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DOI

[10.1080/03044181.2017.1303624](https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2017.1303624)

Publication date

2017

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

Journal of Medieval History

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[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Damen, M. (2017). The knighthood in and around late medieval Brussels. *Journal of Medieval History*, 43(3), 255-284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2017.1303624>

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To cite this article: Mario Damen (2017) The knighthood in and around late medieval Brussels, Journal of Medieval History, 43:3, 255-284, DOI: [10.1080/03044181.2017.1303624](https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2017.1303624)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2017.1303624>



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Published online: 31 Mar 2017.



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The knighthood in and around late medieval Brussels

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the social and political features of the knighthood in one of the most densely populated areas of the Low Countries, the administrative district of Brussels, known as the *ammanie*, in the fifteenth century. A systematic identification of all knights (rather than a selection) enables us to correct Huizinga's picture and that of other, more recent, historians of the late medieval nobility as a social group in decay. Moreover, this case study contributes to ongoing debates on the position and status of late medieval knighthood. First, the data make it possible to assess the impact of Burgundian policies on the social, political and military relevance of the knighthood of Brabant. Second, special attention is given to their feudal possessions, in particular lordships and fortified residences, in order to establish stratification within the knighthood. Finally, the status and position of bannerets within the Brabantine knighthood is highlighted since they played a crucial role as intermediaries between the duke of Brabant and the urban elites of Brussels.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 21 December 2015

Accepted 30 April 2016

KEYWORDS

Knighthood; lordship; Brussels; Brabant; Low Countries; fifteenth century; feudal possessions; bannerets

The medieval nobility was a very diverse and heterogeneous social category. This diversity is also reflected in the terminology historians use to describe or define segments of the nobility. German historians, for example, use terms like *Hochadel*, *Ritteradel*, *Niederadel*, *Turnieradel*, *Kleinadel* or *Stadtadel*. Of course these terms are not found in the sources but are the invention of historians to describe segments of the nobility.¹ The

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¹ The following abbreviations are used in this article: BRB: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique; CCB: Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Chambre des Comptes de Brabant; CF: Brussels–Anderlecht, Archives de l'État, Cour Féodale; PCB: Prosopographia Curiae Burgundicae (1407–77) (<http://www.prosopographia-burgundica.org>). In late medieval sources for the Low Countries many different coinages and so-called moneys of account (in pounds) are used. It is impracticable to standardise all these currencies: the so-called money of account in pounds of 40 groats is used in this article. This is the money of account employed by most Burgundian officers and receivers in the accounts consulted. See on the use of money of account in medieval sources Peter Spufford, *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands: 1433–1496* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 13–28.

See, for example, K.-H. Spieß, 'Ständische Abgrenzung und soziale Differenzierung zwischen Hochadel und Ritteradel im Spätmittelalter', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 56 (1992): 181–205 (185: '... wobei festgehalten werden muß, daß Hochadel und Niederadel bzw. Ritteradel von der Forschung geprägte Termini darstellen, die keine Entsprechung in den spätmittelalterlichen Quellen besitzen'); Joachim Schneider, *Spätmittelalterlicher Deutscher Niederadel. Ein landschaftlicher Vergleich*. Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 52 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2003), 4–10, 96–8, 542–4; Arend Mindermann, *Adel in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters*. Göttingen

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same is true of a pair of terms often used in French historiography: *haute noblesse* and *petite noblesse*, or, for the sixteenth century, *noblesse d'épée* and *noblesse de robe*.² In England, historians draw a distinction between the *nobility*, which consists of the peers of the realm, and the *gentry*, which is comprised of knights, esquires and gentlemen. The gentry is, as Peter Coss states in his book on the origins of this social category, a construct or a categorisation by historians; it is not based on contemporary perceptions.³ In the last few decades many national and regional studies on the nobility have appeared which have tried to underpin all these different labels. Some authors have even tried to compare different 'nobilities', as both Jonathan Dewald and Martin Aurell did in 1996 in their surveys of the European nobility, albeit for a different time-span. However, what Dewald and Aurell count and compare in their books are *reconstructions* of nobilities all over Europe.⁴ Their outcomes can mainly be explained by the differences in the nature and composition of the nobility in these different countries and regions.

In most books surveying the Low Countries, nobles are generally the poor relation. They are treated either as obedient clients of the princes who fulfilled important functions in the army and the state institutions, or as conspiring members of networks undermining the authority of the prince. Recently, Robert Stein has even depicted them as 'those who lost most from Burgundian state formation'.⁵ Other authors have a strong preference for the towns and their elites as the most dynamic players in the political interaction with the prince and the state apparatus. However, what these authors are inclined to forget is that nobles formed an important element within the social spectrum of the population of most of the towns of the late medieval Low Countries. The term 'urban nobility', as opposed to 'landed nobility', is sometimes used for this group, but is misleading because it stresses a non-existent contradiction between 'nobility' and 'town', and at the same time it falsely claims to demarcate a well-defined category. In the Low Countries many nobles lived in towns or acquired citizenship because of fiscal and legal advantages. Simultaneously, wealthy burghers who held urban offices aspired to become nobles through the acquisition of lordships and residences in the countryside, and through marriage alliances with older

und Stade 1300 bis 1600 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1996), 1–3; Thomas Zotz, 'Der Stadadel im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland und seine Erinnerungskultur', in *Adelige und bürgerliche Erinnerungskulturen des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Rösener (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 145–61.

² Philippe Contamine, *La noblesse au royaume de France de Philippe le Bel à Louis XII. Essai de synthèse* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997), 82–4; idem, 'Noblesse française, nobility et gentry anglaises à la fin du moyen âge', *Cahier de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes. Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies* 13 (2006): 105–31.

³ Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7–11. See also Chris Given-Wilson, 'Rank and Status Among the English Nobility, c.1300–1500', in *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe. Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues*, eds. T. Huthwelker, J. Peltzer and M. Wemhöner (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2011), 97–119 (103–4).

⁴ Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 23–5; Martin Aurell, *La noblesse en occident (Ve–XVe siècle)* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1996), 135. Compare the figures provided by Philippe Contamine, 'The European Nobility', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 7, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 96–8; idem, *La noblesse*, 50–7. See also the remarks by A. Janse, 'Marriage and Noble Lifestyle in Holland in the Late Middle Ages', in *Showing Status. Representation of Social Positions in the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. W. Blockmans and A. Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 113–38 (113–14).

⁵ Wim Blockmans, *Metropolen aan de Noordzee: de geschiedenis van Nederland, 1100–1560* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010), 466–82; Robert Stein, *De hertog en zijn staten. De eenwording van de Bourgondische Nederlanden, ca. 1380–1480* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), 277: 'De belangrijkste verliezers van de Bourgondische staatsvorming waren de feodale edelen.'

noble families. Often they also tried to gain princely favour, become knights and integrate at the ducal court.⁶

This article discusses the social and political features of the nobility in the fifteenth century in one of the most densely populated areas of the Low Countries, the administrative district of Brussels known as the *ammanie*. The *ammanie* is an interesting district for an analysis of the nobility because the area was geographically at the heart of the Burgundian Low Countries and contained within its borders the administrative capital of the duchy of Brabant. The nobles in the *ammanie* not only lived in or near one of the biggest commercial centres of the Low Countries, they were also very close to the centre of political decision-making. The proximity of the ducal residence of the Coudeberg, which had become one of the favourite residences of the dukes of Brabant, facilitated contacts between the duke and nobles of the *ammanie*. During tournaments at the Grote Markt and the annual procession of Notre Dame de Sablon, the elites of Brussels and the members of the household could mingle in an informal way.⁷

Late medieval sources in Brabant do not usually label individuals as noble (*edele*), and lists of noblemen, compiled for administrative purposes, are very rare.⁸ Within the framework of the representative institution in Brabant, the Estates, the Second Estate is sometimes referred to as the *edelen*, but more often it is labelled as the sum of bannerets, knights and esquires (*bainrotsen, ridderen ende knapen* in Middle Dutch). There are indicators of noble status on which historians generally rely, such as a knightly title, a lordship, a 'noble' office at court, or a noble lifestyle (e.g. living in a moated house, participating in tournaments); but we should avoid trying to reconstruct the nobility on the basis of an amalgam of these indicators. Methodologically speaking, it is better to reconstruct separate populations that will overlap to some extent but at the same time will show the differences between the categories; not every nobleman will necessarily fit all indicators imposed by contemporary historians.⁹ This article is therefore confined to one defined category, well identified by and recognisable to contemporaries: the knighthood, that is, those men who possessed a knightly title, the prime indicator of noble status in late medieval Brabant.

⁶ For Brabant: Paul de Win, 'Adel en stadspatriciaat in het hertogdom Brabant in de 15de eeuw', *Spiegel Historiae: Maandblad voor Geschiedenis en Archeologie* 16 (1981): 407–11. Flanders: F. Buylaert, *Eeuwen van ambitie. De adel in laatmiddeleeuws Vlaanderen* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2010), 259–66, idem, 'Edelen in de Vlaamse stedelijke samenleving. Een kwantitatieve benadering van de elite van het laatmiddeleeuwse en vroegmoderne Brugge', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 4 (2007): 29–56 (30–2); idem 'La "noblesse urbaine" à Bruges (1363–1563). Naissance d'un nouveau groupe social?', in *Les nobles et la ville dans l'espace francophone XIIIe – XVIe siècles*, ed. T. Dutour (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010), 247–75. Zeeland: Arie van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland. Macht, rijkdom en status in een laatmiddeleeuwse samenleving* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 312–18; idem, 'Noblemen in an Urbanised Society. Zeeland and Its Nobility in the Late Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History* 38 (2012): 76–99. See also Marc Boone, 'Élites urbaines, noblesse d'état: bourgeois et nobles dans la société des Pays-Bas bourguignons (principalement en Flandre et en Brabant)', in *Liber amicorum Raphaël de Smedt 3: Historia*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Leuven: Peeters, 2001): 31–59; A.F. Cowan, 'Urban Elites in Early Modern Europe: an Endangered Species?', *Historical Research* 64 (1991): 121–37 (134–7); and Jan Dumolyn, 'Dominante klassen en elites in verandering in het laatmiddeleeuwse Vlaanderen', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 5 (2002): 69–107 (87–9, 94–5).

⁷ R. Stein, 'Cultuur en politiek in Brussel. Wat beoogde het Brusselse stadsbestuur bij de annexatie van de plaatselijke Ommegang?', in *Op belofte van profijt. Stadsliteratuur en burgermoraal in de Nederlandse letterkunde van de middeleeuwen*, ed. H. Pleij (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1991): 228–43. See also Mario Damen, 'The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', *Urban History* 43 (2016): 47–71.

⁸ Paul de Win, 'De adel in het hertogdom Brabant van de vijftiende eeuw. Een terreinverkenning', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 93 (1980): 391–409 (391–2, 395).

⁹ Mario Damen and Antheun Janse, 'Adel in meervoud. Methodologische beschouwingen over comparatief adelsonderzoek in de Bourgondische Nederlanden', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 123 (2008): 517–40.

For the Low Countries, this methodology was first introduced by Antheun Janse, in his book on the knighthood of the county of Holland.¹⁰ Arie van Steensel, in reconstructing the nobility of Zeeland, established six criteria which independently might identify a person as 'noble'; four of them implied the possession (or acquisition) of a knightly title.¹¹ Frederik Buylaert, too, in his book on the nobility of Flanders, recognised the importance of a knightly title, although he did not in the end make a separate analysis of the knighthood of late medieval Flanders.¹² Nevertheless, the 17 lists of nobles on which his research was based all show that in this county a clear distinction was made between knights and esquires: in 13 lists the distinction was made explicitly in the headings of the groups of men, and in the four others implicitly on the basis of the prefix *messire* or *mer*.¹³

The social profile of all the knights and bannerets – leaving aside the esquires – in the *ammanie* in 1406 and 1475 can be analysed. 1406 was the year in which Anthony (r. 1406–15), son of the Burgundian Duke John the Fearless, was inaugurated as duke of Brabant; and this year constitutes the beginning of the Burgundian rule over Brabant. The year 1475 is more or less the end of this period of rule; Duke Charles the Bold (r. 1467–77) died two years later at the battle of Nancy. The methodological choice to compare two cross-sections of the knighthood is indebted to Christine Carpenter's study of the gentry in Warwickshire and the studies by Janse and Van Steensel. It facilitates comparisons and shows the structures of and changes within the social category.¹⁴ A systematic identification of all knights (rather than just a selection) enables us to assess the impact of Burgundian policies on the social, political and military relevance of the knighthood of Brabant. The comparison between 1406 and 1475 shows that not all knightly families were equally successful in maintaining their superior social and political position. Special attention will be given to the knights' feudal possessions, in particular lordships and fortified residences, in order to establish stratification within the knighthood. These data will, moreover, show the importance of feudal possessions for the knights. Buylaert has recently maintained that the possession of a seigniorial lordship was essential for noble status in Flanders.¹⁵ Whether this was the case for Brabantine knights, and whether they owed their possessions to a deliberate policy of the Burgundian dukes are questions explored here.¹⁶ Finally, the status and position of bannerets within the Brabantine knighthood are highlighted, since they played a crucial role as intermediaries between the duke and the urban elites of Brussels. In other words, this article will treat the knights and bannerets as socio-political actors rather than as practitioners of chivalric ideals.¹⁷

¹⁰ Antheun Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), 42, 429–56, with reconstructions for three sample years.

¹¹ Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 26–7, 70–1, 376–80, with an analysis of the importance of a knightly title for the nobility in three sample years.

¹² Buylaert, *Eeuwen*, 23–8, 81.

¹³ Frederik Buylaert and others, 'De adel ingelijst. "Adelslijsten" voor het graafschap Vlaanderen in de veertiende en vijftiende eeuw', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 173 (2007): 47–188.

¹⁴ Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: a Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401–1499* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 35–6. Her study is based on cross-sections of the gentry in 1410, 1436 and 1500.

¹⁵ F. Buylaert, 'Lordship, Urbanization and Social Change in Late Medieval Flanders', *Past and Present* 227 (2015): 1–45 (7–8).

¹⁶ See the classic article by C.A.J. Armstrong, 'Had the Burgundian Government a Policy for the Nobility?', *Britain and the Netherlands* 2 (1964): 213–36.

¹⁷ The chivalric lifestyle of knights in Brabant, especially with regard to their participation in tournaments, is treated more extensively in other publications. See for example Damen, 'Town as a Stage'; idem, 'Tournament Culture in the

We can draw on several sources for 1406 and 1475 for a reconstruction of the different layers of the knighthood in the *ammanie*. In 1406 a summons list was drawn up for the Estates of Brabant, naming all the knights, bannerets and esquires in the *ammanie*;¹⁸ for 1475 an excellent series of feudal registers has come down to us, devised by Duke Charles the Bold to impose military service on all his fief-holders.¹⁹ Since all knights and bannerets almost certainly stood in a feudal relationship to the prince, this allows us to reconstruct a complete list of the knighthood in the *ammanie*. In addition, other sources – such as accounts, lists of political officeholders and chronicles – will be used to identify the knights and bannerets who lived in the *ammanie* but had their feudal possessions in other parts of Brabant or in another principality.

The *ammanie* of Brussels was one of the six administrative districts of Brabant created by Duke Henry I (1190–1235). In each of these districts the duke had a representative, who in Brussels was called the *amman*. The *amman* was responsible for maintaining law and order, and his most important task consisted of the administration of ducal (high) justice, although in some enfeoffed villages the duke had given or leased out this task to his vassals. In addition, he was empowered to appoint the aldermen in the villages.²⁰

Apart from the town of Brussels, the *ammanie* consisted of one other town, Vilvoorde, six ‘freedoms’ or franchises, and some 120 villages (Figure 1). A freedom was a settlement that had received certain privileges from the duke or a local lord but was inferior to a town in terms of number of inhabitants and economic potential.²¹ In 1472 the *ammanie* numbered about 17,000 hearths or houses, of which approximately 6700 were within the town of Brussels. This means that about 35,000 inhabitants, or 40% of the population, lived in the largest town.²²

Knighthood in the *ammanie*

What did it mean to be a knight in fifteenth-century Brussels, and how did one obtain the title? Was it attractive only for reasons of status, or did the title still have a military significance? This issue is relevant in the context of the military reforms introduced by Charles the Bold from 1470 onwards. It has been supposed that, due to the creation of the so-called

Low Countries and England’, in *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe. Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*, eds. H. Skoda, P. Lantschner and R.L.J. Shaw (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), 247–66; and idem, ‘The Town, the Duke, His Courtiers and Their Tournament. A Spectacle in Brussels, 4–7 May 1439’, in *Staging the Court of Burgundy*, ed. Anne van Oosterwijk (London: Harvey Miller, 2013), 85–95.

¹⁸ BRB, MS II 1669, ff. 234r–242r. See the edition of this list in Mario Damen, ‘Prelaten, edelen en steden. De samenstelling van de Staten van Brabant in de vijftiende eeuw’, *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d’Histoire* 182 (2016): 1–272 (especially numbers 43–89).

¹⁹ For this article I used both the *dénombrement* of 1474, in which all the fief-holders and the annual revenues of their fiefs are listed, and a taxation register of 1475 in which all fief-holders with an annual feudal income of more than £10 (of 40 groats) were taxed to supply a certain number of soldiers – differentiated as men-at-arms with three horses, horsemen and foot soldiers – in accordance with their feudal income: CCB 549 (*dénombrement* recorded before 25 August 1474) and 551 (taxation recorded after 15 January 1475). I also consulted the *leenboeken*, in which all fiefs in the *ammanie* with their successive holders are recorded: CCB 555 and CF 24.

²⁰ H. Coppens, ‘Meierijen’, in *De gewestelijke en lokale overheidsinstellingen in Brabant en Mechelen tot 1795*, part II, eds. R. Van Uytven and others (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2000), 635–7, 649, 662–3.

²¹ Raymond Van Uytven, ‘Het gewicht van de goede steden’, in *Geschiedenis van Brabant. Van het hertogdom tot heden*, eds. R. Van Uytven, Andries Van den Abeele and Jan van Oudheusden (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), 118–25 (118).

²² J. Cuvelier, *Les dénombremens de foyers en Brabant (XIVe–XVIe siècle)* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1912), 446–52.

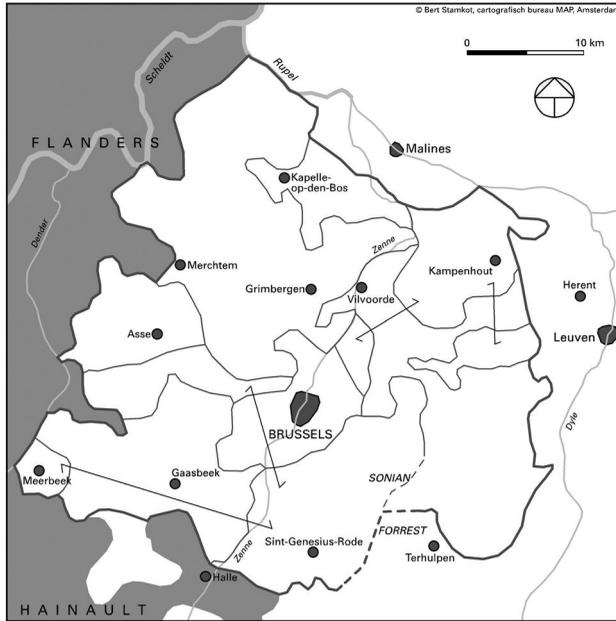


Figure 1. The *ammanie* of Brussels. © Bert Stamkot. Cartografisch Bureau, Amsterdam

‘companies of the ordinance’ – permanent companies of mercenaries led by professional captains – the military role of bannerets and knights changed.²³

An example may illustrate the importance of the knightly title in late medieval Brabant. In the autumn of 1478, Maximilian I of Habsburg (1459–1519), who was married to Charles the Bold’s daughter Mary of Burgundy (1457–82), was making his preparations for what has come to be known as the battle of Blangy-sur-Ternoise, near Hesdin, against the troops of King Louis XI of France (1423–83). On the eve of the battle he decided to confer knighthood on a number of esquires from Flanders, Brabant and Hainault:

Duke Maximilian had made his enclosure close to the field of Blangy, where he had his noblemen come to him; and he made those who were only esquires into knights. And there he conferred knighthood on many from Flanders, Brabant and Hainault.²⁴

This chronicle account identifies both esquires and knights as nobles (*edele*). Furthermore, it shows that the title of knight was not necessarily hereditary but personal, although members of knightly, and de facto noble, families were predestined to be dubbed as knights. In the principalities of the Low Countries the knightly title was conferred by

²³ W. Paravicini, ‘Soziale Schichtung und soziale Mobilität am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund’, in idem, *Menschen am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, eds. K. Krüger, H. Kruse and A. Ranft (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), 371–426 (378); Janse, *Ridderschap* 85; Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry. Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1981), 147–8; Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold. The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longmans, 1972), 206–10.

²⁴ ‘Hertoghe Maximiliaen dede sijn perck beslaen beneden het velt van Blangijs, dair hi sijn edele bi hem comen dede, ende die ghene die mer ionckers en waren maechte hy daer heren. Hy sloech er vele ridders uut Vlaendren, Brabant ende Henegouwen ...’ *Dit sijn wonderlycke oorloghen van den doorluchtigen hoochgeboren prince, keyser Maximiliaen. Hoe hij eerst int landt quam. ende hoe hij vrou Marien troude*, ed. W. Jappe Alberts (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1957), 74.

the act of dubbing, which was granted by another knight (in this case the territorial prince) on the eve of, or after, a battle or a siege.

That is exactly what occurred in 1478. On the eve of the battle, Maximilian, with the touch of his sword, conferred knighthood on the esquires from Flanders, Brabant and Hainault, 15 of whom were mentioned by name. The prince pointed out that they had to be worthy of the chivalric order. The new knights then swore loyalty to their prince and vowed to support him to the death.²⁵ In this situation, the eve of a battle, the prince expected, above all, military support from his men, and the accolade was supposed to work as a stimulus for this. However, in the fifteenth century the accolade also came to be seen as a reward for knightly behaviour and was increasingly bestowed after a battle. As Antheun Janse puts it: the accolade was not given *in order that* they should behave bravely, but *because* they had shown courage on the battlefield.²⁶ In any case, as the above quotation demonstrates, the ceremony was much less elaborate and less sacred than those described in chivalric ‘manuals’ such as, for example, the anonymous *Ordene de chevalerie* and Geoffroi de Charny’s *Book of Chivalry*.²⁷

The second half of the fourteenth century saw a great many military conflicts in which the duke of Brabant was involved²⁸ – his esquires must equally have had many opportunities to obtain the accolade. However, the evidence for such ceremonies is very scarce.²⁹ The three wars against Guelders (between 1366 and 1399) are likely to have increased the numbers of knights around 1406, but there is no proof of this.

Most of the knights in the *ammanie* around 1475 will have been dubbed knights either during the military campaigns of Duke Philip the Good against Ghent (1452–3), or in one of the numerous campaigns led by Charles the Bold from 1465 onwards. At least half of the knights fulfilled their military obligations towards the duke, but for information on dubbing ceremonies we are again dependent on circumstantial evidence, mostly from narrative sources. The contemporary Burgundian chronicler Georges Chastellain, for example, mentions the names of some 25 men who were knighted by the first chamberlain Antoine de Croy and Adolphe de Cleves after the battle of Overmeere on 23 May 1452. These new knights included three esquires from Brussels.³⁰

However, these references are far from complete. Two other esquires from Brussels, Jean Bernage and Wouter van der Noot, were probably also knighted after one of the battles against the Ghent insurgents. In the household ordinance of Duke Philip the

²⁵ *Wonderlycke oorloghen*, 74: ‘Deze voornoemde gaf hertoghe Maximiliaen den ridderslach, hemlieden bevelende dat si dye ridderlijcke ordene wel verdienen souden. Daer swoeren sy hem goet ende ghetrouwe te sijne ende hem bi te stane tot in der doot.’

²⁶ A. Janse, ‘Ridderslag en ridderlijkheid in laat-middeleeuws Holland’, *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 112 (1997): 317–35 (327). See also Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France During the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 162–3; and Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 50–1.

²⁷ Richard W. Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy, eds., *A Knight’s Own Book of Chivalry: Geoffroi de Charny* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 91–3; R. de Hodenc, ‘Le Roman des Eles’, and the Anonymous ‘*Ordene de Chevalerie*’: *Two Early Old French Didactic Poems*, ed. Keith Busby (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1983), 105–19. On the absence of religious elements in the knighting ceremony, see Stevenson, *Chivalry*, 12, and D. Barthélemy, ‘Modern Mythologies of Medieval Chivalry’, in *The Medieval World*, eds. Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2002), 214–28 (219–20).

²⁸ Sergio Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant, 1356–1406* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), 45.

²⁹ No knighting ceremonies of Brabantine esquires are described in the chronicles of Jean Froissart, Emond de Dynter, Hennen van Merchtenen and the continuator of the *Brabantsche Yeesten*.

³⁰ Iwein de Mol, Hendrik van Oppem and Philip Hinckaert. See J.M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 2, *Chronique 1430–1431, 1452–1458* (Brussels: F. Heussner, 1863), 264.

Good of 1451 they were still listed as *écuyers*, whereas in that of 1455 it was explicitly stated that they had received *l'ordre de chevalerie*. What exactly is meant by 'the order of chivalry' is not clear. Probably the administrator simply wanted to indicate that they had undergone social promotion, or even that they had been knighted by the duke. This was the main reason for their promotion within the household; for a *chevalier* the only proper office at the Burgundian court was that of chamberlain.³¹ These examples show that a knightly title not only meant social esteem but could also act as a stimulus to a career, especially at the Burgundian court.

There were also other occasions when knights were created in fifteenth-century Brabant: after coronation ceremonies,³² for example, or during a chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece,³³ or in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³⁴ In December 1410 Duke Anthony rewarded Klaas van Sint-Gorix and Everard Boote, both sons of knights from Brussels listed in 1406 with exactly the same names, with the sum of 100 Rhenish guilders, about 400 times the daily wage of a master artisan, on the occasion of their knighting in the Holy Land.³⁵ On 2 November 1450 Jacques I, count of Horn, and four other knights were offered wine by the Brussels town administration on their return from the Holy Land. Possibly Jacques and the others were dubbed knights in Jerusalem.³⁶ This demonstrates that a newly obtained honour of knighthood was highly esteemed, not only by the prince but also by others. And this esteem was not reserved for accolades bestowed in the Holy Land; the city accounts of Brussels frequently record gifts of wine in honour of newly knighted men.³⁷ The new knights and their company were rewarded with a gift of wine to celebrate their new social status. Some knights highlighted their connection with the

³¹ H. Kruse and W. Paravicini, *Die Hofordnungen der Herzöge von Burgund I: Herzog Philipp der Gute 1407–1467* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 267, 274, 282, 375. PCB, id. nr. 1406 (Van der Noot) and nr. 1601 (Bernage). Paravicini, 'Sociale Schichtung', 376, 412. From 6 March 1451 onwards, Bernage was listed as a *pannetier*. On 14 August 1455 he succeeded the late Hendrik van Rotselaar as *chambellan de l'ordonnance de Brabant*. From 1449 onwards, Van der Noot was listed as *écuyer trenchant*. He was succeeded in this office by his brother Antoon on 16 July 1452, which indicates that he was probably dubbed a knight shortly before, after one of the battles against the Ghent insurgents. On 14 September 1455 he was appointed chamberlain in the absence of Guillaume de Wavre.

³² There is a reference to two Brussels aldermen, Pierre Was and Walter van den Winckele, who were knighted by King Louis XI of France (r. 1461–83) in Paris in September 1461, a month after his coronation in Rheims. Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles, ou description historique des localités qui formaient autrefois l'ammannie de cette ville*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Vanderauwera, 1855), 103; H.-C. van Parys, 'Notes sur les lignages de Bruxelles en 1376', *Brabantica. Recueil de Travaux de Généalogie, d'Héraldique et d'Histoire Familiale pour la Province de Brabant* 4 (1959): 341–74 (347); and F. de Cacamp and others, 'Généalogie des familles inscrites au lignage Sweerts en 1376 d'après le Liber familiarum de Jean-Baptiste Houwaert', *Brabantica. Recueil de Travaux de Généalogie, d'Héraldique et d'Histoire Familiale pour la Province de Brabant* 5 (1960): 376–540 (425–6). However, I could not find any evidence in the chronicles for their knighthood. Van den Winckele is referred to as a knight after 1461 in the lists of aldermen. Was formed part of the cortège that accompanied Louis XI from his residence in Genappe, near Brussels, to Rheims and then to Paris. Louis had enjoyed the hospitality of Philip the Good in the ducal residence of Genappe from 1456 onwards, when he was banished by his father Charles VII (r. 1422–61), who did not trust his son. Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Longmans, 1970), 355–6.

³³ According to the description of the rhetorician Jan Smeken of the chapter of the Golden Fleece in Brussels in November 1516, after the banquet at the Coudenberg palace, Charles V conferred knighthood on six nobles (*ses edel mans*), among them the aged Willem t'Serclaes from Brussels ('Her Willem Tserclaes out van daghen / woenachtig te Brusel int stede'). G. Degroote, *Jan Smeken's gedicht op de feesten ter eere van het Gulden Vlies te Brussel* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1946), 17.

³⁴ P. Contamine, 'Points de vue sur la chevalerie en France à la fin du moyen âge', *Francia* 4 (1976): 255–85 (272–3); M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 79; Janse, 'Ridderslag', 324–9.

³⁵ A. Uyttebrouck, *Le gouvernement du duché de Brabant au bas moyen âge (1355–1430)* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1975), 180, n. 183.

³⁶ L. Galesloot, 'Notes extraits des anciennes comptes de la ville de Bruxelles', *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 3rd series, 9 (1867): 475–500 (488).

³⁷ Galesloot, 'Notes', 488–90.

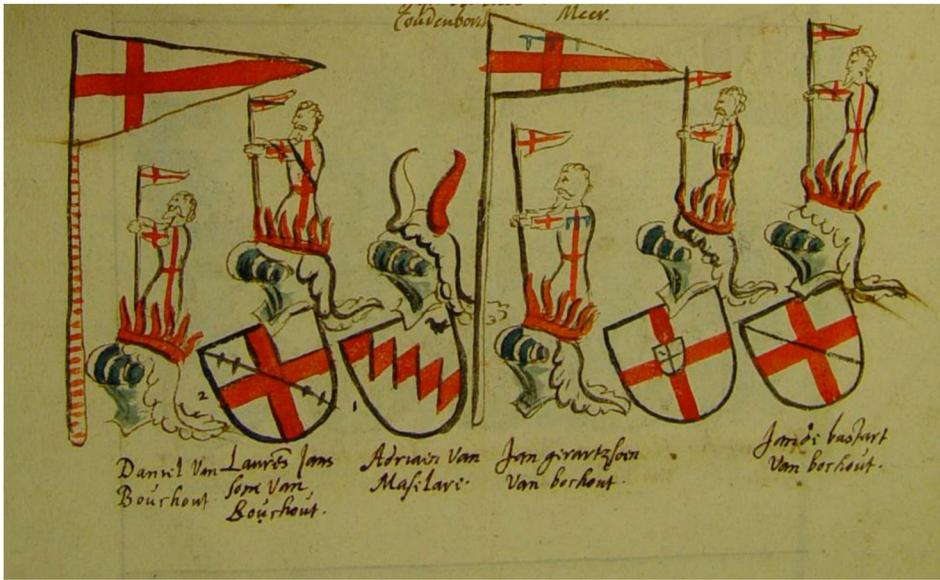


Figure 2. Coats of arms of members of the Bouchout family participating in a tournament on the Grote Markt in Brussels in May 1439. Source: Ghent, Rijksarchief, Archief van de familie d'Udekem d'Acoz, 4498, f. 12r.

Holy Land (or the crusade movement in general) in their coats of arms. For example, members of the Bouchout family, who traditionally held the viscounty of Brussels in fief, not only included the cross of St George in their shield, but also had it repeated three times in the crest of their coat of arms (a bearded man holding a pennon: Figure 2).³⁸ This demonstrates that at least some of the knights from Brussels took part in the international chivalric culture of the later Middle Ages.³⁹

Knights cherished their title; in the ducal administration we see the exact titles (*heer* or *messire*) stated, and *ridder* or *chevalier* is often added after the name. This was done to ensure that there could be no misunderstanding over the social status of the person in question. Both in the ducal household and in other institutions, such as the Council of Brabant, the highest court of justice in the duchy, knights received higher wages than non-knights and occupied the best seats. 'Les chevaliers ont toujours préséance', as the Belgian historian Philippe Godding put it.⁴⁰ In urban documents too, such as charters and lists of aldermen, there was always a careful distinction between those who were

³⁸ Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*. Beihefte der *Francia*, 17/2 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), 149 (n. 709).

³⁹ Werner Paravicini, *Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011), 86–93, who specifically discusses in his chapter on 'Internationalität' the coat of arms of the Merode family (with possessions in the *ammanie*: see Appendix) which was identical to that of the king of Aragon (or, four pallets of gules). The interaction between the Merodes and the royal house is evident since they adopted the crest of the Aragon kings (a dragon) with two pennons with the depiction of St George's cross, testifying to their membership of the Aragonese Enterprise of the Knights of St George. See, on this order of knighthood, D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 1987), 279–88.

⁴⁰ Philippe Godding, *Le conseil de Brabant sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1430–1467)* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1999), 88. See for similar practices in the Councils of Flanders and Holland Jan Dumolyn, *Staatsvorming en vorstelijke ambtenaren in het graafschap Vlaanderen (1419–1477)* (Antwerp: Garant, 2003), 78–9; and Mario

styled with the prefix *heer* – who were normally mentioned first – and those who were not. There is no evidence of Brabantine city-dwellers calling themselves *heer* without having a knightly title.⁴¹ What is more, in Brabant the title was legally protected; people who used the title improperly, that is, without formally being knighted, were put in the pillory and banished from the duchy.⁴² All of this highlights the importance of the knightly title in late medieval Brabantine society.

Knights and numbers

A knight in Brabant, as in other principalities of the Low Countries, was normally styled *heer* (in Dutch), *dominus* (in Latin) or *messire* (in French) in written sources. This form of address, however, was probably not limited to expression in writing, but was also used in speech, except when the feudal or the seigniorial title had more prestige than the knightly title (see below). With this particular form of address, knights could distinguish themselves from others; that is why these prefixes are carefully listed in the summons lists of the Estates and the ‘form lists’ used by the ducal chancery for correspondence with these men. Moreover, sometimes the explicit mention of *ridder*, *miles* or *chevalier* is used after the name. This means that theoretically it should be relatively easy to identify knights in the sources. In 1475, 53 knights and bannerets can be detected in the administrative sources for the *ammanie* of Brussels. All bear the title *heer* or *messire* and are sometimes specifically referred to as knights (Appendix). Three of them, Philippe de Glimes, Philippe de Horn and Jean IV de Nassau (who was not dubbed a knight), can be listed in the category of bannerets (see below), which leaves 50 knights.

In 1406 the number is slightly lower: 44 knights and three bannerets.⁴³ Forty-six knights are mentioned for the *ammanie* in a summons list drawn up in 1356.⁴⁴ These cross-sections seem to demonstrate that from the 1350s to the end of the fifteenth century the number of knights within the *ammanie* remained more or less constant. At the same time the turnover of knightly families in Brabant was relatively high. Only one in three of the knights and bannerets of 1475 bears a family name that can be found in the list of the *ammanie* of 1406 (Appendix).

The rate of change in knightly families can be explained by both ‘internal’ and ‘external’ migration. Eighteen ‘new’ knights in 1475 had Brabantine roots and can be located in the neighbouring districts of ’s-Hertogenbosch, Tienen, Malines, Antwerp, Leuven and especially Walloon Brabant (Figure 3). They acquired their position through marriage with the daughters of families originating from Brussels. Their main feudal possessions, however, were not always in the *ammanie*, but elsewhere in Brabant. These figures indicate that the majority of the ‘new’ knights in the *ammanie* came from within the duchy.

Damen, *De staat van dienst. De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), 223–7.

⁴¹ Compare for Flanders, Buylaert, ‘Lordship’, 24.

⁴² Paul de Win, ‘Queeste naar de rechtspositie van de edelman in de Bourgondische Nederlanden’, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 53 (1985): 223–74 (249, n. 122); F. Vanhemelryck, *De criminaliteit in de ammanie van Brussel van de late middeleeuwen tot het einde van het Ancien Régime (1404–1789)* (Brussels: AWLSK, 1981), 256.

⁴³ BRB, MS II 1669, ff. 234v–235r. The list of the knights and bannerets of 1406 is published in Damen, ‘Prelaten’, numbers 43–89. See also, on the use of the knightly title in the sources, Spieß, ‘Ständische Abgrenzung’, 203–4.

⁴⁴ Jan Frans Willems, ed., *Les gestes des ducs de Brabant, en vers flamands du quinzième siècle*, vol. 2 (Brussels: M. Hayez, 1843), 506–7.

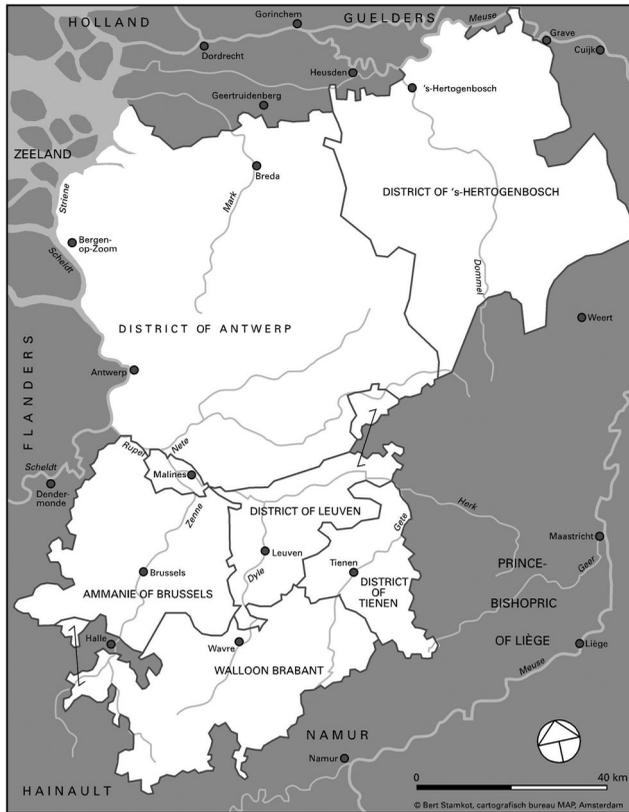


Figure 3. The six administrative districts of Brabant. © Bert Stamkot. Cartografisch Bureau, Amsterdam

A relatively small number of knights (11) came from outside the borders of Brabant. At least four of them, Van Formelis, Van Halewijn, Van Herzele and Vilain, had Flemish roots,⁴⁵ whereas others were Burgundian born (De Cotereau)⁴⁶ or from Picard families (De Brimeu⁴⁷ and De Mailly). All except one had acquired feudal possessions in the duchy.⁴⁸ This indicates that there was no deliberate policy on the part of the Burgundian

⁴⁵ Frederik Buylaert, *Repertorium van de Vlaamse adel (ca. 1350–ca. 1500)* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2011), 229, 307, 354, 706, 727; Frederik Buylaert, Wim De Clercq and Jan Dumolyn, 'Sumptuary Legislation, Material Culture and the Semiotics of *vivre noblement* in the County of Flanders (14th–16th Centuries)', *Social History* 36 (2011): 393–418 (417).

⁴⁶ Paul de Win, 'De familie Cotereau, een uitgesproken casus van sociale promotie in de Bourgondische Nederlanden (15de eeuw–begin 16de eeuw)', *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander* 92 (2009): 595–638.

⁴⁷ Werner Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu. Der burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1975).

⁴⁸ Jan van Heenvliet, a knight from Zeeland, had no feudal possessions in the *ammanie*. Remarkably, he did not have any feudal possessions in Zeeland either: Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 152. He had a long political career in Brussels, first as alderman in 1470, 1476 and 1480, and as burgomaster in 1488. In 1471 he is even mentioned as captain of the urban militia of Brussels: Galesloot, 'Notes', 490. His marriage to Catharina van Steelant, who belonged to the lineage of t'Serhuyghs, assured his integration into Brussels society. H.-C. van Parys and others, 'Généalogie des familles inscrites au lignage de t'Serhuyghs en 1376 d'après le Liber familiarum de Jean-Baptiste Houwaert', *Brabantica. Recueil de Travaux de Généalogie, d'Héraldique et d'Histoire Familiale pour la Province de Brabant* 3 (1958): 113–94 (180).

dukes to stimulate the formation of a supra-territorial nobility.⁴⁹ Geographical mobility within the duchy of Brabant was relatively high, compared with the influx of 'foreign' knights from neighbouring principalities.

In comparison with the other districts of the duchy, in 1406 the *ammanie* of Brussels had the highest number of knights and bannerets living within its boundaries, followed by Walloon Brabant (37). The lowest number could be found in the north, in the district of 's-Hertogenbosch, where only 10 knights and bannerets seem to have lived at this time.⁵⁰ The explanation for the high number of knights in and around Brussels is manifold. From the twelfth century onwards Brussels was of strategic importance for the dukes of Brabant. The town not only formed an important stronghold but also functioned as a reservoir for the recruitment of men for the duke's military operations. In 1235 it was even stipulated that the aldermen were obliged to take part in the ducal expeditions at their own cost (*de propria bursa*).⁵¹ On the other hand, for legal and political reasons it was attractive for knights and bannerets living outside Brussels to acquire citizenship of the town. As Brussels became increasingly popular as a ducal residence in the course of the fourteenth century, its attractiveness for nobles must also have risen.⁵²

The summons list of 1406 also records the number of esquires in the different districts of Brabant. Esquires were members of noble families who had not been knighted. Sometimes they were young men who were not yet of age or did not have the experience to obtain the knightly title. More often, however, they did not have enough properties and possessions to maintain a knightly lifestyle.⁵³ It is generally very difficult to establish the number of esquires, because the title was rarely used in the sources; it was not a title that was generally employed to distinguish individuals. In that sense the summons list is a unique source. In the districts of Brussels and Leuven the number of esquires only amounted to 22 and 23, respectively. These are relatively low figures when compared to the number of esquires in the districts of Walloon Brabant (80), 's-Hertogenbosch (96) and especially Tienen (102).⁵⁴ So whereas the number of esquires was normally greater than the number of knights, in Brussels it was the other way around. This makes clear that the chances of social promotion in Brussels were good, and that the social profile of the entire group of nobles within the *ammanie* was relatively high.

Compared with principalities outside Brabant, the *ammanie* had a relatively high number of knights within its boundaries. In the county of Holland, for example, Janse counted some 40 knights around 1405, and only 13 in 1475. In his view, the unusually high number of knights at the turn of the fourteenth century was due to the military campaigns of the count of Holland at this time.⁵⁵ Janse assumed that the reason for the sharp decline in the course of the fifteenth century was that the knightly lifestyle was an

⁴⁹ See for similar results in Flanders and Holland, F. Buylaert, 'La noblesse et l'unification des Pays-Bas. Naissance d'une noblesse bourguignonne à la fin du moyen âge?', *Revue Historique* 312 (2010): 1–25, and Janse, 'Marriage and Noble Lifestyle', 113–38. Compare Armstrong, 'Nobility', 234–5.

⁵⁰ Damen, 'Prelaten', table 1.

⁵¹ Paolo Charruadas, 'La genèse de l'aristocratie urbaine à Bruxelles au miroir de l'historiographie italienne (XIIe – XIVE siècles). Entre service militaire à cheval et activités civiles lucratives', *Histoire Urbaine* 21 (2008): 49–68 (59–61).

⁵² Philippe Godding, 'La bourgeoisie foraine de Bruxelles du XIVE au XVIe Siècle', *Cahiers Bruxellois* 7 (1962): 1–64 (36–41).

⁵³ Janse, *Ridderschap*, 87–90.

⁵⁴ Damen, 'Prelaten', table 1.

⁵⁵ Janse, *Ridderschap*, 105–6, 440–8.

expensive business – requiring the possession of arms and armour, a horse and the performance of deeds-of-arms – and that the ‘middle groups’ of the nobility were not interested in receiving the accolade.⁵⁶ This was apparently not the case in the *ammanie*, where the number of knights remained high throughout the later Middle Ages.

The absolute number of knights in the *ammanie* in 1475 was substantially higher than in Holland or other districts of the Low Countries like Zeeland (39 knights)⁵⁷ and Walloon Flanders (33 knights).⁵⁸ The military summons lists for 1481 in Flanders lists 30 knights (styled *mer*) in the district of Bruges, whereas there were 53 for the district of Ghent.⁵⁹ Although these figures must be seen in relation to estimates of the total population – at that time Flanders numbered about 705,000 inhabitants, whereas Brabant had about 400,000⁶⁰ – around 1475 a considerable number of knights (30–55) lived in each of the most urbanised districts of the Low Countries. However, as far as the *ammanie* was concerned, Burgundian rule only implied a modest increase in the number of knights.

When we analyse the ‘professional’ profile of the knights, it becomes clear that many played an active role in urban politics. A knightly title was important for local patricians since it gave them a high status within urban society. More than half of the knights, 26 in 1406, held an office in the town administration at some point in their careers. This percentage had declined considerably by 1475, when only 13 of the 53 knights and bannerets in the *ammanie* occupied political positions as burgomaster and/or alderman in the Brussels magistracy, whereas four knights had similar positions in Leuven ([Appendix](#)). These figures may indicate that the number of knights within the urban patriciate had diminished and that not all knightly families could maintain the costly lifestyle that was based on prowess (‘the cornerstone of chivalric culture’ in the words of Craig Taylor) and largesse.⁶¹ Still, many knights continued to play an important role in the town, not only officially but also informally as dominant members of political factions. Their knightly titles meant they could enjoy a special relationship with the prince, especially when they possessed important fiefs (lordships and/or castles) in or outside the *ammanie*. In this way they could distinguish themselves from other patricians.⁶²

Feudal possessions and military service

The Burgundian takeover of Brabant at the beginning of the fifteenth century was carefully prepared by Duke Philip the Bold, and the Brabantine nobility played a crucial role in this process. One of the key elements of this policy was the creation of a ‘pro-Burgundian party’ in the 1380s by distributing rent fiefs among the nobility and urban elites of the duchy.⁶³ No fewer than eight nobles from the *ammanie* (one banneret, five knights and two esquires) received money fiefs of this kind; these were in fact pensions, but granted

⁵⁶ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 192. Janse, ‘Ridderslag’, 331–3.

⁵⁷ Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 376.

⁵⁸ Janse, ‘Ridderslag’, 334.

⁵⁹ Buylaert and others, ‘De adel ingelijst’, 149–58.

⁶⁰ Stein, *De hertog*, 20.

⁶¹ Taylor, *Chivalry*, 53–131 (especially 91); Kaeuper, *Chivalry*, 135–48, 193–8.

⁶² M. Damen, ‘Patricians, Knights or Nobles? Historiography and Social Status in Late Medieval Antwerp’, *The Medieval Low Countries* 1 (2014): 173–203.

⁶³ H. Laurent and F. Quicke, *Les origines de l'état bourguignon: l'accession de la maison de Bourgogne aux duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg (1383–1407)* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1939), 74–89; Robert Stein, *Politiek en*

under the conditions of a fief, including an oath of loyalty.⁶⁴ These eight men all occupied key positions, either in the princely institutions or in the town administration. The establishment of these personal bonds must have helped with the integration of Brabant into the composite Burgundian state, indirectly in 1406, through a collateral branch of the dukes of Burgundy, and directly in 1430.

Apart from these more exclusive 'political' fiefs, which fell out of use in the fifteenth century, all knights possessed normal fiefs, the most important ones being lordships. In 1958 Bonenfant and Despy stated that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the possession of a lordship with high jurisdiction was what distinguished nobles from non-nobles in the duchy of Brabant. A nobleman was, in their words, 'free, rich and living in a castle' ('libre, riche, vivant dans un château'), but above all he was the lord of a village whose name he bore. The seigniorial rights he possessed with regard to goods and persons ensured that the lord was considered a nobleman.⁶⁵

Was this still the case in the fifteenth century? In a book of regulations for the Council of Brabant, the legal expert Willem van der Tannerijen (d. 1499) linked the different lordships in the duchy to the knightly hierarchy. He asserted that the 'natural jurisdiction' of noblemen, that is the right to judge crimes and offences within their lands, corresponded with the seigniorial status of their fiefs ('weerdicheyt der heerlicheyt van hueren leene'). That is why, according to Van der Tannerijen, bannerets exercised high criminal jurisdiction (the right to judge serious crimes), chatelains middle jurisdiction, and others only low jurisdiction.⁶⁶ This was more a lawyer's ideal than a reflection of reality, as in late medieval Brabant there were men other than bannerets who possessed lordships with high jurisdiction.

That said, the lordships possessed by the bannerets in the *ammanie* were of a different order to other landed properties. In 1406 and 1475 the only lordships called *terroir* or *lant* in the sources were Gaasbeek, Grimbergen and Rumst. The word *terra* was already used for Gaasbeek and Grimbergen in the oldest register of fiefs of Brabant, the so-called Latijnsboek of Duke John III (r. 1312–55).⁶⁷ It probably referred to the legal aspects of the lordship: *terra* meant here that the territory was under single control, the authority of the local lord.⁶⁸ In 1475 the lordship of Rumst still included high jurisdiction, but it was held in fief from the lord of Grimbergen. The same went for other high lordships in the *ammanie*, like Blaasveld, Buggenhout and Haacht.⁶⁹ In this way, the bannerets

historiografie. Het ontstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 196–203; Armstrong, 'Nobility', 227.

⁶⁴ The banneret was Zweder van Abcoude, lord of Gaasbeek, father of Jacob. The knights were Jan van Wittem, lord of Beersel, Jan van Bouchout, chatelain of Brussels, Jan van Ophem, *amman* of Brussels, Zeger van den Heetvelde and Collard de Swaef. The esquires were Reinier Hollant, receiver general of Brabant, and Willem Swaef. Laurent and Quicke, *Les origines*, 81–6.

⁶⁵ P. Bonenfant and G. Despy, 'La noblesse en Brabant aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Le Moyen Âge* 13 (1958): 27–66 (58–60).

⁶⁶ Willem van der Tannerijen, *Boec van der loopender practijken der Raidtcameren van Brabant*, ed. E.I. Strubbe (Brussels: C.A.D., 1952), 9–10.

⁶⁷ L. Galesloot, *Le livre des feudataires de Jean III, duc de Brabant* (Brussels: Hayez, 1865), 26 ('domicella Beatrix de Lovanio, terras de Herstallo et de Gaesbeke'), 109 ('Henricus, comes de Vianen, terram et dominum Grymbergensia').

⁶⁸ *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, at <http://inl.nl/> (Accessed 14 March 2015), s.v. 'lant', nr. 3.

⁶⁹ CCB 549, ff. 2r–v, 158v; and CCB 551, ff. 1r, 12v. In 1475 Rumst was held by Jean de Luxembourg, for whom, see PCB id. nr. 2227, and J. Pavioot, 'Jean de Luxembourg', in *Les chevaliers de l'Ordre de la toison d'or au XVe siècle. Notices bio-bibliographiques*, ed. R. de Smedt (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), nr. 75.

held a higher position not only in the knightly hierarchy, but also in the jurisdictional hierarchy of the duchy.

Apart from the six lordships already mentioned, there were a further four with high jurisdiction that were held in fief in the *ammanie* around 1475.⁷⁰ As there were more knights than lordships with high jurisdiction, not every knight could possess one. Further, an analysis of the feudal registers of 1475 shows that two lordships with high jurisdiction were held by esquires, although the holders were dubbed knights at later stages of their careers.⁷¹ At the same time, knights whose career was restricted to town administration did not possess any lordships of importance ([Appendix](#)). Whereas around 1406 only six knights and bannerets possessed more than one lordship (in the *ammanie* and elsewhere in Brabant or beyond), around 1475 the number had doubled to 12. In the course of the fifteenth century we note both a concentration of lordships within the *ammanie*, and an increase in knights who owned lordships both in and outside the district of Brussels.⁷²

The question remains whether it was a deliberate policy of the Burgundian dukes to bestow lordships in Brabant on their favourite courtiers. In 1406 only seven bannerets and knights (15%) held an office at the Brabantine court. By 1475 the absolute number of bannerets and knights attached to the ducal household had doubled to 15 (28%), although only one knight, Jean de Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol and lord of Rumst, was a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, a select circle of important nobles from all Burgundian principalities who had taken an oath of loyalty to the duke ([Appendix](#)).⁷³ However, from the beginning of the fourteenth century Rumst was owned by several successive non-Brabantine families. Brabant was not an island, and especially in the bordering areas with Holland, Flanders and Hainault, a relatively high number of noblemen owned lordships in combination with smaller (money) fiefs in two or even three principalities. This 'multiple vassalage' implied not only that they could act as courtiers or councillors in the service of various princes, but also that they could be summoned in the second Estate of several principalities.⁷⁴ Most of the lordships were transferred normally in a natural way through marital alliances. However, it should be stressed that in 1475 knights who were princely officers all possessed lordships with high jurisdiction. Hence, the possession of a lordship accentuated not only the social status these officers already had, but also their public authority. Moreover, there was a strong identification

⁷⁰ Seneffe, Meerbeek, Asse and Petit-Roeulx-lez-Nivelles.

⁷¹ Guillaume de Goux, lord of Meerbeek, and Karel van Immerseel, lord of Meise. De Goux was *échanson* of Charles the Bold and must have been an esquire. He is listed among this category when he received an ordinary gift from the duke in May 1470: Valérie Bessey and others, eds., *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire, duc de Bourgogne*, vol. 3, *Année 1470* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2008), nr. 1335. However, they are not mentioned with this title in the feudal registers of 1475. Both were knighted in the end, Guillaume de Goux during the siege of Neuss in May 1475: Georges Doutrepoint and O. Jodogne, eds., *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, vol. 1: *1474–1488* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935), 129; whereas Karel van Immerseel was knighted by Maximilian in 1478: *Wonderlycke oorloghen*, 74. He held the other half of the lordship of Meise from the lord of Grimbergen. CCB 549, ff. 33v–34r.

⁷² Also noted by Raymond Van Uytven for the entire duchy in his seminal article 'Vorst, adel en steden: een driehoeksverhouding in Brabant van de twaalfde tot de zestiende eeuw', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 59 (1976): 93–122 (110–11).

⁷³ Paviot, 'Jean', nr. 75.

⁷⁴ See the excellent analysis by G. Croenen, 'Regions, Principalities and Regional Identity in the Low Countries: the Case of the Nobility', in *Regions and Landscapes. Reality and Imagination in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. P.F. Ainsworth and T. Scott (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), 139–153 (148–53).

of the fief-holders with their lands, especially when a lordship was held for generations within the same family, and the toponym had become the family's surname.⁷⁵

It is not sufficient simply to enumerate the lordships because they differed widely in value. The most important fief-holder in the *ammanie* was Philippe de Horn, who possessed the lordship of Gaasbeek. The revenue from this lordship was at least £2400 on a yearly basis.⁷⁶ This was twice as much as the 'richest' fief-holder in the county of Holland – Eleonora van Borssele (£1176) – but less than the richest fief-holder of Walloon Flanders, Pierre de Roubaix (£3281).⁷⁷ But even in Brabant, Gaasbeek was not the lordship with the highest revenue. In 1474 the lands of Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom provided their owners with £3429 and £5689 respectively.⁷⁸ These figures make it clear that lands or lordships could produce high revenues, although there were also high costs attached to upholding a lordship. Still, the returns from the high jurisdiction in Gaasbeek were only £150, no more than 6% of the total revenues. In other words, high jurisdiction rendered more prestige than income. As Gaasbeek was a vast territorial lordship, it was not very remarkable that the highest revenues (£944: 37%) came from the land taxes and rents (*cheinsen ende renten*), together with the profits from the waters, forests and pastures, and the excises on beer and wine. The second highest revenue was from the lease of the 11 watermills in the land of Gaasbeek (around £600, or 24% of the total revenues).⁷⁹ In this way, a substantial part of the revenues of the lord of Gaasbeek derived from the *regalia*, in origin princely rights over water, wind and wasteland.⁸⁰

Moreover, 180 fief-holders held their fief directly from the lord of Gaasbeek. Among them were several knights: Jacob Taye, who possessed the lordship of Gooik,⁸¹ Michiel Absoloens, who held a *maison* called Ten Broecke,⁸² Hendrik van der Meeren, with two other *maisons*,⁸³ and Jan van Kruiningen, who held the *maison* of Pamele, along with an unknown number of other fief-holders, who included the knight Jan van Herzele (Appendix).⁸⁴ The knights Jan van Edingen-Kestergat, Koenraad van der Meeren, Klaas van den Heetvelde, Jan Pinnock, Jan van Formelis, Lodewijk van Edingen-Rameru and even the lord of Grimbergen, Philippe de Glimes, are also mentioned as sub-vassals of the lord of Gaasbeek, albeit with smaller fiefs.⁸⁵

Apart from this assessment of feudal properties, we need a quantitative perspective to illuminate the stratification of Brabantine knighthood. Thanks to the administrative policies of Duke Charles the Bold, we have an insight into the value of feudal properties in Brabant. From the beginning of his reign in 1467, Charles summoned his fief-holders to assist him in defending his lands. The detailed registration of all the possessions of his fief-holders and their sub-vassals permitted him, in theory, to tax them in accordance

⁷⁵ Buylaert, De Clercq and Dumolyn, 'Sumptuary Legislation', 408–11, 417.

⁷⁶ CCB 551, f. 8r. He had to provide 10 men-at-arms for Charles the Bold's army, that is, at the rate of 200 *écus* (of 48 groats) per man.

⁷⁷ A. Janse, 'Het leenbezit van de Hollandse ridderschap omstreeks 1475', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 1 (1998): 163–204 (193); Hans Cools, 'Le prince et la noblesse dans la châtellenie de Lille à la fin du XV^e siècle: un exemple de la plus grande emprise de l'état sur les élites locales?', *Revue du Nord* 77 (1995): 387–406 (404).

⁷⁸ CCB 24648, ff. 4v, 7r.

⁷⁹ CCB 549, ff. 83v–84v

⁸⁰ See on this, Janse, *Ridderschap*, 147–50.

⁸¹ CCB 549, f. 87r; CCB 551, f. 8v.

⁸² CCB 549, f. 90v; CCB 551, f. 9r.

⁸³ CCB 549, f. 93v; CCB 551, f. 9r.

⁸⁴ CCB 549, ff. 116v–117r; CCB 551, f. 10v.

⁸⁵ CCB 549, ff. 103v, 104v, 108v, 113v, 115r, 116v; CCB 551, ff. 8r–10v.

with their feudal income. In 1475 he identified three, partly overlapping, categories that should serve him in person: the *nobles*; those who possessed lordships with high jurisdiction; and those who were taxed to serve with men-at-arms. Others could redeem their military obligations by paying a tax of one sixth of the estimated value of their feudal revenues, because the duke discovered that many of them had great difficulty in gathering men, horses and armour (*trouver gens, chevaulx et harnois*).⁸⁶ Charles did not expect assistance from his *knights*, but from his most important *fief-holders*. A knightly title did not make any difference. Moreover, the Burgundian court itself was organised as an army; members of the household were not only obliged to perform military service, but also to maintain a certain number of armed men.⁸⁷

This tax system set up by Charles the Bold's administrators to finance part of the cost of his armies did not mean the knights no longer served in them. Forty knights had feudal possessions with an annual revenue of more than £10 (Table 1) and were also required to serve in person. However, eight of them paid the feudal tax in order to escape their military obligations.⁸⁸ Jan van der Bruggen, for example, who possessed a lordship with high jurisdiction, preferred not to serve. Godfried Vilain, lord of Zemst, in theory had to serve with one *homme d'armes* and two foot soldiers. However, he paid the feudal tax after making a general agreement on all his fiefs with the receiver general Pieter Lanchals.⁸⁹ Many other exceptions were made to the rules established by Duke Charles the Bold; some of the knights were simply too old to appear on the battlefield. Still, at least 27 knights (50%) served in person, though some of them afterwards could not demonstrate any written proof of their military activities. Others served together with Brabantine bannerets, probably because they were their sub-vassals: Pieter van den Heetvelde under Philippe de Horn, lord of Gaasbeek,⁹⁰ and Wouter van der Noot in the company of the count of Nassau.⁹¹

The detailed administrative records resulting from these arrangements make it possible to estimate the revenues of the fiefs of 40 bannerets and knights in 1475 (Table 1 and Appendix).⁹² Caution is needed in the interpretation of these figures. The data for three important fief-holders are missing,⁹³ and fief-holders were inclined to make a low estimate of their revenues and list a number of deductible items.⁹⁴ The table does, however, give some impression of the broad range of the knightly fief-holders.

⁸⁶ CCB 24647, f. 1r–v; A. Janse, 'Feudal Registration and the Study of Nobility. The Burgundian Registers of 1475', in *Le vassal, le fief et l'écrit. Formes, enjeux et apports de la production documentaire dans le champ de la féodalité (XIe–XVe s.)*, ed. Jean-François Nieus (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales, 2007), 173–87 (181).

⁸⁷ Paravicini, 'Court of the Dukes of Burgundy', 511–12; Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 221.

⁸⁸ Robert de Cotereau, Jan van der Bruggen, Hendrik Magnus, Godfried Vilain, Roland de Mol, Jacob uten Lyemingen, and Jan and Hendrik van der Meeren. See CCB 24647, *passim*.

⁸⁹ CCB 24647, f. 13v.

⁹⁰ CCB 24647, f. 6v.

⁹¹ CCB 24647, f. 10r.

⁹² Apart from the male knights, there were five female fief-holders who bore the title of 'lady' (*dame* in French or *vrouwe* in Middle Dutch), which indicates that they were married to knights (see on this terminology Janse, *Ridderschap*, 91–2). Two of them were married to other knights in the *ammantie*, Everard van der Marck and Engelbrecht van Ittre, who are listed in the Appendix: CCB 549, ff. 21r, 26r; and CCB 551, ff. 2v, 3r. The other three (Johanna Hinckaert, Beatrix van den Muysene and Johanna van Rotselaar) were widows who had been married to knights but who are not listed in the Appendix: Simon III, count of Salm, Klaas van den Heetvelde and Jan II van Cortenbach, lord of Helmond. CCB 549, ff. 7r, 261r; CCB 551, ff. 1v, 17v, 19r; CCB 24647, f. 11r.

⁹³ Jean de Luxembourg for the lordship of Rumst, Lodewijk van Halewijn for the lordship of Buggenhout and Lodewijk van Edingen for the lordship of Seneffe, all with high jurisdiction: CCB 549, ff. 2r–v, 279v; CCB 551, ff. 1r–v, 19r.

⁹⁴ Janse, 'Het leenbezit', 168–74, 188–90.

Table 1. Estimated value of the fiefs of the knights and bannerets in the *ammanie*, c.1475

Estimated value (£ of 40 groats)	Number of knights and bannerets	Cumulative	Cumulative (%)
10–49	13	13	33
50–99	8	21	53
100–239	11	32	80
240–399	4	36	90
400–999	3	39	98
1000>	1	40	100
Total	40		

Sources: CCB 549, 551, 554, 24647.

The majority (53%) of the knights had a feudal income of less than £100. This means that the small-sized knightly fief-holder was dominant in the *ammanie*, particularly when compared with similar vassals from the county of Holland (46% of knightly fief-holders had revenues of less than £100) and Walloon Flanders (25%), though the duchy of Burgundy registered 65%. In the *ammanie* the mid-sized knightly fief-holders, with revenues ranging between £100 and £240, formed a relatively small category (27%), whereas the upper category of fief-holders, receiving more than £240 on an annual basis, was relatively large (20%) in comparison with Holland or the duchy of Burgundy. The contrast with Zeeland, however, was remarkable. In that county no fewer than five nobles had a feudal income of £1000 or more, and 24 nobles received between £100 and £1000 annually.⁹⁵

This means that there were big differences between the knights and bannerets in terms of the value of their possessions. The majority of the knights had a reasonable but small income from their feudal possessions, whereas only the happy few could rely on a stable amount of money from their fiefs. At the same time many knights in the *ammanie* were connected through feudal ties. A genuine feudal pyramid existed in this part of Brabant, with the duke at the apex, bannerets holding some large lordships, and knights and esquires holding less significant lordships or smaller fiefs.

It is more problematic to assess the spatial aspects, especially the residences, of the properties, held in fief from the duke in the *ammanie*, mainly because the nomenclature employed is ambiguous.⁹⁶ Four castles (*slote*, *chastel*, *forteresse*) are mentioned, two in the banneret lordships Gaasbeek and Grimbergen (Meise) and two attached to other lordships (Beersel and Schiplaken). The fact that each of these edifices was enclosed by a defensive structure was apparently so evident to contemporaries that no towers, moats or draw-bridges were mentioned in the sources.⁹⁷ Next there are nine houses (*woeninge*, *huyse*, *maison*), five of them surrounded by moats (*hofgrecht*, *wateren*, *fosses*), and three of them with outer courts (*voorhove*, *nederhove*). Finally there are 12 ‘court houses’, which were possibly also farmsteads, referred to as a *hof* or *court*, half of them with a moat and three with an outer court. In fact, only half of all these houses were held in fief by knights: four were held by widows of knights, and nine by others. Evidently living in a fortified residence was not the exclusive province of knights or nobles. Finally, we lack information on the houses the knights held as allodial properties. Many knights who held an office in the town administration of Brussels will have possessed a house within the city

⁹⁵ Van Steensel, *Edelen in Zeeland*, 151–3.

⁹⁶ See, on this problem, Buylaert, De Clercq and Dumolyn, ‘Sumptuary Legislation’, 413–14.

⁹⁷ Based on CCB 549 and 551.

walls. The same is true of the members of the council of Brabant, eight in 1406 and six in 1475. Since they had to be present regularly in the chamber of the council, next to the ducal palace on the Coudenberg, the councillors must have had a permanent residence in the town.⁹⁸

For contemporaries a castle or a fortified house was a symbol of knightly or noble power, since it was the main residence of the owner and the place where lordly justice was dispensed. However, this power was not always uncontested. On two occasions the citizens of Brussels destroyed a fortified castle that was held in fief from the duke. In 1388 Zweder van Abcoude, lord of Gaasbeek, wanted to lease some villages in the *ammanie* from Duchess Joan of Brabant (r. 1356–1406). The knight and alderman Everard t'Serclaes, who possessed neighbouring lordships, strongly opposed this plan. When t'Serclaes trespassed onto the territory of Gaasbeek, he was attacked and mutilated by Zweder's bastard son and his bailiff. The town responded vehemently to this attack. An army was formed, consisting of the urban militias of Brussels and Leuven and led by a ducal officer, the *amman* of Brussels. With the help of some miners from Liège, the castle was completely destroyed.⁹⁹ This example demonstrates that a banneret could not expand his power without limit, especially when the interests of other knights within the *ammanie* were at stake.

Exactly a century later urban militias destroyed another castle: Beersel, held in fief by Hendrik III van Wittem, lord of Wittem and Beersel and councillor-chamberlain to Maximilian of Austria. He played a leading political role in Brabantine society in the 1480s. It was therefore no surprise that Van Wittem's castles – he possessed two others: Braine-l'Alleud in Walloon Brabant and La Folie in the north of Hainault – were a target for the insurgents of Brussels who joined forces with Philip of Cleves in his rebellion against Maximilian in 1488–9. According to the chronicler Jean Molinet, Van Wittem's castles were of crucial importance for the protection of Hainault, the principality that was not yet infected by the 'divisions, commotions and strange business' (*divisions, commotions et estranges besonges*) that afflicted Brabant and Flanders. Around the turn of the year the insurgents from Brussels then assembled 'siege engines, artillery, ladders, stakes, military equipment and a great many men-at-arms, on horseback and on foot' (*gros engiens, artillerie, eschelles, bastons et instruments de guerre ... gros puissance de gens de guerre, à cheval et à pied*). Hendrik managed to defend his castle, joined by his son Philip, appointed by Maximilian as *amman* of Brussels. The two, together with 'other noble gentlemen' (*autres nobles gentilzhommes*) defended the castle 'so vigorously by brave and noble feats of arms, that those from Brussels were forced to lift the siege' (*tant vigoureusement par proesses et nobles fais que les Bruxellois furent contrains de lever leur siège*). However, at the end of March the forces of Brussels returned and finally succeeded in laying siege to the castle which in the end was 'terribly beaten by siege engines, debilitated and broken' (*horriblement batu de gros engiens, dilapidé et rompu*). Shortly afterwards the same fate befell the castle of Braine-l'Alleud, although

⁹⁸ Stein, *De hertog*, 144.

⁹⁹ Willems, ed., *Les gestes du Duc de Brabant*, vol. 2: 319–20. For an analysis, Sergio Boffa, 'Le différend entre Sweder d'Abcoude et la ville de Bruxelles. La chute du château de Gaesbeek (mars–avril 1388)', in *Les Pays-Bas bourguignons. Histoire et institutions. Mélanges André Uyttebrouck*, eds. J.-M. Duvosquel, J. Nazet and A. Vanrie (Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1996) 84–104; and, in the same volume, M. de Waha, 'Enghien (1364) et Gaesbeek (1388): guerre civile, institutions, rapports de force entre princes, nobles et villes', 187–225.

La Folie was saved thanks to Van Wittem's 'good provisioning in men, artillery and supplies' (*bonne garnison de gens, d'artilleries et de vivres*).¹⁰⁰

The destruction of the two castles indicates that the political elite of the town of Brussels was able to mobilise extraordinary forces, both in money, men and military equipment, which were able to demolish the best fortified castles in the immediate surroundings of the town. The duke of Brabant had given these castles in fief to high-ranking knights and noblemen who were supposed to defend these strongholds with their own men and military means, partly funded by the prince. Whereas in 1388 the citizens of Brussels considered Gaasbeek as a symbol of banneret power that menaced the interests of the foremost members of the town, Beersel was seen rather as a bastion of princely power. The insurgents destroyed not only a place of military and strategic significance but also a huge knightly residence that represented the controversial regime of Maximilian and his close collaborators.

Bannerets

Traditionally bannerets (*baanrotsen* in Dutch) played a prominent military and political role in the duchy of Brabant. They derived their prestige from the fact that their lordships, which were held in fief from the duke of Brabant, entailed high jurisdiction and generated a large income. With the annual income of these lordships bannerets were supposed to be able to provide their own companies on military campaigns; these companies would consist of their family members, vassals and servants. Powerful bannerets in fact often had a small, permanent, private army at their disposal, which made them important allies of the prince, although they could turn their military power against him as well.¹⁰¹ Special square banners that were carried on the battlefield and during tournaments symbolised their military leadership.¹⁰² In Duke Anthony's household (r. 1406–15) this distinction was even more tangible: bannerets were provided with twice as many horses and servants as were knights.¹⁰³

The bannerets seem to be a more defined subcategory of the knighthood in Brabant than in other principalities of the Low Countries. Military summons lists of the county of Flanders, dating from about 1385, listed the names of 13 *baenrache*. Some of these men were also mentioned in later lists, but they no longer constituted a separate military category.¹⁰⁴ Bannerets were also found in other principalities of the Low Countries, such as

¹⁰⁰ Georges Doutrepoint and O. Jodogne, eds., *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, vol. 2, 1488–1506 (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935), 74–6; Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles, ou description historique des localités qui formaient autrefois l'annexion de cette ville*, vol. 3 (Brussels: Vanderauwera, 1855), 674–5. For a general survey of the revolt in Brabant in these years, see Bart Willems, 'Militaire organisatie en staatsvorming aan de vooravond van de Nieuwe Tijd. Een analyse van het conflict tussen Brabant en Maximiliaan van Oostenrijk (1488–1489)', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 1 (1998): 261–84. For Flanders, see Jelle Haemers, *De strijd om het regentschap over Filips de Schone: opstand, facties en geweld in Brugge, Gent en Ieper (1482–1488)* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2014).

¹⁰¹ Uyttebrouck, *Le gouvernement*, 438–41; M. Damen, 'Heren met banieren. De baanrotsen van Brabant in de vijftiende eeuw', in *Bourgondië voorbij. De Nederlanden 1250–1650*, eds. M. Damen and L.H.J. Sicking (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 139–58 (144–7); P. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Ridders en hun ruiters. Het krijgsbedrijf in Holland en Brabant gedurende de veertiende eeuw', in *Bourgondië voorbij*, eds. Damen and Sicking, 327–49.

¹⁰² Keen, *Chivalry*, 168; David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon Press, 2005), 75–6; Contamine, *La noblesse*, 82–3. Compare for Scotland, Stevenson, *Chivalry*, 46–7.

¹⁰³ J. Kauch, 'L'organisation et le contrôle financier de l'hôtel d'Antoine de Bourgogne, duc de Brabant', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 24 (1945): 180–201 (192); Boffa, *Warfare*, 129.

¹⁰⁴ Buylaert and others, 'De adel ingelijst', 76–7, 82, 86, 93.

Guelders,¹⁰⁵ Hainault¹⁰⁶ and Holland,¹⁰⁷ but they were not as prominent and plentiful as in Brabant. As was the case in England, where the rise (and decline) of the banneret was typical of the fourteenth century,¹⁰⁸ Brabantine bannerets distinguished themselves from knights both socially and militarily. In this section, bannerets are first identified and then the distinctive features of the group are examined.

The summons list of the Estates of Brabant of 1406 shows exactly who in the *ammanie* of Brussels bore the title banneret at that time: the lords of Gaasbeek, Grimbergen and Rumst. They were not identified by personal name, but by the name of their lordship, a symbol of their high status. In these administrative sources it was not necessary to mention their knightly status (with the prefix of *messire*, *dominus* or *heer*). In fact, some of the bannerets had not received the accolade and had the rank of *écuyer banneret*, that is, a banneret who had remained an esquire and, in consequence, was not dubbed a knight.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, in Brabant the esquire banneret was a recurring type.¹¹⁰ In the first half of the fifteenth century, the *jonkers* of Gaasbeek and Nassau, for example, who possessed important lordships within the *ammanie*, were bannerets but were never dubbed as knights. Until 1458, they were referred to in the court ordinances of Philip the Good by the title of *jonker* (French *damoiseau*).¹¹¹ For these bannerets, the accolade supposed a hierarchical relationship with the person who conferred knighthood upon them. A man like Jacob van Abcoude (d. 1459), son of Zweder, who held in fief not only the lordship of Gaasbeek, but also other key lordships in the neighbouring principalities of Guelders, Holland and the prince-bishopric of Utrecht, preferred to play a semi-independent role without tying his hands by swearing allegiance to one prince.¹¹²

At the end of the fifteenth century, within the *ammanie* only the lands or lordships of Gaasbeek and Grimbergen were still considered *baanderijen*, lordships held by a banneret.¹¹³ However, in the administrative sources the holders of these lordships were no longer referred to as *baanrotsen* or bannerets. The holders of the *baanderijen* in 1475 were Philippe de Horn (Gaasbeek) and Jean IV de Nassau together with Philippe de Glimes, who shared the lordship of Grimbergen. Philippe de Horn (1423–88) was, according to the feudal registers of 1475, the most important fief-holder in the *ammanie* of

¹⁰⁵ A.H. Martens van Sevenhoven, 'Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de heeren en heerlijkheid Wisch', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre* 33 (1930): 79–99; H. Denessen, 'De Gelderse bannerheren in de vijftiende eeuw', *Virtus* 20 (2013): 11–37.

¹⁰⁶ M.A. Arnould, 'Pairs et bannerets du comté de Hainaut', in *Comté de Hainaut, 2: Généralités. officiers, pairies, bannerets et villes*, ed. G. Bavay. Albums de Croÿ 5 (Brussels: Crédit Communal de Belgique, 1987), 21–33.

¹⁰⁷ H.M. Brokken, 'De creatie van baanderheren voor de graven Willem IV en Willem V', *Holland* 11 (1979): 60–4; Janse, *Ridderschap*, 83–7; Janse, 'Marriage Patterns', 125–6.

¹⁰⁸ Coss, *Origins*, 240–2.

¹⁰⁹ Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', 376, 378.

¹¹⁰ Damen, 'Heren met banieren', 142–3; Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', 376; De Win, 'Queeste', 226.

¹¹¹ W. Paravicini, 'Expansion et intégration. La noblesse des Pays-Bas à la cour de Philippe le Bon', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 95 (1980): 298–314 (306–7). In 1475 there was still a 'jonker van Gaesbeke' (CCB 549, ff. 114v, 260v), i.e. the same individual as 'Janne van Gaesbeke, bastaert' (CCB 24647, f. 8r) and 'Jehan de Gaesbeque, bastart' (CCB 551, f. 10v). In that year he was living in Holland. He was probably a bastard of the 'real' jonker van Gaasbeek, Jacob van Abcoude.

¹¹² A.C. de Groot, 'Zweder en Jacob van Gaasbeek in Zuid-Holland', *Zuid-Hollandse Studien* 9 (1959): 39–99 (64–5); Uyttebrouck, *Le gouvernement*, 653–4.

¹¹³ Jaap Tigelaar, *Brabants historie ontvouwd. Die alder excellenste cronyke van Brabant en het Brabantse geschiedbeeld anno 1500* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), CD-ROM, ff. a5r–v.

Brussels.¹¹⁴ His godfather Duke Philip the Good conferred knighthood on him on 26 April 1452 after the battle of Oudenaarde against the Ghent insurgents.¹¹⁵

Only two months later, before the battle of Rupelmonde, Philippe and his cousin Jacques I, count of Horn, who had received this princely title only two years previously from Frederick III, king of the Romans,¹¹⁶ unfolded their banners (*deployèrent leurs bannières*) for the first time, according to the chronicler Georges Chastellain. Chastellain does not make clear when the two were made bannerets by the duke. On the other hand he describes how another knight was created a banneret by cutting off the outer corner of his pennon, thus creating a square banner.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, Oliver de la Marche makes a distinction between those for whom this ceremony was purely a formality, because they stemmed from families of bannerets, and those who had themselves achieved the rank of banneret: *ung relève sa bannière et l'autre entre en bannière*.¹¹⁸ Philippe and Jacques de Horn clearly belonged to the former category; two years later they both participated in the famous Feast of the Pheasant in Lille, where they took an oath to go on a crusade against the Turks.¹¹⁹ For Philippe, the Ghent war was the launch of his military career. He participated in several military campaigns of Charles the Bold, in 1465 against Liège and in 1466 against Dinant.¹²⁰ In 1470 Philippe and Henri de Horn, together with Engelbert II de Nassau, son of Jean IV, commanded the biggest military companies of all Brabantine nobles.¹²¹ For these activities Philippe received satisfactory monetary compensation from the duke.

As mentioned above, the other bannerets of the *ammanie* were Jean IV de Nassau and Philippe de Glimes, together lords of Grimbergen. They did not receive the accolade and belonged to the special category of *écuyer banneret*, but were probably the last representatives of this class of banneret in Brabant. In October 1472 Philippe de Glimes is still mentioned as *escuier banneret* when leading a military company.¹²² However, in 1474 he must have been dubbed a knight, because in the taxation registers he is referred to as *heer, messire* and *chevalier*.¹²³

¹¹⁴ CCB 549, ff. 83r, 122v; CCB 551, f. 8r

¹¹⁵ Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', 409. Philip the Good acted as his godfather in 1423: Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles, ou description historique des localités qui formaient autrefois l'ammanie de cette ville*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Vanderauwera, 1855), 152.

¹¹⁶ M.J. Wolters, *Notice historique sur l'ancien comté de Hornes et sur les anciennes seigneuries de Weert, Wessem, Ghoor et Kessenich* (Ghent: Gyselynck, 1850), 244.

¹¹⁷ Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', 385.

¹¹⁸ Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', 385 (n. 70); see the chronicles of Chastellain and De la Marche in Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 2: *Chronique 1430–1431, 1452–1458*, 306, 374; and M. Petitot, ed., *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France. Les mémoires de messire Olivier de La Marche*, vol. 2 (Paris: Foucault, 1825), 104.

¹¹⁹ M.-T. Caron, "'Monseigneur le duc m'a fait l'honneur de moy eslire ...'", in *Le banquet du faisan. 1454: l'occident face au défi de l'empire ottoman*, eds. M.-T. Caron and D. Clauzel (Arras: Artois presses université, 1997), 225–42 (230–1). The oath of Jacob van Horn testifies to his loyalty towards Duke Philip the Good, in defiance of other lords: '... jassoit ce que je tienne la comté de Heurnes de trois seigneurs, assavoir de l'empereur, monseigneur de Jelre, et de monseigneur de Liège (...) toutes voyes se mon très redoubté seigneur, monseigneur le duc de Bourgoigne, va mesmes sur les turquois et infidelles de la foy, je iray avec luy en personne'. See also T.J.M. Schers, 'Twee van Hornes te gast op het Fazantenfeest te Rijsel', in *Weert in Woord en Beeld: Jaarboek voor Weert 3* (1988): 88–101.

¹²⁰ Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles*, 1: 153, and Petitot, ed., *Collection complète*, 2: 247, where he is mentioned as one of the four captains of the Burgundian army and is characterised as a 'tresvaillant chevalier et assureur'.

¹²¹ Bessey and others, eds., *Comptes de l'argentier de Charles le Téméraire*, 3: nrs. 2531, 2673, 2920.

¹²² CCB 25542, f. 70r.

¹²³ CCB 549, f. 133r; CCB 551, f. 11r. However, in the same and other feudal sources he is styled 'joncheur' as well: CCB 549, f. 278r; CCB 555, f. 257r.

Jean IV de Nassau is a different case. Normally he is called *joncker Jan van Nassouw* or given his feudal title, *conte de Nassouw*.¹²⁴ Although he took part as a military commander in the battle of Gavere in July 1453, where Philip the Good himself knighted some 180 combatants, Jean apparently did not wish to receive this special distinction.¹²⁵ This puts the importance of the knightly title in Brabant during the Burgundian period into perspective, because Jean IV de Nassau must be considered one of the most important noblemen of Brabant after Philippe de Horn. Yet Jean IV, like his father Engelbert I before him, was never dubbed a knight. Since he was count of Nassau, which title already gave him status, he was probably not interested in receiving the military title. What is more, for a German prince who belonged to the *Hochadel*, a knightly title would have been an affront since knighthood was closely associated with the *Niederadel*.¹²⁶

However, Jean's son, Engelbert II (1451–1504), did receive the accolade from Charles the Bold on 30 October 1468, after the siege and occupation of Liège, because of the 'knightly deeds of arms' he performed.¹²⁷ Engelbert was to play an active role in Charles the Bold's army. In 1473 he was admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece, an exclusively knightly circle that neither his father nor his grandfather was ever invited to join.¹²⁸ Apparently, for the 'new' generation the accolade had become more attractive. What is more, the knightly title was indispensable if they wanted to play a role of any importance in the military and political institutions of the Burgundian state.

Before the advent of the Burgundians, bannerets in Brabant could operate quite independently, using their resources, money and men not only for the benefit of the prince, but also to their own advantage.¹²⁹ In the fifteenth century, the Burgundian dukes succeeded in incorporating the military potential of the bannerets into their armies. Whereas the banner was traditionally considered a sign of prestige and independence, Olivier de la Marche commented that a banner should be a symbol of allegiance to the prince. The demonstration of this loyalty was that a banneret served the prince in person and was prepared to die in so doing.¹³⁰ This was not simply hollow rhetoric on the part of the Burgundian chronicler. Bannerets in the *ammanie* did indeed comply with this requirement. In 1475, for example, Philippe de Glimes served the duke in person on all his military expeditions (*reysen*) and he perished in the last campaign.¹³¹ In other words, in the fifteenth century Brabantine bannerets became more strictly subordinated to princely power. Eventually, bannerets disappeared as a separate category in the administrative sources.

The references to bannerets in ducal ordinances on the supply of livery illustrate another aspect of this downgrading. On 14 June 1404 the duke ordered that 'nobody, whether knight, or esquire or of another estate' was allowed to distribute livery to men who were not members of his household. Only the bannerets and 'those who possess

¹²⁴ See CF 2100bis, f. 3r: 'die edel joncker Jan, greve te Nassouwe ende tot Dietze, heere tot Breda', and PCB, id. nr. 0565, where he is consequently called 'conte de Nassau'.

¹²⁵ Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', 409; Wauters, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles*, 2: 189.

¹²⁶ Spieß, 'Ständische Abgrenzung', 184–5.

¹²⁷ Janse, 'Ridderslag', 327: 'ridderlike feyten van wapenen'. The quote is from the so-called *Divisiechroniek* written by Cornelis Aurelius.

¹²⁸ P. de Win, 'Engelbert II, comte de Nassau-Dillenburg et de Vianden', in *Les chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle*, ed. de Smedt, nr. 77.

¹²⁹ Hoppenbrouwers, 'Ridders en hun ruiters', 341–3.

¹³⁰ Vale, *War*, 167–8.

¹³¹ CCB 24647, f. 8v.

high jurisdiction' were exempted from this measure and could still bestow clothes in the appropriate colours on their armed followers, officers and other servants.¹³² Livery was part of the terms of service but at the same time enhanced the visibility of the retainers, stressed their personal bond with their lord, and could indicate differences in office and/or status.¹³³ That the bannerets and other lords could still supply livery is an indication of their indisputable status, not only within their lordships, but also in the duchy. Duke Philip the Good issued the ordinance again, with more or less the same wording, in 1431, 1434, 1441 and 1446, with the modification that in these years the exemption was extended to 'bannerets and other nobles'. However, this situation changed in 1448, when only 'dukes and counts and their children' were exempted.¹³⁴ No doubt this exemption was especially intended for the counts of Nassau and Saint-Pol (Jean de Luxembourg), at that time the only noblemen with possessions in the *ammanie* who bore this title. They were still allowed to use livery to show in public who were their servants and followers, an indication of their high status, almost on a par with that of the duke. However, 'normal' bannerets lost the right to make their followers visible in this way. A possible explanation may be the efforts of the Burgundian dukes to put an end to strife among the noble and urban elites. In the county of Holland in the 1440s there had been a forceful revival of armed rivalry in the towns, and new regulations on weapons and liveries – similar to those in Brabant – had been issued in response.¹³⁵

The bannerets maintained strong ties with the most powerful families living in Brussels. In June 1436 Duke Philip the Good commissioned two bannerets, the lords of Breda (Nassau) and Gaasbeek (Abcoude), to choose, from among the 21 candidates, the seven aldermen 'who would be useful and profitable for us and our business'.¹³⁶ The Duke needed the bannerets as intermediaries, since they had their contacts and followers in the town. The knightly family of Van den Heetvelde, for example, who played a prominent role within the town administration throughout the fifteenth century, had close ties with the lord of Gaasbeek. The family originated from the south-western part of Brabant, where it had allodial possessions in the land of Gaasbeek in the area bordering on Flanders and Hainault.¹³⁷ As a symbol of their origins and allegiance, their coat

¹³² CCB 11, ff. 175r–v: '... dat van nu voirtaen nyeman, hi sij ridder ocht knape ocht ander man van wat state hi sij, negheenrehande personen binnen Brabant geseten enige cleeder, capruyne, rocke, hoycken, kerlen of ander pallueren die gelijc sijn, of van strijpte of van enen tekene van bordueren gewracht of anders geven en selen mogen noch vercopen dan allene den ghenen die hueren huysgesinde sijn in hoeren brode ende cost dagelijx in haer huys etende, drinckende ende slapende ...'; 'Uutgescheiden dat in deser ordenancie niet bevaen sijn en selen de heren de baenroids en van den lande, ende deghene die hoge gerecht hebben. Sij en selen moegen haere leveryen ende pallueren geven boven haeren huysgesinde, goiden luden van wapene geboeren die ne gheenen ambachten en doen, ende oic hoiren officieren ende ambachteren die hen van enichs ambachts wegen dat sij in handen hebben, met eede verbonden sijn.'

¹³³ Janse, *Ridderschap*, 417; Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 134–5.

¹³⁴ Philippe Godding, *Ordonnances de Philippe le Bon pour les duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et les pays d'Outre-Meuse 1430–1467* (Brussels: Service public fédéral Justice, 2005), 64–5, 133–4, 190–1, 241–2. Similar prohibitions were issued at a much earlier stage in Flanders. See Armstrong, 'Nobility', 226. For Hainault (1431) and Zeeland (1433), see Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, 195, and Van Steensel, *Edelen*, 326.

¹³⁵ Damen, *De staat van dienst*, 365–76.

¹³⁶ 'nutlijc ende oorbuerlic voir ons ende onse saicken'. The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Nassause Domeinraad, 1494.

¹³⁷ They stemmed from Mary of Gaasbeek, a bastard daughter of the lord of Gaasbeek, probably Godevaart van Leuven, a younger son of the duke of Brabant, to whom Gaasbeek was given in 1235 as an apanage. Van Parys, 'Notes', 364–5; F. Vennekens, *La seigneurie de Gaesbeek (1236–1795)* (Hekelgem: Abbaye d'Affligem-Hekelgem, 1935), 12–13.

of arms was charged with the heraldic device of Gaasbeek: a lion rampant argent crowned or.¹³⁸

In order to make a career in Brussels, then, knightly aldermen had to maintain strong ties not only with the duke, but also with the bannerets in the *ammanie*. This may explain why the town administration of Brussels financially supported the construction of the houses of several bannerets in the environs of the ducal palace on the Coudenberg. The town contributed money for the building (or rebuilding) of the house of Antoine de Croÿ, lord of Aarschot, in the 1450s, and the residences ('hôtels') of the count of Nassau and the lord of Ravenstein in the 1480s.¹³⁹ In this way the town administration established a durable relationship with these bannerets who occupied high offices in the prince's household. They could benefit the town as brokers for gaining access to the duke when necessary.

Conclusion

Johan Huizinga, in his classic *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, characterised the fifteenth-century nobility of the Low Countries as a group of powerful courtiers, endowed by the prince with high offices and important lordships. They were imbued with a fashionable chivalric style, of which the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded in 1430 by the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good (r. 1419–67), was the most evident symbol. In Huizinga's view the behaviour of the late medieval nobility was an escape from reality, where new social groups were taking over power in society.¹⁴⁰ Over the last two decades Huizinga's impressionistic view of the knighthood in the Low Countries has been replaced by more thorough and empirical studies. Datasets listing knights' titles, offices and possessions – though labour-intensive to construct – are crucial for evaluating the social and political position of the knighthood, together with its internal stratification. This article has taken an integrated approach to two cross-sections of the bannerets and knights in the *ammanie* of Brussels, considering especially their feudal (and other) possessions and their military and political activities. Between 40 and 53 knights lived in the *ammanie* – most of them in the town of Brussels – throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Within the duchy of Brabant the *ammanie* was the district where the highest number of knights can be found in administrative sources. Compared with other highly urbanised districts of the Low Countries, the number of knights in the *ammanie* was on a par with Ghent but considerably higher than in Holland and Zeeland. Not all the knights performed their military duties, although more often than not this was a question of age.

The knighthood in and around Brussels was a multi-layered social category with great differences in income, offices and social prestige. In 1406, the top ranks of the knighthood consisted of a few bannerets, who possessed the most important lordships in the *ammanie* and played a crucial role in the prince's political and military institutions. By 1475,

¹³⁸ Their complete coat of arms was: or, a bend gules charged with three hammers silver, the first charged with an inescutcheon sable, a lion rampant argent crowned or.

¹³⁹ Claire Dickstein-Bernard, *La gestion financière d'une capitale à ses débuts. Bruxelles 1334–1467* (Brussels: Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles, 1977), 138; John Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances au 15e siècle. Les conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1955), 134; Galesloot, 'Notes', 491–2.

¹⁴⁰ Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen. Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Groningen: Tjeenk Willink, 1919).

however, the bannerets' position had changed drastically. Whereas in 1406 they could act as semi-independent princes, although attached to ducal household, in 1475 they acted in closer association and collaboration with the prince. Changes were about to take place in the military field, but the bannerets were not yet affected by the 'modernisation' of the princely army, in which they were prominent leaders. In the fifteenth century, the knightly title became a necessity for Brabantine nobles if they were to play a role within the top echelons of the court, for example, in the princely council or the Order of the Golden Fleece – although there was only one member of this prestigious knightly order among the knights of the *ammanie*. The *écuyerbanneret*, a recurring type at the beginning of the fifteenth century, disappeared.

Although there were serious conflicts between some of the knights and the citizens of Brussels, there was no dichotomy between knighthood and town, since many knights lived in the town and/or held positions in the town administration. Living close to the centre of decision-making in late medieval Brabant had an impact on the knights, but perhaps less than we might expect. The title bestowed a certain prestige, but it was not a pre-requisite, for example, for holding a lordship. That said, knights or sons of knights owned the most important lordships in the *ammanie*, those with high jurisdiction and a castle or fortified residence, and all of these high-ranking nobles had a princely office, whether in the household or in other institutions at a regional or local level. Some of the knights in the *ammanie* were indeed greatly dependent on the favours of the prince and of higher nobles, both for their political activities in the town and for their functioning outside it. Huizinga was partly right: a position at court or a good relationship with the prince could indeed enhance a knight's status in the fifteenth century. However, the majority did not have this relationship of dependence, although they were all bound to the prince by feudal ties.

This case study has focused on the knighthood in and around Brussels. It goes without saying that the conclusions are only valid for part of the duchy of Brabant and for part of the nobility. However, reconstructing a social group on the basis of a single criterion in this way facilitates both chronological and territorial comparisons. Future research into the nobility of the Low Countries would benefit from a strict separation between categories of nobles. Only then will it be possible to discern to what extent these different categories overlap and to draw general conclusions regarding the development of the most powerful social category in the later Middle Ages.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the rector and staff of the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Wassenaar for their support and assistance, which allowed me to write a first draft of this article. Further, I would like to thank Antheun Janse, Arie van Steensel, Peter Hoppenbrouwers, my colleagues at the University of Amsterdam and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this article, and Maria Sherwood-Smith for correcting the English.

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Appendix. The bannerets and knights in the *ammanie* of Brussels, c.1475

Unless otherwise indicated, data are based on CCB 539, 549, 551, 24647; CF 24; Paul de Win, 'De adel in het hertogdom Brabant in de vijftiende eeuw (inzonderheid de periode 1430–1482)' (Masters diss., University of Ghent, 1979); PCB; René Laurent and Claude Roelandt, *Les échevins de Bruxelles (1154–1500), leurs sceaux (1239–1500)* (Brussels: Archives Générales du Royaume, 2010).

Name	1406: Ancestor in <i>ammanie</i>	1406: Ancestor elsewhere in Brabant	Lordships ¹	Residences and castles	Estimated value of fiefs in the <i>ammanie</i> ²	Urban office-holder	Office in the ducal household (H) or in the ducal administration (A)
Absoloens, Michiel, d. 12–3–1509		X		Ten Broecke	45	X (Leuven)	
Bau (= van den Eechoven), Wouter III, d. 1480 ³		X	<i>Boxtel, Vremde</i>		80		
Berchem, Arend van, d. <21–6– 1494 ⁴		X					
Bernage, Jan III, d. <9–6–1517	X		Perk–Elewijt		156	X	H (PCB 1601)
Borchoven, Augustijn van, d. <12– 3–1490		X			48	X (Leuven)	
Brimeu, Pierre de, d. <19–1–1494			Poederlee		20		H (PCB 1650)
Bruggen, Jan van der, d. 1475? ⁵		X	Blaasveld	Blaasveld	332		A
Cotereau, Robert, d. <7–7–1497				Relegem	158		A
Edingen-Kestergat, Jan van, d. 12– 8–1478			<i>Kestergat</i>	Van der Tommen/ Schiplaken	68		HA (PCB 1688)
Edingen-Rameru, Lodewijk van, d. March 1487 ⁶	X		Seneffe				
Formelis, Jan van					15		
Geten (= Jauche), Jacob van, d. <21–3–1506 ⁷		X	<i>Geten, Asse</i>	Ter Bruggen	500		
Glimes, Philippe de, d. <18–7–1476		X	Grimbergen (½)	Grimbergen	980		H (PCB 2793)
Halewijn, Lodewijk van			Buggenhout, Peenen				
Heenvliet, Jan van, d. >1480						X	
Heetvelde, Klaas II van den, d. 22– 5–1483	X					X	
Heetvelde, Pieter van den, d. <1503	X			Carloo	30	X	
Herbais, Pieter van, d. <5–7–1505 ⁸		X			68		
Herlaer (Bourgondië), Jan van, d. > 24–12–1506			Herlaer		136		H
Herzele, Jan van					90		
Hinckaert, Jan III, d. <5–10–1489 ⁹			<i>Ohain</i>			X	HA (PCB 1509)
Horn, Philippe de, d. 4–2–1488			Gaasbeek	Gaasbeek	2420		H (PCB 1026)
Immerseel, Jan van		X					
Ittre, Engelbrecht van		X	Ittre	Eppeghem	108		
Kruiningen, Jan van, d. 8–7–1513			Pamele		68		HA

(Continued)

Continued.

Name	1406: Ancestor in <i>ammanie</i>	1406: Ancestor elsewhere in Brabant	Lordships ¹	Residences and castles	Estimated value of fiefs in the <i>ammanie</i> ²	Urban office-holder	Office in the ducal household (H) or in the ducal administration (A)
Limelette, Costin de, d. <22–8–1489		X				X	
Luxembourg, Jean de, d. 22–6–1476			Rumst				HA (PCB 2227)
Lyemingen, Jacob uten, d. 12–1–1482		X	<i>Wange</i>		156	X (Leuven)	
Magnus, Hendrik, d. 22–9–1480				Van Daeromme	203	X	HA (PCB 4733)
Maily, Colard de, d. <17–9–1510 ¹⁰			Stalle	Stalle	134		
Mark, Everard III van der, d. 19–6–1496 ¹¹			<i>Arenberg, Neufchâteau</i> (½)	Bouchout, Diepensteyn	128		
Meeren, Hendrik van der, d. 15–6–1499	X				32		A
Meeren, Jan VI van der, d. <28–7–1495	X		Zaventhem		40		
Meeren, Koenraad I van der, d. 8–8–1483	X					X	
Merode, Jan IV van, d. 1481			Leefdaal, <i>Pietersem</i> , <i>Diepenbeek</i> (½)				
Mol, Roeland II de, d. >1509	X		Wespelaar		30	X	
Montenaken, Filips van, d. <6–11–1480		X	<i>Reves, Luttre</i>		136		
Nassau, Jean IV de, d. 3–2–1475		X	Breda, Grimbergen (1/2)		548		HA (PCB 565)
Noot, Wouter van der, d. 7–11–1494 ¹²	X		Risoir		114	X	H (PCB 1406)
Pynnock, Jan, d. <25–8–1501		X			40	X (Leuven)	H (PCB 2031)
Ranssem, Jan van, d. <1478				Ranssem	20		
Serarnts, Hendrik t'	X				143	X	
Serclaes, Everard t', son of Wenceslas ¹³	X				143	X	
Serclaes, Everard t', son of Everard, d. <1483 ¹⁴	X		Kruikenburg ¹⁵ en Spiennes		43	X	
Sint-Gorix, Klaas van, d. 6–7–1478 ¹⁶	X				60		HA (PCB 4888)
Sint-Gorix, Jan van, d. 7–8–1479 ¹⁷	X				20		
Spout, Bernard van der, d. 1498 ¹⁸		X	<i>Bousval, Petit-Roeulx- lez-Nivelles</i>	Hof ter Spout	260		

(Continued)

Continued.

Name	1406: Ancestor in <i>ammanie</i>	1406: Ancestor elsewhere in Brabant	Lordships ¹	Residences and castles	Estimated value of fiefs in the <i>ammanie</i> ²	Urban office-holder	Office in the ducal household (H) or in the ducal administration (A)
Taye, Jacob, d. 1491	X		Wemmel-Gooik		86		H (PCB 1807)
Taye, Jan, d. post 30–4–1479 ¹⁹	X		Ruisbroek	Ruisbroek	88	X	
Vilain, Godfried, d. <27–2–1482 ²⁰			Zemst		315		
Wilre, Maarten van, d. 22–3–1490		X			68		
Wittem, Hendrik III van, d. 17–9–1515 ²¹	X		Beersel, Wittem	Beersel	330		A
Wittem, Hendrik VI van ²²		X	Huldenberg, <i>Boutersem</i>				

¹ Bold: lordship with high jurisdiction; italic: lordship not in the *ammanie* of Brussels.

² Bold: real estimated value in the register of the sixth penny of 1475 (CCB 24647); roman: calculated minimum value of the fiefs based on the number of *hommes d'armes* (£240 of 40 groats per man-at-arms), horsemen (£48 per horseman) and foot soldiers (£20 per foot soldier) they were taxed to supply in accordance with their feudal income (CCB 551).

³ L. Stroobant, 'La famille Bau de Malines aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *Bulletin du Cercle Archéologique, Littéraire et Artistique de Malines* 19 (1909): 217–31 (227).

⁴ CF 24, f. 26r.

⁵ Although Jan's possessions are valued in the register for Brussels (CCB 551, f. 4v), in the Malines register (CCB 553, f. 2v) his wife Jacqueline s'Hertogen is named as widow of 'Jean du Pont'.

⁶ René Goffin, *Généalogies Enghiennoises I* (Château de Grandmetz: Fonds Paternostre de La Mairie, 1964), 78.

⁷ He possessed the lordship of Asse from 24 June 1474 onwards after the death of his uncle Jan van Grimbergen. CCB 555, f. 292v.

⁸ Paul De Win, 'Simon Van Herbais (†1478), een Waals-Brabantse adellijke raadsheer in de Raad van Brabant, en zijn familie', *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander* 95 (2012): 429–68 (461–4).

⁹ Paul de Win, 'Bijdrage tot de genealogie van de Brabantse familie Hinckaert, inzonderheid in de 15de eeuw', *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander* 96 (2013): 503–58 (538–44).

¹⁰ CF 24, ff. 350r–v.

¹¹ J. Chestret de Haneffe, *Histoire de la maison de la Marck, y compris les Clèves de la seconde race* (Liège: D. Cormaux, 1898), 121; L. Galesloot, *Inventaire des archives de la cour féodale de Brabant*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1884), 292.

¹² F. de Cacamp, 'Généalogie des familles inscrites au lignage Steenweegs en 1376 d'après les travaux de Jean-Baptiste Houwaert et les sources originales', *Brabantica. Recueil de Travaux de Généalogie, d'Héraldique et d'Histoire Familiale pour la Province de Brabant* 6 (1962): 559–686 (583).

¹³ CCB 24647, f. 14v.

¹⁴ Paul de Win, 'De kanseliers van Brabant in de 15de eeuw, inzonderheid in de periode 1445–1509', *Handelingen Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 111 (2007): 69–192 (85).

¹⁵ In fief of the abbess of Nivelles: L. Galesloot, *Inventaire des archives de la cour féodale de Brabant*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1884), 199.

¹⁶ Uyttebrouck, *Le gouvernement*, 728; F. de Cacamp and others, 'Généalogie des familles inscrites au lignage Sleeus en 1376 d'après le Liber familiarum de Jean-Baptiste Houwaert', *Brabantica. Recueil de Travaux de Généalogie, d'Héraldique et d'Histoire Familiale pour la Province de Brabant* 4 (1959): 217–340 (333).

¹⁷ De Cacamp and others, 'Généalogie des familles inscrites au lignage Sleeus', 333.

¹⁸ Paul de Win, 'Cherchez la femme. Huwelijksrelaties als bindmiddel tussen mannen met macht in het hertogdom Brabant van de vijftiende eeuw', *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander* 90 (2007): 89–106 (91).

¹⁹ CF 24, f. 80r.

²⁰ CF 24, f. 146r.

²¹ Paul De Win, 'Het Brabantse adellijke geslacht Witthem in de 15de eeuw (vervolg)', *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander* 93 (2010): 437–94 (451–83).

²² De Win, 'Witthem', 490–3.