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‘Mannen van Wapenen’. The Baesweiler campaign and the military labour market of the County of Loon in the fourteenth century’. *

Sander Govaerts MA, University of Amsterdam, Faculty of Humanities, History Department. Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam, The Netherlands. S.W.E.Govaerts@uva.nl

This article examines the background and recruiting mechanisms of horsemen from the County of Loon who fought for the duke of Brabant at the battle of Baesweiler, 22 August 1371. It argues that socio-economic incentives had a major role in fourteenth-century military recruitment and that the service of these men can be studied as a form of labour. The County of Loon became involved in the duke’s war effort through recruitment at different levels in which noblemen mobilized their relatives, friends and retainers. Mounted military service remained strongly associated with noble status, resulting in every man able to equip himself as a heavy cavalryman with two horses, a man-at-arms, being considered as noble to some degree. The article contextualizes the presence of these warriors within a larger spectrum of military service opportunities, and argues that chivalric ideals and military service as a form of labour are complementary.

military service- Low Countries- labour- chivalry- recruitment- County of Loon- fourteenth century- nobility- Brabant- Baesweiler

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Introduction

On 22 August 1371 duke Wenceslas of Brabant suffered the most disastrous setback of his entire reign when his army was defeated by the combined forces of Jülich and Guelders on the fields of Baesweiler. The duke himself and about a thousand men-at-arms were taken prisoner, while approximately one hundred died. Because the duke was forced to recompense his men for the losses suffered during this campaign, which lasted only three days, historians are provided with unique sources to study military service in the late medieval Low Countries. About 1980 names of horsemen can be found in documents relating to compensation payments.

The study of military service in late medieval Europe has benifited from growing scholarly attention in the last decade. Historians use the lists of combatants in the service of English and French kings or Italian city-states, which have been preserved in large numbers, to study the background of combatants, recruiting mechanisms and the warlike character of

late medieval noble families.¹ Nevertheless, the question remains to what extent these studies are representative for military service in other regions, such as the Holy Roman Empire. In the Low Countries documents such as these have generally not been preserved before the Burgundia era.² As Peter Hoppenbrouwers remarked a few years ago for the County of Holland, the noblemen who served as captains of mounted retinues could be identified easily enough, but almost nothing is known about their men.³ Of particular relevance here is the allegedly noble character of medieval heavy cavalry. To what extent did these horsemen really have a claim to noble status and what were their motivations to enter military service? Consequently, the main objective of this study is to use the exceptional evidence provided by compensation payments related to the Baesweiler campaign to study the background and recruiting mechanisms of combatants in the fourteenth-century Low Countries and more specifically the County of Loon.

The choice for the County of Loon as a case study is based on the fact that is a fairly small region that was situated in the middle of the warmaking parties, Brabant-Limburg-Luxemburg on the one hand and Guelders-Jülich on the other. Examining the backgrounds of horsemen from this area will allow us to gain insight in military recruitment on a local scale and across political boundaries, while also maintaining a connection to existing studies about late medieval military service. As will be explained later in this article, horsemen from this area also served in the Hundred Years War and the wars of Italian city-states. Because borders were not drawn very rigidly and the County of Loon was united with the Principality

¹ Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge 1999); Andrew Ayton, “Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth-Century England,” *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth-Century*, ed. Adrian R. Bell and Anne Curry (Woodbridge 2011) 9-60; Adrian R. Bell, *War and The Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge 2004); Adrian R. Bell, Anne Curry et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford 2013); Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du Moyen Âge. Etudes sur les armées des rois de France, 1337-1494* (Paris 1972); Philippe Contamine, “Les compagnies d'aventure en France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans,” *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes* 87:2 (1975) 365-396; Philip Morgan, *War and Society in Late Medieval Cheshire, 1277- 1403* (Manchester 1987); Karl Heinrich Schäfer, *Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien*, 3 vols. (Paderborn 1911-1914); Stephan Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner im Italien des Trecento* (Tübingen 2001); David Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War. From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge 2008); David Simpkin, “Total War in the Middle Ages? The Contribution of English Landed Society to the Wars of Edward I and Edward II,” *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth-Century*, ed. Adrian R. Bell and Anne Curry (Woodbridge 2011) 61-94.

² Frederik Buylaert, Jan Dumolyn et al., “De adel ingelijst. ‘Adelslijsten’ voor het graafschap Vlaanderen in de veertiende en vijftiende eeuw,” *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* 173 (2007) 47-187; Peter Hoppenbrouwers, “Ridders en hun ruiters: het krijsbedrijf in Holland en Brabant gedurende de veertiende eeuw,” *Bourgondië voorbij: de Nederlanden 1250- 1650. Liber alumnorum Wim Blockmans*, ed. Mario Damen and Louis H. J. Sicking (Hilversum 2010) 327-350; Antheun Janse, *Grenzen aan de macht. De Friese oorlog van de graven van Holland omstreeks 1400* (Den Haag 1993); Bertrand Schnerb, “Le recrutement social et géographique des armées des ducs de Bourgogne (1340-1467),” *Guerre, pouvoir, principauté*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Brussels 2002) 53-67; Alphonse Wauters, “La formation d'une armée brabançonne du temps du duc Jean III, de 1338 à 1339,” *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 5:1 (1891) 192-205.

³ Hoppenbrouwers, “Ridders en hun ruiters” (n. 2 above) 336-337.

of Liège in 1366, the geographical area of this study is interpreted as the County of Loon in the strict sense of the word, the count's personal domain and fiefs, with enclaves of the Duchy of Brabant and the Principality of Liège, where the count often had some form of authority. Notably the cities of Saint-Trond and Tongres and their immediate hinterland will be included.⁴

In order to prevent an overrepresentation of knights, who constituted a military and social elite, a distinction is made between knights and other horsemen. Knights are only included if they owned a lordship in the County of Loon, as defined earlier, or belonged to a family that had its power base in the County of Loon. This second criterion is particularly important for knights who had yet to succeed their father or were younger sons. The only exceptions to the rule are Jan van der Donk and Robert van Renswoude, who were respectively high bailiff (*seneschalk*) of Loon and general receiver of the bishop in 1371. Combatants that do not have a knightly title are included when landed property or functions connect them to the County of Loon. The most important source for identifying the combatants are the books of fiefs (lists of homages for fiefs) of the County of Loon, which have been preserved from 1364 onwards. These documents are supplemented with lists of fiefholders of the bishop of Liège and the duke of Brabant. In the case of a few combatants of relatively low status, their name is taken as an indication of origin.⁵

Based on the afore-mentioned criteria, ninety-eight horsemen from this area can be identified. But how should we analyse the military service of these men ? Erik-Jan Zürcher recently proposed the concept of a military labour market (or markets) to examine military recruitment from 1500 onwards in a comparative perspective. It refers to possibilities to engage in and recruit people for military service. Important to stress at this point is that the people included in a military labour market are potential rather than actual combatants. Which possibilities do rulers, states or army commanders have to recruit people for military service in a given area and which possibilities do individuals from that same area have to enter military service. In this way, the specific composition of an army can be explained by combining socio-economic, political, environmental and cultural factors that influence

⁴ Jean Baerten, "De kaart van het graafschap Loon ca. 1300," *Limburg* 44 (1965) 190-236; Jean Baerten, *Het graafschap Loon, 11-14^{de} eeuw* (Assen 1969) 103-116; Jos Molemans, "De politieke en rechterlijke instellingen van het graafschap Loon (1031-1794)," *Het Oude Land van Loon* L/2 (1996) 3- 256.

⁵ *Le livre des fiefs du comté de Looz sous Jean d'Arckel*, ed. Camille de Borman (Brussels 1875); *Le livre des feudataires de Jean III, duc de Brabant*, ed. Louis Galesloot (Brussels 1865); Jozef Grauwels, "Het Loons leenregister van Arnold van Hornes (1379-1389)," *Het Oude Land van Loon* 33 (1978) 53-185; Jozef Grauwels, "Het Loonse leenregister van Jan van Beieren (1390-1413)," *Het Oude Land van Loon* 36 (1981) 5-149; A. Hansay, "Les fiefs du comté de Looz sous Englebert de la Marck," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 74 (1905) 133-178; *Le livre des fiefs de l'église de Liège sous Adolphe de la Marck*, ed. Edouard Poncelet (Brussels 1898); *Les feudataires de la principauté de Liège sous Englebert de la Marck*, ed. Edouard Poncelet, 2 vols. (Brussels 1949).

demand and supply of military labour, while a central role should be conceded to recruiting mechanisms. This concept can also be applied to the late medieval Low Countries.⁶

The choice for the military labour market concept might appear redundant because of the existence of other, more established, concepts that provide similar perspectives. Andrew Ayton's concept of 'military communities' not only emphasises the same interactions between recruiting mechanisms and demand and supply of combatants, elements that are all influenced by external factors, but it is actually based on the available evidence about fourteenth-century English armies. The concept of military communities is of indispensable value in understanding the specific characteristics of Wenceslas' army during the Baesweiler campaign, especially as far as the 'dynamics of recruitment' are concerned. Still, choosing a military labour market(s) concept above that of military communities is more than a question of terminology. Andrew Ayton clearly states that the concept implies the existence of a '*community of the mind and of function, of shared mentality, skills and perhaps focus*'. While some late medieval combatants in the Low Countries certainly engaged in military service time and again, others, perhaps the majority, only occasionally did so.⁷

Recent studies about soldiers in late medieval England also note a high turnover rate in the lower ranks (squires and archers) and a relative stability within military leaders and elite groups (bannerets and knights), at least as far as subsequent expeditions are concerned. It is unclear to what extent the military communities concept is really applicable to these temporary combatants, especially as distinctions between active combatants and the general population were not drawn that rigidly in the fourteenth century. Permanent garrisons are obviously another matter, but they were quite exceptional in the Low Countries. Underlining the uniqueness of a noble 'community of arms', as Sergio Boffa has done, might not be very helpful either as distinctions between noble and non-noble combatants are also very difficult to maintain. Most importantly, perhaps, is that the military communities concept does not take coerced or involuntary military service sufficiently into account. In 1354 for instance, the count of Loon agreed to participate in the siege of the fortress of Gripekoven with three hundred horsemen, sixty men-at-arms and crossbowmen as garrisons, and one thousand peasants (*Lantluyde*) with spades and shovels. Even if feudal obligations are not taken into

⁶ There are of course other studies that use the term 'labour market' in connection to military recruitment, but they do not provide a theoretical background. Also, 'labour market' is often interpreted as the range of 'civilian' occupations available to (potential) military recruits. Erik-Jan Zürcher, "Introduction. Understanding changes in military recruitment and employment worldwide," *Fighting for a Living. A Comparative History of Military Labour 1500-2000*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Amsterdam 2013) 11-42.

⁷ Andrew Ayton, "Armies and Military Communities in Fourteenth-Century England" *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge 2009) 216-221, 224-225.

account, for which the fourteenth-century evidence is somewhat ambiguous, the count is clearly able to enforce military service on a massive scale from the rural population.⁸

The use of a military labour (market) perspective clearly has its own problems, notably the concept of a ‘market’, but it can also inspire new research perspectives if it is combined with other concepts such as that of military communities. There is a reluctance to acknowledge military service as a form of labour, because combatants do not seem to produce any surplus in a traditional sense. That is also the reason why historians such as Erik-Jan Zürcher and Peter Way place much emphasis on manual labour by soldiers and on soldiers as proletarian wage labourers in the early modern period. Officers are generally excluded because they do not fit in this Marxist interpretation of wage labour.⁹ In a similar way, one can argue that the use of the concept of a military labour in the context of the Baesweiler campaign is irrelevant because many of these horsemen had some claim to noble status. For these men mounted military service might have been a way of life, a service or status claim closely connected to their position in society. To Geoffroi de Charny fighting for one’s own ruler or Italian city-states, in crusades and tournaments are all part of the same chivalrous way of life, but there is a hierarchy in the amount of honour and status that can be gained. In this sense, men-at-arms might look as different from early modern infantrymen as to fourteenth-century peasants who had to dig out trenches and perform all sorts of menial labour.¹⁰

However, by 1371 paying someone for military service had more or less become standard practice in the Low Countries, while the conditions in which this same service was carried out became more clearly defined. These changes are commonly interpreted as a transition from ‘feudal’ to ‘contractual’ armies. The concept of ‘labour’ (*arbeid*) in a medieval context does not necessarily refer to manual labour, but to an activity or occupation that provides an income or means of survival. It has a strong connotation of suffering and

⁸ Bell, *War and the Soldier* (n. 1 above) 96-101; Bell, Curry et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (n. 1 above) 34-53, 120-124, 170-171; Sergio Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004) 152-155; Leonard Ennen, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Städte Köln*, 6 vols (Cologne 1860-1879) 4.394-395.

⁹ Jan Lucassen, “The Other Proletarians: Seasonal Labourers, Mercenaries and Miners,” *International Review of Social History* 39:2 (1994) 171-194; Jan Lucassen and Erik-Jan Zürcher, “Conscription as Military Labour: The Historical Context,” *International Review of Social History* 43:3 (1998) 405-419; Peter Way, “Class and the Common Soldier in the Seven Years War,” *Labor History* 44:4 (2003) 455-481; Peter Way, “Klassenkrieg: Die ursprüngliche Akkumulation, die militärische Revolution und der britische Kriegsarbeiter,” *Über Marx hinaus. Arbeitsgeschichte und Arbeitsbegriff in der Konfrontation mit den globalen Arbeitsverhältnissen des 21. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Marcel van der Linden and Karl Heinz Roth, 2nd ed. (Berlin, Hamburg 2011) 85-114; Zürcher, “Introduction” (n. 6 above) 11-18.

¹⁰ Geoffroi de Charny, *Livre de chevalerie*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart-Chroniques*, vol. 1: Introduction, 2e et 3e parties (Brussels 1873) 463-533, 465-483; Geoffroi de Charny, *Livre de chevalerie*, trans. and ed. Richard W. Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny. Text, Context and Translation* (Philadelphia 1996) 55-64, 85-103, 123-129, 175-181; Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des Europäischen Adels*, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen 1989-1995).

pain and is in this sense also used in association with combatants or acts of chivalry.¹¹ From the twelfth century onwards the word ‘soldier’ (*soudener, soldener*) was increasingly used for men who fought for pay and not because it was their duty to do so. In April 1388, for example, the city of Maastricht engaged eight men as ‘soldiers’ (*soudener*). They appear to have been local men, at least one of them had served at Baesweiler, who had to guard and defend the city on a permanent basis. Moreover, they should ‘labor’ on their profit or loss (*arbeyden op hon gewen ende verluis*), meaning that they could keep any booty or ransom, aside from their wages, but had no right to have their losses reimbursed. Some noblemen who travelled to Prussia refused to serve for pay, but only with reimbursement of their losses suffered, in order to distinguish themselves from the Order’s paid troops.¹²

The concept of a military labour market is useful to consider the mechanisms of all forms of military recruitment, just like the military communities concept, but it has the advantage of bringing the history of nobility and labour closer together. It can also stimulate new research regarding the role of chivalry in the development of military professionalism in a way that transgresses distinctions between medieval and early modern armies.¹³ One could certainly consider the travels of noblemen to Prussia as an example of a chivalrous lifestyle, but from the Teutonic Order’s perspective it might also have been a way of recruiting a qualitatively high, but relatively cheap form of military labour. It avoids the assumption that medieval men-at-arms were part of a distinct ‘community of arms’ that was clearly different of other combatants and the rest of society.¹⁴ The connection between nobility and (mounted)

¹¹ Hans-Werner Goetz, “‘Wahrnehmung’ der Arbeit als Erkenntnisobjekt der Geschichtswissenschaft,” *Arbeit im Mittelalter. Vorstellungen und Wirklichkeiten*, ed. Verena Postel (Berlin 2006) 21-34, 27-31; Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, ed. Léon Lecestre, 2 vols. (Paris 1887-1889) 1.20-27; Kellie Robertson and Michael Uebel, “Introduction. Conceptualizing Labor in the Middle Ages,” *The Middle Ages at Work. Practicing Labor in Late Medieval England*, ed. Kellie Robertson and Michael Uebel (New York 2004) 1-15, 4-8; W. van Anrooij, *Spiegel van ridderschap. Heraut Gelre en zijn eredes* (Amsterdam 1990) 42.

¹² A certain Jan IJserman served in the retinue of Robert van Namen, where men-at-arms from Maastricht are known to have served, and is also mentioned in 1388. Claudine Billot, “Les mercenaires étrangers pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans comme migrants,” *Actes des congress de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement public* 18 (1987) 279-286; Herbert Grundmann, “Rotten und Brabantzenen. Söldner-Heere im 12. Jahrhundert,” *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 5 (1942) 419-492; Laura Napran, “Mercenaries and Paid Men in Gilbert of Mons,” *Mercenaries and Paid Men. The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. John France (Leiden, Boston 2008) 287-300; Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen* (n. 10 above) 2.179-181; Jean-Théodore de Raadt, “La bataille de Baesweiler (22 aout 1371). Liste des combattants du duc Wenceslaus suivie de quelques documents pour servir à l’histoire de cette journée,” *Annales de la Société Royale d’Archéologie de Bruxelles* 11 (1897) 460; 17 (1903) 283; *Raadsverdragen van Maastricht 1367-1428*, ed. M.A. van der Eerden-Vonk (‘s Gravenhage 1992) 137.

¹³ Matthew Bennett, “Why Chivalry? Military ‘Professionalism’ in the Twelfth Century: The Origins and Expressions of a Socio-Military Ethos,” *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. David J.B. Trim (Leiden 2003) 41-64; Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner* (n. 1 above) 135-146; David J.B. Trim, “Introduction,” *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. David J.B. Trim (Leiden 2003) 1-40.

¹⁴ Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 8 above) 152-155; Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 151; Claude Gaier, *Art et organisation militaires dans la principauté de Liège et dans le comté*

military service is a significant factor in fourteenth-century military recruitment, but one should not underestimate the importance of other forms of armed service. Moreover, individuals could simultaneously occupy different functions in the military labour market, as will be explained in the last section of this article.

The study will first examine the range of available sources, before proposing a typology of combatants in order to show the difficulty, but also the utility of maintaining distinctions, military or social, between combatants. The term '*mannen van wapenen*' or men-at-arms is examined in detail to show the complicated associations between military and social (noble) status. The next section considers recruiting mechanisms across political boundaries and more specifically the presence of numerous horsemen from the County of Loon in an army led by the duke of Brabant. The final chapter contextualizes the Baesweiler campaign within the military labour market of the County of Loon in the late Middle Ages. The main issue here is to what extent these men relate to more general mechanisms and characteristics of military recruitment in the County of Loon. Finally, some concluding remarks will be made about the relevance of the military labour concept for future research. A list of combatants with references regarding their relation to the County of Loon will be provided in an appendix.

Sources.

As far as the sources are concerned, it is of crucial importance that duke Wenceslas himself and many of his men, about one thousand according to *the Limburger Chronik*, were taken prisoner by the combined Guelders and Jülich forces. It is not just the setback to his political aims and prestige that matters, but the fact that he also had to pay enormous sums to recompense his men.¹⁵ While Wenceslas was released without ransom in 1372 through the intervention of his brother, Emperor Charles IV, duchess Johanna, his wife, had to ask the Estates of Brabant for an exceptional taxation, a so-called *bede*, totalling some 940 000 *mottoenen*.¹⁶ Moreover, given the difficulty of obtaining the necessary funds, it was arranged

de Looz au Moyen Age (Brussels 1968) 180-182; Claude Gaier, "La cavalerie lourde en Europe occidentale du XIIe au XIVe siècle: un problème de mentalité," *Revue Internationale d' Histoire Militaire* (1971) 385-396.

¹⁵ Tilemann Ehlen von Wolfhagen, *Die Limburger Chronik*, ed. A. Wyss, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken* (Hanover, 1883) 4.60-61.

¹⁶ A mottoen is a unit of account, similar to the French *livre* or the English *pound*. As these coins were not used during actual monetary transactions, their intrinsic value did not change. Erik Aerts, "Laatmiddeleeuwse Brabantse rekeningen in het historisch onderzoek," *Gemeentekrediet van België* 142 (1982) 288-294; Joseph Cuvelier, "Le fouage brabançon de 1374," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d' Histoire* 76 (1907) 537-547; G.M. de Meyer, "Middeleeuwse munten en hun gebruik in boekhoudingen," *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis* 3 (2000) 196-217; Anne Moureaux-Van Neck, "L'aide brabançonne de 1374," *Hommage au Professeur Paul Bonenfant (1899- 1965)* (Brussel

that claimants would be reimbursed over a period of six years. The first one sixth of the compensations was paid in Brussels in 1374 and the second share in Louvain in 1375. Jean-Théodore De Raadt published a list of claimants as early as 1897 based on receipts of these payments and Alphonse Verkooren published the receipts again and more extensively. These documents provide us with the total compensation claimed, the name of the claimant, the unit in which he served (the *rotte*) and his seal.¹⁷ The seal can often be essential to identify combatants from the County of Loon, such as Herman van Duren, who is in fact the son of the lord of Widooie (see the full list of combatants in appendix). One should be aware that the claimant and the combatant for whom the compensation is claimed is not necessarily the same person, as Lodewijk van Diepenbeek and Jan Drake claimed compensations in the name of Hendrik van Quaderebbe and Florens Hassel van der Nuwerkerken. Both men were probably killed at Baesweiler.¹⁸

The main issue with these receipts is that they offer an incomplete picture of the duke's army at Baesweiler. De Raadt himself added a relatively small number of names to the list, which he found in the accounts of the *recette generale*. Unfortunately, this source does not mention the exact amount claimed for losses suffered during the campaign.¹⁹ There is, however, another source, the so-called *scadeboic*, which was discovered in the city archives of Louvain in 1907.²⁰ This list mentions about a hundred names more than the receipts. It is divided into a *yerste boek* (f. 1r-74r.), which gives a systematic overview of combatants per *rotte* and two *naboeken* (f. 74v-82v.). The first *naboek* keeps the classification per unit, but the second just mentions individual claimants, not necessarily combatants, with the name of the *rotte* in the margins.²¹ Vincent Van Oeteren, who wrote a thesis about the army of Wenceslas in 1371, argues that the *yerste boek* is in fact a copy of another *scadeboic*, which seems to have been lost. It would have been compiled when the payments of the second share were made in Louvain in 1375. Because only some of the claimants were present at the

1965) 273-283; Raymond van Uytven, *Stadsfinanciën en Stadsekonomie te Leuven van de XIIe tot het einde der XVIe eeuw* (Brussel 1961) 56-67.

¹⁷ Jean-Théodore de Raadt, "La bataille de Baesweiler (22 aout 1371). Liste des combattants du duc Wenceslaus suivie de quelques documents pour servir à l'histoire de cette journée", *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 11 (1897) 278-301, 448-460, 689-691, 12 (1898) 234-246, 341-359, 17 (1903) 267-350; Alphonse Verkooren, ed., *Inventaire des chartres et cartulaires de Brabant et de Limbourg et des Pays d'Outre-Meuse, Ie partie: chartres originales et vidimées*, 8 vols. (Brussels 1910-1923).

¹⁸ The main reference work about seals in the late medieval Low Countries remains Jean-Théodore de Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés des Pays-Bas et des pays avoisinants (Belgique-Royaume des Pays Bas-Luxembourg-Allemagne-France). Recueil historique et heraldique*, 4 vols. (Brussels 1898-1903); Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6 n. 4223. For Florens Hassel van der Nuwerkerken, see the appendix.

¹⁹ The only combatants from the County of Loon who are only mentioned in this source are Willem van Elderen and Godfried van Chin.

²⁰ Cuvelier, "Le fouage brabançon de 1374" (n. 16 above) 537-547.

²¹ Louvain, Stadsarchief (henceforth SAL), Oud Archief, n. 6846 [Scadeboic concerning the battle of Baesweiler].

agreed time, a copy of the original list was made to which names of combatants whose claims were not yet established were added (the two *naboeken*). In sum, this *scadeboic* was used for the payment of the second part of the compensation payments, which dragged on from December 1375 until January 1377.²²

Based on these three sources, about 1980 combatants can be identified. The question is how representative these men are for the army at large. The Limburger Chronik and Jean Froissart note that Wenceslas' army was composed of 2400 to 2500 lances.²³ If we assume, like Vincent van Oeteren and Sergio Boffa, that each combatant represents a 'lance', then about eighty percent of the (mounted) combatants can be identified.²⁴ However, it is very unclear if this reasoning applies because it is based on the assumption that the army of Wenceslas was composed of individual men-at-arms with unarmed servants, as will be explained later. Moreover, Jacques de Hemricourt's famous treatise of the nobility of Hesbaye mentions two important knights from the County of Loon, Willem van Hamal and Gerard van Berlo, who died at Baesweiler and do not appear anywhere in the compensation claims (see list of combatants). It is important to realize that while the *scadeboic* serves as a corrective for the receipts, it does only mention combatants who were indemnified with money from the *bede*. Some combatants, especially high status noblemen who were commanders of rotten, were reimbursed before 1374. Also, it is quite possible that some combatants did not pursue a compensation claim because they suffered only limited losses.²⁵

No contracts have been preserved that reveal the conditions in which Wencelaus' men engaged themselves, but the afore-mentioned sources do reveal that combatants claimed to have their ransom payments, horses, armour and other equipment reimbursed. On the other hand, there is strong evidence to suggest that all prisoners, and perhaps other booty as well, had to be given up to the duke. Duchess Johanna forbade the ducal administration to repay Jan van Pietersheim his full compensation at some point, because he refused to give up his prisoner, a certain Jan van Vlatthem. This can be deduced from a single undated folio, which

²² Vincent van Oeteren, "Recrutement et composition d'une armée brabançonne au XIV^e siècle. Le cas de Baesweiler (1371)" 3 vols. (MA thesis Université Libre de Bruxelles 1986-1987) 1.1, 8-18.

²³ Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn De Lettenhove, 26 vols. (Brussels, 1867-1877) 13.21; von Wolfhagen, *Die Limburger Chronik* (n. 15 above) 60.

²⁴ The cities of Brussels and Louvain sent a contingent of crossbowmen to support Wenceslas, but it appears that they were still on their way to join the main army at the time of the battle (the crossbowmen of Louvain still had not left on the 14th of August and were absent from the city for just six days. Moreover, no chronicle mentions the participation of infantry in the campaign. While several chronicles, including Froissart, do note that an arrow killed the duke of Guelders during the battle, this can also be explained by the use of mounted crossbowmen. Their presence is in fact attested in the Rhine region in the aftermath of the Baesweiler campaign (1372). Werner Schulze, *Die Gleve. Der Ritter und sein Gefolge im Späten Mittelalter* (München 1940) 47-51; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1. 45-48, 58, 119.

²⁵ The connection between the *scadeboic* of Louvain and the *bede* is confirmed by the addition of a list of different localities and the amount of taxes that they have to provide. SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 88r-123v.

names a few combatants together with their compensation claims. The original *scadeboic* is probably based on lists such as these. Jan van Pietersheim eventually gave up his prisoner, because the amount mentioned on this folio corresponds with the reimbursement mentioned in the *scadeboic* of Louvain.²⁶

A system of service conditions appears to have existed in which combatants were compensated for their losses, but had no claim to booty or prisoners. They would certainly have received pay, but given the short duration of the campaign, this amount would have been negligible. Duke Wenceslas arrived in Maastricht on the 17 or 18 August, where most of his army was waiting for him, left on 20 August and was defeated on the 22th.²⁷ The minimum amount mentioned in compensation payments seems to have been around twenty *mottoenen*, which is about the price of a *ronchin*, a horse of very low quality.²⁸ It is therefore quite possible that many combatants did not claim reimbursements. As far as the horsemen from the County of Loon are concerned, we are left with a range of compensation claims ranging from twelve thousand *mottoenen* (Diederik, count of Horne) to nineteen and a half (Albrecht van Veulen).

The main question is to what extent these amounts correspond to social or military status. This is closely related to other issues, for instance the fact that only part of Wenceslas' army, about a thousand lances, or less than half, was taken prisoner, which means that some combatants lost more than others. Given that many horsemen managed to escape, a low compensation claim does not necessarily refer to low social status. The three brothers Jan, Arnold and Nicolas Bolle served together in the *rotte* of Chantraine. Jan, who had without doubt the most landed possessions, received the lowest reimbursement, only thirty *mottoenen*, while his youngest brother, Nicolaas, who did not even possess a proper seal, received thirty-eight *mottoenen*. It is very likely therefore that Jan only lost a horse while his brothers were taken prisoner. Making such observations is impossible, however, without extensive knowledge of the landed possessions of these individuals. The fact that Jan van Montenaken

²⁶ It might seem rather unusual that Wenceslas' men took prisoners, while they lost the battle and were often taken prisoners themselves. From the few details that are known about the battle of Baesweiler the count of Jülich and his men attacked Wenceslas' army by surprise at dawn, but were nevertheless losing the battle until the duke of Guelders arrived with reinforcements. The Brabant rear guard, led by Robert of Namur, failed to respond adequately, resulting in a humiliating defeat. There seems to have existed a 'culture' of prisoners of war in which the victors let the defeated keep their prisoners, which is confirmed by evidence from the Hundred Years War. Rémy Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War. Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2013) 108-109, van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 1. 52-60, 83-84; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 4, n. 2805.

²⁷ van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1. 40, 44, 50- 52.

²⁸ Twenty-five *mottoenen* is also the minimum amount paid for a horse by the duke of Guelders in the prelude of the Baesweiler campaign (the horse of a mounted messenger). Also, in France in 1351, one had to ride a horse with a value of at least twenty *livres tournois* to be accepted as an armed servant. Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 624; A.H. Martens van Sevenhoven, "Een betalingsordonnantieboek van hertog Eduard," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre* 30 (1927) 197-218; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 1.88.

received a lower compensation than his younger brother Godfried, for instance, can be explained by considering that he was deeply in debt and had to sell most of his possessions in the County of Loon. Jakob van Mopertingen, a squire, probably received a low reimbursement of 48 *mottoenen* because he was only a teenager at the time of the battle. Finally, we should be aware that some compensation claims were not meant for individuals, but for men-at-arms and their retinue. The *scadeboic* explicitly mentions that Willem Proest was entitled to a reimbursement of 2163 *mottoenen* for him and his companions (*sine ghesellen*).

Only a few sources provide information in what way it was established how much loss a particular combatant suffered. Willem van Berlo attested that he paid a ransom of two thousand *mottoenen* to the count of Jülich, of a total claim of four thousand seventy two *mottoenen*, while the castellan of Valkenburg was ordered in 1372 or 1373 to come to Brussels with combatants from his region to have their losses estimated by ducal functionaries. They had to declare their losses under oath and by placing their hand on a statue of a saint. From 1374 even regional functionaries were permitted to make estimates for men whose losses were still not recorded, while the two *naboeken* mention combatants whose reimbursement was established about four years after the event.²⁹

Apparently the ducal administration made no estimates of the value of the combatants' horses and equipment before the army departed on campaign, as is common in England.³⁰ There is only one detailed breakdown of a reimbursement made to a particular combatant, a certain Nicolaas van Vianden, who was paid eighty four *francs de France*, of which forty for his ransom, twenty for costs of imprisonment, twelve for loss of armour/equipment and another twelve for loss of a horse when travelling back. Ransom payments appear to have comprised about half of the losses claimed by combatants who were taken prisoner (e.g. Willem van Berlo). The cost of imprisonment has to be added to this amount, leaving loss of horse(s) and equipment as relatively minor causes of reimbursement. Therefore, combatants who could escape from the battlefield, or died, are probably underrepresented in the sources relating to compensation payments.³¹

Reimbursements of this magnitude are rather exceptional in a fourteenth-century context. In England and France, *restauro equorum*, or reimbursing combatants for the loss of one or multiple horses, is well attested until the late fourteenth century, but rulers seem to

²⁹ During the Brabant War of Succession and the chévauchée to Chaligny (1363) the marshal of Brabant and councillors of Wenceclas seemed to have had a significant role in making estimates of losses suffered. van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.81-82; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 3. n.1477, 4. n. 2169, 2209, 2241, 5. n. 2933, 6. n. 4648.

³⁰ Ayton, *Knights and warhorses* (n. 1 above) 85-119; Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War* (n. 1 above) 58- 61.

³¹ De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés* (n. 18 above) 1. 243; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1. 80-92; Verkooren, *Inventaire des chartres*, 6. n. 5266.

have been reluctant to compensate their men for the costs of imprisonment. On the other hand, combatants in England and France only had to give up part of their booty and either received a reward for prisoners or sold them to their commanders. In this regard, it is revealing that the lords of Berlo and Stein both had to pay their ransom to the count of Jülich. In the prelude of the Baesweiler campaign and again in 1398, reimbursements for lost horses are likewise attested in Guelders, but the paid men ('soldiers') who were engaged by the cities of Maastricht and Cologne in the late fourteenth century served 'on their own cost and profit'.³² Duke Wenceslas might have been forced to engage men under such favourable conditions because of the need to assemble a relatively large army with large numbers of horsemen originating from outside his own lands. Similar service conditions are in fact attested during the Brabant War of Succession (1356-1357), when Wenceslas came under attack from three sides: Flanders, Namur and Liège.³³

Still, combatants had to buy their freedom first. There is for instance the declaration of lord Arnold van Zelk, Zelk near Halen in Brabant, of 4 Oktober 1371 that he will recompense two other knights, Arnold van de Wijer and Robert van Leuven, because they paid his ransom of 1300 *gulden* to Roilman, lord of Arendal.³⁴ Arnold and Robert came both from the County of Loon, but had extensive interests across the border with Brabant. In March 1372 Arnold van Stein gives a manor near Roermond to the count of Jülich as pledge for his ransom. It is also possible that some combatants were released without ransom, or with their ransom only incompletely paid, through the intervention of Emperor Charles IV in May 1372.³⁵

Typology of combatants.

³² Ambühl, *Prisoners of War* (n. 26 above) 203-222; Ayton, *Knights and warhorses* (n. 1 above); Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 86-121; Martens van Sevenhoven, "Een betalings-ordonnantieboek" (n. 28 above); Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War* (n. 1 above) 71-72; P.N. van Doorninck, "Voorwaarden waarop de hertog van Gulik en Gelre soldeniers aanneemt om hem te dienen in zijne landen van Gulik en Gelre," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre* VI (1903) 263-265.

³³ In Cologne the city council was obliged to interfere should its 'soldiers' be taken prisoner, but they received no compensation if they lost their horses (although this changed in the fifteenth century). Prisoners had to be given up to the city or their ransom was divided between city and captor. Brigitte Maria Wübbeke, *Das Militärwesen der Stadt Köln im 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1991) 136-150; van der Eerden-Vonk, *Raadsverdragen* (n. 12 above) 137; Verkooren, *Inventaire des chartres* (n. 17 above) 3.

³⁴ *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, ed. S. Bormans and E. Schoolmeesters, 6 vols. (Brussels 1893-1933) 4. 485- 486.

³⁵ The captors mentioned in the ransom payments of Baesweiler combatants are not necessarily the men who took them prisoner on the battlefield. As Rémy Ambühl has remarked, a complex trade in prisoners existed in the Late Middle Ages, with prisoners of high status typically being sold to rulers and/or army commanders. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War* (n. 26 above) 111-115; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.60.

A list of combatants from the County of Loon can be found in an addendum that notes the name of the horseman, the amount of his reimbursement, his connection to the County of Loon and some further remarks. The next two sections will organize the combatants according to their social and military status in order to comment on the backgrounds of mounted warriors in the late medieval Low Countries, on which very few is written so far due to a lack of sources. In fourteenth-century Brabant mounted warriors can be distinguished either through their social status, having a knightly title, or through their military-administrative function. The most common distinctions are therefore between *riddere ende knechten/ riddere ende knapen*, or between *mannen van wapenen* and *pansieren*. The expression *riddere ende knechten* is explicitly used in the context of the Baesweiler campaign, in the *scadeboic* for example, while the distinction between *mannen van wapenen* and *pansieren* is derived from other sources, some relating to the Brabant War of Succession and others originating from the County of Loon itself.

The word *knecht* (*sergent* or *sergeant*) has multiple meanings in a late medieval context and can either refer to a servant or to any (paid) warrior who does not have a knight's title. This is clearly connected to the social position of warriors of non-knightly status in armies of the High Middle Ages. In the Low Countries the word *soldier* (*soldaat/soldat*) replaces the word *knecht* from the late sixteenth century onwards.³⁶ The word *knaap*, which is sometimes used interchangeably with *knecht*, refers originally to a young man, a servant, such as pages who served in the retinue of knights, but in the fourteenth-century it is increasingly used to refer to squires, the lowest level in the noble hierarchy.³⁷ Contemporaries use the expression *man van wapenen*, *man-at-arms* or *homme d'armes* both to refer to a certain type of combatant, a heavy cavalryman who is head of a 'lance' and a social status. In this second sense it is a synonym for *knaap*. The word *pansier* refers to an armoured cavalryman with a single horse (*pansier* means cuirass). During the Brabant War of Succession at least, a *pansier* receives only half the pay of a *man van wapenen*. This corresponds with differences

³⁶ Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 7 above) 130; Peter Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen 1994) 27-53; Philippe Contamine, *La guerre au moyen âge*, 4th ed. (Paris 1994) 161-164; Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 13-21, 174-183; Lutz Fenske, "Der Knappe: Erziehung und Funktion," *Curialitas. Studien zu Grundfragen der höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Göttingen 1990) 55-127, 60-62; 97-104; Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War* (n. 1 above) 91-102; Erik Swart, "From 'Landsknecht' to 'Soldier': The Low German foot soldiers of the Low Countries in the second half of the Sixteenth Century," *International Review of Social History* 51 (2006) 75-92; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 21 above) 1.115- 119.

³⁷ I am grateful to dr. Frederik Buylaert for providing me with a copy of his conference paper. Matthew Bennett, "The Status of the Squire: the Northern Evidence," *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge 1986) 1. 1-11; Fenske, "Der Knappe: Erziehung und Funktion" (n. 36 above) 60-104; Frederik Buylaert and Bert Verwerft, "Chivalry and State Formation: Redefining Social Mobility in Fifteenth-Century Flanders" (Conference paper, Structure, Change and Discourse in Pre-Industrial Europe: Towards a Cross-disciplinary Study of Social Inequalities, Ghent, 9 April 2011); Antheun Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late Middeleeuwen*, 2nd ed. (Hilversum 2009) 87-92.

in wages between *écuyers* and *sergents* or *gros valets* in France. Within the category of men-at-arms in Brabant, no administrative distinction is made between those that have a knightly title and those without.³⁸

The notion of ‘lance’ will now be explained further. A lance is in the Low Countries and neighbouring regions a common way to refer to a man-at-arms and his retinue. In fourteenth-century Brabant a lance seems to consist of a man-at-arms with two horses, meaning the man-at-arms with a servant. In the Late Middle Ages the average ‘lance’ tends to increase in size and become more complex, until in the Burgundian era they consist of six or more men, including infantrymen.³⁹ In practice, anyone who is able to equip himself as a man-at-arms with two horses has some claim to noble status, because even the men who do not have a knight’s title are denoted as squires. Similar practices are attested in England and France.⁴⁰ In the County of Loon the terms *man van wapenen*, *knape te wapen*, *knape van wapenen*, *wapenier* and *armiger* are all common ways to refer to squires (*knapen*) and are actually used in association with men from urban backgrounds who served at Baesweiler.⁴¹

In the fourteenth century the definition of ‘noble’ is still fairly fluid, but it is significant that sons of knights who did not yet have a knightly title started to call themselves *jonker* (esquire or *damoiseau*) to distinguish themselves from other squires. As ‘esquire’ is a salutation and ‘squire’ a title it is not uncommon to see these two terms together. Robert van Gelinden, son of the knight who served at Baesweiler, is designated in 1385 as ‘*joncher Robeerts va(n) Glinden(,) mans va(n) wapen*’.⁴² On the other hand, descendants of knights who were not able to equip themselves as men-at-arms risked being treated as *pansieren*, which means that their noble status could be called into question. In France, squires who serve with a horse below a certain minimum standard are still called squires, but they receive the pay of an armed servant, while Jean Le Bel and Jacques de Hemricourt criticize their contemporaries for blurring distinctions between heavily armed men-at-arms, recognizable by their heraldic devices, and humble servants or *pansieren*.⁴³ The relatively humble status of

³⁸ Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 8 above) 217- 220; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.110-119; Schulze, *Die Gleve* (n. 24 above) 40-48.

³⁹ Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 196-197; Schulze, *Die Gleve*.

⁴⁰ Bell, Curry et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (n. 1 above) 104-107; Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 13-15, 174-183.

⁴¹ The sons of Hendrik Borgher and Amelius Lexhy are denoted as ‘man van wapen’, while Jan Bolle van Rijkel is called ‘wapenier’. E. Houtman and J. Molemans, “Cijnsregister van het Bruyninxhof te Brustem (1300),” *Het Oude Land van Loon* 30 (1975) 278; Joseph Moors, *De oorkondentaal in Belgisch Limburg* (Brussels 1952) n. 1, 49, 50, 69, 73, 74, 80, 138, 151, 155, 156.

⁴² Buylaert and Verwerft, “Chivalry and state formation” (n. 37 above); 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) 536-538; Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland* (n. 37 above) 89; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 50.

⁴³ Jean Le Bel, *Chronique*, ed. Jules Viard and Eugène Deprez, *Chronique de Jean Le Bel*, 2 vols. (Paris 1904-1905) 1.126-127; Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 19-22, 621-630; Jacques

pansieren in the County of Loon is confirmed by an agreement between the village of Bocholt and the city of Hasselt in 1388. Bocholt would receive the privileges of citizenship, but in exchange they had to provide the city in wartime with twenty-five crossbowmen and either twenty-five horsemen (with *pansieren*) or pikemen.⁴⁴

The term ‘lance’ not only refers to a practical military reality, but also functions as an administrative term. In Brabant, two crossbowmen could be considered as a ‘lance’ in accounts, a fact that is also attested in the accounts of the Teutonic Order, where a lance consisted of three men. Someone’s status is reflected in both the number of men in his retinue and their equipment. Therefore, high status noblemen would have brought a relatively large retinue of armed and unarmed men to battle, who might or might not serve in his ‘lance’. In general, the more horses a man-at-arms has, the more men in his lance. If they are only two horses, the second man is generally an unarmed servant (*petit valet*), an armed servant (*gros valet*) or mounted crossbowman appears with the third horse.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, we should refrain from imposing a man-at-arms/unarmed servant organisation on the men who fought at Baesweiler. In contrast to Boffa’s argument, the addition of the word *knecht* with some combatants, such as Libert van Kortijs, does not necessarily imply that the man is unarmed. He was certainly of relatively low status; he is called simply the *knecht* of Pierlot de Vinalmont on multiple occasions without even mentioning his name, but he did receive a reimbursement separate from his master, while the height of this reimbursement is comparable with that of other combatants such as Jan van Rutten, Albrecht van Veulen and Abraham van Kortijs.⁴⁶

Table 1. Terminology used to describe the horsemen who served at Baesweiler.

Expression	Social Status	Military status
<i>Ridder</i> (knight)	Noble	
<i>Knaap</i> (squire)	Noble (ambiguous status)	
<i>Knecht</i> (valet/sergeant)	Any armed man below the rank of knight, including squires	
<i>Man van wapenen</i> (man-at-	Synonym for squire	Head of a lance, armoured

de Hemricourt, *Le Miroir des nobles de Hesbaye*, ed. C. de Borman, A. Bayot and E. Poncelet, *Oeuvres*, 3 vols. (Brussels 1910- 1931) 3. 39-40.

⁴⁴ ‘Vijffindwintich man met voetboeghen ende vijffindwintich man te perde, met *pansieren* oft vijffindwintich met piecken’. J. Gessler, “Le droit de bourgeoisie de Bocholt et la créance Bormans sur cette commune,” *Mélanges Camille de Borman: recueil de mémoires relatifs à l’histoire, à l’archéologie et à la philologie, offert au Baron de Borman* (Liège 1919) 171.

⁴⁵ Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 8 above) 196-197; Sven Ekdahl, *Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/1411*, 2 vols. (Cologne, Vienna 1988-2010) 1.19-22; Schulze, *Die Gleve* (n. 24 above) 5-7, 37-40, 67, 79-89.

⁴⁶ Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant*, 130-131; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.116- 118.

arms)	horseman with at least two horses and a servant
<i>Pansier</i>	Armoured horseman with a single horse

Based on the differences between knights and *knechten* or men-at-arms and *pansieren*, a distinction can be made between three types of combatants: knights, men-at-arms who did not have a knightly title ('squires') and *pansieren*. Knights generally claimed a reimbursement of about one thousand to two thousand *mottoenen* if they were knights bacheliers, while knights bannerets and captains of *rotten* received up to twelve thousand *mottoenen*.⁴⁷ The group of knights consists of twenty-four men (of ninety-eight identified combatants, that is twenty-five percent). Given that knights can be identified much easier and are generally overrepresented in the available sources, this number exceeds the percentage of knights mentioned in the compensation claims, about seventeen percent, or the real percentage of knights in the army, which was probably lower.

Considering that the County of Loon, as defined in this article, counts about forty-four knights in 1371, more than half of the knights in the county would have been present at the battle. Some knights, such as Lodewijk van Loon, lord of Horpmaal, or Arnold van Rummen would have been too old to serve themselves and did not have legitimate male heirs.⁴⁸ Lodewijk van Diepenbeek probably refrained from participating because he was a fief-holder of both the duke of Brabant and the count of Jülich, while Diederik van Binsfeld, lord of Spalbeek, was a member of a Jülich noble family.⁴⁹ Moreover, the group of knights present at Baesweiler might actually have been even higher. Willem van Stevoort, younger brother of Arnold, lord of Stevoort, acted as a guarantee on 30th June 1372 when duke Wenceslas promises to recompense Regnier van Schoonvorst (Schönau) for losses suffered

⁴⁷ Due to the lack of sources that make a clear distinction between knights bannerets and knights bacheliers, only a few knights bannerets could be identified. Most of them are members of the Brabant nobility, who are identified as such on fifteenth century convocation lists for the *Staten* of Brabant. The right to carry a banner instead of a simple pennon (and therefore to lead a group of knights in battle) is connected to the possession of certain prestigious lordships. Hamal (an imperial immediacy) is such a lordship. Willem van Hamal (died 1279) is explicitly depicted with a banner on his tombstone. Mario Damen, "Heren met banieren. De baanrotsen van Brabant in de vijftiende eeuw," *Bourgondië voorbij: de Nederlanden 1250- 1650. Liber alumnorum Wim Blockmans*, ed. Mario Damen and Louis H.J. Sicking (Hilversum 2010) 139-158; Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 83-87 (n. 37 above); Etienne van Caster and Roland Op de Beeck, *De grafkunst in Belgisch Limburg* (Assen 1981) 46-48.

⁴⁸ The number of knights in the county of Loon in 1371 is based on the books of fiefs. de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 149, 230; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 2.193, 243; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 135.

⁴⁹ The lord of Diepenbeek did however claim a reimbursement for losses suffered by his late father-in-law, Hendrik van Quaderebbe, who commanded a *rotte* at Baesweiler. de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 63-64; Francis Goole, "Heraldische merkwaardigheden te Brustem", *Het Oude Land van Loon* 30 (1975) 130-132; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 13; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6, n. 4223.

during the campaign. Nine out of ten other witnesses can be identified as veterans of the battle. Willem also receives a fief-rent from the duke in the years after the battle.⁵⁰

Furthermore, it can be deduced from the book of fiefs of the County of Loon that Jan van Gotem, another knight who is not mentioned in the compensation claims, was knighted between July 1371 and twelve March 1372.⁵¹ This is significant because the second important characteristic of the knights presented at this battle is that some of them were knighted during the Baesweiler campaign (Proest, van Guighoven, Marteal, van Leuven). The approximate periods of attaining knighthood are given in the appendix. In fact, the number of knights in the County of Loon seems to have increased by at least ten percent as a result of the Baesweiler campaign. The suggestion that some squires were knighted during the Baesweiler campaign is even confirmed by a wager in the County of Holland in 1387. A certain Jakob de Gruter was convinced that Gijsbrecht van IJselstein was knighted during the Baesweiler campaign, while Gijsbrechts's servant denied that. As it turned out, Gijsbrecht was still a squire in 1387.⁵²

The men-at-arms of non-knightly status constitute a very large and diverse group, about fifty-sixty men, whose compensation payments generally range from about a hundred to several hundred *mottoenen*. The wealthiest squires received reimbursements, which could rival those of knights (e.g. Rikard van Luke, two thousand one hundred and seventy eight *mottoenen*). On the other hand, distinctions between men-at-arms and *pansieren*, which are only based on their compensation payments, remain problematic. Disparities between these groups are complicated by the fact that squires could serve as 'lances', meaning with a retinue, just as knights did, while others fulfilled the traditional role of supporting their master in battle. Arnold van Stein was for instance supported by Jan van Brugghe, who is denoted as *tshere knape van Steine*, while Jan Oem was supported by two squires whose receipts he sealed.⁵³ Robert of Gelinden, a knight, served as a squire at the battle of Stavoren (1345) according to Froissart, because he supported Jean de Beaumont in battle.⁵⁴

This diversity is also reflected in these men's social origins: twelve squires can be identified as sons of knights, one of the few unambiguous signs of noble status. Only five of them became knights themselves: Hendrik van Boekhout (before his death around 1383), Willem van den Bossche (around 1391), Raes van Berlo (around 1374), Walter van Holede

⁵⁰ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 2, 53, 91, 97; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 4. n. 2916; 6, n. 4821, 7, n. 5046, 5057, 5146, 5170, 5277, 5386, 5441, 8, n. 6048.

⁵¹ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 95, 107, 126.

⁵² Antheun Janse, "Ridderslag en ridderlijkheid in laatmiddeleeuws Holland," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 112 (1997) 325.

⁵³ Jan de Rode (92 *mottoenen*) and Leonard van Hocstoten (222 *mottoenen*). De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés* (n. 18 above) 3, 56-57.

⁵⁴ A knight is expected to have a retinue of his own. Jozef Brouwers, "Ridder Robert van Gelinden (14^{de} eeuw)," *Limburg* 57:1 (1978) 3-5; Froissart, *Chroniques* (n. 23 above) 4.324-328, 505; Louis Galesloot, *Inventaire des archives de la cour féodale de Brabant* (Brussels, 1870) 1.261- 262.

(before his death around 1390) and Robert van Vorssen (1397-1402). There are ten combatants who can be identified as noble bastards. Five of them are indeed illegitimate sons (Harduemont, Pietersheim, La Marck and the brothers Langdries), while the others were legitimate descendants of bastards (the three brothers Bolle, van Loon and van Doerne). Six of them were sons of knights and they are all descendants of prominent noble families. After all, it is very unlikely that bastards of obscure squire families would have had the resources to equip themselves as armoured horsemen.

The relationship between these ‘squires’ and urban backgrounds is complicated. Twenty men-at-arms can be identified as members of prominent families from Saint-Trond, Tongres and Hasselt-Kuringen. At least half of them held a function as alderman/counsellor or bailiff in these same cities, while another two came from the small towns of Borgloon and Bilzen (van der Biest and van Hoelbeek). It is uncertain how many of these men had any claim to noble status, even though some of them are denoted as ‘squire’. Names such as Borgher or Cleyne Jans clearly point to a non-noble origin, but other combatants who seem to have been descendants of knights (van Werm, van Vorssen, van Langdries, La Marck, van Loon) also established themselves in cities. Richard von Louchen, a member of an alderman/councillor family of Aachen, was probably one of the richest men in the region around Tongres and a new hospital was established with part of his inheritance. Christiaan van der Biest, a member of the prominent van der Blockeriden family in Saint-Trond, was bailiff of the town of Loon, but inherited the lordship of Pas-Saint-Martin from his mother. Finally, Arnold van Dijk, alderman of Saint-Trond, was the son of a knight who also served as alderman in the same city.

Pansieren compose the smallest and most obscure group among the combatants who could be identified. Because of their relatively low status they are underrepresented and their presence is often only tacitly attested (e.g. Willem Proest and his companions). These men might not have been taken prisoner, but just had to give up their equipment and horses.⁵⁵ They could be divided into two main groups: genuine servants who follow a man-at-arms into battle and squires or men claiming some form of gentile status, who are not able to equip themselves as a man-at-arms. The first group counts about seven men (van Kortijs, van Kortijs, van Rutten, Turnier, van Tongeren, van Veulen), while the second group is more difficult to identify, but might include men such as van Amelsdorp, van Bolder, Nicolaas Bolle, Borggreve, Caenveld, van Niel, van Mopertingen, van der Putten, van Rijkel and Vrederics. The origin of these both groups is comparable to that of mounted archers in

⁵⁵ Taking lower ranking combatants or even non-combatants prisoner for ransom is also quite normal. In 1379, for instance, a certain Zaddelare, a varlet (armed or unarmed servant) from Saint-Trond, was taken prisoner during an armed conflict between Brabant and Liège. Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4.567; Ambühl, *Prisoners of War* (n. 25 above) 89-91.

England.⁵⁶ In fact, it is quite possible that there were mounted crossbowmen among them (see note 24). Even when the man-at-arms who these servants followed can be identified, such as Jan van Gutschoven in the case of Jan van Rutten and Albrecht van Veulen, it is unclear what their exact relationship was. Libert van Kortijs was probably a servant who followed his master, Pierlot de Vinalmont, in peace and in war, but Albrecht and Jan might just have been recruited for this particular campaign. Jan van Gutschoven was lord of Veulen and (part of) Rutten and he could have demanded one horseman from each of his lordships.

The second group includes men who not only received a relatively low reimbursement, but also appear to have had meagre landed possessions. They were probably not able to equip themselves as well as providing a servant with a second horse. Some of them might have had some claim to noble descent, while others did not (van der Putten, Vrederics). Nicolaas Bolle and to a lesser extent his brother Arnold are denoted as ‘here Bolle’ on several occasions in the book of fiefs. They felt the need to emphasize that they were sons of a knight, a sign that their noble status was being questioned. Their older brother Jan simply calls himself ‘van Rijkel’, because his possession of a lordship is a sufficient assurance that he is able to uphold a noble lifestyle. Herman Borggreve is another noteworthy example because he seems to be descendant of the former castellans of Brustem, a ministeriales family.⁵⁷ He did in fact possess the castellan’s manor until 1357, when he was forced to sell it to a wealthier branch of the same family, who was still able to attain knighthood. Adam van Mopertingen possibly served as a page or squire because of his young age.

Finally, there is one combatant who demands some further attention because he is unlike any of the other combatants present at Baesweiler. Hendrik van Sint-Truiden is a sixty-three year old priest brother from the Order of Saint- John and served as captain of his own *rotte*. The name ‘van Sint-Truiden’ is not a real surname, but is simply a reference to his place of origin. His coat of arms suggests that he is a member of the Copis family, a family of aldermen. As commander of the commandery of Chantraine, he stood at the head of all possessions of the Order of Saint- John in the Low Countries. He was also treasurer of the Order from 1357 till 1380 and served as counsellor of Wenceslas. Whereas Hendrik would certainly classify as one of the more unusable combatants, he would still have had significant military experience.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Gary Baker, “Investigating the Socio-Economic Origins of English Archers in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century” *Journal of Medieval Military History* 12 (2014) 173-216; Bell, Curry et al., *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (n. 1 above) 152-171.

⁵⁷ A. Claassen, “De torenburcht van Brustem” *Het Oude Land van Loon* 30 (1975) 57-59.

⁵⁸ Brethren of the Order of Saint-John (knights and priests) had to serve at least for four seasons on the Orders’ fleet before they could be promoted to a commander’s post. Helen J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge 2001) 86.

Recruitment mechanisms.

The concept of the military labour market, as defined by Erik-Jan Zürcher consists of three main elements: recruiting mechanisms, demand and supply of combatants or military labour. In the context of the Baesweiler campaign it is vital to study the ways individual combatants are connected to duke Wenceslas, as their military service appears to be characteristic for ‘mercenaries’, i.e. based on a combination of monetary rewards and recruitment across political boundaries. The captains of individual *rotten* have a central role in these recruitment mechanisms, as a *rotte* is not a tactical unit, but refers to the retinue of a captain, who is not necessarily entitled to carry a banner. The Late Middle Ages are characterized by a slow and complex transition from a ‘feudal’ army to a ‘contractual’ one. This means that there is an evolution from combatants serving a limited amount of time out of feudal obligations to combatants who agree to serve for pay for an indefinite period.⁵⁹ While the twelfth-century ‘*solidarii*’ or paid men were still an exception, by the early fourteenth century paying combatants for military service had become the norm. Feudal obligations still played a significant part in military recruitment, but rulers now used feudal summons as a way of recruiting their most motivated fief holders for remunerated service, while those who failed to respond had to pay a fine or fee.⁶⁰

The Brabant army of 1371 also included a specific group of five or six *rotten*, out of sixty-four, that are called *bede*. *Bede* means a request, such as a voluntary taxation. In this context, however, it seems to imply that these men had no obligations towards the duke, but came voluntarily, as ‘mercenaries’. The ‘regular’ *rotten*, in contrast, would have been composed of fief holders of the duke.⁶¹ In practice, however, such distinctions cannot be made. Many combatants in regular *rotten*, had no direct connection to the duke (see the *rotten* of van Namen, van Schoonvorst and van Diest), while some members of the *bede* were closely affiliated with the court, such as the lord of Pietersheim. The most likely explanation of the peculiar position of the *bede* in the army is proposed by van Oeteren. He notes that

⁵⁹ Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 8 above) 206-221; Contamine, *Guerre, état et société*, 38-64, 212-215 (n. 1 above); Contamine, *La guerre au moyen âge*, 275-296 (n. 36 above); Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War* (n. 1 above) 151-185; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.121-131.

⁶⁰ Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 46-55; Janse, *Grenzen aan de macht* (n. 2 above) 254-258; Kelly R. DeVries, “Medieval Mercenaries: Methodology, Definitions and Problems,” *Mercenaries and Paid Men: The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. John France (Leiden, Boston 2008) 43-60; Claude Gaier, “Analysis of the military forces in the principality of Liège and the County of Looz from the twelfth to the fifteenth century” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, ed. William Bowsky (Lincoln 1965) 2.212-229; A. Mens, “De ‘Brabanciones’ of bloeddorstige en plunderzieke avonturiers (XIIe-XIIIe eeuw)” *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer* (Louvain 1946) 558-570; Herbert Grundmann, “Rotten und Brabantzen” (n. 11 above) 424-436; Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War* (n. 1 above) 183-185.

⁶¹ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.80-93, 103-108, 2. 280-294.

Wenceslas own retinue, the *huusgesinde* (household troops), composed a *rotte* of only thirty men. Given that one's retinue reflects one's status, it is doubtful that these are Wenceslas only followers. The largest *rotte*, that of Robert van Namen, counts 173 horsemen. Therefore, it is the *bede* in their entirety that constituted Wenceslas personal retinue within the army.⁶²

Vincent van Oeteren further proposes that the members of the *bede* would have been men of very diverse origin that joined the army individually or in small groups and were organised into *rotten* under the duke's direct command. This is confirmed by the expression '*allerhande riddere ende knechte ter mijner bede*' for one of the *rotten*.⁶³ Additionally, the roll of arms of the battle of Kuinre in the Wapenboek Beyeren, which show the composition of the army of the count of Holland in 1396, demonstrates that the count's own retinue was the largest and most diverse, with nobles from Loon and Liège fighting alongside noblemen from Holland-Zeeland, Hainaut, Brabant, Flanders, England and France. Fief holders living outside the count's own territories (Holland-Zeeland-Hainaut) were requested (*gebeden*) to come, while the others were obliged to.⁶⁴ The fact that some of the horsemen in Wenceslas army were requested to come, while others were obliged to, is confirmed by Froissart and the Chronique Liégeoise de 1402 (*Wencelinus [...] convocavit et mandavit omnes nobiles patrie sue ac episcopatus Leodiensis, comitatus Namurcensis et multos alios amicos suos*).⁶⁵ Nevertheless, as far as combatants from the County of Loon are concerned, there is no reason to assume that the position of captains in the *bede* was any different from that of other *rotten*.

Captains of larger *rotten*, such as Robert van Namen, but also Hendrik van Diest or Renier van Schoonvorst, could not have had personal connections to all the men serving in their retinue. These retinues were assembled by bringing several sub retinues together, or by contracting 'lieutenants'.⁶⁶ These lieutenants are key figures in military recruitment mechanisms that operate at several levels: duke-captains-lieutenants-individual men-at-arms-servants. In many cases, the question how many combatants were fief holders of the duke of Brabant is less relevant than the ways individual combatants are linked to their retinue leader.

⁶² van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 2.280-290.

⁶³ SAL, n. 6486, f. 33r; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 2.289-290.

⁶⁴ The following nobles from the County of Loon are mentioned in the roll of arms: Engelbert van der Marck, lord of Vogelsanck, Jan van Grevenbroek (son of Robert van Renswoude), Arnold and Willem van Stevoort (nephew or son of lord Willem van Stevoort who might have served at Baesweiler), Robert van Gelinden (son of the knight who served at Baesweiler), Adam van Kerkom and Jan van Veulen (son of Jan van Gutschoven who served at Baesweiler, he was knighted during the campaign). Adam van Kerkom and Jan van Veulen were probably part of a group of men-at-arms sent by the bishop of Liège (who was a son of the count of Holland), while the others seem to have been connected directly to the count of Holland. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Medieval Manuscripts, Wapenboek Beyeren, part 3, Roll of arms of the battle of Kuinre, 1396; Janse, *Grenzen aan de macht* (n. 2 above) 251-267.

⁶⁵ La *Chronique Liégeoise de 1402*, ed. Eugène Bacha (Brussels 1900) 356; Froissart, *Chroniques* (n. 23 above) 13. 20.

⁶⁶ Ayton, "Military Service" (n. 1 above); Bell, *War and the Soldier* (n. 1 above) 115-188; Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War* (n. 1 above) 112-150.

This confirms the views of Andrew Ayton and David Simpkin, who already noted the importance of these key figures in their studies.⁶⁷ There are a few horsemen serving in the *rotten* van Wittem, van Limburg, Godenarts, van Rotselaar and Maastricht, that seem to have had extensive connections to the duke or leading members of the Brabant nobility. However, even in these *rotten* combatants from the County of Loon did not necessarily serve because of these links. Willem van den Cruce, a citizen of Zoutleeuw in Brabant, possessed landed property in the Kozen-Wijer area (County of Loon), which means that his relationship with Arnold, lord of Wijer and Kozen, was probably the main factor in his recruitment. Arnold was in his turn connected to the lord of Rotselaar, captain of the *rotte*, because he possessed the lordships of Hoeleden, Vorst and Meerhout in Brabant.

In general, the presence of a large number of combatants from the County of Loon indicates how a recruiting system composed of multiple levels allows the duke of Brabant to recruit men in a labour market where he would normally have only limited access. Because of a transition to contractual armies, the demands placed on a ruler's own labour market become more selective, while at the same time rulers try to get more access to other labour markets. Combatants are nevertheless still recruited at different levels by using 'vertical' and 'horizontal' networks (*gheselle* and *ghesinde*), in a similar way to feudal armies. Given that all horsemen received wages, whether they were fiefholders of the duke or not and that connections to one's retinue commander provide the main motivation for service, we should refrain of calling these men 'mercenaries'.

The *rotte* of Hendrik van Diest is a good example, as it counts eight combatants from the County of Loon, mostly from the area around Tongres, where the lord of Diest had no interests at all. The key figure here is Willem van Elderen, who owned the lordship of ('s Heren) Elderen in the County of Loon, while he inherited some lands around Tirlemont in Brabant from his mother. Hendrik van Diest owned several fiefs in this same area and also recruited some of his retinue here.⁶⁸ It is therefore Willem who brought the seven other horsemen with him, possibly with the assistance of Hendrik Marteal, who owned a neighbouring lordship. In a similar way, the recruitment of two combatants of the County of Loon in the *rotte* of Raes van Linter can be explained by Hendrik van Boekhout's possession of land in Rummen near Linter, while Brunekin van Thys held fiefs in Corswarem near Boekhout.

The *rottes* of Chantraine and Oupeye similarly show captains who are directly linked to the duke (as councillor and holder of a fief rente respectively), while very few of their men

⁶⁷ Ayton, "Armies and Military Communities" (n. 7 above) 217-219; Ayton, "Military Service" (n. 1 above); Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy* (n. 1 above) 182.

⁶⁸ There is on the other hand no indication that Hendrik van Diest recruited men in Zelem, his lordship in the County of Loon. van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.177.

had direct links to Brabant. Moreover, even for those combatants who owned allegiance to the duke, the relationship to their captain appears to have been a far more important factor in their recruitment. Lambert van Oupeye recruited mainly near his lands in the north of the Principality of Liège for example, while Hendrik of Sint-Truiden recruited his entire *rotte* in and near his birthplace, the city of Saint-Trond. Iwein van Montferrant held Montferrant in fief of the duke, but gave it to the Order of Saint-John before 1383, thus proving that the relationship between him and his commander goes much further than joint military service.⁶⁹ A similar remark can be made about Hendrik van Guighoven, who served in the *rotte* of Seraing. He and his captain owned fiefs on different sides of the Loon-Liège border (Riddersherk and Kolmont respectively). The family of Guighoven disputed Diederik van Seraing's possession of Riddersherk until Hendrik and his brother formally refrained from any further claims, in 1372, just months after the battle of Baesweiler.⁷⁰

A comparable case can be made for the *rotte* of Renier van Schoonvorst. His uncle had been abbot of Saint-Trond until 1350 and his father used this influence to encroach upon lands of the abbey. The key figure for the recruitment in the County of Loon is probably lord Jan van Duras, who owned a prestigious lordship close to the city and also had some interests across the border with Brabant. Moreover, he was also a fief holder of the abbey for lands in the region around Herk-de-Stad. The other combatants can either be connected to the city of Saint-Trond or to the region around Herk-de-Stad and Hasselt. Only Arnold van Loon had a direct connection to Regnier van Schoonvorst, as he is called alderman/councillor (*schepen*) of Zichem in 1383, a lordship owned by Regnier.

Recruitment for the *rotte* of Robert van Namen is more complicated, as this *rotte* was the largest of them all (one hundred and seventy three known horsemen) with thirty men coming from the County of Loon. Furthermore, they originate from three different areas: the area around Bilzen-Tongres in the east, Montenaken in the west and Alken-Hasselt in the centre-north. The immediate entourage of prince-bishop Jan van Arckel seems to have had a central role in the recruitment of these men, especially since they occupied leading positions in the County of Loon at the time. His entire retinue, who followed him from Utrecht to Liège in 1364, with the exception of Jan Oem, fought in this *rotte*.⁷¹ In fact, the receipt of Jan

⁶⁹ Even the four horsemen from the *rotte* of Chantraine who did not originate from the County of Loon seem to have originated from the region around Saint-Trond: Willem van Jancour (140 m), Arnold van Villers (136 m), Hellin van Villers (334 m) en Jan Vilroux (98 m). The coats of arms of Arnold en Hellin van Villers (three stirrups) suggest affiliation with Wauter Smernijer (see the appendix).

⁷⁰ Stanislas Bormans, "Les seigneuries féodales de l'ancien pays de Liège (I)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeois* 10 (1866/1870) 132, 373-374.

⁷¹ Jan van der Donk, Jan van Rijnestein, Robert van Renswoude, Jan Oem, Nicolaas Oem and Antonius van Wettinghen. Jan van Rijnestein is not included in this study, even though he is included on a list of knights from the County of Loon, which dates from the late fourteenth century. While he did become high bailiff of the County of Loon in the years after Baesweiler, he held neither fiefs nor functions in the County in 1371. de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 125, 132; Joseph Habets, "Les chevaliers

Cromme explicitly mentions that he served under Robert van Arckel (van Renswoude). Moreover, Willem Proest and Jan van Jonkhout, two close supporters of the bishop, who would become respectively high bailiff of Loon and Maaseik in the years after Baesweiler, also served in this *rotte*. They certainly had to influence to recruit men in the eastern parts of the County of Loon. On the other hand, the recruiting reach of other leading nobles should not be underestimated, such as Jan van Harduémont, whose father owned lordships near Montenaken and Hasselt and served under Robert van Namen in 1363. Willem van Hamal might also have fought in this *rotte*, especially given that the fathers of Willem van Hamal and Jan van Harduémont fought together during the Brabant War of Succession.⁷²

Horsemen from the County of Loon included in the *bede* either serve in the *rotte* of the lord of Brederode (ten men) or the *rotte* of Jan Oem (four men). As far as these combatants are concerned, the position of the captains in the *bede* versus the other *rotten* does not look to be much different. The composition of the retinue of the lord of Brederode, a nobleman from Holland who has no connection to the County of Loon, appears to confirm van Oeteren's hypothesis at first glance.⁷³ However, if one considers that the key figure here is Robert van Gelinden, their presence actually confirms that recruitment mechanisms operate at different levels. Robert not only owned considerable fiefs in the County of Loon, but his family was also a close supporter of the counts of Hainaut-Holland and his father had been a councillor of the duke of Brabant. He would almost certainly have known the lord of Brederode and brought the other combatants with him. It is revealing that the nine remaining men all originate from areas concentrated around the possessions of the van Gelinden family in the County of Loon. In the case of Jan Oem, the horsemen from Loon can be connected to him through neighbouring lordships or his function as high bailiff of Maaseik. The lord of Pietersheim and Jan Oem brought their own retinues with them, but it is unclear if these men came from the County of Loon.

Nevertheless, finding links between individual combatants does not necessarily explain why they served together. The personal relationships between these men are very complicated and the available sources can offer only a glimpse. While we might well find connections between combatants that served together, there could have been other connections that we are unaware of, but were more important in explaining military recruitment. The village of Vechmaal/Fumal near Tongres for example, counts three combatants who served at Baesweiler, but in three different *rotten*: Walter van Holede (*bede*),

du pays de Liège en 1387," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeois* 8 (1866) 173; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 8, n. 569; Geneviève Xhayet, *Réseaux de pouvoir et solidarités de parti à Liège au Moyen Age (1250- 1468)* (Genève 1997) 169.

⁷² van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.164-165; Verkooren, *Inventaire des chartres* (n. 17 above) 2, n. 958, 1195; 3, n. 2240, 2241.

⁷³ Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland* (n. 37 above) 230-231, 284-288, 305-307, 435; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2, 285.

Herman (Oupeye) and Hugo Coene (Namur). Walter van Holede is lord of one half of Sint-Pieters-Horne, a hamlet near the village, while Herman and Hugo are probably related to the noble family van Horne, who own the other half of this lordship. They are citizens of the city of Liège, although they are still being denoted as ‘de Fumal’. The fact that Herman and Hugo (father and son) serve under different captains is particularly intriguing as they are always mentioned together as witnesses in the book of fiefs of the County of Loon.

While this section shows how the duke of Brabant gained access to the military labour market of the County of Loon through some key figures, this should not be taken to mean that this access was easy or unproblematic. I mentioned the unusually favourable serving conditions of combatants in the Baesweiler campaign earlier. Duke Wenceslas had to assemble a particularly large army and convince potentially hostile men-at-arms to join him. After all, many men-at-arms from Namur and Liège had fought against him in the Brabant War of Succession.⁷⁴

These men could easily change sides again, if the circumstances presented themselves, even if they were fief holders of the duke. In fact, the lack of sufficient compensation arrangements (not only for the combatants themselves, but also for money lent to the duke in the aftermath of the campaign) and the insecure political situation (death of bishop Jan van Arckel in 1378) soon caused the outbreak of armed conflict between the erstwhile allies. Jan and Willem van Duras raided the area around Zoutleeuw, while Arnold van de Wijer burned down four manors of the abbey of Tongerlo.⁷⁵ The urban militia of Liège burned down the fortress of Pietersheim in retaliation for an attack on the urban militia of Tongres by Jan van Pietersheim and his bastard sons. Men from Liège also took prisoner Tielman van IJzeren, a man-at-arms of Maastricht, who had fought alongside them under Robert van Namen in 1371. Earlier, in 1375-1376, the urban militia of Saint-Trond had already tried to take Wenceslas prisoner near Hasselt, when he travelled through the County of Loon. They also besieged the fortress of Binderveld, owned by Godfried van Montenaken, who was a close supporter of the duke.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ In this regard, it is also useful to point out that Wenceslas rear-guard at Baesweiler, which was composed of men-at-arms of Liège and Namur led by Robert van Namen and Lambert van Oupeye, was accused of surrendering without putting up much of a fight. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 8 above) 3-10; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.54-55.

⁷⁵ Given that the lords in question had extensive interests across the border in Brabant, it is likely that they only used the tensions between Brabant and Liège to pursue their own feuds. The lack of compensation payments for Baesweiler veterans is explicitly mentioned as a grievance during the peace talks, while men of Saint-Trond tried to take Wenceslas prisoner because he failed to repay a loan given to him in the aftermath of the Baesweiler campaign. Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4. 560-575.

⁷⁶ Jacques Brouwers, “De heren van Pietersheim (12^{de}- 15^{de} eeuw),” *Limburg* 72 (1993) 29-30; Theo Coun, “Een Middelnederlandse rol van ca. 1420 over de betwistingen tussen Jan II, heer van Pietersheim en de stad Maastricht,” *Limburg-Het Oude Land van Loon* 89:1 (2010) 87-96, 89:3 (2010) 25

The military labour market of the County of Loon in the fourteenth century

In order to understand the presence and background of mounted warriors of the County of Loon at the Battle of Baesweiler, their service will now be examined within the context of general demand and opportunities for military labour, the military labour market of the County of Loon. The most common way to study military service in the late medieval Low Countries is to divide combatants into three or four distinct groups: men-at-arms, urban militia, rural militia and ‘mercenaries’.⁷⁷ In practice, however, distinctions between these categories can easily become blurred. One of the essential characteristics of the military labour market is that individuals can have multiple roles, depending on the circumstances. These multiple roles are crucial in explaining military recruitment. Let us first consider the group of men-at-arms, as the combatants who were present at Baesweiler closely correspond to this category. It is well established that the counts of Loon before 1361, meaning before the union with Liège, had about three hundred horsemen at their disposal. The bishop had about five hundred.⁷⁸ Deriving the potential amount of men-at-arms in the military labour market of the County of Loon from these figures is difficult, however, as we have to deal with multiple overlapping labour markets. Neither the counts of Loon or the bishops of Liège and dukes of Brabant could exploit the full potential of men-at-arms theoretically available to them at any given moment in the fourteenth century. At the same time the question remains whether they really wanted to.

From the thirteenth century onwards mounted military service became less compulsory and rulers no longer expected every one of their fief holders to serve. In the fourteenth-century Low Countries, rulers still called on their vassals to fulfil their feudal duties, but this was simply a request to either negotiate contractual military service or pay a fine. Also, rulers tried to establish contacts with as many foreign nobles as possible, often by giving them fief rents. This way, they gained access to other military labour markets or military communities. The previous section showed how captains and other key figures were

269-284, 89:4 (2010) 345-355; François Straven, *Inventaire Analytique et chronologique des archives de la ville de Saint-Trond* (Sint-Truiden 1886) 1.95-102; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 8. n. 5744.

⁷⁷ J. Balon, “L’organisation militaire des Namurois au XIV^e siècle,” *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur* 40 (1932); Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 8 above); Gaier, “Analysis of the military forces” (n. 60 above); Janse, *Grenzen aan de macht* (n. 2 above); J.F. Verbruggen, *De krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen (IXe tot begin XIVe eeuw)* (Brussels 1954).

⁷⁸ Gaier, “Analysis of the military forces” (n. 60 above) 220-225.

closely connected to the duke, while ordinary men-at-arms often lacked such connections. The goal of rulers therefore was not to gather as many men-at-arms as possible, but men-at-arms that were experienced and provided good equipment. Furthermore, the potential number of men-at-arms available to them in their own estates seems to have started to decline from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century onwards. As a result of these factors Wenceslas' army was not only recruited in his own estates in Brabant, Limburg and Luxemburg, but also in Loon, Liège, Namur, Hainaut-Holland, France, Flanders and the Holy Roman Empire.⁷⁹

Consequently, men-at-arms could own allegiance to multiple rulers, which means that there was some competition for their service. We know of forty-seven names of men-at-arms who lost horses when they served with Diederik van Heinsberg, count of Loon, during the 1338-1339 campaign. The count served under the duke of Brabant at the time, who in his turn was contracted by the English King Edward III to serve against the French. None of these men can be connected with certainty to the County of Loon and most of them originated from the count's German lands (Heinsberg and Blankenberg).⁸⁰ At the same time, the lords of Diepenbeek, Pietersheim, Seraing, Harduémont and van de Wijer were directly contracted by the duke to serve him, while other men-at-arms from the county would have served with the bishop of Liège. He was contracted by the French king to serve with seven lord bannerets, seventy-three knights and four hundred twenty squires. Additionally, Froissart notes Robert of Gelinden's actions in the army of the count of Hainaut and the count's own son, Godfried van Heinsberg, served with his father-in-law, the duke of Guelders.⁸¹

The lack of support for count Diederik can easily be explained by his insecure power base, as he was only officially recognised as count of Loon by the bishop in 1347. Still, it is unclear to what extent the count was able to access the labour market of his own county during the Brabant War of Succession, when he once again supported the duke against the bishop. The lords of Hamal, Harduémont and Rummen served the duke directly, but they were not the only ones: Herman van Gelinden, elder brother of Robert van Eggertingen, lost a horse in the service of the duke, while a certain Jan van Niel also received payment for his services.⁸² At the same time, Diederik van Spralant, either the knight who served at Baesweiler or his father, and Arnold van Schimper, lord of Mulken in the principality of

⁷⁹ Balon, "L' organisation militaire" (n. 77 above) 35-36; Bryce D. Lyon, "The Fief- Rente in the Low Countries. An Evaluation," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d' Histoire* 32 (1954) 449- 463.

⁸⁰ Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 2. n. 536, 552, 553, 554, 621, 630, 667, 677, 688, 689, 949, 950, 3, n. 1470, 1545, 1676, 1726, 1817, 1818, 1905.

⁸¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Françaises, 9239, f. 233 v. Cited in: Francis Balace and Claude Gaier, "Catalogue", *Fastes militaires du pays de Liège*, ed. Claude Gaier et al. (Liège 1970) 124; Joseph Coenen, *Limburgsche oorkonden*, 4 vols. (Maaseik 1939-1942) 4. n. 3783; Froissart, *Chroniques* (n. 23 above) 4. 324-328, 505; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 2, n. 528, 532, 543, 547, 558.

⁸² Verkooren, *Inventaire des chartres* (n. 17 above) 2, n. 958, 1195, 3, n. 1280, 1348, 1351, 1378, 1477.

Liège, supported the count of Loon. They took merchants from Brabant prisoner in 1360 because the duke failed to recompense the count and his men. Most remarkably perhaps, is the fact that Everard 't Serclaes, of a prominent patrician family of Brussels, had served with the count of Loon.⁸³

This competition for the military service of men-at-arms is further complicated by environmental constraints. In the High and Late Middle Ages, mounted warriors from Loon or Liège are rarely distinguished by these political boundaries, but by environmental ones. They are typically described as being from 'Hesbaye', referring to the fertile loam and clay soils in the south of the County of Loon, north of the Principality of Liège and eastern parts of Brabant and Namur. This region is home to one of the largest concentrations of men-at-arms in the Low Countries because of its suitability to provide surpluses for martial elites. There are often multiple squire families in a single village and some lordships are so small as to comprise only hamlets (see van Holede, Coene and Spralant in the appendix). In addition, there is intense competition between counts, bishop and duke for these lands, meaning that the region is thoroughly politically fragmented. About eighty combatants from the County of Loon had their principal possessions in this region or originated from this area, while most of the others had at least some interests here.⁸⁴

The other two geographical areas of the county, the Campine and the banks of the Meuse River supplied far fewer combatants, but the combatants who were present were members of the most prominent families in the county. The lands bordering the Meuse River tended to be very fertile, but were also politically independent. Many of the lordships situated here, notably Pietersheim and Stein, were held directly in fief from the Emperor (imperial immediacies).⁸⁵ The Campine, on the other hand, is characterised by poor sandy soil, which was brought under cultivation through the efforts of peasants, with stimuli of the counts of Loon. There were originally very few fiefs in this area, but because of succession problems (1334-1366) large lordships became established. Godfried van Chiny, illegitimate son of Godfried van Loon-Heinsberg, obtained Gruitrode, while Jan van Hamal received several villages that would later be called the lordship of Vogelsanck (Zonhoven, Zolder, Houthalen,

⁸³ Henry Baillien, "Het leengoed Mulken" *Het Oude Land van Loon* 3 (1948) 21, 39; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 3, n. 1733, 1746, 1768, 1790, 1824.

⁸⁴ de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.120; Gaier, "Analysis of the military forces" (n. 60 above) 216-217, 224-225.

⁸⁵ A complete list of imperial immediacies is provided by Johan Van der Eycken, "Ridders aan de Maas. Adel in het graafschap Loon (1300-1520)" 2 vols. (PhD thesis Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 2015) 1.374-376.

Viverselle and Stokrooie) because he supported Arnold van Rummen, pretender to the County of Loon.⁸⁶

Service to one of the multiple rulers in the Low Countries hardly provides the full spectrum of military service available to fourteenth-century men-at-arms from the County of Loon. Besides travels to Prussia and the Holy Land, there was the opportunity of fighting in the Hundred Years War, on either the French or the English side, and even entering the service of Italian city-states. The accounts of Pisa in particular reveal the presence of multiple combatants originating from the County of Loon, one of whom, Arnoldo de Brusten, might have served at Baesweiler ten years later under the name Arnold de bastaard van Gelinden.⁸⁷ It should also be stressed that men-at-arms serving in retinues of great lords who travelled to Prussia received regular pay, which means that we should not neglect the prospect of material gain, even for campaigns that are traditionally considered part of a noble lifestyle.⁸⁸

These statements are confirmed by the observations of contemporaries. Jean Le Bel, a chronicler from Liège, notes that when men-at-arms from Hesbaye, the lords of Harduement, Seraing and Duras are explicitly mentioned, went to Calais in 1359 to await the arrival of the English king, they were motivated by the prospect of gaining so much that they would never be poor again. Also, whereas some came voluntarily to attain honour, others came for monetary gain.⁸⁹ He also records that the while the men-at-arms of Brabant, Liège, Cologne, Jülich and Valkenburg were always ready to serve and came in large numbers, they also had to be paid up front. Furthermore, the herald Gelre made a series of poems about the chivalrous deeds of nobles from the Meuse-Rhine area. One of these describes the heroic actions of lord Adam van Mopertingen, a relative of Jakob van Mopertingen. His fought in Scotland in 1327, where he was knighted, at Mont-Cassel (Flanders) in 1328, in France, Italy, Poland (Krakau), twice in Prussia and Lithuania, in Romania and for the Genoese Republic. Interestingly enough, there is no mention of him serving his actual overlords, the count of Loon or the duke of Brabant. The most remarkable of his military actions, which resembles

⁸⁶ Baerten, *Het graafschap Loon* (n. 4 above) 133-134, 148-150; J. Behets, *De plattelandsgemeente in het graafschap Loon en het omliggende van de vroege Middeleeuwen tot aan de Franse Revolutie* (Bokrijk 1969) 24-25; Molemans, “De politieke en rechterlijke instellingen” (n. 4 above).

⁸⁷ Aside from Arnoldo de Brusten, the following men probably originate from the County of Loon: Rainaldo de Santroy (Saint-Trond), Arnaldo de Lon (Loon/Borgloon), Ghiellisi de Tungari (Tongres), Guischino de Tonghes, Gerardo de Tongher, Anichino de Tongher, Gottifredo de Loen (possibly a bastard from the Loon-Heinsberg family), Guilichino de Amalia (Hamal), Redichino de Lon, Henrico de Lon, Rechino de Tongarn and Arnaldo de Ecch (Maaseik). Schäfer, *Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien* (n. 1 above) 3.104, 107, 150, 151, 166, 174, 178, 187, 193, 194, 219, 228, 233, 261, 263, 278, 290, 303; Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner* (n. 1 above).

⁸⁸ Members of the van Gelinden and van Stevoort families served the counts of Holland and Jan van Blois during their travels to Prussia and received regular pay. H.G. Hamaker, *De rekeningen der graafelijkheid van Holland onder het Henegouwsche huis*, 3 vols. (Utrecht 1875-1878) 3.154, 157; Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen* (n. 10 above) 1.68-69, 2.168-170, 179-181.

⁸⁹ *Ains estoient les aucuns venus de leur volonté pour leur avancier en honneur, et les aultres pour gaagnier.* Le Bel, *Chronique* (n. 43 above) 1.123, 2.289-296; John A. Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War* (Westport 2006) 266-267.

those of Chaucer's famous knight, is a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It is said that pirates attacked Adam's ship, resulting in the death of his fellow knights and his having to walk several miles with undressed wounds. According to the herald, he endured all this out of honour and certainly not for pay (*Dit leit hi al duer ere. Ende zeker nyet om tsout*). This remark is significant in itself, but one can wonder why it is included when the narrator already emphasized in the previous lines that Adam was in mortal danger.⁹⁰

Men-at-arms are situated at the upper echelons of the military labour market and as such have some leeway in choosing the conditions of their service. Ideas about fighting for honour and chivalry rather than economic gain (labour) are still very strong, but most nobles or men-at-arms seem to have adopted a fairly practical attitude towards these issues. While Jacques de Hemricourt and Jean le Bel criticize the fact that the nobility of Hesbaye no longer follows the *poursuit des armes* as much as they used to, they make no remarks about fighting for pay (see note 43). Even the Herald Gelre called northern Italy, home of the earliest 'military companies', a school of arms.⁹¹ In the case of the Baesweiler campaign it is of particular relevance that Willem Proest is the first member of his family to attain knighthood. The Proest/Proost family, a family of aldermen from Liège, had been slowly gaining status and appropriating the lordship of Millen for decades, but Willem had to take part in a major military campaign to make the final step towards ennoblement. In a similar way, the family Copis from Saint-Trond, where Hendrik van Sint-Truiden was probably a member of, attained knighthood in the decades after Baesweiler.

The Baesweiler campaign provides us with a unique glimpse of the military labour market of the County of Loon in the fourteenth-century. While there were many opportunities for military service, especially as men-at-arms, throughout Europe, the assembly of an army of this size in the Low Countries, even more in their own region (Maastricht), is something that happens only once a decade, maybe even once every generation. That is the reason why the participation of men-at-arms from the County of Loon is exceptionally high, with almost every able-bodied knight present at the battle. Usually, campaigns consist of smaller armies, a few dozen or hundred mounted warriors who raid the enemies' possessions. These conflicts

⁹⁰ Other noblemen from the County of Loon also served in the Scottish campaign of 1327, on request of the count of Hainaut. Gisalbert van Heers (father of Jan van Gutschoven) and Diederik van Heinsberg (future count of Loon, knighted during the campaign) are mentioned by Le Bel. Heraut Gelre, *Ereredes Wapenboek Gelre*, ed. Victor Bouton, *Wapenboeck ou Armorial de 1334 à 1372, précédé de poésies héraldiques par Gelre, héraut d'armes*, 10 vols. (Brussels, Paris 1881-1905) 1.89-96, 243-247; Supplément, 11-14, 20-22; Le Bel, *Chronique*, 1.17, 38-42, 123; van Anrooij, *Spiegel van ridderschap* (n. 11 above) 29-43, 144-162, 197-202.

⁹¹ However, consider Terry Jone's provocative interpretation of Chaucer's knight and Maurice Keen's reply. Maurice Keen, "Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade," *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages*, ed. Maurice Keen (London 1996) 101-120; Terry Jones, *Chaucer's Knight. The Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary* (London 1982; first published in 1980); van Anrooij, *Spiegel van ridderschap* (n. 11 above) 183-184, 193, 211.

might be pursued by rulers, but also by individual nobles, who are just as capable to raise armies and pursue their own wars.⁹²

One can have multiple roles in the military labour market. The same individuals, who served as men-at-arms in the retinue of prominent nobles during the Baesweiler campaign, would have led small armies in regional or local conflicts. It is far from clear to what extent it is possible to make distinctions between seigniorial and ‘real’ wars, both in the perception of contemporaries and the people involved. Cities or noblemen could be obliged to supply military aid at their own expense as a form of punishment for feuding, aside from the well-known pilgrimages.⁹³ Moreover, several of the men present at Baesweiler were bailiffs, meaning that they were responsible for local defence. Boudewijn de Corthijs for example, bailiff of Montenaken, would have been a major figure in the defence of the Brabant-Loon/Liège border. The high bailiffs or castellans of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Valkenburg led their own *rotten* at Baesweiler and these functions played a central role in the recruitment of their retinues.⁹⁴

As a result, the role of infantry within the military labour market should not be underestimated. Usually, little value is attributed to the infantry component of the army of the counts of Loon. While the urban militias of the county do seem to have been far less aggressive and numerous than their counterparts from Liège, which included the urban militias of Saint-Trond and Tongres, there is no reason to doubt their effectiveness in local defence.⁹⁵ An assault by Hendrik van Haalbeek, guardian of Echt (Guelders), with an

⁹² Firnhaber-Bakers’s article about techniques of seigneurial war makes several assumptions about supposed differences, mainly about technology and the professionalism of combatants, between seigneurial and ‘real’ wars. The size of the armies assembled for the Baesweiler campaign is what distinguishes them from other conflicts (seigneurial or otherwise). There is no real difference in technology or strategy; it is just a huge raid. On the other hand, powerful lords (van Arckel or van Rummen) would certainly have been able and actually did use expensive and complex technology such as siege equipment or gunpowder weapons. Bell, *War and the Soldier* (n. 1 above) 9-33; Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (n. 8 above) 224-226; *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Trond*, ed. Camille de Borman (Liège 1877) 322-325; 328-333; Contamine, *Guerre, état et société* (n. 1 above) 151-170; Justine Firnhaber-Baker, “Techniques of seigneurial war in the fourteenth- century” *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010) 90-103; Gaier, *Art et organisation militaires* (n. 14 above) 61-66; Christophe Masson, “La guerre des Awans et des Waroux. Une ‘vendetta en Hesbaye liégeoise (1297-1335) 1re partie” *Le Moyen Age* 119:2 (2013) 403-448; Aart Noordzij, “The Wars of the Lord of Bronkhorst. Territory, Lordship, and the Proliferation of Violence in Fourteenth-Century Guelders” *The Medieval Low Countries* 1 (2014) 61-93; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 1.151-153; Marinus Jacobus Waale, *De Arkelse oorlog, 1401-1412: een politieke, krijgskundige en economische analyse* (Hilversum 1990).

⁹³ The city of Saint-Trond in 1376 and Godfried van Chiny in 1385. Maastricht, Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg (henceforth RHCL) 20.001 A Indivieze Raad Maastricht, n. 2020; Straven, *Inventaire* (n. 76 above) 96-97.

⁹⁴ Jan Kuys, *Drostambt en Schoutambt. De Gelderse ambtsorganisatie in het kwartier van Zutphen ca. 1200-1543* (Hilversum 1994) 100-103; Geert Souvereyns, “De gewestelijke en lokale overheidsinstellingen van het graafschap Loon tot 1795. Deel 2: Drossaardambten in het graafschap Loon” *Limburg-Het Oude Land van Loon* 93:4 (2014) 325-355; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.209-219.

⁹⁵ Gaier, “Analysis of the military forces” (n. 60 above) 241-254.

unknown number of men-at-arms (*armigeri*) on the village of Houthalen in 1364 failed, resulting in three wounded men-at-arms and twenty dead horses⁹⁶ The defence of strategic fortresses, such as Montenaken, Brustem, Kolmont and Stokkem was the responsibility of the local population as well as castellans. They only seem to have suffered from their meagre socio-economic base, as these settlements never developed into cities.⁹⁷ In fact there are several sources that point to the crucial, be it obscure, part played by infantry in the labour market of the counts of Loon, such as the afore-mentioned contingent of Bocholt in 1385, the role of the count of Loon in the siege of the fortress of Gripekoven in 1354 and a conflict between the lord of (Genoels)Elderen and the villagers about a army waggon (*heerwagen*) in 1431.⁹⁸ Finally, there is the appearance of a certain Jacobus in the book of fiefs of the counts of Loon. When Hendrik Greven (*rotte* of Schoonvorst) died in 1394, his wife paid homage for his fiefs, with *Jacobus dictus brigant* as her guardian. The name *brigant* or *brigand* refers to an armoured infantryman who serves in a military company, thus suggesting a link between different components of the military labour market (men-at-arms Baesweiler- urban militia-paid infantry service).⁹⁹

Conclusion

The aim of this article is to use the horsemen from the County of Loon who fought at the battle of Baesweiler as a case study to examine fourteenth-century military recruitment within the context of the Low Countries, an area which provided many of the combatants that fought in France and Northern Italy, but whose internal recruitment mechanisms have been largely ignored up till now. Their backgrounds and recruitment mechanisms were studied by using the concepts of military labour and military labour market in order to provide a general perspective on all forms of military service. Mounted military service in the fourteenth century remained fundamentally connected to noble status and chivalry, but that does not

⁹⁶ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond* (n. 92 above) 322-325; Charles Piot, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, 2 vols (Brussels 1874) 2.48-49.

⁹⁷ Baerten, *Het graafschap Loon* (n. 4 above) 118-131; Molemans, “De politieke en rechterlijke instellingen” (n. 4 above) 32-33, 199-215.

⁹⁸ In some parts of the County of Loon, it was customary to divide the countryside into ‘heertgangen’ or ‘heerwagens’ (quarters), which had their own communal lands and communal herd, but also had to supply one waggon, with associated troops, in wartime. Hasselt, Rijksarchief (henceforth RAH) Archief van de heren van Genoelselderden, n. 15; J. Behets, *De plattelandsgemeente* (n. 85 above) 24-25; Ennen, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln* (n. 8 above) 4.394-395; Rombout Nijssen, “Een akkoord tussen de heer en de gemeente van Genoelselderden over hun heerwagen 13 november 1431,” *Limburg-Het Oude Land van Loon* 88:2 (2009) 187-191.

⁹⁹ Ambühl, *Prisoners of War* (n. 26 above) 88-89; Ewart Oakeshott, *European Weapons and Armor. From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution* (Woodbridge 2012, first published in 1980) 193-194; Valérie Toureille, *Vol et brigandage au Moyen Âge* (Paris 2007, first published in 2006) 44-46; Nicholas Wright, “‘Pillagers’ and ‘brigands’ in the Hundred Years War” *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983) 15-24, 59; Nicholas Wright, *Knight and peasants. The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge 1998) 57, 89-95.

mean that the horsemen themselves were all noblemen or that more practical incentives were of lesser importance. Considering mounted military service as a form of labour might actually help us to improve our understanding of the role of chivalry in the development of military professionalism. Making sharp distinctions between ‘feudal’ and ‘contractual’ armies or ‘chivalrous behaviour’ versus ‘monetary gain’ is unhelpful, as these factors do not necessarily exclude each other. The horsemen themselves appear to have shared fairly practical attitudes towards these issues and were quite content to serve their own rulers, enter service abroad, serve for glory and/or for pay as circumstances permitted.

These observations are reflected in the ambiguous term ‘*mannen van wapenen*’, which blurs distinctions between a military function, a horseman who is head of a ‘lance’, and a social title, squire as the lowest level in the noble hierarchy. Extensive research regarding the backgrounds of these men reveal the contradictions between squires, descendants of knights, no longer able to serve as men-at-arms and men of non-noble background assuming squire status because of their service as men-at-arms. All these men are recruited through ‘horizontal’ and ‘vertical’ networks, in which prominent nobles act as ‘key figures’ that recruit their friends, family and dependants to serve with them. Because these men have extensive interests across political boundaries, they also provide rulers with entrance to military labour markets where they would normally have only limited access.

At the same time, it has to be stressed that the Baesweiler campaign is exceptional, both in the magnitude of the army that was assembled and the conditions in which these men served. It thus provides a unique view of the mechanisms of military service in the County of Loon. Many of the horsemen who fought in this campaign would probably not have served on a regular basis, although others certainly did. The role of these men in local conflicts should not be neglected either. In the end, the Baesweiler campaign is an exceptional event, but one that does have major long-term consequences. Not only did it bring many horsemen and the duke himself into financial difficulties for years to come, it also fuelled grievances between Wenceslas and his erstwhile allies and caused a steep rise in the number of knights in the County of Loon.

Appendix.

The following pages provide a list of the combatants of the County of Loon who served at the battle of Baesweiler. They are organized according to the unit (*the rotte*) in which they served and the sequence of the *rotten* is adapted from the *scadeboic* of Louvain. For every individual are given the height of his reimbursement, his connection to the County of Loon (1.) and some further remarks (2.). As far as the names of the combatants are concerned, the Dutch ‘*van*’ is used instead of the French ‘*de*’ because their names are written down as such in the

scadeboic and the receipts. In most cases it is a reference to the names of their lordships or those of their family, rather than a real surname. In practice, many horsemen would have spoken French, which is reflected in actual surnames such as de Corthijs. The south of the County of Loon, Hesbaye, is in effect part of a transition zone between Dutch and French dialects and many combatants might have been bilingual, or at least able to understand simple commands in the other tongue. Jacques de Hemricourt remarks for example that Raes de Waroux was sent to the household of the lord of Heers as a young man to learn ‘honour and Dutch’.¹⁰⁰ Finally, it should be mentioned that the houses of these horsemen are denoted as fortresses or towers/manors in the book of fiefs. The former category is in historical research often described as castles and the latter as moated sites.

Rotte of Robert van Namen.¹⁰¹

Younger son of the count of Namur, marshall of Brabant in 1368. Led an expedition to Chaligny for Wenceslas in 1363. One of the most famous warriors in the Low Countries in 1371. Fought on the English and French side in the Hundrd Years War and travelled several times to Prussia.

This rotte counts 173 men, of whom 31 originate from the County of Loon.

Bilzen, Willem van. 437m.¹⁰²

1. His coat of arms is composed of three leaves of a lime tree, which suggests according to Adhemar von Linden that he is a fief holder of the abbey of Munsterbilzen. Their abbess was a member of the noble family von Linden.

Bolder, Stas van. 61m.¹⁰³

1. Fiefs near Millen in 1365 and Val-Zichem in 1381.
2. Also described as Stas van Val.

Borg(h)er of Borghellin, Hendrik. 892m.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.452.

¹⁰¹ Werner Paravicini, “Das Haus Namur im Ostseeraum,” *Edelleute und Kaufleute im Norden Europas*, ed. Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern 2007) 61-69; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.230-231.

¹⁰² SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above) f. 8v.; Adhemar von Linden, “Urkundliches über die van Lynden (I): Das Wappen der Grafen und Freiherren von Linden in Bayern und Württemberg,” *De Navorscher* 57 (1908) 410; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5. n. 3309.

¹⁰³ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 24; Grauwels, “Hornes” (n. 5 above) 60, 101; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3333.

¹⁰⁴ SAL, (n. 20 above) n. 6486, f. 8r; Jean L. Charles, *La ville de Saint- Trond au Moyen Age* (Paris 1965) 462; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above); J. Grauwels, “Beieren” (n. 5 above) 9-10; Grauwels, “Hornes” (n. 5 above) 59; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 1; Piot, *Cartulaire* (n. 96 above) 1.LX, 2.21; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 572-573; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5.n. 3352.

1. Bailiff of Hasselt in 1371 and bailiff of the abbot in Saint-Trond in 1378-1379, Fiefs in Runkst (Hasselt) in 1379 and in Hasselt, Kuringen, Runkst, Stevoort and Zolder in 1390. There is also a Borgershof in Saint-Trond.

2. Also called Borghellin. His father Herman is bailiff of Kuringen and is called *armiger*. His mother is a daughter of Hendrik van Regen, Herman's predecessor. His son, Hendrik, is councillor of Vliermaal, the most important regional court in the county, and is called *man van wapen* in 1398. Considering the family's position near the count's fortress and capital (Kuringen-Hasselt), it is not impossible that they originate from the entourage from the counts of Loon.

Brugghe van, Jan. 296m.¹⁰⁵

1. Originates probably from Stein. A Heynrick van Bruggen is mentioned as living in Stein in 1470.

2. Is denoted as *tshere knape van Steine* (squire of lord Arnold van Stein).

Caenveld, Herman van. 32m (squire).¹⁰⁶

1. Owned a fief in Halmaal, but gave it up to his older brother Lambert in 1367.

2. Caenveld is a hamlet near Melveren. His father is called *armiger*.

Cleyne Jans, Josse. 552m.¹⁰⁷

1. Fiefs and rents near Tongres and Mal. Councillor of Tongres in 1376.

2. The family Cleyne Jans counts several councillors and a canon among its members. There is also a family Grote Jans in Tongres.

Coene de Fumal, Hugo. 176m.¹⁰⁸

1. Son of Herman Coene, who serves with the lord of Oupeye.

2. Is called Coene de Fumal/van Vechmaal and Hughe Harman Coents sone.

Corthijs, Boudewijn de. 380m (squire).¹⁰⁹

1. Bailiff of Montenaken in 1376. Pays homage for a fief located between Gingelom and Montenaken.

2. Also called Boudewijn van Montenaken. He is mentioned with, among others, Robert van Leuven, as one of the executives of the will of Boudewijn van Montenaken, canon in Liège. He might be related to lord Herman van Kortijs, who is mentioned in 1334.

Cromme, Jan. 392 1/2m.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above), f. 78 v; Jos Habets, *Chronijk der Landen van Overmaas en aangrenzende gewesten* (Roermond 1870) 32.

¹⁰⁶ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 10 r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 52; Piot, *Cartulaire* (n. 96 above) 2.17-19.

¹⁰⁷ I am grateful to Steven Vandewal for bringing the heraldic and genealogical sources in the Fonds de Schaetzen to my attention. SAL, n. 6486, f. 8r; Tongeren, Stadsarchief (henceforth SAT) Fonds de Schaetzen de Schaetzenhoff, n. 3558; Henry Baillien, *Inventaris van de fondsen van het Onze Lieve Vrouw kapittel, de Plebanie, de kerken van Sint-Jan, Sint-Niklaas, Sint-Gillis en Sint-Hubertus* (Brussels 1967) 161; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above), 94, 150, 159, 167-168; Poncelet, *Les feudataires*, 632, 668 (n. 5 above); Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4172.

¹⁰⁸ SAL, n. 6486, f. 7v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3469.

¹⁰⁹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 172, 179, 189, 201-203; Coenen, *Limburgsche oorkonden* (n. 81 above) 4. n. 3495, 3593; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 57.

1. Owns the manor of Jongenbos near Vliermaal. Member of the city council of Tongres in 1380. A certain Jan Cromme is councillor of the city in 1400.
2. Regnier, *stadsknaap* (messenger) of Tongres seals his receipt. It is mentioned that he serves under Robert van Arckel (Renswoude).

Doerne/Deurne, Gerard van. 52m (squire).¹¹¹

1. A Gerard, son of Roger van Doerne, pays homage for several fiefs near Bilzen in 1385 and in 1386 for a manor at Broechem (Bilzen), which formerly belonged to Gerard, son of Everard van Doerne. It is uncertain which Gerard served at Baesweiler.
2. His coat of arms suggests that this family is a bastard branch of the lords of Doerne (Deurne, Noord-Brabant).

Donk, Jan van der. 2200m (knight).¹¹²

1. High bailiff of Loon in 1365-1371. Pays homage in 1370 for a fief at Overgellik (Bilzen).
2. Bastard son of Jan (IV), lord of Arckel.

Eggertingen, Robert van. 368m (squire).¹¹³

1. Pays homage for fiefs at Vliermaalroot and Werm in 1367. Councillor of Vliermaal in 1386. Bailiff of Wellen (lordship of the abbey of Munsterbilzen) in 1391 and 1405.
2. His father, Robert, was a knight and a member of the van Gelinden family, who established himself in Eggertingen (Borgloon). His older brother Herman (died 1367) served the duke of Brabant in 1357 and received a compensation of forty *vieux écus* because he lost a horse.

Harduement, Jan van. 4452m (knight).¹¹⁴

1. Lord of Kermt in 1380 after the death of his father.
2. His father is a knight banneret and lord of Harduement, Hollogne and Kermt. He goes to Calais together with his father in 1359 to serve king Edward III. He dies in 1394 without legitimate heirs.

Hoelbeek, Philip van. 238 1/3 m.¹¹⁵

1. Pays homage in 1367 for a house, manors and lands at Gellik (Bilzen) and Eigenbilzen, but sells several of them during the next few years. Councillor of the *buitenbank* of Bilzen in 1364.

Jonkhout, Jan van. 2071m (knight, 1365-1370).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; SAT (n. 107 above), n. 3559; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 63, 120, 128; M.T. Thys, *Le chapitre de Notre-Dame à Tongres* (Antwerpen 1888) 110; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5.n. 3502, 6, n. 4990.

¹¹¹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; Grauwels, "Hornes", 124, 125, 131; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3540.

¹¹² SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 9v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above); Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3536; M.J. Waale, "Nogmaals een bijdrage tot de genealogie van het middeleeuwse adellijke geslacht Van Arkel," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 117 (2000) 24.

¹¹³ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; Jozef Brouwers, "Het adellijk geslacht van Eggertingen," *Limburg* 60:4 (1981) 164-167; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 56, 60; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 78; Piot, *Cartulaire* (n. 96 above) 2.100; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 3. n. 1348, 1351, 1378, 6. n. 4099.

¹¹⁴ de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.117-118, 2.241; Froissart, *Chroniques* (n. 23 above) 6.209; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 57; Grauwels, "Hornes", 96; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3726.

¹¹⁵ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 54, 97, 127, 147, 156, 182, 207; Grauwels "Beieren", 97; Moors, *De oorkondentaal*, n. 7; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3783.

1. Lord of Jonkhout (Bilzen), which includes a house, the village of Hoelbeek, hundred- two hundred hectares of land, six and a half houses of serfs, two mills, eighty fiefholders and several rents. Pays also homage for a manor and lands at Udenberg (between Rosmeer and Vlijtingen, fief of Brabant) after the death of lord Willem van Jonkhout, his older brother. High bailiff of Maaseik in 1375-1376.

2. His family's coat of arms suggests that the van Jonkhout family is related to the lords of Hamal. Jan van Jonkhout remains loyal to bishop Jan van Arckel and defends Maaseik against the forces of Walter van Rochefort, who also served at Baesweiler, in 1376. He dies in 1391.

Kortijs, Abraham van. 20m.¹¹⁷

1. Originates probably from the Montenaken-Kortijs area.

Langdries (Langendriesch), Egidius/Gilles van. 496m (squire).¹¹⁸

1. Bailiff of Bilzen in 1367, councillor in 1379. Councillor of Borgloon in 1381. Pays homage for a fief rent at Leeuw (Gors-Opleeuw).

2. Bastard son of Raes van Langdries, canon in Liège, and brother of Raes who serves in the same *rotte*. The noble family van Langdries owned a house/fortress at Langdries (Ulbeek) and dies out at the end of the fourteenth century. He has a son, Raes, and dies in 1393.

Langdries (Langendriesch), Raes van. 228m (squire).¹¹⁹

1. Pays homage in 1361 for a rent on lands located in Alken (Liège).

2. Is mentioned in 1370 as guardian of Elisabeth van Langdries for the homage of the lordship of Waroux.

Leuven, Robert van. 1304m (knight, before 4 oktober 1371).¹²⁰

1. Pays homage in 1376 for lands in Montenaken and Gingelom and in 1379 for a mill in Stokkem.

2. The noble family van Leuven, also called van Montenaken, resides in Montenaken at least from the beginning of the fourteenth century. A certain Catharina van Leuven is cellarar in

¹¹⁶ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 22, 179; Jean d' Outremeuse, *Chronique. Chroniques Liégeoises*, ed. Sylvain Balau and Emile Fairon, 2 vols (Brussels 1931) 2.139-236, 202; Galesloot, *Le livre des feudataires* (n. 5 above) 164; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 65; Hansay, "Les fiefs" (n. 5 above) 138; Rombout Nijssen, *Loonse lenen in het oostelijk deel van het ressort van de buitenbank van Bilzen (1361- 1505): bijdrage tot de feodale geschiedenis van het graafschap Loon* (MA thesis Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 1987) 202-210; Jozef Paquay, "La seigneurie de Jonckholt" *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique et Littéraire de Limbourg* 43 (1929) 95-96.

¹¹⁷ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r.

¹¹⁸ SAL (n. 21 above), n. 6486, f. 9r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 58-59, 124, 148; Jozef Grauwels, *Regestenlijst der oorkonden van de landcommanderij Oudenbiezen en onderhorige Kommanderijen* (Brussels 1966) 1. n. 264; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 39, 54; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 60; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 3917.

¹¹⁹ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 100-101; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 708-709; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 3918.

¹²⁰ SAL, n. 6486, f. 9v; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4. 485-486; Coenen, *Limburgsche oorkonden* (n. 81 above) 4. n. 3593; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 105, 107, 140, 166, 172, 188, 201-203; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1. 214, 337-338; Grauwels, "Hornes", 57; M.J. Wolters, *Notice historique sur l'ancienne abbaye noble de Milen, près de Saint-Trond* (Gent 1853) 88-89.

the abbey of Mielen (boven Aalst). He also intervenes, together with Arnold van de Wijer, in the payment of the ransom of lord Arnold van Zelk.

Pietersheim, Hendrik van. 286m (squire).¹²¹

1. Bastard son of lord Jan van Pietersheim.
2. The peace treaty of 1380 between bishop Arnold van Hornes and the cities of Loon-Liège on the one hand and the lord of Pietersheim and the city of Maastricht on the other, explicitly mentions that his bastard sons Jan and Hendrik have caused damage to the aforementioned cities and that their actions have to cease.

Proe(f)st, Willem. (‘met sine ghesellen’) 2163m (knight, 1369-1372).¹²²

1. Extensive landed possessions in Millen (Riemst), but not yet in possession of the lordship. High bailiff of Loon in 1375.
2. Also called Proest or Proost van Millen. He is a councillor of the city of Liège, as was his father. He is also lord of Thynes and Faulx in the County of Namur because of his marriage to Marguerite of Loon-Agimont. He is the first member of his family to become a knight, thus taking the last step in what is in fact a family strategy of climbing the social ladder. His grandfather married a daughter of the lord of Millen in the thirteenth century and over three generations the family gained ever more land in the area until they became lords of Millen themselves. He died in 1388.

Putten, Nicolaas van der (van Middelheers). 66m.¹²³

1. He sells approximately nine acres of agricultural land between Heers and Middelheers to lord Gerard van Heers.
2. He is described as Nicolaas van Middelheers in the compensation payments.

Quade, Gerard (de) or der Lode. 50m.¹²⁴

1. Councillor of Hasselt in 1382. Pays homage for a rent on a house and manor in Stevoort. Owns lands in Kuringen near those of Hendrik Borger. His son, Jan, pays homage, after his death in 1395, for a manor in Kuringen and Hasselt, a farm named Trecschuren and several hectares of land (mostly peat and heathlands).
2. The name on his seal is Gerard der Lode. He is often mentioned as a witness in the book of fiefs, on several occasions together with Hendrik Borger or his father. Moreover, the seals of the de Quade and Borger families both show an eagle, which is a fairly uncommon coat of arms in the County of Loon. The cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Trond denotes both him and Herman Borger as *armiger*. He is mentioned as guardian for the abbey of Herckenrode in 1360 and 1388.

Quade, Jan (Hanijn) (de) 627m.¹²⁵

¹²¹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 74v; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4.585-587; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4171, 7. n. 4804, 5007.

¹²² SAL, n. 6486, f. 78v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 90, 127, 150; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 7. n. 5009; Tony Waegeman, “De heren van Millen en hun kasteel,” *Limburg-Het Oude Land van Loon* 91 (2012) 239-251.

¹²³ RAH, Heers, Charters, n. 7; SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 9r; Moors, *De oorkondentaal in Belgisch Limburg* (n. 41 above) n. 157; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4053.

¹²⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*; Grauwels, “Hornes” (n. 5 above) 65, 145; Grauwels, “Beieren” (n. 5 above) 60-61; Moors, *De oorkondentaal in Belgisch Limburg*, n. 4, 62, 135; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4220.

¹²⁵ SAL, n. 6486, f. 10r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 166; Piot, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond* (n. 96 above) 1. 376; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4221.

1. His seal is the same as that of Gerard de Quade (an eagle with three shells), but the eagle does not have a crown. He might be the same person, or is at least related to, Martijn (de) Quade of Hasselt, who pays homage in 1377 for a house, manor, farm and lands at Kuringen because of his relationship to a certain Lambertus, game-keeper of the bishop.

Robert van Renswoude (knight).¹²⁶

1. Castellan of Montenaken in 1366-1367 and 1372-1384. Pays homage for a mill and rents at Waremme in 1366. Becomes lord of Grevenbroek in 1380.
2. Owns fief-rents from both the duke of Brabant and the king of France. Nephew of prince-bishop Jan van Arckel and lord of Renswoude near Utrecht. General receiver of the Principality of Liège in 1371.

Stein, Arnold van. 6620m (knight).¹²⁷

1. Lord of Stein (imperial immediacy) and Limbicht. He sells Limbicht to lord Adam van den Berge in 1381.
2. Pays homage for fiefs in Brabant (Placenoit and Ohain) and Namur. He loses his fiefs in the County of Namur temporarily, when he serves the duke during the Brabant War of Succession. He has to pay a ransom of three thousand *gulden* to the count of Jülich and gives him his manor at Amber (Roermond) on 8th March 1372 on condition that he can buy it back within three years for three thousand *gulden*. He dies before 1390.

Tombeke, Libert van. 356m.¹²⁸

1. Bailiff of Alken (Liège) in 1367 and 1376. He pays homage in 1353 after the death of his father and with agreement of his brothers, for one half of a house at Tombeke (a hamlet of Alken) several hectares and a rent. He pays homage for other lands in Alken in 1355 and 1360.
2. His coat of arms is based on that of the van Langdries family, who live in nearby Ulbeek. One of his relatives, Reynart van der Tombeken, is bailiff of Alken in 1398.

Uyttenbroek, Uten Broeke (Ex Palude), Egidius. 446m.¹²⁹

1. Councillor of Saint-Trond in 1379.
2. Member of the Uyttenbroek (ex Palude) family at Saint-Trond, a family of councillors. Is also called Gillis van den Broek. He represents the city in the peace talks between Liège and Brabant in 1379.

Vorssen, Robert van. 516m (squire, knight between 1397 and 1402).¹³⁰

¹²⁶ SAL, n. 6486, f. 4v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 49, 82, 88, 110-117; Jos Molemans, *Toponymie van Sint-Huibrechts Lille: historisch-naamkundige studie* (Louvain 1976) 90-93; Verkooren, *Chartres* 7. n. 4878; Waale, “Nogmaals een bijdrage” (n. 112 above) 17-18.

¹²⁷ Stanislas Bormans, *Les fiefs du comté de Namur* (Namur 1875) 1.129, 134, 160-161; Galesloot, *Le livre des feudataires* (n. 5 above) 3, 12, 29, 102; Grauwels, “Hornes” (n. 5 above) 108-109; A. J. Munsters, “De heeren van Stein als paladijnen der hertogen van Brabant,” *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Limbourg* 77 (1941) 115-128, 141-149; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 2. n. 952, 1142, 3, n. 1608, 6, n. 4385.

¹²⁸ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 8v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 60-61, 172; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 2; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 487, 536, 663; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4420.

¹²⁹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 8v; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4. 558-559; Charles, *La ville de Saint-Trond* (n. 104 above) 453-455; Moors, *De oorkondentaal*, n. 144; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6, n. 4438.

1. He owns a house, manor and farm at Vorssen.
2. He is a descendant of the lords of Vorssen (Frésin) and dies before 1428. Members of his family serve in the city council of Saint-Trond in the fifteenth-century, but it is unclear if he is a citizen of the city. His coat of arms is based on that of the van Corswarem family, but with reversed colours.

Vrederics van Elsloo, Jan. 40m.¹³¹

1. Originates probably from Elsloo (an imperial immediacy).

Widoye (Duren), Herman van. 222m (squire).¹³²

1. Son of Jan, lord of Widooie (Sint-Lamberts-Herk). He pays homage for rents at Gorsleeuw and lands at Vliermaal in 1391. In the same year he acts as guardian for his brother, canon in Liège. Jan and Herman van Widooie, probably his father and uncle, pay homage for lands at Neerrepene and Mulken (Liège) in 1345. A Jan van Widooie is bailiff of Tongres in 1355.
2. Widooie near Hasselt is an allodial lordship and refers to the name of this noble family, which originates from Widooie/Wideux near Tongres. He is called Herman van Duren on his receipt, but his seal clearly identifies him as a member of the van Widooie family (*de vair à la fasce*).

Rotte of Lambert van Oupeye.¹³³

Marshall of Liège in 1371. Lord of Oupeye, Herstal, Chaumont and part of Rutten. Led the siege of the fortress of Rummen in 1366 and fought against Wencesals in 1357. Led a small chevauchée in Jülich in 1371 (before the battle of Baesweiler).

This rotte counts 77 men, of whom 5 originate from the County of Loon.

Berlo, Willem van. 4072m (squire).¹³⁴

1. Lord of Berlo in 1372, after the deaths of his father and his older brother Gerard. The fortress of Berlo is held in fief from the counts of Loon and the lordship from the bishop of Liège.
2. Dies in 1382 with his younger brother Libert during the war against the city of Ghent. He pays a ransom of two thousand *mottoenen* to the count of Jülich.

Berlo, Raes van. 780m (squire, knight before 1374).¹³⁵

¹³⁰ F. Goole, *Wapenboek Sint- Truiden* (Tongeren 1966) 99; L. Jadoul, “Aperçu historique sur Frésin,” *Verzamelde Opstellen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring te Hasselt* 13 (1937) 78-89, 112-116; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5, n. 3633.

¹³¹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 78v; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6, n. 3456.

¹³² de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 152; Camille de Borman, “Goswin de Straile,” *Leodium* (1907) 40-42; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.65; Grauwels, “Beieren” (n. 5 above) 30, 41; Moors, *De oorkondentaal*, n. 4; Poncelet, *Les feudataires*, 201, 525; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5, n. 3549.

¹³³ Edouard Poncelet, “Les maréchaux d’armée de l’évêché de Liège,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique Liégeois* 32 (1902) 238-243; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.235; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 4, n. 2855.

¹³⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 12r; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.148, 189-190; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5, n. 2924, 3292.

1. Lord of Breust (by marriage) and guardian of Sclessin, Ougère and Ognées.
2. Member of a younger branch of the van Berlo family.

Biest, Christiaan van der. 446m. ¹³⁶

1. Bailiff of Borgloon in 1371, councillor of Vliermaal in 1392.
2. His father, Adam van der Biest, is probably related to the family van der Biest or van der Blockeriden, a family of councillors in Saint-Trond. He inherits the lordship of Pas-Saint-Martin in the Principality of Liège from his mother, a daughter of lord Jan van Horion. He is councillor of Xhendremal in 1392.

Coene, Herman. 568m. ¹³⁷

1. Pays homage in 1367 for land in Rullekoven (Kerniel near Borgloon).
2. Father of Hugo Coene, who serves under Robert van Namen. His coat of arms suggests that he is related to the lords of Horne/Heurne, a hamlet of Vechmaal/Fumal. He is citizen of Liège.

Kortijs, Libert van. 22 ½.m. ¹³⁸

1. Originates probably from the area around Kortijs. His master, Pierlot de Vinalmont, is one of the executors of the will of canon Jean Le Bel concerning properties in Goyer (Jeuk).
2. His is simply designated as the servant (*knecht*) of Pierlot de Vinalmont in the records. His name is only mentioned on a charter in 1380, when the duke promises to pay him the remaining part of his reimbursement. His master is described by Jacques de Hemricourt as 'a good man-at-arms' (*uns bons bons d'armes*).

3.2.3. Rotte of Diederik van Seraing. 9400 m.

This rotte counts 13 men, of whom 3 originate from the County of Loon.

Guighoven, Hendrik van. 1159m (knight, before November 1371). ¹³⁹

1. Lord of Guighoven (Guighoven and Wintershoven) and castellan of Kolmont (hereditary title). Castellan of Stokkem in 1374-1381. Pays homage for rents in Kolmont and Riddersherk and lands in Sittard and Roet (Vliermaalroot).

¹³⁵ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 104; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 1.233, 2.150-151; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5, n. 3293.

¹³⁶ SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above), f. 14r.; Baerten, *Het graafschap Loon* (n. 4 above) 180-182; Bormans, "Les seigneuries féodales" (n. 70 above) 373-374; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 109, 121, 138, 154; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 2.259; Ch. Mignon, "De sociaal-economische positie van de St. Truidense schepenen (1408-1467)," *Het Oude Land van Loon* 23 (1968) 93-94; Piot, *Cartulaire* (n. 96 above) 2.199-200; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5, n. 3307.

¹³⁷ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 13v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 6, 8; van Caster en Op de Beeck, *De grafkunst* (n. 47 above) 56; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5, n. 3468.

¹³⁸ de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.473; Edouard Poncelet, *Inventaire analytique des chartres de la collégiale de Sainte-Croix à Liège* (Brussels 1911) 1. n. 799; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6, n. 4488; 8, n. 5725, 5726.

¹³⁹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 11r; Bormans, "Les seigneuries féodales" (n. 70 above) 132; de Borman, *Histoire de Château de Colmont* (Liège 1862) 41-44; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 83, 110; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 1.487, 2.229; Hansay, "Les fiefs" (n. 5 above) 137.

2. Hendrik and his younger brother Arnold refrain from any further claims on the lordship of Riddersherk (Liège) in favour of Diederik van Seraing in 1372. He is councillor of Liège from 1386 until his death in 1410.

Guighoven, Hendrik van. 174m (squire).¹⁴⁰

1. A (distant) relation of Hendrik, lord of Guighoven. He might have been the son of the afore-mentioned Hendrik, but this seems unlikely given that lord Hendrik was only twenty-eight years old at the time of the battle. He might be related to the brothers Jan and Giselbert van Guighoven, who pay homage for the lordship of Meldert and rents on the lordships of Gors-Leeuw and Groot-Spauwen in 1361.

Seraing, Diederik van. 9400m (knight banneret).¹⁴¹

1. Lord of Warfusée and Riddersherk (Liège). The lordship of Riddersherk is composed in 1372 of a house, ponds, forty-six hectares and the village of Herk. The fortress of Warfusée is held in fief of the bishop of Liège.

2. Lord of Seraing and Walhain (by marriage). Member of the noble family de Hanefte. He goes to Calais in 1359 to serve king Edward and dies around 1382.

Rotte of the commandery of Chantraine.

This rotte counts 16 men, of whom 12 originate from the County of Loon.

Bolle (de bastaard van Gelinden), Arnold. 100m (squire).¹⁴²

1. He pays homage in 1367 for a mill ands lands in Brustem, Engelmannshoven, Groot-Gelmen and Gelinden.

2. Denoted as Arnold here Bolle and Arnold (Bolle) van Brustem. Brother of Jan and Nicolaas. He is the second son of lord Jan Bolle, a bastard son of a member of the van Gelinden family. A certain Arnoldo de Brusten, *equites (pansier ?)* of Alberto de Rinefi, serves in the rotte of Guischino de Tonghes (of Tongres), army of the city state of Pisa, in 1361.

Bolle van Rijkel, Jan. 30m (squire).¹⁴³

1. Lord of Rijkel (Liège). Pays homage in 1367 and 1369 for lands in Aalst (near Saint-Trond), Brustem, Berlingen, one half of a mill in Gotem and rents in Borlo and Gelinden.

2. Older brother of Arnold and Nicolaas. He is called Bolle van Rijkel, Jan van Brustem or Jan Bolle van Brustem. He marries Margareta van Haccourt and dies on 24 March 1413.

Bolle (de bastaard van Gelinden), Nicolaas. 38m (squire).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ SAL, n. 6486, f. 11 r; Hansay, "Les fiefs" (n. 5 above) 140, 145.

¹⁴¹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 11r; Bormans, "Les seigneuries féodales", 132; Froissart, *Chroniques* (n. 23 above) 6.209; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 2.239; Hansay, "Les fiefs", 139; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4343.

¹⁴² SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 18v; Jozef Brouwers, "Bolle, de bastaard van Gelinden, stamvader van de heren van Rijkel," *Limburg* 55 (1976) 129-134; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 51, 52, 154; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 69; Schäfer, *Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte* (n. 1 above) 3.261; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5. n. 3647.

¹⁴³ SAL, n. 6486, f. 19r; Brouwers, "Bolle, de bastaard van Gelinden, stamvader van de heren van Rijkel" (n. 142 above) 132, 135-138; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 54; 85; Houtman and Molemans "Cijnsregister" (n. 41 above) 278.

1. He pays homage for a rent in Korpt (Herk-de-Stad) in 1367 and for the village (hamlet) of Korpt in 1379.

2. Younger brother of Jan and Arnold. Jan seals his receipt. Also named Claes here Bolle.

Lexhy, Amelius van. 142m.¹⁴⁵

1. Councillor of Saint-Trond in 1360, 1363-1365, 1367, 1368, 1372, 1374, 1383, 1386 and 1387. He pays homage in 1367 for lands near Duras, between Overbroek (Gelinden) and Widdingen (hamlet between Berlingen and Kuttekoven) and a rent on a mill in Widdingen. He pays homage for lands in Binderveld in 1372. He leases lands in 1383 from the abbey van Orienten.

2. His is also a fiefholder of the duke of Brabant for lands in (Geet)Bets. His son, Amelius, is called *man van wapenen* in the cartulary of the Church of Our Lady in Tongres in 1397. He is bailiff of Saint-Trond in 1383.

Meerhout, Hendrik van. 82m.¹⁴⁶

1. He pays homage for lands in Overhalmaal (Saint-Trond) in 1368. Citizen of Saint-Trond.

2. Related to Willem van Meerhout, councillor of the city in 1375. There is also a manor called Meerhout near the city.

Montferrant, Iwein van. 256m (squire).¹⁴⁷

1. Pays homage for the fief of Mon(t)ferrant, an enclave of Brabant in the County of Loon. The fief includes a manor, about ten-fourteen hectares and some rents.

2. Montferrant is a hamlet near Ba(t)sheers. Jacques de Hemricourt remarks that his father is Guillaume Honoreau from Alleur, which means that he probably inherited Montferrant from his mother. Iwein sold or gave the fief of Montferrant to Hendrik van Sint-Truiden and the Order of Saint-John before 1383.

Motten van der, Willem. 170m.¹⁴⁸

1. A Willem van der Motten pays homage for lands in Gors-Leeuw in 1379. There is also a manor called van der Motten in Wezeren (near Saint-Trond).

2. He seals the receipt of Hendrik van Geldrop (a noble family from the County of Hornes) in 1374.

Sint- Truiden, Hendrik van. (captain).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 18v.; Brouwers, “Bolle, de bastaard van Gelinden”, 133; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 66; Grauwels, “Hornes”, 55; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3332.

¹⁴⁵ SAL, n. 6486, f. 18v; Charles, *La ville de Saint-Trond* (n. 104 above) 452-455; Jozef Daris, “Extraits du Cartulaire de l’église de Notre-Dame à Tongres,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique Liégeois* 16 (1881) 357; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 65, 122; Grauwels, “Hornes”, 118, 147-149; Moors, *De oorkondentaal in Belgisch Limburg* (n. 41 above) n. 145, 151; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.193; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 3935.

¹⁴⁶ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 18v; Charles, *La ville de Saint- Trond* (n. 104 above) 372, 455; Jozef Grauwels, *Regestenlijst der oorkonden van het begijnhof te Sint- Truiden, 1265-1741* (Brussels 1962) n. 67; Grauwels, “Beieren” (n. 5 above) 61, 112; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4031.

¹⁴⁷ SAL, n. 6486, f. 18v; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.473; Galesloot, *Le livre des feudataires* (n. 5 above) 138, 159-160; A. Malcorps, “Montferrant, een Limburgs epos,” *Het Oude Land van Loon* 12 (1957) 41-55; De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés* (n. 18 above) 2.502-503; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4064.

¹⁴⁸ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 160; De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés*, 2. 523; Grauwels, “Hornes” (n. 5 above) 69-70; Piot, *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint- Trond* (n. 96 above) 2.LXI, LXIII.

1. He seems to be originating from the city of Saint-Trond. His seal suggests a connection with the Copis family (who are ennobled in the fifteenth century).
2. Hendrik declares in 1381 that duke Wenceslas has fully compensated him and his men for losses suffered during the Baesweiler campaign. The Order of Saint-John receives certain privileges in return for his loyal service. He is also called counsellor of the duke. He serves as commander of several commanderies (Troyes, Clairfond, Hainaut-Cambrésis, Chantraine and Fieffes). He is treasurer of the Order from 1357 until 1380 and dies in 1390 at the age of seventy-seven.

Smersnider, Willem. 338 1/3 m.¹⁵⁰

1. Walter, named Smeersnidere, possesses land between Rijkel and Brustem in 1365. Citizen of Saint-Trond.
2. His seal (three stirrups) suggests that he is not related to Wauter Smersnijer, but to the family van Villers, of whom two members serve in the same *rotte*.

Smersnijer, Wauter. 204m.¹⁵¹

1. He gives lands in Nonnemielien (Gorsem) to the beguinage of Saint-Trond in 1363. His family seems to have owned lands in this area since at least the beginning of the century. Citizen of Saint-Trond.

Spiegel (a Speculo), Bruijn van den. 284 m.¹⁵²

1. Councillor of Saint-Trond in 1378.
2. Also called a Speculo or de Speculo. He lends money to the city of Louvain, probably in 1374, in order that Louvain could pay its share in the exceptional taxation, the *bede*. The city had to send him a messenger twice in 1379 because it was unable to pay back the loan and he refused to accept a settlement. He is probably related to Egidius de Speculo, councillor in 1361 and 1365.

Straten, Willem van der. 342 1/2 m.¹⁵³

1. Citizen of Saint-Trond. Possesses land near Rode (Kermt). Pays homage to bishop Jan van Beieren for a mill in Stokkem as guardian for his wife, Johanna Butoir, daughter of the castellan of Stokkem.
2. Is denoted as '*l'ostellier*' (hotelkeeper) by Jacques de Hemricourt.

¹⁴⁹ Leon de Herckenrode, *Collection des tombes, épitaphes et blasons recueillis dans les églises et couvents de la Hesbaye* (Gent 1845) 109-111; Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, "Bulle de convocation d'une assemblée des Hospitaliers à Carpentras (1365)," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 70 (1909) 90-91; Goole, *Wapenboek Sint-Truiden* (n. 130 above) 22; Mignon, "De sociaal- economische positie" (n. 136 above) 84-85; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 8. n. 5734 (bis), 5735, 5736.

¹⁵⁰ SAL, n. 6486, f.18v; Grauwels, *Regestenlijst begijnhof* (n. 146 above) n. 63; A. Kempeneers, "L'église collégiale et le chapitre de Notre Dame à Saint- Trond" *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Limbourg* 5 (1868) 108-109; J. Martens and A. Zoete, *Regestenlijst der oorkonden van de Benediktinessenabdij te Nonnemielien bij Sint-Truiden* (Brussels 1971) n. 64; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6, n. 4351.

¹⁵¹ SAL (n. 21 above), n. 6486, f.18v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 11; De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés* (n. 18 above) 4.124; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4350.

¹⁵² SAL, n. 6486, f.18v; Charles, *La ville de Saint- Trond* (n. 104 above) 452-454; van Uytven, *Stadsfinanciën en Stadsekonomie* (n. 16 above) 208-216; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4364.

¹⁵³ SAL, n. 6486, f.18v; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.337-338, 381; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 53, 76, 117-118; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4389.

Bede.

The *bede* count 191 men, of whom 14 originate from the County of Loon. Depending on whether the *rotte* ‘Allerhande riddere ende knechte ter mijner bede’ is an actual *rotte*, or simply a catch all term for combatants for whom it is unclear in which *rotte* they served, the *bede* was composed of five or six *rotten*. Horsemen from the County of Loon are only present in two of them. The *rotte* of Diederik van Brederode counts 46 men, of whom 10 originate from the County of Loon. The *rotte* of Jan Oem counts 19 men, of whom four originate from the County of Loon. Willem van Brederode was a younger son of Diederik (V) van Brederode (County of Holland). This family served duke Wenceslas on multiple occasions and also acted as money lenders to the duke.¹⁵⁴.

Broekom, Egidius van. 370m (SAL) / 35m (receipt) (squire). Diederik van Brederode.¹⁵⁵

1. Pays homage in 1361 for land in Groot-Gelmen (Liège). Pays homage for one half of the lordship of Jesseren in 1390.
2. Descendant of the thirteenth-century noble family van Broekom.

Gelinden, Robert van. 1716m (knight). Diederik van Brederode.¹⁵⁶

1. Lord of Gors-Leeuw and Groot- Spauwen. Pays homage in march 1371 or 1372 for a house in Gelinden with a mill and a manor. Posesses a manor in Heers as well.
2. Lord of Châtelineau sur Sambre (Hainaut). He travels to Prussia with Jan van Blois in 1368-1369 and his son marries Jan’s illegitimate daughter. He dies in 1383. His father, Robert, is councellor and fiefholder of Wenceslas and member of the ducal household.

Gutschoven, Jan van. 364m (knight, 1367-1369). Diederik van Brederode.¹⁵⁷

1. Lord of Vculen (Brabant) by marriage and of a part of Rutten (Brabant). He pays homage for a manor and rents in Brustem and land in Vrijheers (Liège). He also posessed land in Groot-Gelmen and Alken. Castellan of Borgloon since 1366 (hereditary title).
2. He buys the lordships of Rutten and Herstal in 1368 from Diederik, count of Horne for 10 361 *mottoenen*, but transfers them in 1369 and 1370 to Lambert van Oupeye.

¹⁵⁴ Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland* (n. 60 above) 230-231, 284-288, 305-307, 435; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.285.

¹⁵⁵ SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above) f. 36v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 53; Grauwels, “Beieren” (n. 5 above) 20; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 729; Robert Ulens, “Les seigneuries liégeoises au pays de Looz” *Verzamelde Opstellen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Studiekring te Hasselt* 8 (1932) 79-81; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5. n. 3406.

¹⁵⁶ SAL, n. 6486, f. 36v; Brouwers, “Ridder Robert van Gelinden” (n. 54 above); Jozef Brouwers, “De adellijke familie ‘Van Gelinden’,” *Limburg* 61 (1982) 27-33; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 121; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 2.266; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 49, 50; Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen* (n. 10 above) 1.69.

¹⁵⁷ SAL, n. 6486, f. 36v; Bormans en Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4.448-450; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 35, 94, 171, 190; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 2.194, 224; Poncelet, “Les maréchaux d’armée” (n. 133 above) 241-242, 332-333; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 691, 717; André Uyttebrouck, *Le Gouvernement du Duché de Brabant au Bas Moyen Âge (1355- 1430)*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1975) 1.61; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3675.

Holeden, Wauter van. 376m (squire, knight before his death around 1390). Diederik van Brederode.¹⁵⁸

1. Lord of one half of Sint-Pieters-Horn (hamlet near Vechmaal). Pays homage for land near the city of Tongres in 1360 after the death of his father and in 1366 for a mill and land between Horn and Vechmaal.

Horpmaal, Walter/Wauter van. 192m (squire). Diederik van Brederode.¹⁵⁹

1. Pays homage in 1358 for eleven hectares of land near Maaseik after the death of his father. His son, Willem van Rommershoven, van Horpmaal or van der Motten, pays homage in 1376 for a house and manor with lands in Zolder, Dilsen, Gruningen, as well as manors in Bilzen and Gelmen.

2. The family van Horpmaal might be descendants of the original lords of Horpmaal. This lordship is owned by Lodewijk van Loon, bastard son of count Lodewijk II, in 1371.

Kerchove, Robert van den. 528m. Diederik van Brederode.¹⁶⁰

1. Pays homage in 1381 for land in Vrijheers (Engelmanshoven near Gelinden) and a house and manor in Mielen. He pays homage in 1378 for land in Mielen as guardian for his son. Councillor of Jeuk (Goyer) in 1382.

Mopertingen (Mabbertingen), Jakob van. 48m (squire). Jan Oem.¹⁶¹

1. His father owns the allodial lordship of Sipernau (near Maaseik). He pays homage for land in Veldwezelt in 1380 and for the house and manor Worfelt/Wurfelt near Maaseik in 1412.

2. His father, Adam van Mopertingen or van Sipernau, is a knight.

Niele (Elen), Arnold van. 50m. Jan Oem.¹⁶²

1. Probably originates from Niel-bij-As. Unfortunately, no fiefs from this area have been recorded. A family van Niel is mentioned several times in the books of fiefs, including an Arnold van Niel. This family owns a tower and manor in Kornel (Borgloon). However, it seems more likely that this Arnold of Niel is originating from Niel-bij-As, as this area is located within the recruiting reach of both Jan Oem and the lord of Pietersheim.

2. One of his relatives, Jan van Niel, serves the duke of Brabant in 1357.

Nijsem, Willem van. 430m. Diederik van Brederode.¹⁶³

1. Citizen of Saint-Trond. He holds some lands near Saint-Trond in hereditary tenure (*cijnsland*) of the bishop in 1375. There is also a 'rent court' (*cijnshof*) called Nijsem near

¹⁵⁸ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 45; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 118; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 77; Poncelet, *Les feudataires*, 667- 668; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3784.

¹⁵⁹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 37r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 160; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 2.356; Poncelet, *Les feudataires*, 261.

¹⁶⁰ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 36v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 218; Grauwels, "Horne" (n. 5 above) 100; Moors, *De oorkondentaal in Belgisch Limburg* (n. 41 above) n. 66.

¹⁶¹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 35v; Grauwels, "Hornes", 79; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 116-117; Jozef Paquay, "De Heerlijkheid Mopertingen," *Verzamelde Opstellen, Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring te Hasselt* 13 (1937) 41-48.

¹⁶² SAL, n. 6486, f. 35v; Coenen, *Limburgsche oorkonden* (n. 81 above) 5. n. 3593; Grauwels, "Beieren", 18, 48-49, 54, 62-63, 74, 83, 94; Moors, *De oorkondentaal*, n. 60; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 3. n. 1280, 5. n. 3572.

¹⁶³ SAL, n. 6486, f. 27r.; Charles, *La ville de Saint- Trond* (n. 104 above) 372; De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés* (n. 18 above) 3.41.

Saint-Trond. A certain Gheijmar van Nijssen is councillor of the city in 1404, his seal is similar to that of Willem.

Oem, Jan (squire).¹⁶⁴

1. Pays homage in 1371 for the manor named Hof van Olmen with twenty three hectares of land in Rotem (near Maaseik). High bailiff of Maaseik from 1368 until 1372.
2. Lord of Bochoven and lord of Olmen by marriage. The Oem family is a younger branch of the lords van Arckel. He seals the receipts of his two squires (*knapen*) and a certain Jan de Wert, who is denoted as his (half)brother. His brother Nicolaas, councillor of Liège serves with Robert van Namen.

Pietersheim, Jan van. 5762m (knight). Jan Oem.¹⁶⁵

1. Lord of (Klein)Stevoort and Pietersheim. Only the fortress of Pietersheim is held in fief from the counts of Loon, the lordship itself is an imperial immediacy. Pays homage for rents in Zutendaal and Lede.
2. Lord of Leefdaal, Oirschot, Hilvarenbeek, Impden and castellan of Brussels (until 1362). Also becomes lord of Stevensweert and Stein. Possesses rents in Lenculen (Maastricht), Hees and Vlijtingen. His fortres is besieged and burned down during a conflict with the urban militias of Tongres and Liège. Citizen of Maastricht.

Rutten, Jan van. 22m. Diederik van Brederode.¹⁶⁶

1. Probably originating from Rutten (Brabant). Lord Jan van Gutschoven seals his receipt.

Spralant, Diederik van. 514m (knight). Diederik van Brederode.¹⁶⁷

1. Lord of Sassenbroek since 1371 (hamlet near Broekom which includes only a manor, mill and some land and rents). Possesses a house in Heks (lordship of the abbey of Villers). Pays homage in 1367 for land in Gelinden, Leweroot (Gors-Opleeuw) and rents in Aalst (near Saint-Trond), Berlingen and Saint- Trond.
2. He or his father is a witness at the wedding of count Diederik of Loon-Heinsberg with Philippa of Jülich in 1357 and serves the count during the Brabant War of Succession. He takes merchants of Brabant prisoner when the duke fails to recompense the count and his men for their losses. The family van Spralant or Spirlant originates from Spraland (Venray) in Guelders, but established themselves in Heks at the beginning of the century.

Veulen, Albrecht van. 19 2/3m. Diederik van Brederode.¹⁶⁸

1. Probably originating from Veulen (Brabant). Lord Jan van Gutschoven seals his receipt.

¹⁶⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 35 v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 94, 110, 124, 131; Grauwels, "Beieren"; De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés*, 3.56-57; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.286; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4126; Xhayet, *Réseaux de pouvoir* (n. 71 above) 169.

¹⁶⁵ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 35v; Brouwers, "De heren van Pietersheim," (n. 76 above) 24-30; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4.264-265; Theo Coun, "Loons, Loonser, Loonst," *Limburg-Het Oude Land van Loon* 91/1 (2012) 81-82; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 1-2.

¹⁶⁶ SAL, n. 6486, f. 36v; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4293.

¹⁶⁷ SAL, n. 6486, f.36v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 71, 106-107; M. Flokstra, "De verdwenen burcht Spraland te Oostrum, 1257-1451," *Castellologica* 2 (1992) 311-313; Jozef Grauwels, *Inventaris van het archief van het kapittel van Borgloon* (Brussels 1971) n. 38, 44, 49; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 83; Christoph Jacob Kremer, *Academische Beiträge zur Jülich- und Bergischen Geschichte* (Mannheim 1769) 1.45- 49; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 3. n. 1790.

¹⁶⁸ SAL, n. 6486, f. 36v; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4467.

Rotte of Diederik, count of Horne. 12 166m.¹⁶⁹

This rotte counts forty two horsemen, but only the count himself is included in this study. Diederik van Horne holds the County of Horne and the lordship of Kortessem in fief from the counts of Loon and is also lord of Perwez, Herlaar, Kranenburg, Duffel and Geel. Some of his horsemen are his fiefholders in the County of Horne and therefore indirectly connected to the military labour market of the County of Loon.

Rotte of Jan van Rotselaar.

Jan (II) van Rotselaar was lord of Rotselaar and high bailiff of the Duchy of Brabant (hereditary title). He was also a counsellor of Wenceslas.¹⁷⁰

This rotte counts 72 men, of whom 5 originate from the County of Loon.

Cruce, Willem van den. 256m.¹⁷¹

1. Pays homage for about twenty hectares of land between Kozen and Wijer.
2. Citizen of Zoutleeuw in Brabant. Dies in 1375.

Montenaken, Godfried van. 1414m (knight).¹⁷²

1. Lord of Grazen (Grazen and Wilderen). Sells this lordship, about ninety hectares of land and some rents to Arnold van de Wijer in 1373 (possibly to pay for his ransom), but regains the lordship before his death.
2. Bailiff of Tienen (Tirlemont). His son becomes bailiff of Tienen as well as high bailiff of Brabant.

Turnier, Arnold. 29m.¹⁷³

1. Probably an armed servant of Arnold van de Wijer as he seals his receipt.

Wijer, Arnold van den (knight) 2090m.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 184; De Raadt, “La bataille de Baesweiler” (n. 17 above) 12, 76; Joseph van der Straeten, *Het Charter en de raad van Kortenberg* (Leuven 1952) 177; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.204-205; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3799, 3800.

¹⁷⁰ van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.205.

¹⁷¹ SAL (n. 21 above) n. 6486, f. 49r; De Raadt, “La bataille de Baesweiler,” (n. 17 above) 12, 81; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5. n. 3506.

¹⁷² I would like to thank Mario Damen for providing me with a copy of his soon to be published article. SAL, n. 6486, f. 49r; Mario Damen, “Prelaten, edelen en steden. De samenstelling van de Staten van Brabant in de vijftiende eeuw,” *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d’Histoire*, forthcoming, 70; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 130; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.24-25, 2.308; Grauwels, “Beieren” (n. 5 above) 78-79; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4067.

¹⁷³ SAL, n. 6486, f. 49r; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4434.

¹⁷⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 49r; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4.485-486, 570-571; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 9-10; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 1.228-229; Eduard van Ermel, *De landelijke bezittingen van de heren van Wezemaal in de middeleeuwen* (Leuven 1982) 1.24, 25, 29, 108; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4546.

1. Lord of Wijer and Kozen. Gains the lordship of Grazen (temporarily) from Godfried van Montenaken in 1373.
2. Lord of Hoeleden, Vorst and Meerhout in Brabant. Dies around 1390. He pays, together with Robert van Leuven, the ransom of lord Arnold van Zelk. Conducts several chévauchées against the abbey of Tongerlo in 1379. The noble family van de Wijer are descendants of Francon, a bastard son of the lord of Wezemaal, who established himself in Wijer at the end of the thirteenth century.

Wijer, Hendrik van den (knight) 812m.¹⁷⁵

1. Younger brother of Arnold.
2. He dies in Greece without descendants according to Jacques de Hemricourt.

Rotte of Jan van Wittem.

Jan van Wittem is the son of Jan van Cosselaer, a bastard son of Jan III, duke of Brabant.¹⁷⁶

This rotte counts 30 men, of whom 1 originates from the County of Loon.

Bottaert, Tielman (squire) 246m.¹⁷⁷

1. Councillor of Tongres in 1358, 1374 and 1377. His son pays homage to the bishop for a fief in Rutten (Russon) after his death.
2. He pays homage to the duke for a fief in the lands of Overmaas. His son, Librech, becomes bailiff of Tongres.

Rotte of Hendrik van Diest. 3350m.

This rotte counts 28 men, of whom 9 originate from the County of Loon.

Bossche, Willem van den (squire, Jacques de Hemricourt calls him a knight). 147m.¹⁷⁸

1. Pays homage in 1373 for lands in Bilzen, Gellik and Veldwezelt. Pays homage in 1381, after the death of his father, for a house, manor and farm.
2. Also called van den Bosch van Millen (his family originates from Millen). Second son of Lambert van den Bossche, squire. His older brother marries a daughter of lord Hendrik Marteal.

Diest, Hendrik van (knight banneret). 3350m.¹⁷⁹

1. Lord of Zelem.

¹⁷⁵ SAL, n. 6486, f. 49r; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 1.228; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4547.

¹⁷⁶ van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.204.

¹⁷⁷ de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.417, 2.261; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 3.238; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5. n. 3366.

¹⁷⁸ Marika Ceunen, “*De familie van den Bossche in het graafschap Loon (1370- 1570)*” (MA thesis Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 1989) 28-32; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 144-145; Grauwels, “*Hornes*” (n. 5 above) 112; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 1.66; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3358.

¹⁷⁹ SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above) f. 53v; Damen, “*Prelaten, edelen en steden*” (n. 172 above) 68-69; Frédéric de Reiffenberg, *Chronologie historique des sires de Diest* (Brussels 1842) 22-23; Van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 2. 207; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3524.

2. Lord of Diest and Lummele in Brabant. Castellan of Antwerp. Counsellor of the duke in 1376-1377. Is taken prisoner during the war of 1368 against Guelders and pays a ransom of thousand three hundred *mottoenen*. He dies in 1385. His younger brother, Arnold, also serves with him.

Elderen, Willem van (knight).¹⁸⁰

1. Lord of 's Herenelderden (villages of 's Herenelderden, Herne and Schalkhoven). His son pays homage, after his death, for rents in Genk and Jonkhout, four manors and some land near 's Herenelderden.

2. Member of a younger branch of the van Hamal family. Dies in 1400 according to a epitaph in Zepperen. Inherits lands near Tienen from his mother, Margaretha van Kersbeke. His son Arnold accumulates no less than fourteen lordships (among other things, by marriage into the Trazegnies family) and is counsellor of the duke of Brabant.

Hassel van der Nuwerkerken, Florens van. 392m (receipt)/ 38m (SAL).¹⁸¹

1. He probably originates from Nieuwerkerken (Brabant).

2. He dies before 1374, possibly at the battle of Baesweiler. His widow, Agnes van Elderen, remarries with Jan Drake from Sluizen (an enclave of Brabant near Tongres). He claims a reimbursement in the name of his wife and is in 1386 bailiff of Koninksem (another enclave of Brabant). Agnes is an illegitimate daughter of Egidius van Elderen and therefore a half sister of Willem van Elderen.

Marteal (Marteau) van Milmort, Hendrik (knight, (1370-1373) 2770m.¹⁸²

1. Lord of Werm (Liège) after the death of his father around 1383. His father pays homage to the bishop in 1361 for lands between Hoesselt and Althoesselt.

2. Hendrik, a son from the first marriage of his father, with Aleydis Greyve van Werm, inherits the lordships of Werm and Neuville. He also inherits his father's conflict with the collegiate church of Our Lady in Tongres about the nearby lordship of Hardelingen. His halfbrother, Diederik, receives the lordship of Mopertingen (Brabant) because of their father's second marriage. His halfsister marries Lambert, older brother of Willem van den Bossche.

Rikele (Rijkel), Lambert van. 18m (receipt) /43 m (SAL).¹⁸³

1. Originates probably from the area around Rijkel (Liège).

Tongeren, Hendrik van. 35m.¹⁸⁴

1. Originates probably from Tongres.

Werm, Giselbert van (squire). 204 m.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Damen, "Prelaten, edelen en steden" (n. 172 above) 74; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 62, 100; De Raadt, "La bataille de Baesweiler" (n. 17 above) 17, 270; C. Thys, "Les seigneurs de 's Heeren Elderen," *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique et Littéraire de Limbourg* 12 (1872) 77-87; Van Caster and Op de Beeck, *De grafkunst* (n. 47 above) 77, 108-109; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 3.34.

¹⁸¹ SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above), f. 61v; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 218; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 69; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 5323.

¹⁸² SAL, n. 6486, f. 76v; Daris, "Extraits du Cartulaire de l'église de Notre-Dame à Tongres" (n. 145 above) 370-373; Hansay, "Les fiefs" (n. 5 above) 165; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.112-113, 2.299; Paquay, "De Heerlijkheid Mopertingen" (n. 161 above) 41-48; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 160; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4020.

¹⁸³ SAL, n. 6486, f. 77r; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4251.

¹⁸⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 80r.

1. Pays homage for lands in Werm in 1381. Citizen of Tongres.
2. Related to Lambert van Werm. His wife, Catharina, is mentioned in the will of Richard van Louchen.

Werm, Lambert van (squire). 337 1/3 m.¹⁸⁶

1. His father and aunt pay homage in 1365 for lands in Vliermaal. He pays homage in 1377 for a manor and house in Widdingen (Wermerbosch, named after his family) with lands and rents. Pays homage for lands and rents in Eigenbilzen after the death of his father. Also possess some rents and lands in Hoesselt and Werm. Citizen of Tongres.
2. Related to Giselbert van Werm.

Rotte of Jan Godenards, high bailiff of Brabant.

Jan Godenards was high bailiff of Brabant from 1365 until 1372. The family Godenards is one of the leading patrician families in the city of Louvain.¹⁸⁷

This rotte counts 61 men, of whom 2 originate from the County of Loon.

Harduement, Arnold bastaard van. 100m (squire).¹⁸⁸

1. Bastard son of lord Jan van Harduement (*rotte* of Robert van Namen).

Montenaken, Jan van. 908m (knight).¹⁸⁹

1. Lord of Binderveld (Brabant). Castellan of Montenaken (hereditary title) from 1363 until 1366). Lord of Nieuwerkerken (Brabant) before 1378.
2. Loses a large part of inheritance and sells most of his possessions in the County of Loon, which explains why his reimbursement is lower than that of his younger brother Godfried (*rotte* van Rotselaar). According to Jacques de Hemricourt this is divine punishment because of his involvement in the murder of his father. High bailiff of Louvain.

Rotte of Regnier van Schoonvorst (Schönau).

Regnier was the eldest son of the lord of Schoonvorst, who also served in this *rotte*. He received the lordships of Schönau, Zichem, Sint-Agatha-Rode, Zittart, Marchiennes- en- Pont and Thuin from his father in 1369, as well as all his lands near Saint-Trond, Huy en Liège. His uncle had been abbot of Saint-Trond until his death in 1350.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ SAL, n. 6486, f. 82 r; Daris, “Extraits du Cartulaire de l’église de Notre- Dame à Tongres” (n. 145 above) 356, 375-376; Grauwels, “Hornes” (n. 5 above) 111; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4844.

¹⁸⁶ SAL, n. 6486, f. 76v; Poncelet, *Les feudataires*, 13, 193, 195, 199; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4527.

¹⁸⁷ van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.210.

¹⁸⁸ SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above), f. 60r; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5. n. 3725.

¹⁸⁹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 59r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above); de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1.24-25, 2.308; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4068.

¹⁹⁰ Florian Gläser, *Schönau-Schönforst. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des rheinisch- maasländischen Adels im Spätmittelalter* (PhD thesis Universität Trier 1999) 60-64, 150-168, 175-180, 189-190.

This rotte counts 26 men, of whom 8 originate from the County of Loon.

Borggreve, Hendrik (squire) 70m.¹⁹¹

1. Possessed the Borchgreven hof (the castellan's manor) near the tower of Brustem untill 1357. At this time Lodewijk van den Borch van Brustem, from a richer branch of the same family (he becomes a knight between 1369 and 1379), pays homage for it. He is still mentioned in relation to lands in Brustem in 1385. A Herman Borchgreve from Velm and a Herman des Borgreven soen, who owns land in Kozen, appear in the books of fiefs. The second Herman, at least, is related to Hendrik Borggreve and owns a manor in Brustem.
2. The names Borchgreve and van der Borch are sometimes used interchangeably. They are descendants of the castellans of Brustem. In local sources the family is identified as one of the seven 'counts' (*graven*) of Brustem, descendants of the seven original fiefholders of the counts of Loon, or at least the possessors of their fiefs.

Broeke, Jan van den. 256m.¹⁹²

1. Member of the Uyttenbroek family of Saint-Trond (see Egidius Uyttenbroek who serves under Robert van Namen).
2. He is a witness with Hendrik Borgher in 1379 when Herman Wisselere, former bailiff of Saint-Trond declares that he will not do anything that conflicts with the abbot's interests.

Dijke, Arnold van den (squire) 480m.¹⁹³

1. Councillor of Saint-Trond in 1374, 1376-1377 and 1379. Pays homage in 1367 and 1368 for a mill and lands near Herk-de-Stad.
2. His father is a knight and councillor of Saint-Trond. His brother Lambert is bailiff in 1377. He is a witness together with lord Jan van Duras and Arnold Bolle in 1367 during the homage ceremony for a fief in Alken.

Duras, Jan van (knight) 2012m.¹⁹⁴

1. Lord of Duras (fortress and village). Pays homage for Nieuwerkerken in 1378, which is a fief of Brabant, but dependant of the court of Gorsem in the County of Loon. He pays homage for a rent, manor and lands near Duras in 1368. He also possesst lands in Spalbeek (fief of the abbey of Saint-Trond), Vreren and Mal.
2. Eldest son of Willem van Neufchâteau and Margaretha, daughter of count Arnold V of Loon. Goes to Calais in 1359 to serve Edward III and conducts chévauchées in the area around Zoutleeuw in 1379. He dies in 1387. His younger brother Willem also fights at Baesweiler. His son, Willem, is mentioned in the convocation lists of the estates of Brabant in 1406 with the squires of the area around Zoutleeuw.

¹⁹¹ SAL, n. 6486, f. 81r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 112; A. Claassen, "De torenburcht van Brustem," *Het Oude Land van Loon* 30 (1975) 57-59; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 55, 87, 125, 135; Hansay, "Les fiefs" (n. 5 above) 161; Houtman and Molemans, "Cijnsregister" (n. 41 above) 241-242, 274-275; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 582.

¹⁹² SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above) f. 75v; Goole, *Wapenboek Sint-Truiden* (n. 130 above) 99; Moors, *De oorkondentaal* (n. 41 above) n. 143; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 5. n. 3404.

¹⁹³ Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief (henceforth ARB), Collection of seals, n. 1238; SAL, n. 6486, f. 75v; Charles, *La ville de Saint-Trond* (n. 104 above) 453-455, 462; Jozef Daris, "Analyse du cartulaire de l'abbaye de Herckenrode," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeoise* 11 (1872) 100-101; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 51, 52, 81- 82, 146, 170; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3526.

¹⁹⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 81r; Damen, "Prelaten, edelen en steden" (n. 172 above) 72; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 78, 218; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 2.194; Froissart, *Chroniques* (n. 23 above) 6. 209; Marleen Grauwels, "De heerlijkheid en de heren van Ordingen," *Het Oude Land van Loon* 26 (1971) 84-85, 87; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4831.

Duras, Willem van (knight) 1463m.¹⁹⁵

1. Becomes lord of Ordingen (allodial lordship) between 1371 and 1380. Posesses lands in Spalbeek, Gorsem, Vreren and Mal.
2. Younger brother of Jan. He accompagnies his brother on chévauchées in Brabant in 1379 and dies in 1389. The lordship of Ordingen was at first inherited by his second brother Arnold, but he dies before 1370.

Greven, Hendrik. 232m. ¹⁹⁶

1. Pays homage in 1384 for a house in Huffelt (hamlet between Hasselt and Stevoort) and five and a half hectares of land near the beguinage of Hasselt.
2. His widow, Ida, pays homage for the same fiefs in 1394, after his death, with *Jacob dictus Brigant* as her guardian.

Loon, Arnold van (squire) 280m. ¹⁹⁷

1. Son of Arnold van Loon, bastard son of count Arnold V of Loon and Ide van Zammelen (Kortessem). Is also called Arnold van Zammelen. A Arnold van Zammelen is councillor of the church of Our Lady of Tongres in 1363.
2. Councillor of Zichem in 1383 (a city owned by Regnier van Schoonvorst).

L(o)uke (Louchen, Loet), Rikard van (squire) 2178m. ¹⁹⁸

1. Citizen of Tongres and councillor of Saint-Trond in 1367. Posesses lands near Widooie and Ketzingen. Pays homage for a house and farm named van der Schuren near Bilzen in 1378. His will specifies that thirty seven hectares of his lands in the immediate surroundings of the city of Tongres must be used to establish a new hospital.
2. His coat of arms suggests that he is a member of the family von Louchen, a family of councillors in the city of Aachen. He is married to Elisabeth van Ghenne. His will, written in 1380, specifies that he wants to be buried in the church of Our Lady in Tongres

Rotte of the castellan of Limburg (Hendrik van Gronsveld).

Hendrik van Gronsveld was castellan of Limburg from 1338 untill his death in 1373. Hij was an important moneylender to the dukes of Brabant.¹⁹⁹

This rotte counts 34 men, of whom 1 originates from the County of Loon.

¹⁹⁵ SAL, n. 6486, f. 82r; Bormans and Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4.570-571; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 119; Grauwels, “Ordingen” (n. 194 above) 86-89; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 4831, 7. n. 5054.

¹⁹⁶ SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above) f. 61v; Grauwels, “Hornes” (n. 5 above) 123-124; Grauwels, “Beieren” (n. 5 above) 57; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5 (n. 17 above) n. 3679, 6. n. 4783.

¹⁹⁷ ARB, Collection of seals (n. 193 above), n. 8866; SAL, n. 6486, f. 61v; Luc Brone en Jo Gilissen, *Tongeren (II)* (Tongeren 2012) 83; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 2.451; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 3974, 7. n. 4795.

¹⁹⁸ Charles, *La ville de Saint- Trond* (n. 104 above) 453; Daris, “Extraits du Cartulaire de l’église de Notre-Dame à Tongres” (n. 145 above) 356; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 61, 149, 210-212; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 6. n. 3965; Luise Frein von Coels von der Brugghen, “Das Wappenbuch des Aachener Schöffenstuhls,” *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtvereins* 66-67 (1954) 85, 93.

¹⁹⁹ van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.215.

Amelsdorf, Willem van. 40m.²⁰⁰

1. Originates probably from Amelsdorf, a hamlet near Waltwilder (Bilzen).

Rotte of Maastricht.

This rotte was led by Nicolaas Hoen, bailiff of Maastricht in 1369-1371. He died at Baesweiler.²⁰¹

This rotte counts 27 men, of whom 1 originates from the County of Loon.

La Marck, Everard de bastaard van (squire). 264m.²⁰²

1. Lord of Zichen (Zichen and Zussen) because of his marriage with Helwigis van Leut. Helwigis gives the lordship to her brother, Jakob van Leut, but Everard keeps the fortress and usufruct of the lordship until 1388, when he transfers them to Engelbertus van der Marck. He pays homage in 1366 for a house and manor in Gellik.
2. Bastard son of an unknown member of the La Marck or van der Marck family.

Rotte of Raes van Linter.

Raes van der Rivieren was lord of Neerlinter and Grez. Hij married the only daughter of Gerard van Heers and inherited his numerous possessions in the County of Loon in 1397 (lordships of Heers, Wimmertingen and one half of the lordship of Horpmaal).²⁰³

This rotte counts 19 men, of whom 2 originate from the County of Loon.

Boekhout, Hendrik van (squire, knight before his death in 1383). 482m.²⁰⁴

1. He possesses a (house and) manor in Boekhout, a fief in Rummen and lands near Brustem.
2. His father is a knight. He is probably a descendant from the family van Boekhout, castellans of Duras in the twelfth century.

Thys, Robert Brunkens van. (squire) 145m.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ SAL, n. 6486, f. 64v.; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 12, 19; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3199.

²⁰¹ van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition* (n. 22 above) 2.215.

²⁰² SAL, n. 6486 (n. 21 above), f. 66r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 4; Grauwels, "Hornes" (n. 5 above) 119, 151; Verkooren, *Chartres* (n. 17 above) 6. n. 4010.

²⁰³ de Hemricourt, *Le Miroir* (n. 43 above) 1.59; Grauwels, "Beieren" (n. 5 above) 77; van Oeteren, *Recrutement et composition*, 2.181-182.

²⁰⁴ SAL, n. 6486, f. 67r.; Baerten, *Het graafschap Loon* (n. 4 above) 223; Grauwels, "Hornes", 125, 151; Grauwels, *Regestenlijst der oorkonden van de landkommanderij Oudenbiezen* (n. 118 above) 1. n. 207; Piot, *Cartulaire* (n. 96 above) 2.LXIII; Poncelet, *Les feudataires* (n. 5 above) 258, 275, 276, 286, 294; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3369.

²⁰⁵ SAL, n. 6486, f.67r; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs*, 26; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 2.382; Poncelet, *Les feudataires*, 376, 387, 651; Verkooren, *Chartres*, 5. n. 3413.

1. Lord of Thys and Otrange (Wouteringen) near Tongres after the death of his father in 1365. His father pays homage to the bishop for lands near Corswarem in 1350.
2. He dies in 1403. His father was a squire, but his grandfather was a knight.

Rotte unknown.

Berlo, Gerard van (squire).²⁰⁶

1. Oldest son of Gerard, lord of Berlo. He might have succeeded his father at the time of the battle.
2. His younger brother Willem also fights at Baesweiler and succeeds him or their father as lord of Berlo.

Hamal, Willem van (knight).²⁰⁷

1. Lord of Grevenbroek (Hamont, Achel and Sint-Huibrachts-Lille).
2. Dies at Baesweiler. His father is lord of Hamal (imperial immediacy) near Tongres and Zonhoven, Zolder, Houthalen, Stokrooie en Viverselle (later combined into the lordship of Vogelsanck) near Hasselt. They both supported Arnold van Rummen's claims on the title of count of Loon title in the 1360's, without doubt because Willem would succeed his uncle as count. Willem was buried in Tongres, but the tombstone was destroyed in the eighteenth century.

Chiny, Godfried van (squire).²⁰⁸

1. Lord of Gruitrode (castle and village), held in fief from the archbishop of Cologne.
2. Bastard son of Godfried van Heinsberg, only legitimate son of Godfried van Heinsberg, count of Loon. His father died in Spain in 1342, which gave the chapter of Saint-Lambert in Liège an opportunity to dispute the succession of the count of Loon. Gruitrode was originally part of the countal domain, but was given to the archbishop of Cologne in 1346 by the Heinsberg family to protect it from future encroachments. He was condemned by the city of Maastricht in 1389 to make a pilgrimage to Rocamadour and to serve the city on his own expense with twelve lances for eight days or with six lances for sixteen days.

²⁰⁶ de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres*, 1.148, 189-190.

²⁰⁷ SAT (n. 107 above) n. 3560; Bormans en Schoolmeesters, *Cartulaire* (n. 34 above) 4.434-439, 441-442, 446-447; de Borman, *Le livre des fiefs* (n. 5 above) 74; de Hemricourt, *Oeuvres* (n. 43 above) 1. 327; Jozef Paquay, "La seigneurie de Hamal," *Bulletin de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège* 23 (1931) 31-52; Poncelet, "Les maréchaux d'armée" (n. 133 above) 232-237.

²⁰⁸ RHCL, 20.001 A Indivieze Raad Maastricht, n. 2020; Norbert Andernach, *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter* (Düsseldorf 1961-2001) 7.75, 9.256, 259; Bert Mersch, "De Stadswording van Maaseik 1265-1418 Deel I," *Het Oude Land van Loon* 45 (1990) 148-150, 162.