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The lure of the dark ages : writing the Middle Ages and political rhetoric in humanist historiography from the low countries

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Cover Page



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Author: Coen Maas

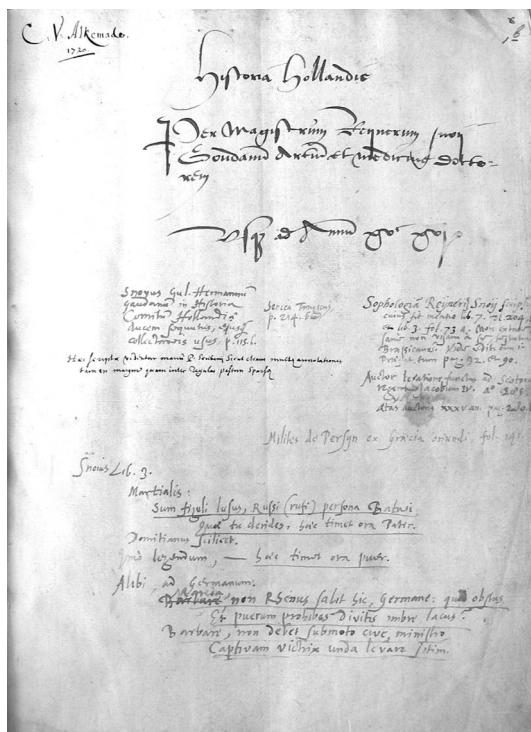
Title: The lure of the dark ages : writing the Middle Ages and political rhetoric in humanist historiography from the low countries

Date: 2012-05-15



APPENDIX A

Manuscripts of Snoy's *Historia Hollandie*

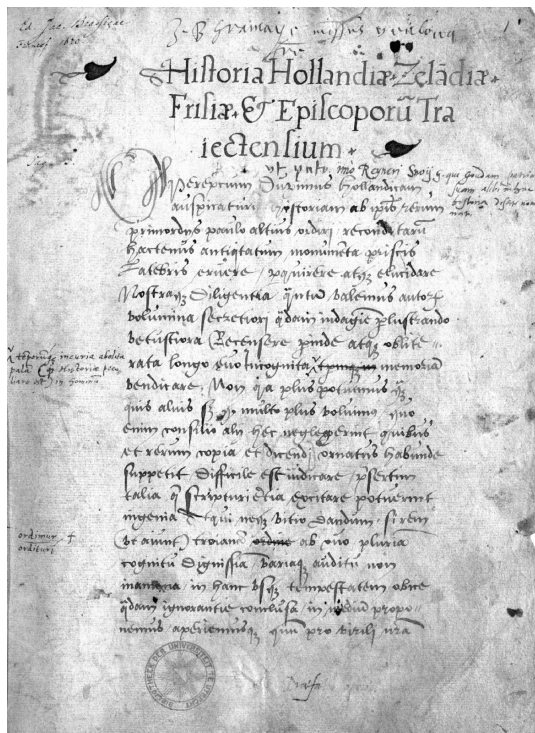


Leiden University Library. ms. BPL 838

Format: folio

Contents: Reynier Snoy, *Historia Hollandie* (first redaction) (f. 17^r-402^r); idem, *Pareneticon ad illustrissimum Carolum II archiducem Austrie et regem Hispaniarum* (f. 403^r-416^r); idem, *Carmen ad lectorem* (f. 416^v); idem, *Carmen choriambicum asclepiadeum illustrissimo archiduci, quum comitatu Hollandie primum inauguretur* (f. 417^r-418^r)

Previous owners: Petrus Scriverius, Thomas de Swaen, Pieter van der Schelling, Cornelis van Alkemade



Utrecht University Library, ms. 772 (sign. VI.E.12)

Format: folio

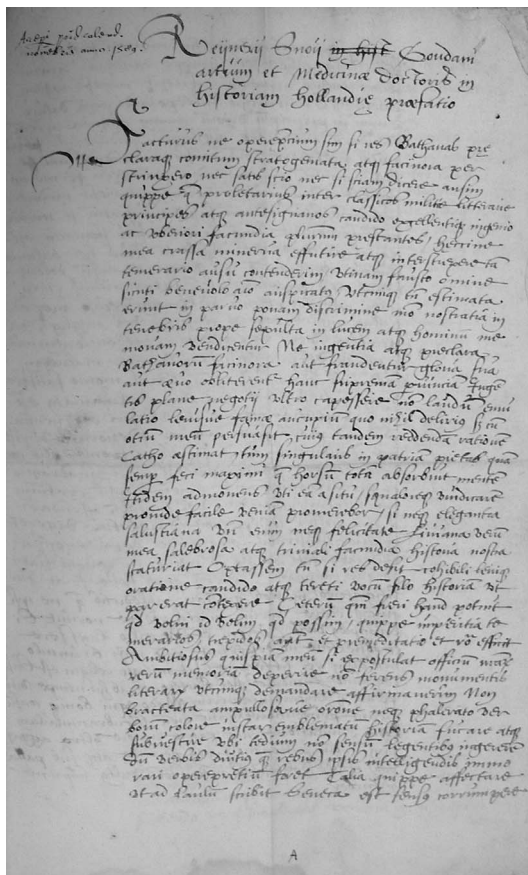
Date: late sixteenth or early seventeenth century

Contents: Reynier Snoy, *Historia Hollandie* (first redaction) (f. 1^r-367^r), some notes by Arnoldus Buchelius (f. 367^v-368^r)

Particulars: preface to book 1 is missing

Previous owners: Janus Douša Sr¹, Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, Arnoldus Buchelius

¹ Douša's use of the manuscript can be demonstrated on the basis of Buchelius' letter to Franciscus Sweertius, written 30 November 1615, in which he says that the manuscript of Snoy that had belonged to Gramaye "was once in possession of the famous Douša, who wrote in the margin in his own hand some things which seemed to have been corrupted or omitted through the copyists' fault." (UBU hs. 836 (sign. VII.E.5), f. 190^v: "Fuit hoc aliquando in potestate Cl[arissimi] Dousae, qui ad margines sua manu quaedam, que ibi scriptorum culpa corrupta vel omissa videbantur, notauit.").



Trezoar, Leeuwarden, ms. 300

Format: folio (book 7: quarto)

Date: possibly 1589²

Copyist: possibly Jacobus Hesius (partly)³

Contents: Snoy, *Historia Hollandie*, books 1-9⁴

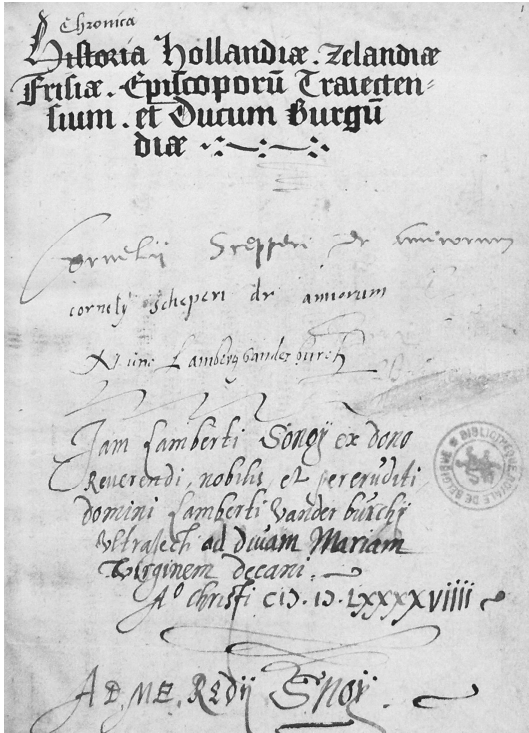
Previous owners: Bernardus Furmerius, Pierius

Winsemius

² The manuscript consists of several parts, written in at least four different hands. All leaves have been folded twice, probably because they were sent by mail. The first two parts contain notes that they were received in 1589. See f. 1r: “Accepi 10. Augusti anno 1589 a Jacobo Hesio” and f. 12r: “Accepi prid[ie] kalend[as] nouembris anno 1589”. Possibly this was a common method of copying at the time, since Dousa also refers to a manuscript of Heda produced by himself, his son, and Bonaventura Vulcanius: Vermaseren 1955, 100.

³ Jacobus Hesius is mentioned on f. 1r as the sender of part of the manuscript, and might well have been the copyist of this portion (see previous footnote). He was probably a priest from Amersfoort, who worked as a scribe for his chapter and who had humanist connections: see Leeuwenberg 1998.

⁴ In a letter to Lambert van der Burch, Dousa refers to a partial manuscript of Snoy he received from his addressee (“Snoium istum, cuius dimidiatum a te Annalem accepi modo”): Vermaseren 1955, 90-1. This might have been the same manuscript as the one that is now kept in Leeuwarden.



Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, ms. 13912

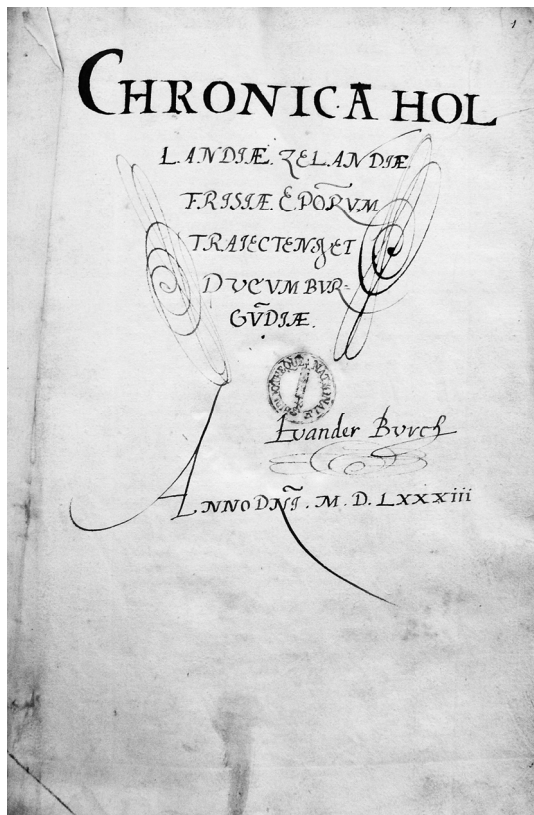
Format: quarto

Contents: Reynier Snoy, *Historia Hollandiae* (second redaction) (f. 11r-214r)

Date: first half of the sixteenth century

Particulars: contains a number of (mostly heraldic) pen drawings

Previous owners: Cornelis de Schepper, Lambert van der Burch, Lambert Snoy, Frans Corneel Gislenus Cuypers, lord of Rijmenam, Charles Pierre Joseph Le Candèle



Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, ms. 10250

Format: folio

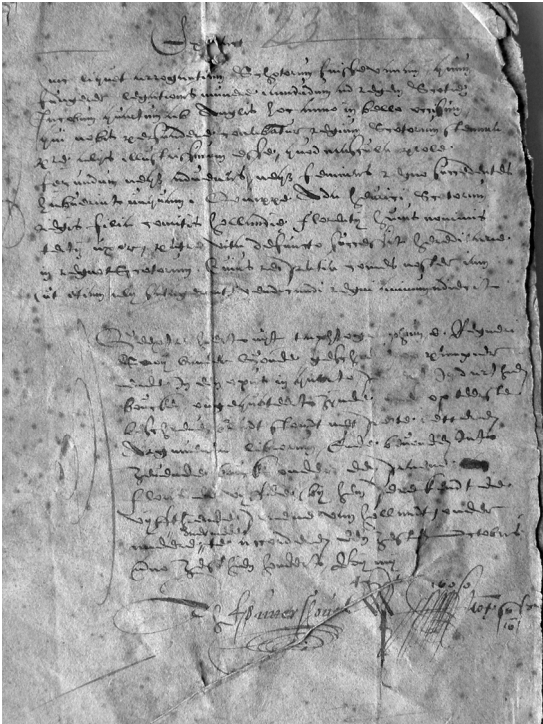
Date: 1583

Copyist: Adolph Blijleven⁵

Contents: Reynier Snoy, *Historia Hollandiae* (second redaction) (f. 10^r-336^v)

Previous owners: Lambert van der Burch, National Library of France

⁵ At f. 335^v-336^r it is said that Adolph Blijleven worked on the manuscript for 68 days and finished it on 18 May 1583.



National Archives of the Netherlands. The Hague, inventory n° 3.03.01.01, record 6025

Date: 1600

Copyist: Th.E. Puttershouck⁶

Contents: short extract from Reynier Snoy, *Historia Hollandie*, book 7⁷

Previous owners: Hof van Holland

⁶ The bottom of the page reads “onder andere daer mede te accorderen den Zesten Octobris Anno Zesthien Hondert Bij mij Th.E. Puttershouck”. This might refer to Thomas Evertsz. Puttershouck, who was a notary in Gouda from 1596 to 1629. However, I have been unable to identify the initial ‘E’ with certainty.

⁷ On this leaf, one passage from Snoy’s history has been copied, viz. *HH* f. 228^v: “Hinc liquet arrogantiam ... vendicandi regni animum adiecit.” The use of *hoc anno* instead of *nuper* suggests that it was copied from a manuscript that contained the first version of the *Historia Hollandie*: see footnote 52 to Chapter Three.



APPENDIX B

Concordance Table for the Versions of Snoy's Historia Hollandie

Item	Count	Ms. Leiden	Ms. Utrecht	Ms. Leeuwarden	Ms. Brussels α	Ms. Brussels β	Printed edition
title page		1b ^r	missing	missing	1 ^r	1 ^r	† ^r
<i>Argumenta librorum</i>		1 ^r -16 ^r	missing	1 ^r -10 ^v	2 ^r -9 ^v	2 ^r -8 ^r	*
<i>In Historiam Hollandie prefatio</i>		17 ^r -18 ^v	missing	12 ^{r-v}	11 ^{r-v}	10 ^r -11 ^v	1-2
epigrams		missing	missing	missing	11 ^v -12 ^r	11 ^v	†5 ^r
Book I		19 ^r -41 ^r	1 ^r -29 ^v	13 ^r -25 ^v	13 ^r -24 ^v	11 ^v -30 ^v	3-15
Book II		41 ^r -55 ^r	29 ^v -45 ^v	27 ^r -33 ^r	24 ^v -32 ^v	30 ^v -45 ^r	16-23
Book III		55 ^r -75 ^v	46 ^r -67 ^r	33 ^r -41 ^r	32 ^v -42 ^v	45 ^r -66 ^r	24-33
Book IV		75 ^v -114 ^r	67 ^v -101 ^v	41 ^r -51 ^v	43 ^r -61 ^v	66 ^r -105 ^v	34-50
<i>Libri quinti prologus</i>		[114 ^v - 116 ^r]	[102 ^r -103 ^r]	[51 ^v -52 ^r]	62 ^{r-v}	106 ^r -107 ^v	51-2
Book V		116 ^r -145 ^v	103 ^r -125 ^v	52 ^r -60 ^v	63 ^r -78 ^r	107 ^v -139 ^r	53-64
	<i>Dirk I</i>	116 ^r -122 ^v	103 ^r -108 ^r	52 ^r -54 ^v	63 ^r -67 ^r	107 ^v -116 ^v	53-5
	<i>Dirk II</i>	123 ^r -127 ^v		54 ^v -56 ^r	67 ^r -69 ^v	116 ^v -121 ^r	55-7
	<i>Arnulf</i>	127 ^v -132 ^v		56 ^{r-v}	69 ^v -72 ^r	121 ^r -126 ^r	57-9
	<i>Dirk III</i>	132 ^v -139 ^r		56 ^v -59 ^r	72 ^r -75 ^r	126 ^r -133 ^r	59-62
	<i>Dirk IV</i>	139 ^r -141 ^r		59 ^{r-v}	75 ^v -76 ^v	133 ^r -135 ^r	62-3
	<i>Floris I</i>	141 ^r -145 ^r		59 ^v -60 ^v	76 ^v -78 ^r	135 ^r -139 ^r	63-4

* Inserted at the beginning of each book.

Book VI		145 ^v -187 ^v	126 ^r -155 ^r	60 ^v -70 ^v	78 ^v -96 ^r	139 ^r -180 ^v	65-82
	<i>Dirk V</i>	145 ^v -153 ^v		60 ^v -63 ^r	78 ^v -82 ^r	139 ^r -147 ^v	65-9
	<i>Floris II</i>	154 ^r -157 ^r		63 ^r - ^v	82 ^v -83 ^v	148 ^r -150 ^v	69-70
	<i>Dirk VI</i>	157 ^r -164 ^v		63 ^v -65 ^v	83 ^v -87 ^r	151 ^r -158 ^v	70-3
	<i>Floris III</i>	164 ^v -171 ^v		65 ^v -67 ^r	87 ^r -90 ^r	158 ^v -165 ^v	73-6
	<i>Dirk VII</i>	171 ^v -178 ^v		67 ^r -68 ^v	90 ^r -92 ^v	165 ^v -171 ^v	76-9
	<i>William I</i>	179 ^r -187 ^r		68 ^v -70 ^v	92 ^v -96 ^r	172 ^r -180 ^v	79-82
Book VII		187 ^v -236 ^v	155 ^r -192 ^v	71 ^r -97 ^v	96 ^r -119 ^r	180 ^v -230 ^r	83-103
	<i>Floris IV</i>	187 ^v -198 ^r	155 ^r -163 ^r	71 ^r -76 ^r	96 ^v -101 ^r	180 ^v -191 ^r	83-8
	<i>William II</i>	198 ^r -215 ^v	163 ^r -	76 ^v -85 ^v	101 ^r -108 ^v	191 ^r -208 ^v	88-95
	<i>Floris V</i>	215 ^v -236 ^v		85 ^v -97 ^v	109 ^v -119 ^r	208 ^v -230 ^r	95-103
Book VIII		236 ^v -275 ^v	193 ^r -229 ^r	98 ^v -110 ^v	119 ^r -134 ^r	230 ^r -260 ^v	104-21
	<i>John I</i>	236 ^v -249 ^r		98 ^v -100 ^r	119 ^r -122 ^v	230 ^r -235 ^v	104-7
	<i>John II</i>	249 ^r -250 ^v		100 ^r -104 ^v	122 ^v -128 ^v	235 ^v -245 ^v	107-13
	<i>William III</i>	250 ^v -268 ^v		104 ^v -108 ^v	128 ^v -134 ^v	245 ^v -256 ^r	113-8
	<i>William IV</i>	268 ^v -275 ^v		108 ^v -110 ^v	134 ^v -138 ^r	256 ^r -260 ^v	119-21
Book IX		275 ^v -313 ^v	229 ^v -266 ^v	112 ^r -137 ^v	138 ^r -158 ^v	260 ^v -281 ^v	122-41
	<i>Margaret & William V</i>	275 ^v -283 ^v		112 ^r -117 ^r	138 ^r -141 ^v	260 ^v -265 ^r	122-6
	<i>Albert</i>	283 ^v -296 ^v		117 ^v -127 ^r	141 ^v -148 ^v	265 ^r -271 ^v	126-32
	<i>William VI</i>	296 ^v -301 ^v		127 ^r -130 ^v	148 ^v -151 ^v	272 ^r -274 ^v	132-5
	<i>Jacqueline</i>	301 ^v -313 ^v		130 ^v -137 ^v	151 ^v -158 ^v	274 ^v -281 ^v	135-41
Book X		313 ^v -338 ^v	267 ^r -293 ^r	missing	159 ^r -172 ^v	282 ^r -294 ^v	141-54
	Burgundian pre-history (<i>De ducibus Burgundiae</i>)	313 ^v -317 ^v		missing	159 ^r -161 ^r	282 ^r -284 ^r	141-3
	<i>Philip the Bold</i>	317 ^v -320 ^r		missing	161 ^r -162 ^v	284 ^r -285 ^v	143-5
	<i>John the Fearless</i>	320 ^v -325 ^r		missing	163 ^r -165 ^r	285 ^v -287 ^v	145-7
	<i>Philip the Good</i>	325 ^r -338 ^v		missing	165 ^r -172 ^v	287 ^v -294 ^v	147-54
Book XI	<i>Charles the Bold</i>	338 ^v -362 ^v	293 ^v -323 ^r	missing	173 ^r -187 ^v	295 ^r -309 ^v	154-68
Prologus in librum		363 ^r -364 ^r	323 ^r -[323 ^v]	missing	187 ^v -188 ^r	309 ^v -310 ^r	169-70

duodecimum

Book XII	<i>Mary & Maximilian</i>	364 ^r -373 ^v	[323 ^v]-333 ^v	missing	188 ^r -194 ^r	310 ^r -316 ^r	170-5
Book XIII	<i>Philip the Handsome</i>	373 ^v -391 ^r	334 ^r -353 ^v	missing	194 ^r -204 ^r (bk. 12)	316 ^r -326 ^r (bk. 12)	176-84 (bk. 12)
Book XIV	<i>Charles of Habsburg</i>	391 ^r -402 ^r	354 ^r -367 ^r	missing	204 ^r -214 ^r (bk. 13)	326 ^r -335 ^v (bk. 13)	184-93 (bk. 13)
	years 1516- 1517	missing	missing	missing	211 ^r -214 ^r (bk. 13)	332 ^v -335 ^v (bk. 13)	190-3 (bk. 13)

 APPENDIX C

*Principal Sources for Some Reigns Described in Barlandus’
Cronica Brabantiae ducum*

CdB: Episode	AEC	DK	Other
	JOHN IV (1415-1427)		
Succession (1415) and marriage (1418)	f. a6 ^v -c1 ^r	f. 256 ^v -257 ^r , 258 ^{r-v} , 263 ^v , 268 ^v	Barlandus’ account is so short that its source cannot be established
Gloucester invades Hainault (1424); John’s visit to Holland	f. c3 ^v -c4 ^v	f. 268 ^v -269 ^r	
Gloucester invades Brabant (1424)	f. c4 ^v	-	
A first skirmish at ‘s Gravenbrakel (1424)	f. c5 ^r	-	
‘s Gravenbrakel is captured (1424)	f. c5 ^{r-v}	-	
Gloucester driven away from Hainault	f. c5 ^v	-	
Jacqueline brought to Ghent (1425)	f. c5 ^v -c6 ^v	f. 269 ^v -270 ^r	perhaps <i>DK</i>
A fight in Zeeland and other events (1425)	f. c6 ^v -d1 ^v	f. 270 ^v -271 ^v	
The foundation of the university of Louvain (1426)	f. d2 ^r	-	
Trouble in Holland caused by Jacqueline (1425)	f. d2 ^r	f. 270 ^{r-v} , 271 ^v	
John’s illness and death (1426)	f. d2 ^v -d3 ^r	f. 272 ^v	

PHILIP OF SAINT-POL (1427-1430)

Accession (1427) and visit of the pope	f. d3 ^{r-v}	f. 272 ^v
Meeting in Vilvoorde and other events	f. d3 ^v -d4 ^r	-
War between Liège and Namur	f. d4 ^r	f. 274 ^r
Philip's bride and death (1430)	f. d4 ^v -d5 ^r	f. 274 ^r

PHILIP THE GOOD (1430-1467)

Accession (1430); wife and children	f. d5 ^r -d6 ^v	f. 274 ^r -275 ^r , 281 ^{r-v}	strong verbal similarities
Murder of John the Fearless and revenge (1419)	f. b4 ^{r-v} , d6 ^v	f. 260 ^r -261 ^r	Gaguin (1500) f. 113^v-114^r
Siege of Calais (1436)	f. e1 ^r	f. 284 ^v -285 ^v	
Revolt in Bruges (1437)	f. e1 ^r	f. 285 ^v -287 ^r	
Capture of Luxemburg (1440)	f. e1 ^r	f. 288 ^v -289 ^r	
Capture of Constantinople (1453)	f. e1 ^v	f. 293 ^v	Curio (ed.) (1560) vol. 2, 948; Gaguin (1500) f. 138^v
Extortion in Holland (1447)	-	f. 291 ^v -292 ^r	
Extortion and revolt in Ghent (1453)	f. e1 ^v -e2 ^r	f. 293 ^v -295 ^v	
David, bishop of Utrecht; siege of Deventer (1455-1456)	f. e2 ^r	f. 296 ^r -299 ^r	
Dauphin Louis flees from France (1456- 1461)	f. e2 ^v	f. 299 ^r , 299 ^v - 300 ^v	Curio (ed.) (1560) vol. 2, 971
Expedition against the Turks (1464)	f. e2 ^v -e3 ^r	f. 304 ^{r-v}	
Philip's death (1467) and personality	f. e4 ^v -e5 ^r	f. 312 ^v -313 ^r	

MARY OF BURGUNDY & MAXIMILIAN (1477-1492)

Accession (1477)	f. f6 ^v	f. 365 ^{r-v}	
Embassy to France, some lords executed	f. f6 ^v	f. 365 ^v -367 ^r	
Given in marriage to Maximilian; two wars	f. f6 ^v -g1 ^r	f. 370 ^r -371 ^r	there must have been another source
Guelders abandons Mary	f. g1 ^v	f. 373 ^v -374 ^r	
Revolt in Brussels	f. g1 ^r	-	
Revolt in Louvain	f. g1 ^r	-	there must have been another source
Maximilian comes and marries Mary	f. g1 ^{r-v}	f. 371 ^v -372 ^r	neither source matches very well
War between Utrecht and Holland	-	f. 384 ^v -386 ^v	
War in Artois	f. g1 ^v -g3 ^r	-	

Peace treaty; bishop John of Burgundy dies	f. g3 ^v	-	additions by Barlandus
Maximilian goes to Holland	f. g3 ^v	-	
Embassy to Atrecht	f. g4 ^r	-	
Mary's death (1482)	f. g5 ^r	f. 386 ^v -387 ^r	perhaps <i>DK</i>
Maximilian's efforts to become guardian	f. g5 ^r	f. 388 ^v -389 ^r	
Executions by the archduke	f. g5 ^v -g6 ^r	-	
Maximilian made guardian	f. g6 ^r	-	
Murder of Louis of Bourbon and its consequences	f. g6 ^r -h3 ^v	f. 390 ^r -391 ^r , 391 ^v -392 ^r	strong verbal similarities
Maximilian King of the Romans (1486)	f. h3 ^v -h4 ^r	f. 397 ^v	Branca (ed.) (1943) vol. 2, 110
Revolt in Bruges	f. h4 ^r -h5 ^r	f. 398 ^r - 399 ^r	strong verbal similarities
Civil war and pestilence	f. h5 ^r	f. 399 ^{r-v}	strong verbal similarities
Norbertine abby of Middelburg burnt down (1492)	-	f. 410 ^{r-v}	

PHILIP THE HANDSOME (1492-1515)

Philip is installed (1494); birth of Charles V (1500)	f. i1 ^v	f. 413 ^v , 417 ^v	strong verbal similarities; additions by Barlandus
Fire in Harderwijk (1503); earthquake in Brabant (1504)	-	f. 424 ^v -425 ^r	
Philip's journeys to Spain; his death (1506)	f. i5 ^{r-v} , i6 ^v - k1 ^r	f. 423 ^v , 427 ^v - 428 ^r , 428 ^v	strong verbal similarities; additions by Barlandus
Philip's expedition against Guelders (1502, 1505)	-	f. 426 ^v -427 ^r , 427 ^v	
The army of Guelders destroys Kempen, captures Tienen, and is routed in Ardennes	f. k1 ^{r-v}	f. 429 ^{r-v}	
An embassy to Maximilian; siege of Venlo	f. k2 ^{r-v} , k3 ^{r-v}	f. 429 ^v , 430 ^r , 430 ^v	
Maximilian's return from Germany	f. k3 ^v	-	
Henry VIII comes to Calais (1513)	f. l1 ^v -l2 ^r	f. 431 ^r	
Defeat of the Scots under James IV (1513)	f. l2 ^r	f. 431 ^r	there must have been another source
Charles V's education (1506-1515)	-	-	there must have been another source

CHARLES V (1515-1526)

Charles' Joyous Entry in Louvain (1515)	f. 13 ^v -14 ^r	-	there must have been another source
War between Guelders and Holland (1515-1517)	f. 15 ^r , 15 ^v	f. 433 ^r -436 ^r	strong verbal similarities
Charles leaves for Spain (1517)	f. 16 ^v	-	

 APPENDIX D

*Inclusion of Events from the Rule of John II
in the Versions of Divaeus' Commentarii*

If more than one event is narrated on a single page, the order of items is indicated by letters. When events are mentioned only in passing, the reference to the section in which this happens is given between square brackets. In the Brussels manuscript, the description of each duke's rule is given a numbered table of contents (p. 189 for John II); some of these numbers recur in the margins of the main text. In the overview below, the numbers from the table of contents are given between parentheses.

Date	Event	KBR ms. 17027- 28, p. 189-97	RBL p. 132-42	SUB Cod. hist. 62, f. 107^r-127^v
1290	The future John II's marriage to Margaret of England	(18) 197b (sub anno 1312: final section on marriage and children)	132b (sub anno 1297: opening section on accession and marriage) (book XIII)	-
1294	Accession of John II	(1) 189a	132a (sub anno 1297) (book XIII) ⁸	[107 ^r]
1295	John II conquers Wassenberg	189b	130a (book XII)	107 ^{r-v}

⁸ The printed edition erroneously dates John I's death to 1297. Consequently, the first deeds of John II as duke of Brabant (1294-1297) are to be found in book twelve, which was meant to describe the rule of John I.

	Guy of Flanders captured by Philip IV of France	(2) 189c	130b (book XII)	107 ^v
1296	Guy is released; alliance against France	189d	130c (book XII)	108 ^r
	Hugh of Chalon becomes bishop of Liège	-	130d (book XII)	108 ^r
	Controversy between Hugh and John II about Utrecht	-	-	108 ^{r-v}
1297	Guy fortifies the towns of Flanders; Philip IV conquers all except Gand; Guy's allies withdraw and he has to accept a peace treaty	189-90	130-1 (book XII), 132c (book XIII)	108 ^v -109 ^r
1298	Albert of Austria kills emperor Adolph of Nassau	(4) 190e ⁹	132d	109 ^r
1299	Charles I of Valois attacks Flanders	-	-	109 ^v
1300	Birth of the future John III	(18) 197 (final section on marriage and children)	132e	-
	John II acquires Mechelen	(3) 190c	132f	109 ^v -110 ^r
	Guido of Flanders abducted to France	190b	132g	110 ^r
1301	John II grants staple rights to Mechelen; Antwerp protests	190d	133a	110 ^v
	Hugh of Chalon, bishop of Liège, becomes bishop of Besançon	-	133b	110 ^v -111 ^r
	Jacques de Châtillon appointed as governor of Flanders	190a	132-3	111 ^r
	William II Berthout, bishop of Utrecht, dies	-	133c	-
1302	Jacques de Châtillon is expelled and the French yoke is shaken off	(5) 190f	133d	111 ^v
	Philip IV strikes back at Kortrijk, but is defeated (Battle of the Golden	(6) 190-1	133-4	111 ^v -112 ^v

⁹ In the table of contents in the Brussels manuscript, the conflict between Adolph and Albert is mentioned before John II's acquisition of Mechelen, but they are numbered as resp. (4) and (3). Indeed, the main text follows this numeration.

	Spurs)			
	Succession of Godfrey of Brabant, lord of Aarschot	(7) 191a	134a	112 ^v -113 ^r
	Adolph of Waldeck, bishop of Liège, dies	-	134b	-
	Philip IV of France is dispelled from Flanders once again	191b	134c	113 ^r
	The Flemish defeated by those of Saint-Omer	-	134d	-
	Rebellion at Mechelen and siege of the city by John II	(8) 191-2	134-5	113 ^r -115 ^v (s.a. 1303)
1303	Privileges granted to Louvain	-	135	115 ^v -116 ^r
	Continued siege and capture of Mechelen	192a	135-6	<113 ^r -115 ^v >
	John of Bar, lord of Puisaye, attacks Utrecht; John II gives an order to invade Hesbaye	-	-	116 ^{r-v}
	John II seeks support from his subjects for his war against John II of Holland	-	136a	116 ^v -117 ^v
	Thibaut of Bar becomes bishop of Liège	-	136b	[116 ^r]
	The Flemish wage war against Artois and Zeeland	(9) 192b	136c	117 ^v
	Godfrey of Vianen, lord of Grimbergen, dies	-	-	117 ^v
1304	The Flemish wage war against Holland, in cooperation with those of Brabant; they are defeated	192c	136d	118 ^r
	Philip IV of France attacks Flanders; arbitration results in peace treaty	(10) 192-3	136-7	118 ^{r-v}
	Guy of Flanders dies	[192-3]	[136-7]	118 ^v
	Gerardus a Milla dies	-	137a	118 ^v -119 ^r
1305	The peace treaty of the previous year is heavily modified	-	137b	119 ^{r-v}
1306	A revolt in Brussels is crushed	(11) 193	137-8	119 ^v -120 ^r
	John II issues an edict	193-4	138-9	120 ^r -121 ^r

	regarding the government of Brussels			
	Privileges granted to Louvain	-	139a	121r-122r
1307	Marriage of Edward II of England	(12) 194a	139b	122r
1308	Election and coronation of count Henry VII of Luxemburg as King of the Romans	(13) 194b	139c	122v
	John of Cuijk dies	-	139d	122v
1309	Staple rights are returned to Antwerp	-	139-40	123r
	About the Jews in Genappe	(14) 194d	140a	123r-v
	Walter of Tervuren dies	-	140b	123v
1310	Mechelen is lost	(15) 194e	140c	123v
	Henry, King of the Romans, goes to Italy; his wife, Margaret of Brabant, dies in Genova	194c	140d	123v-124f
1311	Gielis Berthout, lord of Mechelen dies; Arnoud of Quakenbeek is lord of Bergen op Zoom	-	-	124r
1312	Meeting of the Estates and the Charter of Kortenberg	(16) 195-197	140-2	124v-126v
	Death of the duke	(17) 197a	142	126v
	The nobility of Brabant is in full bloom	-	-	127v

 APPENDIX E

*Transcription of Some Entries from the Rule of John II
in the Versions of Divaeus' Commentarii*

KBR ms. 17027-28

Miraeus (ed.) 1610

SUB Cod. hist. 62

1. John II grants staple rights to Mechelen: Antwerp protests (1301)

p. 190: Itaque eo profectus, cum Ioanne Bertoud alterius partis domino, magno cum honore a ciuibus exceptus, stapulam salis auenae ac piscium Antuerpiae ablatam ijs concessit anno 1301.

p. 133: Receptus igitur Mechliniae summo cum honore, Stapulam (est id ius commercij, quo merces aliquo illatae transferri non possunt, nisi prius statutis loco & tempore, ciuibus aut mercatoribus eius loci venum expositae fuerint) auenae, salis, & piscium, quibus ex veteri Antuerpia fruebatur priuilegio, Mechliniae concessit, consilio Ioannis Bertoldi alterius partis Principis. Quod vt indigne factum fremebant Antuerpienses, inter alia id asserentes, quod Ducem nostrum, beneficiario iure ab Imperatore Antuerpiam possidentem, iura ciuitatis, suo arbitrio, non liceret mutare.

f. 110^v: Ioannes Dux noster Mechliniam profectus cum Ioanne Bertoldo alterius partis domino, itidem vt princeps a Senatu populoque excipitur, quos varijs beneficijs excoluit: inter caetera Stapulis auenae, salis et piscium Antuerpia illuc translatis. Intercessere Antuerpienses: iniuria se priuilegio vetustissimo priuari asserentes: possidere se beneficio Imperatoris, quo inuito satis constet Ducem beneficium deterius efficere non posse. Ad haec ipsum rata omnia Andouerpiensium iura promississe: cum Marcham vrbis susciperet. At surdo canebant fabulas, obfirmato iam eius proposito Mechlinienses hoc beneficio demerendi, quare seditionem agitantes Andouerpienses, pulsus Ducalibus praefectis,

ad Imperatorem Albertum appellarunt. Eo facto grauius in eos exacerbatu Dux, turmas aliquot peditum equitumque oppido immisit, moxque illuc profectus, multorum supplicio motum repressit.

2. Succession of Godfrey of Brabant, lord of Aarschot (1302)

p. 191: Porro Gothfredus Comes Vierzonij duas filias reliquit vnam Harecurtio Comiti nuptam, aliam Lossensi Comiti, qui soceri opes inter se partiti, hic Sichenensem ac Rodiensem, ille Arscotanium cum Birbacensi acceperunt, vt ante dictum meminimus. Nec defuit impostor qui post aliquod tempus oris similitudine Virzonium mentiretur, cui adeo fides habita a vidua Comitis vt in thalamum reciperetur, sed detecta fallacia perpetuo carceri addictus est.

p. 134: Porro Gothfredus Comes Virsonis duas filias reliquit, vnam Harecuriae Comiti, alteram Lossensi nuptas, qui soceri opes inter sese diuisere: ille Arscotanium Baronatum cum Birbacensi, Lossensis vero Sichenas cum Rodia sanctae Agathae accipientes. Inuentus postea impostor, qui se oris similitudine Virsonium mentiretur, creditus adeo, vt a vidua Comitis thoro reciperetur: verum detecto dolo, perpetuis vinculis addictus est.

f. 112^v-113^r: Porro Gotfredus Comes Virzonis duas filias reliquit, vnam Comiti Hauricuriae Normanno nuptam: altera Lossensi Comiti, qui soceri opes in Brabantia partiti, hic Sichenas, et Rodam Sanctae Agathae: ille vero Arscotum cum Birbaco obtinere. Inuentus paulo post impostor, qui ex similitudine oris Ioanni Virzonium se mentiretur: cui adeo creditum: vt a vidua Virzonij in thalamos reciperetur: verum detecto dolo, perpetuo carceri addictus est, non sine matronae magna ignominia.

3. A revolt in Brussels is crushed (1306)

p. 193: Sequenti anno Bruxellensium plebs graui seditione commota nobilium domos in vrbe passim demoliebatur, bona eorum in aerarium redigens. Vxor ducis nulla ratione compescere poterat. Hinc permotus dux collecto exercitu Vuriae, illinc Viluordiam iuit, quo ad eum omnis nobilitas Bruxellae confugit. Comperto duces Viluordiae consistere seditiosi prima Maij extensis signis eo properant. Occurrit

p. 137-8: Sequenti anno seditionibus in Brabantia laborari coepit, plebe in nobilitatem insurgente: & maxime Bruxellae, vbi ignobile vulgus in vnum collectum, pulsus Patricijs, domos eorum funditus demoliebantur, frustra ne id fieret, vxore Ducis deprecante. Quo intellecto Dux noster, coacto exercitu primum Furas, inde Viluordiam concessit. At perduelles, comperto Ducem Furae consistere, prima die Maij, extensis signis eo properant.

f. 119^v-120^r: Seditionibus in Brabantia laborari coepit initio a Bruxellensibus orto. Hic plebei ob caedem cuiusdam e suis acerbius tumultuantes patritiorum domicilia passim demoliebantur, magistratusque de suo creabant corpore. Obiecerat se furentibus vxor Ducis (ipse enim aberat) verum in cassum. Edoctus hominum insolentiam, dux cum seuerius in eos animaduertere decreuisset, collecto circa

dux: concurritur in pratis Viluordianis. Caesi Bruxellensium complures: reliqui in potestatem victoris concessere.

Disceptabatur tum in Ducis consilio, obuiamne multitudini eundum esset, quibusdam pacis impetrandae caussa eam aduenire asserentibus. Placuit tandem militem Viluordia educi, cum nec legatis missis, nec caduceatoribus, Bruxellenses quid peterent, significarent. Occurrere alteri alteris in latissimis Viluordianis pratis, vbi vtrimque explicatis ordinibus, cum aliquamdiu dimicatum esset, Bruxellenses cessere: quorum multis caesis, reliqui in deditionem venere. His Bruxellam renuntiatis, trepida vrbs Ducem muris recepit.

Furam milite Filfordium diuertit: ratus vbi de apparatu eius cognouissent, terrore solo ad obsequium redigendos. Caeterum intellecto Ducem Filfordij consistere; prima Maij extentis vexillis in prata Filfordiana egrediuntur. Disceptabatur tum in Ducis comitatu obuiamne eundum esset, quibusdam asserentibus pacem petituros venisse: Placuit tandem militem Viluordia educi, cum nec legatis missis, quid peterent, significarent, nec vllum supplicum instar ostenderent. Concursum in latissimis Filfordianis pratis, nulla pene praelij facie: cum Bruxellenses ad primum Ducalium impetum in foedissimam fugam verterentur. Septuaginta ex ijs desiderati. Reliqui domum confugientes, conseruata rumore maioris cladis vrbe: effecere vt duci mox aduenienti deditio fieret.

4. John II issues an edict regarding the government of Brussels (1306)

p. 193-4: Ingressus Bruxellam dux fatum vrbs composuit, nobilitatem restituit sanctionemque edidit quae sequitur. IOANNES Dei gratia, Dux Lotharingiae, Brabantiae ac Limburgi. Notum facimus omnibus legentibus. Ob grauis discordias quae inter Patritios nostrae Vrbs Bruxellensis qui Sherhuychs, de Leuwe, Van Rodenbeke, Sher Roeloffs, Van den Steenwege, Van

p. 138-9: Qui abolitis ijs, quae in nobilitatis perniciem excogitarant plebei, Magistratibusque plebeis depositis, Patricios pristino statui restituit, edicto promulgato, cuius capita praecipua haec fuere; Vt singulis annis octiduo ante Natalem Baptistae ex septem Patriciorum familijs, eorum videlicet, qui Sherhuychs, Leones, a Rodebeca, Sher-roeloffs, e Via strata, a Frigidomonte, & ab Aquis,

f.120^r-121^r: Porro Dux abolitis plebeis magistratibus, punitisque, quorum audacia plebem ad facinus impulerat, Patricios deinceps munera publica gerere voluit, edicto promulgato, cuius praecipua capita haec fuere. Ex septem Patriciorum familijs qui Scherhuychs, Leones, a Rodebeca, Sher Roeloffs, e via strata, a frigido monte, et hospites appellantur, quique ad eas pretinent, singulis

Coudenberge, De Watere vocantur, ac plebeios eiusdem urbis aliquamdiu versatae fuere quasque nostro arbitrio compromiserunt. Nos maturius super hac re deliberantes, sancimusque ne plebs vlllo vnquam tempore ad Rempubicam admittatur. Patritios praedictarum VII familiarum, quique ad eas pertinent, libertati, potestati, ordineque restituimus pristinis, quas patris, aui proauique nostrorum temporibus, ipsi aui proauique eorum habuere. Sancimus praeterea vt septem Scabini singulis annis octiduo ante Joannis Baptistae natalia communibus suffragijs aut plerumque ex ipsis, eligant septem alios ex iisdem familijs: electos nobis offerant, si quis electorum a nobis refellatur, alium ex eadem familia sufficiat. Ne quis Scaginus magistratum vltra annum gerat. Ne plebeiorum collegia inuitis Iudice vel Scabinis clam palamue conuenticula celebrent. Verum concilio ijs a Iudice concesso hi adsint, qui a Iudice Scabinisue, ad id constituti sunt, actumque concilij ad iudicem Scabinosque deferant: transgressoris huius sanctionis, corpus bonaque in nostra potestate sint. Ne quae opificum collegia, communia tributa inter sese conferant, sine Iudicis Scabinorumue permisso:

eorumque qui ad eas pertinent, septem Scabini deligantur; singuli videlicet e singulis familijs, vt electio haec ab ijs, qui prioris anni scabinatu defunguntur, fiat; Vt electos reijcere Duci integrum sit, alio ex eadem familia surrogando. Ne ab opificum collegijs conuenticula vel tributorum collationes inuito Senatu fiant. Opificum singuli a Duce iussi arma tradant; Priuilegia a Duce plebi ab anno 1303, vsque nunc tradita obsolescant: Vt gubernacula Xenodochij sancti Nicolai penes Scabinos sint: Prouentibus vero eiusdem, inopes, Patricij solum generis, sustententur. Ne opifici alterius gratia conciuus arma liceat sumere, nisi consanguinei. Vt textores, fullonesque motus auctores vrbe excedant. Vt praeter seu Amptmannus urbis Patricijs deinceps auxilio sit, si quem a plebe motum fieri contingat. Eo negante opem Patricijs liceat suo arbitrio seditionem coërcere. Edictum hoc obsignarunt, Ioannes Dux, Gerardus Comes Iuliaci, [*and fifteen other signatories*]. Acta haec mense Iunio.

annis octiduo ante Natalem Baptistae septem Scabini deligerentur: singuli videlicet e singulis familijs. Electio haec ab ijs, qui prioris anni Scabinatu defungerentur, fieret. Duci electos reijcere liceret, alio ex eadem familia subrogando. Opificum collegia, ne inuito Senatu conuenticula coëre, neque tributa viritim conferre liceret. Opifices iussu ducis arma in publicum proferrent. Priuilegia ab anno 1303 a duce plebi tradita obsolescerent. Gubernacula xenodochij S. Nicolai penes Scabinos essent: Soli pauperes e patritia familia eius xenodochij prouentibus alerentur. Opifici conciuus gratia arma sumere non liceret: nisi consanguinei. Textores fullonesque motus auctores, confestim vrbe excederent. Si motum posterius oriri contingat, Ampmannus Patritijs opitularetur. Eo negante Patritijs suo arbitrio seditionem coërcere liceret. Acta haec Mense Iunio, obsignataque a Ioanne Duce, Gerardo Comite Iuliaci, [*and fifteen other signatories*].

contra faciens cum bonis in
 nostra potestate erit.
 Opificum quilibet,
 quandocunque a nobis,
 Iudice Scabinisue iussus
 fuerit, arma sua nobis tradet,
 renuentis corpus, bonaque in
 nostra potestate erunt.
 Priuilegia omnia plebi
 Bruxellensi concessa a nobis,
 a sexta die Maij anni 1303
 huc vsque irrita volumus.
 Sancimus praeterea vt
 septem Scabini deinceps
 regant Xenodochium S.
 Nicolai dentque Eleemosinas
 eiusdem Xenodochij
 pauperibus, familia patritia
 ortis, vt fieri antehac solitum
 est & in quem vsum bona
 eiusdem Xenodochij legata
 sunt. Prohibemus insuper ne
 quis opifex pro alio opifice
 arma sumat, ob
 qualemcumque discordiam,
 nisi consanguinei sint,
 contrafaciens corpore ac
 bonis in nostra sit potestate.
 Praeterea ne quis textor vel
 fullo in vrbe Bruxellensi
 permanset; contrafaciens
 cum bonis in nostra sit
 potestate. Volumus etiam si
 aliquem plebis motum in
 patritios fieri de cetero
 contingat, vt Iudex noster
 petentibus Patritijs opem
 ferat, si opem neget,
 permittimus Patritijs per
 seipsos motum compescere,
 nullam paenam ab ijs ob id
 sumpturi. Praeter haec
 omnia Priuilegia,
 consuetudinesque nostrae
 vrbis Bruxellensis,
 confirmamus quae in hac
 charta non excipimus.

Volumusque vt Patritiorum
ac Plebis sigillis haec charta
muniatur. Rogamusque
nobilissimos Principes
Baronesque nostros
Gerardum Comitem Juliaci
vt praesenti chartae signa
sua appendant. Et nos
Gerardus Comes Juliaci, [*and
fifteen other signatories*] signa
nostra cum Domini Ducis
signo, huic chartae
affiximus. Data anno
Domini M.CCC.VI Dominica
post festum Barnabae,
Mense Iunio.

5. Staple rights are returned to Antwerp (1309)

[*not included*]

p. 139-40: Anno 1309.
Antuerpienses stapulam
auenae, salis, ac piscium ab
Henrico Imperatore
recuperarunt: datis ea de re
litteris XXIX. Octobris.

f. 123^r: Antuerpienses delata
ad Henricum nouum Imp.
querela, quam inique
Stapulae salis, auenae ac
piscium ius amisissent:
diploma ab eo impetrarunt,
quo eadem Stapulae
Mechliniensibus ablatae ipsi
restituiebantur. Datum
mensis Octobris die 29.

6. Mechelen is lost (1310)

p. 194: Mox Theobaldus
Leodij Episcopus repetita
Mechlinia cum eam
inconsulto Pontifice a
praedecessore suo male
alienatam contenderat, in
Curia Romana obtinuit.

p. 140: Theobaldus episcopus
Leodiensis, venditionem
Mechliniae ab Hugone
Episcopo, Duci nostro factam,
reuocans; in curia Romana
obtinuit. Itaque Dux noster
decennio solo, huius opidi
fruitione gavisus est.

f. 123^v: Theobaldus episcopus
Leodiensis Ioanni Duci
nostro de Mechliniae
possessione negotium fecit,
praetextens decessori suo
bona ecclesiae vendere non
licuisse. Delata est in Curiam
Romanam controuersia, vbi
pro episcopo iudicatum.

7. Death of the duke (1312)

p. 197: Sequenti mense
Ioannes dux Vuriae obiit vi^o
Kal. Nouemb. & corpus eius
Bruxellam in D. Gudulae
Basilica relatum conditum
est. Vxorem habuerat

p. 142: His peractis Ioannes
Dux inualescente vi morbi,
Furae hac vita decessit, VI.
Kal. Nouembris cuius corpus
Bruxellam delatum in basilica
D. Gudulae conditum est, in

f. 126^v: paucos dies huic
constitutioni Ioannes Dux
superuixit. Furae etenim 6
Cal. Nouemb. vita decessit,
cuius corpus Bruxellae, in
Choro D. Gudulae sepultum

Margaretam Eduardi medio chori. est.
Angliae Regis filiam, quae
Deambulatorium illud in
arce Vurensi construi iussit.
Ex hac Ioannem filium.

 APPENDIX F

*Evocations of Roman Heroes in
Dousa's Account of the Life of Dirk IV*

Context	Allusion	Passage alluded to	Context
In the autumn, Henry III prepares to march against Holland	“Venerat Autumnus: Rheni stat classis ad Urbem”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 4.897: “venerat Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis”	The advent of autumn after the fight between Aeneas and Mezentius
Henry gives an order to sail towards Holland	“Morigeras remis findite, clamat, aquas”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 3.586: “‘findite remigio,’ navita dixit, ‘aquas’”	Dido’s sister Anna drifts at sea
Dirk participates in the mock-battle of the tournament	“Nam vidisse parum est: belli simulacra ciere”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 5.674: “qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat”	During the funeral games for Anchises, Ascanius flings off his helmet
Trumpets announce the first day of the tournament	“Mox Tuba commissos solito canit ordine Ludos”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 5.113: “et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos”	Trumpets announce the first day of the funeral games
The Germans cry out their anger at Dirk after the death of the bishop’s brother	“Deuotum mactate caput; vox omnibus vna est”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 5.616: “et tantum superesse maris. vox omnibus una”	During the funeral games, the Trojan women weep for Anchises
Dirk forces his way out of the tournament, causing much bloodshed	“Ferro aperit: Tungro sanguine terra rubet”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 2.212: “accipiunt: Tusco sanguine terra rubet”	The three hundred Fabii are victorious in a first skirmish

Description of the city of Dordrecht	“Vrbs antiqua iacet, Thurij de nomine dicta”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 1.12: “urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni”	Description of Carthage
Dirk has escaped from the perilous situation at Liège	“Vt laetus gaudensque, tot (heu) per tela, tot enses / Elapsus, Templi Sacra reviso tui?”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 2.526-7: “ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites, / unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostis”	Polites escapes the attacks of Neoptolemus
Dirk’s plan to set the German ships on fire becomes reality	“Vox rata fit: mistis sparto, pice, sulphure, taedis”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 3.77: “vox rata fit, patrioque vocat de nomine mensem”	Romulus’ plan to name a month after Mars becomes reality
Margrave Egbert is made the military leader of the expedition	“Summae hic praeficitur: sanguine junctus erat”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 2.788: “comiter excipitur; sanguine iunctus erat”	Sextus Tarquinius is received kindly by Lucretia
The Germans cannot win fair way, so they attempt insidious warfare	“Sic ventum in Batavos: quos postquam vincere aperte / Non datur, insidias gens Alemanna parat”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 2.213-4: “sic iterum, sic saepe cadunt; ubi vincere aperte / non datur, insidias armaque tecta parant”	The Veientes decide to wage war insidiously against the three hundred Fabii
A knight from Putten speaks to Dirk	“Merua iterum, faxo, sub tua Iura fluat”	Propertius, <i>Elegiae</i> 3.4.4: “Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent”	Propertius’ prediction to Augustus’ men
Dirk’s men follow his example and take up arms	“Arma Comes se digna capit: fecere, quod ille”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 4.853: “arsurosque artus unxit: fecere quod ille”	Faustulus and Acca follow Romulus’ example and anoint Remus’ body
Dirk forces his way into the city of Dordrecht	“Fit via vi, ruptoque aditu socia agmina sese”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 2.494: “fit via vi; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant”	The Greeks invade the city of Troy
His troops accompany him	“Turmatim lateri Principis adglomerant”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 2.341: “et lateri adglomerant nostro”	Some Trojans join Aeneas
Dirk’s nocturnal attack spreads fear	“Nox face, nec facies vna timoris erat”	Ovid, <i>Ars amatoria</i> 1.121: “nam timor unus erat, facies non una timoris”	Romulus’ attack on the Sabine women causes fear
The corpses lay across	“Per Fora, per stratas	Ovid, <i>Ibis</i> 304: “sparsa per	The bones of Pyrrhus

the streets of Dordrecht	sparsa iacere vias”	Ambracias quae iacuere vias”	lay scattered across the streets of Ambracia
Four hundred knights have been killed	“Quippe Equitum centena quater data corpora letho”	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 12.328: “multa uirum uolitans dat fortia corpora leto”	Turnus kills many Trojans
The murder of Dirk is reflected in a street name	“Certa fides facti: Comititis de nomine dictus / Vicus, & aeterna res ea pressa nota.”	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> 6.609-10 “certa fides facti: dictus Sceleratus ab illa / vicus, et aeterna res ea pressa nota”	The murder of Servius Tullius is reflected in a street name

