, with his love

¹⁴ P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 184-195, 198-199, 222-224; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant: Van Het Hertogdom Tot Heden* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2004), 106, 158-159.

¹⁵ R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 107.

¹⁶ P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 15. The titles of Jan I can be observed very well in the work of Alphonse Verkooren: A. Verkooren, *Inventaire Des Chartes et Cartulaires Des Duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et Des Pays d’Outre-Meuse: Cartulaires*, vol. Tome 1 (800–1312), 2 vols. (Brussels: Archives générales du royaume, 1961), 132-189.

for tournaments, his grand campaigns and international politics, that exhausted the treasury.¹⁷ Sleiderink even argued that the chronicle of Jan van Heelu might have been written with the purpose of informing Brabant of the pecuniary problems of the duke and to prepare the people for the possible request of an extraordinary aid.¹⁸ There are indications that, already in 1290 and 1291, Jan I must have asked towns in Brabant for such an extraordinary aid and in 1293 he must have asked a similar aid of the Brabant nobility.¹⁹ Debts were passed on from Jan I to Jan II, and from Jan II to Jan III. From time to time, the situation was so severe that the dukes faced the thread of bankruptcy. For instance, during the last years of the reign of Jan I, merchants from Brabant were arrested in France, England, Namur, Flanders and Hainault because their duke did not repay his loans. This situation reached its peak when Jan II had just died and it was decided to install a regency council. However, the whole of these ducal debts was too heavy to pay off during the period of the regency.²⁰ They became a constant and decisive factor of the fourteenth century, during which the situation only aggravated.

2.2.2 *Restoration by Jan III?*

As a result of these problems, ducal authority was weak, especially under the reign of Jan II and territorial expansion, to the extent of Woeringen, could never again be reached. However, this did not mean a complete stop of all activity within Brabant. For example, the territory of Brabant did not expand greatly, but during the fourteenth century, it never stopped to evolve. For example, Fauquemont was occupied by the regency council and eventually annexed by Jan III. In 1323, he acquired the town of Grave and the seigniorship of Cuijk. In 1327, he purchased Breda and in the period between 1325 and 1334, he acquired the land of Heusden. When Jan III took over the rule of the duchy from the regency council, he tried to model himself after his grandfather, Jan I. Jan III tried to expand Brabant and he tried to restore the ducal authority on national and international level.²¹

The actions of Jan III did not go unnoticed and it led to the creation of an assembly of neighbouring lords of Brabant. This is what historians call the anti-Brabant coalition of 1332 until 1334. The coalition originated out of mutually shared sentiments of animosity and envy towards Brabant. These sentiments had historically grown since the battle of Woeringen, but they were further inflamed by the small territorial acquisitions of Jan III and by his performance in some recent events. Amongst the most prominent members of the coalition was the count of Luxembourg, who felt humiliated after Brabant had taken Fauquemont, because he was related to Reginald, the lord of

¹⁷ P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 39-40; P. De Ridder, "Dynastiek En Nationaal Gevoel", 79-80.

¹⁸ R. Sleiderink, *De Stem van de Meester*, 93 e.v.

¹⁹ P. De Ridder, "Hertogelijk Inkomstenbeleid En Ontwikkeling van de Standenstaat in Brabant Onder Jan I (1267-1294) En Jan II (1294-1312)" (PhD, Ghent University, 1977), 344; R. Van Uytven, "Standenprivileges En -Beden in Brabant Onder Jan I (1290-1293)," *Revue Belge de Philologie et D'histoire* 44 (1966): 423 e.v.

²⁰ P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 37-44, 72.

²¹ R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 108.

Fauquemont. Secondly, there was the king of France, who felt insulted by Jan III and his council since they refused to accept the king's attempt at reconciliation in the quarrel on Fauquemont. An insult that was felt even worse when Jan III refused to extradite Robert van Artois, an exile of France. Thirdly, there was the count of Flanders, who was upset because of the failed marital settlements for their children and because of the loss of Heusden. Furthermore, tensions between the count of Flanders and Jan III only increased because of the difficulties that existed around the town of Mechelen. Mechelen wanted to remain under the protection of the dukes of Brabant, while it was actually sold to the count of Flanders in 1333 by the bishop of Liège.²²

It did not take long before these tensions culminated in an actual conflict with military actions in 1332 and 1334. These actions consisted of raids, armed encounters, destroyed villages, territorial conquests and the defence of the boundaries of the duchy with Flanders, Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. However, in the end, Brabant only had to give up 's Hertogenrade and Sittard.²³

The anti-Brabant coalition was the first time Jan III had to deal with a crisis of such extent on his own, without the help of a regency council. Moreover, it was the first time he had to act in a military confrontation, which can be deduced from the fact that he was knighted on the eve of the battle in 1332. What is more, and this is something that both Avonds and Van Uytven agree upon, this anti-Brabant coalition stimulated a sense of unity within Brabant and it contributed to the international prestige of Brabant. For example, Brabant, and especially the port of Antwerp, became essential for the king of England in the Hundred Years War with France.²⁴

With hardly any territory lost, Brabant was the moral victor of the conflict and had become stronger both on national and international level. However, the conflict with the anti-Brabant coalition did not help the financial difficulties of the duchy. Even before this conflict, Brabant still had to deal with the debts created by Jan I, Jan II and by struggles for the smaller territorial gains. For example, it is rumoured that the annexation of Fauquemont, accompanied by the subduing of Reginald, lord of Fauquemont, had cost the duke the equivalent of four times that seignior.²⁵ In 1332, Jan III had already requested an extraordinary aid, which he was granted. However, after the war he was charged with financial obligations towards the members of the coalition. In the end Jan III only paid off thirty-seven to forty percent of his total debts to these members.²⁶ It is clear that Jan III could not put an end to the indebtedness that marked his and his two predecessors' ducal reigns. Once again, debts were passed on to the successors, in this case, Johanna and Wenceslas.

²² P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 78-88; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 108; G. C. Ubaghs, *Korte Schets Der Geschiedenis van Het Land van Valkenburg* (Leuven: Vanlinthout, 1858), 32.

²³ P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, 88-105.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 93; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *op. cit.*, 108-109.

²⁵ R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *op. cit.*, 108; S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant (1356-1406)* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 173.

²⁶ P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, 155, 172-173.

2.2.3 *Johanna and Wenceslas.*

The reign of Johanna and Wenceslas covered most of the second half of the fourteenth century. Often it appears that historians write very negatively about their rule. For example, Robert Stein saw their prodigal life style as one of the principal causes that led to the financial rock bottom of the duchy.²⁷ Sergio Boffa on the other hand appeared to be much more well-disposed towards the duke and duchess by concentrating more on the assessment of the positive and negative aspects of their rule. For example, he evaluates the little territorial gains against the territorial losses.²⁸ Notwithstanding the personal regard of historians to Johanna and Wenceslas, Brabant was in the second half of the fourteenth century almost constantly occupied with warfare. This mostly characterized the rule of Johanna and Wenceslas and it is almost inconceivable what this meant for the ducal treasury.

Almost immediately after Johanna and Wenceslas were installed as duchess and duke, they were faced with the Brabant War of Succession. Already in August 1356, the war started with the Flemish invading Brabant through the port of Antwerp. After laying siege to this town and after destroying several smaller villages, the Flemish army decided to march onto the capital of the duchy: Brussels. An army of Brabant was gathered and they awaited the Flemish at the plain of Scheut. On the seventeenth of August 1356, this Brabant army was crushingly defeated by the Flemish. At the end of that month, many of the most important towns of Brabant had surrendered to Lodewijk van Male. Brussels, Leuven, Vilvoorde, Grimbergen, Tienen, Lier, Halen, Zoutleeuw and Nivelles had all surrendered. Only Maastricht and 's Hertogenbosch remained loyal and in the latter town, Johanna found refuge. Wenceslas took shelter with his half-brother, Karel IV, the king of the Romans. Next to the towns, there were also many nobles who took sides with Lodewijk van Male.²⁹ The situation looked hopeless for the duchess and duke, who seemed to have been cast out of their own duchy by the Flemish count.

However, what Lodewijk van Male did not bargain for, was the homesickness of his troops. After he had obtained control over the largest part of the duchy, his troops wanted to go home, by which he lacked the necessary force to control and properly annex the conquered territories. But, the true recapture of the duchy started under the impulse of Karel IV, king of the Romans, who promised to aid Johanna and Wenceslas and to send an army to Brabant. This started a chain reaction of nobles and towns who wanted Johanna and Wenceslas back and who started to rebel against the Flemish troops. At the end of October 1356, the entire duchy was nearly liberated, apart from the seigniory of Mechelen. However, Lodewijk van Male refused to accept his defeat and several peace treaties failed.

²⁷ R. Stein, *De Hertog En Zijn Staten. De Eenwording van de Bourgondische Nederlanden, Ca. 1380-1480* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), 98-99.

²⁸ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, p. 48-50.

²⁹ S. Boffa, *op. cit.*, 3-7. From that moment onwards, the seventeenth of August was known as “*quade woensdag*”.

Hostilities and tensions continued until the Peace of Ath, concluded on the fourth of June 1357, which was detrimental for the duchy. They had lost both the towns of Mechelen and Antwerp, which was a true setback for the economy in Brabant. Moreover, they lost Heusden to Willem van Beieren, count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. This seignory was enfeoffed to Willem in exchange for his aid as mediator in the peace negotiations. What is more, the treaty explicitly acknowledged that if Johanna died without a child, the duchy of Brabant would be inherited by her sister Margareta, who was the spouse of the Flemish count, or her descendants.³⁰

The Brabant War of Succession was only one of several major wars in which Brabant was involved in the second half of the fourteenth century. The other major wars, Brabant engaged with the duke of Jülich and the count of Guelders. With both of these lords, tensions arose because they did not appreciate the territorial expansion of Brabant so close to their borders. Under the rule of Johanna and Wenceslas, Brabant expanded and acquired Fauquemont in 1364 and Millen, Gangelt and Waldfeucht in 1365. Uyttebrouck wrote how these acquisitions only became a permanent part of Brabant in 1378, but their annexation must have thus begun in 1364 and 1365.³¹

With the duchy of Jülich tensions further aggravated because of the insecurity of the commercial routes leading from Brabant and Liège to Cologne. These routes were often attacked by minor German lords and the duke of Jülich did nothing to prevent this, in fact, he lent tacit support to these attacks. Wenceslas protested many times against this, yet it only aggravated the existing tensions between the two dukes. What is mostly remembered of this conflict, is the battle at Baesweiler on the twenty-second of August 1371. The Brabant army was attacked while many of the knights and soldiers were at mass. The attack came thus very unexpected and the Brabant army faced its most overwhelming defeat in the fourteenth century. Wenceslas and many nobles were imprisoned and the ransoms that were asked for the prisoners were tremendously high. According to Stein, the total ransom money can be estimated at around forty thousand pounds.³² The financial difficulties the duke and duchess had to face after this battle were immense.

With the count of Guelders, war and conflict were recurrent phenomena during the reign of Wenceslas and Johanna. The first war with Guelders took place from February 1366 until October 1368. Brabant became involved because of the sister of Johanna, Maria van Brabant, who was married to Reinoud, duke of Guelders. When Reinoud was captured and imprisoned by his brother, Edward, during the civil war in the duchy of Guelders, Maria begged Johanna and Wenceslas for assistance. Brabant began the attack on Guelders, but Edward, who was proclaimed duke of Guelders, was not averse from fighting Brabant because of the existing tensions on the Brabant expansion. However, in

³⁰ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 7-10; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 158-159; R. Stein, *De Hertog En Zijn Staten*, 98.

³¹ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement Du Duché de Brabant Au Bas Moyen Âge (1355-1430)*, vol. 1, (Brussels: ULB, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1975), 64-69; S. Boffa, *op. cit.*, 15.

³² S. Boffa, *op. cit.*, 20-24; R. Stein, *De Hertog En Zijn Staten*, 91.

the autumn of 1368, Edward was too intimidated by the force of Brabant wage an open confrontation on the battlefield. Negotiations began, which were favourable for Brabant, but Reinoud stayed in captivity.³³ The second and the third war with Guelders took place after the death of Wenceslas and therefore Johanna had to direct affairs. The second war started because the duke of Guelders, Willem I wanted to reclaim the lands of Millen, Gangelt and Walfeucht. He began the attack on Brabant and very soon hostilities and fighting concentrated around the town of Grave, which was taken by Guelders. Because of the strategic importance of the town on the border with Guelders, Brabant wanted and needed it back. The war eventually lasted for five years, from 1385 until 1390 and a peace treaty between the two duchies was made by arbitration of the king of France, Charles VI. However, the fact that a third war with Guelders started in 1397 because of an escalated quarrel in a tavern in 's Hertogenbosch, explains how deeply rooted the tensions between Guelders and Brabant were. They only needed a small provocation to explode into a new war. This third war only lasted two years, until June 1399.³⁴

To overcome these two wars Johanna asked to the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, for assistance. Boffa believes that these relations between the duchess and duke were on equal footing: “according to the events, each found their own advantage, each sought to profit from the other, and both had to resolve themselves to make concessions.” An example for this statement of Boffa can be found in his reasoning when Johanna made concessions to Philip in 1387. In exchange for aid, Johanna gave Philip fortresses and seignories in the lands of Overmaze and rights of sovereignty over the duchy of Limburg. Yet Boffa argues that this was a political victory for Brabant, because, next to the promised aid, Johanna got rid of distant territories which only caused her more financial difficulties.³⁵ For Stein on the other hand, all of these arrangements can be considered as the basis that was laid out for the further expansion of the Burgundian dukes. Philip the Bold gave Johanna financial and military aid, and raised large armies to fight against the duke of Guelders. All of this did not cost him much money, because most of it was paid for by the French crown and the subjects of Brabant. The duchess on the other hand, only became more and more indebted to the duke of Burgundy.³⁶

Next to these major wars that characterized the fourteenth century, there were also several smaller military expeditions, such as the one against Waleran van Fauquemont from 1364 until 1365, by which the seignory of Fauquemont fell into the possession of Johanna and Wenceslas. One year later in 1366, Wenceslas took it upon himself to destroy the castle of Hemmersbach, which was a meeting place for robbers. In doing so, he wanted to protect the commercial routes leading to Cologne. Wenceslas was awarded for his actions by the king of the Romans, Karel IV, with the title “*Vicaire de l'Empire en deça des monts*”. Furthermore, there was the war against Godfried III, who was the lord

³³ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 15-17.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, 30-35, 38-43.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, 31-32, 48.

³⁶ R. Stein, *De Hertog En Zijn Staten*, 37-39.

of Heinsberg. This war took place from 1368 until 1370/71 and was caused by the claim on the land of Wassenberg, which eventually fell into the hands of Wenceslas and Johanna. Some years later, from 1378 until 1379, Wenceslas became involved in a war against Liège. This was also one of his last military expeditions. After the death of Wenceslas, Johanna took up some of the causes pursued by her late husband, for example, the security of the commercial routes. When that was threatened by the lord of Reifferscheid in 1385, she decided to take action and she took his castle. It was also under the reign of Johanna that the castle of Gaasbeek was destroyed in 1388.³⁷

Warfare was a constant factor in the fourteenth century. These small enumerations written here, do not even give a complete image of all the warfare that raged in Brabant in the fourteenth century. For example, there were also several rebellions in towns, such as the ones in Brussels or Leuven. However, these enumerations do emphasise the importance of warfare and it also gives an indication of how much the pressure on the ducal treasury expanded, because Johanna and Wenceslas were already in debts at the beginning of their reign and this only worsened.

2.3 Towns of Brabant and the ascent to power

In traditional historiographical views on Brabant in the fourteenth century, such as the ones found in the works of Uyttebrouck and Van Uytven, particular attention has been given to the role of towns. In these views, the towns of Brabant tried to take advantage out of the weakness of the ducal authority, which was caused by the recurrent crises of succession and financial difficulties. Uyttebrouck adds to this the many military defeats.³⁸ This led to the creation of several charters in which relations between the duke and the subjects were spelled out. Van Uytven compared this to the creation of the *Magna Carta* in England in 1215.³⁹ Because of these evolutions, Brabant became a classical example of a political culture in which towns gained more power and independence at the expense of the ducal authority.

The two earliest documents that attest to such an evolution were already issued in the thirteenth century. These were the testaments of the dukes Hendrik II in 1248 and of Hendrik III in 1261. The purpose of these documents was to limit the arbitrary execution of the ducal authority. However, these turned out to be empty promises, because, according to Avonds, the subjects of the duke did not possess any institutionalized means to guarantee that the stipulations of these testaments were carried out.⁴⁰ Notwithstanding these empty promises, opportunities for the towns to gain power

³⁷ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 13-14, 17-18, 18-20, 27, 29, 36.

³⁸ A. Uyttebrouck, "De Politieke Rol van de Brabantse Steden in de Late Middeleeuwen," *Gemeentekrediet van België* 30, no. 115 (1976): 125.

³⁹ R. Van Uytven, "Vorst, Adel En Steden: Een Driehoeksverhouding in Brabant van de Twaalfde Tot de Zestiende Eeuw," *Bijdragen Tot de Geschiedenis* 59 (1976): 93.

⁴⁰ P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 232.

and independence were found in the financial difficulties of the dukes. For example, when Jan I asked for an extraordinary aid of the towns in 1290 and 1291, he received the aid by granting the towns privileges in return. More in particular, Van Uytven speaks of eight Brabant towns: Brussels, Leuven, 's Hertogenbosch, Antwerp, Tienen, Zoutleeuw, Lier and Herentals.⁴¹

However, the first real breakthrough took place on the twenty-seventh of September 1312 when the Charter of Kortenberg was created. This charter was concluded about a month before Jan II died. He held a meeting with towns and nobles of Brabant to make preparations for the succession by his son Jan III. The results of this meeting were spelled out in the Charter of Kortenberg. This Charter ratified the privileges bestowed upon the towns and subjects by his predecessors and it gave the subjects the necessary institutionalized means to superintend the arrangements of the two testaments of Hendrik II and Hendrik III. It established the Council of Kortenberg that existed of four knights, three representatives of the towns of Leuven, three of Brussels and each time one representative of 's Hertogenbosch, Antwerp, Zoutleeuw and Tienen. The Charter prescribed that every three weeks, the Council had to assemble. It had the mandate to watch over the correct observance of the rights of the subjects and it had to preserve the common good of the duchy. Every decision made by the Council was binding, even for the duke. Because of these arrangements, the Charter of Kortenberg is often considered as the first constitutional contract between the duke and his subjects.⁴² In theory, it was the highest instrument of state in the duchy. Representatives of the Brabantine towns held the majority of the seats in the Council.

An important feature of that time however, to which we have already referred to several times, were the ducal debts. These financial problems found repercussion in the Charter of Kortenberg as well. Already in the first article, restrictions were introduced to limit the request of extraordinary aids. Only in case of knighthood, marriage or imprisonment, it was permitted to request such an aid.⁴³ This was an important achievement for the towns, but it did not put an end to the ducal debts.

After the death of Jan II, two regents were installed to rule the duchy while Jan III was still a minor. These regents were Floris Berthout, lord of Mechelen and Geraard V, count of Jülich. Later a third regent joined the first two, this was the French prince Louis of Evreux. However, they were accused by the towns that they did not govern the duchy of Brabant for the common good and that they did nothing to put an end to the ducal debts. The dissatisfaction of the towns with the regents only grew and eventually they joined each other on the twenty-eight of July 1313 to make an alliance. This resulted in two charters, a Flemish and a Walloon Charter, both issued in 1314. These charters stipulated many financial arrangements and, in exchange for more privileges, of which some were

⁴¹ R. Van Uytven, "Standenprivileges En -Beden in Brabant Onder Jan I (1290-1293)", 413-419.

⁴² P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 17-18; P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 232-235; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 105.

⁴³ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter En de Raad van Kortenberg* (Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1952), 13.

perpetual, an extraordinary aid was granted by the land of Brabant and the regency of Jan III was prolonged until 1320. This time, the towns themselves claimed the government of the duchy.⁴⁴

It is worth mentioning here, that the extraordinary aid in this case was not only granted by the towns, but also by the abbeys of Brabant. Nevertheless, this caused much resistance with the abbeys, who even made an alliance amongst themselves on the twenty-eight of May 1314 in which they distanced themselves from the towns. This has led Avonds to be very distrustful whether the abbeys truly agreed upon the extraordinary aid of 1314. For the rest of this thesis, the clergy will not be discussed any further since they chose to act aloof and make arrangements and negotiations with the duke of Brabant as a separate group, and this especially after 1450.⁴⁵ One could almost argue that the towns of Brabant, which were represented by “*de 7 stede*” or the “*seven vrij steden*”, sometimes also called the capital towns of Brabant, Brussels, Leuven, Antwerp, ‘s Hertogenbosch, Tienen, Nivelles and Zoutleuw,⁴⁶ ruled out all the other powers in the political scene of Brabant, at least until 1320.

To continue the story of how these aforesaid towns gained more power and influence in Brabant through the issuance of charters, we must proceed to the role of these towns during the Brabant War of Succession. Threatened by this war and the division of the territory of Brabant, they allied themselves on the eight of March 1355, to strengthen the unity of the duchy and to put up resistance in case of a division of the territory after the death of Jan III. Under the influence of the towns, 139 knights did the same thing on the seventeenth of May of that same year.⁴⁷ In making this alliance, they, in a way, made public under what circumstances they would accept a new ruler. Furthermore, the fact that it was under the impulse of the towns that those knights made a similar alliance, points out the importance and influence of these towns. Their demand for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the duchy was eventually admitted in the charter of the *Blijde Inkomst* of 1356. In essence, this charter was a confirmation and an extension of the arrangements made and the privileges granted in the preceding charters of 1312, 1314 and the two testaments. This lead Avonds to conclude that the towns acted in this way as “king makers”, both in 1356 and in 1314 when they took over the regency for Jan III.⁴⁸ Be that as it may: how much of this power was real?

2.3.1 *Power and towns: true ascent or dead letter?*

Lodewijk van Velthem described how the Charter of Kortenberg was not observed for a very

⁴⁴ P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 19, 23-27, 31-33, 44-51; P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 221-223; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 105.

⁴⁵ P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 47-48; R. Van Uytven, “Vorst, Adel En Steden”, 94.

⁴⁶ R. Van Uytven, “Standenprivileges En -Beden in Brabant Onder Jan I (1290-1293)”, 419; P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 202.

⁴⁷ P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek : Brabant Tijdens de Regering van Hertog Jan III (1312-1356)” (PhD, Ghent University, 1981), vol. 2, 714; P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 222.

⁴⁸ R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 161; P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 223.

long time and he does not even mention its Council. Both Avonds and Stein agreed upon the fact that the Council of Kortenberg did never maintain the undisputed position as was intended at its creation. For years after the enactment of the Charter of Kortenberg, there was no Council. However, the Charter and the position of the Council were several times reconfirmed. The first time this happened, was on the seventeenth of August 1332. Jan III needed an extraordinary aid and in exchange for this aid, he reconfirmed the Charter. This was the first time the Council was truly installed, but little is known of its activity due to a lack of sources. According to Avonds, this was quite compatible with the politics carried out by Jan III who wanted to restore the ducal power, preferably without a controlling institution such as the Council of Kortenberg.⁴⁹

Things might have changed with the charter of the *Blijde Inkomst* of 1356. In the constitutional history of Brabant, this is considered as a document of the greatest significance, but it turned out to be a dead letter. The meaning and arrangements of the charter became worthless because, during the War of Succession, the towns of Brabant had nearly all abandoned Johanna and Wenceslas. After this war, many towns wanted to be pardoned for their disloyal behaviour and they kept more of a low-profile.⁵⁰ However, the defeat at Baesweiler gave the towns another opportunity to gain more power. Wenceslas was in great need of money to pay for the ransoms of his captured knights. He found this money with the towns, who only granted Wenceslas an extraordinary aid in exchange for the reconfirmation, not of the charter of the *Blijde Inkomst*, which was no longer legally valid, but of the Walloon Charter and the Charter of Kortenberg. These reconfirmations took place on the seventeenth of September 1372. In doing so, the basic principles of the charter of the *Blijde Inkomst* were also reconfirmed.⁵¹ However, the revival of the Charter and the Council of Kortenberg did not last very long. At the end of 1375 and the beginning of 1376, the Council of Kortenberg disappeared for once and for all. The reason for this disappearance is not clear.⁵²

It cannot be denied that the evolution of the power and influence of the towns of Brabant was remarkable for the fourteenth century. It explains why many historians focussed on the towns of Brabant, but referring to the introduction of a “parliamentary system”, as is suggested by Van Uytven, can be questioned.⁵³ The texts of these charters conferred power to the towns, but these regulations were hardly executed. What can be argued, was that the most important means to make demands and claim privileges, was the fact that the towns could grant extraordinary aids. The one question that now remains, is what position the nobility occupied during this long fourteenth century in which both the dukes and towns struggled for power.

⁴⁹ R. Stein, *De Hertog En Zijn Staten*, 170; P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 240-243, 264.

⁵⁰ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 83-84.

⁵¹ R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 161-162.

⁵² A. Uytbrouck, “De Politieke Rol van de Brabantse Steden in de Late Middeleeuwen,” 126.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, 129.

3 NOBILITY IN BRABANT

Studies on the nobility in Brabant, such as the ones of Ernest Warlop and Frederik Buylaert for the county of Flanders, do not exist. Especially for the fourteenth century, it is remarkable how often studies go silent on the nobility of that period. In fact, many historians write how we are still waiting for conclusive and specialized studies on the Brabant nobility and, in particular, on the nobility of the fourteenth century.⁵⁴ What can be noticed, is a general trend in historiography to reduce the significance of this nobility at the expense of the towns. For example, Van Uytven simply wrote that during the fourteenth century the towns influenced the dukes for their own benefits, something that was made possible because of their financial means, and they acted as pioneers with regard to the nobility.⁵⁵ This statement seems to be absolutely true when we consider the composition of the Council of Kortenberg, in which only four knights were admitted in comparison to ten representatives of the towns. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, this example gives a distorted image, because the Council of Kortenberg was never properly executed. In the short time of its existence, from 1372 until 1376, there were already several tensions between the interests of the nobility and the ones of the towns. For example, the *baanrots* Jan III van Rotselaar acted in his seigniorship as an haughty and severe lord, which can be, according to Bart Minnen, ascribed to the prominent position of Jan III. He was also known as a councillor of the duke and duchess. In 1375, this conduct led him to refuse the extradition of some arrested *poorters* of Leuven, by which he even endangered the functioning of the Council.⁵⁶ Whether Jan III van Rotselaar had something to do with the definitive ending of the Council one year later, is not known. However, this example indicates how displays of power by noblemen did occur in the fourteenth century, although these have never been properly analysed.

3.1 Powerful aristocracy

To understand the role of the nobility in the long fourteenth century, we need to go back to the beginning. This beginning of the duchy of Brabant can be situated in 1106, when Godfried I, count of Leuven, received the titles ‘duke of Lower-Lotharingia’ and ‘margrave of Antwerp’. The rest of the twelfth century was characterized by a process, which Eduard Van Ermen described as “the

⁵⁴ See: S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, p. 123; R. Van Uytven, “De Brabantse Adel Als Politieke En Sociale Groep Tijdens de Late Middeleeuwen,” in *De Adel in Het Hertogdom Brabant*, ed. J. Verbesselt et al. (Brussels: UFSAL, Centrum Brabantse Geschiedenis, 1985), 75.

⁵⁵ R. Van Uytven, “Vorst, Adel En Steden”, 99.

⁵⁶ B. Minnen, “Adellijke Dorpsprivileges in Brabant in de Late Middeleeuwen: De Privilegereeksen Voor de Heerlijkheden Rotselaar, Vorselaar En Retie (1407-1558),” *Jaarboek Voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 3 (2000), 224.

territorialisation of the principalities of Lorraine”. This entailed the formation of the duchy of Brabant in the configuration that was held by duke Jan I and his successors. However, Godfried I and his successors had many difficulties to exert control in the duchy. They were faced with several significant powers which they had to eliminate first, before Brabant was unified as a duchy. For example, some of these powers were the lords of Kuyc, the counts of Aarschot, and the family of the Berthouts with the land of Grimbergen and Mechelen. The patrimony of the lords of Grimbergen was an allodium and, around 1110, the extend of this patrimony was of such considerable size that it could be compared to the property of no one else but the counts of Leuven or the later dukes of Brabant. Confrontation between the dukes and the lords of Grimbergen could not be avoided and it led to a series of wars that came to be known as the ‘*Grimbergse oorlog*’, which lasted until 1159. Duke Godfried II even wrote that this was the last great resistance against the unification of Brabant.⁵⁷ Apart from the fact that the dukes won this war and that they succeeded in unifying the duchy, this example illustrates that they were not the most powerful men of their time. There was a strong local aristocracy, which the dukes wanted to subject. The dukes especially tried to limit the influence and authority of old and powerful families, because their power can be seen as a threat to the ducal authority. There were three manners in which this subjection took place. Firstly, by having them convert their allodia into feudal holdings. Often this conversion happened as an obligation of the dukes, for example, after the arrangements of disputes. Secondly, by limiting the expansive inclinations of the local aristocracy, and thirdly, by specific marital politics. In adhering these three guiding principles, the dukes consolidated the formation of the duchy of Brabant, both internally and externally. According to Van Ermen, this led to the creation of a true Brabant nobility at the end of the thirteenth century. As a result, the nobles who fought at the battle of Woeringen were foremost identified as Brabant noblemen.⁵⁸

However, notwithstanding the consolidation and diffusion of ducal authority, there were still certain seigniories, for example, Breda, Grimbergen, Mechelen and Diest, where ducal authority could hardly compete with the authority of the lords of those seigniories.⁵⁹ It indicates how the nobles in Brabant have always been a strong element in the Brabantine society. Some of these nobles were very close to the dukes of Brabant. For the twelfth and thirteenth century, the work of Godfried Croenen is enlightening on this subject, because he examined the participation of nobles in the entourage of the

⁵⁷ G. Croenen, “Governing Brabant in the Twelfth Century: The Duke, His Household and the Nobility,” in *Secretum Scriptorum Liber Alumnorum Walter Prevenier* (Leuven: Garant, 1999), 39-40; E. Van Ermen, “Heerlijkheden in Het Hertogdom Brabant in de 13de Eeuw,” *Brabantse Folklore* 253 (1987), 55; J. Verbesselt, “De Oudste Brabantse Adel En Feodaliteit,” in *De Adel in Het Hertogdom Brabant*, ed. J. Verbesselt et al. (Brussels: UFSAL, Centrum Brabantse Geschiedenis, 1985), 16, 31-32; J. A. Coldewey, *De Heren van Kuyc 1096-14000*, Bijdragen Tot de Geschiedenis van Het Zuiden van Nederland 50 (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1981), 58.

⁵⁸ G. Croenen, “Governing Brabant in the Twelfth Century”, 41-42; E. Van Ermen, “Heerlijkheden in Het Hertogdom Brabant in de 13de Eeuw,” 57-58.

⁵⁹ G. Croenen, “Governing Brabant in the Twelfth Century”, 42.

dukes in those centuries by means of a closer analysis of the witness lists to ducal charters. For the twelfth century, he found out how the entourage of the dukes consisted of three social groups: *ministeriales*, noblemen and ecclesiastics. Within this entourage of the dukes, Croenen detected a group of witnesses that appeared more frequent in ducal charters than others. He denominated this group the 'core group' of witnesses. This core group as well, consisted of *ministeriales*, noblemen and ecclesiastics. However, it can be noticed that the *ministeriales* formed a larger share of the entourage, both in the more general entourage as in the core group. In the core group the *ministeriales* represented fifty-five percent of all the witnesses, compared to thirty-five percent for the nobles and ten percent for the ecclesiastics. The share of these ecclesiastics does not change much in the thirteenth century. In studying the thirteenth century, Croenen changes the terminology of the classification. As opposed to the ecclesiastics, he put forward the aristocracy that consists of both nobles and representatives of the class of knights, which is, according to Croenen, nothing else but the former *ministeriales*. Both groups are equally represented. This aristocracy represents eighty percent of the 'active witnesses' and ninety percent of the 'very active witnesses'.⁶⁰ By distinguishing the *ministeriales* and nobles for the twelfth century and by combining them for the thirteenth, Croenen touches one of the most polemic discourses of the study of nobility, which is the distinction and merger of nobles, knights and *ministeriales*.

3.1.1 Social distinctions: nobles, knights and *ministeriales*

For Brabant, it suffices to say that the development of the *ministeriales* was most considerable compared to other territories of the Holy Roman Empire. It is exactly because of the link with the Empire, that Brabant had a tradition of *ministeriales* because they were unique to medieval Germany. For example, the county of Flanders knew *ministeriales* as well, but their appearance was very short and their development was not comparable to the one in Brabant.⁶¹ *Ministeriales* were characterized by their unfree or half-free origin. In Brabant, they served the duke in military or administrative matters, and some also exercised offices at court. Because of their functions they acquired more prestige and in the twelfth century they even started to adopt the lifestyle of nobles. This led to an

⁶⁰ G. Croenen, "Governing Brabant in the Twelfth Century", 48-57; G. Croenen, "L'entourage Des Ducs de Brabant Au XIIIe Siècle. Nobles, Chevaliers et Clercs Dans Les Chartes Ducales (1235-1267)," in *A L'ombre Du Pouvoir: Les Entourages Princiers Au Moyen Age*, ed. A. Marchandise and J. Kupper (Geneva: Droz, 2003), 279, 283.

⁶¹ F.L. Ganshof, *Etude Sur Les Ministeriales En Flandre et En Lotharingie* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1926), 78-80, 336; J.B. Freed, "The Origins of the European Nobility: The Problem of the Ministerials," *Viator* 7 (1976), 214; For more insights on the German ministeriality see also: B. Arnold, "Instruments of Power: The Profile and Profession of Ministeriales within German Aristocratic Society, 1050-1225," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, by T. N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1995), 36-55.

evolution during the thirteenth century, in which the difference between *ministeriales* and nobles had disappeared.⁶²

As already suggested by Croenen, some of these *ministeriales* were also knights. A mergence between knighthood and nobility did also occur in Brabant, but this evolution was different compared to the one of its neighbours. To study this mergence, the work of George Duby is indispensable. He found how the mergence between knighthood and nobility took place in the region of Mâcon, in France, at the end of the tenth century. This mergence was completed in the eleventh century, but when Duby directed his attention to the north and the east, for example, Namur, Guelders and Hainault, it became apparent that such a mergence only took place in the thirteenth century.⁶³ To write down all the critiques to this theory would lead us too far from the purpose of this thesis. It merely indicates the difference that existed with the evolution in Brabant. Paul Bonenfant and Georges Despy found how before 1200 there were no knights within noble families. According to the two scholars, it was under the influence of the emergence of orders of knighthood in Brabant, that noblemen started to receive the accolade to become knights. This might have started an evolution to a mergence between knights and noblemen.⁶⁴ However, the distinction between noblemen and knights who were non-nobles remained. Van Uytven wrote how it was only in the middle of the fourteenth century that knights were considered to be noblemen, but there was a distinct order. For example, noblemen who were not knighted in that period, were considered as second-class noblemen.⁶⁵ Furthermore, nobility was not a feature that was obtained easily: non-nobles who were knighted acquired some kind of “temporarily” nobility, which was limited to the knight himself and possibly his children. In Brabant, nobility by knighthood could not be passed down through several generations. Only in the fifteenth century, it was possible to obtain a hereditary noble status by knighthood.⁶⁶

Van Uytven distinguished, in vague categories, three groups of nobles in Brabant in the fourteenth century. He denominated the first group as a ‘supergroup’, which only consisted of landlords and relatives of the ducal dynasty. The second group consisted of the great vassals of the duke and the third group were the regular knights.⁶⁷ It is in this layered society that the *baanrotsen* found their place. It was even suggested by Van Uytven that the formation of the title of *baanrots* was

⁶² E. Van Ermen, “De Familie van Wezemaal (ca. 1166-1464): Een Synthese van Drie Eeuwen Familiegeschiedenis,” in *De Adel in Het Hertogdom Brabant*, ed. J. Verbesselt et al. (Brussels: UFSAL, Centrum Brabantse Geschiedenis, 1985), 47.

⁶³ G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (California: University of California Press, 1977), 158-162.

⁶⁴ P. Bonenfant and G. Despy, “La Noblesse En Brabant Au XIIIe et XIIIe Siècles. Quelques Sondages,” *Le Moyen Age. Revue D’histoire et de Philologie* 64 (1958): 35-40.

⁶⁵ R. Van Uytven, “De Brabantse Adel Als Politieke En Sociale Groep”, 75-76.

⁶⁶ P. De Win, “Queeste Naar de Rechtspositie van de Edelman in de Bourgondische Nederlanden,” *Tijdschrift Voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 3, no. 53 (1985), 259; A. Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland. Macht, Rijkdom En Status in Een Laatmiddeleeuwse Samenleving* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 39.

⁶⁷ R. Van Uytven, *op. cit.*, 75-76.

a conscious creation, to dissociate the descendants of the old thirteenth-century nobility and the holders of important seignories from knights who recently became noblemen.⁶⁸

3.2 Continuation in the fourteenth century?

I have put a question mark after this subtitle because this is a question that will also be further examined in the course of this thesis. What can be remarked thus far, is a certain continuation in the entourage of the dukes. An interesting example is Jan III van Rotselaar, who was mentioned already at the beginning of this chapter. Jan III was the hereditary seneschal or *drossaard* of Brabant. This function can be traced back to his ancestor Arnold I van Rotselaar. References to Arnold I can be found from 1107 until 1140 and he became the seneschal of duke Godfried I.⁶⁹ 1107 was the first year in which references to a seneschal appeared and this office remained in the family of the Rotselaars. It was only in 1227 that the first references to a second seneschal were found. This was the appointed seneschal, in contrast to the hereditary seneschal. Originally, it was the hereditary seneschal's duty to serve the prince at the table, but in the course of time this became more of a ceremonial duty and apparently it remained the only official office of the hereditary seneschal.⁷⁰ Arnold I and Jan III both executed this office, even though they were separated by more than two centuries and even though Arnold I belonged to the unfree *ministeriales* and Jan III to the *baanrotsen*, as a member of the highest nobility. Whether there was a connection between the evolution of a family into the nobility and the evolution of an office that became more ceremonial, is a subject for future research.

However, the family of the Rotselaars was not a unique case: they were not the only family who underwent the evolution from *ministeriales* to nobility, or *baanrotsen* in specific. Similar developments can be found with, for example, the families of Boutersem, Wezemaal and Walhain.⁷¹ The latter family in particular gives another example of continuity in the ducal entourage. In the twelfth century the family of Walhain belonged to the core group of witnesses in ducal charters. At that time, they were still denominated as *ministeriales*.⁷² However, the Walhains kept on having an important position in the duchy and their names often reoccurred in ducal charters. At the end of the thirteenth century, references can be found to Arnold V van Walhain, who was denoted as a *baanrots*.

The dukes of Brabant surrounded themselves with a small group, or in the terminology of Croenen, a core group of people whom they trusted and consulted. This was called the *curia ducis*. From the thirteenth century onwards these people were denominated as 'councillors'. The ducal

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, 76.

⁶⁹ F.L. Ganshof, *Etude Sur Les Ministeriales*, 83; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 725-726.

⁷⁰ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 95-96.

⁷¹ For the *baanrotsen* of these families, see the appendix of this thesis. For the *ministeriales* of these families, see: F. L. Ganshof, *Etude Sur Les Ministeriales*, 80-82, 105, 127.

⁷² G. Croenen, "Governing Brabant in the Twelfth Century", 53.

council originated out of the *curia ducis* and it evolved into a structured council during the reign of duke Jan III. Both Avonds and Uyttebrouck studied the composition of the ducal council in the fourteenth century. In both of these works it appears that the nobility composed the largest part of the ducal council.⁷³ When we add to this the work of Croenen for the twelfth and thirteenth century, it becomes clear how important the nobility, with the former *ministeriales* included, has always been to the dukes of Brabant and how it is unjustified to dismiss the role of this nobility in the fourteenth century in favour of the towns of Brabant.

⁷³ P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 95, 126-137; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 1, 271, 274.

4 THE FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH *BAANROTSSEN* IN BRABANT

4.1 The sources

4.1.1 Narrative sources

The first and oldest references to *baanrotsen* in the duchy of Brabant can be found in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu on the battle of Woeringen. As already mentioned, this chronicle was written between the actual battle in 1288 and the wedding of Jan II with Margareta of England in 1290.⁷⁴ This is the oldest reference, but it does not necessarily indicate that the introduction of the title took place in 1288 as well. The actual title might have been much older, even though the chronicle of Van Heelu is the first source in which the title was ascribed to individuals.⁷⁵ *Baanrotsen* were denoted by Van Heelu by means of “*banieren*”, “*baenrotse*” or “*standaerde*”.⁷⁶ In his chronicle there are references to twenty-three *baanrotsen*. The names of these *baanrotsen* can all be found in the appendix. This is already a great number, because in the few studies on *baanrotsen* their number is always estimated much smaller. Van Uytven started from a passage in the *Brabantsche Yeesten* by Jan van Boendale to make the estimation that there were only some fifteen *baanrotsen* in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Damen made a similar estimation for the fifteenth century, in which he counted fifteen to twenty *baanrotsen*.⁷⁷ The number of *baanrotsen* that I have encountered through the research for this thesis far outnumbers all the previous estimations.

A second narrative source which cannot be neglected in this thesis, is the *Brabantsche Yeesten*. It is a chronicle that originated a few years after the chronicle of Van Heelu. The *Brabantsche Yeesten* consists of seven books, of which the first five books have been written by the Antwerp civil clerk Jan van Boendale. In 1312, he was ordered by Willem Bronecolve to write about the lineage of the dukes of Brabant from 600 until his own time, 1316. Since the emphasis in that part of the chronicle is put on continuity in the dynasty, Frits Van Oostrom suggested a link between the commission of the *Brabantsche Yeesten* and the crisis in the ducal dynasty of 1312. Between 1316 and

⁷⁴ R. Sleiderink, *De Stem van de Meester*, 88.

⁷⁵ This same argument was applied by Antheun Janse in his critique on the theory of Hans Brokken on the introduction of the title of *baanrots* in the county of Holland and Zeeland. This will be discussed in the following chapter. See also: A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland: Portret van Een Adellijke Elite in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), 84.

⁷⁶ It is in the work of Godfried Croenen that confirmation is found that “*standaerde*” is a synonym for *baanrots*. See: G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 327.

⁷⁷ R. Van Uytven, “De Brabantse Adel Als Politieke En Sociale Groep”, 76-78; M. Damen, “Heren Met Banieren”, 156.

the year in which he presumably died, 1351, Van Boendale made several additions and revisions to the chronicle.⁷⁸ The sixth and seventh book were commissioned by the town of Brussels and, until not so long ago, the assumption was adopted that these were written by an anonymous author. However, Astrid Houthuys found how these were in fact written by a collaboration of three men: Petrus de Thimo, Emond de Dynter and Wein van Cotthem. This theory is adopted by Robert Stein. The sixth book of the continuation of the *Brabantsche Yeesten* was finished in 1432, the seventh book in 1441.⁷⁹

Of these seven books, only the fifth and sixth narrate the events of the fourteenth century and were subjected to a search for *baanrotsen*. Since there were only two chapters found in these books which included descriptions of *baanrotsen*, the fourth and seventh book were also examined. The fourth was chosen because it included the narration of the battle of Woeringen. However, no references to *baanrotsen* were found in this book. The seventh book seemed interesting because it encompasses the beginning of the fifteenth century, which is a time period for which historians have already found some *baanrotsen*. This book provided one more description. This makes up a total of three chapters in four books of the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, in which fourteen *baanrotsen* can be discerned. They were all clearly denominated by Van Boendale as “*baanrotsen*”. Considering the scale of this chronicle compared to the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, fourteen is a rather small number.

The first of these three chapters was written by Jan van Boendale himself in the fifth book. It deals with the defeat of the French army at Kortrijk in the battle of the Gulden Spurs in 1302.⁸⁰ Brabant became involved in this battle because of Godfried van Aarschot, who participated together with several knights and squires. As the brother of Jan I, Godfried wanted to take the place of his nephew, Jan II, as duke of Brabant. He thought an alliance with the king of France would aid his ambition, and would one day make him hold Brabant as a fief of the king of France.⁸¹ What Godfried did not foresee was the defeat of the French troops and together with his son, and several of his men, Godfried died in this battle. Among these victims were three *baanrotsen*.

The second chapter was written by the continuators of Jan van Boendale and it narrates an episode of the third war with Guelders. When word had reached duchess Johanna in 1397 that the duke of Guelders was planning an attack on Brabant and was gathering his army, Johanna decided to send eight *baanrotsen* to ‘s Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy.⁸²

⁷⁸ P. Avonds, *De Grote Politieke Krisissen*, 176; R. Stein, “Jan van Boendales Brabantsche Yeesten: Antithese of Synthese?,” *Bijdragen En Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis Der Nederlanden* 106, no. 1 (1991). 185-187; F.P. Van Oostrom, *Wereld in Woorden: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur, 1300-1400* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2013), 146; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 136-137.

⁷⁹ A. Houthuys, *Middeleeuws Kladwerk: De Autograaf van de Brabantsche Yeesten, Boek VI (vijftiende Eeuw)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009), 28-31; R. Stein, “Regional Chronicles In Composite Monarchy,” *Publications Du Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes* 54 (2014), 19.

⁸⁰ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 1, 420, 422, v. 234-235.

⁸¹ P. Trio, “Vlaanderen de Leeuw: Het Relaa van de Slag Bij Kortrijk Opnieuw Aan de Bronnen Getoetst,” in *Omtrent 1302*, ed. P. Trio, D. Heirbaut, and D. Van den Auweele (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2002), 95.

⁸² J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten of Rymkronyk van Brabant*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2 (Brussels: Hayez, 1843), 334, 339.

The last and third chapter with a description of *baanrotsen* can be found in the seventh book. It narrated how a regency council was installed from November 1415 until August 1417, because Jan IV was at that time considered too young to rule the duchy. This regency council consisted of two representatives of the clergy, three *baanrotsen*, two knights and the representatives of the most important towns of Brabant: Leuven, Brussels, Antwerp and ‘s Hertogenbosch.⁸³

A third narrative source, which is next to the chronicles of Jan van Heelu and Jan van Boendale, characteristic of the historiography of medieval Brabant, is the *Spiegel Historiae*. More in particular, the continuation of the chronicle of Jacob van Maerlant by Lodewijk van Velthem. Lodewijk van Velthem must have lived between 1270 and 1326. He was a parish priest in Zichem, but from 1312 onwards, he practiced this office in Velthem. In 1316, he added a continuation to the *Spiegel Histiae* that started with the election of Willem II of Holland as King of the Romans in 1248, and it ended with the events of his own time in 1316. As many other chroniclers of his time, Van Velthem relied on other chronicles and narratives, but he especially relied on the chronicle of Jan van Heelu.⁸⁴ The continuation by Van Velthem is in this thesis not used as a primary source because *baanrotsen* were not as clearly identified by Van Velthem in comparison to the ones found in the chronicles of Van Heelu and Van Boendale. Most often they were denoted by the word “*baniere*”, but sometimes Van Velthem also used the word “*banrutse*”. What is more, the majority of the *baanrotsen* that were identified by Van Velthem, can be found in the other two chronicles as well. For the study and identification of *baanrotsen* in the long fourteenth century, Lodewijk van Velthem does not have many innovating elements to add.

4.1.2 Diplomatic sources

A method that is used by many historians to examine activities of noblemen is studying the subscriptions of diplomatic sources. It is a method that Avonds used to examine the councillors and their activities in Brabant under the reign of duke Jan III. It is also used by Croenen to study the entourage of the dukes in the twelfth and thirteenth century and it was also adopted by Janse in his study on the nobility of Holland in the thirteenth century.⁸⁵ To acquire a more representative image on

⁸³ J. van Boendale, “Brabantsche Yeesten (naar de Editie van J.F. Willems En J.H. Bormans Uit 1839-1869).,” dbnl, XLVI. *Vanden Elleven Die Totten Regiminte Hertogen Jans van Brabant Ghestelt Woorden.*, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/boen001brab01_01_0355.php ; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 165.

⁸⁴ R. Sleiderink, “Lodewijk van Velthem,” in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. R. G. Dunphy (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), vol. 2, 1041.

⁸⁵ P. Avonds, Land En Instellingen; G. Croenen, “Governing Brabant in the Twelfth Century”; G. Croenen, “L’entourage Des Ducs de Brabant”; The methodology of Janse becomes really clear in: A. Janse, “Adel En Ridderschap in de Tweede Helft van de Dertiende Eeuw,” in *Wi Florens ...: De Hollandse Graaf Floris V in de Sameleving van de Dertiende Eeuw*, by D. E. H. De Boer and E. H. P. Cordfunke (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1996), 154–72.

baanrotsen in the duchy of Brabant in the fourteenth century, this method was also adopted for this thesis. However, since a broad research, such as the ones of Avonds, Croenen and Janse, was not possible within the scope of this thesis, only the subscriptions of a limited amount of charters could have been studied. For this reason the inventory composed by Alphonse Verkooren, was used. Nevertheless, this inventory was still too voluminous to study in its entirety. A selection was thus made of the many volumes that covered the long fourteenth century, with special attention that the most important dates in the history of the duchy were covered. It must be emphasised that not all the charters and documents that were produced in this long fourteenth century, concerning or originating from Brabant, were studied. After examining four books of the inventory, thirteen references were found to charters or cartularies in which the title of *baanrots* occurs within the subscriptions. To indicate, at random, the representativeness of the inventory, two editions of such charters were also used. Only eight of these thirteen references included the actual names of *baanrotsen*.⁸⁶

Immediately an enormous difference with the references to *baanrotsen* in chronicles is noticeable. While the first reference in chronicles to names of *baanrotsen* is found in 1288, it is only in 1357 that the first reference in diplomatic sources for Brabant occurs. This means that it took more than sixty years before the title of *baanrots* made its entrance in the diplomatic sources.

The first two descriptions, that were found in the inventory with references to names of *baanrotsen*, are adopted from cartularies and can be treated together, because they are both related to the Brabant War of Succession. The first one originated the fifth of May 1357 and it laid down in writing the sworn alliance that was made between Willem van Beieren, count of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland and lord of Friesland, and the count of Flanders, Lodewijk van Male. Willem van Beieren promised to compel Wenceslas and Johanna, with force if necessary, to execute the stipulations of the peace negotiations that he promised to deliver on the fourth of June 1357, a date that is also known as the Peace of Ath. Several towns and lords of Holland and Zeeland promised to aid Willem van Beieren in his vow, among whom five *baanrotsen*. Only one of these *baanrotsen* belonged to the Brabant nobility. This was Jan II van Polanen, lord of Leck and Breda.⁸⁷ The second note of the cartulary originated a few days before the Peace of Ath, more in particular, on the first of June 1357. It described how Wenceslas and Johanna gave Willem van Beieren the power to negotiate peace between themselves and Lodewijk van Male. They promised to reconcile themselves to whatever was

⁸⁶ The four selected books are: A. Verkooren, *Inventaire Des Chartes et Cartulaires Des Duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et Des Pays d'Outre-Meuse: Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (800–1312), 2 vols. (Brussels: Archives générales du royaume, 1961); A. Verkooren, *Inventaire Des Chartes et Cartulaires Des Duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et Des Pays d'Outre-Meuse: Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 2 vols. (Brussels: Archives générales du royaume, 1961); A. Verkooren, *Inventaire Des Chartes et Cartulaires Des Duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et Des Pays d'Outre-Meuse: Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 2 vols. (Brussels: Archives générales du royaume, 1961); A. Verkooren, *Inventaire Des Chartes et Cartulaires Des Duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et Des Pays d'Outre-Meuse: Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1396-1404), 2 vols. (Brussels: Archives générales du royaume, 1961).

⁸⁷ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 125; Biographical information on Jan II van Polanen can be found in the appendix.

decided at the Peace of Ath. At the request of Johanna and Wenceslas, several *baanrotsen*, knights and towns engaged themselves to this peace and they attached their seals to the original charter. The description in the inventory of Verkooren includes the names of six “*seigneurs bannerets et chevaliers*” from Brabant. In the original charter, the denomination “*baenrodsen ende riddren*” was used.⁸⁸

One of the most important diplomatic sources in which references can be found to *baanrotsen* in Brabant, is the reconfirmation of the Charter of Kortenberg and the Walloon Charter that was issued on the seventeenth of September 1372. The meaning of this reconfirmation and the context of its origin, is already elaborated in the previous chapter on the towns of Brabant. This reconfirmation charter is recorded in the inventory of Verkooren. However, in comparison to the edition of the actual charter, Verkooren added one name to the list of *baanrotsen* in this charter. In particular, he added “*Gilbert de Grez [seigneur de Malèves]*”, yet this Gilbert had already passed away in 1364. For this reason, it is the edition made by Joseph Van der Straeten that will be studied in the following pages. The number of subscriptions on this charter is tremendous. It mentions “*magen ende vrunden*”, “*raitsluden*”, “*getruwen*”, “*banrotschen*”, “*ridderen*”, “*knapen*”, “*steden ende vrieheiden*”, and several lords who were not categorized in one of these groups.⁸⁹ The charter recorded the names of forty-one *baanrotsen*. It is the largest group of *baanrotsen* found thus far.

The fourth description in the inventory with references to names of *baanrotsen* is a note in a Brabant cartulary, entitled “*Staet hoe men eenes princen begenkennisse doet*” and it describes the ceremony of the funeral of Wenceslas. There is no date indicated on this note, but according to Verkooren it must have originated around the seventh of December 1383, when Wenceslas died. Sixteen names are mentioned in this note, of which can be assumed that they were *baanrotsen*.⁹⁰

These are the four most important diplomatic sources because of the number of *baanrotsen* found in the notes and because of their meaning for the history of Brabant. The other four references to *baanrotsen* are smaller. For example, Verkooren added a description in his inventory from the tenth of October 1357, in which is written that Wenceslas and Johanna declared how Regnier, or Roost, van Disternich, a knight, became a vassal of the duchy of Limburg. Beneath his description Verkooren added the comment that something was written on the back of this document: “*Her Jan banritz van Molenarck (seigneur banneret de Müllenark)*”.⁹¹ Whether this was written in 1357 as well, or whether this was put on the back of the document later, is not known. Neither is anything known about the role of Jan van Mülenarck in this process of vassalage. Henny Denessen, in his work on *baanrotsen* in the

⁸⁸ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 126; J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 542-543.

⁸⁹ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 181-182; J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 32-44; A. Wauters, *La Belgique Ancienne et Moderne: Géographie et Histoire Des Communes Belges. Province de Brabant. Canton de Wavre*. (Brussels, 1863), 234.

⁹⁰ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 221-222.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 129.

duchy of Guelders, mentioned a certain “*Johan baenritz van Moelenarcken*”, who was councillor to the dukes Willem and Reinoud of Jülich and Guelders in the nineties from the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁹² It is debatable whether the *baanrots* of Denessen is the same *baanrots* as the one described in 1357. However, the inventory of Verkooren further revealed two other descriptions in which Jan van Mülenarck was also described as a *baanrots*, but they referred to documents originated at the end of the fourteenth century. One can be found in the description of a receipt, in which “*Jean, seigneur banneret de Müllenarke*” acted in the name of Johanna. The original receipt was issued on the twenty-fifth of November 1384.⁹³ The other description refers to a charter that was issued on the ninth of June 1399. This was one of the final accords that ended the third war with Guelders. The charter regulated that the town of Grave and all its dependencies would shift from Brabant to Willem van Kuyc as a fief. Willem van Kuyc was the bastard son of the duke of Guelders, by which this charter can be interpreted as a victory for Guelders. At the request of the duke of Guelders several men attached their seal to this charter and “*Jean, seigneur banneret et de Müllenark*” was one of these men.⁹⁴ It seems more plausible that the Jan van Mülenarck, described in the documents of 1384 and 1399, corresponds more to the Johan van Moelenarcken described by Denessen, than the Jan in the document of 1357. However, further research must make clear whether these were two different persons. For now, all that can be concluded is that there was a *baanrots* with the name Jan van Mülenarck, who originated from Guelders, but had ties both with Guelders and Brabant.

The last small reference to the name of a *baanrots* can again be found in a receipt. It was issued on the twenty-fifth of October 1388. It records the confirmation of a payment made by Johanna and the towns of Brabant to Regnier van Herzele, which was due to him “*pour avoir servi le pays sous la bannière du seigneur de Boechout*”.⁹⁵ This passage implicitly defines the lord of Bouchout as a *baanrots*. At that time, this lord was Jan van Bouchout, castellan of Brussels.⁹⁶ A confirmation for his title of *baanrots* can also be found in the note in the Brabant cartulary on the funeral of Wenceslas.

This search for *baanrotsen* in diplomatic sources turned out to be a difficult and long search, but it was not fruitless. *Baanrotsen* did appear in diplomatic sources in Brabant, even though the sources are scarce.

⁹² H. Denessen, “De Gelderse Bannerheren in de Vijftiende Eeuw,” *Virtus. Journal of Nobility Studies* 20 (2013): 21-22.

⁹³ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 30.

⁹⁴ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1396-1404), 98. Biographical information on the *baanrots* Jan van Mülenarck can be found in the appendix.

⁹⁵ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 150.

⁹⁶ Biographical information on the *baanrots* Jan van Bouchout can be found in the appendix.

4.2 Functions of *baanrotsen*

4.2.1 *Military functions*

The most straightforward source to indicate the military function of *baanrotsen*, is the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, because the subject of this chronicle already reveals the context in which *baanrotsen* were described. Each time these *baanrotsen* are mentioned, the emphasis is put on their military function. This is already expressed with the first two *baanrotsen* that are explicitly named, Hendrik van Gaasbeek and Arnold V van Diest. They were described as leaders in a great battle between Tricht and Wijk, which took place some time before the battle of Woeringen. In this battle Hendrik and Arnold V commanded a troop of knights and sergeants. This exact same passage is copied, without any innovations or additions, by Lodewijk van Velthem in his continuation of the *Spiegel Historiael*.⁹⁷ However, apart from the extensive praise on the honour and pugnacity of those two *baanrotsen*, Van Heelu does not mention anything about the persons of these two men or the composition of their forces. This style of describing *baanrotsen* is adopted though the whole of his chronicle.

In the *Brabantsche Yeesten* as well, a strong emphasis is put on the military role of *baanrotsen*. The first reference to *baanrotsen* in the fifth book already forms a perfect example because it describes the death of three *baanrotsen* in the battle of the Gulden Spurs. These men were: Arnold IV van Wezemaal, Hendrik V van Boutersem and Arnold V van Walhain.⁹⁸ However, further research made clear that it is debatable whether Arnold V van Walhain actually died in 1302, because references to his name can still be found after 1302.⁹⁹ Notwithstanding this confusion, it is clear how these *baanrotsen* were again described in a military context. They died while fighting battle. Furthermore, it is also worth mentioning that Arnold V van Walhain and Arnold IV van Wezemaal were also described as *baanrotsen* in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, in which they were portrayed as participants in the battle of Woeringen.

Similar to Van Heelu, Jan van Boendale does not give any information about who these three men were, and whether or not they provided armed forces to the battle. Van Boendale preferred to

⁹⁷ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 78-79, v. 2004-2044. Biographical information on the *baanrotsen* Arnold V van Diest and Hendrik van Leuven, lord of Gaasbeek can be found in the appendix. Sergeant is used in this context as a translation of *seriant*. For more information on the translation of *seriant*, see: S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 130; L. van Velthem, “Spiegel Historiael. Vijfde Partie Lodewijk van Velthem (editie H. van Der Linden, W. de Vreese, P. de Keyser En A. van Loey),” dbnl, *Hier Begint Die Ander Boec*, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/velt003spie02_01/velt003spie02_01_0003.php ; v.3417-3439.

⁹⁸ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 1, 422, v. 234-235.

⁹⁹ The uncertainties that exist concerning the death of Arnold V van Walhain and whether he died in 1302, are fully examined in the appendix. The appendix also encompasses biographical descriptions on Arnold IV van Wezemaal and Hendrik V van Boutersem.

dedicate this chapter to honour and praise all those brave men of Brabant who fell in battle. However, the manner in which Van Boendale chose to enumerate the victims originating from Brabant, reveals the importance of the three said *baanrotsen*, because they are described immediately after Godfried van Aarschot and his son Jan van Vierson. Godfried was the commander of the Brabantine force in the battle of the Gulden Spurs and he was also a member of the ducal family. This made him, among the knights and squires of Brabant, highest in rank. The fact that Van Boendale then chose to enumerate the names of those *baanrotsen* immediately after Godfried and his son, even if we do not know whether or not they had actually occupied a similar position on the battlefield, contributed greatly to the prestige of those three *baanrotsen*. This is also something that can be observed in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu when he described the formation of the Brabant army at the battle of Woeringen.¹⁰⁰ The *baanrotsen* in this passage are all described after Jan I and before all the other lords that came to the aid of the duke.

In the second chapter that was found in the *Brabantsche Yeeften* that included a description of *baanrotsen*, it is again the military function that is striking. The chapter deals with the defence of the duchy of Brabant against the invasion of the duke of Guelders, for which cause eight *baanrotsen* were sent to 's Hertogenbosch in 1397. It was the first stratagem in the third war with Guelders. This example indicates that the military function of *baanrotsen*, as illustrated by the previous examples of 1288 and 1302, still prevailed at the end of the fourteenth century. The eight *baanrotsen* sent to 's Hertogenbosch were, in order of appearance: Jan II, lord of Wittem and seneschal of Brabant; Hendrik van Hornes, lord of Perwez; Thomas II, lord of Diest and Zichem; Renard II, lord of Schoonvorst; Jan I, lord of Wezemaal and Fallais; Jan III, lord of Rotselaar; Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom; and Hendrik van de Leck, lord of Heeswijk and Dinther.¹⁰¹ Van Boendale did not write these specific names, he merely identified them by their seignories. Butkens added one more *baanrots* to this enumeration: Hendrik van Diest, lord of Rivieren.¹⁰² The precise identification of these nine men can be found in the appendix. The only further information that Van Boendale provides for these *baanrotsen*, is that they went to 's Hertogenbosch with most of the knights of Brabant. Whether or not this was a force that was gathered by these *baanrotsen* themselves, is not confirmed.

¹⁰⁰ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 169-172, v. 4505-4566.

¹⁰¹ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeeften*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 339, v. 9852-9859.

¹⁰² F. C. Butkens, *Trophées, Tant Sacrés Que Profanes, de La Duché de Brabant ...* (Antwerp: M. Borrekens, 1641), 518. As a historical source for Brabant, Butkens his addition to this enumeration cannot be ignored. Jan van Boendale merely wrote "Diest", by which it is of course debatable whether or not this was Thomas II, Hendrik or the both of them. However, in comparison to the other *baanrotsen*, it becomes clear that Van Boendale meant to denote all the lords of those seignories. My assumption that Van Boendale meant to denote Thomas II is confirmed by the enumeration of these same *baanrotsen* in this same event by Sergio Boffa. See: S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 38.

4.2.1.1 *Strength of baanrotsen in battle and the composition of their forces*

As already indicated, apart from praising *baanrotsen* for their honour and pugnacity, chroniclers were not keen on writing about their strength in battle or the composition of their forces. The search for such references in historical sources can in fact be compared to the search for a needle in a haystack. Such a needle however, was found in a small passage in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, when he wrote about the composition of the army of Brabant. After describing the *baanrotsen* in this army, he wrote that “*Dit was die scare die vore steet*”, in comparison to “*Die ander scare, die daer na reet*”.¹⁰³ This passage indicates how the *baanrotsen* were considered as the most important men of the army of Brabant, and how this was also expressed on the battlefield, where they rode on the frontline. The explanation for this prominent position on the battlefield can be found in the definition of *baanrotsen*, which was already described in the introduction: “*Baanrotsen* were wealthy knights who could lead their own company under their own banner in battle”. Such precise definitions cannot be found in historical sources, but there are indications that provide irrefutable proof for this definition. Often Jan van Heelu wrote about a “*conroot*” or “*conroet*”, which can be translated as an army unit or an armed troop.¹⁰⁴ For example, the *baanrots* Wouter VI Berthout had such a *conroot*, to which knights and sergeants belonged. Van Heelu dedicated many verses to describe the heroic performance of Wouter VI and his *conroot*, a passage which was again copied by Van Velthem.¹⁰⁵ However, *baanrotsen* were not the only men described by Van Heelu with such a *conroot*. For example, Rasse II van Gavere, lord of Liedekerke and Breda was not a *baanrots*, but he also led a *conroot*.¹⁰⁶

In the diplomatic sources as well, a reference can be found to the existence of such a *conroot*. The receipt of the twenty-fifth of October 1388 reports how Regnier van Herzele served for fourteen days under the banner of the lord of Boecheut. The exact function of Regnier is not described, but it can be assumed that he was not a knight, because otherwise this would have been mentioned for certain. The receipt further describes how he served at Helmond.¹⁰⁷ Considering time, place and the fact that the debtors were Johanna and the towns of Brabant, Regnier must have served during the second war with Guelders. In the fourteenth century, Helmond belonged to the *vrijheden* of Brabant. It was situated at the border with Guelders and thus of strategic importance. For example, in August

¹⁰³ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 172, v. 4571-4572.

¹⁰⁴ E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, “Conroot,” *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (’s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1885), <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=22950&lemma=conroot>.

¹⁰⁵ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 282-285, v. 7667-7767; L. van Velthem, “Spiegel Historiae. Vijfde Partie Lodewijk van Velthem (editie H. van Der Linden, W. de Vreese, P. de Keyser En A. van Loey),” dbnl, *Hier begint die derde boec vander vijfter partien*, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/velt003spie02_01/velt003spie02_01_0004.php, v. 1155-1211. For more information on Wouter VI Berthout, see the appendix.

¹⁰⁶ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 281-822, v. 7619-7658. Three *baanrotsen* were part of the *conroot* of Rasse II van Gavere, yet he was not denominated as such.

¹⁰⁷ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 150.

1387, the Brabantine forces regrouped in Helmond and tried to expel the Gueldrois from the duchy.¹⁰⁸ The receipt clearly indicates that Regnier was part of a force commanded by Jan van Bouchout, castellan of Brussels.

Up until now, the only historian who ventured to have a closer look at the composition of the armed forces of *baanrotsen* is Mario Damen. He departs from the battle at Baesweiler in 1371, in which he examined the commanders of a “*rot*”. “*Rot*” or “*rotte*” is a denomination that is also adopted by Uyttebrouck and it refers to the *conroot* that was described by Van Heelu. Boffa prefers to use the term “*route*”.¹⁰⁹ According to Damen, Jan [II] van Polanen, lord of Leck and Breda led such a *rot* of eight men and Hendrik [VIII/II] van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom led a *rot* of twelve men. He also described Willem van Abcoude, the lord of Gaasbeek with a *rot* that consisted of forty-three men and Jan van Rotselaar with a *rot* of sixty-six men.¹¹⁰ A few remarks can be made concerning these last two persons, because in all the sources consulted for this thesis, no references were found that defined Willem van Abcoude as a *baanrots*. Furthermore, Damen does not indicate enumerations to the names of these men and it is not entirely certain which Jan van Rotselaar he describes. If Damen described the *baanrots* Jan van Rotselaar, he must have meant Jan III van Rotselaar because hardly any information, nor references as a *baanrots*, were found about Jan II van Rotselaar. However, Jan III only became the lord of Rotselaar in 1385, which was about fourteen years after the battle at Baesweiler. This problem leads to the question whether it is possible to receive the title of *baanrots* before one became the lord of a seigniory and related to this, whether or not this title was connected to a seigniory. These questions will be dealt with in the sixth chapter on the characteristics of *baanrotsen*.

The context in which the article of Damen was published, was too small to elaborate on the sources, the number, and the persons of the *baanrotsen* on which he based his research. However, his conclusion on the composition of their forces cannot be neglected. Damen wrote how these forces were in fact private armies of considerable size, that were not only used in service of the dukes, and they definitely outnumbered the figures described by Olivier de la Marche. This chronicler wrote how every *chevalier banneret* had to command a unit of at least twenty-five heavily armed and heavily armoured horsemen.¹¹¹ This does not seem compatible with the descriptions by Damen of the *rot* of Jan [II] van Polanen, lord of Leck and Breda; and Hendrik [VIII/II] van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom. Nevertheless, even in 1288, examples can be found of a *conroot* that was larger than twenty-five heavily armed and armoured men. For example, Van Heelu described the combined force of the

¹⁰⁸ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 32. A *vrijheid* is a place that had received certain privileges from the local lord or the landowner, but concerning the population and the economic potential, it could not be considered as a town. In: M. Damen, “Convocatie En Representatie: De Staten van Brabant in de Late Middeleeuwen,” *Noordbrabants Historisch Jaarboek* 29 (2012), 42.

¹⁰⁹ M. Damen, “Heren Met Banieren”, 149; S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 198. An example of the usage of the term “*rotte*” by Uyttebrouck can be found in his description of Gerard III van Rotselaar: A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, 742.

¹¹⁰ M. Damen, *op. cit.*, 149

¹¹¹ M. Damen, *op. cit.*, 149-150.

two *baanrotsen* Wittem and Mulrepas, as follows: “*Hare conroet hadde twee banieren/ Daer onder hilden ridderen stout*,”. After which the names of nine knights were written and “*Ende daer toe meer dan hondert man/ Met helmen, op orssen gheseten*;”.¹¹² Next to the knights, more than one hundred horsemen belonged to the *conroot* of Wittem and Mulrepas. Even though the reliability of these numbers can be questioned, it is clear that this combined force must have had a great size.

Apart from the number of soldiers in the private armies of *baanrotsen*, the definition of Olivier de la Marche also indicates the type of soldiers in those armies, more in particular, they had to be heavily armed and armoured horsemen. Damen adds to this, that these armies were in fact composed by a mix of court personnel, officials, vassals and residents of the seignior who were able to bear weapons.¹¹³ This is a very extensive description compared to the one Van Heelu made about the *conroot* of Wouter VI Berthout, that merely consisted of knights and sergeants. He also referred to the *conroot* of the *baanrots* Jan I van Kuyc, to which two *baanrotsen* belonged.¹¹⁴ Through these small references, Van Heelu appeared to describe the *conroot* of *baanrotsen* mainly by means of military functions. This seems to differ slightly from the definition of Damen, who has, considering the court personnel and the officials, a more elaborate interpretation of these private armies. There are two possible explanations for this difference. On the one hand, this could be attributed to the difference in time, because Van Heelu wrote about the events of the end of the thirteenth century, while Damen sketched the situation of the fifteenth century. It could be possible that the private armies of the fifteenth century were more extensive than the ones of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the reason for this difference in description could also be ascribed to the manner in which Van Heelu wrote his chronicle. For example, we only know that the *conroot* of Wouter VI was composed of knights and sergeants, because they played a part in the heroic story of Wouter VI and Van Heelu wanted to narrate this story, by which it is only by coincidence that this composition is known. Furthermore, there was no need for Van Heelu to explain the composition of a *conroot*, because it must have been obvious for him and his contemporaries. It is thus perfectly possible that more people belonged to the *conroot* of Wouter VI, but then they are just not described.

4.2.2 Consultative functions

Where most of the references to *baanrotsen* in narrative sources refer to specific military situations in which the *baanrotsen* played an important role, a different image of the functions of *baanrotsen* is reflected in the diplomatic sources. This is already apparent in the first two descriptions in the inventory of Verkooren, of which is earlier written that these are related to the Brabant War of

¹¹² J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 265-267, v. 7185-7229.

¹¹³ M. Damen, “Heren Met Banieren”, 150.

¹¹⁴ J.F. Willems, ed., *op. cit.*, 300-301, v. 8225-8233.

Succession. In these descriptions, there are no references to actual hostilities or acts of war. The *baanrotsen* were merely asked by their dukes and duchess for support in the peace negotiations. Of these two descriptions, the description of the note of the first of June 1357 is most important because it is issued by Wenceslas and Johanna and it describes *baanrotsen* of Brabant. These *baanrotsen* are all identified in the appendix, while the *baanrotsen* described in the note of the fifth of May 1357 remain practically unknown, since they probably all originate from Holland. Therefore it is relevant to concentrate on the note of June 1357.

The note described how peace had to be made, not only between Wenceslas, Johanna and Lodewijk van Male, but it also had to be made between the subjects, the land and the towns of Brabant and Flanders. To ensure the preservation of this large-scale peace, Wenceslas and Johanna called upon their *baanrotsen*, who had to engage themselves to persist in the preservation of a stable and strong land, by attaching their seal to this document.¹¹⁵ This indicates how much Wenceslas and Johanna relied upon their *baanrotsen*, and not only in military matters, but also for the management of the duchy as a whole. The note requested of the *baanrotsen* to engage themselves to intervene. The manner in which they were asked to act cannot be deduced from the note, but it is clear that they were close to the duke and duchess. Considering the context, the importance of the document and the fact that the names of these six *baanrotsen* are the only names written, it is worth posing the postulation that these six men might belong to a core group in the entourage of Wenceslas and Johanna. By using the term ‘core group’, reference is made to the terminology Croenen adopted for his research to the entourage of the dukes in the twelfth century. Since the ducal council originated out of a core group of people whom the dukes trusted and consulted, it can be argued that these six *baanrotsen* had, next to their military, also a consultative function. This bilateral role of *baanrotsen* is also indicated in their denomination. In the note, they are not only identified as *baanrotsen*, but also as knights.

These six *baanrotsen* are, in order of appearance: Hendrik IV Berthout, lord of Duffel and Geel; Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom; Jan II van Polanen, lord of Leck and Breda; Gerard II vander Heiden, lord of Boutersem; Gerard III van Rotselaar, lord of Vorselaar and castellan of Jodoigne; and Bernard I van Bornival.¹¹⁶ Confirmation for their role as councillor in 1357 can be found in the reconfirmation of the Charter of Kortenberg and the Walloon Charter. Apart from Hendrik IV Berthout and Bernard I van Bornival, who passed away some years before the issuance of the reconfirmation charter, all these *baanrotsen* can be found in the charter of 1372.¹¹⁷ However, what is remarkable, is the fact that they are not enumerated in the list of *baanrotsen*, they are denominated as “*onsen getrouwe raitsluden*”.¹¹⁸ There are two possible explanations for this change in titles. On the

¹¹⁵ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 126.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 126.

¹¹⁷ Hendrik IV Berthout, lord of Duffel and Geel passed away in 1366/7 and Bernard I van Bornival in August 1368. For this, I refer to their biographical descriptions in the appendix.

¹¹⁸ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

one hand, and this is the easiest explanation, those four *baanrotsen* in the reconfirmation charter, were simply no longer *baanrotsen*. On the other hand, and this is the explanation that is much more probable, it is possible that they still bore the title of *baanrots*, but just chose not to identify themselves primarily as such in the reconfirmation charter. As mentioned, there was already a list of forty-one *baanrotsen* and they might have wanted to distance themselves from them. As a member of the “*getrouwe raitssluden*”, they stood at the top of the list of subscriptions, by which their importance was emphasised once more. Because of this, it is truly plausible that these *baanrotsen* described in the note of 1357 belonged to a core group in the entourage of Wenceslas and Johanna.

The “*getrouwe raitssluden*” were a group of thirteen men of which Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem, Jan II van Polanen, Gerard II vander Heiden and Gerard III van Rotselaar were not the only *baanrotsen*. From all the references to names of *baanrotsen* found in the research for this thesis, two other “*getrouwe raitssluden*” appeared to be *baanrotsen*: Renard van Schönau, lord of Schoonvorst and Jan van Bouchout, castellan of Brussels. There are reasons to believe that more of these councillors bore the title of *baanrots*, but only further research might confirm this assumption. For now, only of these six out of thirteen councillors, it is known, with the utmost certainty, that they were also *baanrotsen*.

Immediately after the denomination of the “*getrouwe raitssluden*”, representatives of the Council of Kortenberg are enumerated. Among these, the name “*heren Janne, here van Rotselair*” is written. This refers to Jan III van Rotselaar, who was, as already mentioned, appointed as a knight to represent the nobility at the Council of Kortenberg. Jan III was, as indicated in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, also a *baanrots*.¹¹⁹ However, in the reconfirmation charter, his title of *baanrots* is, once again, not described. Since it is not known when he received this title, it is perfectly possible that he was not a *baanrots* at the moment this reconfirmation was issued, and that he received this title later onwards. However, the importance of his position cannot be neglected. Whether or not he was already a *baanrots*, he belonged to “*onsen getruwen*” and he was “*gecoren sijn van onsen ende ons lants wegen van Brabant*”.¹²⁰ The reconfirmation charter thus clearly indicates how Jan III van Rotselaar was directly chosen as a representative by, amongst others, Wenceslas and Johanna.

Only after the enumeration of councillors and members of the Council of Kortenberg, the *baanrotsen* were enumerated. Similar to the note of 1357, the *baanrotsen* in the reconfirmation charter were also identified as knights, by which their military role is emphasised. Many of these men, who are identified in the appendix, also appeared to be councillors to the duke and duchess, but this is not represented in the reconfirmation charter. After the enumeration of *baanrotsen*, a list followed of other

¹¹⁹ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39; B. Minnen, “Adellijke Dorpsprivileges in Brabant in de Late Middeleeuwen”, 223-224; J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 338-339, v. 9851-9859.

¹²⁰ J. Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, 39; E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, “Gecoren,” *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (’s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1885), <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=11340&lemma=gecoren>.

lords, *knapen* and the towns and *vrijheden* of Brabant.¹²¹ It can be remarked that the total number of subscriptions was enormous and it is especially notable how many names of men were written, compared to the small number - twenty - of names of the towns and *vrijheden*. The names of the representatives of these towns and *vrijheden* were not given. The precise meaning of this is difficult to determine, especially since many noblemen had affiliations with towns, for example, by the status of *poorter*. However, it cannot be denied that the contribution of the nobility in the written document appeared to be much larger than the ones of the towns and *vrijheden*.

Most of these references to *baanrotsen* in diplomatic sources indicate the bilateral role of *baanrotsen*, whether or not this is explicitly mentioned in the original documents. Even at the end of the fourteenth century, in the reference to Jan van Mülenarck of 1399, this bilateral role still prevailed. In the list of subscriptions, he was the only *baanrots*, but it was explicitly stated that he was both a knight and a councillor.¹²² However, this was not a standard denomination, the other men who subscribed to the original document, were also described as knights and councillors. The only standard denomination of Jan van Mülenarck appears to be his title of *baanrots*, which can be found in all three references to his name. Whether or not he executed a military or consultative function has to be deduced from the documents. The document of 1399 might reveal a military role of Jan van Mülenarck during the third war with Guelders, but the receipt of 1384 demonstrates another role, since he had to represent the duchess as her debtor.¹²³

The first time *baanrotsen* were explicitly and solely denominated as councillors, was in 1383. This occurred in the note on the funeral of Wenceslas, in which the denomination “*seigneurs bannerets et conseillers*”, was adopted.¹²⁴ It might suggest how *baanrotsen* were no longer identified as knights, but further research made clear how several of the men described in this note participated to the battle of Baesweiler, such as Hendrik van Diest, castellan of Antwerp.¹²⁵

In the *Brabantsche Yeesten* an analogous example can be found. The last out of the three chapters with *references* to *baanrotsen*, narrates the composition of the regency council of Jan IV in which three *baanrotsen* took part. Stein only wrote how these were “*de heren van Diest, Wezemaal, Boutersem*”, but further research made clear that these three *baanrotsen* were, in order of appearance: Thomas II, lord of Diest; Jan I, lord of Wezemaal and Fallais; and Hendrik IX van Boutersem, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin.¹²⁶ Together with the two knights, these three *baanrotsen* represented the

¹²¹ J. Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, 39-42.

¹²² A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1396-1404), 98.

¹²³ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386-1396), 30.

¹²⁴ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 221-222.

¹²⁵ For this further research, I refer to the appendix.

¹²⁶ J. van Boendale, “Brabantsche Yeesten (naar de Editie van J.F. Willems En J.H. Bormans Uit 1839-1869).”, dbnl, *XLVI. Vanden Elleven Die Totten Regiminte Hertogen Jans van Brabant Ghestelt Woorden.*, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/boen001brab01_01_0355.php.; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 165; Biographical descriptions of these three *baanrotsen* can be found in the appendix.

nobility, next to the representatives of the towns of Brabant. As members of the regency council, they had to govern the duchy of Brabant, by which we can assume that their function was not strictly limited to the military sphere. This is the first reference in the narrative sources examined for this thesis, that does not refer to the military function of *baanrotsen*. However, two of these *baanrotsen*, Thomas II and Jan I, were also sent by Johanna to ‘s Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy against Guelders in 1397. Once again, the bilateral function of *baanrotsen* can be noticed.

4.2.2.1 Financial responsibility

The receipt of 1384, in which Jan van Mülenarck acted as the debtor of Johanna, indicates the involvement and responsibility of a *baanrots* in financial matters. However, this was not a unique example. Two more descriptions were found in the inventory of Verkooren in which *baanrotsen* were involved in the financial affairs of the duchy. They both refer to notes in a Brabant cartulary. The names of *baanrotsen* were not explicitly identified in these notes, it is only because of this research that some of the subscribed names can be identified as *baanrotsen*.

The first note was issued on the twenty-sixth of September 1387 and it records how Francon van Bogaerden was charged by the duchess with the coinage of golden and silver coins. He was obliged, under penalty of his own life and the loss of his possessions, to perform this task in accordance with the regulations stipulated by the “*duchesse, les prélats, seigneurs bannerets, chevaliers et bonnes villes de Brabant.*”¹²⁷ This phrasing does not ascribe a privileged position for the *baanrotsen*, it merely indicates that the stipulations for the coinage were made by, what was called from 1407 onwards, the Three Estates of Brabant.¹²⁸ What is more important in this note, are the six men who stood surety for Francon van Bogaerden. Jan III van Rotselaar; Jan van Bouchout, castellan of Brussels; Jan II van Wittem, *drossaard* of Brabant; and Jan van Oppem, *amman* of Brussels; were counted among these six men. Through the sources used for this thesis, all four of these men can be identified as *baanrotsen*.¹²⁹ As guarantors, they provided for more than half of the total sum of the indemnity. *Baanrotsen* often functioned as guarantors, Hendrik IX van Boutersem, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin even stood surety for a payment of duke Antoon in 1411.¹³⁰

The second note was issued on the fifteenth of December 1394 and it registered the way in which an extraordinary aid was to be levied and used. This aid was voluntarily granted by the “*seigneurs bannerets, chevaliers, et bonnes villes du pays de Brabant*”, to Johanna who was faced

¹²⁷ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 118-119.

¹²⁸ M. Damen, “Convocatie En Representatie”, 33.

¹²⁹ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 119. Biographical descriptions of these *baanrotsen* can be found in the appendix.

¹³⁰ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 662.

with enormous debts after the war with Guelders.¹³¹ Since the third war with Guelders only started in 1397, it was the second war that had created the need for the extraordinary aid of 1394. In comparison to the previous example, the prelates were not a part of this document and the aid was only granted by the nobility and the towns of Brabant. Four of the councillors of Johanna engaged themselves to strictly observe the compliance with the stipulated regulations, and they were appointed as the receivers of this extraordinary aid. Of these four men, one already held the office of receiver of Brabant, this was the ecclesiastic Renier Goedeheere. The other three men were *baanrotsen*, and were, in order of appearance: Jan I, lord of Wezemaal and Fallais, hereditary marshal of Brabant; Jan III van Rotselaar; and Jan II van Wittem, *drossard* of Brabant.¹³² Uyttebrouck wrote how in total six men were appointed as receivers. Four nobles as delegates of the “*plat pays*” of Brabant and two ducal councillors.¹³³ The note of 1394 only described four men, but Jan I van Wezemaal and Jan III van Rotselaar were explicitly described as chosen by Johanna, by which they might have been both a delegate and a ducal councillor.

It is definitely not the intention to use these examples to indicate how it was exactly because of the status of *baanrots* that these men were chosen to get involved in the financial affairs of the duchy. On the contrary, these examples illustrate the importance of certain *baanrotsen* only because of their involvement in financial matters. It indicates how they were trusted with the management of the duchy and how they enjoyed an enormous responsibility. When comparing the list of *baanrotsen* of this thesis with the work of Uyttebrouck on the councillors in Brabant, more *baanrotsen* appear to have had financial responsibilities in the duchy. Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom; Jan II van Polanen, lord of Leck and Breda; his son, Hendrik van de Leck, lord of Heeswijk and Dinther; and Gerard III van Rotselaar, lord of Vorselaar; all appeared to have been, at a certain moment in their lives, creditors to the duke and duchess.¹³⁴ Furthermore, the specific office of receiver of Brabant as well, was executed by other *baanrotsen*. For example, Jan I, lord of Wezemaal and Fallais, also executed this office in 1390 together with five others, when an extraordinary aid was requested to finance the war with Guelders.¹³⁵ In 1414, *baanrots* Hendrik IX van Boutersem, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin was appointed as the only receiver for the extraordinary aid that was, once again, requested to finance war activities.¹³⁶ Later onwards in the fifteenth century, in 1428, two more *baanrotsen*, encountered in the research for this thesis, received a specific office. A commission was installed that year to verify the legitimacy of the demands of reimbursement made by the creditors of

¹³¹ A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 263-264.

¹³² A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 692. Biographical descriptions of these *baanrotsen* can also be found in the appendix.

¹³³ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 1, 532.

¹³⁴ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol 2, 669, 707, 722, 742, 745.

¹³⁵ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol 1, 532; vol. 2, 745.

¹³⁶ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol 1, 533; vol. 2, 661.

the first aid that was granted to Philip the Bolds van Saint-Pol. The *baanrotsen* Hendrik van Diest and Engelbert I van Nassau were members of this commission.¹³⁷

It is not necessary to give a complete overview on all the creditors, commissions and extraordinary aids that occurred in the long fourteenth century because part of that is extensively elaborated in the work of Uyttebrouck. However, Uyttebrouck mainly focussed on the part of towns and how they played a prominent role in the financial affairs of the duchy. He also added that the towns took over the control and the administration of the ducal coin from 1396 onwards.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, these small references make clear how the towns were not the only power in Brabant. For example, the note of 1387 already indicated how *baanrotsen* were responsible for the largest part of the presented indemnity. *Baanrotsen* kept on returning in important offices and as representatives of the duchess and the dukes in financial matters. They were only a small part of the nobility and these examples are too scarce to make definite conclusions on that subject, but further research might reveal new and interesting insights.

4.3 Concluding remarks

Apart from the last example from the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, it does appear that that the difference between the two functions of *baanrotsen*, is stimulated by the difference in sources. At first sight the narrative sources seem to only situate *baanrotsen* in military contexts, while the diplomatic sources seem to only emphasise their role as councillors in all sorts of affairs. What is more, since the first record of *baanrotsen* in diplomatic sources was only found in a reference of 1357, it can be questioned whether the emergence of the consultative function of *baanrotsen* was peculiar for the second half of the fourteenth century. However, immediately evidence can be found to refute this questioning by means of the example of Wouter V Berthout, lord of Mechelen. He was one of the most important men of the ducal entourage and after the death of duke Hendrik IV, the prominent position of Wouter V only grew, because he was appointed by the widow Aleide as a member of the regency council. Under the reign of Jan I, Wouter V remained one of the most important men in Brabant. In 1285, Wouter V was even appointed as the substitute of Jan I, while he was abroad on a military expedition in France.¹³⁹ This indicates that Wouter V definitely belonged to the core group in the entourage of the dukes. His position might have been exceptional, but a superficial inspection at the inventory of Verkooren soon revealed that the names of *baanrotsen* remarkably often occurred. For example, Jan I van Kuyc, Arnold V van Walhain and Arnold IV van Wezemaal. Studies, such as

¹³⁷ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol 1, 534-535; vol. 2, 682, 715.

¹³⁸ A. Uyttebrouck, "De Politieke Rol van de Brabantse Steden in de Late Middeleeuwen", 128-129.

¹³⁹ G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 239-241; J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 10-11.

the ones from Avonds or Uyttebrouck, in which councillors were identified, do not exist for the end of the thirteenth century. However, it would be too simple and too rash to assume that the *baanrotsen* of that period only executed military functions. The military and consultative functions of *baanrotsen* have always been entwined. That the importance of their consultative function increased, cannot be denied because the circumstances of the long fourteenth century demanded this, but this evolution was not at the expense of their military function. This was definitely proven by Damen in his article on the *baanrotsen* of fifteenth-century Brabant.

5 TITLE OF *BAANROTS*: PROBLEMS AND DIFFUSION

5.1 *Baanrots* vs baron

Since hardly any systematic studies on *baanrotsen* exist, one does encounter inconsistencies in the sources and in the literature, for example, in the denomination of *baanrotsen*. When Jan van Boendale narrated the death of Godfried van Aarschot and his men during the battle of the Gulden Spurs, he wrote “*Van Wesemale van Boutersem van Walem/ Die Baenrotse*,”.¹⁴⁰ What is interesting, is the fact that this message is also found in the inventory of Verkooren, in which a description is found that refers to a note in a Brabant cartulary with the date of the eleventh of July 1302. It mentions “*les barons de Wezemaal, de Boutersem et de Walhain*”.¹⁴¹ These are two different sources that narrate the same event and the same men, but they are denoted with different titles. Immediately it has to be emphasised that this difference is not inherent to the difference in sources. In narrative sources the title of baron can be found as well, and the title of *baanrots* does also appear in diplomatic sources, as is shown in the previous chapter. However, the exact relation of these titles is not entirely clear and this is due to the very few references to these titles and the lack of studies concerning this subject. To make matters more difficult, this confusion between the titles of *baanrots* and baron appeared to have been the greatest in Brabant.¹⁴² For the kingdom of France, Paravicini merely stated that the *baanrots* or *banneret* held a rank under the *barones* and the *castellani*, but a rank above the normal *milites*.¹⁴³ For Brabant on the other hand, it appeared that a theory such as the one of Paravicini, was not that easily found.

5.1.1 *Chivalric vs. feudal sphere?*

Questions regarding the meaning of the titles baron and *baanrots*, and whether or not they were synonyms, were a recurrent theme in the historiography for Brabant. Many historians tried to explain these titles by referring to two different spheres in medieval society. On the one hand, the title of *baanrots* would refer to the military sphere and should be considered as a chivalric rank, while the title of baron on the other hand, would refer to the feudal sphere. Up to now, Boffa has been the only historian or Brabant who asserted otherwise and seemed more inclined to endorse the theory of

¹⁴⁰ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeeften*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 1, 420, 422, v. 234-235

¹⁴¹ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (800–1312), 206.

¹⁴² A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 1, 439.

¹⁴³ W. Paravicini, “Soziale Schichtung”, 133-134.

Paravicini. According to Boffa, barons must be situated in the chivalric hierarchy as well. For the fourteenth century, he described this hierarchy as consisting of barons, knights and squires. He does not ascribe a specific place to *baanrotsen* in this hierarchy. Boffa only describes them as knights, more in particular, the *knight banneret*.¹⁴⁴

The confusion between the titles of *baanrots* and baron was addressed by Uyttebrouck in 1975, even though he wrote that the *banneret* was still waiting for its historian. The *baanrots* or *banneret* was, according to Uyttebrouck, a rank in the chivalric hierarchy together with the knight, who had already received the accolade, and the squire, who was still waiting to be dubbed as a knight.¹⁴⁵ In comparison to what Boffa described, it is this hierarchy suggested by Uyttebrouck, that is adopted by most historians. Uyttebrouck clearly emphasised the division between the chivalric and feudal sphere, but immediately after this emphasis, he started using both titles indifferently. In doing so, he presumed an interchangeable usage of both titles. For example, when Uyttebrouck wrote a biographical entry on Thomas II van Diest, lord of Zichem, he wrote that Thomas II had been a member of the regency council of Jan IV from 1415 until 1417 “*en qualité de baron*”.¹⁴⁶ This stands in sharp contrast to the title that was ascribed to Thomas II by the authors of the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, in which he was clearly defined as a *baanrots*.¹⁴⁷ It indicates how Uyttebrouck wrote about a theory that he himself did not even put to practice.

This interchangeable usage of *baanrots* and baron is also clearly noticeable in the *Glossarium iuris Brabantici*, a dictionary specialized in the language of jurisdiction and office in the former duchy of Brabant. The term *baanrots* is explained as a banner lord, a *banneret*, a baron. The *Glossarium* also refers to a *baenderije* which is explained as a barony, as the territory of a *banneret*.¹⁴⁸ A difference between the feudal and chivalric sphere is not described. In that work, *baanrotsen* and barons appear to be synonyms.

However, a few years later, Van Uytven further examined the relation between these titles and concluded that these were in fact two different titles that were borne by the same men. Men who were baron in the feudal sphere and *baanrots* in the chivalric sphere. Van Uytven further added to this, that this evolution of one man with two titles might have started in the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁹

Avonds was the first historian who clearly sketched the confusion between these titles for Brabant by giving several examples to illustrate this problem. He wrote that it was not possible to

¹⁴⁴ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 127-128.

¹⁴⁵ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 1, 439.

¹⁴⁶ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 683

¹⁴⁷ J. van Boendale, “Brabantsche Yeesten (naar de Editie van J.F. Willems En J.H. Bormans Uit 1839-1869).” dbnl, XLVI. *Vanden Elleven Die Totten Regiminte Hertogen Jans van Brabant Ghestelt Woorden.*, accessed April 22, 2015, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/boen001brab01_01_0355.php;

¹⁴⁸ E. J. Th. A. M. Van Emstede, *Glossarium Iuris Brabantici of Zestelig Verklarend Woordenboek van de Ambts- En Rechtstaal Gebezigd in Het Voormalige Hertogdom Brabant 1222-1781 (1807)* (Deurne: Stichting Brabants rechtseigen, 1981), 320-321.

¹⁴⁹ R. Van Uytven, “De Brabantse Adel Als Politieke En Sociale Groep”, 77.

determine the exact meaning of the two titles because our knowledge about them was just to incomplete. This is in fact still the situation at present. The only presumption Avonds dared to adopt on this subject, was that *baanrotsen* in Brabant belonged to the chivalric hierarchy and that it should not be excluded that it was exactly because of the prestige of the title and function that it was in the long term usurped and monopolized by the high nobility from the entourage of the dukes.¹⁵⁰ This last part of his presumption can be doubted, because the title of *baanrots* was not usurped or monopolized, it always belonged to the high nobility and it always entailed a social distinction within the nobility.

In all these works it becomes clear that the difference between barons and *baanrotsen* is difficult to delineate. Janse even questions whether we should still make a consequential distinction between these two titles.¹⁵¹ When considering the example of Gerard van Leuven, the suggestion of Janse becomes alluring. In the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, Gerard van Leuven was described as the provost of Nivelles and as a participant in the battle of Woeringen. When Van Heelu described the formation of the army of Brabant, he wrote “*Die proefst van Nivele was daer mede,/ Die daer oec als baenrots dede;*”.¹⁵² At the end of his chronicle, Gerard van Leuven was depicted as follows: “*Die proefst van Nivele was cleric,/ Nochtan ridderlike werc,/ Behoorde hem wel te doene; Want hi was een diere baroene.*”¹⁵³ Gerard van Leuven was clearly identified both with the titles of baron and *baanrots*. The distinction between these titles is more than once suggested in the chronicle of Van Heelu, who often wrote about “*baenrotse ende baroene*”.¹⁵⁴ However, the cited passage on Gerard van Leuven also indicates that part of being a baron was “exercising knightly jobs” or being a knight. This makes it extremely difficult to maintain the distinction between the chivalric and the feudal sphere and this difficulty is further aggravated when we add to this the definitions of baron or the Middle Dutch *baroen*.

A *baroen* is a designation that was often used as a general denomination to denote men, both secular and regular men, but *baroen* was also used to denote both a ruler and his men. Verwijs and Verdam further defined the *baroen* as a vassal, a nobleman, a knight or a *rijksgroute*.¹⁵⁵ Apart from the latter denomination, because *rijksgroute* is a title that is not suitable for the time and region in which Van Heelu wrote, the definition of *baroen* as man, vassal, nobleman and knight, is completely applicable to *baanrotsen*. This becomes clear in the identification of *baanrotsen* in the appendix, in

¹⁵⁰ P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 210.

¹⁵¹ A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 86-87.

¹⁵² J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 171, v.4547-4548.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, 296, v.8077-8080.

¹⁵⁴ For example: *Ibidem*, 275, v.7453.

¹⁵⁵ E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, “Baroen,” *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (’s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1885), <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=02328&lemma=baroen>. *Rijksgroten* were leaders of the so-called *Gefolgschaften* and were in their turn members of the *Gefolgschaft* of the king. *Gefolgschaft* is a term used to denote chiefdoms marked by local elites who tried to maintain power by using force and using armed followers and allies bound to those leaders in return for material wealth. In: Wim Blockmans and Peter Hoppenbrouwers, *Eeuwen Des Onderscheids: Een Geschiedenis van Middeleeuws Europa* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2009). 51,101.

which most of the *baanrotsen* were identified as noblemen and vassals. This similarity in the meaning of these titles can also be found in the work of Janse, in which he cites a definition formulated by Willem Procurator from Holland at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Apparently, the title of baron was used in a very subjective manner to denote a man from the high nobility, who belonged to the “*moghenste ente rijcste heren*”.¹⁵⁶ Again, this definition is applicable to the one of *baanrotsen*. However, for Brabant, there appears to have been a specific definition for barons. They were lords who fully possessed the highest judicial authorities within a seigniory. They owned a seigniory, that was not held as a fief, but as an allodium, in which those barons had the right to pronounce corporal or capital punishments.¹⁵⁷ The lords of Rotselaar, of which some were *baanrotsen*, already possessed these judicial authorities in the thirteenth, and especially in the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁸ Can this description then still be an exclusive characteristic feature of barons?

To find some relief out of this conundrum, we can consider taking into account some of the findings for the fifteenth century.

5.1.2 Further evolution of the titles *baanrots* and *baron*

In sources that survived of December 1406, Damen found descriptions of the composition of the Three Estates of Brabant. In Middle Dutch, he found: “*prelaeten, baenrotsen, ridderen, steden, vrijheden*”. In Latin, this was: “*prelatis, baronibus, militibus et alliis nobilibus, necnon deputatis bonorum decatus Brabantie*”.¹⁵⁹ This example clearly demonstrates that, at the outset of the fifteenth century, *baanrotsen* were translated as barons while previously contemporaries had used different words for these translations. The Latin translation for *baanrots* had always been *banneretus* and for baron it was *baro*.¹⁶⁰ This indicates that the convergence between the two titles must have been completed at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is also expressed in the work of the Antwerp legist Willem van der Tanerijen, who wrote the ‘*Boec van der loopender Practijken der Raidtcameren van Brabant*’. This book was written between 1474 and 1476, although the final text was only completed in 1496.¹⁶¹ He wrote that the *baanrotsen* or “*baenreheeren*” exercised the highest judicial authority, while viscounts and others exercised the middle and the remainders the lower judicial

¹⁵⁶ A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 86.

¹⁵⁷ R. Van Uytven, “De Brabantse Adel Als Politieke En Sociale Groep”, 77; A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 86.

¹⁵⁸ B. Minnen, “Adellijke Dorpsprivileges in Brabant in de Late Middeleeuwen”, 223-224

¹⁵⁹ M. Damen, “Convocatie En Representatie”, 29.

¹⁶⁰ E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, “Baenrotse,” *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (’s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1885), <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=02056&lemmodern=Baanrots>; R. Van Uytven, “De Brabantse Adel Als Politieke En Sociale Groep”, 77

¹⁶¹ J. Van Rompaey, “Willem van Der Tanerijen,” *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, n.d., <http://www.kvab.be/publicaties/nbw.htm>.

authority.¹⁶² This corresponds completely to the specific definition of a baron in Brabant, by which the distinction between barons and *baanrotsen* was completely removed.

What is interesting, is the fact that Van der Tanerijen wrote about *baanrotsen* at the end of the fifteenth century, while Paravicini maintained that the title of *baanrots* disappeared from 1470 onwards in the duchy of Burgundy, when Charles the Bold, following the example of France, installed a permanent army. From that moment onwards, the title of *baanrots* was, according to Paravicini, replaced by the title of baron.¹⁶³ At that moment, Brabant was already for a long time part of the territories of the Burgundian dukes, yet Van de Tanerijen still wrote about *baanrotsen*, by which we can assume that the title of *baanrots* did not immediately and completely disappear from 1470 onwards. The disappearance of this title must be seen as a gradual process. The ‘bannertree’ Damen found, originated at the end of the fifteenth century, yet he further found that *baanrotsen* were no longer attested at the convocation lists of 1468 and 1489. The fact that Van de Tanerijen still describes *baanrotsen* and the existence of the ‘bannertree’, means that the memory of *baanrotsen* was still honoured and that their role as executors of the highest judicial authority was not yet forgotten.¹⁶⁴

The title of baron revived in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. However, the meaning of the title, that originally had been assigned to a person, and the boundaries of the “baronies”, had changed so much over the course of time, that it was no longer possible to establish a connection with the discussed title of baron, even though many erudites tried.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, it is advised to make the distinction between the old and new barons, or medieval and early modern ones.

5.1.3 Concluding remarks

What can be concluded thus far, is that even in the time of Jan van Heelu, at the end of the thirteenth century, a distinction existed between barons and *baanrotsen*. It seems reasonable for this

¹⁶² In his chapter on “*natuerlijk jurisdictie*” (32): Willem Van der Tanerijen, *Boec van Der Loopender Practijken Der Raidtcameren van Brabant*, ed. E.I. Strubbe (Brussels: CAD, 1952), <https://www.kuleuven-kulak.be/facult/rechten/Monballyu/Rechtlagelanden/Brabantsrecht/Varia/tanererijen1.html>; M. Damen and A. Janse, “Adel in Meervoud”, 11.

¹⁶³ The disappearance of the title of *baanrots* in 1470 is in perfect correspondence to the military function of *baanrotsen*. The creation of a permanent army had put an end to the need for rulers to summon their *baanrotsen* to raise and command personal armed units. The ruler had its own army and simply did not need *baanrotsen* anymore. W. Paravicini, “Soziale Schichtung”, 134.

¹⁶⁴ M. Damen, “Convocatie En Representatie”, 38. The remembrance of *baanrotsen* is something that was also detected by Arie van Steensel, who found that the title of *baanrots* was still remembered in fifteenth-century Zeeland, while it had actually already disappeared. It indicates that the title remained to emanate a certain prestige, which appealed to noblemen as a form of social distinction. See: A. Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 374.

¹⁶⁵ “Baronies” is written with quotation marks because it is literally adopted from Paul Janssens and caution is advised in the use of this terminology. The inconsistencies between the titles of baron and *baanrots*, often had repercussions on the applied terminology by historians to denote the seigniories of these men. The following chapter will further elaborate on this. P. Janssens, *De Evolutie van de Belgische Adel Sinds de Late Middeleeuwen* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1998), 469.

period to adopt the theory of Van Uytven in which these two titles might belong to one person. However, the exact meaning of these titles remains difficult to assess. This is due to the lack of research to the significance and interpretation of these titles, and to the inconsistencies in their usage in historiography. At present, every definition of a baron seems to be compatible with the current knowledge of *baanrotsen*. However, what can be remarked, considering the fact that the titles of baron and *baanrots* had definitely merged together at the beginning of the fifteenth century, it is the fourteenth century that should become the point of interest for future research. This is because the process of convergence between the two titles, a process that might already be detected in the period of Van Heelu, truly developed in the fourteenth century.

5.2 *Baanrotsen* in neighbouring principalities

To understand the importance of *baanrotsen* in Brabant, it is worth considering whether this was a development restricted to the duchy itself or whether *baanrotsen* did also occur in other principalities. The importance of this consideration can be illustrated with an inconsistency that presented itself in the work of Armand de Behault de Dornon, more in particular, his edition of the narration of the tournament in Mons in 1310. The account of this tournament and its participants has survived in two manuscripts. One is kept in the Royal Library of Belgium, the other in the Austrian National Library. However, only in the manuscript that is kept in Belgium, it is written that Jan II van Sombreffe was a “*bannerole*” or *baanrots*.¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, de Behault de Dornon did not examine the origins of the two manuscripts, by which an explanation for this difference cannot be given. However, this example does indicate that there were differences in the usage of the title of *baanrots*.

In this following part, the principalities of Namur, Holland and Zeeland, Guelders and Flanders will be briefly discussed. These were chosen because of their boundaries with the duchy of Brabant and because the nobility in these principalities has been the object of several studies. Furthermore, the county of Flanders and the duchy of Guelders have been chosen because of their significant encounters with Brabant during the long fourteenth century.

5.2.1 *Namur*

For the county of Namur, it is still the work of Léopold Génicot that is considered of great significance for the study of its nobility in the fourteenth century. He also performed some research into the titles of baron and *baanrots*, but came to the conclusion that these titles remained rather

¹⁶⁶ A. de Behault de Dornon, *Le Tournoi de Mons de 1310* (Mons: Dequesne-Masquillier, 1909), 1, 33.

foreign and did not give any advantage to the most important noblemen. He did find some “*pairies*” or peers, whom Génicot considered as a well-defined group, distinguished by judicial privileges, but, for example, the title of baron remained unknown. It was only very rarely that he came upon the title of “*banneret*”, but Génicot explained that this was due to the fact that this title was found in documents that originated in foreign chancelleries.¹⁶⁷ This example of Namur makes clear that the development of *baanrotsen* did not become established everywhere.

5.2.2 *Holland and Zeeland*

Since for the first time in 1291, the count of Holland was named count of Zeeland in his entitlement, and since the whole county of Zeeland came to his possession in 1323, Holland and Zeeland are treated here together.¹⁶⁸ According to Hans Brokken *baanrotsen* first appeared in Holland in 1341, when count Willem IV favoured Floris V van Haamstede and Daniel van der Merwede, who recently had become *baanrots*, with property. After the issuance of this charter, the title of *baanrots* disappeared until the middle of the fourteenth century, when nine more *baanrotsen* were identified by Brokken.¹⁶⁹ He found five of these *baanrotsen* in a charter that can also be found in the inventory of Verkooren. This was the earlier discussed note of the first of June 1357. Brokken argued that the value of this title must be situated within the military sphere and that it was inspired on the military organisation of the army of Brabant, which was characterized by its hierarchy of *baanrotsen* and knights.¹⁷⁰

In more recent work, Janse criticized this theory of Brokken. According to him, the first reference to *baanrotsen* in 1341 does not imply that the title occurred for the first time in Holland and Zeeland in 1341 as well. Janse wrote that it was already from 1299 onwards that the title of *baanrots* entered the county of Holland, even though no individual nobles were found with this title. For his argument, Janse referred to a treaty with the county of Flanders of 1299.¹⁷¹ This is interesting, because it would appear that the title of *baanrots* came to Holland through Flanders in the point of view of Janse, but through Brabant according to Brokken. However, in accordance with Brokken, Janse also emphasised the military function of *baanrotsen*, even in the fifteenth century, as did Arie Van Steensel for Zeeland.¹⁷² Of these three historians, Janse was the only one who did not identify *baanrotsen*. Van Steensel only identified two for Zeeland, but these were also described by Brokken for Holland. The

¹⁶⁷ L. Génicot, *L'économie Rurale Namuroise Au Bas Moyen Age (1199-1429). Tome II Les Hommes - La Noblesse* (Leuven: Centre belge d'histoire rurale, 1975), 152-153.

¹⁶⁸ A. Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 21.

¹⁶⁹ H. M. Brokken, “De Creatie van Baanderheren Door de Graven Willem IV En Willem V,” *Holland: Regionaal-Historisch Tijdschrift* 11 (1979), 60-61.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 61.

¹⁷¹ A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 84.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, 84-85; A. Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 373-374.

total number of *baanrotsen* for Holland and Zeeland was thus rather restricted in comparison to the number found for Brabant. It led Brokken to the conclusion that the title of *baanrots* must be considered as an honorific decoration and a personal qualification.¹⁷³ The title of *baanrots* as a form of social differentiation will be discussed in the following chapter. Nevertheless, the practical and military meaning of the title of *baanrots* in Holland and Zeeland cannot be underestimated. Even in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu a *baanrots* with origins from Holland was described as a participant in the battle of Woeringen, this was Jan II van Arkel.¹⁷⁴ Notwithstanding the small number of *baanrotsen* found for Holland and Zeeland, the title was held in high esteem, something that, according to Janse, could be ascribed to Burgundian influence. As a part of the duchy of Burgundy, it is accepted that the title disappeared in Holland and Zeeland after 1470.¹⁷⁵

5.2.3 Guelders

The duchy of Guelders had known a slightly different development of *baanrotsen*. The title was known in Guelders from the end of the fourteenth century onwards, Jan van Mülenarck was an example of this, yet the first source originating from Guelders with a clear reference to *baanrotsen*, was a document from the twenty-seventh of December 1436.¹⁷⁶ Compared to other principalities, this was a very late introduction of *baanrotsen*, especially since the title “*baenritz*” appeared for the last time in 1477, after which it disappeared from Guelders. The word *bannerheer* on the other hand, would, according to Denessen, revive in the sixteenth century. This stands in sharp contrast to Johanna Maria Van Winter, who wrote that the rank of *baanrotsen* or *bannerheren* only started to decay in the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁷ The findings of Denessen would then indicate an opposite evolution in comparison to Brabant. Brabant knew the revival of the title of baron and attached to it a barony, while Guelders knew the revival of the *bannerheren* with their “*bannerij*”.¹⁷⁸ For the end of the fifteenth century, Denessen was able to identify five *baanrotsen* in contemporary sources. He also found a list with fifteen *baanrotsen*, although several of them did not originate from Guelders or they did not had seigniories in Guelders. However, Denessen clearly indicated that the list needed further research, as

¹⁷³ H. M. Brokken, “De Creatie van Baanderheren”, 64.

¹⁷⁴ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 171, v.4541, 301, v.8232-8233; P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, and F.K.H. Kossmann, eds., “Arkel,” *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1974), http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nbw/#source=7&page=17&accessor=accessor_index.

¹⁷⁵ A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 85.

¹⁷⁶ H. Denessen, “De Gelderse Bannerheren”, 21-22.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 23, 16; J. M. Van Winter, “Ministerialiteit En Ridderschap in Gelre En Zuthpen” (PhD, Universiteit Utrecht, 1962), 109.

¹⁷⁸ H. Denessen, *op. cit.* 16.

does the study of *baanrotsen* in Guelders, which was still found in a preliminary stage.¹⁷⁹ The number of *baanrotsen* from Guelders, is small, but similar to Holland and Zeeland.

5.2.4 Flanders

Of all the cited principalities, the county of Flanders is the only one for which no studies have yet been made on *baanrotsen*. For that reason, it seemed interesting to have a look at some historical sources. In these sources, several *baanrotsen* can be found for Flanders, but their role seems to be confined to military functions. The oldest reference to *baanrotsen* in Flanders was found in the *Milites regni Francie*. This was a list that was edited around the year 1216 and it recorded the knights of the kingdom of France. This is immediately also the oldest reference to *baanrotsen* found for this thesis. In this list, Flanders was considered as a part of the old principality of Normandy. The *baanrotsen* were denominated as: “*Milites Normannie ferentes bannerias*” or Norman knights carrying banners. It is indicated in this list that forty-seven *baanrotsen* originated from the county of Flanders, although this number was reduced to forty-one by Jan Frans Verbruggen. Verbruggen identified these *baanrotsen* and wrote that they owed their title to the fact that they belonged to the high nobility of Flanders and to the importance of their families. Verbruggen further wrote that each *baanrots* commanded twenty noblemen in the course of the thirteenth century, by which he estimated that the army of the county of Flanders consisted of eight hundred and forty to eight hundred and sixty knights at the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁰ The title of the list and the manner in which it is analysed by historians emphasise the military function of the *baanrotsen* of Flanders.

This function is further affirmed in a list of noblemen of the county of Flanders that was composed between 1384 and 1386. It enumerates first thirteen “*Baenrache*” and secondly, one hundred and sixty-eight “*Ruddren met ghesellen*”. For the editors, this classification was reason to believe that it was the military elite of the county that was denominated in this list. They further proposed that, in all probability, this document was made with the purpose of summoning the Flemish knights to war and that it originated in the environment of the count of Flanders, by which only noblemen inclined towards their ruler were admitted in this list.¹⁸¹ Once again, *baanrotsen* of Flanders were solely identified by their military functions.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 23, 25-29, 11, 34.

¹⁸⁰ F. Lot, *L'art Militaire et Les Armées Au Moyen Age En Europe et Dans Le Proche Orient*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Paris: Payot, 1946), 219; J.F. Verbruggen, *Het Leger En de Vloot van de Graven van Vlaanderen Vanaf Het Ontstaan Tot in 1305* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 1960), 73-75.

¹⁸¹ F. Buylaert et al., “De Adel Ingelijst: ‘Adelslijsten’ Voor Het Graafschap Vlaanderen in de Veertiende En Vijftiende Eeuw,” *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie Voor Geschiedenis*, no. 173 (2007), 10-11, 24-27.

Since the search for *baanrotsen* in Brabant started with their references in narrative sources, and since many such sources were also produced in the county of Flanders, it seemed interesting to have a look at some Flemish chronicles. A first Flemish chronicle is the *Rijmkroniek van Vlaanderen*. This was composed between 1380 and 1420, and, in all probability, this chronicle originated in Ghent. It narrates the history of Flanders from 792 until Jan zonder Vrees became duke of Burgundy in 1405.¹⁸² Only three passages with several references to *baanrotsen* can be found in this *Rijmkroniek*, but they are never identified and they hardly refer to *baanrotsen* of Flanders. It appears that the *baanrotsen* of France and Brabant were more emphasised. For example, when the battle of the Gulden Spurs was described, it was written that the French army consisted of “*Princhen baenraetsen ende ander heeren*” and that they had to endure severe calamities among which the loss of “*LX baenraetsen bleuer doot*”.¹⁸³ Sixty *baanrotsen* is an enormous number. However, the chronicle does not indicate they were Flemish. This same conclusion can be drawn as well on the other references in the *Rijmkroniek* in which this French army was described. It consisted each time of “*baenraetsen ende ruddren*”, but specific Flemish *baanrotsen* were never mentioned or identified.¹⁸⁴ Apart from these references in descriptions on the composition of the French army, one more reference to *baanrotsen* was found. This was in the narration of the Brabant War of Succession, which mainly concentrated on the Peace of Ath that was concluded on the fourth of June 1357. Among the many stipulations in this peace treaty, one prescribed that the towns of Leuven, Brussels, Nivelles and Tienen, together with several *baanrotsen*, knights and squires, had to pay tribute to Lodewijk van Male. In times of war, these towns had to deliver four banners to the Flemish count, at their own expense. Among these four banners, two *baanrotsen* and two knights had to be reckoned.¹⁸⁵ It is evident that this passage referred to two *baanrotsen* from Brabant. Once again, the references to *baanrotsen* do not refer to Flemish *baanrotsen*. In this way, the *Rijmkroniek* almost suggest there were no *baanrotsen* in the county of Flanders.

In the second Flemish chronicle, the *Kronyke van Vlaenderen*, a similar image can be noticed. It is assumed that this chronicle was written by Jan van Diksmuide and it narrates the history from the county and the counts of Flanders from 580 until 1436.¹⁸⁶ It holds two references to *baanrotsen*, yet the descriptions are very vague and they do not refer to a specific person. Each time they describe:

¹⁸² While many elements in the *Rijmkroniek* appear to have been copied from other manuscripts, the narration of the second half of the fourteenth century appears to have been authentic, which makes it a valuable source for this thesis. See: H. Brinkman and J. Schenkel, *Het Comburgse Handschrift : Hs. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Poet. et Phil. 2o22*, vol. 1, (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), 12.

¹⁸³ H. Brinkman and J. Schenkel, *Het Comburgse Handschrift*, vol. 2, 1406-1407, v.7149, v.7191.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 1474, v. 9826 and 1477, v. 9972.

¹⁸⁵ For the edition of the treaty of the Peace of Ath: J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 543-546; H. Brinkman and J. Schenkel, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 1452, v.8927-8934.

¹⁸⁶ Several continuations were made to the *Kronyke van Vlaenderen*, by which the history of the county of Flanders until 1504 was described. See: R. G. Dunphy, *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 1, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 536.

“*Meenich heere, baenradse, riddere, ende schiltcnape*”.¹⁸⁷ In the first reference, these men promised to accompany count Philip the Bold van de Elzas on his crusade to Jerusalem in the twelfth century. In the second reference, these four groups of men were described as participants at the battle of Bouvines in 1214. However, in neither of these two passages was it explicitly indicated that these men were from Flanders. Furthermore, questions can be posed regarding the reliability of these descriptions. Based on the *Milites regni Francie* of 1216, it is absolutely possible that *baanrotsen* participated in the battle of Bouvines, but other than this *Kronyke*, there are no further sources that indicate the existence of *baanrotsen* in the twelfth century in Flanders. To conclude this existence, from this single passage, would be thoughtless. Especially, since it seems more probable that the distinction between lords, *baanrotsen*, knights and squires, was adopted from the context in which this chronicle originated, more in particular, the fifteenth century. At that time, such enumerations were more common.

Notwithstanding these poor results from Flemish chronicles, it must be emphasised that this is only a first encounter with *baanrotsen* in Flemish sources. Already two preliminary conclusions can be made. The first one is the fact that the meaning and function of *baanrotsen* in Flanders seems to be solely confined to the military sphere. Indications to possible consultative functions were not found in historical sources thus far. Future research to the persons of these *baanrotsen* might reveal otherwise, but sources emphasize purely the military function. The second preliminary conclusion is that the oldest reference to *baanrotsen* refers to Flanders. It indicates that Flanders had a development of *baanrotsen* that far outreached the development in Brabant. This is perfectly explainable since the formation of the county of Flanders was completed much earlier than that of the duchy of Brabant. It further strengthens the argument of Janse that the title of *baanrots* was introduced in Holland through Flanders. It would be interesting to further analyse this argument and to compare the developments in Flanders and in Brabant, but, due to lack of studies, this is not yet feasible for now.

¹⁸⁷ C. P. Serrure and P. M. Blommaert, eds., *Kronyk van Vlaenderen, van 580 Tot 1467* (Ghent: Vanderhaeghen-Hulin, 1839), 79-80, 130.

6 CHARACTERISTICS OF *BAANROTSSEN* IN BRABANT

For fifteenth-century Brabant, Damen discerned three conditions which characterized potentially new *baanrotsen*. Firstly, they had to descend from a noble lineage. Secondly, their ancestors must have clearly shown their loyalty and servitude to the ruler. Thirdly, the seigniorship of the family must have been from “*anciennement terre de bannière*”, or from immemorial times, it must have been a ‘bannerseigniorship’.¹⁸⁸ Since the work of Damen on *baanrotsen* was pioneering work, these three conditions can be considered as a point of departure for this final chapter. Through the course of this final chapter, these conditions will be assessed with the characteristics of *baanrotsen* in fourteenth century-Brabant. Nobility, seigniorship, ancestral service and loyalty to the ruler, were they also defining elements of *baanrotsen* in the long fourteenth century?

To answer these questions, this final chapter will be dedicated to the analysis of the *baanrotsen* found in the historical sources used for this thesis. The full list of all these *baanrotsen* and several biographical descriptions of identified *baanrotsen*, can be found in the appendix. It was not possible to make such descriptions for all the *baanrotsen* encountered through this research. This can be attributed to many genealogical difficulties, for example, names that were passed on through generations without enumerations. There were many references, for example, both in historiography as in historical sources, to Hendrik van Boutersem, while eventually four different *baanrotsen* bore that name. Furthermore, these limited descriptions can also be attributed to a deficiency of genealogical studies on the most important families in the duchy of Brabant. A few studies are exceptions to this rule. For example, the significance in the identification of *baanrotsen*, of both the works of Avonds and Uyttebrouck on the councillors of Brabant, has already been shown through the course of this thesis. Even though contemporary historiography does not tend to concentrate on family histories or genealogies, a matter that was also raised by Boffa, who indicated that we still await specialized studies on the great families of Brabant, there are some good contemporary studies in that field.¹⁸⁹ The work of Croenen on the Berthouts is an example of this, as is the work of Van Ermen on the Wezemaals. However, not even half of all the encountered *baanrotsen* were found in these works. Often this meant that it became necessary to rely on much older historiographical works. Considering the fact that the study of *baanrotsen*, especially for the fourteenth century, is still preliminary, it was not possible to study them without knowing who those men were. This is why all kinds of historiographical works were used to try and obtain an image of these men, even though this image might still be scant.

¹⁸⁸ M. Damen, “Heren met Banieren”, 145.

¹⁸⁹ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 123.

In the analysis of the historical sources, five elements seem to stand out: the importance of seigniories, family, knighthood, councillorship, and social differentiation. Knighthood and councillorship are two elements already treated in the fourth chapter, yet the identification of *baanrotsen* through historiographical works further appears to strengthen the conclusions made in that chapter. Consultative and military functions still seem to prevail, but studied more broadly, it can be questioned to what extent these functions were defining elements of *baanrotsen*. These five elements must help to determine why men received the title of *baanrots*.

6.1 Seigniories of *baanrotsen*

The question whether the title of *baanrots* was connected to a seigniority, occupied the minds of many historians who encountered *baanrotsen*. Once again, this is a question in which often the inconsistencies between the titles of *baanrots* and baron occurred. For example, Uyttebrouck wrote about “*barons*”, when he referred to *baanrotsen*, and he named their territory a “*baronnie*”. He emphasised that he did not want to confirm any direct connection between the status of baron and the “*baronnie*”, because he had found some examples of noblemen who had already obtained certain seigniories, but not yet the status of baron. This made him assume that the “*baronnie*” was not yet hereditary and that it entailed a personal quality which was acquired in a way to which Uyttebrouck could not yet give an answer.¹⁹⁰ Apart from the confusing terminology, Uyttebrouck made some very interesting suggestions: the status of *baanrotsen* might not be connected to a seigniority and it might be a personal characteristic.

Van Steensel also ventured to explain the existence of a possible connection between the title of *baanrots* and a seigniority. He wrote that the granting of the military rank of *baanrots* was often accompanied by the bestowment of property, by which this nobleman was able to provide for his newly acquired status.¹⁹¹ In writing this, Van Steensel refused to assume, in accordance with Uyttebrouck, that there was *a priori* a connection between the title and seigniority of a *baanrots*.

For fifteenth-century Brabant, Damen proposed a different image. He proposed that the title of *baanrots* had a hereditary character, which depended upon the seigniority a family possessed. Seigniories were determining for the naming of *baanrotsen* and the example of the ‘bannertree’ in the *Die Alder Excellenste Cronyke van Brabant* even indicated that the status of a seigniority determined whether someone was allowed to call himself *baanrots*.¹⁹² Damen thus emphasised the defining character of the seigniority, which was also one of the three conditions for potential *baanrotsen*. The *a*

¹⁹⁰ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 1, 440.

¹⁹¹ A. Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 374.

¹⁹² M. Damen, *op. cit.*, 143, 145.

priori connection between the title and the seigniorship of *baanrotsen* thus appeared to have been established in the fifteenth century.

Notwithstanding these theories, the terminology that was applied by all three historians, “*baronnie*” and “*baanderheerlijkheid*”, already suggested the connection between title and seigniorship. However, can we truly speak of a ‘bannerseigniorship’?

6.1.1 *Baanrotsen on the map*

In order to answer this last question and to examine whether there was a connection between title and seigniorship, it was necessary to obtain an efficient overview of all the encountered *baanrotsen*. In total, one hundred and one *baanrotsen* were found in the historical sources.¹⁹³ To facilitate the analysis of so many *baanrotsen*, they were divided in four generations.¹⁹⁴ The point of departure to classify *baanrotsen* in one of these generations was the source in which they were identified as *baanrotsen*. The first generation encompassed all the *baanrotsen* identified as such at the end of the thirteenth century. These were the ones who participated in the battle of Woeringen. The second generation were the *baanrotsen* who were identified as *baanrots* in the first half of the fourteenth century. Subsequently, the *baanrotsen* identified as such in the second half of the fourteenth century, formed the *baanrotsen* of the third generation. For example, these were all the *baanrotsen* who sealed the reconfirmation charter of 1372. The fourth and last generation of *baanrotsen* were the ones identified as *baanrots* in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The *baanrotsen* of this generation all died in the first half of the fifteenth century.

It must be emphasised that the chosen classification is not a binding indication for the life span of these *baanrotsen*. More in particular, this classification does not necessarily implicate that a *baanrots* who was classified in a certain generation, only lived within the time span of that generation. For example, Rasse van Rivieren, lord of Neerlinter was identified as *baanrots* in the reconfirmation charter of 1372, and as a consequence, he was classified as a *baanrots* of the third generation, yet he only died in 1425.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, it was still decided to classify Rasse van Rivieren with the third generation because hardly any information is known about his activities in the fifteenth century. This

¹⁹³ In the fourth chapter of this thesis, the problem in the identification of the *baanrots* Jan van Mülenarck was explained. (see pp. 32-33) There are presumptions to assume that there were in fact two persons with the name Jan van Mülenarck. This would bring the total number of *baanrotsen* up to one hundred and two, however, since these presumptions are, until now, not yet verified, it is not possible to maintain this reasoning. The only certainty that can be achieved in this work, is the fact that there was at least one *baanrots* with that name, by which the total number of *baanrotsen* remains one hundred and one.

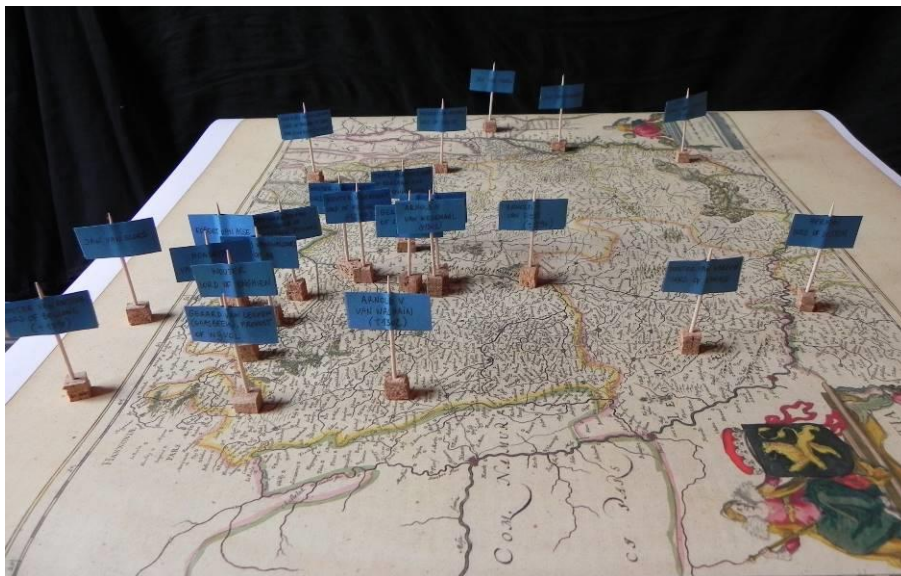
¹⁹⁴ The list of these one hundred and one *baanrotsen*, divided in four generations, can also be found in the appendix. It further indicates the *baanrotsen* who were atypical; the *baanrotsen* who were not from Brabant and without ties to the ducal family of Brabant; and it indicates the *baanrotsen* who remain unknown to the present researcher.

¹⁹⁵ A. Uyttebrouck, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 725.

was the case for many other *baanrotsen*. With only fifty biographical descriptions of one hundred and one *baanrotsen*, many of them remain unknown to the present researcher apart from their names and the sources in which they were identified as *baanrots*. A classification based on these sources was the best way to representatively classify such a large number of *baanrotsen*.

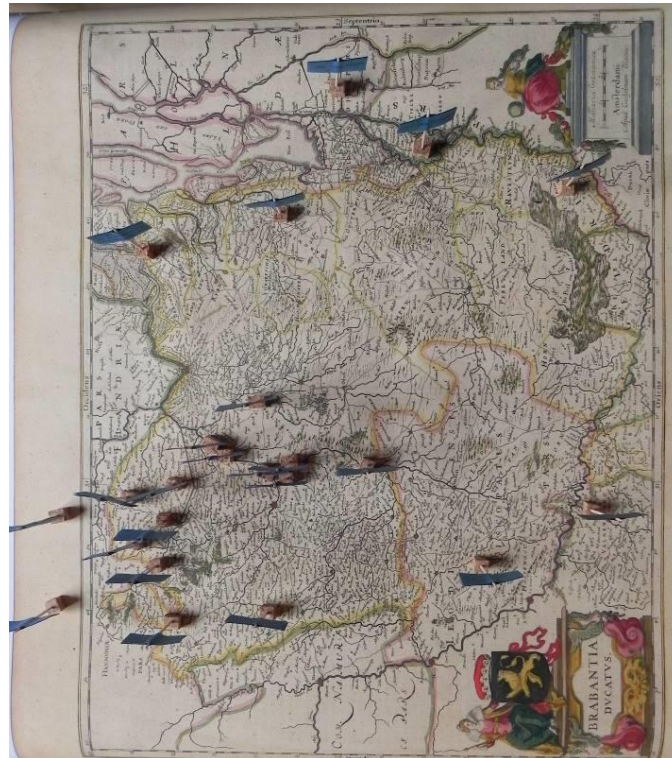
In a manner that predates the present computer age, each generation of *baanrotsen* was put on a map of the duchy of Brabant. Since it was rather difficult to find a detailed map of fourteenth-century Brabant, it was the map of Blaeu, printed in 1652, that was used.¹⁹⁶ Good quality digital versions of this map can be found, the map is easily accessible, and, apart from a few perspectival deviations, it gives a decent representation of the duchy of Brabant that can be used as a starting point. On this map, the *baanrotsen* were positioned on the basis of the indications of seigniories by which they were denominated. In the historical sources, most of the encountered *baanrotsen* were solely denominated by means of a seigniory or they were described as “*here van*”. With this information, it became easy to position the *baanrotsen* on the map of Brabant and to examine the occurrence and diffusion of the title of *baanrots* through the long fourteenth century. In the following pictures, each time the map is turned towards the quarters of the compass. The county of Holland is situated north of Brabant; the duchy of Guelders east; the prince-bishopric of Liège south-east; the county of Namur south; the county of Hainaut south-west; and the county of Flanders is situated west of Brabant.

6.1.1.1 First generation of *baanrotsen*



Pict. 1: Baanrotsen of the first generation

¹⁹⁶ P. van der Krogt and E. de Groot, eds., *The Atlas Blaeu - Van Der Hem of the Austrian National Library*, vol. 2, Descriptive catalogue of volumes 9-17 of the Atlas (HES Publishers, 1999), 332. For a digital version of this map, see: “Blaeu Atlas: Germania Inferior,” UCLA, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://unitproj.library.ucla.edu/cris/blaeu/germania-inferior.htm>.



Pict. 2: Baanrotsen of the first generation (high angle)

Twenty-eight *baanrotsen* belonged to the first generation. Twenty-four of them are put on this map. Four remained unknown, as a consequence, they do not have a place on this map. The first thing that attracts the attention, is the concentration of *baanrotsen* in the central part of the duchy, around the towns of Leuven, Brussels and Mechelen. For example, these were the already discussed Wouter V and Wouter VI Berthout in Mechelen. Yet, these were also several *baanrotsen* of whom the family name often reappeared in the list of *baanrotsen*: Wezemaal, Rotselaar, Boutersem, and Diest.

Apart from this concentration, it appears that the *baanrotsen* were more spread on the map. In the north of the duchy, there were only a few *baanrotsen*. Gerard I van Wezemaal, lord of Bergen op Zoom and Arnold van Leuven, lord of Breda were rather far from the concentration. The same can be said of Jan I van Kuyc, who occupied a lonely position at the border with Guelders. However, in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, it is written that Jan I van Kuyc was able to summon two other *baanrotsen* to fight in the battle of Woeringen: Jan van Arkel and Jan van Heusden.¹⁹⁷ Arkel was situated in Holland and Heusden next to 's Hertogenbosch, at the border between Brabant and Holland. It thus appears that there were five *baanrotsen* at the northern frontier of Brabant.

Furthermore, it can be noticed that there were several other *baanrotsen* who did not hold seigniories in the duchy itself. For example, Jan van Scors was lord of Schorisse in Flanders.¹⁹⁸ Wittem was situated in Fauquemont, while Momale, where Wouter van Warfusé was lord, was

¹⁹⁷ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 301, v. 8225-8233.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 170, v. 4525

situated in the prince-bishopric of Liège. This demonstrates that the title of *baanrots* was not characteristic for seigniories in Brabant.

6.1.1.2 *Second generation of baanrotsen*



Pict. 3: *Baanrotsen of the second generation*

Only one *baanrots* belonged to this second generation. This was Jan II, lord of Sombreffe, who lived until 1329. Sombreffe was situated at the border of the duchy with the county of Namur, which was called the “*Roman Pays de Brabant*”. Jan II was both vassal of the duke of Brabant, Jan III, and the count of Namur, yet Sombreffe was held as a fief of the duke of Brabant.¹⁹⁹

It is wrong to assume that Jan II was the only *baanrots* of the second generation, since he is merely the only encountered and identified *baanrots* for this thesis. He sealed the Charter of Kortenberg in 1312, but several other “*banerache*” also sealed this Charter, even though no specific men were identified as such.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 3, 307; L. Génicot, “Le Namurois Politique, Économique et Social Au Bas Moyen Âge,” *Annales de La Société Archéologique de Namur* LII (1964), 117-118.

²⁰⁰ J. Van der Straeten, *op. cit.* 16-17.

6.1.1.3 Third generation of *baanrotsen*



Pict. 4: Baanrotsen of the third generation



Pict. 5: Baanrotsen of the third generation (high angle)

Sixty-seven *baanrotsen* belonged to the third generation. Six of them remained unknown, as a consequence, it was not possible to position them on the map. This was also the case for four other *baanrotsen*, who were labelled in the appendix 'atypical' because they were not identified as lords of

seigniories. A following part of this chapter will further examine these four. Another four of these sixty-seven *baanrotsen* were neither positioned on the map, because they were four *baanrotsen* from Holland without ties to the dukes of Brabant. They appeared in the note of May 1357, already discussed. In the end, it was only possible for fifty-three *baanrotsen* to position them on the map.

Compared to the previous generations, it is immediately striking how much more *baanrotsen* this third generation encompassed. Similar to the first generation, most of the *baanrotsen* are situated within the centre of the duchy. The region around Brussels and Leuven still seems to be important, especially considering the fact that this region is enlarged on the map in comparison to the proportions of this region in reality.

Furthermore, a great concentration of *baanrotsen* can be spotted around the towns of Mechelen and Antwerp. This stands in sharp contrast to the spread of *baanrotsen* in the region of Leuven, Tienen, Wavre, and Diest, which seems to have been more equal. The concentration around Antwerp and Mechelen is conspicuous because these two towns had fallen into the hands of Lodewijk van Male after the Brabant War of Succession. It creates the suggestion that these *baanrotsen* were appointed with a certain intention, for example, to guard Mechelen and Antwerp and to keep an eye on what was happening in these two towns. This suggestion is further strengthened because of two examples in the reconfirmation charter of 1372. It mentioned two families, Immerzeel and Duffel. Of each family, there were three men who were counted among the *baanrotsen* in the reconfirmation charter. However, these were two unique cases because the explicit description of three men with the title of *baanrots*, with the same family name, and with the explicit denotation that they were related, was something that was never encountered before in all the historical sources. What makes this more spectacular, is that both Immerzeel and Duffel were situated in the area around Antwerp and Mechelen. Taken all these elements together, it is very alluring to adopt the assumption that the three men of these specific families were appointed as *baanrots* with the specific intention to guard Mechelen and Antwerp.

What is more, we can notice, once again, that there were not many *baanrotsen* situated at the northern frontier of the duchy. In the north-east, not even one *baanrots* was found. This is quite remarkable since the border with Guelders was situated exactly north-eastwards in the duchy of Brabant. Considering the many wars with Guelders which took place in the second half of the fourteenth century, it may have been expected to find more *baanrotsen* at this border. Since this is not the case, we can conclude that these wars did not influence the appointment of *baanrotsen* in military strategic territories. When specifically examining the borders of the duchy, it can be remarked that there were a few *baanrotsen* with seigniories at the border between Hainault and Brabant. However, in a military point of view, there was no specific strategic reason for this, by which the latter conclusion is only strengthened.

The only northern towns that were held by *baanrotsen*, were Bergen op Zoom, Breda and Zundert. Especially the first two towns were important because they were also held by *baanrotsen* of the first generation and, regarding the third generation, there were each time two *baanrotsen* who held these towns. Bergen op Zoom was held by, successively, Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem and Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem. Breda was held by Jan II van Polanen and, afterwards, by Engelbert I van Nassau. These two seigniories were not the only ones in which a certain continuity can be detected. For example, the seigniories of Diest, Wittem, Sombrefe, Schoonvorst, Wezemaal, Rotselaar and Grimbergen were also held for several times by different *baanrotsen*.

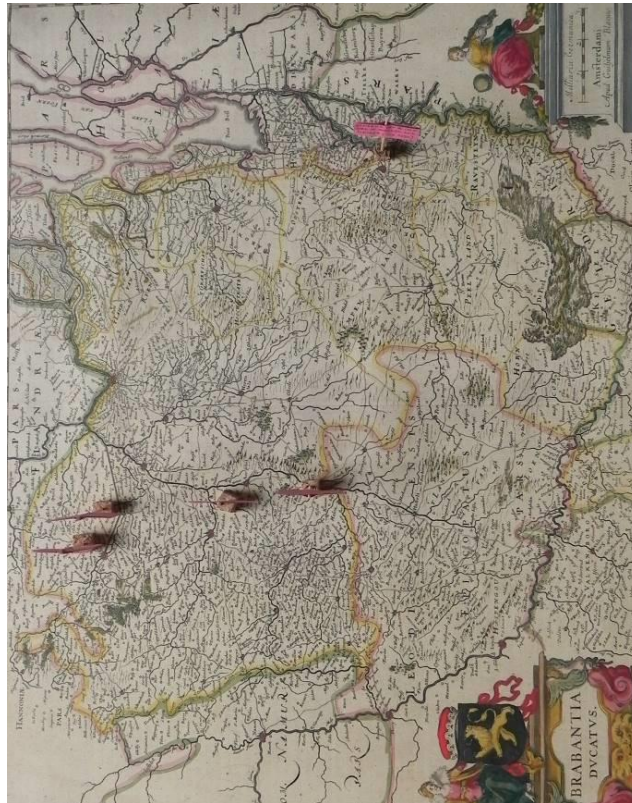
Another element which, in accordance with the *baanrotsen* of the first generation, can be noticed, is the fact that there were several *baanrotsen* of Brabant with no particular seigniories in the duchy itself. This was the case for Wittem and Schoonvorst until 1364. Both these seigniories were situated in Fauquemont, which was acquired by Johanna and Wenceslas in 1364.²⁰¹ Furthermore, this was also the case for Pietersheim, Diepenbeek, Meldert, and Harduémont in Liège; for Marbais in Namur; and for Hamme and Eijchem in Flanders. At the request of Johanna and Wenceslas, the *baanrotsen* of these seigniories sealed the reconfirmation charter of 1372. This meant that, even though their seignior was not situated in the duchy itself, a significant connection existed between these men and the duke and duchess. This explains that the seignior was not decisive for the title of *baanrots*, instead, it was this personal connection. It might also explain the bond between Johanna and Jan van Mülenarck who originated from Guelders. The fact that he acted as her debtor in 1384 is much better understood in the light of such a personal connection of trust and it seems to have been unrelated to his place of origin.

6.1.1.4 Fourth generation of *baanrotsen*



Pict. 6: Baanrotsen of the fourth generation

²⁰¹ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 15.



Pict. 7: Baanrotsen of the fourth generation (high angle)

Five encountered *baanrotsen* were classified as the *baanrotsen* of the fourth generation. These were the three *baanrotsen* who formed the regency council of Jan IV: Hendrik IX van Boutersem, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin; Thomas II, lord of Diest and Zichem; and Jan I, lord of Wezemaal and Fallais. The latter two were also very active in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Two other *baanrotsen* were also numbered among the *baanrotsen* of the fourth generation. These were Hendrik van Diest, lord of Rivieren and Hendrik van de Leck, lord of Heeswijk and Dinther. After identifying these two men, it appeared that they were most active in the first half of the fifteenth century, as a consequence, it was only logical that they were classified to the fourth generation.²⁰²

Even though the fourth generation only encompassed a small number of *baanrotsen*, there are again several elements that can be remarked. Firstly, apart from Hendrik van de Leck, these *baanrotsen* were once again centred in the heart of the duchy, which is the region around Brussels and Leuven. Secondly, four of them were lord of a seigniorie which was held by *baanrotsen* in the previous generations. These seigniories were: Grimbergen, Diest, Wezemaal and Rivieren.²⁰³ Thirdly, this generation does not include *baanrotsen* defined by seigniories situated outside of Brabant. Hendrik

²⁰² Biographical information on these *baanrotsen* can be found in the appendix. See also: A. Uytendaele, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 682, 706-707.

²⁰³ Rivieren was not mentioned before, but Florent van Stalle, a *baanrots* of the third generation, was the lord of Rivieren in the second half of the fourteenth century.

van de Leck originated from Holland and he maintained certain connections to Holland, but his seigniories were situated in Brabant.

With Heeswijk and Dinther, held by Hendrik van de Leck, it was for the first time since Jan I van Kuyc, that a *baanrots* was once again situated north-eastwards in the duchy of Brabant. What is more, it was also the first time that a *baanrots* of Brabant was situated very close by 's Hertogenbosch. This was one of the most important towns of the duchy of Brabant, but until Hendrik van de Leck, there were no *baanrotsen* found in the area of this town. It was especially during the third war with Guelders, from 1397 until 1399, that 's Hertogenbosch became much more important. This war started in 's Hertogenbosch and the town was crucial in the defence of the duchy. However, already in 1383, Hendrik van de Leck was denominated as a *baanrots*, by which a possible link between the war with Guelders, the title of *baanrots*, and the seigniories of Hendrik van de Leck, is non-existent.

6.1.1.5 Continuity of seigniories



Pict. 8: Continuity of seigniories



Pict. 9: Continuity of seigniories (high angle)

The positioning of the four different generations on the map, reveals how many same seigniories were held by different *baanrotsen*. Pictures eight and nine provide an overview of all these *baanrotsen* and the seigniories they held. The different colours of the flags symbolize the different generations of *baanrotsen*. Because of this, it becomes immediately clear that:

- Mechelen was held by *baanrotsen* of the first generation;
- Bergen op Zoom, Breda, Perwez, Boutersem, Rotselaar and Wittem were held by *baanrotsen* of the first and third generation;
- Sombrefe was held by *baanrotsen* of the second and third generation;
- Duffel, Immerzeel and Schoonvorst were held by *baanrotsen* of the third generation;
- Rivieren was held by *baanrotsen* of the third and fourth generation;
- Grimbergen, Wezemaal and Diest were held by *baanrotsen* of the first, third and fourth generation;

Most of these seigniories were situated in the heart of the duchy around the towns of Brussels, Leuven and Mechelen. It indicates that the dukes and duchess of Brabant have always wanted a certain number of their *baanrotsen* close by, whether this was for military or consultative reasons.

Furthermore, the fact that these seigniories were held by several generations of *baanrotsen*, led historians to the assumption that there was a direct connection between seigniories and the title of

baanrots. However, there were only thirty-six *baanrotsen* that held these listed seigniories. Thirty-six of a total number of one hundred and one *baanrotsen*, is a too small number to affirm that seigniories were decisive in the appointment of *baanrotsen*. More than sixty percent of all the encountered *baanrotsen* held seigniories that only once belonged to a *baanrots*.

6.1.2 Concluding remarks

Statements about the nature of the discussed seigniories were not made because it would exceed the limits of this thesis. The only historian who introduced such a research for the seigniories of Brabant was Van Ermen, yet he only studied a limited amount of seigniories. Some of the described seigniories were allodia, such as Diepenbeek, but many seigniories were held in fief from many different lords. For example, Boutersem was held in fief from the duke of Brabant, Duffel from the lords of Mechelen and the land of Cuijk was held in fief from the Holy Roman Emperor.²⁰⁴ Further research must reveal whether there was a connection between the nature of seigniories and the title of *baanrots*.

For now, we can conclude that it remains possible to write about ‘*baanderheerlijkheden*’ or ‘*bannerseigniories*’ as the seigniorie of a *baanrots*, inasmuch as it does not implicate an *a priori* presumption that the seigniorie was decisive for the appointment of the title of *baanrots*. This explains the conundrum we were faced with in the fourth chapter, in which Jan III van Rotselaar was identified as a *baanrots* even though he was not yet the lord of Rotselaar.²⁰⁵ Without assuming a connection between title and seigniorie, this was perfectly possible.

The fact that there was no direct connection between title and seigniorie is proven because, on the one hand, it was a title that was held by so many *baanrotsen* who did not even had a seigniorie in the duchy itself. On the other hand, when considering the military function of *baanrotsen*, it might have been expected to find this had repercussions on the position of the seigniories of the *baanrotsen* in Brabant. However, on several occasions, this proved not to be the case. Even though Brabant had many hostile encounters with Guelders, hardly any *baanrotsen* were found on that frontier. In contrast to the frontiers of Brabant, it was the heart of the duchy that was protected. When Mechelen and Antwerp fell into the hands of Lodewijk van Male after the Brabant War of Succession, it appeared that more *baanrotsen* were appointed that originated from that area. Immerzeel and Duffel were

²⁰⁴ E. Van Ermen, “Heerlijkheden in Het Hertogdom Brabant in de 13de Eeuw,” 44, 46; F. Doperé and W. Ubregts, *De Donjon in Vlaanderen: Architectuur En Wooncultuur* (Brussels and Leuven: Gemeentekrediet and Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1991), 148; A. Wauters *La Belgique Ancienne et Moderne : Géographie et Histoire Des Communes Belges. Arrondissement de Louvain. Canton de Tirlemont.* (Brussels, 1882), 125; J. A. Coldewey, *op. cit.*, 4.

²⁰⁵ See: “4.2.1.1 Strength of *baanrotsen* in battle and the composition of their forces”, 37.

examples of this. Until now, the case of Mechelen and Antwerp, is still a unique case, other such examples were not found.

6.2 Family relations of *baanrotsen*

When considering the list of *baanrotsen*, it is conspicuous how many of them were related. For example, in the list of fifty identified *baanrotsen*, thirty-one of them were related. Often these were father and son relationships, but examples were also found in which grandfathers and grandsons, brothers, or distant cousins or nephews were *baanrotsen*. Using the previous classification in four generations, the following scheme gives an overview of the encountered families in which *baanrotsen* occurred.

- Gaasbeek: three *baanrotsen* in the first generation;
- Berthout: four *baanrotsen* in the first and third generation;
- Rotselaar: three *baanrotsen* in the first and third generation;
- Boutersem: four *baanrotsen* in the first, third and fourth generation;
- Wezemaal: five *baanrotsen* in the first, third and fourth generation;
- Diest: four *baanrotsen* in the first, third and fourth generation;
- Sombreffe: two *baanrotsen* in the second and third generation;
- Schoonvorst: two *baanrotsen* in the third generation;
- Bouchout: two *baanrotsen* in the third generation;
- Immerzeel: three *baanrotsen* in the third generation;
- Duffel: three *baanrotsen* in the third generation;²⁰⁶

Furthermore, even though Jan II van Polanen and Hendrik van de Leck did not bear the same family name, they were related as well, since Jan II was the father of Hendrik. In total, these men count for thirty-seven, of the one hundred and one *baanrotsen*, that were related to one or other of them. We can thus conclude that, no more than the seignior, family name was a decisive characteristic of *baanrotsen*. Yet, again, no more than seignior, can we neglect the importance of these families.

When comparing this list of families with the list of seignior, that were characterized by continuity, the enormous correspondence is striking. It indicates that many seignior, were held by

²⁰⁶ The family relations of Immerzeel and Duffel are indicated in the reconfirmation charter of 1372: “*heren Godevert, heren Jan ende heren Karl van Ymmersele, gebruedere*” and “*heren Wouter van Duffle, heren Florents ende heren Jacob van Duffle, gebruederen*,”. In: J. Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, 39.

families who often produced *baanrotsen*. However, the *baanrotsen* of one particular family were not exclusively bound to one particular seignior. For example, Gerard III van Rotselaar was lord of Vorsselaar and not of Rotselaar, and the name Boutersem was still used by the lords of Bergen op Zoom even though their predecessor had sold Boutersem in 1333.²⁰⁷ What makes the case of Boutersem interesting, is, that in the second half of the fourteenth century, the seignior was also held by another *baanrots*, namely, Gerard II vander Heiden. It indicates that both the family and the seignior of Boutersem were important, even though the two were not related anymore. We can conclude that the *baanrotsen* who belonged to the cited families, formed a core group within the total group of encountered *baanrotsen*.

A similar case was found in the works of Uyttebrouck and Avonds. The fact that many councillors were related to each other, was for both historians reason to believe in the existence of a '*hérédité de fait*'. This entailed a hereditary membership for the descendants of families who, from times immemorial, had their seats in the ducal council or the *curia*.²⁰⁸ The '*hérédité de fait*' can thus be considered as a core group as well. The fourth part of this chapter will further discuss the participation of *baanrotsen* in the ducal council, but for now, we can question whether this concept of the '*hérédité de fait*' can be applied to the families of *baanrotsen*. Was the title of *baanrots* hereditary for the members of the most important families in Brabant? The *baanrotsen* belonging to the family of Wezemaal form the perfect example to answer this question. This was the family with the largest number of encountered *baanrotsen*.

6.2.1 Case study: the *baanrotsen* of Wezemaal

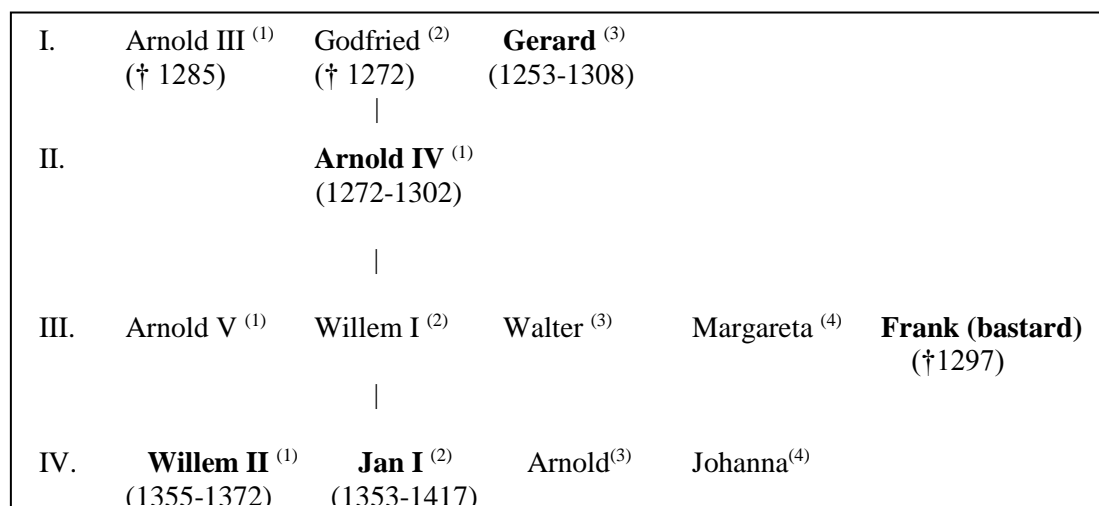


Fig. 1: Genealogy lords of Wezemaal²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 3, 247

²⁰⁸ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 327-329; P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 132.

²⁰⁹ This genealogy is adopted from: E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 26-27.

This figure shows only a small part of the genealogy of the lords of Wezemaal. The capital numbers indicate four subsequent generations. The order in which these men and women of each generation were born, is indicated by means of the small numbers. The names of the *baanrotsen* are written in bold letters.

One of the first things that becomes clear when examining this family tree, is that the title of *baanrots* was not passed on from father to son. Frank, bastard son of Arnold IV, was the only one who had a father with the title of *baanrots*. For the other four Wezemaal *baanrotsen*, this was not the case. Another element in favour of this postulation is the question: if there was a possibility that the title of *baanrots* was passed on from father to son, why choose to give it to a bastard son and not to the rightful heir of the seignior of Wezemaal? This does not make sense in a patrilineal society. Frank must have acquired his title of *baanrots* in another way. For example, his brave performance during the battle of Woeringen, in which he protected Jan I, might have had something to do with that.²¹⁰ In that respect, the title must have been personal.

Notwithstanding the non-hereditary characteristic of the title, it might have been transferrable upon the wife of a *baanrots*. In the aforementioned note of the fifth of May 1357 in the inventory of Verkooren was written: “*Mechtilde, dame de Voorne et Rasse van Kruiningen, dame et seigneur bannerets*”.²¹¹ Rasse van Kruiningen was a *baanrots* from Holland and in this note his wife is explicitly referred to as the “*dame banneret*”. Similar examples have not been found for Brabant.

What makes the case of the Wezemaal family exceptionally interesting, is the failed rebellion of Arnold III in 1265/6. Because of this, he had damaged the prestige of his family name and he had caused great financial difficulties.²¹² However, all of this did not prevent his younger brother from becoming a *baanrots*. According to Van Ermen, it was only in 1287, when Gerard acquired Bergen op Zoom, that he became politically active in Brabant. Whether he had received the title of *baanrots* before or after this acquisition is not known, but it is certain that the disrepute of Arnold III did not influence the bestowment of the title upon Gerard. This further proves that the title of *baanrots* must have been a personal title.

Furthermore, Gerard and Frank were the only Wezemaal *baanrotsen* who were not the lord of Wezemaal and they were also the only ones who did not bear the title of hereditary marshal of Brabant. The title of *baanrots* was thus definitely not related to any other titles. This also means that the title of *baanrots* was not transferred upon Jan I together with the title ‘lord of Wezemaal’ when his brother Willem II died in 1372. Both of them must have acquired the title of *baanrots* in another way. Jan I was very active in the political life of Brabant, so considering the background of the other *baanrotsen*, it does not appear to be odd that he was a *baanrots*. Willem II on the other hand, was not

²¹⁰ J.F. Willems, ed., *op. cit.*, 179, v. 4752 e.v., 305, v. 8368 e.v.

²¹¹ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 125.

²¹² *Ibidem*, 17-18.

that active. He was described as having kept a low profile.²¹³ Only when assuming that the title was personal, and acquired as personal merit, it can be explained that Willem II was also a *baanrots*. A personal connection with the duke or duchess, which is not mentioned in any source, might have been the reason for him being a *baanrots*.

6.2.2 Concluding remarks

The second condition that characterized potential *baanrotsen* was, according to Damen, that their ancestors must have shown great loyalty and service to the ruler.²¹⁴ However, in this part, it is shown that family was not a decisive factor in the bestowment of the title of *baanrots*. It is true that there were several families who often produced *baanrotsen* and that they often held the most important seignories. This must be considered as the core group of *baanrotsen* who often held seignories at the heart of the duchy. Nevertheless, even within this core group the title of *baanrots* was not hereditary. The case study of the genealogy of the *baanrotsen* of Wezemaal made this clear. The occurrence of the title must be explained on the basis of personal merit and personal connections with the dukes or duchess, and not with families or seignories.

6.3 The importance of knighthood and military activities

6.3.1 Defining *baanrotsen* as knights

Since the title of *baanrots* is in current historiography still considered purely as a military title, an examination of *baanrotsen* as knights cannot be neglected in this thesis. In some of the analysed sources, certain identified *baanrotsen* were explicitly referred to as knights. One important source for this was the Charter of the Ridderbond, which was issued on the seventeenth of May 1355.²¹⁵ The names of fifteen identified *baanrotsen* were found on this Charter. However, this is a unique source and other explicit descriptions of *baanrotsen* as knights are very rare. Most often, it is at random that such descriptions were found. The conferment of the accolade of Thomas II van Diest, lord of Zichem is an example of this. In the nineteenth-century work of Edward Van Even on the history of Diest, it was narrated that Thomas II was dubbed as a knight by the French count of Blois. This happened after

²¹³ *Ibidem*, 20.

²¹⁴ M. Damen, "Heren met Banieren", 145.

²¹⁵ P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720-723.

the battle at Roosebeke in 1382 in which the French army defeated the Flemish. Apparently, Thomas II fought so bravely that he was rewarded with knighthood after the battle.²¹⁶

For the first generation of *baanrotsen*, the chronicle of Jan van Heelu remains the principal source. Even though he mainly preferred to denote *baanrotsen* with the term “*baenrotse*” or by means of their banners, Van Heelu sometimes also described them as knights. For example, this was the case with Arnold V van Diest, Arnold IV van Wezemaal, Jan I van Kuyc, and Jan II van Arkel.²¹⁷ The *baanrots* whom Van Heelu denoted as “*van Antonse*” or Wouter van Antoing, lord of Bellone, was not described in his chronicle as a knight, however, Van Antoing was identified as such in the narration of the chivalric tournament of Mons in 1310. Another participant in this tournament was the *baanrots* and knight Jan II van Sombreffe.²¹⁸

It might be that not every *baanrots* can be identified as a knight by means of the examined sources, yet of the fifty identified *baanrotsen* in the appendix, forty-seven can be discerned with a clear military function. The three *baanrotsen* of whom no references were found concerning their military activities are: Hendrik van Diepenbeek; Willem van Sayn, lord of Sint-Agatha-Rode; and Hendrik IX van Boutersem, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin. They have never really been the object of a thorough study, which might explain the lack of references to their possible military careers.²¹⁹

6.3.2 Chivalric culture

The source on the tournament of Mons indicates that the military activities of *baanrotsen* were not only limited to great battles in service of rulers, but such activities were also expressed in recreational purposes, for example, tournaments. That knighthood was important, can be illustrated by the example of the aforementioned Frank, bastard of Wezemaal. He was the model of a thirteenth-century knight, who took part in several military expeditions abroad. From 1256 until 1258 he participated in the defence of the castle of Namur against the count of Luxemburg, and for a while, he also served Karel van Anjou in expeditions in France and Spain.²²⁰ Foreign expeditions were not uncommon and there are other examples of *baanrotsen* who participated in such expeditions. For example, Hendrik IV Berthout, lord of Duffel and Geel, identified as a knight by Croenen, was described by the chronicler Jean le Bel as one of the nobles from the Netherlands who participated in the expedition of 1326 that led to the deposition of the king of England, Edward II, and the coronation

²¹⁶ E. Van Even, *Geschiedenis Der Stad Diest*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Diest: Havermans, 1847), 138-139.

²¹⁷ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 290, v.7908-7911; 295, v.8059-8062; 301, v.8241; 302, v.8283-8287.

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 170, v.4527; A. de Behault de Dornon, *Le Tournoi de Mons de 1310*, 96, 33.

²¹⁹ For Hendrik van Diepenbeek see: Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap, *Publications de La Société Historique et Archéologique Dans Le Duché de Limbourg*, vol. 10, 1873, 30-31.

²²⁰ E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 24, 26

of Edward III as king of England.²²¹ Gerard II vander Heiden, lord of Boutersem was also known for his expeditions abroad. In order of the dukes of Brabant, he was sent to England on several occasions. Even though many of these missions were probably rather diplomatic, there is an example known in which he got captured and ransomed.²²² This means he had to fight battle and he was of such importance, that one could have asked ransom for his captivity.

These are only a few examples, but further research might reveal more similar activities of *baanrotsen*. However, these small indications demonstrate that *baanrotsen* belonged to the culture of knighthood, with everything that it entailed, both in the thirteenth and the fourteenth century. In 1274, even one of the eldest identified *baanrotsen*, Jan I van Kuyc, was defined as a knight. Since Jan I belonged to the highest nobility in the duchy of Brabant, this example indicates that knighthood already gained more prestige in the second half of the thirteenth century.²²³ Knighthood was a determining factor of nobility in the fourteenth century, yet the example of Jan I suggests this development already started in the thirteenth century.²²⁴

The example of the accolade of Thomas II van Diest in 1382 illustrates that knighthood was still very important in the second half of the fourteenth century and that it was still received by members of the high nobility. What can be questioned, is whether it was still necessary to be a knight at that moment in time. Thomas II received the accolade after battle, while it appears to have been common at the end of the thirteenth century to dub knights before battle. For example, Van Heelu dedicated a whole passage of his chronicle to the men who received the accolade before the battle of Woeringen.²²⁵ At the end of the thirteenth century, it thus appears that knighthood was something that had to be achieved before the battle, while the example of Thomas II indicates that, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the confirmation of knighthood was rather considered as some kind of reward for bravery. This indicates that noblemen did not need to be knights to fight battle. It introduces a changing attitude towards knighthood which is another element, next to the financial difficulties, attributing to the fifteenth-century evolution in which the number of knights decreased tremendously. The research of Damen indicated that several *baanrotsen* were never knighted in the fifteenth century.²²⁶

²²¹ G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 379.

²²² A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 697-698.

²²³ J. A. Coldewey, *De Heren van Kuyc 1096-14000*, Bijdragen Tot de Geschiedenis van Het Zuiden van Nederland 50 (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1981), 58-61, 71-75, 230-231.

²²⁴ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 124.

²²⁵ J.F. Willems, ed., *op. cit.*, 312, v. 8567 e.v.

²²⁶ S. Boffa, *op. cit.*, 124-125; Damen, "Heren met Banieren", 142-143.

6.3.3 *The heart of the army of Brabant*

As already stated, it was not possible to find descriptions that all the identified *baanrotsen* were knights. However, what can be concluded, is the fact that all forty-seven mentioned *baanrotsen* took part in the great battles of their time: Woeringen in 1288, Gulden Spurs in 1302, Baesweiler in 1371 and the expedition to 's Hertogenbosch in 1397. The logical explanation for this can be found in the formation of the army of Brabant. From the thirteenth century onwards, until the beginning of the fifteenth century, this army was primarily composed of mounted men-at-arms. They were men from noble families, knights and patricians from Brabant, but also from Limburg and the lands of Overmaze. They formed the heart of the army of Brabant. Sometimes, this army of mounted men-at-arms was accompanied by rural and urban militias, but their role was secondary.²²⁷ Without underestimating the growing importance of the urban militias during the fourteenth century, it can be remarked that noblemen formed the basis of the ducal army. This indicates an enormous dependency from the dukes upon their noblemen and it can be argued that this was a strength of the noblemen. For example, the number of lords that paid homage to Lodewijk van Male in 1356 during the Brabant War of Succession, must have been devastating for the chances of Wenceslas and Johanna to regain control over the duchy with their own army.²²⁸

6.3.4 *Concluding remarks*

In historical sources in general, it is always difficult to determine whether someone was a knight. This difficulty often prevents historians from studying titles. For example, the encountered *baanrotsen* were characterized by many different titles, for which another research is required with the processing of much more sources than the ones examined in this work.

For the few examples of *baanrotsen* of whom explicit references were found that they were knights, it is possible to conclude that they were part of the chivalric culture that prevailed in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. *Baanrotsen* formed the heart of the army of Brabant, even when their attitude towards the title of knight started to change. In comparison to the absence of a direct connection between the title of *baanrots* and the seigniori or family of a *baanrots*, such a connection can be determined between the title and the military function of a *baanrots*, during the whole long fourteenth century.

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, 70-71.

²²⁸ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 506-509.

6.4 The ducal council

6.4.1 Equation between *baanrotsen* and councillors?

The examination of the sources made clear that particular emphasis was put on the consultative functions of *baanrotsen*. For twenty-seven of the identified *baanrotsen*, this function was confirmed by several historians. For others, a consultative function can be assumed, even though this was not explicitly verified in historiography. This is the case with, for example, Arnold IV van Wezemaal; Gerard I van Wezemaal, lord of Bergen op Zoom and Kwabeek; Gerard van Rotselaar; and Arnold V van Diest. These men all belonged to the first generation of identified *baanrotsen*. They all occupied an important place among the high nobility of Brabant in the second half of the thirteenth century and they all fought in the battle of Woeringen. Of Gerard van Rotselaar, hereditary seneschal, it was even explicitly written that he belonged to the “*principes et barones nostros*”.²²⁹ This further emphasises the importance of Gerard and poses the postulation that he might have belonged to the close entourage of the dukes, but this was never confirmed in historiographical works. Confirmation for a possible consultative function was neither found for the other three *baanrotsen*. This might, once again, be ascribed to the lack of studies on the councillors of Brabant for the second half of the thirteenth century. A solution might be provided in the work of Avonds, who, in accordance to Uyttebrouck, identified members of the ducal council by means of their appearance in witness lists and subscriptions. Names that occurred often within such references, referred to men who belonged to the active core of councillors.²³⁰ Arnold IV van Wezemaal and Arnold V van Diest can be examples of this, since their names often occurred in ducal charters.

Thus far this research proved that there are many cases in which *baanrotsen* were identified as councillors. There are also many such assumptions, but can we presume that every *baanrots* was a councillor? The answer to this is, no, we cannot, and this is easily demonstrated in the work of Uyttebrouck. In his list of councillors of Brabant, he made biographical descriptions of two identified *baanrotsen*, yet he impugns their status as councillor. According to Uyttebrouck, Rasse van Rivieren, lord of Neerlinter and Jan I van Grimbergen, lord of Asse, were never really part of the ducal council and they were primarily identified as members of the nobility and not as councillors.²³¹ Because of this, we can conclude that an equation between *baanrotsen* and councillors is inconclusive and that not every *baanrots* can be considered as a councillor. The reverse is equally true, because not every councillor was a *baanrots*. Once again, this can be shown through the work of Uyttebrouck. He made biographical descriptions of two hundred and eighty-five councillors, of which, for now, only twenty-

²²⁹ F. L. Ganshof, *op. cit.*, 87.

²³⁰ P. Avonds, *Land En Instellingen*, 123-124.

²³¹ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 656, 725.

seven of them are identified as *baanrots* through this thesis. These figures suggest that the *baanrotsen* formed a great minority in the population of councillors from 1355 until 1430. However, all must be put in perspective.

6.4.2 Composition of the ducal council

6.4.2.1 'Conseillers ordinaires'

There were two kinds of councillors in Brabant and this difference is indicated in both works of Avonds and Uyttebrouck. There were the '*conseillers ordinaires*' and the '*conseillers occasionnels*'. The first group of councillors was a small group that formed the entourage of the duke in normal times. These councillors were described as the active or even very active councillors.²³² A systematic research of all the encountered *baanrotsen*, must make clear who belonged to this small group and who can be denominated as a '*conseiller ordinaire*'.

This can be illustrated for the six *baanrotsen* mentioned in the fourth chapter: Hendrik IV Berthout, lord of Duffel and Geel; Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom; Jan II van Polanen, lord of Leck and Breda; Gerard II vander Heiden, lord of Boutersem; Gerard III van Rotselaar, lord of Vorselaar and castellan of Jodoigne; and Bernard I van Bornival. Because of their prominent positions in the charters of 1357 and 1372, as *baanrotsen* and as councillors, it was proposed that they belonged to the core group of the entourage of the dukes of Brabant.²³³

When considering the names of the families and seignories of these *baanrotsen*, two elements become clear. Firstly, these *baanrotsen* also belonged to families that formed a core group within the total number of encountered *baanrotsen*. Secondly, these *baanrotsen* are exemplifications of, what Uyttebrouck and Avonds called, the '*hérédité de fait*'. These men were automatically considered as a part of the ducal council because their ancestors had been, from times immemorial, part of the *curia ducis*.²³⁴ For two of these six *baanrotsen*, the '*hérédité de fait*' is impugnable. Bernard I van Bornival had several descendants who became councillors, but such predecessors of him are unknown. For Jan II van Polanen, this was also not the case, because he originated from Holland.

Nevertheless, the question can be posed whether it is only a matter of coincidence that these other four *baanrotsen* each belonged to the core group of *baanrotsen*; that they were '*conseillers ordinaires*'; and that their status as councillor was decided by the '*hérédité de fait*'. In all possibility, this was not a coincidence, but these four examples are too small to establish a general rule.

²³² A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.* vol. 1, 301-302.

²³³ See: "4.2.2 Consultative functions", 39-40.

²³⁴ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 327-329; P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, 132.

Furthermore, one feature did not necessarily imply the other. What we can conclude, until further research proves the contrary, is that these ‘*conseillers ordinaires*’ happened to be councillor because of the ‘*hérédité de fait*’, and they happened to be *baanrotsen*. The logical explanation is, that these men stayed close with the duke in his entourage, by which they were more perceptible to be granted by him the title of *baanrots*.

6.4.2.2 ‘*Conseillers occasionnels*’

The second group, the ‘*conseillers occasionnels*’, were men who occasionally participated in one assembly or other from the ducal council. It is a very general denomination, but in essence, they were only consulted at very important formal affairs and served as witnesses in the record of these affairs in charters. According to Avonds, an example of these were the legists, because their advice and help was only requested in extraordinary cases. However, knights, squires and vassals, who were never involved in daily matters of state, can also be denoted as ‘*conseillers occasionnels*’. They were summoned from time to time to act as witnesses.²³⁵ In theory these could have been councillors by ‘*hérédité de fait*’ as well. ‘*Hérédité de fait*’ denoted privileged councillors, it did not had implications concerning the degree of consultative activities.

The occurrence of ‘*conseillers occasionnels*’ can be illustrated with the reconfirmation of the Charter of Kortenberg and the Walloon Charter. For Rasse van Rivieren and Jan I van Grimbergen, this was such a specific occasion for which they were summoned as witnesses. When comparing the list of forty-one *baanrotsen* from the reconfirmation charter with the list of two hundred and eighty-five councillors from the work of Uyttebrouck, it appears that they were not unique cases. Only a few of these *baanrotsen* were described as councillor in the list of Uyttebrouck. It indicates that many of these *baanrotsen* were not identified as councillors, but they were summoned for the reconfirmation charter, which means they all did act as occasional councillors. We find another example in Alard III van Rèves. While hardly anything is known of the man, he also sealed the reconfirmation charter as a *baanrots*, which indicates his significance and his performance as occasional councillor.²³⁶ It further signifies that all *baanrotsen* had consultative functions, even though their activities differed enormously.

²³⁵ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.* vol. 1, 301-302., P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, 128-129, 135.

²³⁶ For the information on the *baanrots* Alard III van Rèves, see the appendix.

6.4.3 Profile of *baanrots* - councillors

The ducal council was, for the largest part, formed by members of the nobility. Uyttebrouck estimated that sixty percent of all councillors were noblemen. However, his method of calculation was criticized by Avonds because he had made a distinction between “*nobles, ecclésiastiques (réguliers, séculiers), légistes et autres universitaires, bourgeois*”. In doing so, Uyttebrouck had created rigid distinctions that could not be maintained. For example, noblemen, legists and other university-trained men belonged to the clergy as well. In that respect, the *baanrots* Gerard I van Wezemaal was a peculiar case because he had resigned from clerical life. The reason for this is not known. Furthermore, the distinctions of Uyttebrouck also neglected the connections between noblemen and towns. Many noblemen bore the status of *poorter* from a certain town. For example, the *baanrots* Gerard II vander Heiden was also known as *buitenpoorter* from Brussels. Avonds tried to resolve this difficulty by concentrating only on the noble aspect. He found that eighty-five percent of all the councillors were noblemen, of which he identified twenty-three percent with affiliations with towns of Brabant. Avonds estimated this latter percentage much higher in reality, but the results of his research confined him to the figure of twenty-three.²³⁷

Without rejecting the critiques of Avonds and without renouncing the theories of Avonds and Uyttebrouck, it is rather remarkable how their different methods of calculation reflect the small changes noticeable in the list of *baanrotsen* from the long fourteenth century. The focus of Avonds on councillors as noblemen corresponds to the focus on *baanrotsen* as noblemen. However, in the note in the Brabant cartulary on the funeral of Wenceslas in 1383 a small change became apparent. In the list of the sixteen “*seigneurs bannerets et conseillers*”, a few names stand out: “*Jean van Ophem*”; “*Nicolas de Saint-Géry*”; “*le prévôt de Maubeuge*”; and “*maître Guillaume de Bruges*”.²³⁸ In the appendix these were the four *baanrotsen* who were labelled ‘atypical’ and who were not positioned on the map of Brabant in the first part of this chapter. Jan van Oppem was a knight, but he was not described as a classic nobleman. On the contrary, he started his career as a patrician of the town of Brussels and he was foremost identified as such in the work of Uyttebrouck. The same can be said about Nicolas I van Saint-Géry, with the only difference that Nicolas I was not a knight. Master Willem van Brugge was identified as a legist, but also as an ecclesiastic.²³⁹ At present, the provost of Maubeuge remains unidentified, yet from his title, we can conclude that he was an ecclesiastic as well. Together with Gerard van Leuven, these are the only two references to provosts as *baanrotsen*. Gerard van Leuven was also described as baron and knight. His family belonged to the highest nobility in the

²³⁷ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 302, P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, 126-127; E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol.1, 22, 23; P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 3, 267-268. For more information on Gerard I van Wezemaal and Gerard II vander Heiden see the biographical descriptions in the appendix.

²³⁸ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 221-222.

²³⁹ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 719, 728, 671.

duchy and they were close and related to the duke of Brabant. Whether the provost of Maubeuge had a similar profile, is a question that remains unanswered at present.

The social distinctions by which these four men were identified, correspond to the rigid distinctions of Uyttebrouck. For the following argument, two elements have to be taken into consideration. Firstly, thus far, the note of 1383 is the only example in which patricians, ecclesiastics and legists were denominated as *baanrotsen*. Secondly, the works of Avonds and Uyttebrouck encompass subsequent time periods in the history of the duchy of Brabant, which can be seen as a reason for their difference in methods of calculation. Considering all these elements, it is very plausible to assume that the status of *baanrots* entailed a much broader interpretation in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. We can notice an evolution in which the image of the typical councillor of that period was no longer dominated by the classic nobleman, and as a consequence, neither was the image of the typical *baanrots*.

6.4.4 Concluding remarks

At first inspection, an equation between *baanrotsen* and councillors was not possible. However, by introducing the distinction between two types of councillors, a more subtle equation was made. *Baanrotsen* who often appeared in ducal charters were ‘*conseillers ordinaires*’, while the *baanrotsen* who only appeared in charters on special occasions were the ‘*conseillers occasionnels*’. This means that not all *baanrotsen* were ordinary councillors, but it is reliable to conclude that all *baanrotsen* were occasional councillors. In any case, future research on this matter is advised.

A second conclusion entails that the profile of *baanrotsen* slightly started to change in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. An evolution that can also be detected in the ducal council. Even though the classic nobleman still prevailed, both in the ducal council and within the group of *baanrotsen*, he was not alone. Just as patricians, ecclesiastics and university-trained men, entered the ducal council, they also entered the privileged group of *baanrotsen*. This can be explained through the changing fourteenth-century society of Brabant that had its repercussions on the title of *baanrots* as well.

6.5 Social differentiation

Damen defined *baanrotsen* as ‘supernobles’, who owed the epithet ‘super’ to their ability to lead an own company in battle.²⁴⁰ However, in all the consulted historical sources, it was never explicitly described that a *baanrots* was denoted by that title only because he had the means to lead his own company. What is more, the example of Rasse II van Gavere, lord of Liedekerke and Breda made it clear that men without the title of *baanrots* were also able to lead their own company. There were even three *baanrotsen* who accompanied Rasse II van Gavere in the battle of Woeringen.²⁴¹ The title of *baanrots* was thus not exclusively reserved for men who led their own company in battle. Furthermore, by now, it has already become clear that the significance of *baanrotsen* in Brabant transcended the merely military function ascribed to them. For this reason, it seemed interesting to analyse the concept of the ‘super-nobles’. The term implies that *baanrotsen* formed a prominent group of noblemen. It is irrefutable that they belonged to the nobility, but what further made them the most prominent of noblemen?

The main characteristics of nobility in Brabant were: the noble birth; the military service; the possession of one or several seigniories, of which they preferably owed the highest judicial authority; and royal service.²⁴² At present, considering all the sources examined within the scope of this thesis, *baanrotsen* did not specifically seem to excel in any of these characteristics. What is more, they seemed to fit just perfectly in the image of the classic nobleman, apart from one element: they bore the title of *baanrots*. This title thus entails a certain social prestige, which made them more prominent members of the nobility or ‘supernobles’. It corresponds to the suggestions made by Brokken and Van Uytven that the title was a way of socially distinguishing themselves from other noblemen.

The Brabant nobility was thus hierarchically divided, but this was also the case for the *baanrotsen*. Even within the group ‘supernobles’ distinctions were made between ‘lesser’ and higher’ *baanrotsen*. It must be emphasised that this was a social distinction and in a research population of one hundred and one *baanrotsen*, this distinction becomes very apparent. The composition of the *conroot* of the *baanrots* Jan I van Kuyc in 1288 is an example of this since it was composed of two other *baanrotsen*, Jan van Heusden and Jan II van Arkel. It immediately indicates the importance of Jan I van Kuyc, who was clearly much wealthier. Two other examples are the two patricians from Brussels, Jan van Oppem and Nicolas I van Saint-Géry, who were classified as the atypical *baanrotsen*. For all that is known of them, they were not of noble birth. Even if they were new noblemen, they definitely belonged to the lesser nobility because it took approximately three generations to become “full noble”.

²⁴⁰ M. Damen, “Heren met Banieren”, 139-140.

²⁴¹ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 281-822, v. 7619-7658. The *baanrotsen* who accompanied Rasse II van Gavere were: Jan Berthout, also known as Berlaar; Jan van Scors; and Wouter van Antoing.

²⁴² R. Van Uytven, “De Brabantse Adel Als Politieke En Sociale Groep”, 79-83; P. De Win, “The Lesser Nobility”, 97-98..

All this time, these new nobles were faced with the aversion of established noblemen.²⁴³ Accordingly, Jan van Oppem and Nicolas I van Saint-Géry would also belong to the lesser *baanrotsen*.

The best example to indicate the existence of social differentiation in the group of *baanrotsen*, is the reconfirmation charter of 1372. It made the distinction between the ordinary and the occasional councillors and, what is more, the ordinary councillors in this case happened to correspond to the core group of families that produced *baanrotsen*. This means that, in the case of 1372, the distinction between ordinary and occasional councillors corresponded to the distinction between, respectively, higher and lesser *baanrotsen*. Furthermore, we can conclude that the *baanrotsen*, belonging to the particular families that often produced *baanrotsen*, can be identified as these higher *baanrotsen*.

A last example of the higher *baanrotsen* are the *baanrotsen* who held the office of *drossaard* of Brabant. This office appeared for the first time in 1227 and originally, the *drossaard* assisted the duke in the administration of the duchy. However, the duke kept him close to the exercise of power and during the fourteenth century, he was considered as the legitimate substitute of the duke. As a general rule, the *drossaard* did not take part in the ducal military expeditions, although military duties were gradually entrusted to him.²⁴⁴ This office thus implied an enormous trust of the dukes and duchess in the men who exercised this office. Uyttebrouck made an overview of all the *drossaards* from the period of 1356 until 1430. In this period, the office of *drossaard* was held twenty-seven times.²⁴⁵ Because of this research, it has become clear that *baanrotsen* held the office fifteen times. This means that *baanrotsen* formed a great part of the people whom the dukes and duchess entrusted with the government of the duchy. As trustees, these *baanrotsen* must have been very close to the dukes and duchess and because of this, they belonged to the higher *baanrotsen*.

6.6 The appointment of *baanrotsen*

By way of concluding this chapter, we still have to answer the question how men were appointed as *baanrots*. For the long fourteenth century, only one example of this is handed down through the ages and this is the example of Renard van Schönau, lord of Schoonvorst. Before the battle at Vottem in 1346, several men were knighted and Renard van Schönau was the only one who “*leva bannière*”. It led to the suggestion that the title of *baanrots* was bestowed upon men before battle and that it entailed a purely military connotation. This was confirmed in the work of Paravicini for the fifteenth century, who found that seven men became *baanrots* before a battle, in 1452, during the

²⁴³ P. De Win, *op. cit.*, 107-108.

²⁴⁴ S. Boffa, *op. cit.* 100-102.

²⁴⁵ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.* vol. 2, 762-763.

rebellion in Ghent.²⁴⁶ However, since the *baanrotsen* of Brabant were not uniquely identified through their military function, we cannot conclude that they only became *baanrots* before battle and only because of this military function.

As already suggested in the part on seigniories and families, and as suggested by Uyttebrouck and Brokken, the title of *baanrots* must be considered as a personal title. It entailed a personal and informal bond with the ruler and the bestowment of the title thus depended on the arbitrariness of that ruler. This explains why there are no further descriptions in sources of appointments of *baanrotsen*. It also explains the impossibility of finding a basic pattern of characteristics that was typical for *baanrotsen* because such a pattern would stand in sharp contrast to the concept of arbitrariness of the ruler. What is more, it also explains the existence of so much social differentiation between them, because personal and informal bonds were not related to wealth, noble status, or political activities of *baanrotsen*. It furthermore explains that the men who often abided in the close entourage of the duke, such as certain families, certain councillors and certain officials, were more likely to become *baanrots*. It thus means that there were, apart from military reasons, numerous of other reasons by which one could have become *baanrots* in Brabant.

²⁴⁶ J. de Chestret de Hanefte, *Renard de Schönau, Sire de Schoonvorst : Un Financier Gentilhomme Du XIVe Siècle* (Brussels: Hayez, 1892), 19-20; S. Boffa, *op. cit.*, 129; A. Uyttebrouck, *op.cit.* vol. 2, 732; W. Paravicini, "Soziale Schichtung", 133-134

7 CONCLUSION

The long fourteenth century in Brabant was characterized by consecutive crises in the ducal succession; by countless hostile and military encounters; by enormous financial difficulties and debts; and, according to the general historiographical opinion, by the amplifying power and independence of the Brabantine towns. However, one of the most important elements I have tried to prove in this work, is that the Brabant nobility was not overshadowed by the towns and the events of this century. Moreover, the study of the *baanrotsen* of Brabant proved that these men were actively involved in contemporary events and that they held great military, financial and consultative responsibilities.

For a very long time, *baanrotsen* were neglected in historiography. This was mainly due to the lack of references to *baanrotsen* in historical sources and has led to the existence of many inconsistencies. The interchangeable usage of the two titles of *baanrots* and baron, or the denotation of a barony as the territory of a *baanrots*, are examples of this. This thesis sets a first basic research into the *baanrotsen* of fourteenth-century Brabant with the purpose of bringing some order to chaos.

The title of *baanrots* has always been identified as a military rank and I believe the origin of the title can still be found in military contexts. The first references to *baanrotsen* have always emphasised this military role. However, in Brabant, this title has never been merely a military rank. Wouter V Berthout, who was identified as a *baanrots* from the first generation, perfectly illustrates that these first encountered *baanrotsen* were councillors as well, and often belonged to the close entourage of the dukes of Brabant. Even though it was only in 1383 that *baanrotsen* were for the first time explicitly identified as councillors, their military and consultative functions always went together.

For this research I have encountered one hundred and one *baanrotsen*. With this number, Brabant far exceeds the numbers of *baanrotsen* in neighbouring principalities. The greatness of the number also made it possible to observe that the title reflected the social differentiation and the changing society in Brabant. The major part of these one hundred and one *baanrotsen* lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was a very difficult period for the duke and duchess, whose power and legitimacy were extremely harmed by, amongst others, the Brabant War of Succession and the defeat at Baesweiler. The many *baanrotsen* of this period, whose seigniories, moreover, were mostly situated in the heart of the duchy, must be studied in the light of this weakening ducal power. The dukes and duchess relied on the support of their *baanrotsen* to strengthen their position. This is also exemplified in the reconfirmation charter of 1372. In return, the *baanrotsen* enjoyed a privileged position among the nobility of Brabant. The bestowment of the title of *baanrots* must primarily be sought in this connection between the *baanrotsen* and the dukes and duchess. The title was personal and based on an informal bond with the dukes and duchess that can hardly be traced in historical sources.

This is what makes the title of *baanrots* so unique in the duchy of Brabant, but this is also the reason why it is so difficult to study *baanrotsen*. However, this research is far from being accomplished and many possible subjects for future research have been indicated throughout this thesis. For example, many encountered *baanrotsen* are not yet identified while this could shed a whole new light on the preliminary results that I have presented in this thesis. Furthermore, it would be interesting to analyse the wealth and property of each *baanrots* to examine their financial strength and capability to summon a certain number of men to arms. Another example worth citing in this conclusion, are the *baanrotsen* of the county of Flanders. The title of *baanrots* had its own history in Flanders. For example, the oldest reference to *baanrotsen*, which I have found for this research, refers to Flemish *baanrotsen*. There are even presumptions that the title of *baanrots* was not introduced in Holland through Brabant, but through Flanders. However, only further research can enlighten the history of the Flemish *baanrotsen* and can determine whether the development and meaning of the title of *baanrots* in Flanders was similar to those in Brabant.

The *baanrotsen* of Brabant indicate the existence of a strong and powerful nobility in the duchy of Brabant, that was primarily marked by their mutual bond with the ducal dynasty. Their only weakness is, that part of the mystery surrounding them is kept very well hidden from the historian.

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8 APPENDIX I: ENCOUNTERED *BAANROTSSEN* IN FOUR GENERATIONS

8.1 *Baanrotsen* of the first generation (late 13th – 14th century)

1. Gerard I van Wezemaal, lord of Bergen op Zoom and Kwabeek (†1308)
2. Frank van Wezemaal (†1297)
3. Arnold IV van Wezemaal (†1302)
4. Hendrik V van Boutersem (†1302)
5. Arnold V van Walhain (†1302)
6. Gerard, lord of Rotselaar (†1306)
7. Jan I lord of Kuyck (†1308)
8. Jan I Berthout, lord of Berlaar and Grammene (†1310)
9. Wouter V Berthout, lord of Mechelen (†1287)
10. Wouter VI Berthout, lord of Mechelen (†1288)
11. Arnold V van Diest (†1296)
12. Jan van Arkel († 1297)
13. Wouter van Antoing, lord of Bellone († after 1310)
14. Hendrik van Leuven, lord of Gaasbeek († 1285)
15. Arnold van Leuven, lord of Breda († 1287)
16. Gerard van Leuven, provost of Nivelles
17. Count Godfried van Vianen, lord of Grimbergen, Perwez, Ninove
18. Robert van Asse
19. Wouter van Warfusé, lord of Momale
20. Thierry van Walcourt, lord of Aa
21. Herman, lord of Wittem
22. Wouter, lord of Enghien
23. Jan van Heusden
24. Jan van Scors

8.1.1 *Unknown* baanrotsen

1. Lord of Mulrepas
2. Van Mirrenvoet (Oesseninc)
3. Van Messenborch (Oesseninc)
4. Van Brandenberge (Oesseninc)

8.2 *Baanrotsen* of the second generation (first half of the 14th century)

1. Jan II van Sombreffe (†1329)

8.3 *Baanrotsen* of the third generation (second half of the 14th century)

1. Hendrik IV Berthout, lord of Duffel and Geel († 1367)
2. Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem, lord of Bergen-op-Zoom († 1370)
3. Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom († 1419)
4. Jan II van Polanen, lord of La Leck and Breda († 1379)
5. Gerard II vander Heiden, lord of Boutersem († 1379/80)
6. Gerard III van Rotselaar, lord of Vorsselaar († 1380)
7. Jan III, lord of Rotselaar (†1 406)
8. Bernard I van Bornival († 1368)
9. Henrik lord of Diest († 1385)
10. Willem II, lord of Wezemaal, marshal († 1372)
11. Jan, lord of Pietersheim († 1383)
12. Jan II van Wittem († ca. 1401)²⁴⁷
13. Hendrik, lord of Diepenbeek et de Lens († 1397)
14. Jan I, lord of Grimbergen and Asse; († 1388)
15. Rasse van Rivieren, lord of Neerlinter († 1425)
16. Alard III, lord of Rèves († ca. 1393)
17. Jan IV, lord of Sombreffe
18. Jan, lord of Bouchout († 1391)
19. Daniel van Bouchout, lord of Hombeek and Loenhout
20. Hendrik van Hornes, lord of Perwez († 1408)
21. Engelbert I van Nassau († 1442)²⁴⁸
22. Renard van Schönau, lord of Schoonvorst († 1376)
23. Renard II, lord of Schoonvorst († 1419)
24. Otto VI, lord of Trazegnies († 1384)
25. Jan, lord of Glimes
26. Willem van Sayn, lord of Sint-Agatha-Rode († 1429)
27. Louis van Harcourt, lord of Châtellerault and Aarschot
28. Robert van Béthune, lord of Rumst
29. Godefroid, seigneur de Harduémont, de Hologne et d'Opvelp
30. Frank van Halen, lord of Lillo and Mont-Saint-Guibert
31. Florent van Stalle, lord of Rivieren

²⁴⁷ In all probability, Jan II van Wittem was not related to the *baanrots* Herman van Wittem who fought in the battle of Woeringen. They belonged to different families.

²⁴⁸ Engelbert I van Nassau is counted among the *baanrotsen* of the third generation even though he lived until 1442. However, already in 1383, he was referred to as *baanrots* and since the starting point of dividing all these *baanrotsen* in four generations was the source in which they were denominated as such, Engelbert I van Nassau was counted among this third generation.

32. Hendrik van Quaderebbe, lord of Bierges
33. Louis, lord of Dongelberg
34. Arnold van Molembais, lord of Linsmeau
35. Arnold van Opprebais
36. Godfried van Immerseel
37. Jan van Immerseel
38. Karel van Immerseel
39. Wouter van Duffel
40. Florent van Duffel
41. Jacques van Duffel
42. Constantin van Berchem (/van Ranst)
43. Jan van Ranst
44. Jan van Schoonhoven, lord of Zundert
45. Jan van Meldert
46. Jan van Wavre
47. Moreel d Rixensart
48. Lord of Liederkerke
49. Jan van Neuverue
50. Jan van Mülenarck
51. Jan van Hamme
52. Otto van Contrecoeur, lord of Eijchem
53. Jan, lord of Marbais

8.3.1 *Baanrotsen not from Brabant and without ties to the ducal family of Brabant*

1. Arnold, lord of Ijsselstein
2. Thierry, lord of Brederode
3. Jan, lord of Egmond
4. Mechtilde, dame de Voorne et Rasse van Kruijningen, dame et seigneur bannerets

8.3.2 *Atypical baanrotsen*

1. Jan van Oppem († 1414)
2. Nicolas van Saint-Géry
3. Provost of Maubeuge
4. Master Guillaume of Bruges

8.3.3 *Unknown baanrotsen*

1. G. vander Tommen

2. Jan Pijlijzer
3. Jan van den Bisdomme
4. Aelman
5. Receiver of Brabant
6. Jan van Beer

8.4 *Baanrotsen* of the fourth generation (beginning 15th century)

1. Hendrik IX van Boutersem, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin (†1419)
2. Thomas II van Diest, lord of Zichem (†1432)
3. Jan I, lord of Wezemaal and Fallais (†1417)
4. Hendrik van de Leck, lord of Heeswijk and Dinther († ca. 1430)
5. Hendrik van Diest, lord of Rivieren

9 APPENDIX II: *BAANROTSSEN* IN THE LONG FOURTEENTH CENTURY

9.1 Brabant *baanrotsen* from the duchy of Brabant

9.1.1 *Berthout Hendrik IV, lord of Duffel and Geel*

The name Hendrik IV Berthout is found in historical sources from 1320 onwards, until the year he died. This probably happened at the end of 1366 or the beginning of 1367. In charters, Hendrik IV was described as '*edel*' or nobleman and from 1328 he was also described as a knight. Hendrik IV was known as a *baanrots* of Brabant. The only reference for this can be found in the note in the Brabant cartulary of the first of June 1357. Furthermore, in 1332 Hendrik IV became one of the judges who represented the duchy of Brabant in the general inquiry of 1332 and he was known as one of the councillors of the duke of Brabant. Several years later, in 1355, Hendrik IV attached his seal to the Charter of the Ridderbond. The chronicler Jean le Bel mentioned Hendrik IV Berthout as one of the nobles of the Netherlands that participated in the expedition of 1326 that led to the deposition of the king of England, Edward II, and the coronation of Edward III as king of England.²⁴⁹

Hendrik IV was the eldest son of Hendrik III Berthout and his wife Béatrice van Rotselaar. He was married to Margareta van Wezemaal who was a daughter of the *baanrots* Arnold IV, lord of Wezemaal. Together with Margareta, Hendrik IV had a daughter, Catherine, who married Thierry van Hornes, lord of Perwez.²⁵⁰ Hendrik IV Berthout belonged to the lineage of the Berthouts of Duffel. This lineage originated with Hendrik I who was the brother of Wouter IV Berthout of Mechelen. However, due to a lack of sources, this lineage is less known than the lineage of the Berthouts of Mechelen. The most important source of the Berthouts of Duffel is the testament of the father of Hendrik IV, Hendrik III.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312–1383), 126; G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 294, 379; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 1, 527-528 and vol. 2, 663; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720. The general inquiry of 1332 was ordered and executed on the behavior of the ducal officers. See R. Van Uytven and W. Blockmans, "Constitutions and Their Application in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages," *Revue Belge de Philologie et D'histoire*, no. 47 (1969), 405.

²⁵⁰A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 663. The marriage of Margareta van Wezemaal, daughter of Arnold IV van Wezemaal is confirmed in the work of Eduard Van Ermen and Godfried Croenen. See: E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, 20, 26; G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 379-380. For more information on the *baanrots* Arnold IV van Wezemaal see further in this appendix.

²⁵¹G. Croenen, *op.cit.*, 42, 294, 379.

9.1.2 *Berthout Wouter V, lord of Mechelen*

Wouter V appears in several charters between 1238 and 1287, the year in which he died. In various of these charters it is explicitly stated that he was a councillor of the duke of Brabant. When Hendrik III, duke of Brabant died in 1261, Wouter V Berthout was appointed by duchess Aleide as member of the regency council together with Godfried, lord of Perwez. Soon after the establishment of this council, Godfried died. He was replaced by Hendrik IV van Boutersem in 1265, who was, according to Jan van Heelu, the cousin of Wouter V.²⁵² In 1285, Wouter V was appointed as the substitute of duke Jan I when he was abroad on a military expedition for the king of France.²⁵³

In the available sources of that period, there is only one reference to Wouter V Berthout as a *baanrots*. This reference is given in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu on the battle of Woeringen. In this chronicle, Van Heelu wrote about Wouter V Berthout as a "*vromeghe standaerde*". The word *baanrots* is thus not explicitly used for the description of Wouter V, but confirmation has been found with Croenen who acknowledges this to be a sign that Wouter V was indeed a *baanrots*.²⁵⁴ This is also indicated in the work of Butkens, who wrote in the seventeenth century.²⁵⁵

Wouter V was married to Maria van Auvergne, who was the daughter of count Willem IX of Auvergne. They had several children, amongst whom Wouter VI Berthout.²⁵⁶

9.1.3 *Berthout Wouter VI, lord of Mechelen*

Wouter VI Berthout was the eldest son of Wouter V Berthout and he became lord of Mechelen after his father passed away. References to Wouter VI can be found from 1268 onwards. He died one year after the death of his father, in the battle of Woeringen. Because of the death of both these lords, the Berthout family lost a lot of its significance and influence in the duchy of Brabant.²⁵⁷

In charters there is no reference to Wouter VI as a *baanrots*, the only reference for this can be found in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu. Before elaborating on the actual battle of Woeringen, Van

²⁵² G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 325-327; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées, Tant Sacrés Que Profanes, de La Duché de Brabant ...* (Antwerp: M. Borrekens, 1641), 279-281; J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 10-11. The fact that Hendrik IV van Boutersem was the cousin of Wouter V Berthout is best explained through the hypothesis of Godfried Croenen. He states that the father of Hendrik IV, Hendrik III van Boutersem, was married to the sister of Wouter IV Berthout, Maria. This Wouter IV Berthout was the father of Wouter V. The importance of this marriage cannot be underrated, especially not when taking into account that the son of Maria and Hendrik III, Hendrik IV, was the first of his family who appeared in charters as a nobleman. See: G. Croenen, *op. cit.*, 317-318.

²⁵³ *Ibidem*, 327.

²⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 327; J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 126.

²⁵⁵ F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304.

²⁵⁶ G. Croenen, *op. cit.*, 290, 327.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 241-242, 348.

Heelu gives an enumeration of the *baanrotsen* of Brabant.²⁵⁸ Such a reference is also given in the work of Butkens and, in contemporary historiography, in the work of Croenen. For this, Croenen also refers to the chronicle of Van Heelu but his reference is wrong. The reference of Croenen to Wouter VI, is in fact a reference to Wouter V as *baanrots*.²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Wouter VI is admitted in this appendix because of the clear indication and acknowledgement of him as a *baanrots* by Jan van Heelu.

Wouter VI was married to Adelize van Guines, who was the daughter of Arnold III, count of Guines and Alice van Coucy.²⁶⁰

9.1.4 *Berthout Jan I, also known as Berlaar*

Jan I Berthout was the second cousin of Wouter V Berthout and references to his name occur from 1264 until 1309. He died one year later in 1310. Jan I was involved in some of the greatest events of his time, for example, the battle of Woeringen and in all probability also the battle of the Gulden Spurs. In charters there is only one reference to him as the lord of Berlaar, other references are mostly as the lord of Grammene. Even when he lost this seigniory in 1293, he kept on using a seal on which the title 'lord of Grammene' was written.²⁶¹ References to Jan I Berthout as *baanrots* can only be found in the chronicle of Van Heelu in which he is identified as "*van Berlaer*" and not as the lord of Grammene.²⁶² In the work of Butkens, Jan I is also described as a *baanrots*, but Butkens used the titles 'lord of Grammene' and 'lord of Berlaar' interchangeably.²⁶³

Jan I Berthout was married to Maria van Mortagne, who was a daughter of Arnold van Mortagne and Yolanda van Coucy.²⁶⁴

9.1.5 *van Boutersem Hendrik V*

Hendrik V van Boutersem was lord of Boutersem Perk, Oplinter and Evere.²⁶⁵ He was the second son of Hendrik IV van Boutersem and Margareta van Wezemaal but he became heir to his father in 1285 when his elder brother, Leon, died.²⁶⁶ Hendrik V participated in the battle of the Gulden

²⁵⁸ J.F. Willems, ed., *op.cit.*, 170-171.

²⁵⁹ G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 348-350; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304.

²⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 349.

²⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 290-293, 340

²⁶² J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 170, 281-282.

²⁶³ F. C. Butkens, *op.cit.*, 304, 319.

²⁶⁴ G. Croenen, *op.cit.*, 343.

²⁶⁵ A. Wauters, *La Belgique Ancienne et Moderne: Géographie et Histoire Des Communes Belges. Arrondissement de Louvain. Canton de Tirlemont*. (Brussels, 1882), 129.

²⁶⁶ Of Margareta van Wezemaal is generally accepted that she was the daughter of Godfried van Wezemaal, who was the son of Arnold II van Wezemaal. Some objections to this theory were given by Eduard Van Ermen, yet in

Spurs in 1302 at the side of Godfried van Brabant and he lost his life in this battle. In the *Brabantsche Yeesten* this event is exhaustively described. Jan van Boendale even describes the death of Hendrik V van Boutersem and he designates him as *baanrots*.²⁶⁷

There is some confusion regarding the woman Hendrik V van Boutersem married. Avonds wrote that she was the daughter of Willem Mauclerc, lord of Walcourt.²⁶⁸ However, Alphonse Wauters, the only historian who wrote on the family of Boutersem, adopted the assumption of Jacques de Hemricourt. According to this assumption, Hendrik V was married to the daughter of Willem Mauclerc, lord of Hemricourt and not Walcourt. Furthermore, De Hemricourt described Willem Malclerc as a *baanrots* and his daughter as "*madamme de Hemericourt*", which is a family name that the editors of his chronicle, Camille de Borman and Eduard Poncelet, also appropriated.

Apparently, Hendrik V van Boutersem must have been the second husband of the daughter of Willem Malclerc, because her first husband was, according to De Hemricourt and Wauters, Arnold V van Walhain, also a *baanrots*. However, the precise date of death of Arnold V is not known, but it is certain that he either died together with Hendrik V van Boutersem, or that he outlived Hendrik V van Boutersem. De Borman and Poncelet thus believe that the first husband of *madamme de Hemericourt* was the son of Arnold V, whose name was Godfried van Walhain. This makes more sense, because Godfried died in the battle of Woeringen in 1288. This gave *madamme de Hemericourt* plenty of time to marry Hendrik V van Boutersem and give him three children.²⁶⁹ The eldest son of Hendrik V, Hendrik VI van Boutersem, is also defined as a *baanrots* by Avonds, yet his reference in fact refers to Hendrik V.²⁷⁰ In the sources used for this thesis and the search for *baanrotsen*, there are no references found to Hendrik VI as *baanrots*. For this reason Hendrik VI is not considered as such and thus not admitted in this appendix.

9.1.6 van Boutersem Hendrik VII/I, lord of Bergen op Zoom

Hendrik VII van Boutersem was also known as Hendrik I, lord of Bergen op Zoom. He was the eldest son of Hendrik VI van Boutersem and he was a contemporary of Hendrik IV Berthout, lord

one of the master theses he supervised, this theory was again acknowledged. See J. De Rucker, "Aanzet Tot Reconstructie van Het Grondbezit Te Oplinter Tijdens Het Ancien Regime." (Master's thesis, Supervisor: Prof. Dr. E. Van Ermen, University of Leuven, 2000), http://www.thesis.net/oplinter/oplinter_inhoud.htm.; E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 19.

²⁶⁷ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 1, 422, v. 234-235; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 3, 246.

²⁶⁸ P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, 246.

²⁶⁹ C. De Borman and A. Bayot, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Premier: Le Miroir Des Nobles de Hesbaye*. (Brussels: Hayez, 1910), 14, 156-157; C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième: Le Miroir Des Nobles de Hesbaye*. (Brussels: Hayez, 1925), 143, 393; A. Wauters, *Communes Belges. Arrondissement de Louvain. Canton de Tirlemont*. 129. For more information on the *baanrots* Arnold V van Walhain, see further in this appendix.

²⁷⁰ P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 3, 246-247.

of Duffel and Geel. He passed away some years after the death of Hendrik IV Berthout, more particular in 1370.²⁷¹ Hendrik VII/I was marshal of Brabant from 1361 until 1363 and he was known as a councillor of duchess Johanna and duke Wenceslas. According to Uyttebrouck, Hendrik VII/I can be found in eleven ducal charters from 1357 until 1370.²⁷² However, his name can also be found in the Charter of the Ridderbond of 1355, to which he attached his seal together with Hendrik IV Berthout. Furthermore, Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem was described as a *baanrots* in the note in the Brabant cartulary of the first of June 1357.²⁷³

In the chronicle of Jacques de Hemricourt, it is written that Hendrik VII/I sold the seigniory of Boutersem to the lord of Valkenburg. However, this is contested by Avonds and Willem van Ham, who wrote that it was his father, Hendrik VI, who sold Boutersem. This sale must have taken place in 1333. The reason for this confusion lies in the fact that Hendrik VI died in that same year. In literature and historical sources the name Boutersem kept on being used as a family name. This explains why the lords of Bergen op Zoom, Hendrik I and Hendrik II, are in this appendix also referred to as Hendrik VII and Hendrik VIII van Boutersem.²⁷⁴

Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem was married to Maria van Wezemaal. She was the daughter of Gerard III van Wezemaal, who was lord of Merksem.²⁷⁵ Next to their eldest son, Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem, Hendrik VII/I and Maria also had two daughters. The eldest daughter, Margareta was first married to Gerard van Rotselaar, lord of Vorselaar. He was also a *baanrots* of Brabant. Margareta's second marriage was to Arnold van Gavre, lord of Liederkerke. The second daughter of Hendrik VII/I, Maria, was married to Jan van der Calsteren, lord of Linden.²⁷⁶

9.1.7 van Boutersem Hendrik VIII/II, lord of Bergen op Zoom

Hendrik VIII/II was the eldest son of Hendrik VII/I and councillor to the duke and duchess of Brabant. He enjoyed enormous financial responsibilities in the duchy and acted on several occasions as the creditor of the dukes and duchess. According to Uyttebrouck, he can be found in some forty ducal charters between 1383 and 1409, yet the importance of his person can be traced much earlier in

²⁷¹ K. Sloomans, "Hendrik I van Boutersem, Heer van Bergen Op Zoom," *Bijdragen Tot de Geschiedenis* 10, no. 41 (1958): 3-42.

²⁷² A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 669.

²⁷³ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312-1383), 126; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720.

²⁷⁴ C. De Borman and A. Bayot, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Premier*, 159-160; C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième*, 143; P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, 247; W. A. van Ham, *Macht En Gezag in Het Markiezaat : Een Politiek-Institutionele Studie over Stad En Land van Bergen Op Zoom (1477-1583)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), 56.

²⁷⁵ C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième*, 143; E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 23-24, 28.

²⁷⁶ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 669; For more information on Gerard van Rotselaar, lord of Vorselaar, see further in this thesis.

time, for in 1371 Hendrik VIII/II was the commander of a division of the army of Brabant in the battle of Baesweiler. Hendrik VIII/II died in 1419.²⁷⁷

He was mentioned as a *baanrots* in the reconfirmation of the Charter of Kortenberg and the Walloon Charter in 1372. This was only two years after his father had died. In this charter he was described as "*heren Heinric, here van Bergen opten Zoem*", by which he was identified foremost as the lord of Bergen op Zoom and not by his family name van Boutersem.²⁷⁸ However, this family name was not entirely lost and can still be found in the work of De Hemricourt, in the work of Butkens and in contemporary historiography. For example, Butkens describes Hendrik VIII/II as "*Henry de Bautershem, sires de Berges sur Soom*" and according to Butkens, Hendrik VIII/II was also a *baanrots*.²⁷⁹ This was narrated in a passage that can also be found in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, in which Hendrik VIII/II was also described as a *baanrots*. In this passage, Hendrik VIII/II was one of the eight *baanrotsen* who were sent to 's Hertogenbosch by duchess Johanna for the defence of the duchy against the invasion of the duke of Guelders in 1397. Hendrik VIII/II was merely identified by Jan van Boendale as the *baanrots* of "*Bergen*".²⁸⁰ Due to this reference in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, it can also be assumed that the *baanrots* who was called "*le seigneur de Berg*", in the Brabant cartulary of the seventh of December 1383, was this Hendrik VIII/II.²⁸¹ In these last two references the emphasis is put on the identification as the lord of Bergen op Zoom.

The identification in the *Brabantsche Yeesten* as "*Bergen*" caused some confusion, because Boffa, for example, believed this referred either to Adam van Berg, lord of Limbricht or Renier van Berg, the younger. For this, he referred to Uyttebrouck, but Uyttebrouck does not mention anything about the actions of these two men in 1397 and he also applied the denomination "*Bergen*" for the Boutersems.²⁸² Due to this usage of "*Bergen*" by Uyttebrouck and the specific identification of Butkens, of "*Bergen*" as Hendrik VIII/II, this identification is also maintained in this thesis.

Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem married Béatrix van Wassenaar van Polanen in 1356. She was the daughter of the *baanrots* Jan II van Polanen who was lord of Leck and Breda. Together with Béatrix, Hendrik VIII/II had a son whose name was Hendrik IX van Boutersem and who also became a councillor, just as his father.²⁸³

²⁷⁷ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 669-670.

²⁷⁸ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

²⁷⁹ F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 515, 517; C. De Borman and A. Bayot, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Premier*, 159-160; C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième*, 143.

²⁸⁰ Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 334, 338-339, v. 9851-9859.

²⁸¹ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312-1383), 221.

²⁸² S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 38; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 659-661.

²⁸³ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 669, 661; C. De Borman and A. Bayot, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Premier*, 159-160; C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième*, 143. For more information on Jan II van Polanen, lord of Leck and Breda, see further in this appendix.

9.1.8 *van Boutersem Hendrik IX, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin*

Hendrik IX van Boutersem, lord of Grimbergen and Mélin was the son of Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom. From 1403 until 1404, he was for the first time referred to as the councillor of Johanna. Later onwards, from 1412 until 1416, he also became the *drossaard* of Brabant. Furthermore, Hendrik IX was very much involved in the financial matters of the duchy. In 1411, he stood surety for a payment of duke Antoon and in 1414, he was appointed as the only receiver of the extraordinary aid that was levied to finance war activities.²⁸⁴

In the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, he was described as a *baanrots*. More in particular, he was one of the three *baanrotsen* who belonged to the regency council of Jan IV, when his father, duke Antoon, died in 1415. This regency council governed the duchy of Brabant from 1415 until 1417. Stein wrote how one of these *baanrotsen* was called "Boutersem", while in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, Hendrik IX was named "Heere Heinrike, heere van Grimberghen ende van Melijn".²⁸⁵ What is remarkable in this case, is the fact that Hendrik IX and his father, Hendrik VIII/II, were at a certain moment in time, both defined as *baanrotsen*. Assuming that the title of *baanrots* was a personal and informal title that was based on a personal connection with the dukes and/or duchess, this was perfectly possible.

Hendrik IX became lord of Grimbergen because of his marriage with Johanna van Aa, who was the daughter of Jan van Aa, lord of Grimbergen and Gruuthuse. His second marriage was with Johanna van Wittem, who was the daughter of Jan van Corselaar. Hendrik XI died in 1419.²⁸⁶

9.1.9 *van Bornival Bernard I*

Bernard I was lord of Bornival and *drossaard* of Brabant in 1356. He received the office once again from 1358 until 1363. He was one of the most active councillors of the duke and duchess, Wenceslas and Johanna, who sealed more than seventy ducal charters between the years 1356 and 1365. He was also one of the knights who sealed the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355 and during the Brabant War of Succession, he fought against Flanders.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 1, 533 and vol. 2, 661-662.

²⁸⁵ R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant: Van Het Hertogdom Tot Heden* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2004), 164-165; Jan van Boendale, "Brabantsche Yeesten (naar de Editie van J.F. Willems En J.H. Bormans Uit 1839-1869).," dbnl, *XLVI. Vanden Elleven Die Totten Regiminte Hertogen Jans van Brabant Ghestelt Woorden.*, accessed September 20, 2014, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/boen001brab01_01_0355.php, v. 5736-5737.

²⁸⁶ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, p. 661.

²⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 666-667; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2 720-721.

There is one reference in which Bernard I van Bornival is described as a *baanrots* and this can be found in the note in the Brabant cartulary of the first of June 1357.²⁸⁸ Bernard I van Bornival died in August 1368. He left behind his son, Bernard II van Bornival, who was also a councillor.²⁸⁹

9.1.10 *van Bouchout Daniel, lord of Hombeek and Loenhout*

Little research has been done into the family of the lords of Bouchout, yet, in all probability, this Daniel van Bouchout was the son of Jan van Bouchout, lord of Humbeek and Elizabeth Taye. Only a very few facts are known about Daniel van Bouchout. He was married to Margareta, the daughter of Dirk III van Walcourt.

Furthermore, Daniel was a knight and in that capacity, he attached his seal to the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355. In this charter he appeared as the lord of Hombeek, immediately after Jan, lord of Bouchout, whom he was related to. Furthermore, Daniel van Bouchout was also a *baanrots*. In the reconfirmation charter of 1372, “*heren Daneel van Bouchout, here van Hoenbeke ende van Loenhout*” was counted among the forty-one *baanrotsen*.²⁹⁰

9.1.11 *van Bouchout Jan, castellan of Brussels*

Jan was lord of the seigniorship of Bouchout from 1337 until his death in 1391. In 1362, he bought the hereditary viscounty of Brussels, which was also passed on to his successor Daniel van Bouchout after his death. Jan van Bouchout was one of the most active councillors of Johanna and Wenceslas. He co-signed nearly 125 ducal charters and he often appeared as a creditor to the dukes of Brabant.²⁹¹

Jan van Bouchout was a knight and in this capacity, he attached his seal to the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355.²⁹² Furthermore, Jan van Bouchout was also a *baanrots*. This is known through the signature of “*le seigneur de Boechout*” in the note, in the Brabant cartulary, of December 1383 on the funeral of duke Wenceslas.²⁹³ Another reference can be found five years later in a receipt dated the twenty-fifth of October 1388 in which “*la bannière du seigneur du Boechout*” is mentioned.²⁹⁴ Since

²⁸⁸ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312–1383), 126.

²⁸⁹ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, 667.

²⁹⁰ In all probability Daniel van Bouchout and Jan, lord of Bouchout and castellan of Brussels were cousins. This family connection must be sought with Daniel V, lord of Bouchout, who must have been their grandfather. The father of Daniel, Jan van Bouchout, lord of Humbeek, was the second son of Daniel V. See: P. Avonds, “*Ideologie En Politiek*”, vol. 2, 721 and vol. 3, 245, 315; J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

²⁹¹ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 667-668.

²⁹² P. Avonds, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 720

²⁹³ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312–1383), 221.

²⁹⁴ A. Verkooren, *Inventaire Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 150.

Jan was the lord of Bouchout in 1383 and 1388, we can conclude that he was the *baanrots* indicated in these references.

9.1.12 *van Diepenbeek Hendrik*

Hendrik van Diepenbeek was the son of Louis van Diepenbeek and Margareta van Sombreffe, daughter of *baanrots* Jan II van Sombreffe. Hendrik succeeded his father as lord of Diepenbeek, Lens, Rekem and Grand-Leez in 1355. Since his parents died when he was still very young, he became lord with the assistance of his guardian Jan van Bernalemont.

Hendrik was described as a vassal of the duchess Johanna and he was identified as a *baanrots* in the list of *baanrotsen* in the reconfirmation charter of 1372. In this charter he was described as “*heren Heinric, here van Diepenbeke ende van Leyns*”.²⁹⁵

Hendrik van Diepenbeek married two times. In 1362, he married Johanna, the daughter of a certain Otto, lord of Trazegnies. Later, he married Marie, who was the daughter of Hendrik van Quaderebbe. Both marriages turned out to be childless, by which the cousin of Hendrik, Willem van Sombreffe, became his successor. Hendrik van Diepenbeek died somewhere before the eight of February 1397.²⁹⁶

9.1.13 *van Diest Arnold V*²⁹⁷

Arnold V was lord of Diest from 1258 until his death in 1296. During his life he sealed several ducal charters and he participated, together with his eldest son Gerard, in the most legendary event of their time, which was the battle of Woeringen in 1288.²⁹⁸ Jan van Heelu elaborated in a very extensive manner, of more than sixty verses, on the story of father and son in this battle.²⁹⁹ In his chronicle, Van Heelu gives several indications that Arnold V van Diest was a *baanrots* and a knight. Furthermore,

²⁹⁵ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

²⁹⁶ Louis and Hendrik de Stein de Diepenbeek in: Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap, *Publications de La Société Historique et Archéologique Dans Le Duché de Limbourg*, vol. 10, 1873, 28-31. For more information on *baanrots* Jan II van Sombreffe, see further in this appendix.

²⁹⁷ There is some confusion regarding the enumeration of this Arnold van Diest. Edward van Even describes this Arnold as Arnold V, yet Eduard van Ermen describes him as Arnold VII. In this thesis the reasoning of Van Even will be followed, due to his work on the lords of Diest. For Van Ermen see: E. Van Ermen, “Heerlijkheden in Het Hertogdom Brabant in de 13de Eeuw,” 64.

²⁹⁸ E. Van Even, *Geschiedenis Der Stad Diest*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Diest: Havermans, 1847), 117-122.

²⁹⁹ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 289-291.

also in the work of Butkens is Arnold V described as a *baanrots* and even Edward van Even assumed this status for Arnold V, even though his argumentation is incorrect.³⁰⁰

Arnold V van Diest married two times. His first marriage was with Isabella van Mortagne, also known as the lady of Rumigny. She was the daughter of Arnold van Mortagne, who was the castellan of Doornik. His second marriage was with Yolande van Coucy. Arnold V van Diest had nine children.³⁰¹

9.1.14 van Diest Hendrik, castellan of Antwerp

Hendrik was lord of Diest from 1349 until his death in 1385 and he was also the castellan of Antwerp. Since he was born in 1345, he was still an infant when he inherited Diest. This is why his uncle, Hendrik van Boxtel, was appointed as a guardian of Hendrik until he became of age. Hendrik became a councillor to the duke and duchess of Brabant and he sealed several ducal charters. He also participated in the battle of Baesweiler, where he was captured by the duke of Guelders. It was only after paying a considerable amount of money that he was set free.³⁰²

There are two references to Hendrik as a *baanrots*. The first reference can be found in the reconfirmation charter of 1372.³⁰³ The second reference can be found, a few years before his death, in the note in the Brabant cartulary of December 1383, on the funeral of duke Wenceslas. In this note, Hendrik van Diest is identified as councillor and *baanrots*.³⁰⁴

Already in 1359, Hendrik got married to Elisabeth van Hornes, who was the daughter of Willem van Horne and the granddaughter of Johanna van Leuven, lady of Gaasbeek. Hendrik and Elisabeth had six children. One of their daughters was called Marie, and she married the *baanrots* Jan III van Rotselaar.³⁰⁵

9.1.15 van Diest Thomas II, lord of Zichem

Thomas II was the eldest son of Hendrik van Diest and succeeded his father as lord of Diest from 1385 until his death in 1432. A few years before the succession, he was made a knight by the

³⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, 78, 169-171, 289-291; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304, 313; E. Van Even, *Geschiedenis Der Stad Diest*, vol. 1, 118. The argumentation of Edward Van Even that Arnold V van Diest was a *baanrots* is incorrect because he simply seems to translate the Latin *nobilis viri* as *baanderheren*. This translation has never been adopted before.

³⁰¹ E. Van Even, *Geschiedenis Der Stad Diest*, vol. 1, 117, 121-122.

³⁰² *Ibidem*, 132, 137; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 682.

³⁰³ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

³⁰⁴ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312–1383), 221.

³⁰⁵ E. Van Even, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 132, 133, 137-138; A. Uyttebrouck, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 682, 725. For more information on the *baanrots* Jan III van Rotselaar, see further in this appendix.

count of Blois after his brave performance at the battle of Roosebeke in 1382. Thomas II also became lord of Zichem, a seigniory Thomas II bought from Renard II van Schoonvorst. Thomas II was consecutively councillor of the duchess and dukes of Brabant Johanna, Antoon, Jan IV and Philip the Bolds van Saint-Pol. He was thus very actively engaged in politics in Brabant and during this time he sealed some forty ducal charters.³⁰⁶

There are two references in the *Brabantsche Yeesten* that Thomas II van Diest was a *baanrots*. The clearest reference is the one in which the *baanrotsen* are mentioned that belonged to the regency council of Jan IV from 1415 until 1417. In this chronicle, Thomas II van Diest is described as: "*Thomase, heere te Diest ende te Sichenen*".³⁰⁷ The second reference refers to an event that took place somewhat earlier in time than the creation of the regency council. It was the moment where duchess Johanna sent several *baanrotsen* of Brabant to the city of 's Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy against the invasion of the duke of Guelders in 1397. One of these *baanrotsen* was called "Diest" and since Thomas II was at that time lord of Diest, we can assume that this was Thomas II. This event is also narrated in the work of Butkens, who also defined Thomas II as a *baanrots*.³⁰⁸

Thomas II married Catherina van den Weyeren. She was the daughter of the knight Arnold van den Weyeren. They had one child, Jan van Diest, who already died in 1424.³⁰⁹

9.1.16 van Diest Hendrik, lord of Rivieren

Hendrik van Diest, lord of Rivieren was the son of Arnold van Diest and Aleide van Stalle, lady of Rivieren. Arnold van Diest was the brother of *baanrots* Hendrik van Diest and the cousin of *baanrots* Thomas II van Diest.³¹⁰ Both of them are mentioned earlier in this appendix.

He was a councillor to the duchess and dukes of Brabant, was involved in financial matters of the duchy, and, according to the writings of Uyttebrouck, Hendrik was most active at the beginning of the fifteenth century.³¹¹

The only reference that Hendrik van Diest, lord of Rivieren was a *baanrots*, can be found in the work of Butkens. He described Hendrik van Diest in the same story of Thomas II van Diest, in which they were sent by duchess Johanna to 's Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy of Brabant against

³⁰⁶ E. Van Even, *Geschiedenis Der Stad Diest*, vol. 1, 138-139; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 683.

³⁰⁷ Jan van Boendale, "Brabantsche Yeesten (naar de Editie van J.F. Willems En J.H. Bormans Uit 1839-1869).," dbnl, XLVI. *Vanden Elleven Die Totten Regiminte Hertogen Jans van Brabant Ghestelt Woorden.*, accessed September 21, 2014, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/boen001brab01_01_0355.php.

³⁰⁸ Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 338-339, vol. 9851-9859; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 517.

³⁰⁹ E. Van Even, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 138, 145.

³¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 132.

³¹¹ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 534-535 and vol. 2, 682.

the invasion of the duke of Guelders in 1397.³¹² This event was also narrated in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, in which eight *baanrotsen* were identified, but Hendrik van Diest, lord of Rivieren was not counted among them.³¹³ Of these eight *baanrotsen*, almost everyone is identified by means of their seigniorship. If the continuators of the *Brabantsche Yeesten* wanted to mention Hendrik van Diest in this enumeration of *baanrotsen*, they would have described him by means of the seigniorship Rivieren. However, this is not the case. Apart from Butkens, there are no other historical sources known in which Hendrik van Diest, lord of Rivieren is described as a *baanrots*. The fact that it is not known what made Butkens come to this conclusion, makes it is rather debatable whether Hendrik van Diest was truly a *baanrots*.

However, there are some indications that show how Hendrik van Diest was familiar in the milieu of *baanrotsen*. Firstly, he must have inherited the seigniorship of Rivieren from his grandfather from his mother's side, who was Florent van Stalle, lord of Rivieren and *baanrots* of Brabant. The second familiarity with the milieu of *baanrotsen*, can be found in the family of his wife. Hendrik van Diest was married to Johanna van Wezemaal, who was the daughter of Jan I van Wezemaal, another *baanrots* of Brabant.³¹⁴

Certainty cannot be reached when it comes down to the identification of Hendrik van Diest as a *baanrots*. Even though there are several reasons to doubt the assumption of Butkens, we cannot neglect Butkens and this is why Hendrik van Diest is admitted in this appendix. However, it is with the greatest caution that he should be counted amongst the numbers of the *baanrotsen* of Brabant.

9.1.17 van Glimes Jan

Jan van Glimes is another example of a nobleman who has never really been the object of a thorough study. Only Alphonse Wauters provided some information on this man.

Jan was the eldest son of Jacques de Glimes and succeeded him as the lord of Glimes. In the first half of the fourteenth century, “*la maison, la seigneurie, le village et les hommages*” were given by duke Jan III to his illegitimate brother Jan Gortygin or Cordeken. This Jan Cordeken sealed the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355. However, in 1368, the seigniorship of Glimes, and everything that it entailed, was returned to the duke and duchess by Jan van Glimes, who had dedicated Glimes as a fief to the ducal couple. Together with his brother Willem, Jan fought in the battle of Baesweiler in 1371. According to Wauters, the two brothers were arranged in the army together with the relatives of duke

³¹² F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 517-518.

³¹³ Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 338-339.

³¹⁴ E. Van Even, *Geschiedenis Der Stad Diest*, vol. 1, 132; E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 27; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 682. For more information on the *baanrotsen* Florent van Stalle, lord of Rivieren and Jan I van Wezemaal, see further in this appendix.

Wenceslas. Jan van Glimes sealed the reconfirmation charter of 1372 as “*heren Janne, here van Glymes*”, in which he was identified as a *baanrots* and a knight.³¹⁵

Jan van Glimes married Isabeau van Wailhain, who was also named van Rupemont. The exact date of his death is not known, but his son Jan, already became lord of Glimes in 1379 or 1380.³¹⁶

9.1.18 van Grimbergen Jan I, lord of Asse

Jan I van Grimbergen, lord of Asse is described by Uyttebrouck and Boffa as the hereditary standard-bearer of Brabant. This meant that in battle Jan I carried the banner of the dukes of Brabant. He was especially notorious for his performance at the battle of Scheut in 1356 where he dropped the banner of Brabant. Seeing this, people thought they had lost the battle and they fled. For some, this is one of the reasons why Brabant did in fact lose the battle.

According to Boffa, it was because of the seigniorship of Asse that Jan I was the hereditary standard-bearer of the dukes of Brabant, since Asse was a freehold neighbouring the abbey of Affligem, in which the banner of Brabant was kept for safekeeping.³¹⁷

However, in the reconfirmation charter of 1372 it is clearly indicated that Jan I van Grimbergen was defined as a *baanrots*.³¹⁸

Furthermore, Jan I was also a knight and in 1355 he attached his seal to the Charter of the Ridderbond. Regardless of his social standing, he did not appear to be very active in Brabant politics. Hardly any charters are found with his signature and Uyttebrouck even thinks he never really became a part of the ducal council. For this reason, it is suggested in this thesis that he was an occasional councillor. Jan I van Grimbergen, lord of Asse died in 1388.³¹⁹

9.1.19 vander Heiden Gerard II, lord of Boutersem

Gerard II vander Heiden held the exploitation farmhouse of Terheyden as a fief from a relative of him, whose name was Jan II van Rotselaar. Around the year 1350, this Gerard II vander Heiden built a donjon in Terheyden.³²⁰

³¹⁵ A. Wauters, *La Belgique Ancienne et Moderne : Géographie et Histoire Des Communes Belges. Province de Brabant. Canton de Jodoigne* (Brussels, 1872), 77-78, 80; J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39; P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 2, 722.

³¹⁶ A. Wauters, *op. cit.*, 80; A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 691.

³¹⁷ S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 64, 98; A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 656.

³¹⁸ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39;

³¹⁹ P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 2, 720; A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 656.

³²⁰ F. Doperé and W. Ubregts, *De Donjon in Vlaanderen*, 221.

Gerard II first appeared in the sources in 1338, and between 1346 and 1350 he became the *drossaard* of Brabant. He also bore the status of *buitenpoorter* from the town of Brussels. Furthermore, in 1355, he attached his seal to the Charter of the Ridderbond, by which it was made clear that he was a knight. Gerard II fought against Lodewijk van Male in the Brabant War of Succession of 1356-1357. Ever since, he remained close to the duke and duchess of Brabant, Johanna and Wenceslas, as a councillor. This can be seen through his demeanour in several ducal charters. In order of the duke, Gerard II was sent on several missions to England and in 1371 he functioned as a captain in the battle of Baesweiler.

He married Bertha van Duvendoorde and through this marriage Gerard II became lord of Boutersem. This must have happened between 1350 and 1379/80.³²¹

Through the note in the Brabant cartulary of June 1357, it is known that Gerard II vander Heiden was a *baanrots*. In this note, several *baanrotsen* of Brabant were engaged by the duchess and duke, Johanna and Wenceslas, to ensure peace with the count of Flanders, Lodewijk van Male.³²²

9.1.20 van Hornes Hendrik, lord of Perwez

Hendrik van Hornes succeeded his brother as lord of Perwez, shortly after 1380. He became *drossaard* of Brabant in the period from 1405 until 1406. In February 1406, Hendrik became the castellan of Leuven and a few months later, in June, he became the castellan of Vilvoorde as well. In the prince-bishopric of Liège, he also had an important role to play, more in particular, he was appointed as *mambour* during the schism in Liège of 1406 until 1408. In that same year he participated in the battle of Othée in which both he and his son lost their lives.³²³

Hendrik van Hornes was denominated as a *baanrots* in the work of Butkens and in the *Brabantsche Yeeften*. Both works described that Hendrik van Hornes was one of the *baanrotsen* who was sent to 's Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy against the invasion of the duke of Guelders and his army in 1397.³²⁴

³²¹ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 697-698; F. Doperé and W. Ubregts, *De Donjon in Vlaanderen*, 221; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720 and vol. 3, 267-268. The seignory of Boutersem was, after the sale from Hendrik VI or Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem to Reinoud, lord of Valkenburg in 1333, resold by Reinoud to Willem van Duvendoorde. Through the family of van Duvendoorde did the seignory come to Gerard II vander Heiden. See: P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 3, 247.

³²² A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312-1383), 126.

³²³ *Mambour* can be translated as guardian, in this case, we can assume that Hendrik van Hornes took over the government in Liège during the schism. See: A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 701.

³²⁴ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeeften*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 339, v. 9852-9859; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 518.

9.1.21 van Kuyc Jan I

Jan I van Kuyc was the son of Hendrik III van Kuyc and was born around the year 1230. In 1254, he became the lord of the Land of Cuijk and he was also known as the lord of Merum and Neerloon. Jan I was a vassal of the rulers of England, Brabant, Holland, Cologne, Flanders and Berg. The first record of Jan I as a knight was in 1274. Jan I belonged to the highest nobility of the duchy of Brabant and he had very intense connections with the duke, especially after the battle of Woeringen. He became a member of the ducal council and appeared as a witness in many ducal charters. In most of these charters the name Jan I van Kuyc was written immediately after the names of the close relatives of the duke.³²⁵ In the account of Van Heelu on the battle of Woeringen, Jan I is many times described as a *baanrots* of Brabant. In the work of Butkens as well, Jan I was identified as such.³²⁶

He married Jutta van Nassau around the year 1260. She was the daughter of the count Nassau, Hendrik II the Rich, and Mechteld van Guelders. Together they had nine children. Jan I lived a very long life, he died in 1308.³²⁷

9.1.22 van de Leck Hendrik, lord of Heeswijk and Dinther

Hendrik van de Leck was the second son out of the first marriage of *baanrots* Jan II van Polanen with Oda van Hoorne. In origin, this family was from Holland and Hendrik himself still maintained this connection to Holland. For example, he can be found in the council of Holland in 1402. However, the role Hendrik played in the political life of Holland was minor in comparison to his role in the duchy of Brabant. Hendrik was *drossaard* of Brabant from 1403 until 1404 and he was master of the ducal hotel from 1421 until 1427. Next to these functions, Hendrik was also a very important councillor and creditor of the dukes and duchess of Brabant. For example, from 1393 until 1428 he co-signed almost one hundred ducal charters. In 1425, Hendrik van de Leck even belonged to the group of councillors to whom duke Jan IV entrusted the government of Brabant during his absence.³²⁸

In the note in the Brabant cartulary of December 1383 on the funeral of duke Wenceslas, one can read how “*Henri de La Leck*” was *baanrots* and councillor. Another reference to Hendrik van Leck as a *baanrots* can be found in the work of Jan van Boendale and Butkens, in which was written

³²⁵ J. A. Coldewey, *De Heren van Kuyc 1096-14000*, 58-61, 71-75, 230-231.

³²⁶ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 171, 300-302; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304, 313.

³²⁷ J. A. Coldewey, *op. cit.*, 61, 230-231.

³²⁸ A. Uytnebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 706-707. For more information on Jan II van Polanen, see further in this appendix.

how Hendrik van de Leck was sent by Johanna to defend the duchy of Brabant against the invasion of the duke of Guelders in 1397.³²⁹

Hendrik was the second husband of Aleide van Stalle, lady of Rivieren. She was firstly married to Arnold van Diest, by which she was also the mother of *baanrots* Hendrik van Diest. Through his marriage, Hendrik van de Leck also became lord of Rivieren, even though this was only for a short period of time.³³⁰

9.1.23 van Leuven Arnold, lord of Breda

Arnold van Leuven was the second son of Godfried van Leuven and Marie van Oudenaarde. He was the brother of Gerard van Leuven and of Hendrik van Leuven, who succeeded their father as lord of Gaasbeek. While only very little information can be found on the first lords of Gaasbeek, it is even more difficult to find anything about their relatives. In general, it is written that Arnold van Leuven married the heiress of Breda, whose name was Isabelle. Wauters added to this, that he died without any descendants.³³¹

In his chronicle, Van Heelu described Arnold van Leuven two times. The first reference to Arnold, was in an enumeration with several other *baanrotsen*, yet he was not identified as such. It was described that, in total, these men were able to summon twelve hundred men by horse to fight battle. In the second reference, Arnold was referred to as the “*vromeghe standaerde*” who had died in the same year as Wouter V Berthout. Berthout had passed away in 1287. Apparently, Arnold had died after a harsh journey with the duke to the duchy of Brabant. Because of this denomination; because of his enumeration in the list of *baanrotsen*; and because of the reflection of all these elements in the work of Butkens, Arnold van Leuven is admitted in this appendix as well.³³²

9.1.24 van Leuven Gerard, provost of Nivelles

Gerard van Leuven was the third son of Godfried van Leuven and Marie van Oudenaarde. He was the brother of Arnold and Hendrik van Leuven. In comparison to his two older brothers, even less is known about Gerard van Leuven. For example, his participation in the battle of Woeringen is hardly

³²⁹ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312–1383), 221; Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 338-339, v. 9851-9859; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 517.

³³⁰ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 706. For more information on the *baanrots* Hendrik van Diest see 9.1.16 in this appendix.

³³¹ F. Vennekens, *La Seigneurie de Gaesbeek (1236-1795)* (Abbaye d’Affligem - Hekelgem, 1935), 13; A. Wauters, *Gaesbeek, Son Chateau et Ses Seigneurs. Notice Historique* (Brussels: Vanderauwera, 1851), 9.

³³² J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 82, v. 2128-2139 e.v. and 126, v. 3359 e.v.; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304, 306; G. Croenen, *Familie En Macht*, 325-327. Croenen translated “*standaerde*” as *baanrots*, this is also described in the biographical description of Wouter V Berthout: see 9.1.2 in this appendix.

described in historiographical works. The chronicle of Jan van Heelu is the only source that provides some information about this man.

Gerard van Leuven was the provost of Nivelles, but he was also described as clerk, *baanrots*, and a dear baron who performed “*ridderlike werc*”. According to Van Heelu, he possessed land and he held a fief. Furthermore, it was written that he served the duke honestly and well. In the work of Butkens, he was also described as *baanrots*.³³³

9.1.25 *van Leuven Hendrik, lord of Gaasbeek*

Hendrik van Leuven was the eldest son of Godfried van Leuven and Marie van Oudenaarde and the brother of Arnold and Gerard van Leuven. Hendrik was known as the lord of Gaasbeek, Herstal and Baucignies. From 1281 until 1282, he became *mambour* of the prince-bishopric of Liège. Under the rule of the duke of Brabant, Jan I, Hendrik van Leuven truly became one of the most important men in the duchy and he received many favours of the duke. Hendrik van Leuven was even related to the duke of Brabant.

It was only in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu that Hendrik van Leuven was explicitly described as a *baanrots*. Van Heelu wrote: “*Her Heinric van Gaesbeke,/ Een baenrots ende een groot heere*”.³³⁴ Hendrik van Leuven, lord of Gaasbeek did not participate in the actual battle of Woeringen since he had already passed away in 1285, but he took up arms in service of Jan I during the Limburg War of Succession from 1283 until 1289. For example, together with the *baanrots* Arnold V van Diest, he led a company of knights and sergeants to defend the town of Maastricht. This was also narrated by Butkens.³³⁵ Even though there is not much written about Hendrik van Leuven, lord of Gaasbeek, we can conclude that he was close with the duke and that he was very much involved in the military affairs of the duchy.

9.1.26 *van Nassau Engelbert I, lord of La Leck and Breda*

Engelbert I van Nassau was the third son of Jan I van Nassau-Dillenburg and Margareta van La Marck. Engelbert I became lord of La Leck and Breda because of his marriage in 1404 with the only daughter of Jan III van Polanen, Johanna, who was described as “*dame de La Leck et de Bréda*”.

³³³ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 171, v. 4547-4548, and 296-298, v. 8077-8146; F. Vennekens, *La Seigneurie de Gaesbeek*, 13; A. Wauters, *Gaesbeek, Son Chateau et Ses Seigneurs.*, 9-10; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 313.

³³⁴ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 102, v. 2686-2687.

³³⁵ J.F. Willems, ed., *op. cit.*, 78-79, v. 2004-2044; F. Vennekens, *La Seigneurie de Gaesbeek*, 12-16; A. Wauters, *Gaesbeek, Son Chateau et Ses Seigneurs.*, 10; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 279, 304.

From 1405 onwards, Engelbert I was part of the ducal council and he became one of the most active councillors of Antoon. Several years later, during the rebellion against duke Jan IV and Jan van Beieren, Engelbert I van Nassau took up sides with Jacoba van Beieren and he was one of the leaders of this rebellion. Afterwards, he remained councillor, held financial responsibilities in the duchy, was sent on several missions in service of the dukes, and he even became chamberlain.³³⁶

Only one reference was found in which Engelbert I van Nassau was described as a *baanrots*. This was the note of 1383 in the Brabant cartulary on the funeral of Wenceslas. In this note, “*Engelbert de Nassau*” was not yet identified as the lord of La Leck and Breda. Uyttebrouck wrote that it was only because of his marriage that Engelbert I became part of the Three Estates of Brabant. However, this reference clearly demonstrates that Engelbert I was both *baanrots* and councillor before his marriage. Following the line of thesis, we can conclude that he had a personal bond with the duke and duchess before his marriage. Engelbert I van Nassau passed away in 1442.³³⁷

9.1.27 van Oppem Jan

Jan van Oppem was in this thesis denominated as an atypical *baanrots*. This can be ascribed to the fact that he was foremost identified as a patrician from Brussels. He held a very strong connection to certain towns of Brabant. For example, from 1376 until 1379, he was the mayor of Tienen and, from 1379 until 1388, he was known as the *amman* of Brussels.³³⁸

The two specific functions that characterized *baanrotsen*, the military and consultative functions, can be spotted with Jan van Oppem as well. As a knight, he participated in the battle of Baesweiler in 1371. Furthermore, there was a “*Jan van Ophain*” who sealed the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355, but it is not certain whether this was the same Jan van Oppem described here.³³⁹

Uyttebrouck wrote that Jan van Oppem dedicated his life to serve the dukes and duchess of Brabant. He held several offices, such as the master of the ducal hotel and chamberlain, but he was also a member of the ducal council from 1384 until 1412 or 1413. He was a councillor of both Johanna and Antoon. In the thesis it was also mentioned that Jan van Oppem had a certain financial responsibility in the duchy. In 1387, for example, he stood surety in a commission made by the duchess. In the reconfirmation charter of 1372, “*heren Janne van Opphem*” was described as a *baanrots* and knight. In the note of 1383, in the Brabant cartulary on the funeral of Wenceslas, he was described as a *baanrots* and councillor. Jan van Oppem died some time before March 1414.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 715-716, 722.

³³⁷ *Ibidem*, 715; A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 221-222.

³³⁸ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 719.

³³⁹ *Ibidem*, 719; P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 2, 722.

³⁴⁰ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 719; A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386-1396), 119; J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39; A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 221-222.

9.1.28 van Pietersheim Jan, castellan of Brussels

The lords of Pietersheim belonged to an old noble lineage and the only attempt that has been made to draft a genealogy of these lords was by Jacques Brouwers.

Jan van Pietersheim was the son of Willem II van Pietersheim and lord of Pietersheim, Stein, Leefdaal, Oorschot, Hilvarenbeek, Impden and Stevensweert. Furthermore, he was the castellan of Brussels, which he sold in 1362, and he was a vassal of duchess Johanna. Jan participated in the battle of Baesweiler in 1371 and he was mentioned as a *baanrots* in the list of *baanrotsen* in the reconfirmation charter of 1372.

At first, Jan van Pietersheim was married to Jeanne van Loon-Agimont, who was the widow of Jan van Walcourt. After she passed away in 1368 he married Aleide van Heers, who was the lady of Spalbeek. Together they had six children of whom the eldest, Willem, succeeded Jan as lord of Pietersheim. Jan died before 1383.³⁴¹

9.1.29 van Polanen Jan II, lord of Leck and Breda

Jan II van Polanen originated from Holland, where, according to Jan Burgers, his father, Jan I van Polanen, had risen from lower to high nobility due to an impressive career in sovereign service and the acquisition of wealth and power. When Jan I died in 1342, he was succeeded by his son Jan II van Polanen. Jan II was an important man at the court of Holland where he functioned as a councillor of count Albrecht van Beieren. In 1342, Jan acquired Leck in Holland, but in the early 1350s, he was involved in the Hook and Cod wars in the county of Holland and Jan II fell in disgrace. Fortunately for Jan II, he had acquired the seigniorship of Breda in 1350 and, according to Uyttebrouck, this acquisition made Jan II a member of the Brabant nobility. Because of this, Jan II van Polanen went to live in the duchy of Brabant from then onwards.

Uyttebrouck wrote that his name can be found in some fifty ducal charters between the years 1357 and 1375. In 1355, Jan II van Polanen sealed the Charter of the Ridderbond which meant that Jan II was a knight of Brabant. One year later, in 1356, Jan II pledged loyalty to Lodewijk van Male in the Brabant War of Succession although some time later, he was back in the service of Johanna and Wenceslas. He became a councillor, and often creditor, of the duke and duchess and he fought for them in the battle of Baesweiler with his son Jan III. However, his ties with Holland never fully ceased

³⁴¹ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39; J. Brouwers, "De Heren van Pietersheim (12e 15e Eeuw)," *Limburg : Maandschrift Gewijd Aan Geschiedenis, Oudheidkunde, Kunst, Folklore En Letterkunde*, no. 72 (1993), 1, 14-17. J. Brouwers, "Willem II van Pietersheim," *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, n.d., <http://www.kvab.be/publicaties/nbw.aspx>.

to exist and in 1374, he even operated as an arbitrator in a quarrel between the count of Holland, Albrecht van Beieren, and the duke and duchess of Brabant, Wenceslas and Johanna.³⁴²

The double position of Jan II van Polanen in the Brabant War of Succession is reflected in the two references to Jan II as a *baanrots*. These references can be found in two notes in Brabant cartularies. The first note originated the fifth of May 1357 and it encompasses the pledge of loyalty from Jan II to Lodewijk van Male and Willem van Beieren. The second note originated nearly a month later, more in particular, the first of June 1357. In this second note it is clear that Jan II has switched sides to the duke and duchess of Brabant.³⁴³

Jan II van Polanen married three times. His first wife was Oda van Hoorne, whom he married in 1348. According to Uyttebrouck, Jan II became related with the duke of Brabant, Jan III, because of this marriage. However, according to Burgers, this relation only came into being because of the second marriage of Jan II van Polanen to Machteld van Rotselaar, who was the daughter of duke Jan III and the widow of Jan II van Rotselaar. Already in 1353, this second marriage took place. Between 1366 and 1370, Jan II van Polanen married his third wife, Margareta van der Lippe. Through this second and third marriage, Jan II got four sons, yet the three children of his first marriage became the most important ones. These children are first of all the eldest son of Jan II, namely Jan III van Polanen. He became lord of Leck and Breda, but up until now there are no references of him being a *baanrots*. His second son was the *baanrots* Hendrik van Leck, who is already mentioned in this appendix. Jan II also had a daughter of his first marriage, namely Béatrix van Wassenaar van Polanen. She married the *baanrots* Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem lord of Bergen op Zoom in 1356. Jan II van Polanen died in February 1379. Even duchess Johanna attended the funeral.³⁴⁴

9.1.30 van Rèves Alard III

Information on the family of the lords of Rèves is very scarce. Alard III was the son of Alard II, who sealed the Charter of Kortenberg in 1312. The reconfirmation of this charter in 1372 was sealed by his son Alard III, in which he was denominated as a *baanrots*. Alard III, lord of Rèves died some time before 1393.

There was an Alard, lord of Rèves who sealed the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355, but it is not certain whether this was the father or the son. This uncertainty can also be encountered with the

³⁴² J.W.J. Burgers, *De Rijkroniek van Holland En Zijn Auteurs. Historiografie in Holland Door de Anonymus (1280-1282) En de Grafelijke Klerk Melis Stoke (begin Veertiende Eeuw)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 329; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 722; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720.

³⁴³ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312–1383), 125-126.

³⁴⁴ J.W.J. Burgers, *De Rijkroniek van Holland*, 329; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 722; C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième*, 143. For more information on Hendrik VIII/II van Boutersem, see 9.1.7 in this appendix.

references to an Alard, lord of Rèves who held Luttre as a fief from the duke of Brabant, Jan III, and to the reference in which Alard, lord of Rève was described as lord of Bourghelles.

Avonds further wrote that Alard III van Rèves was related to the family of Marbais. As a consequence of this statement, Alard III might have been a relative of “*heren Janne, here van Marbays*”, who was also identified as *baanrots* on the reconfirmation charter of 1372.³⁴⁵

In this thesis, it was suggested that Alard III van Rèves was an occasional councillor to the duke and duchess of Brabant.

9.1.31 *van Rivieren Rasse, lord of Neerlinter*

Rasse van Rivieren was the grandson of Karel van Aarschot, lord of Rivieren en Neerlinter, and the son of Daniel van Aarschot. Rasse van Rivieren died in 1425. During his life he participated in the battle of Baesweiler in 1371 and his name can be found as a witness in several charters. He was a member of the nobility and, according to Uyttebrouck, Rasse van Rivieren was identified as such and not as a councillor of the duke and duchess of Brabant, in comparison to several other *baanrotsen* of his time.³⁴⁶ Because of this, it was suggested in the thesis that he was an occasional councillor.

In the reconfirmation of the Charter of Kortenberg and the Walloon Charter on the seventeenth of September 1372, Rasse van Rivieren was referred to as a *baanrots* of Brabant.³⁴⁷

9.1.32 *van Rotselaar, Gerard*

The first references to Gerard van Rotselaar can be found from 1265 onwards. He succeeded his father as lord of Rotselaar in 1283 until his death in 1306. He was also known as the hereditary seneschal of Brabant, a title which was passed on to the lords of Rotselaar. He fought in the battle of Woeringen and he is described in this battle in the chronicle of Van Heelu as a *baanrots*. As such, he is also described in the work of Butkens. Furthermore, under the reign of Jan II, Gerard van Rotselaar held an important position as well, since he was, in 1306, counted amongst the “*principes et barones nostros*”.³⁴⁸ François Louis Ganshof wrote at the beginning of the twentieth century how all the successors of this Gerard van Rotselaar definitely belonged to the nobility. Of Gerard himself, Ganshof seemed to be more inclined to emphasize the link with the *ministeriales*. However, in more

³⁴⁵ P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 2, 720 and vol. 3, 305; J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

³⁴⁶ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 725.

³⁴⁷ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

³⁴⁸ F.L. Ganshof, *Etude Sur Les Ministeriales En Flandre et En Lotharingie* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1926), 87; J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 286; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304.

recent work, such as the work of Bart Minnen, it is known that the lord of Rotselaar already belonged to the highest nobility of the duchy Brabant from 1230 onwards.³⁴⁹

9.1.33 van Rotselaar Jan III

Jan III van Rotselaar, was the son of Jan II van Rotselaar and lord of Rotselaar from 1385 until his death in 1406. As his predecessor, Gerard van Rotselaar, Jan III was also known as the hereditary seneschal of Brabant. According to Uyttebrouck, Jan III was already active as a councillor to Johanna and Wenceslas in 1378 and he co-signed more than seventy-five ducal charters. In 1394, he was appointed as one of the receivers of the extraordinary aid, which was levied to accommodate the debts created by the second war with Guelders. Jan III would remain councillor until his death.³⁵⁰ Bart Minnen, however, found out some of his earlier activities because, according to Minnen, Jan III was a member of the Council of Kortenberg from 1372 until 1376. Minnen also concluded that Jan III van Rotselaar brought a height into the prestige of the lineage of the lords of Rotselaar. For example, he extended and strengthened his authority in his seigniorship. He brought Werchter and Haacht under his sole authority, while this was in the thirteenth century shared with the Berthouts from Mechelen. Furthermore, in 1380, he acquired the seigniorship of Vorselaar after the death of Gerard III van Rotselaar, lord of Vorselaar.³⁵¹

In the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, Jan III van Rotselaar is described as one of the *baanrotsen* who were sent by Johanna to 's Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy of Brabant against the invasion of the duke of Guelders. This was narrated in the work of Butkens as well.³⁵²

Jan III was married to Marie van Diest, who was the daughter of the *baanrots* Hendrik van Diest. They had a son together, Jan IV, who would succeed his father in 1406.³⁵³

9.1.34 van Rotselaar Gerard III, lord of Vorselaar and castellan of Jodoigne

Gerard III van Rotselaar belonged to a branch of the lineage of Rotselaar, different than the one from the lords of Rotselaar. Gerard III himself was not a lord of Rotselaar. He was, because of his

³⁴⁹ B. Minnen, "Adellijke Dorpsprivileges in Brabant in de Late Middeleeuwen: De Privilegereeksen Voor de Heerlijkheden Rotselaar, Vorselaar En Retie (1407-1558)," *Jaarboek Voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 3 (2000): 223-224; F.L. Ganshof, *Etude Sur Les Ministeriales*, 88.

³⁵⁰ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 725-726; A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386-1396), 263-264.

³⁵¹ B. Minnen, "Adellijke Dorpsprivileges in Brabant in de Late Middeleeuwen", 223-224.

³⁵² Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 338-339, v. 9851-9859; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 517.

³⁵³ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit*, vol. 2, 725-726. For more information on the *baanrots* Hendrik van Diest see 9.1.14 in this appendix.

grandfather from his father's side, lord of Vorselaar and, because of his grandmother from his mother's side, he was lord of Hoogstraten and Retie and castellan of Jodoigne. During his lifetime, the seal of Gerard III van Rotselaar can be found on several charters. For example, he attached his seal to the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355 and, between 1356 and 1358, Gerard III sealed almost one hundred and forty ducal charters. According to Uyttebrouck, this was because Gerard III was marshal of Brabant during the Brabant War of Succession. In January 1356, he also sealed the charter of the *Blijde Inkomst* and, from 1364 until 1375, Uyttebrouck discerned ten ducal charters Gerard III had put his seal on. Furthermore, Gerard III van Rotselaar had an important role to play against the revolt of the trades of Brussels in July 1360, and he also fought at the battle of Baesweiler, where he was the commander of a division of the army of Brabant. Gerard III was also known as the creditor and the councillor of the dukes of Brabant.³⁵⁴

Through the note in the Brabant cartulary of June 1357, it is known that Gerard III van Rotselaar was a *baanrots*. In this note, Gerard III was not described with his family name Rotselaar, but only as lord of Vorselaar. In the Charter of the Ridderbond as well, the family name Rotselaar is not given. In this charter, Gerard III is only identified as the lord of Vorselaar and the castellan of Jodoigne.³⁵⁵

Gerard III van Rotselaar, lord of Vorselaar married Margareta van Boutersem. She was the daughter of the *baanrots* Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom. Gerard III died in 1380.³⁵⁶

9.1.35 van Sayn Willem, lord of Sint-Agatha-Rode

According to Uyttebrouck, Willem van Sayn was related to duchess Johanna and he was raised at the court of Brabant. The first references to his name were found in the accounts of 1377 and 1378. Apparently, Willem van Sayn received many favours of the duchess, such as several interests and revenues. Furthermore, he became master of the hunt from 1399 until 1406 and he held the office of *drossaard* twice. Willem was a loyal councillor to Johanna, Antoon and his son. He co-sealed more than one hundred and forty ducal charters between 1386 and 1428.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ B. Minnen, "Adellijke Dorpsprivileges in Brabant in de Late Middeleeuwen", 224. A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 742-743; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720; S. Boffa, *Warfare*, 11-12, 67. The enumeration of Gerard III is adopted from Minnen, in others works this enumeration cannot be found. It is adopted however, because it creates more clarity in the lineage of the Rotselaars.

³⁵⁵ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312-1383), 126; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720.

³⁵⁶ A. Uyttebrouck, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, 742. For more information on the *baanrots* Hendrik VII/I van Boutersem, lord of Bergen op Zoom, see 9.1.6 in this appendix.

³⁵⁷ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 731-732.

Early in his career, Willem van Sayn was described as *baanrots* and councillor. This denomination was found in the note in the Brabant cartulary on the funeral of duke Wenceslas in 1383. Willem van Sayn died in 1429.³⁵⁸

9.1.36 *van Schönau Renard, lord of Schoonvorst*

Renard van Schönau was the youngest of six sons and he started his life as a canon of Sint-Servaas. He descended from a very fortunate family, but he further enlarged his wealth by functioning as a banker for several rulers of his time. He held important positions at the court of the margrave of Jülich and the court of the archbishop of Cologne. Before the sixth of May 1348, he became the lord of Schoonvorst. For a brief moment in time, he became the lord of Fauquemont as well and he also acquired Montjoie, Zichem, and Sint-Agatha-Rode. This meant that Renard van Schönau had seigniories both in and out of the duchy of Brabant.

Renard van Schönau was a vassal and councillor of Jan III. According to Uyttebrouck, he was also a member of the ducal council from 1356 until 1373. In the reconfirmation charter of 1372, Renard van Schönau was even mentioned among the “*getrouwe raitsluden*” of the duke and duchess. He performed many services to the dukes and duchess, both consultative and financial, but also military services. He participated in the battle of Baesweiler, where he and his son got captured. The only reference to Renard van Schönau as a *baanrots* was in the account on the battle at Vottem in 1346, in which he “*leva bannière*”. For many historians, this has become the classic example of the bestowment of the title of *baanrots*. Renard de Schönau passed away some time before the seventh of August 1376.³⁵⁹

9.1.37 *van Schoonvorst, Renard II*

Renard II van Schoonvorst was the son of Renard van Schönau, who succeeded his father as lord of Schoonvorst and Zichem in 1376. He sold the latter seigniority to Thomas II van Diest in 1398. Renard II further acquired Dalhem and Kerpen. Together with his father, Renard II fought at Baesweiler, where they got captured. Furthermore, in 1383, he became the *drossaard* of Brabant and he was also described as a councillor to the dukes and duchess. However, according to Uyttebrouck,

³⁵⁸ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312-1383), 221-222; A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 731-732.

³⁵⁹ P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 3, 306; A. Uttebrouck, *op. cit.*, 732; J. de Chestret de Haneffe, *Renard de Schönau, Sire de Schoonvorst*, 4-7, 19-20; J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

he rarely made his appearance at the ducal council.³⁶⁰ This suggestion makes it very alluring to assume that Renard II van Schoonvorst was another example of a '*conseiller occasionnel*'.

The passage in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, in which several *baanrotsen* were sent to 's Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy against the invasion of the duke of Guelders and his army, described Renard II van Schoonvorst as a *baanrots*. This was also narrated by Butkens. Renard II van Schoonvorst died in 1419.³⁶¹

9.1.38 van Sombreffe Jan II

Jan II, lord of Sombreffe was, for what is known of him, politically active in the duchy of Brabant in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. He was the father of Jan III and thus the grandfather of the *baanrots* Jan IV van Sombreffe. Avonds wrote that Jan II died in all probability before the fourteenth of February 1329.³⁶²

Jan II was a vassal of both the duke of Brabant, Jan III, and the count of Namur. In 1312, he sealed the Charter of Kortenberg as "*her Janne, here van Sombreffe*". Avonds confirmed that this *Janne* was Jan II, lord of Sombreffe.³⁶³

Through the work of Avonds, which led back to the work of Léopold Génicot and the work of Armand de Behault de Dornon, it is known that Jan II van Sombreffe was a *baanrots*. De Behault de Dornon made, at the beginning of the previous century, a study on all the participants of a tournament in Mons that took place in 1310. One of these participants was Jan II van Sombreffe. For his study, de Behault de Dornon used two manuscripts that give the account of the tournament. One of these manuscripts was kept in the Royal Library of Belgium, the other manuscript was kept in the Austrian National Library. Only in the manuscript that was kept in Belgium, it was written that Jan II van Sombreffe was a "*bannerole*" of *baanrots*. The origins of these two manuscript might explain the presence or absence of the title "*bannerole*", yet unfortunately, de Behault de Dornon does not elaborate on these.

Even though Avonds wanted to keep the possibility that this *bannerole* might have been Jan III van Sombreffe, he wrote convincingly that it was Jan II who was this *baanrots*. Butkens as well, confirmed this identification of Jan II as the *bannerole* of the tournament.³⁶⁴ In this case, it is

³⁶⁰ A. Uyttebrouck, *op. cit.* vol. 2, 735. Schoonvorst was situated in Fauquemont, yet since Fauquemont was acquired by Johanna and Wenceslas in 1364, Renard II van Schoonvorst is described in the list of Brabant *baanrotsen* from the duchy of Brabant. See: S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 15.

³⁶¹ J. van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 339, v. 9852-9859; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 517; A. Uyttebrouck. *op. cit.*, 735.

³⁶² P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 3, 307.

³⁶³ *Ibidem*, 307-308; J. Van der Straeten, *op.cit.*, 17.

³⁶⁴ A. de Behault de Dornon, *Le Tournoi de Mons de 1310* (Mons: Dequesne-Masquillier, 1909), 1, 33; L. Génicot, *L'économie Rurale Namuroise Au Bas Moyen Age (1199-1429). Tome II Les Hommes - La Noblesse*

important to remember that, in 1310, Jan II was lord of Sombreffe and this is another reason why Jan II and not Jan III van Sombreffe is admitted in this appendix.

9.1.39 van Sombreffe Jan IV

In the reconfirmation charter of 1372, a certain “*heren Janne, here van Sombreffe*” is described as one of the *baanrotsen* who attached his seal to the charter. This man can only be Jan IV, lord of Sombreffe because his predecessor, Jan III, had already died in 1354.³⁶⁵

On the life and actions of Jan IV van Sombreffe is not much known. There was a “*Jan, heer van Sombreffe*” who sealed the Charter of the Ridderbond in 1355.³⁶⁶ Since Jan III had already died, this signature, must be attributed to Jan IV van Sombreffe. Furthermore, Uyttebrouck included Jan IV in his appendix with biographical descriptions of the councillors of the dukes and duchess of Brabant, by which we can assume that Jan IV was also a councillor. According to Uyttebrouck, Jan IV only appeared in the entourage of the duke and duchess from 1361 onwards. Yet in his work, it would appear that Jan IV was not very much involved in Brabant politics and did not co-sign many charters.³⁶⁷

9.1.40 van Walhain Arnold V

There is quite some confusion on the person of Arnold V, lord of Walhain. Fortunately for this thesis, there is no doubt about his status as a *baanrots*.

Most of the historians who have written about Arnold V agree he was the son and successor of Arnold IV van Walhain; they agree that he had two younger brothers Otto and Willem; and they agree that he participated in the battle of Woeringen in 1288. In this battle, Arnold V participated together with his son Godfried, who lost his life there. Their participation was also recorded in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, in which Arnold V was clearly identified as a *baanrots* of Brabant. In the work of Butkens as well, and in the continuation of the *Spiegel Historiae* by Van Velthem, Arnold V van Walhain was described as a *baanrots*.³⁶⁸

(Leuven: Centre belge d’histoire rurale, 1975), 153; P. Avonds, *op.cit.*, vol. 3, 307-308.

³⁶⁵ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39; P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 3, 308.

³⁶⁶ P. Avonds, “Ideologie En Politiek”, vol. 2, 720.

³⁶⁷ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 736.

³⁶⁸ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 287; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304, 313; C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds. *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième*, 393; C. De Borman and A. Bayot, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Premier*, 156-157; A. Wauters and J. Tarlier, *La Belgique Ancienne et Moderne : Géographie et Histoire Des Communes Belges. Province de Brabant. Canton de Perwez* (Brussels: A. Decq, 1865), 25-26; L. van Velthem, “Spiegel Historiae. Vijfde Partie Lodewijk van Velthem (editie H. van Der Linden, W. de Vreese, P. de Keyser En A. van Loey),” dbnl, *Hoe Her Walraven Onder Quam. Xiiij.*, accessed

Three major uncertainties can be determined. The first one can be found with the succession of Arnold IV, as lord of Walhain. Wauters did not assign a specific date to this succession, but he wrote about certain activities of Arnold IV in 1262 and 1267. On the contrary, the editors of *Les miroirs des nobles de Hesbaye*, De Borman and Poncelet, believed that Arnold IV must have been succeeded by his son Arnold V in 1261.

The second uncertainty concerns the marriage of Arnold V. This problem is already addressed in the account on Hendrik V van Boutersem. It suffices here to say that De Borman and Poncelet averted from this problem by stating Arnold V was married to an unknown woman. The third uncertainty concerns the death of Arnold V van Walhain. At that moment in time, the early beginnings of the fourteenth century, there was only one Arnold who was lord of Walhain and *baanrots* of Brabant. In the *Brabantsche Yeesten* and *De Chronographia regum Francorum* it is written how the *baanrots* Walhain died in the battle of the Gulden Spurs. However, De Borman and Poncelet maintained that, in June 1303, Arnold V was arbitrator between the duke of Brabant, Jan Berthout and the city of Mechelen. To add to the confusion, Wauters found the name of Arnold V in several charters up until 1307.³⁶⁹ As long as there are no new studies on Arnold V van Walhain, many of the conclusions on his life will remain to the sphere of speculation.

9.1.41 van Wezemaal Arnold IV

Arnold IV van Wezemaal was the only son of Godfried van Wezemaal and succeeded his father as lord of Wezemaal from 1274 until his death in 1302. He was marshal of Brabant, a title that from time to time identified his father, his uncle Arnold III and his grandfather Arnold II, in charters. Arnold IV was an important nobleman in Brabant, who also participated in the battle of Woeringen in 1288. However, his importance can also be seen in the frequent occurrence of his name in several of the lists of witnesses of privileges that the duke of Brabant, Jan I, gave to Brabant cities in 1290 and in 1291. Another great event of his time, Arnold IV took part in, was the battle of the Gulden Spurs, in which he lost his life.³⁷⁰

Arnold IV van Wezemaal appeared several times in the sources, yet it was only in the *Brabantsche Yeesten* that he was designated as a *baanrots*.³⁷¹ Other references to Arnold IV were most often to his banners. For example, this occurred in the work of Van Heelu and Butkens.³⁷²

February 14, 2015, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/velt003spie04_01/velt003spie04_01_0015.php.

³⁶⁹ C. De Borman and E. Poncelet, eds. *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Deuxième*, 393; C. De Borman and A. Bayot, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Premier*, 156-157; A. Wauters and J. Tarlier, *Communes Belges. Province de Brabant. Canton de Perwez*, 25-26; Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, vol. 1, ed. J.F. Willems, 422, v. 234-235; J.F. Verbruggen and R. Falter, *1302: Opstand in Vlaanderen* (Tielt: Lannoo Uitgeverij, 2002), 268.

³⁷⁰E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol.1, 19, 26.

³⁷¹ Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, vol. 1, ed. J.F. Willems, 422, v. 234-235.

Arnold IV was married to Ida van Bierbeek and together they had four children: Arnold V, Willem, Walter and one daughter, Margareta. Margareta is already mentioned earlier in this appendix as the wife of Hendrik IV Berthout, lord of Duffel and Geel.³⁷³

9.1.42 *van Wezemaal Gerard I, lord of Bergen op Zoom and Kwabeek*

Gerard I van Wezemaal was the third son of Arnold II van Wezemaal and the uncle of *baanrots* Arnold IV. As a third son he always stood in the shadow of his two older brothers Arnold III and Godfried who both became lord of Wezemaal. According to Van Ermen, Gerard I appears in sources for the first time in 1253 as a canon of Saint-Peter in Utrecht. However, five years later, he resigned from clerical life and in 1264 he became a knight. Yet it was only in 1287, when Gerard I inherited Bergen op Zoom, that he became actively involved in the politics of the high nobility of Brabant.³⁷⁴ As all the great noblemen of his time, Gerard I participated in the battle of Woeringen as well. In this battle Jan van Heelu described him as a *baanrots*.³⁷⁵

Gerard I had four sons: Arnold, Gerard II, Godfried and Jan. He died somewhere between the eight of August 1308 and 1309.³⁷⁶

9.1.43 *van Wezemaal Frank, bastard*

Frank van Wezemaal, also known as the Bastard of Wezemaal, is mentioned from 1257 until 1293 and he must have died in 1296 or 1297. He was the illegitimate son of Arnold II van Wezemaal and he became a very famous knight. Frank van Wezemaal especially acquired fame in foreign countries. For example, from 1256 until 1258, he took part in the defence of the castle of Namur against the count of Luxemburg and, in 1283, he undertook several journeys in the south of France and Spain in service of Karel van Anjou.³⁷⁷ For Brabant, Frank van Wezemaal played an important role in the battle of Woeringen and for this he is mentioned in the chronicle of Jan van Heelu and the continuation of the *Spiegel Historiae* of Lodewijk van Velthem. In the chronicle Van Heelu, Frank van Wezemaal is described as a knight who protected duke Jan I in the battle. However, the only medieval source in which Frank van Wezemaal is described as a *baanrots*, is the chronicle written by

³⁷² J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 295-296; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 304.

³⁷³ E. Van Ermen, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 19. For more information on the *baanrots* Hendrik IV Berthout, lord of Duffel and Geel, see 9.1.2 in this appendix.

³⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 22, 23.

³⁷⁵ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 292; See also F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 313, 319.

³⁷⁶ E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 23-24.

³⁷⁷ E. Van Ermen, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 24, 26.

Jacques de Hemricourt, *Le miroir des nobles de Hesbaye*.³⁷⁸ Furthermore, it is also in the work of Butkens that Frank van Wezemaal is entitled *baanrots*.³⁷⁹ At the end of his life he became lord of Wijer in the county of Loon. However, the name Wezemaal, was seldom used again by his descendants.³⁸⁰

9.1.44 van Wezemaal Willem II

Willem II van Wezemaal was the eldest son of Willem I van Wezemaal, who was the son of Arnold IV van Wezemaal. According to Van Ermen, the name of Willem II occurred in sources between 1355 and the year in which he died 1372. In comparison to some of his close relatives he kept a lower profile.³⁸¹ Nevertheless, his name can be found on the Charter of the Ridderbond of 1355, in which he was named lord of Waterland. It was because of the inheritance of his wife Catharina Persyn that Willem II became lord of a part of Waterland. The name of his father can also be found on the Charter of the Ridderbond, in which it is made clear that Willem I was a marshal of Brabant. This is rather odd, because Van Ermen wrote that Willem I did not really participated in the political life of Brabant.³⁸² Furthermore, even though Van Ermen asserted that Willem II kept a low profile, the reconfirmation charter of 1372, proves the contrary. In this Charter a reference can be found to Willem II as a *baanrots* and a marshal of Brabant. This is for certain Willem II, because Willem I definitely died before 1367 and as the eldest son, Willem II succeeded his father as lord of Wezemaal.³⁸³

The marriage of Willem II and Catharina Persyn remained childless. As a consequence, when both of them died in 1372, the title 'lord of Wezemaal' was transferred upon his brother Jan I van Wezemaal.³⁸⁴

9.1.45 van Wezemaal Jan I, lord of Fallais

Jan I was the second son of Willem I van Wezemaal, who was the son of Arnold IV van Wezemaal. Jan I started his career as a clergyman, but when his older brother Willem II died without

³⁷⁸ L. van Velthem, "Spiegel Historiae. Vijfde Partij Lodewijk van Velthem. Noch vander heren love. xix. (editie H. van Der Linden, W. de Vreese, P. de Keyser En A. van Loey)," dbnl, *Hier Begint Die Derde Boec Vander Vifter Partien*, accessed August 8, 2014, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/velt003spie02_01/velt003spie02_01_0004.php; J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 179, 305; C. De Borman and A. Bayot, eds., *Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Tome Premier*, 14.

³⁷⁹ F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 314.

³⁸⁰ F. Doperé and W. Ubregts, *De Donjon in Vlaanderen*, 250; E. Van Ermen, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 24.

³⁸¹ E. Van Ermen, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 20.

³⁸² P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720; E. Van Ermen, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 20

³⁸³ J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39; E. Van Ermen, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 26-27.

³⁸⁴ E. Van Ermen, *op.cit*, vol. 1, 20.

children, he left the clergy and from the ninth of November 1373 he called himself lord of Wezemaal. When his uncle died in 1375, Jan I also became the lord of Fallais.

He was a councillor of the duke and duchess of Brabant and between 1374 and 1404, he sealed some thirty ducal charters. Furthermore, Jan I was appointed as one of the receivers of the extraordinary aids that were levied in 1390 and in 1394.³⁸⁵

His function as a councillor is also indicated in the note in the Brabant cartulary of the seventh of December 1383 on the funeral of duke Wenceslas, in which "*le seigneur de Wezemaal*" is identified as a councillor and *baanrots*. In 1383, the lord of Wezemaal was Jan I. In the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, this lord of Wezemaal is also described as one of the *baanrotsen* who were sent to 's Hertogenbosch in 1397 to defend the duchy against the invasion of the duke of Guelders. In the work of Butkens as well, Jan I is described as a *baanrots*. What is more, it appeared that Jan I van Wezemaal was also known as the hereditary marshal of Brabant, which was written by Jan van Boendale in his chronicle.³⁸⁶

Later onwards, during the reign of duke Antoon, Jan I began to play a very important role in the government of the duchy of Brabant. When duke Antoon passed away in 1415, Jan I van Wezemaal became one of the three *baanrotsen*, who belonged to the regency council of Jan IV. In the writings of Stein on this regency council, he merely wrote "Wezemaal" as one of the three *baanrotsen*. Yet in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, it is explicitly stated that this was "*Janne, heere van Wesemale ende van Faleys*". Jan I only died the tenth of June 1417, as a consequence, the chronology is correct. Furthermore, even though Van Ermen and Uttebrouck, do not mention the fact that Jan I was a *baanrots*, they do confirm that Jan I was a member of this regency council. This would mean that Jan I van Wezemaal must have been an important man of his time, with many responsibilities until the end of his life. It thus seems to contradict the statement made by Van Ermen that the influence and importance of Jan I van Wezemaal decreased from 1411 until his death in 1417.³⁸⁷

Jan I van Wezemaal was first married to Ida van Ranst, but since this marriage remained childless, they split up. Jan I married several years later with Johanna van Bauffremont, with whom he

³⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 21; A. Uyttebrouck, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, 532 and vol. 2, 744-745; A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 263-264.

³⁸⁶ Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 334, 338-339, v. 9851-9859; M.J. Waale, *De Arkelse Oorlog 1401-1412: Een Politieke, Krijgskundige En Economische Analyse* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), 76; E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 21, 26; A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, Tome 2 (1312–1383), 221; Jan van Boendale, "Brabantsche Yeesten (naar de Editie van J.F. Willems En J.H. Bormans Uit 1839-1869).," dbnl, *XLVI. Vanden Elleven Die Totten Regiminte Hertogen Jans van Brabant Ghestelt Woorden.*, accessed September 20, 2014, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/boen001brab01_01_0355.php; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 517.

³⁸⁷ Jan van Boendale, "Brabantsche Yeesten (naar de Editie van J.F. Willems En J.H. Bormans Uit 1839-1869).," dbnl, *XLVI. Vanden Elleven Die Totten Regiminte Hertogen Jans van Brabant Ghestelt Woorden.*, accessed September 20, 2014, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/boen001brab01_01_0355.php; E. Van Ermen, *Landelijke Bezittingen*, vol. 1, 17, 21, 26; R. Van Uytven et al., eds., *Geschiedenis van Brabant*, 164-165; A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 745.

had four children: Willem III, Elisabeth, Jan II and Johanna. The first two of these children died when they were young.³⁸⁸

9.1.46 van Wittem Jan II

Jan II van Wittem was the son of Jan I van Corselaar³⁸⁹ who bought the seigniorship Wittem in 1344 from Gerard van Wittem. Because of this, all the descendants of Jan I van Corselaar named themselves after the seigniorship of Wittem and stopped using the name van Corselaar. When his father died in 1374, Jan II became lord of Wittem.³⁹⁰

He was one of the most active councillors of the duchess and duke of Brabant, for example, he co-signed nearly ninety ducal charters between the years 1378 and 1401. Furthermore, Jan II held some important functions. For several years, he was known as the *drossaard* of Brabant, but also as the *woudmeester*. In 1394, he was appointed as one of the receivers of the extraordinary aid that was to be levied, together with Jan III van Rotselaar and Jan I van Wezemaal, lord of Fallais.³⁹¹

As most of the *baanrotsen* treated in this appendix, Jan II also participated in several military expeditions. For example, Jan II fought in the battle of Baesweiler in 1371, where he got captured. He also participated in the military expedition against Gaasbeek in 1388 and he was one of the *baanrotsen* who were sent to 's Hertogenbosch to defend the duchy of Brabant against the invasion of the duke of Guelders. This was narrated in the *Brabantsche Yeesten* and by Butkens. In both these works one can find how Jan II was described as a *baanrots*.³⁹² What is remarkable in the case of Jan II van Wittem, is the fact that there are no references to him as a *baanrots* in charters, but only in a chronicle. This is a pattern that especially occurs with the *baanrotsen* who lived at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century and not the end of the fourteenth century.

³⁸⁸ E. Van Ermen, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 21.

³⁸⁹ Jan I van Corselaar was the bastard son of the duke of Brabant Jan II. Notwithstanding the unfortunate circumstances of his birth, Jan I was held in high esteem with his brother, duke Jan III. Perhaps this family connection was the reason why both Jan I and Jan II held many important functions in the duchy. In 1390, Jan II even received the permission of duchess Johanna to bear the banner of the Brabant lion without the line referring to the bastard status. See: H. Mosmans, *De Heren van Wittem. Geschiedkundige Bijdrage* (Venlo: G. Mosmans Sr, 1923), 31, 37.

³⁹⁰ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 676; Wittem was situated in Fauquemont, yet since Fauquemont was acquired by Johanna and Wenceslas in 1364, Jan II van Wittem is described in the list of Brabant *baanrotsen* from the duchy of Brabant. See: S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 15.

³⁹¹ Jan II van Wittem was described as *drossaard* of Brabant from 1380 until 1383; from 1386 until 1399; in 1385 and in 1388. As *woudmeester* he was described from 1373 until 1375 and from 1392/3 until 1395. See: A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 748. As *woudmeester*, Jan II was responsible for the court of justice of the forest and the administration of the forest. See: R. Van Uytven, et. al., eds., *De Gewestelijke En Lokale Overheidsinstellingen in Brabant En Mechelen Tot 1795*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Brussel Algemeen rijksarchief, 2000), 221-232; A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386-1396), 263-264.

³⁹² A. Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement*, vol. 2, 748; H. Mosmans, *De Heren van Wittem*. 35-39; Jan van Boendale, *De Brabantsche Yeesten*, ed. J.F. Willems, vol. 2, 338-339, v. 9851-9859; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 518.

Jan II van Wittem married two times. His first marriage was with Catharina van Hoensbeek. They had three children: Jan III who became lord of Wittem, Houthein, Wahlwire, Mechelen and *drossaard* of Valkenburg. Their second son was Herman, who became the castellan of Dalhem. In all probability Jan II and Catharina also had a daughter, but her name is not known. The second wife of Jan II was Maria van Stalle van Beersel, who was a rich heiress. Together they had three children. The eldest was Hendrik van Wittem, who became lord of Beersel. The other two children were Margareta and Jacques van Wittem.³⁹³

9.2 Brabant *baanrotsen* beyond the duchy of Brabant

9.2.1 *van Antoing Wouter, lord of Bellonne*

The family van Antoing is identified as a noble family from Hainault, yet some works also suggest they were a noble family from Flanders.³⁹⁴ This is why Wouter van Antoing is classified as a *baanrots* beyond the duchy of Brabant.

Wouter van Antoing was the son of Alard, lord of Antoing and Ida van Douai. Wouter also had an elder brother, Hugues VI, who became lord of Antoing. Hardly any information can be found on the person of Wouter van Antoing, which might be explained because he was not the first-born son.

The only references to his name, refer to his participation in the battle of Woeringen in 1288 and his participation, together with his brother, in the tournament of Mons in 1310. In the account of the battle of Woeringen by Jan van Heelu and by Butkens, Wouter van Antoing was described as a *baanrots* of Brabant.

Armand de Behault de Dornon, who wrote on the tournament of Mons, indicated that Wouter van Antoing was married to Catherine, daughter of Raoul van Estrées, marshal of France. Both de Behault de Dornon and Butkens describe Wouter as the lord of Bellonne.³⁹⁵

In the list of noblemen of the county of Flanders that originated between 1384 and 1386, a Hendrik van Antoing was described as “*baenrache*”.³⁹⁶ Whether there was a connection between this Hendrik and Wouter van Antoing, is possible, but not known. Only further research can clarify this.

393 H. Mosmans, *De Heren van Wittem*. 38-39.

394 F. Vinchant, *Annales de La Province et Comté d'Haynau ...* (Mons: Jean Havart, 1648), 222; For Flanders, see: P. de l'Espinoy, *Recherche Des Antiquitez et Noblesse de Flandres* (Douai: Marc Wyon, 1632).

395 A. de Behault de Dornon, *Le Tournoi de Mons de 1310* (Mons: Dequesne-Masquillier, 1909), 96, 86-87; J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 170, 282; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 319.

396 F. Buylaert et al., “De Adel Ingelijst”, 24, 126.

9.2.2 *van Arkel Jan II*

Jan II van Arkel originated from the county of Holland. He succeeded his father as lord of Arkel some time before 1272. In 1269, he was still described as “*knape*”, yet from 1281 onwards, Jan II was denoted as knight. At the beginning of his rule over the Land of Arkel, he also acquired Gorinchem. Furthermore, he was known for his many services in favour of the count of Holland, Floris V, but also for his services to the duke of Brabant.³⁹⁷ His participation in the battle of Woeringen is an example of this. In the chronicle of Jan van Heelu, he was several times described as a *baanrots*. In the work of Butkens as well, he was denoted by that title. Together with Jan van Heusden, Jan II formed a part of the *conroot* of Jan I van Kuyc.³⁹⁸

He was a councillor for the count of Holland and after the death of Floris V in 1296, he even took over the government of Holland and Zeeland. Jan II van Arkel died one year later, in 1297, during the battle at Vronen.³⁹⁹

9.2.3 *van Mülenarck Jan*

Jan van Mülenarck or Moelenarcken was a *baanrots* who originated from the duchy of Guelders. Denessen, wrote how a certain “*Johan baenritz van Moelenarcken*”, was a councillor of the dukes Willem and Reinald of Jülich and Guelders in the nineties from the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, Denessen wrote that it is not entirely clear whether this Johan was truly a *baanrots*. At a certain moment in time, the word ‘bainritzer’ must have been added to the name of Mülenarck, by which it became a part of the family name.⁴⁰⁰

In the inventory of Verkooren the name Jan van Mülenarck was found three times. The first reference to this name occurred in October 1357 and it mentioned: “*Her Jan banritz van Molenarck (seigneur banneret de Müllenarck)*”.⁴⁰¹ The word ‘banritz’ might indeed suggest, as Denessen proposes, that this was part of the family name. In the other two descriptions, the references to Jan van Mülenarck as a *baanrots*, are much clearer. They refer to a quittance of the twenty-fifth of November 1384 and a charter of the ninth of June 1399. In these descriptions “*Jean, seigneur banneret de Müllenaarke*” can be found. In the charter of 1399, Jan van Mülenarck is also described as a knight.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁷ M. J. Waale, *De Arkelse Oorlog*, 40.

³⁹⁸ J.F. Willems, ed., *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu*, 171, v. 4541, and 301, v. 8230-8233; F. C. Butkens, *Trophées*, 313.

³⁹⁹ M. J. Waale, *op. cit.*, 40.

⁴⁰⁰ H. Denessen, “De Gelderse Bannerheren”, 21-22.

⁴⁰¹ A. Verkooren, *Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1312–1383), 129.

⁴⁰² A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 1 (1386–1396), 30; A. Verkooren, *Chartes Originales et Cartulaires*, vol. 2 (1396–1404), 97-98.

These last two references probably refer to the Jan van Mülenarck described by Henny Denessen. Yet it is questionable if this Jan is also the Jan van Mülenarck who occurs in the document of 1357. These could have been two persons, especially since Denessen wrote that this Jan van Mülenarck was active in the period from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards. A period which corresponds with the last, and possibly also with the second, references. The first reference might thus refer to another Jan van Mülenarck, but as long as there is no further research into the family of the Mülenarcks, no definite conclusions can be made on this matter.

9.2.4 *van Trazegnies Otto VI*

Otto VI became the lord of Trazegnies after his father, Jan I, had passed away in 1336. It is a difficult question whether or not Otto VI was from Brabant because Trazegnies was situated at the border between Brabant and Hainault. In the writings of Jules Plumet, it appears that Otto VI and his family were primarily identified as nobles from Hainault. Otto VI even played a very important role at the court of the duke of Hainault. Plumet also wrote that Otto VI was never attested as vassal of the dukes and duchess of Brabant, instead, he became vassal of the count of Namur. Because of all these elements, Otto VI van Trazegnies is classified in this appendix as a Brabant *baanrots* beyond the duchy of Brabant.

Otto VI was especially famous for his military activities. He participated in the Hundred Years War and in the crusade against the Borussians with the count of Hainault. He also took part in the Brabant War of Succession, in which he sided with the count of Flanders. However, the first of July 1357, Otto VI was released from his obligations to Lodewijk van Male concerning this war.

There are several indications that Otto VI van Trazegnies held an important position in Brabant as well. For example, in 1355, he sealed the Charter of the Ridderbond. Furthermore, in 1371, he participated together with his son, Otto VII, in the battle of Baesweiler. One year later, in 1372, the name "*heren Osten, here van Trasengniez*" can be found in the reconfirmation charter, in which he was described as *baanrots* and knight.

The first marriage of Otto IV was with Catherine de Looz-Agimont, however, when she passed away some time before 1362, he married for the second time. In 1367, this second marriage took place with Isabeau de Châtillon. Otto VI had two sons from his first marriage and a daughter from his second. In addition to these children, he also had several illegitimate children. Otto VI van Trazegnies died some time before 1384.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰³ J. Plumet, *Les Seigneurs de Trazegnies Au Moyen Age : Histoire D'une Célèbre Famille Noble Du Hainaut, 1100-1550* (Mont-Sainte-Geneviève, 1959), 214-221; P. Avonds, "Ideologie En Politiek", vol. 2, 720; J. Van der Straeten, *Het Charter*, 39.

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