

THE ILLUMINATED *BRABANTSCHE YEESTEN* MANUSCRIPTS  
IV 684 AND IV 685 IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY OF BELGIUM: AN  
UNFINISHED PROJECT OF BRABANTINE HISTORIOGRAPHY

DESCRIPTION, LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND INDEX OF  
PERSONS DEPICTED

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*Abstract:* The Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels is the custodian of two intriguing fifteenth-century manuscripts that contain part of the fourteenth-century Brabantine chronicle *Brabantsche yeesten*, by the Antwerp council clerk Jan van Boendale (IV 684 and IV 685). One of them contains no less than 69 illuminations, while the other was obviously intended to be illustrated in the same way, but never was. They are the only medieval manuscript version of the chronicle to ever have been illustrated, making them popular among medievalist studying the Duchy of Brabant. Surprisingly, very little scholarly work has been done on the illuminations as such, and the manuscript context in which they are found. We also see that a handful of illustrations return time and again in scholarly publications, while others are less known. Now that the Library has digitised the manuscripts and made them available online, we provide an updated description and an annotated list of illustrations, with an index of persons and places depicted. We hope to provide scholars easier access to this rich collection of illustrations, which is of interest not only to medievalist studying Brabant, but to medievalists studying western Europe generally.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Antwerp council clerk Jan van Boendale wrote an extensive vernacular verse chronicle of the duchy of Brabant that would form the backbone of vernacular historiography in the Duchy for centuries to come.<sup>1</sup> It was continued in verse in the fifteenth century, adding two extensive ‘books’ to Boendale’s original five, and would reach new audiences in a printed prose version (Antwerp: Roland van den Dorpe, 1498) enjoying no less than three more reworked editions in the sixteenth century

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(1) For a general introduction to Jan van Boendale and his literary work, see F. van Oostrom, *Wereld in woorden: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1300–1400* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013), 142–75. Pages 146–51 deal specifically with the chronicle, and the colour illustrations between pp. 168–69 present a two-page reprint of one of the illuminations (Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, IV 684, 60v–61r) discussed in this contribution.

(1512, 1518, 1530).<sup>2</sup> Boendale's original *Brabantsche yeesten* has been preserved in several medieval manuscript witnesses, only four of which present a redaction of the full text with its fifteenth-century continuation – the *Voortzetting* – totalling seven 'books'. Other manuscripts have been preserved only in fragmentary form, or contain only part of the chronicle.<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that only two (fragmentary) manuscript witnesses date to the fourteenth century, with the bulk of the preserved material clustering around the middle of the fifteenth, shortly after the continuation was completed.<sup>4</sup>

While for some time now, attention in scholarship has been turning from the study of texts to the material context of the manuscripts in which these texts have been preserved, not all manuscripts of the *Brabantsche yeesten* have received equal scholarly attention.<sup>5</sup> The most recent study devoting specific attention to the manuscript context of the chronicle is that of Astrid Houthuys, who looked specifically at a draft manuscript of the *Voortzetting*, produced in the context of the Brussels city administration.<sup>6</sup> While Houthuys concentrated on the fifteenth-century continuation, the initial fourteenth-century text genesis has been looked at by Robert Stein and Dirk Schoenaers, both heavily relying on manuscript vari-

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(2) On the verse continuation, see R. Stein, *Politiek en historiografie: het ontstaansmilieu van Brabantse kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw*, Miscellanea Neerlandica 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), and compare A. Houthuys, *Middeleeuws kladwerk: de autograaf van de Brabantsche yeesten, boek VI (vijftiende eeuw)* Schrift en schriftdragers in de Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen 4 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009). Houthuys attributed the continuation to a Wein van Cotthem. On the printed *nachleben* of the *Brabantsche yeesten*, see mainly J. Tigelaar, *Brabants historie ontvouwd: die alder excellenste cronijke van Brabant en het Brabantse geschiedbeeld anno 1500* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006). The new editions were printed by Jan van Doesborch, who took over the printing shop of Van den Dorpe's widow, see Tigelaar, *Brabants historie ontvouwd*, 18. The chronicle, including the continuation, was published by J.F. Willems & J. Bormans, *Les gestes des ducs de Brabant: De Brabantsche Yeesten, of rymkronyk van Brabant par Jean de Klerk, d'Anvers = door Jan de Klerk, van Antwerpen*. 3 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1839–1869). The text is available online in the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren*: [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01\\_01/](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01_01/) [04/07/2018].

(3) The full copies are mss. Kluit (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ltk 1019 [c. 1430]), Brussels/Van den Damme (Brussels, KBR 19607, 1444), Affligem (Brussels, KBR IV 684–85 [c. 1442–1444]), Tongerlo (Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, B 15828 [second half fifteenth century]), and Vlaminx (Brussels, KBR 17012–13 [c. 1470]). Compare Deschamps 1972 and the digital repertories of the *Narrative Sources of the Medieval Low Countries* ([www.narrative-sources.be](http://www.narrative-sources.be) [02/07/2018]) and the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta et Impressa* (<https://bnm-i.huygens.knaw.nl/> [02/07/2018]).

(4) This period coincides with the vibrant historiographical climate in the Duchy in this period, see B. Caers, *Vertekend verleden: geschiedenis (her)schrijven in vroegmodern Mechelen (1500–1650)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2019) in press, and compare Tigelaar, *Brabants historie ontvouwd*, 150–66; and Stein, *Politiek en historiografie*, 10–1 and *passim*.

(5) We refer to the 'New' or 'Material' Philology, propagated by Nichols in 1990 following developments in research across national philologies. See S. Nichols, "Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture," *Speculum* 65 (1990) 1: 1–10. For a critical discussion from the point of view of chronicle manuscripts, see B. Caers, "Layered text formation in urban chronicles: the case of an early modern manuscript from Mechelen", in *Between stability and transformation: textual traditions in the Medieval Netherlands*, ed. J. Oosterman & R. Gabriël, special issue of *Queeste* 23–2 (2016): 154–70; and L. Demets & J. Dumolyn, "Urban chronicle writing in late medieval Flanders: the case of Bruges during the Flemish revolt of 1482–1490," *Urban history* 43 (2016) 1: 28–45.

(6) Houthuys, *Middeleeuws kladwerk*, 22–33; comp. Stein, *Politiek en historiografie*, 153–65.

ety.<sup>7</sup> Another point of focus has been the lavish copy of the chronicle by Henricus van den Damme, produced for the city of Brussels, which sparked attention because of its colophon providing explicit information on the production of the book.<sup>8</sup> While Van den Damme's copy certainly is a majestic manuscript and probably was intended to be illustrated further at some point, the spaces for illustrations have been left blank. That is not uncommon for Middle Dutch historiographic manuscripts of this period, and certainly for the *Brabantsche yeesten*. There is in fact only one manuscript in the *Brabantsche yeesten* complex that does contain contemporary illustrations, a rather less thoroughly studied codex preserved in the Royal Library of Belgium under signature IV 684. Together with IV 685, which was made by the same scribe but left unillustrated, it forms the so-called 'Affligem version' of the *Brabantsche yeesten*, even if both manuscripts just present books IV and V (out of VII) of the chronicle respectively. There has been attention for the fact that this version contains the only mention of 'Jan van Antwerpen' as the original author of the *Brabantsche yeesten*.<sup>9</sup> Their textual content as well, has received ample attention, as it contains an interesting variant in book IV of the *Brabantsche yeesten* (see below).<sup>10</sup> The illustrations, however, while present on nearly each page of one of the two manuscripts, have surprisingly not attracted much attention, apart from being used to illustrate episodes of Brabantine history. Now that the Royal Library has digitised and made available online both the illuminated manuscript IV 684<sup>11</sup> and the unfinished sequel IV 685, we present a refined description of the manuscripts, with an overview of their contents and an annotated list of the completed illuminations in IV 684, for the benefit of scholars looking for iconography of the medieval history of Brabant and its surrounding territories.

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(7) R. Stein, "Wanneer schreef Jan van Boendale zijn "Brabantse Yeesten?," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 106 (1990) 4, 262–80; D. Schoenaers, "My es leet dat ics vergat: de Vijfde Partij van Lodewijk van Velthem en het vierde boek van Jan van Boendales 'Brabantsche yeesten'," in *De boeken van Velthem: auteur, oeuvre en overlevering*, ed. B. Besamusca, R. Sleiderink & G. Warnar, *Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen* 119 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009), 231–50. Stein mainly argues that Boendale worked on his chronicle in stages, while Schoenaers explored the integration of material from Lodewijk van Velthem's continuation to Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*.

(8) See for example Stein, *Politiek en historiografie*, 307; comp. R. Stein, "Boekproductie in de middeleeuwen: de betaling van de kopiist en de verluchter van een handschrift van de Brabantsche Yeesten," *Spiegel historiael* 24 (1989) 12, 507–12 and 547.

(9) *Van den derden Eduwaert: coninc van Ingelant hoe hij van over die zee is comen in meyningen Vrancrijc te winnen ende hoe hij Doernic belach; uitgegeven met een inleiding over de Brabantse historiografie tussen ca. 1270 en ca. 1350.*, ed. J. Heymans, *Tekst en tijd* 10 (Nijmegen: ALFA, 1983), 36. Despite this mention, Heymans seriously doubted the authorship of Boendale concerning the *Brabantsche Yeesten*. Today, the attribution to Boendale is more or less the *communis opinio*, and has held its ground in a computational analysis; see M. Kestemont, "Een stylometrisch onderzoek naar Jan van Boendales auteurschap voor de 'Brabantsche yeesten'," *Belgisch tijdschrift voor filologie en geschiedenis = Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 89 (2011) 3–4, 1019–48.

(10) Schoenaers, "My es leet," 240–6.

(11) They can be traced in the general catalogue by their title *Brabantsche yeesten*, or by their author *Jan van Boendale*.

## MATERIAL DESCRIPTION

Manuscripts IV 684 and IV 685 present books IV and V respectively of Jan van Boendale's Middle Dutch verse chronicle *Brabantsche Yeesten*, dealing with the history of the duchy of Brabant during the latter part of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> The manuscripts were acquired by the *General Archives* from P.J. Ghysels, a land surveyor in Alost, in 1835, as becomes evident from a note in the back of IV 685. Ghysels allegedly bought them from his tobacco dealer, who intended to use them as cigar wrappings.<sup>13</sup> They entered the Royal Library's collection in 1970 through an exchange with the *General Archives*, and were subsequently described by Claudine Lemaire-De Vaere in an elaborate and detailed contribution to *Vijf jaar aanwinsten: 1969–1973*. Her material description reads as follows:

JAN VAN BOENDALE. *Brabantsche Yeesten* (boek v en vi [sic], schrift, papier en rubricering volkomen gelijk); Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 15de eeuw; papier, 63 2d., gerestaureerde bladen + 63 bladen + één 16de-eeuws blad, 30,5 cm × 23,5 cm en 29,5 cm × 21,5 cm; wisselend aantal regels, littera bastarda; 19de-eeuwse leren band.<sup>14</sup>

Lemaire-De Vaere adds to this an extensive description of the manuscripts' history and their contents, to which we present here some updates and new insights.<sup>15</sup> To begin with, Lemaire dated the manuscripts tentatively to the fifteenth century in her material description, arriving at a more precise frame of 1440–1550, based on the clothing styles in the illuminations.<sup>16</sup> While she noted the occurrence of an identical and easily discernible watermark in both manuscripts – “een T met een klokje/un T à clochette” – she was unable to trace it in any of the printed repertories. We believe it can be identified as a Greek letter Tau or a Saint Anthony's cross with a noose beneath, and resembles very closely a series of three watermarks occurring in paper used in the Louvain city administration between 1442 and 1444.<sup>17</sup> This would confirm Lemaire-De Vaere's hypothesis as to the time in which the

(12) The content of the later versions of the *Brabantsche yeesten* is complex. Jan van Boendale worked on his chronicle in several stages, adding more material to book IV later in the fourteenth century. On this question, see Stein, “Wanneer schreef Boendale”; and on the place of manuscripts Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium IV 684–85 in this discussion, Schoenaers, “My es leet”, 240–6.

(13) C. Lemaire-De Vaere, “Jan van Boendale, *Brabantsche yeesten*” in *Vijf jaar aanwinsten 1969–1973: tentoonstelling georganiseerd in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I van 18 januari tot 1 maart 1975*, ed. M. Wittek et al. (Brussel: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1975), 55–60, here: 55. The implication may be that there were more manuscripts similar to these, containing the rest of the *Brabantsche yeesten*, but this must remain hypothetical.

(14) Lemaire-De Vaere, “Jan van Boendale,” 55. See in French: C. Lemaire-De Vaere, “Jan van Boendale, *Brabantsche yeesten*” in *Cinq années d'acquisitions 1969–1973...*, ed. M. Wittek et al. (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1975), 53–58, here 53. In French, there is no mistake in the book numbers. In the following, we refer to the Dutch edition.

(15) Lemaire-De Vaere, “Jan van Boendale,” 55–60.

(16) Lemaire-De Vaere, “Jan van Boendale,” 59.

(17) We were able to circumvent the printed repertories thanks to *Piccard online*, a central watermark database hosted by the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. See: <http://www.piccard-online.de> [05/07/2018] s.v. ‘An-

manuscripts were produced, and may indeed add impetus to her assertion that the manuscripts were not initially produced in or for a monastic context.<sup>18</sup> We believe that considering the subject matter of the manuscripts in question and the history and provenance of other *Brabantsche yeesten* manuscripts, it is safe to say that IV 684 and IV 685 were produced in the Duchy of Brabant, narrowing down Lemaire-De Vaere's prudent localisation in the "Southern Low Countries". Taking into account the fact that the watermark has only been attested in paper used in the Louvain city administration, we may even posit the hypothesis that the manuscripts and the historiographical project to which they testify, can be situated in the circles of the city administration of the city of Louvain. This would not be surprising as precisely in this period, the cities were actively taking up their role in the historiography of the duchy, as is evident from the continuation of the *Brabantsche yeesten* which is closely tied to Brussels.<sup>19</sup> A Louvain version of the Brabantine chronicle would side with evolutions towards a local recuperation of regional history that culminated in the later fifteenth century in local and urban histories, often based on regional chronicles such as the *Brabantsche yeesten*, as was the case in Mechelen and in 's-Hertogenbosch around the turn of the century.<sup>20</sup> An origin in Louvain therefore is tempting, but needs to remain hypothetical.

Both codices are presently in a modern binding, consist of 63 leaves and currently measure about 305x235 mm and 295x215 mm respectively. The intensive restoration of both manuscripts and their rebinding make it hard to discern the original quire structure. There are a few catchwords (custodes) in the scribe's handwriting which enable us to partly reconstruct the manuscripts' arrangement (IV 684: fols 24v [p. 41], 36v [p. 65]; IV 685 pp. 37, 59 [61], 83 [85]<sup>21</sup> and 105 [109]). The occurrence of the catchwords points in the direction of quires of twelve pages, or three bifolia.<sup>22</sup> Both manuscripts contain two sets of page numbers, one of which we believe dates to the (late) sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The other, and a consistent foliation only present in IV 684, have been executed in pencil and date to more modern

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toniuskruz', or numbers 125306, 125308, 125309. Number 125307 is very similar as well, and was traced in a letter in the city archives in Cologne. In terms of size, it is very close to numbers 125308–9.

(18) Lemaire-De Vaere, "Jan van Boendale," 60.

(19) Stein, *Politiek en historiografie*, 153–66.

(20) See for 's-Hertogenbosch: *Kroniek van Peter van Os: geschiedenis van 's-Hertogenbosch en Brabant van Adam tot 1523*, ed. A.M. van Lith-Droogleeve Fortuijn et al., Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, Kleine serie 87 (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1997); and for Mechelen: Caers, *Vertekend verleden*.

(21) This in fact was an instruction that failed to lead to a correct binding. The mistake has been repaired in the current, modern rebinding, but was still present when an earlier hand noticed: "siet het vervolg van dit cap. op het 114 blat".

(22) When we include the seven pages before the page numbering starts (and assume they are no separate gathering), it becomes clear that in IV 684 one folio is missing after the last catchword. In IV 685, before the third quire, a gathering of two bifolia has been made. Other arrangements cannot be excluded, naturally.

(23) During restoration, IV 684 suffered the loss of the greater part of its margins. In some instances, the sixteenth-century page numbers are still visible, e.g. fols 7v, 8v, 13v, 18v, 28v, 34v, 56r, 56v, 58r, 60v, 60v–61r, 64r. For IV 685, we refer to the sixteenth-century page numbers with the corrected modern numbers between square brackets. For IV 684, we refer to the consistent folio numbers, as the sixteenth-century page numbers have been cut off in most cases and the modern replacements are not consistent.

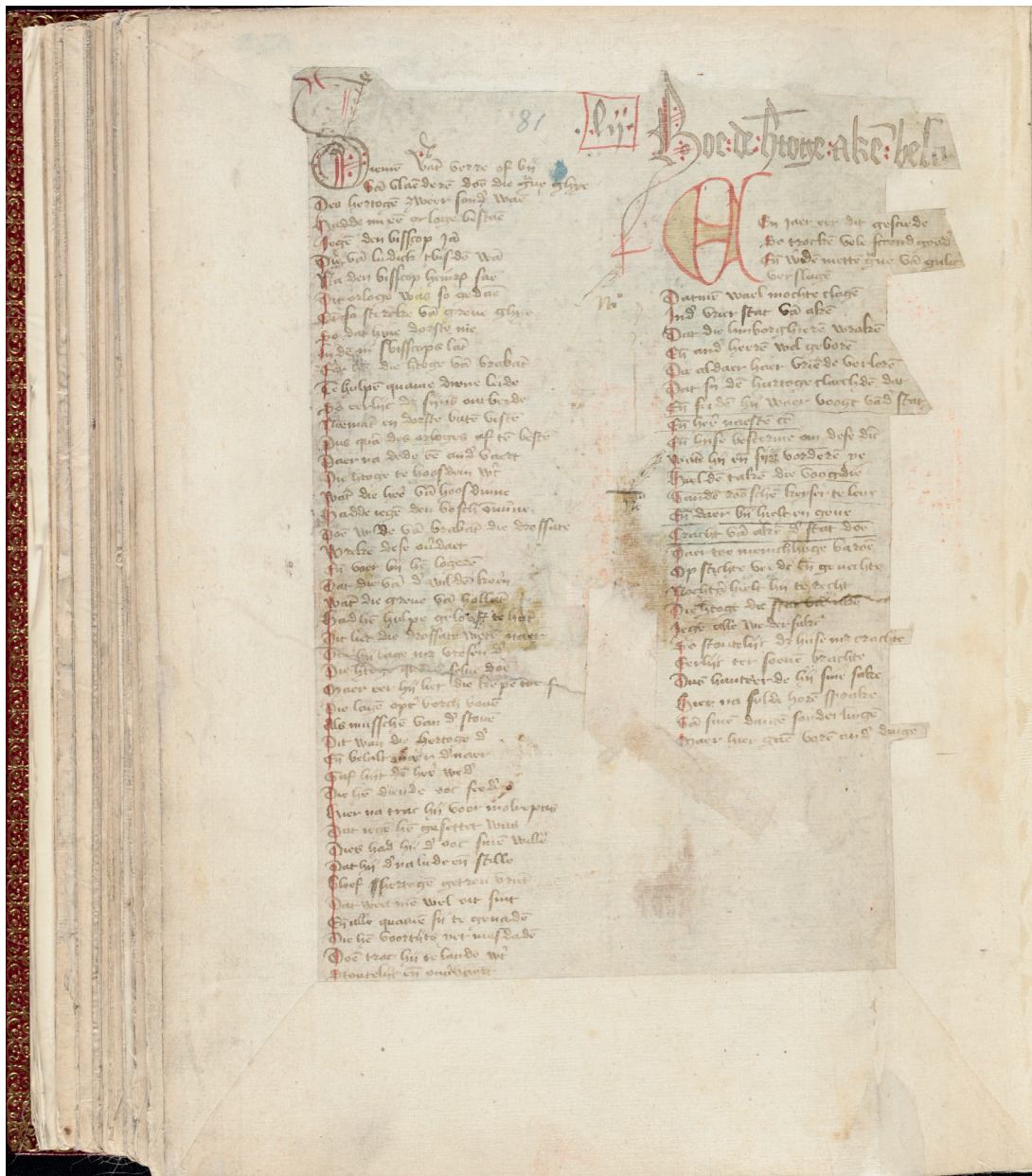


Fig. 1: Restoration with cut-outs; IV 684, fol. 44v.

times.<sup>24</sup> Especially IV 684 has suffered considerable damage over time, showing stains most often in the upper left corner (recto) close to the binding (especially fols 1–19).

(24) These modern page numbers present a number of intriguing mistakes, especially in the table of contents of both manuscripts. Their high page numbers in ms. IV 684 (109 to 114) seem to suggest that the table used to be in the back of the manuscript, but the book contains more than 108 pages. The table of contents of ms IV 685 on the other hand, seems to mix a system of page and folio numbers.



Fig. 2: A late sixteenth-century page number on restored paper; IV 684, fol. 13v.

It has been heavily restored, most of the pages having been framed in new sheets of paper, at times leaving windows for isolated text such as catchwords (e.g. 62v) or marginal dates (e.g. 25v) or showing intricate cut-outs for verse lines outside of the frame (e.g. 44v, 61v).

While the present state is fairly recent, we believe that the restoration was executed in at least two different steps, with the first initiatives predating the acquisition by the General Archives in 1835. On 13v and 7v, an older page number appears outside the boundaries of the original

paper, and on fols 58r and 64r, page numbers in the same hand were pasted over with the more recent paper frame. Folio 44r, then, shows how a stamp of the General Archives partly covers a restoration stage between the original paper and the nineteenth-century reframing.

It would seem that when the older page numbers were inserted, the first attempts at restoration had been made. In the same period, previous staining was written over in a late sixteenth-century hand (e.g. IV 684: 9r, 10r, 14r, 15r, 16r). In IV 685, a similar process in separate stages could have been at work, with a later hand (or a falsification?) adding text on pp. 34–35, as well as an additional leaf in the back.<sup>25</sup> It is very well possible that this hand is the same that added the page numbers. A hand that probably predates this one added names and short notes, often in Latin, relating to heraldry (e.g. IV 684: 29v) or the persons depicted in some of the illustrations (e.g. 21r, 23r, 25r, 30r).<sup>26</sup> It is known that the manuscript entered the library of the monastery of Affligem in the sixteenth century, which makes it likely that these notes (and possibly the first initiatives in restoration?) were made by monks in this context.

In their original mid-fifteenth-century setup however, the manuscripts were written by a single scribe in a fast, but consistent *littera hybrida* in two columns, leaving large spaces for decorations in both volumes. The textual lay-out demonstrates that it was the intention to produce amply illustrated manuscripts from the onset. Vertical rulings produced room for two columns, but these were not often used in their entirety. Even pages without illumination often have just one fully used column containing up to 45 verse lines (with verse lines varying in number on each page), the second column mostly containing only up to ten lines of text. Initials and capitals on the upper line in most cases have been executed elaborately and adorned with red pen decoration expanding vertically into the upper margins. The verse lines show consistent rubrication throughout both manuscripts, performed in a rather hasty and at times somewhat sloppy way.

In terms of content, the manuscripts IV 684 and IV 685 present a peculiar version of the *Brabantsche yeesten*. They are said to contain books IV and V of the chronicle generally speaking, but they differ from other manuscripts containing the same material.<sup>27</sup> Manuscript IV 684 presents a version of book IV of Boendale's chronicle heavily supplemented with material from Lodewijk van Velthem's fourteenth-century continuation to Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*, a thirteenth-century world chronicle. Maerlant's text had served Boendale as a main source for books I–III, but as it breaks off in the beginning of the twelfth century, the Antwerp chronicler had relied on other sources to continue his work in

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(25) The note contains supposedly additional text collated from other *Brabantsche yeesten* manuscripts, but probably refers to the manuscripts IV 684–85 themselves; see Lemaire-De Vaere, "Jan van Boendale, *Brabantsche yeesten*," 55.

(26) There is post-restoration staining as well, e.g. in the final pages of IV 685.

(27) Dirk Schoenaers has looked at how exactly three manuscript sources of the *Brabantsche yeesten* incorporate material from the *Vijfde Partie*, and has shown that the version in IV 684 contains many variants when compared to other known versions – manuscripts Tongerlo (Antwerp, EHC, B 15828) and Van den Damme (Brussels, Royal Library, 19607); see Schoenaers, "My es leet," 240–6.

books IV and V. Jacob van Maerlant's chronicle was continued, however, by Lodewijk van Velthem, a Brabantine parish priest working in about the same time as Jan van Boendale. Material from his continuation to the *Spiegel historiael* can be found in three manuscript versions of book IV of the *Brabantsche yeesten*, one of which is being the Affligem version discussed here. The insertion of this material, however, differs in all three, which has led Schoenaers to interesting assumptions about the text genesis of (these) versions of book IV.<sup>28</sup> The evidence so far is inconclusive, but it is fair to hypothesise that Boendale himself worked on his own book IV, incorporating material from Velthem.<sup>29</sup> Manuscript IV 684 in any case, presents a version in which material from the *Brabantsche yeesten* and from the *Spiegel historiael* is not merely presented next to each other. An effort was made to integrate both versions of the same stretch of history into one narrative. This effort was not always successful: the succession crisis after Duke Henry IV of Brabant, for instance, is narrated (and depicted) twice (illuminations: 34r (see image 3) and 40r).<sup>30</sup> In an attempt to look for a pattern in the alterations, Schoenaers noted that by leaving out unnecessary passages and stressing others, the intention may have been to make Duke John I of Brabant stand out as a valiant (but individual) warrior.

While the situation in book IV has received more scholarly attention than that in book V, here as well, the Affligem version provides an intriguing variant to other *Brabantsche yeesten* manuscripts. IV 685, containing book V of the chronicle, is the sole manuscript not breaking off after the year 1347. It continues well into the year 1351, narrating (among other events) the bubonic plague in Brussels and the Battle of Zwartewaal, which marked the start of the Hook and Cod Wars in Holland. Both IV 684 and IV 685 also contain much more chapter headings than any other known version, as these also seem to serve as captions to the illustrations.<sup>31</sup>

## INITIALS AND ILLUMINATIONS

In both manuscripts, there are two types of initials. One is an initial apparently written by the scribe, flourished with pen-work in red and black. These occur only in the top of the page or in the chapter headings. Another is a lombard-like initial that is generally several lines in height, and that has been executed in red pen-work and yellow ink (for reference, see image 1, where both initials occur together). This type is found more in IV 685 than in IV 684, suggesting that the latter manuscript, despite its complete programme of illustrations, is unfinished as well. The presence of blank spaces and the absence of the first letter of the beginning verse at least suggest that it was the intention to include initials. In IV

(28) Schoenaers, "My es leet," 250.

(29) Compare Stein, "Wanneer schreef Boendale"; and Schoenaers, "My es leet," 231–6 and 250.

(30) Schoenaers, "My es leet," 240.

(31) The edition by Willems contains 17 and 60 chapters, respectively, see Willems & Bormans, *Les gestes des ducs de Brabant*.

684, they have been executed only in a handful of cases (fols 4v, 14v [an elaborate fish], 33v, 44v, 53r, 55r [two], 55v, 57r, 57v) while just one blank space has a waiting letter (36v). While unillustrated, IV 685 contains far more coloured initials (pp. 7, 15, 31, 36 [two], 37, 38, 39, 49 [51], 53 [55], 54 [56], 63 [65 – shaded in red], 64 [66], 73 [75], 74 [76], 76 [78 – two], 77 [79], 78 [80], 80 [82], 82 [84], 83 [85], 90 [94], 97 [101], 101 [105], 102 [106], 103 [107], 106 [110], 112 [116]). The disproportionality in the initials might give the impression that the makers of the manuscripts wanted to compensate for the lack of illustrations in IV 685 by inserting more initials, but many blank spaces remain in this manuscript as well, so that it is difficult to provide a conclusive explanation.

Nearly every page of manuscript IV 684 has been illustrated with water-colour drawings with most images covering well over half a page and one covering verso and recto of two pages, leaving room only for a chapter title. Manuscript IV 685 has blank spaces intended for a similar scheme of illuminations. Countering Willems' assumption that the illustrations must have been added some time after the text, Lemaire-De Vaere, in her description of 1975, pointed towards watercolour backdrops to the illustrations that seem to have been written over by the title headings. There are indeed instances where this seems to be the case (e.g. 9v, 10v). However, there are also illuminations where the paint clearly runs over the title heading (e.g. 7v, 21r, 30r, 34r).

Lemaire-De Vaere may have been misled by the fact that the backdrops were painted in a thinned-down watercolour paint, which does not block out the title headings, whereas a next layer in thicker paint, used for example for the clothing of some of the figures depicted, does make them (nearly) invisible (see for example f. 36r, where the foot of the counsellor next to Duke John blocks out the *h* in *hertoge*, whereas the lighter backdrop does not. In some instances, the backdrop also seems to follow the space filled (or not filled) by the title heading, which could point to the fact that it was put in after the text (e.g. 21r, 60v–61r).

We are inclined to follow Willems' assumption that the text was put in first, followed by the illuminations. This order of business would align more with the empty state of IV 685, which contains only text but was obviously intended to be illuminated in the same way as IV 684. Both processes must have followed each other closely in time, but it remains unclear why IV 685 was never finished.

The illuminations are well-known in that they figure relatively often as illustrations of the medieval history of Brabant, not only in scholarly publications, but also in more widely accessible media such as Wikipedia. They are in fact the only consecutive series of illustrations of a Middle Dutch Brabantine chronicle manuscript, and figure among the rare examples of illustrated Middle Dutch manuscript chronicles generally. Contrary to the lavish manuscript tradition of some of the Old French material (e.g. the Froissart manuscripts), Middle Dutch chronicle codices are generally modest and unillustrated.<sup>32</sup> Manuscript IV 684, then, is a notable exception, and has received general acclaim among scholars, even if the illustrations themselves are not spectacular. Lemaire characterised them as 'pretentieloo en naïef' [mod-

(32) There is the notable exception of Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael*, which has been preserved in a splendid copy dating to the fourteenth century: Ms. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XX.



Fig. 3: The robe of Adelaide of Burgundy is painted over the initial *h*, IV 684, fol. 34r.

est and unsophisticated], while sometimes presenting a striking sense of realism.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, when compared to contemporaneous illuminations, for example in manuscripts intended for the Burgundian court and its immediate circle, the illuminations are far less skilful. Even

(33) Lemaire-De Vaere, “Jan van Boendale: *Brabantsche yeesten*,” 59. The French has a more negative connotation, where the illustrations are called ‘frustes, parfois malhabiles’ [crude, sometimes unskillful], Lemaire-De Vaere, “Jan van Boendale: *Brabantsche yeesten* [French],” 57.



Fig. 4: Backdrop painted around the title heading; IV 684, fol. 21r.

books of hours produced for more modest ends, can be said to answer more to the fashion of manuscript illumination of the period, than this Brabantine chronicle does.<sup>34</sup> The illumi-

(34) An amply illustrated recent overview of southern Netherlandish illumination art is: *Zuid-Nederlandse miniatuurkunst: de mooiste verluchte handschriften in Nederlands bezit*, ed. Anne-Margreet W. As-Vijvers &

nations have no borders at all, are larger in size and more numerous than is customary. In their placement over the chapter headings and uneven size, they even present an impression of hastiness, if not sloppiness. In spite of this, they are attractive for their vivid depiction of combat, their expressive faces and their detailed heraldry. In what follows, we will look at some of the illustrations in more detail and present a general idea of the illumination programme.

Depending how one decides to count, there are around 70 illustrations throughout manuscript IV 684, which have been placed above the text, although occasionally a few lines of text were written down in the upper left corner of the page (e.g. 39r, 39v, 43r, 49r). Some illustrations are spread over two pages, e.g. Godfrey the Bearded with his children (5v–6r), the foundation of the abbey of Affligem (6v–7r), John I of Brabant and his brother Godfrey kneeling before king Louis IX of France (42v–43r), a tournament in England (43v–44r) and the hanging of Pierre de la Broce at Montfaucon (45v–46r). The depiction of the Battle of Worringen in 1288 (60v–61r) even occupies two full pages offering only space for a few lines of text at the bottom. In most, if not all cases the illustration also marks the beginning of a new chapter.<sup>35</sup> In terms of colours, the illuminator seems to have preferred two shades of red (one bright red and the other pinkish), deep blue and a soft yellowish tone for the characters, together with a bluish grey for the knights' armour. A leather-like brown tone appears increasingly from about halfway into the codex.<sup>36</sup> Buildings are coloured rosy with deep blue rooftops.

Some of the illustrations look alike, as the artist seems to have used recurrent compositions for similar events in Brabantine history. As the *Brabantsche yeesten* focuses on the Brabantine dynasty and, therefore, the succession of Dukes, marriages are a prominent part of the narrative, and therefore of the illustrations. Fifteen chapters in ms. IV 684 are accompanied by a marital scene, where generally the couple is depicted centre stage surrounded by a varying number of bystanders. Both bride and groom are clad in their respective heraldic coats of arms, with the former taking the double heraldry of the proposed matrimony, on either side of her cloak. Other ceremonial or official meetings show the same basic lay-out, e.g. Henry II of Brabant refusing the German crown (24v) or Henry IV of Brabant renouncing the throne in favour of John I (34r and 40r).

While the subsequent Dukes occupy the central role, the presence of bystanders in nearly every scene is interesting. Possibly, the artist wanted to provide a visual depiction of the fact that the Duke was surrounded by a courteous retinue and that his decisions were guided by counsellors. As the characters in most cases remain anonymous, any assumptions at this

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Anne S. Korteweg (Utrecht: Museum Catharijneconvent; Zwolle: WBooks; Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2018). The English translation, by the same publishing house, is entitled: *Splendour of the Burgundian Netherlands: southern Netherlandish illuminated manuscripts in Dutch collections*.

(35) In some cases, this can be debated, e.g. a series of coats of arms on 29v which illustrates text starting on 30r.

(36) From 40r onwards, the ground adopts a slightly darker leather brown tone, which is used from then on also in the bystanders' clothing.



parts and abandoned weaponry illustrate the battle's fierceness (e.g. 15v, 18v, 31v, and the famous depiction of the battle of Worringen, 60v–61r). The compositions are not identical, although we can point at instances where the illuminator clearly reuses elements from other illustrations. For instance, the depictions of the battle of Montenaken (15v) and the crusade against the Stedingen heretics (18v) both offer the usual crowded battlefield. In both pictures, a defeated enemy lies down on the foreground on the right-hand side. Their arms and legs are positioned almost identically. In this case the similarity is not coincidental, for just above this man's head stands another knight lifting with both hands above his head a sword, ready to slash an enemy into two.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, as the fight against the Stedingers was considered a crusade, the north German insurgents have been depicted as Muslims, with turbans and curved swords.

As the composition of many of the scenes is largely generic, their interpretation depends mainly from the heraldic elements and other details representing rank (e.g. clothing: crowns, bishop's mitres, uniforms, etc.), which have been carried out with a surprising attention to detail. Note the royal French crown (e.g. 43r), sometimes even added to the female headwear of Brabantine brides (e.g. 45r, 48v), or the distinctly German (imperial) crown in the depiction of William of Holland as king of the Germans (25r). Lesser nobles are recognisable by their heraldic signs, in which the artist was careful enough to add marks of cadency (NL breuken / FR brisures) (e.g. 16v, 30r, 33r, 34r). Cities as well, have been depicted in an interchangeable way and differ from each other only in the coat of arms above their gates or in banners – with the exception of two depictions of Aachen featuring buildings resembling the cathedral with a little imagination (53v, 54v). While the heraldry certainly deserves a more thorough look, we have the impression that the artist has a fairly good knowledge of nobility and its heraldic signs, not only those of Brabant and its neighbouring lands, but also those of England and France for example. This knowledge of course bears the distinct mark of the fifteenth century, as contemporary heraldry is projected back into a past when heraldic signs had not developed into full form. A good example is the depiction of the Grimbergen wars (mid-twelfth century) which has the combatants sporting their fifteenth-century banners (10v).<sup>38</sup> The illustrator based his work not only on the accompanying text, but was certainly aware of the wider context of Brabantine historiography. In some cases, the detailed heraldry in the illuminations is not mentioned in the text in the manuscript. A case in point is a chivalric tournament in England in which John I of Brabant and the most notable knights of the Duchy jousted against English opponents (43v–44r).

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(37) Another example may be two sieges with cannons – incidentally also an anachronism in the conflicts depicted. See fols 9v (siege of Grimbergen) and 23v (siege of Cologne). The cannons are mirrored.

(38) This aligns with the textual source that probably inspired this part of the chronicle, the anonymous verse epic *Grimbergsche oorlog*, where the heraldic description of combatants presents a more modern state of heraldry, see W. Haverals, "Heraldisch vakmanschap in 'De Grimbergse oorlog'," *Queeste* 23 (2016) 1: 22–36.



Fig. 6: The crusade against Stedingen; IV 684, fol. 18v.

The detailed depiction of the heraldic signs of the combatants is not in line with the accompanying text, where the joust is mentioned merely in passing (see below). Also, the heraldry in question represents a later stage of English nobility than it is supposed to, placing the tournament heraldically under Edward III rather than under Edward I. This might be a reference to the Anglo-French disputes, as Damen has suggested, or may well be an



Fig. 7: John I and his knights joust against English opponents; IV 684, fol. 44r.

indication that the artist worked with a heraldic source such as a roll of arms that presented a fourteenth- rather than a thirteenth-century state of English nobility.<sup>39</sup> In the depiction of the Battle of Worringen (1288) as well, the amount of detail in the illumination, especially

(39) See M. Damen "Heraldische plaagstoot in een middeleeuws handschrift?," on the research blog *burgundiannobility.wordpress.com* [09/07/2018], published 17 November 2014.

in terms of heraldry, is nowhere to be found in the text of the manuscript. Here too, the artist may have based his work on other sources, such as the *Slag bij Woeringen*, a detailed fourteenth-century literary account of this battle by Jan van Heelu, which devotes a lot of attention to the heraldry of the combatants.<sup>40</sup>

## EPILOGUE

In the early forties of the fifteenth century, a Brabantine scribe copied books four and five of Jan van Boendale's *Brabantsche Yeesten* into two volumes. The first volume was lavishly illuminated, and its illustrations have found their way into many scholarly publications where they serve as the go-to collection of iconography dealing with the history of Brabant. Strangely, the manuscript context in which they can be found has received very scarce attention. This article has made an attempt to open up research into the illuminated ms. IV 684 and its unfinished counterpart ms. IV 685. We have further detailed the only description of the manuscripts and have provided a survey of the illuminations. In addition, the following appendix includes a list of all illustrations in ms. IV 684, supplemented by the chapter titles, folio and page numbers and an indication of when the depicted events occurred. It is accompanied by an index listing all identifiable characters. We hope that this contribution, along with the online access to the manuscripts provided by the Royal Library, will spur researchers onto new discoveries.

## APPENDIX 1: LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

This list contains a complete overview of all the illustrations that can be found in Brussels, KBR, IV 684. We provide a diplomatic transcription of the chapter headings in the manuscript, with their chapter numbers and a translation in square brackets, followed by a short description of the illustration and a reference to folio and page numbers.<sup>41</sup> The last column in some cases indicates the year in which events occurred.<sup>42</sup>

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(40) See for an introduction J. Goossens, "5 juni 1288: Hertog Jan I van Brabant wint de Slag bij Woeringen: de glorie van de ridder-dichter," in *Nederlandse literatuur: een geschiedenis*, ed. M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen et al. (Groningen: Martinus Nijhoff Uitgevers, 1993), 41–6. The text by Jan van Heelu has been edited by J.-F. Willems, *Rymkronyk van Jan van Heelu betreffende den slag van Woeringen van het jaer 1288* (Brussels: Hayez, 1862). See online: [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/heel001jfw01\\_01/](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/heel001jfw01_01/) [11/07/2018].

(41) Following T. Mertens, *Richtlijnen voor de uitgave van middeleeuwse verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden; geredigeerd onder verantwoordelijkheid van de projectcommissie "Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden"* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994).

(42) For a general overview of Brabantine history, see *Geschiedenis van Brabant: van het hertogdom tot heden*, ed. R. Van Uytven et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004).

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
	Dordenancie vanden vierden boecke [The arrangement of the fourth book]	Monastery with two monks in the doorstep.		1	-
1	Hoe godeuaert metten baerde regnerde ende sijn doot [How Godfrey the Bearded ruled and his death]	Godfrey I lies deceased in a coffin covered in black cloth with a red cross and four Brabantine lions. Four mourners in black cloaks, reminiscent of sculpted <i>pleurants</i> , and four carriers of torches, also in black.	5r	2	1139
2	Van godeuaerts metten baerde vijf kinderen [Of Godfrey the Bearded's five children]	Godfrey's five children. From left to right: Godfrey II of Brabant, Henry, Adeliza of England, Ida of Cleves and Clarissa.	5v-6r	3-4	1139
3	Hoe haffelgem eerst began [The beginnings of Affligem]	Monk preaching before an audience of knights and civilians, all male.	6v	5	-
		Archbishop Anno II of Cologne absolving five knights and ordering them to build a monastery [= Affligem].	7r	6	1062
4	Van godeuaerde godeuaerds metten baerde zoen [Of Godfrey, son of Godfrey the Bearded]	Marriage between Godfrey II and Lutgardis of Sulzbach. Among the crowd is the German Emperor, possibly Conrad III who was married to Lutgardis' sister.		7	1139
5	Hoe heinric van limborch trac op godeuaerde met machte [How Henry of Limburg waged war against Godfrey]	Army of Henry I of Limburg on horseback. Banners of Limburg and Luxembourg.	8r	8	
6	Hoe godeuaert sintruden belach ende hoe sij hem in hant quamen ende hem hulden [How Godfrey lay siege to Sint-Truiden and how they let him in and paid him homage]	Godfrey II and his army outside the city of Sint-Truiden, negotiating a peaceful surrender of the city. The city bears its coat of arms.	8v	9	
7	Vanden derden hertoge godeuaert [Of the third Duke Godfrey]	Godfrey III in his cradle, accompanied by his guardians. Bystanders pledge allegiance to the young Duke.	9r	10	1142
8	Hoe die brabantse baronen wonden die borch te grimbergen [How the barons of Brabant won Grimbergen castle]	Siege of the stronghold of Grimbergen. Canons and archers shoot at the guarded walls. The besieging army carries banners of Beersel, Gaasbeek and Diest. The besieged under banners of Grimbergen and Hoorne.	9v	11	1142
9	Hoe de derde godeuaert te grimbergen den strijt want inder wiegen [How Godfrey III won the battle in Grimbergen in his cradle]	Scene from the battle of Ransbeek depicting a Brabantine victory. Godfrey III in his cradle between two trees with a female figure – possibly intended to depict his mother – behind him while knights are immersed in a bloody battle. Banners of Brabant, Diest, Gaasbeek, Wezemaal, Grimbergen and Mechelen.	10v	13	1142
10	Thuwelijcke vanden derden hertoge godeuaerde [The marriage of Godfrey III]	Marriage between Godfrey III and Margaret of Limburg.	11r	14	1155
11	Tweeste huweleek vanden derden hertoge godeuaerde [Second marriage of Godfrey III]	Marriage between Godfrey III and Imagina of Loon.	12r	16	1180

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
12	<i>Van hertoge heinric des derden godeuaerts zoen die te coellen sterf ende van sine huweleecke</i> [Of Duke Henry, son of Godfrey III, who died in Cologne and of his marriage]	Marriage between Henry I of Brabant and Matilda of Boulogne.	13v	17	1179
13	<i>Den anderen huweleke van hertoghe heinric voirscreuen</i> [The second marriage of Duke Henry]	Marriage between Henry I of Brabant and Mary of France.	13v	19	1213
15	<i>Hoe hertoge heinric ludicke wan</i> [How Duke Henry won Liège]	Siege of Liège. Henry I sporting a halberd, while his knights enter the city. Liège crest on the city walls. Banners of Brabant, Loon, Diest, Gaasbeek and Wezemaal.	14v	21	1212
16	<i>Den strijt te montenaken</i> [The battle in Montenaken]	Battle of Montenaken. Knights attacking each other. Banners of Liège, Loon, Brabant, Geten/Jauche, Gaasbeek, Wezemaal and Diest.	15v	23	1213
17	<i>Hoe die graue ferrant belach die stad van bruessel met vele groter heren</i> [How Count Ferdinand lay siege to Brussels with a great number of high lords]	Siege of Brussels led by Ferdinand of Portugal (as <i>jure uxoris</i> Count of Flanders). Army of knights. From left to right: William I of Holland, William Longespée, Count of Salisbury, halfbrother of the King of England <sup>43</sup> The coat of arms has erroneously remained undifferenced and the character is crowned), Ferdinand of Portugal and Renaud of Boulogne. Kneeled in surrender Henry I of Brabant and his two sons, the later Henry II and Godfrey of Louvain-Gaasbeek. The coat of arms on the city walls is painted in plain red.	16v	25	1213
18	<i>Vanden strijde te boevijnes</i> [Of the battle in Bouvines]	Marriage between Holy Roman emperor Otto IV and Henry I of Brabant's daughter Maria, in the presence of Henry I and probably his second wife Mary of France.	17v	27	1214
19	<i>Den strijt die de jonge hertoge heinric hertoge heinrics outste zoen vacht ende wan jegen die stadingers</i> [The battle that the young Duke Henry, eldest son of Duke Henry fought and won against the Stadingers]	Crusade against Stedingers. Battle scene with harnessed knights with red crusader's crosses, fighting the Stadingers, who are depicted in clothing normally associated with muslims. Banners of Brabant and Stedingen (fictional?).	18v	29	1233–1234
20	<i>Des ouden hertoge heinrics doot</i> [The death of the old Duke Henry]	Henry I's funeral. His coffin is covered in black cloth with a red cross and several Brabantine lions. Monks are praying for him. Seven weepers in black. Two torches and the city of Louvain, with its coat of arms, in the background.	19v	30	1235

(43) In 1213, John Lackland was king of England. None of his legitimate brothers were alive anymore. William Longespée (c. 1176–1226), count of Salisbury, was an illegitimate child of Henry II and commanded the English fleet in the Battle of Damme (1213), where he destroyed a French fleet preparing to invade England. Henry I of Brabant supported the French king Philip II.

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
21	Hoe dander heinric hertoge wert ende sijn huwelijck [How Henry II became Duke and of his marriage]	Marriage between Henry II of Brabant and Maria of Swabia. Henry is also sworn in as Duke of Brabant, clad in his coat of arms and a black overcoat.	20r	[32]	1215
22	Vandes n <sup>sten</sup> hertogen heinrics eerste dochter Ende van haren huweleecke [Of Henry II's first daughter and of her marriage]	Marriage between Henry II of Brabant's daughter Matilda and Robert I of Artois (coat of arms with Artois and Limburg (?)).	21r	34	1237
23	Vander ander dochter van haren huweleecke ende haer doot [Of the second daughter, her marriage and her death]	Beheading of Henry II of Brabant's daughter Mary by her husband Louis II of Bavaria. Bystanders in dismay.	21v	35	1256
24	Vander derder dochter ende van haren huweleecke [Of the third daughter and her mar- riage]	Marriage between Henry II of Brabant's daughter Beatrice and Henry Raspe of Thuringia.	22r	36	1241
25	Hoe haer die vierde dochter begaf inden cloester tshertogen dale [How the fourth daughter entered the convent of Valduc]	Convent of Hertogendal (Valduc) with Henry II of Brabant's daughter Margaret entering as abbess.	22v	37	c. 1235
26	Des anderen heinrics tweesten hu- welijck [The second marriage of Henry II]	Henry II's second marriage with Sophie of Thuringia.	23r	38	1240
27	Hoe de tweeste hertoge heinric coelen belach [The siege of Cologne by Duke Henry II]	Siege of Cologne by Henry II of Brabant. Archers and canons firing at the city walls. To the left knights are resting in tents. Ban- ners of Brabant and Cologne (city).	23v	39	
28	Hoe de pawes hertoge heinric die keyser croen sand [How the Pope sent Duke Henry the Imperial crown]	Henry II refuses the German crown.	24v	41	1247
29	Hoe graue willem van hollant de keyser croen ontfinck [How Count William of Holland received the Imperial crown]	William II of Holland is crowned King of the Germans by Konrad von Hochstaden, archbishop of Cologne and by Arnold II von Isenburg (?) archbishop of Trier. On the right stands his wife Elisabeth of Brunswick.	25r	42	1247
30	Hoe die bisscop van ludicke de twe- esten hertoge heinric te camp hiesch Ende hem den hantscoe gaf [How the Bishop of Liège challenged Duke Henry II to a fight, handing him a gauntlet]	Bishop of Liège (Henry III of Guelders) handing over Henry II of Brabant a gaunt- let.	26r	44	c. 1247
31	Hoe de tweeste hertoge heinric te loeuën socht enen kempenjoen [How Duke Henry II sought out a champion in Louvain]	Champion kneeling down before Henry II just outside Louvain.	27r	46	c. 1247
32	Vanden campe die te ludicke gesciede [Of the fight in Liège]	Two champions clad in red fighting in a fenced square. Clubs are lying around. The bishop of Liège and duke Henry II of Bra- bant are amongst the enthusiastic spectators.	28r	48	c. 1247

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
34	Vanden derden hertoge heinric Ende van sinen huweleke [Of Duke Henry III and of his marriage]	Marriage between Henry III of Brabant and Adelaide of Burgundy.	29r	50	1251
35	Vandes derden hertoge heinrijcs magen [Of Duke Henry III's relatives]	Verso side: heraldic series depicting Henry III's ancestors. Kingdoms of Jerusalem, Bohemia, Leon. Counties/duchies of Brabant (twice), Thuringia, Artois, Guelders. William II of Holland's crest is missing, but he is depicted on the recto side as King of the Romans. Recto side: Henry III of Brabant with his sons Henry IV and John I. They are flanked by Henry III's ancestors. Depicted are emperors and kings, one of them Byzantine emperor Emanuel I Komnenos. The German kings or emperors mentioned in the text are probably: Frederick Barbarossa, Philips of Swabia, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Henry of Hohenstaufen, William II of Holland.	29v– 30r	51– 52	c. 1260
36	De doot van coninc willem van holland [The death of King William of Holland]	William II of Holland's death on a battlefield. Banners of Holland, the German Empire and Frisia.	31v	55	1256
37	Hoe hertoge heinric in hollant trac ende floreys sinen neue vermomborde [How Duke Henry entered Holland and became guardian of his nephew Floris]	Henry III of Brabant on horseback with his knights, encountering a young Floris V of Holland on foot.	32v	57	1256
38	Vandes derden hertoge heinrics kinderen [Of Duke Henry III's children]	Henry III of Brabant and Adelaide of Burgundy's children. Depicted to the left of Henry III are sons Godfrey, John I and Henry IV. Depicted to the right of Adelaide is daughter Mary.	33r	58	c. 1265
40	Hoe de vierde hertoge heinric brabant ouer gaf janne synen broeder Ende trac in enen cloester [How Duke Henry IV handed over the Duchy to his brother John, and entered a convent]	Henry IV hands over to his brother John I the coat of arms of Brabant in front of a monastery, in the presence of their mother and four monks.	34r	60	1267
41	Hoe de graue van gelre ende de bisscop van ludicke brabant vermomboren wouden Ende dorloge van loeuven [How the Count of Guelders and the Bishop of Liège wanted to be guardians over Brabant, and the war of Louvain]	Otto II, Count of Guelders, Henry III of Guelders, Bishop of Liège and Henry I, Landgrave of Hesse in dispute with Adelaide of Burgundy, Duchess-regent of Brabant, over guardianship over Henry IV.	35r	62	c. 1267
42	Des eerste hertoge jans huwelecke [The marriage of Duke John I]	John I's marriage with Margaret of France.	36r	64	1270

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
43	Den tweesten huweleecke vanden eersten hertoge Jan [The second marriage of Duke John I]	John I's second marriage with Margaret of Dampierre (Flanders). Standing behind John are their sons John II and Godfrey. Daughters Margaret and Mary are positioned next to their mother on the right.	36v	65	1273
44	Hoe heinric van gaesbeeke mombor wert ende na hem her beertout ende her heinric van bouterssem [How Henry of Gaasbeek became guardian, and after him Lord Berthout and Lord Henry of Boutersem]	Contenders for the guardianship over Henry IV of Brabant. From left to right: Henry of Gaasbeek, Godfrey of Perwez, John I of Brabant, Wouter V Berthout and Henry IV of Boutersem (Brabant, differenced).	37r	66	1262
45	vanden orloge van wesemael [Of the war of Wezemaal]	Arnold III of Wezemaal with his army on horseback before the gates of Louvain. Banner of Wezemaal.	38r	68	1266
46	Hoe die bisscop heinric van ludicke mechlen belach [How Bishop Henry of Liège lay siege to Mechelen]	The army of the Bishop of Liège (Henry III of Guelders) before the gates of Mechelen. Banners of Loon, Guelders and Liège.	39r	70	1268
47	HOe de vierde heinric te cortenberge brabant ouer gaf voerde staten janne synen broeder [How Henry IV handed over the Duchy to his brother, in Kortenberg]	Henry IV of Brabant hands over a shield with the coat of arms of Brabant to his younger brother John I of Brabant.	40r	72	1267
48	HOe dedele van brabant haer leen ontfingen Ende hoe her aernout ter soenen quam [How the nobles of Brabant received their fiefs, and how Arnold came to be reconciled]	Nobles of Brabant pledging allegiance to John I. Centre stage is Arnold III of Wezemaal.	41r	74	1267
49	Hoe hertoge jan Ende de graue van arroys trocken Ten lande van ludick [How Duke John and the Count of Artois waged war in the land of Liège]	John I of Brabant and Robert II of Artois on horseback with their armies. Banners of Artois and Brabant.	42r	76	1273– 1274
50	Hoe de coninc van vrancrijc ridder sloech hertoge janne ende Godeuaerde sinen broeder [How the King of France knighted Duke John and his brother Godfrey]	John I of Brabant and his younger brother Godfrey kneel before King of France Philip III who is backed by his knights. On the verso page the walls of Paris. The coats of arms are: Bourbon (France, differenced), Brabant, Burgundy, France and Berry (?), France, differenced). <sup>44</sup>	42v– 43r	77– 78	1272– 1276

(44) The heraldry of the scene is not entirely in line with the period of time it depicts, as the marks of difference in French royal heraldry evolved over time. The leftmost coat of arms, 'azure, semé-de-lys or, a bend gules' – France with a red bend – was the coat of arms of Robert of Clermont (1256–1317), son of King Louis IX, considered founder of the house of Bourbon. The rightmost coat of arms is that of the Duchy of Berry, a fief often given to cadets of the French crown. The depicted coat of arms 'azure, semé-de-lys or, a bordure engrailed gules' – France with indented border in red – only occurs from 1360 onwards. The coat of arms of France plain, 'azure, three fleurs-de-lis or' – three gold fleurs-de-lis on a field of blue also represents a more recent state of French royal heraldry.

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
51	Hoe hertoge jan in ingelant tornyerde ende synen zoen aens conynx dochter bestaede [How Duke John entered a tournament in England and married his son to the daughter of the King]	Tournament. On the verso page a female crowd on a grandstand, with the English Queen as the central figure, spectating a battle between a Brabantine party and English party. Most of the combatants are recognisable by the horsecloths on the recto page, but a series of coats of arms on the grandstand helps. <sup>45</sup> The English side shows the royal coat of arms, anachronistically followed by the coats of Edward III of England and three his sons (probably Edward the Black Prince, Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt), Alexander III of Scotland, Albany, Warwick and Bretagne. For the Brabantine team: the Duke's son John II of Brabant (see his differenced Brabantine coat of arms), Gaasbeek, Wezemaal, Rotselaar, Geten/Jauche, Diest, Breda and Bierbeek.	43v–44r	79–80	1279
53	Hoe coninc philips te huwelijc nam thertogen suster van brabant ende hoe sij beclapt wart [How King Philip took as his wife the sister of the Duke of Brabant, and how she was deceived]	Philip III of France with his wife Mary of Brabant who is carried off into a building by two men.	45r	82	1276
54	Van her pyererts vander roetsen ver-radernyssen [Of Lord Pierre de la Broce's betrayal]	John I of Brabant on horseback talks to his imprisoned sister Mary, who stands behind a barred window.	46r	84	1277
55	Hoe hertoge jan den coninc piertsen hiesch te parijs [How Duke John demanded Pierre from the King in Paris]	John I and Godfrey of Brabant, amongst others, stand around King Philip III of France.	46v	85	1278
56	Hoe die hertoge van brabant piertsen dede hangen te parijs an montfacon [How the Duke of Brabant had Pierre hanged in Paris at Montfaucon]	Pierre de la Broce hanged at the Gibbet of Montfaucon. Amongst the crowd are John I and Godfrey of Brabant, on horseback. On the recto page the city of Paris.	47v–48r	87–88	1278

(45) See also M. Damen “Heraldische plaagstoot?”. We thank not only the author, but also the readers of his blog who reacted, providing some additions. It is difficult to ascertain with precision who the English, as well as the Brabantine contestants were. There is of course the distance between the illuminator and the depicted events, but also the fact that the tournament is not recounted in detail in the accompanying chronicle text. The Brabantine side seems to feature *baenrotsen* or banner lords that were as important in the late thirteenth century as they were in the middle of the fifteenth. The English side, however, presents the fourteenth-century heraldry of the court of Edward III rather than that of Edward I. This could either be a mistake – the illustrator may well have based his depiction on a fourteenth-century heraldic source – or could be a conscious message, as Damen suggests. Either way, we have chosen to include in the index only the kings (of England, as Edward I; and of Scotland, as Alexander III) and the Brabantine lords. The latter identifications too, however, have to remain hypothetical.

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
57	Hoe de hertoge sijre suster verlostede Ende cronende dede [How the Duke freed his sister and had her crowned]	Mary of Brabant crowned Queen of France. The King of France is amongst the crowd as well as John I and Godfrey of Brabant.	48v	89	1278
58	Hoe deerste hertog jan int lant van lymborch trac [How Duke John I waged war in the land of Limburg]	John I of Brabant and his knights before a city bearing the banner of Limburg. In the background, a town in flames.	49r	90	1283
59	Hoe die hertoge te gulpen opden berch sijn vyanden verbejde met machte [How the Duke awaited his enemies in force on the hill near Gulpen]	The Brabantine and Limburg armies near Gulpen (County of Jülich) A franciscan friar kneels before John I of Brabant, pleading peace.	50r	92	1283– 1288
60	Hoe hertoge jan voer rode lach [How Duke John lay before Herzogenrath]	An army carrying the Brabantine banner. In the background, the town of 'Rode' (Herzogenrath) in flames.	51r	94	1283– 1288
61	Hoe die van trycht gescoffiert worden [How those of Maastricht were defeated]	Knights of Maastricht and Limburg in combat under their banners, with the former party on the losing side.	51v	95	1283– 1288
62	Hoe de heren voer tricht waren [How the Lords were before Maastricht]	Army on horseback in front of Maastricht. Banners of Guelders, Cologne and Luxembourg. The latter party is represented by Count Henry VI.	52v	97	1283– 1288
64	Vanden strijde binnen aken jegen des hertogen vriende [Of the battle inside Aachen against the friends of the Duke]	Bloody battle inside the city of Aachen. Flags of Aachen (imperial eagle), Brabant (Boutersem), Berthout, Wezemaal and Rotselaar. <sup>46</sup>	53v	99	1283– 1288
65	Hoe de bisscop van coellen voer aken was [How the Bishop of Cologne was before Aachen]	The Archbishop of Cologne, Siegfried II of Westerburg, on horseback with his knights. Canon fires at the Aachen walls.	54v	101	1283– 1288
69	Hoe de hertoge een poengijs vacht voer spremont [How the Duke battled before Sprimont]	John I of Brabant on horseback with his knights. In the back a burning windmill and the city of Sprimont.	56r	104	1283– 1288
70	Hoe die hertoge de grue vanden baren te helpen reet [How the Duke rode out to the aid of the Count of Bar]	John I of Brabant on horseback shaking hands with Theobald II, Count of Bar, who is on foot. John's knights carry banners of Brabant, Diest and Wezemaal.	56v	105	1283– 1288

(46) The illustration depicts five knights in heraldic battle dress, adding the coat of arms of Yssche (Ijse?) to the banners. This is in line with the accompanying text: *Daer was die here van wesemael / Van ijsch mijn heer arnout / Ende ooc mede heer bertout / Heer lonijs van boutersem was daer / Ende mede heer jan van rotzelaar* (comp. the edition of Velthem's continuation: *Lodewijk van Velthems voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiae (1248–1316)*, ed. H. vander Linden, P. de Keyser & A. van Loey (Brussels: Lamartin, 1906–1938), 3 vols Here: vol. 2, 415 (vv. 3491 ff.) It is difficult to identify with precision who is depicted and narrated as fighting in Aachen. We have included these knights in the index without added information, as they were mentioned in the text.

Ch.	Heading in ms. IV 684	Image depiction	fol.	pp.	Year
73	Hoe die hertoge woeronck belach [How the Duke lay siege to Worringen]	Siege of Worringen. Banner showing the combined coats of arms of Cologne and Jülich. Knights rest in tents. John I of Brabant is surrounded by knights.	58r	108	1288
74	Hoe die hertoge ende sijn viande tot malcanderen togen [How the Duke and his enemies approached each other]	John I of Brabant faces the Cologne Archbishop Siegfried II of Westerburg, both with an army of knights. Banners of Brabant, Gaasbeek, Wezemaal and Diest on John's side. On Siegfried's side those of Cologne, Guelders and Limburg.	59r	110	1288
75	DIt es den strijt van woeronck [This is the Battle of Worringen]	Battle of Worringen. Knights engaged in combat. On the left page, under the banners of Berg and Brabant, knights dressed in heraldic armour representing the city of Cologne, Bierbeek, Rotselaar (facing downwards), Berg, Wezemaal, Gaasbeek, Geten/Jauche, Breda, a relative of Henry VI of Luxembourg (on the ground), Limburg (on the ground) and a relative of Henry VI of Luxembourg (on the ground). On the right page, under the banners of Guelders, Luxembourg, Limburg and the bishop of Cologne: knights dressed in the heraldic armour of Brabant, Diest, the bishop of Cologne (captured by knights), Guelders (in the right margin), Henry VI of Luxembourg (bending over) and one of his relatives (on the ground). <sup>47</sup>	60v– 61r	113– 114	1288
79	Wat eren men den hertoge dede [The honours the Duke received]	Monks outside the Cologne city walls. One of them holds a religious banner. On the right side a boat with knights: Wezemaal, Brabant, Diest, Jauche and Gaasbeek. Banners of Brabant and Limburg.	63v	118	1288

(47) The identifiable main combatants whose coats of arms are depicted have been included in the index. The illustration shows three scions of the Luxemburg house deceased, one alive. Three are known to have died: Count Henry VI, his brother Waleran I, and their half-brother Henry of Houffalize. Perhaps the fourth is a rendering of the young Count Henry VII, who would inherit the County at a young age and would become King and Emperor in Germany at a later stage. See A. Wauters, *Le duc Jean Ier: le Brabant sous le règne de ce prince (1267–1294)*, *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires XIII* (Brussels: Académie Royale, 1862), 160–1.

## APPENDIX 2: INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES DEPICTED IN MS. IV 684

*Index of Names*

- Adelaide of Burgundy (c. 1233–1273), wife to Henry III of Brabant: 29r, 33r, 34r  
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 Adolf V, Count of Berg (d. 1296): 60v–61r  
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 Conrad III (1093–1152), King of Germany: 7v  
 Conrad IV (1228–1254), King of Germany and of Jerusalem: 30r  
 Edward I (1239–1307), King of England: 43v–44r (?)  
 Elisabeth of Brunswick (d. 1266), Countess of Holland: 25r  
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 Gerard II (III?), Lord of Jauche (Geten): 43v–44r (?)  
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 Godfrey of Brabant (d. 1302), son of Henry III of Brabant: 33r, 43r, 46v, 47v, 48v, 60v–61r (as Lord of Bierbeek?)  
 Godfrey of Louvain-Gaasbeek, son of Godfrey of Louvain-Gaasbeek, Provost of Nivelles; or William Pipenpoy, Lord of Blaasveld, commander of the troops of Gaasbeek: 60v–61r, 63r  
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 Henry of Brabant, son of Godfrey I and monk in Affligem: 6r  
 Henry of Houffalize, bastard of Luxemburg (d. 1288), half-brother to Henry VI, Count of Luxemburg: 60v–61r  
 Henry of Louvain, Lord of Gaasbeek (c. 1245–1285): 37r, 43v–44r (?)  
 Henry Raspe (1204–1247), Landgrave of Thuringia and husband to Beatrice of Brabant: 22r  
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