

James P. Ward

**Guillaume de Clugny, Guillaume de Bische and Jean Gros:
Mediators between Charles the Bold of Burgundy and the cities
of Holland (1460–1477)**

1. Introduction

Interest in corruption in the late medieval duchy of Burgundy and the related phenomenon of present-given which was intense from the 1950's onward¹ has recently been revived and pursued with increased refinements in detail and analysis². The aim of the present paper is to highlight evidence from the archives of Haarlem and Leiden concerning the informal relations in Holland of three close associates of Charles of Burgundy in the years 1460–1477. A simple definition of the kind of informal relations studied is the giving and accepting of gifts and

¹ Jacob VAN KLAVEREN, Die historische Erscheinung der Korruption in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der Staats- und Gesellschaftsstruktur betrachtet, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 44 (1957) p. 289–424; *ibid.* 45 (1956) p. 433–504; *ibid.* 46 (1959) p. 204–231; Alain DERVILLE, Pots-de-vin, cadeaux, racket, patronage; essai sur les mécanismes de décision dans l'état bourguignon, *Revue du Nord*, 56 (1974) p. 341–364; Willem P. BLOCKMANS, Corruptie, patronage, makelaardij en venaliteit als symptomen van een ontluikende staatsvorming in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse Nederlanden, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 11 (1985) p. 231–247; Raymond VAN UYTVEN, Vers un autre colloque: Hiérarchies sociales et prestige au Moyen Age et aux Temps Modernes in: Walter PREVENIER, Raymond VAN UYTVEN, Eddy VAN CAUWENBERGE (eds.), *Sociale structuren en topografie van armoede en rijkdom in de 14e en 15e eeuw. Methodologische aspecten en resultaten van recent onderzoek*, Ghent 1986, p. 158–175; Marc BOONE, Dons et pots-de-vin, aspects de la sociabilité urbaine au bas Moyen Age. Le cas gantois pendant la période bourguignonne, *Revue du Nord*, 70 (1988) p. 471–487. For characteristics of patron-client relations see Shmuel N. EISENSTADT, Luis RONIGER, *Patrons, clients and friends. Interpersonal relations and the structure of trust in society*, Cambridge 1984, especially p. 48f.

² Werner PARAVICINI, *Invitations au Mariage. Pratique Sociale, Abus de Pouvoir, Intérêt de l'État à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne au XV^e Siècle*, Acad. des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. *Comptes rendus* 1995, p. 687–711. This work, complete with documents and maps, was corrected, augmented and rearranged by Werner PARAVICINI under the title *Invitations au Mariage. Pratique sociale, abus de pouvoir, intérêt de l'État à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne 1399–1489. Documents, introduits, édités et commentés*, Stuttgart 2001; Valentin GROEBNER, Angebote, die man nicht ablehnen kann. Institution, Verwaltung und die Definition von Korruption am Ende des Mittelalters in: Reinhard BLÄNKNER, Bernhard JUSSEN (eds.), *Institutionen und Ereignis. Über historische Praktiken und Vorstellungen gesellschaftlichen Ordens*, Göttingen 1998, p. 163–184; Carol M. CHATTAWAY, Looking a medieval gift horse in the mouth. The role of the giving of gift objects in the definition and maintenance of the power network of Philip the Bold, *BMGN*, 114 (1999) p. 1–15; Mario DAMEN, *De staat van dienst. De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482)*, Hilversum 2000, especially Chapter 9, p. 391–418; Valentin GROEBNER, *Gefährliche Geschenke: Ritual, Politik und die Sprache der Korruption in der Eidgenossenschaft im späten Mittelalter und am Beginn der Neuzeit*, Konstanz 2000; Robert STEIN (ed.), *Powerbrokers in the Late Middle Ages. Les Courtiers du Pouvoir au Bas Moyen-Âge*, Turnhout 2001.

services between patrons and clients³. The men were Guillaume de Bische, Guillaume de Clugny and Jean Gros. Bische and Clugny were united to Charles and to each other through the ties of work and longstanding personal relationships in the service of the prince. The third man, Jean Gros, was related personally to Clugny, first as his secretary, and later through his marriage with a member of Clugny's family. In addition, something else served as a kind of cement holding the three men together, for whenever Clugny and Gros appeared in Holland then Bische was not far away. All three appear to have been working in concert, forming a mini-network or *cadre* within the central authority. What it was that joined them is not easily definable, but it is hoped to show here that it existed in the network of their relationships, formal and informal, to the cities of Holland. Data gathered can be used to throw light on three questions:

1. were the gifts, particularly the money gifts, given to Clugny, Bische and Gros unique in Holland?
2. did they reflect on the recipients' professional abilities as negotiators and on their values to both Charles of Burgundy and to the cities of Holland?
3. if a quantitative difference is observed in the gifts given to Clugny, Bische and Gros by the cities of Holland, did these three men in the perception of the Hollanders form a mini-hierarchy within the central Burgundian administration?

A second aim of the study was to compare the results with certain models describing, analysing and predicting the informal relations of powerbrokers and patrons with their clients. The present study describes therefore the activities of some of the closest associates of Charles of Burgundy, and of their relationships with the city elites of Holland. The emphasis will lie on informal contacts, as defined summarily above, of Guillaume de Clugny, Guillaume de Bische and Jean Gros with the city elites and the local councils, the *vroedschappen*, of Holland, and with the perquisites which resulted from those contacts. Who benefitted from those relationships, and in what ways?

Theoretical models intended to explain the functions of present-giving in late medieval societies are presented first. For the Burgundian period the essential ideas appear in the works of three authors. Their main propositions are presented in chronological order and examples taken from the accounts of Haarlem and Leiden will be used to provide data. The authors are:

1. Van Klaveren, who described corruption as an economic element in the structure of the early state;
2. Derville writing more specifically, linking gifts of wine to mechanisms of decision making in the Burgundian state;
3. Blockmans who evaluated corruption, brokerage and patronage as symptoms of an embryonic but growing Burgundian-Habsburgian state, characteristic of a period of transition.

³ This article is based on my unpublished thesis: James P. WARD, *Informal relations between officials of Charles of Burgundy and the cities of Holland: 1460–1477*, which was prepared in the History Department of the University of Leiden in part requirement for the degree equivalent to Master of Arts, and now revised and updated. Supervisor was Prof. Dr. Willem P. Blockmans. Source material has been edited and published since that time by Johannes G. SMIT (ed.), *Bronnen voor de Geschiedenis der Dagvaarten van de Staten en Steden van Holland voor 1544, Part III 1467–1477*, The Hague 1998. I thank Prof. Dr. Wim Blockmans, Prof. Dr. Werner Paravicini, Dr. Anteon Janse and Dr. Mario Damen for advice in preparing the present manuscript.

The essence of Van Klaveren's theory is that corruption is nothing more nor less than the exploitation of public functions and offices according to the laws of economy and the marketplace. The sellers are holders of office, the buyers are their customers or clientele. The products bought and sold are services, instruments of law and government, and the lower offices of the state, or in the case of the cities of Holland the so-called Small Offices which were of great importance to them locally. This is a purely economic definition of corruption, and morally neutral if practised within the limitations of natural and moral laws.

The second model is that of Derville. He postulated that the essential purpose of present-giving was to ensure protection. Derville summarized the concept in a geometrical arrangement of figures which also illustrated the dynamics of decision-making. In the summary here of his presentation the dimension of time accompanying the events is not considered. Instead, the concept is reduced to its basic linear structure⁴.

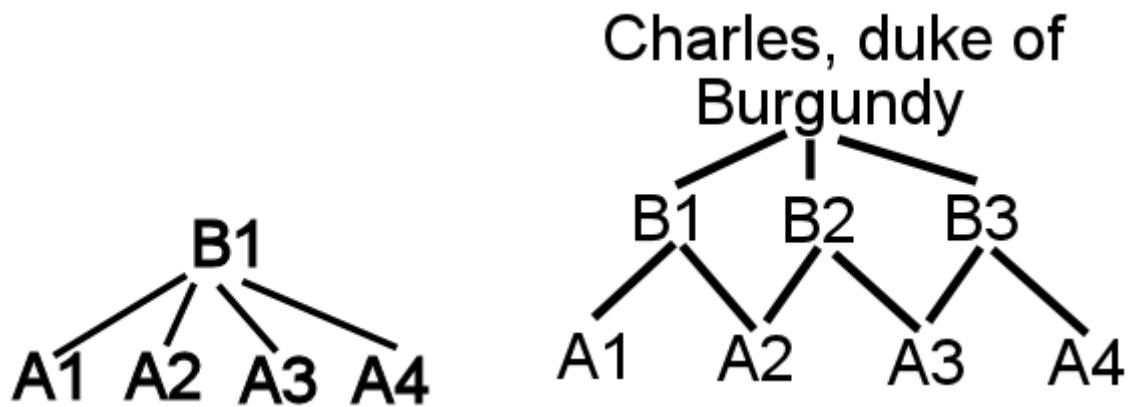
A _____ B C

In this scheme A is the potential victim, C the aggressor and B is A's protector. A gives gifts to B at various times, and if C should threaten A then B will intervene. The threat to A may be transient, but the bond between A and B, it is assumed, is strong and permanent, and kept in place by A's gifts to B.

In the last model Blockmans used the term brokerage to signify the kind of relationship to be described here between officials like Clugny, Bische and Gros and the councils (*vroedschappen*) of Haarlem and Leiden. The term broker may be defined as a person who makes a bargain for another and receives a commission for so doing. Bos-Rops listed three characteristics of patrons and powerbrokers: they had to have a foot in at least two segments of the state, they had to serve as a link and sometimes as a buffer between the parties, and their work had to be done on the basis of reciprocity. Blockmans quoted the following: *brokers ... stand guard over the crucial junctures or synapses of relationships which connect the local system in the larger whole*⁵, and he envisaged a pyramidal structure of bilateral personal relationships which can be assembled together to form an extended lattice-like structure throughout society as a whole. This is illustrated by the following two-dimensional figures which are cells in such a structure. For simplicity the arrangement mirroring the situation in Holland is limited to connections between four clients and three brokers or protectors but the idea can be adapted to include more.

⁴ DERVILLE, *Pots-de-vin* (see n. 1) p. 364; also EISENSTADT, RONIGER, *Patrons* (see n. 1) p. 214: *The client buys as it were protection.*

⁵ Leslie B. CURZON, *Dictionary of Law*, London 3rd edn. 1988, 3rd edn., p. 55; Yvonne BOS-ROPS, *The power of money. Financial officials in Holland in the late 15th and early 16th centuries* in: STEIN (ed.), *Powerbrokers* (see n. 2) p. 47–66, especially p. 59; BLOCKMANS, *Corruptie* (see n. 1) p. 235, quoting E. R. Wolf. Also Eric R. WOLF, *Friendship and Patron-client relations* in: Steffen W. SCHMIDT (ed.) *Friends, Followers and Factions. A reader in political clientelism*, Berkeley 1977, p. 167–177.



A1 - A4: Haarlem, Leiden, Delft, Gouda
 B1 - B3: Clugny, Bische, Gros

The connecting lines are to be thought of as indicating relationships between individuals and corporations, but they need not be barriers to contact with other members making up the cell. They might equally be bonds of friendship or rivalry between A1, A2, A3, A4, the cities of Holland, and they can be drawn or coloured differently to illustrate this if required.

Sources employed in this investigation were the accounts of the city treasurers or secretaries of Leiden, Haarlem, and to a more limited extent Gouda and Brielle for the years 1460–1477⁶. Burgomasters and others from Haarlem and Leiden who attended meetings and diets of the cities (*dagvaarten*) are named in the accounts, but since the emphasis is on Charles of Burgundy's officials no special weight has been given here to the individuals who represented the cities⁷. For Gouda most of the accounts for those years are missing, the little that remains is brief and skeletal, and the entries are undated. The situation is only a little better for Brielle. Accounts for most of the years are available, and they contain considerable amounts of information. Despite that only one item was found which was relevant to the investigation. For Haarlem the treasurers' accounts are much more detailed, and only one year is missing, 1469–70. The accounts for Leiden are exceptional both for the detail which they contain and the fact that for some years one or more copies of the rough draft (*Blaffert*) containing the day to day records of expenditure are available. For two years, 1467–68 and 1473–74, accounts are missing entirely, and for two other years, 1469–70 and 1475–76, only the rough draft copies of the accounts have survived. But a comparison of several entries was made for the year 1466–67 using both the fair copy and the *Blaffert* for that year. Apart from spelling variants the items examined corresponded word for word. In addition to the formal accounts of Leiden there is a separate account book which the secretary Jan Philipsz kept for

⁶ Jacob C. VAN OVERVOORDE, Jan W. VERBURGT, *Archief der secretarie van der stad Leiden 1253–1575*, Leiden 1937; Adriaan J. ENSCHEDE, *Inventaris van het archief der stad Haarlem. Eerste afdeling*, Haarlem 1866; Jan E. J. GESELSCHAP, *Inventaris van het oudarchief van Gouda*, Gouda 1965. Contractions used here are GA for Gemeente Archief (local City Archives); GA/Ha means Gemeente Archief Haarlem, and similarly for GA/Le (Leiden) and GA/Go (Gouda). In quotations from the sources punctuation has been added and Roman numerals have been capitalized.

⁷ For a later period and with an emphasis on prosopography BOS-ROPS, *Power of money* (see n. 5) p. 47–66.

the burgomasters' and his own use during a number of years, and it provided extra information. More extensive descriptions of the account books of the cities of Holland appear in sections of monographs by Kokken and by Van Gent⁸.

The sections of the accounts which were examined most closely were those giving details of presents (*Scheyncen*) to visitors and dignitaries, not all of which by any means were found under this heading. Most presents under this heading were of wine. Other presents, including money, materials and foodstuffs, were found under headings such as *Alrehande Uutgaven* (Various expenses) and *Costen upten Huuse* (Costs on the House), and as a consequence of this some of the items there are undated. These and other items in the accounts referring to the so-called Small Offices (see further below) were also examined, as a corollary to the present-giving.

Since an appreciation of the informal contacts between officials and the city representatives required some insight into their more formal relations, the accounts detailing journeys (*Reysen*) of the burgomasters and secretaries, and of their messengers (*Boden, Bodenloon*) to diets (*dagvaarten*) at The Hague and elsewhere within Holland and the Burgundian territories were also examined for references to Guillaume de Clugny, Bische and Gros, both under these names and under their titles⁹.

Two periods can be distinguished. In 1460–65 Charles of Burgundy, as count of Charolais, stayed in Holland for longer periods than ever before or afterwards¹⁰. This was partly, or largely, the result of the estrangement between him and his father, Philip the Good of Burgundy. But earlier hypotheses that Charles may have in some way sought an escape in Holland and a refuge from his father's court have been shown to be untenable. In fact Charles' activities in Holland in those years contradict any notion that he was avoiding confrontation with his father since one of Charles' aims was to gain the support of the cities of Holland in ensuring his succession to the dukedom on Philip's death. In the limited question of the succession in Holland he succeeded when he obtained an instrument of confirmation, signed and sealed in July 1463¹¹. The second period was from the succession of Charles on the death of Philip the Good in 1467 until his own premature death in battle in 1477.

⁸ Hendrik KOKKEN, *Steden en Staten. Dagvaarten van steden en Staten van Holland onder Maria van Bourgondie en het eerste regentschap van Maximiliaan van Oostenrijk (1477–1494)*, Hilversum 1991, p. 36–49; Michel J. VAN GENT, *Pertijelike Saken. Hoeken en Kabeljauwen in het Bourgondisch-Oostenrijkse tijdperk*, Hilversum 1994, p. 12–15.

⁹ For a study of how contacts were maintained and information exchanged between Charles the Bold and his officials, servants and others: Harm VON SEGGERN, *Herrschaftsmedien im Spätmittelalter. Studien zur Informationsübermittlung im burgundischen Staat unter Karl dem Kühnen*, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, Ostfildern 2003, *passim*.

¹⁰ Richard VAUGHAN, *Philip the Good*, London 1970, p. 376–378; Werner PARAVICINI, *Karl der Kühne. Das Ende des Hauses Burgund*, Göttingen 1976, p. 24; Werner PARAVICINI, *Acquérir sa grâce pour le temps advenir. Les hommes de Charles le Téméraire, prince héritier (1433–1467)* in: Alain MARCHANDISSE, Jean-Louis KUPPERS (eds.), *À l'ombre du pouvoir. Les entourages princiers au Moyen Âge. Études réunies par Alain Marchandisse et Jean-Louis Kupper*, Geneva 2003 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 283), p. 361–383; VAN GENT, *Pertijelike Saken* (see n. 8) p. 76f.

¹¹ VAUGHAN, *Philip the Good* (see n. 10) p. 378; VAN GENT, *Pertijelike Saken* (see n. 8) p. 76–78.

During the prolonged episode of his visits and his stay in Holland, 1460–65, and later, Charles was ably supported by a team - this seems an apt description - of officials and supporters working on his behalf. The supportive role of the city elites was expressed in their readiness finally to give him the guarantees to the succession which he desired when Philip's opposition to this had been overcome and a temporary reconciliation with his son achieved. In addition the cities maintained Charles financially by lending him and his wife money when, for example, Philip stopped payment of his allowances in 1463¹². As intermediaries in his negotiations with the cities Charles had a number of able and trusted officials who included members from the nobility of Holland such as Anteonis Michiels, and from the French-speaking nobility of Burgundy, such as Charles' boyhood friend and companion Guy de Brimeu¹³. Also numbered among his most important officials were Guillaume de Clugny, Guillaume de Bische and Jean Gros.

2. Principal characters

Before proceeding further a point of identity has to be cleared up. The quarrel between Charles, count of Charolais, and his father, Philip, duke of Burgundy, has been alluded to. Among the reasons for Philip's displeasure with his son, described by P. A. Meilink and others before him, was Charles' association with certain people of whom Philip strongly disapproved. One of Charles' adherents was Guillaume de Bische¹⁴. Meilink went on, mistakenly, to call Bische the Archdeacon of Avallon. Some years later A. G. Jongkees pointed out in a footnote that Meilink had confused the two; not Guillaume de Bische but Guillaume de Clugny was the Archdeacon of Avallon¹⁵. The cause of Meilink's error can only be guessed at. Perhaps it was the similarity of Clugny's family name with Bische's title (after 1468) of Lord of Cléry (*Heer van Clery*).

A general remark on the titles of Bische, Clugny, Gros and others may also be appropriate. Where recognized terms exist in English for certain offices and titles such as stadholder, archdeacon, protonotary and others, then they are used here without comment and without prejudice to their fifteenth century meanings. Members of the Grand Council (*Grote Raad*) of Burgundy, called *Raadsheren* (Privy Councillors), are referred to here as Councillors (i.e. capitalised), but members of local councils (*vroedschappen*) are councillors. Titles, such as knight, referring to court honours and to functions such as Councillor and Lord Chamberlain are used together with the forms found in the sources, *Ridder*, *Raadsheer*,

¹² For example, GA/Ha inv. no. 19/37, fo. 32v; GA/Ha inv. no. 19/40, fo. 34; GA/Le inv. no. 532, fo. 55.

¹³ Werner PARAVICINI, *Guy de Brimeu. Der Burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen*, Bonn 1975.

¹⁴ Petrus A. MEILINK, *Holland en het conflict tusschen Philips de Goede en zijn zoon van 1463/64*, BVGO, 7th series, Vol. 6 (1936), p. 49–66, especially p. 63; Richard VAUGHAN, *Charles the Bold. The last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, London 1973, p. 4–5.

¹⁵ Adriaan G. JONGKEES, *Staat en kerk in Holland en Zeeland onder de Bourgondische hertogen 1425–1477*, Groningen and Batavia 1942, p. 176, n. 1 there.

Hofmeester, etc., and these latter in their Burgundian connotations are to be regarded as definitive.

Charles of Burgundy and Guy de Brimeu have been the subjects of full scale monographs, but for the three officials to be described there appear to be only biographical sketches. For Guillaume de Clugny, Guillaume de Bische and Jean Gros information is scattered. Some of the main points in their careers are summarised first as aids to understanding their positions in the entourage and bureaucracy of Charles while he was count of Charolais (to 1467) and then as duke of Burgundy (1467–77). Their titles met with most frequently in the sources are also included. All three men were Privy Councillors (*Raadsheren*). Sometimes these three officials were found referred to in the sources by their titles or functions only. Since this was potentially a source of uncertainty and error the following sections are preceded by remarks on the mens' identities.

A. Guillaume de Clugny, Archdeacon of Avallon, Papal Protonotary¹⁶

Guillaume de Clugny is sometimes referred to in the sources simply by his title of Archdeacon or, later, Protonotary. In fact this seems to have been the rule in Haarlem. For Haarlem there was only one archdeacon and protonotary, Guillaume de Clugny, at that time. In another rendering of his title, a single entry in Leiden described a gift of wine to *die Juge* (the Judge). This is believed to have been Guillaume de Clugny because Bische and Gros were also given wine in Leiden the next day¹⁷. Fortunately, the secretaries at Leiden more frequently than others coupled the family name of Clugny with his titles when appropriate. In another case, for example, the papal protonotary who appeared in the Leiden accounts towards the end of this period was clearly identified as Artus de Bourbon. But the unnamed protonotary who attended a diet at The Hague on 23 September 1477, although perhaps De Bourbon, remains unidentified¹⁸.

Guillaume de Clugny, therefore, was a churchman and papal protonotary, a member of the nobility, and educated in the law. He was the senior member of a group of personal adherents to Charles of Burgundy who formed the nucleus of his administration from before 1460 when Charles was still count of Charolais. But Clugny was a Privy Councillor and Master of Requests (*Rekwestmeester; Maître des requêtes*) to Philip the Good in 1448 already. His appointment to the Grand Council (*Grote Raad*) on Charles' succession in 1467 formed, therefore, a continuity with the recent past from which both he and his associates in Holland could draw advantages. It will become evident that part of Clugny's value to Charles of Burgundy lay in the fact that Clugny was able to extend the prince's authority in Holland on the basis of his previous connections there. The same is true for Bische and Gros.

In the Council Guillaume de Clugny was one of sixteen *Maîtres des requêtes*, another of whom was his brother Ferry de Clugny, bishop of Tournai, who was head of the Grand Council¹⁹. The names of both brothers, but especially Guillaume, appear in the accounts of Haarlem and more prominently of Leiden, where they were associated with financial matters related to the *aides*. Guillaume's most important function in Holland in the period reviewed

¹⁶ Information given here for Clugny and for Gros was collated from the monographs of John BARTIER, *Légistes et gens de finances au XVe siècle; les conseillers des Ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Beau et Charles le Téméraire*, Brussels 1955, p. 372–381; Pierre COCKSHAW, *Le personnel de la chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre sous les ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois 1384–1477*, Courtrai 1982; Jan VAN ROMPAEY, *De Grote Raad van de hertogen van Boergondie*, Brussels 1973. See also articles on Ferry and Guillaume de Clugny by Marc DYKMANS in: Robert AUTY (ed.), *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. 2, Munich and Zürich 1983, columns 2171–2172, and by Michel PREVOST, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, Vol. 9 Paris 1961, columns 53–54. In sources in Haarlem and Leiden the name Clugny is usually spelled Clungy.

¹⁷ GA/Le inv. no. 538, fo. 74 and fo. 75, dated 19 and 20 Jan. 1467.

¹⁸ GA/Le inv. no. 556, fo. 74; Roman D'AMAT, Artus De Bourbon in: Michel PREVOST, Roman D'AMAT (eds.), *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* Vol. 6, Paris 1954, column 1390.

¹⁹ The article on Ferry de Clugny by Emile de BORCHGRAVE, *Biographie Nationale* Vol. 7, Brussels 1883, columns 41–44, describes Ferry as the cousin of Guillaume de Clugny. Later authors (Vaughan, Paravicini and others) describe them as brothers. See also Hans COOLS, *Mannen met Macht. Edellieden en de Moderne Staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse Landen (1475–1530)*, Zutphen 2001, p. 311.

here was as negotiator of the *aides*, and his membership of the commission of 1466 which was responsible for the Ordinance on Finances of 8 February 1468²⁰.

Guillaume de Clugny accompanied Charles of Burgundy on his campaign during the war of the Public Weal (*du Bien Public*), and he also carried out diplomatic work for him. In 1465 he went to England to request the hand of Margaret of York in marriage to Charles, he was the head of an embassy to Spain in 1471, and in 1475–76 he negotiated with France on behalf of Burgundy. Evidence in the accounts of Leiden and Haarlem indicates that in his absence from Holland in those years his tasks were to a large extent assumed by Antoine Haneron who was provost of St Donatien in Bruges from 1467. Following the death of Charles of Burgundy at Nancy in January 1477 Guillaume de Clugny was arrested briefly, held at Ghent and then released on or about 18 August 1477. He sought refuge in France at the court of Louis XI where he continued to make his career. He died as bishop of Poitiers in 1481²¹.

A namesake of Clugny, his nephew Guillaume de Clugny le jeune, was brother-in-law to Jean Gros who was the protonotary's secretary (see below).

B. Guillaume de Bische, Knight, Maître d'hôtel, Lord of Cléry²²

Guillaume de Bische presents a problem. Titles, even if used with the predicate First, were not exclusive. In one instance it was found that a *Hofmeester* (unnamed) in the accounts of Haarlem, by comparison with those of Leiden, was Pieter Bladelin²³, not Guillaume de Bische. On the other hand the identity of the unnamed Chamberlain of Charles of Burgundy who was presented with wine and a dinner at Gouda recorded in entries still surviving from the book year 1468–69 remains unknown²⁴. This and other references in the sources by title only to similarly unidentified officials who received gifts of wine and other payments have not been considered further.

Guillaume de Bische first appeared at the Burgundian court as a functionary specialising in finances and the receipt of the ducal *aides*. Work in the *Chambre des Comptes* was a desirable career in itself, and most officials there started as clerks²⁵. In 1454, after about ten years at this work, Bische was described as a member of the Grand Council (*Grote*

²⁰ VAN ROMPAEY, *Grote Raad* (see n. 16) p. 116–121.

²¹ PARAVICINI, Guy de Brimeu (see n. 13) p. 482, n. 107 there. According to Paravicini Guillaume de Clugny died 21 Nov. 1481, *ibid.* p. 486 and n. 125 there; cf. JONGKEES, *Staat en kerk* (see n. 15) p. 176, n. 1 there, where Clugny is said to have died in 1480.

²² Geertruida DE MOOR, Guillaume (de) Bische(s), *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, Brussels 1990, columns 82–86.

²³ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/42, fo. 17r and 17v; *ibid.*, fo. 29; GA/Le inv. no. 533, fo. 58v.

²⁴ ... *mijns Heeren Kamerling een maeltijt ...; ... mijns Heeren Camerling II stedekannen wijns ...*, GA/Go, inv. no. 1139, anno 1468–1469, fo. 10v and fo. 12.

²⁵ BOS-ROPS, *Power of money* (see n. 5) p. 49–50.

Raad) of Burgundy. At some time thereabouts he entered the service of Charles, count of Charolais, but in 1457 Philip of Burgundy banished Bische from court because of the bad influence which he believed him to have on Charles. Two expressions of perhaps informed but jaundiced opinion about Bische at this time were that he was a poor lackey (*poore valeton*; Chastelain), and that Bische had Charles in the palm of his hand (*ganz yn der hant*). Whatever the nature of their attachment was, it was long-lasting and ended only with the death of Charles in 1477²⁶.

During his banishment Bische spent a few years in the service of Charles VII, king of France, after which he re-appeared as a member of Charles of Burgundy's household. He was active in a military capacity against France when Charles knighted him in 1465, following the battle of Montlhéry. Bische, with the title of *Ridder* (Knight) is mentioned as such in the archives of Leiden about that time, as he is also under his later title Lord of Cléry (*Heer van Clery*) with which Charles rewarded him for diplomatic service in negotiating the treaty of Conflans by which the war of the Public Weal was ended²⁷. Bische, therefore, like Clugny and later Gros provided diplomatic service to the Burgundian state.

In 1466 while at The Hague Guillaume de Bische celebrated his recent marriage, and this was an occasion for Charles of Burgundy to recommend him to the cities of Holland in the warmest possible terms of friendship and affection²⁸. De Moor in her biographical description of Guillaume de Bische provided a summary of some of the financial benefits which he received from Charles and from a number of the cities and communities of the Burgundian state. In 1467 he was honoured as *Kamerheer* (Chamberlain), and again a year later as *Eerste Hofmeester*. When in 1475 Pierre de Rasse, sieur de La Hargarie, was relieved of his post as military governor of Péronne Guillaume de Bische was appointed in his place *pour ce que sa maison appelée Cléry estoit auprès*²⁹.

But his Burgundian career was inextricably bound up with that of Charles the Bold. On the death of his patron in 1477 Bische surrendered Péronne to Louis XI and transferred once more into the service of the king of France, with whom he was familiar from his own earlier years spent in France. Part of the arrangement involved the maintenance of Guillaume de Bische in his position as governor of Péronne³⁰. There Bische continued to have influence

²⁶ VAUGHAN, Charles the Bold (see n. 14) p. 4–5; PARAVICINI, Karl der Kühne (see n. 10) p. 42; VAN GENT, Pertijelike Saken (see n. 8) p. 79 and n. 144 there; Holger KRUSE, Amt und Gagen. Die täglichen Gagenlisten des burgundischen Hofes (1430–1467) und der erste Hofstaat Karls des Kühnen (1456), Bonn 1996.

²⁷ GA/Le inv. no. 538, f. 72v (*Ridder*) dated 14 Jan. 1467, and GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 79 (*Clery*) dated 5 Feb. 1473.

²⁸ PARAVICINI, Invitations au Mariage (see n. 2) p. 689 and n. 14 there; PARAVICINI Invitations ... Documents (see n. 2) p. 17 and p. 115–119. The marriage ceremony proper took place earlier at Mortagne.

²⁹ Cited in: David POTTER, War and Government in the French Provinces. Picardy 1470–1560, Cambridge 1993, p. 37, n. 37 there. Bische's title and estates derived from Cléry-sur-Somme, on the river 5 km. northwest of Péronne.

³⁰ POTTER, War and government (see n. 29) p. 47, *ibid.* p. 56; KRUSE, Amt und Gagen (see n. 26) p. 270 and n. 465 there.

at court. Guillaume de Bische died in 1497 when he may have been aged about seventy years, and he left his remaining wealth to his son Jean. It may be remarked at this point already that, despite a number of items found in the accounts of Haarlem and Leiden recording gifts to Guillaume de Bische, no perfectly clear and detailed picture of him, nor of the duties he performed in Holland emerges. This is in strong contrast to his two companions, Guillaume de Clugny and Jean Gros.

C. Jean Gros III, First Secretary, *Audiencier*

Jean Gros can be identified without trouble, for his offices of First Secretary and *Audiencier* cannot give rise to confusion or doubt. Charles of Burgundy had only one First Secretary, and there was only one *Audiencier* at this period, following the death of Philip of Burgundy who had had an official with a similar title³¹. Jean Gros, the third of that name and the third member of this trio of officials in the service of Charles of Burgundy, was born at Dijon about the year 1434³². Already by 1450 he was described as a secretary in the ducal service. About that time Gros was secretary to Guillaume de Clugny³³, the Archdeacon of Avalon, and it is in this capacity probably that he is first mentioned in the accounts of Haarlem. In 1456 he held the office of *Audiencier* to Charles, count of Charolais, a post which Gros retained on Charles' succession to the dukedom in 1467. As First Secretary to Charles Jean Gros III was empowered to sign letters and documents in lieu of the duke³⁴. Within certain safeguards these included letters conferring presents and awards of pensions, estates, woodlands, confiscated property, and manorial rights on the one hand, and freedom from and remission of fines and certain other ducal prerogatives on the other. His duties like those of Clugny and probably Bische extended widely to include not only legal and financial matters for the greater part but also general administration and diplomacy in addition. Bartier reviewed Gros' work and career, and the favours which were conferred on him by Charles and by the communities of Burgundy. Like Clugny and Bische, Gros was a man who prospered over many years from the amity and trust of his patron, and this is borne out by archival evidence from Leiden, Haarlem and Gouda.

Jean Gros married twice. His marriage at Bruges in 1472 concerns this study closely. The lady who became his first wife was a niece of the chancellor Guillaume Hugonet, namely a daughter of Hugonet's sister. This wedding in particular and its many ramifications was the subject of investigations by Paravicini. Another daughter, Gros' sister-in-law, was married to

³¹ VAN ROMPAEY, *Grote Raad* (see n. 16) p. 181–182, and p. 212f. For a description and the significance of the audience at the court of Charles of Burgundy, Werner PARAVICINI, *Die zwölf »Magnificences« Karls des Kühnen* in: Gerd ALTHOFF (ed.), *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2001, p. 319–395, especially p. 339–343.

³² VAN ROMPAEY, *Grote Raad* (see n. 16), but especially BARTIER, *Légistes* (see n. 16) p. 372f.

³³ VAN ROMPAEY, *Grote Raad* (see n. 16) p. 117 and n. 62 there.

³⁴ For examples of documents JONGKEES, *Staat en kerk* (see n. 15), Appendices XVII and XVIII, p. 338–339; Jan G. C. JOOSTING, Samuel MULLER, *Oude Vaderlandsche Rechtsbronnen (OVR)*, 2nd Series, No. 11 (1910), p. 244–245; VON SEGGERN, *Herrschaftsmedien* (see n. 9) p. 419 and p. 422.

Guillaume de Clugny le jeune, who was a nephew of the Archdeacon and Protonary. This relationship, together with other marriages at the Court of Burgundy, was also described in detail by Paravicini³⁵. Jean Gros, appropriately, named two of his sons Guillaume and Ferry. In 1477 Gros' career and indeed his life appeared about to end as precipitously as had that of Charles of Burgundy. He was imprisoned for a time at Mons together with other Burgundian officials, one of whom (Robert de Martigny) was executed shortly afterwards. But Mary of Burgundy, Charles' only child and his successor, was well disposed towards Gros and secured his release. He gave up his office of *Audiencier* at this time and prudently declined the office of Controller General of Finances which was offered to him. But he did accept the largely honorary post of Treasurer of the Order of the Golden Fleece which Guillaume de Clugny had held before his departure to France. Jean Gros engaged later in diplomatic work between Burgundy and England, but finally as had Clugny and Bische before him he gravitated towards the court of Louis XI, becoming one of the French king's Councillors. Jean Gros III died at his home town of Dijon, by that time once more in French possession, in 1484.

It lies outside the scope of the present study to follow the careers of Clugny, Bische and Gros in French service after the death of their patron Charles of Burgundy. But it should be noted that their service to Charles lasting perhaps more than twenty years was not a hindrance to their making successful new careers in the service of king Louis XI. Whatever else it means, it does indicate that they were men of ability.

D. The city councils (*vroedschap, gerecht*) of Leiden and Haarlem

Who were the people with whom Clugny, Bische and Gros as officials of the central Burgundian authority most frequently had to deal with while in Holland? They were in essence those individuals who made up the local councils (*vroedschappen*) and the civil, judicial bodies maintaining law and order in the community. At Haarlem and Leiden the latter were the groups of thirteen men, sheriff, four burgomasters and eight aldermen (*schout, burgemeesters, schepenen*), called *het gerecht* or magistrature³⁶.

The burgomasters in Leiden were chosen annually by their council. They were responsible for running the daily business of the community, and for control of its finances. The council itself (*vroedschap*) was a self-perpetuating oligarchy made up of members who had held one or other of the public offices in the past. In Leiden they numbered on average about forty persons in the fifteenth century. In the 1440's they were privileged by Philip the Good to form an electoral college of forty persons and to draw up short lists of names from

³⁵ PARAVICINI, *Invitations au mariage* (see n. 2) p. 687–711; PARAVICINI, *Invitations ... Documents* (see n. 2) p. 15 and p. 128–131 for documents pertaining to Jean Gros, and p. 161–165 for documents pertaining to Guillaume de Clugny le jeune.

³⁶ Dick E. H. DE BOER, *Die politsche Elite Leidens am Ende des Mittelalters; eine Zwischenbilanz in: Heinz SCHILLING, Herman DIEDERIKS (eds.), Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit, Cologne and Vienna 1985, p. 85–105; Jannis W. MARSILJE, Het financiële beleid van Leiden in de laat-Beierse en Bourgondische periode 1390–1477, Hilversum 1985, Part I, Leidens Bestuur, p. 16–147; KOKKEN, *Steden en Staten* (see n. 8) p. 149f; Fredericus J. W. VAN KAN, *Elite and government in medieval Leiden, J. Medieval History 21 (1995) p. 51–75.**

which the stadholder and the Council of Holland (*Raad van Holland*) were required to choose the aldermen (*schepenen*). In Haarlem the electoral college of eighty persons in the 1440's was later reduced to forty four.

Qualifications for the burgomasters' office and for membership of the councils depended on age, wealth, family background, political affiliation and, generally, status and standing within the community. An aim of Philip the Good of Burgundy was to maintain peace and tranquility in the towns, and this required an equilibrium of familial and political forces, based on local traditions within each community. When on rare occasions Philip felt constrained to change the composition and membership of the *vroedschap*, or to diminish the members' rights, this was experienced throughout the whole community as an important and emotive event, and it strongly affected the internal and external relationships of all concerned.

In 1462 Charles of Charolais, acting for his father in Holland, prolonged for ten years Leiden's right to maintain an electoral college of forty persons in exchange for concessions on the *aides*. Archdeacon Guillaume de Clugny controlled the list of names on that occasion³⁷. These forty persons were empowered to draw up a short list of sixteen names from whom the eight new aldermen (*schepenen*) were to be appointed. But Haarlem and the other major cities of Holland were no longer given similar rights at that time. Charles was less conciliatory than Philip had been, and at his accession on the death of his father (1467) he introduced numerous organisational and administrative changes to public life and office which affected all sections of society. As an example of a change affecting the city elites Charles tried to reduce sharply the periods of tenure of the offices of bailiff and sheriff which Philip had been content to farm out for much longer periods. Charles' constant need was to raise more money. One of his methods was to employ the persuasive powers of his closest co-workers, especially Clugny, in the negotiations with the cities of Holland on the *aides*. But another impression gained from the sources is that Clugny could be conciliatory as well as persuasive, for on occasion he was ready to carry back messages and objections from the city councillors to Charles³⁸.

3. Categories of gifts

Gifts and payments made to Clugny, Bische and Gros were, firstly, the well known gifts of wine, a phenomenon discussed by Derville³⁹; then there were money payments made to them

³⁷ *Item opten XVIII/en dach in Septembrij [1462] worde Jan Philipszn. gesent in den Hage aen Meester Aernt mitten twee hantvesten van den XL personen om Meester Aernt die te leveren, die soude doen besien die Archidiake, etc., GA/Le, inv. no. 527, fo. 85v.*

³⁸ *... dattet [the tax on military vassals] ofgedaen mocht worden soe alst int consenteren van der groter bede den landen toegeseyt was dattet ofwesen soude, dair op dat mijne Heeren die Stedehouder ende die Prothonotaris seyden dat zij dat aen mijnen genad. Heer dat beste doen zoude ..., GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 63, dated 10 July 1473. This was a reference to relief of a tax or scutage to be imposed on the vassals (*leenmannen*) in lieu of their military service, and Clugny agreed to remind the duke that its abolition had been agreed in the negotiations on the *aides*. On large loans to Charles of Burgundy from the clergy and his attempts to make the clergy liable to pay the military tax or scutage see also Jan HOF, *De abdij van Egmond van de aanvang tot 1573*, The Hague and Haarlem 1973, p. 388–389.*

³⁹ DERVILLE, *Pots-de-vin* (see n. 1) p. 341–364.

on various grounds which were specified to some extent in the accounts; finally there were gifts in kind - foodstuffs and building materials. There were also on a few occasions small gifts of money made to officials who worked for Clugny and Gros, and these are summarized also.

It should be noted that other dignitaries received gifts from Leiden and Haarlem too, but never with the predictability accorded to Clugny, Bische and Gros. Aristocratic and other visitors received wine, and ducal secretaries besides Jean Gros were paid for their regular work. For example, the daughter of Jan van Haelwijn, who was secretary to Charles of Burgundy and to the Great Council, received a gift of 20 Postulaets guilders from Haarlem on her wedding, and the cathedral provost at Utrecht was given a calf by Leiden in thanks for a service⁴⁰. Jan van Bosschuysen, Charles of Burgundy's *sommelier*, was given two silver gilt cups to the considerable value of 115 pounds, but it was expressly stated that this was because he was also a burgher (*poorter*) of Leiden⁴¹. These gifts to others, however, were incidents within the conventions and formalities of gift-giving at that time. They appear, as it were, only once in the accounts. They are not structural as for Clugny, Bische and Gros.

A. Wine and dinners

There is no difficulty in finding evidence of gifts of wine to the three main persons, nor is there any ambiguity in the sources, where they are listed consistently as gifts (*Scheyncen*). Dignitaries, noblemen and higher officials were honoured regularly with presents of wine when they came on formal visits to the cities, and the costs were predictable and fairly uniform. Clugny, Bische and Gros were regularly given gifts of wine whenever they visited Leiden or Haarlem. Two and four flasks (*stedekannen*) of wine were usual, containing about seven pints each, but Charles of Burgundy received larger quantities. Sometimes the type of wine was specified; for example, Rhenish. There is evidence that on some occasions dinners were given to Clugny, and that Bische and Gros participated at one dinner when they were in Clugny's company. The costs of those dinners were considerable, and so they may have been intended either as a mark of respect or as a reward for services rendered, or both⁴². In the accounts Clugny is almost always named as first guest. On one occasion while on a journey to the Eastern Netherlands (Gelderland) Clugny and the other members of the large party, including the servants, were given an apparently sumptuous meal. There were different foodstuffs for the lords and for the servants, some of which were described as extra details in the accounts: confectionary, preserves, spices for the lords, and fish such as pike, carp, bass,

⁴⁰ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/48, fo. 50; GA/Le inv. no. 532, fo. 90 and fo. 111v; GA/Le inv. no. 532, fo. 90 and fo. 111v; PARAVICINI, Invitations au mariage (see n. 1) p. 692 and n. 32 there.

⁴¹ GA/Le inv. no. 552, fo. 154v. On behalf of Jan van Bosschuysen, *le favori du moment* (Paravicini), Chancellor Hugonet wrote personally (16 Sept. 1475) to the city of Mechelen; PARAVICINI, Invitations au mariage (see n. 2) p. 691–692 and n. 29 there; PARAVICINI, Invitations ... Documents (see n. 2) p. 26.

⁴² At Leiden sums noted for dinners were 5 lb. 4 s. (GA/Le, inv. no. 527, fo. 69, dated 12 May 1462), 14 lb. 10 s. 4 d. (GA/Le, inv. no. 547, fo. 84, dated 20 July 1472), and the largest was 16 lb. 17 s. 8 d. (GA/Le, inv. no. 552, fo. 69, dated 15 March 1476).

and other foodstuffs which the retinue ate in the evening⁴³. On that occasion Chancellor Hugonet was present as guest of honour, and he was named first.

B. Gifts of money

In the matter of money payments a distinction has to be made between fees paid for services rendered in the normal course of legal and administrative work, and payments made for other reasons. Many of the payments made to Jean Gros were for his legal work, and they are specified as such in sufficient detail to cause no problem of interpretation. The money paid to him in such instances can be compared with payments made to other secretaries of Charles for similar work, and in Gros' case there is nothing out of the ordinary in that respect. For example, Jan Wandel was a ducal secretary who visited Leiden and Haarlem frequently in those years, bringing documents from The Hague, and performing legal work at the behest of the cities. Jan Wandel also received wine on some visits⁴⁴. Fees paid to Jan Wandel were of the same order of magnitude, for example, as a fee of 4 lb. 16 s. paid to a local schoolmaster who made a Latin translation of a letter for Leiden⁴⁵. Many of the payments made to Jean Gros were much the same, and therefore not out of the ordinary. Moreover, if the totals paid to him for his secretarial work do sometimes seem impressive this may be the result of accumulation of work and payments.

But assessment becomes more difficult when words and phrases are used in the account books which indicate that the sums included both payment for services and a present combined. How much of the payment covered the real costs and how much the gift? There can be no ready answer to this, but the magnitude of the payment *in toto* may indicate something out of the ordinary and hence perhaps an informal reward. An example illustrates this.

In 1461 Haarlem's parish church of St Bavo was under interdict. Consequently, the church could not be used for religious services and ceremonies, and so marriages, funeral services, processions and the like were suspended. In medieval cities such a state of affairs with its civil and religious consequences could lead to serious concerns and unrest in the population. The reason for the interdict is unknown but it may have been caused by some violent incident within the church or its precincts, a common event in former times⁴⁶. Interdicts are prominent in the account books of Haarlem and Leiden at the beginning of the 1460's, and then they disappear from them for many years thereafter. This was probably a sign of success for Philip and Charles of Burgundy in their efforts to control the churchmen.

⁴³ ... *specie, confijjt, cruyt voir den Heeren, ende voir vissch als snoek, corper, possch ende ander provande die t'ghesinde des avonts aten*, GA/Le inv. no. 552, fo. 69, dated 15 March 1476.

⁴⁴ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/40, fo. 31; GA/Le inv. no. 532, fo. 78v and GA/Le inv. no. 542, fo. 79v.

⁴⁵ GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 111v; VON SEGGERN, *Herrschaftsmedien* (see n. 9) p. 264, n. 142 there. In the accounts there are other similar examples.

⁴⁶ For a classic early but still valuable study of the interdict see Edward B. KREHBIEL, *The interdict, its history and its operation with special attention to the time of Pope Innocent III, 1198–1216*, Washington 1909; Hartmut ZAPP, *Interdikt*, in: Robert AUTY (ed.), *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. 5, Munich and Zürich 1991, columns 465–467, where the most recently cited literature is from 1951.

The bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy, demanded an exorbitant sum for lifting the interdict, but he did not get it⁴⁷. Guillaume de Clugny, Archdeacon of Avallon, travelled to Utrecht to negotiate about lifting the interdict with the diocesan officials there, of whom the most prominent was the cathedral provost (*domproest*) Ghysbrecht van Brederode, supporter of a political faction called the Hoeks who were opposed to Charles of Burgundy. Clugny's mission was successful however, the church was re-consecrated by the auxiliary bishop, and the grateful council of Haarlem rewarded Clugny with 75 lb. for his help and support (*hulp ende bijstant*). The payment was also made expressly for his costs and work (*voor zijn kosten ende arbeit*)⁴⁸.

How great were Clugny's costs? It is instructive to compare the 75 lb. firstly with the loan of 50 lb. which Leiden made in those years to Charles of Burgundy's wife⁴⁹, but only after repeated requests for a gift of the money, and secondly with the payment of 20 s. (which appears together in the same entry of the Haarlem accounts with Clugny's 75 lb.) which was made to Jean Gros who was Clugny's secretary at that time and which probably indicates that Gros accompanied Clugny to Utrecht. It is even more sobering to realise that 75 lb. exceeded the annual wages of an average workman or artisan at that time. Using data provided by Blockmans and others it can be calculated that on the basis of about seven and a half groats per day for a textile worker or nine groats per day for a master mason in the 1460's and 1470's their annual incomes varied from approximately 62 to 78 pounds of 30 groats⁵⁰. In this light Clugny's 75 lb. was an impressive sum, even if his costs in the negotiations with Utrecht might have been appreciable because of the need to pay or give presents to people there. It was shortly after this that Clugny visited Haarlem in connection with the same business of the interdict and was honoured with a dinner⁵¹.

At Leiden one of the first money gifts made to Guillaume de Clugny by the city was 35 Rhine guilders which the accounts state expressly was paid to him by Leiden and by Delft but not by Schiedam. This kind of information about cities which paid and those which did not contribute towards certain payments or gifts is common in the sources and provides additional information on how large the presents may ultimately have been. The reason for

⁴⁷ JONGKEES, *Staat en kerk* (see n. 15) p. 174f.

⁴⁸ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/37, fo. 23v; *ibid.* fo. 29; *ibid.* fo. 37v; *ibid.* fo. 38.

⁴⁹ GA/Le inv. no. 532, fo. 55, book year 1464–65.

⁵⁰ Wim BLOCKMANS, *The Economic Expansion of Holland and Zeeland in the Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries*, *Studia Historica Oeconomica. Liber amicorum Herman van der Wee*, Louvain 1993, p. 41–58; Marc BOONE, Hanno BRAND, Walter PREVENIER, *Revendications salariales et conjoncture économique: Les salaires des foulons a Gand et a Leyde au XVe siècle*, *ibid.*, p. 59–74. Data of the latter authors in Table II, p. 70 there, imply a working year of 261 days, and this figure has been used here, applying it to Blockmans' 9 groats per day, (p. 47, n. 14 there); Leendert NOORDEGRAAF, Johannes T. SCHOENMAKERS, *Daglonen in Holland 1450–1600*, Amsterdam 1983.

⁵¹ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/38, fo. 32.

the gift was described as help with the charter relating to the Small Offices (*tstuc van de clienen diensten*), the importance of which to the cities has been indicated briefly above⁵².

But by far the largest gifts of money made to Clugny and others were connected with the payment of the *aides*. The total in *aides* to be paid to the dukes of Burgundy, and how the contributions were to be levied on the cities of Holland, were subjects for long and tough negotiations. The first significant gift of this kind connected with the *aides* at Leiden was in 1472 when the very considerable sum of 1440 lb. was paid jointly to the stadholder Gruuthuyse, and to Guillaume de Clugny, Jean Gros and others for having brought the negotiations to a successful conclusion⁵³. About the same time Haarlem presented Guillaume de Clugny personally, under his title of Protonotary, with no less than 320 lb. of 30 groats (40 lb. gr. Flemish). The express reason for this extraordinary present was equally extraordinary. It was in order that he should ensure that Haarlem would not be taxed higher in the *aides* than Leiden or Delft⁵⁴. This was a request made to Clugny, and later to Jean Gros, on behalf of Haarlem which was found repeated several times in the sources. The related theme of Haarlem's alleged poverty was described not only in the accounts of Haarlem but in other variants, and from an unsympathetic perspective, in the accounts of Leiden too⁵⁵. On this occasion the gift of 320 lb. was a particular initiative of Haarlem in seeking Clugny's help. But the next year a larger gift of money was made once more to the Protonotary jointly on behalf of the main cities of Holland and West-Friesland for a similar purpose concerning the *aides*. On 8 July 1473 Haarlem's burgomasters Jacob van Assendelft and Andries Thomaessz went to The Hague to pay the Protonotary 200 Rhine guilders. This was Haarlem's one sixth share of 1200 guilders which had been promised to Clugny by the cities and the nobility of Holland for certain services (*zekere diensten*) in ensuring that the current six year *aides* should be divided equitably over all of Charles' Burgundian territories in North and South⁵⁶.

At the same time the two burgomasters from Haarlem brought an *extra* 100 crowns to Clugny, again expressly for assurances that Haarlem would not be taxed higher than Leiden

⁵² GA/Le inv. no. 542, fo. 79. The payment is recorded in one item and the reason for the gift is in the item preceding. Other high government officers benefitted too. Fo. 77 is rubricised as *Roerende van den Clienen Diensten* (Concerning the Small Offices); see here further below.

⁵³ GA/Le inv. no. 547, fo. 116v; MARSILJE, Financiële beleid (see n. 36) p. 89 and n. 256 there. The account books GA/Le inv. no. 547 and inv. no. 548 are duplos. Inv. no. 547 was examined at length, and this item in inv. no. 548 was checked. The folio numbers are the same in both account books.

⁵⁴ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/47, fo. 79v; KOKKEN, Steden en Staten (see n. 8) p. 223 and n. 32 there; WARD, Informal relations (see n. 3) p. 34–38; Mario DAMEN, Taxation for prince and officers. The Council of Holland and the *aides* in the Burgundian period in: STEIN (ed.), Powerbrokers (see n. 2) p. 27–46 and p. 36f.

⁵⁵ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/37, fo. 14v and fo. 21; GA/Ha inv. no. 19/46, fo. 44; GA/Ha inv. no. 19/47 fo. 79v; GA/Ha inv. no. 19/48, fo. 24v and fo. 52v; GA/Le inv. 539, fo. 74v; GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 50 and fo. 61v.

⁵⁶ To put Holland's contribution to the *aides* into perspective: in the tax of 1473 Flanders paid 25 per cent of the total, Brabant 22 per cent and Holland 18 per cent; David NICHOLAS, Medieval Flanders, London 1992, p. 393.

or Delft⁵⁷. Leiden's payment in what appears to have been their contribution to the gift of 1200 guilders was 400 lb. of 30 groats (50 lb. gr. Flemish) equivalent to 300 Rhine guilders⁵⁸. This is more than one sixth of the 1200 guilders which had been promised, so the rest (100 guilders) must have been intended as an extra premium for protecting Leiden's interests too.

It is worth noting for comparison that about this time a payment was made by Haarlem to Jean Gros of only 20 crowns (equal to 32 lb. of 30 groats) for his work in providing legal documents relating to the *aides* and privileges freeing Charles of Burgundy's vassals (*leenmannen*) in Holland from military service or taxation (scutage)⁵⁹. The contrast in the attitudes of Leiden and Haarlem to the two men is marked. If Clugny was treated generously by the council of Haarlem the same cannot be said for their treatment of Jean Gros. A description of the final scene in the relationship of Gros and Haarlem will confirm that presently.

Leiden, in contrast to Haarlem, treated Jean Gros not exorbitantly perhaps but quite well. For what must be said otherwise about the gift of 120 lb. in the nature of a pension which Leiden paid to him in eight yearly installments of 15 lb.? The gift was discussed by the Leiden council on 25 April and again on 14 May 1470. The first payment of 15 lb. was backdated to Christmas 1469 and paid together with the second installment in advance of Christmas 1470. Thereafter the remaining payments were completed punctually, the last being previous to Christmas 1476⁶⁰. The only tenable explanation for the pension of 120 pounds to Jean Gros is that it was in recognition for his work in having the Small Offices restored to the cities of Holland by the charter of 10 March 1470 (see below). That would

⁵⁷ ... in den Hage om mijnen Heeren den Prothonotaris betalingen te doen van II/C Rijns guldens ende dat voor een zeste deel van der somme van XII/C Rijns guldens die him bij den edelen ende steden van Hollant ende Vrieslant toegeseit waren te Brussel om zekere diensten die hij doen zoude desen lande in der taxacie van der bede van zes jaren ... ende voort om him te betalen I/C cronen die him van deser stede gelooft ende toegeseit waren dat hij der stede behulpelijc zoude wesen in tvercrigen van den brieven dat die stede niet hogher getaxeert en zoude worden dan Delff off Leyden, ende om mer anderen zaken die zij met him te spreken hadden etc., GA/Ha inv. no. 19/48, fo. 25v, dated 8 July 1473.

⁵⁸ ... soe is bij consente van der vroescip mijn Heer die Prothonotaris voirs. te huesschede gegeven, gelijc die anderen steden mede gedaen hebben, L lb. gr., facit IIII/C lb. [i.e. pounds of 30 groats], GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 98v; MARSILJE, Financiële beleid (see n. 36) p. 265 and n. 112 there; VON SEGGERN, Herrschaftsmedien (see n. 9) p. 366, n. 151 there.

⁵⁹ Item gegeven Meester Jan de Gros, Audienchier van mijnen genad. Heere, tot deser stede deel van zekere brieven van handvesten den steden ende gemeynten lande gegont ende geconsenteert in tconsenteren der bede van zes jaren, roerende van dat mijn genad. Heer die voors. stede den tijt van derzelver bede geduerende niet meer belasten en sal mit beden off enigen anderen lasten, ende dat oec die leenmannen ende mansmannen den tijt van der voirs. bede ongemoeyt zullen blijven, van zijner Genaden in der wapeninghe te dienen, dat hij oec geenerhande officien of cleyne diensten van costerien of ander diergelijke wechgeven en zal, die dezelve steden van ouds geplogen ende costumellic zijn te hebben, ende XX cronen tot XXIIII stuvers tstuck facit XXXII lb., GA/Ha inv. no. 19/48, f. 54, anno 1473 but undated. See also n. 38 above.

⁶⁰ GA/Le inv. no. 542, fo. 86 and fo. 91; GA/Le inv. no. 543, fo. 158v; GA/Le inv. no. 547, fo. 134v; GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 116; GA/Le inv. no. 550, fo. 137v; GA/Le inv. no. 552, fo. 153v. For the year 1473–74 the accounts are missing. On pensions GROEBNER, Gefährliche Geschenke (see n. 2) p. 159.

explain the willingness of Leiden to pay the pension, where the Small Offices were a matter of great importance to the magistrates and to the textile industry there.

There is compelling evidence that this present or pension was a joint undertaking or obligation by other cities of Holland too. The Leiden accounts state clearly that Leiden consented to it like other cities did (*gelijc andere steden geconsentiert is*). That meant probably the cities which are named in the charter granted by Charles of Burgundy, and which profitted from the restoration of the Small Offices. But there is no record of similar payments to Jean Gros in the accounts of Haarlem. On the other hand there is a brief entry at Gouda of a single payment of 15 lb. made to Jean Gros ostensibly for secretarial work (*van scriven*)⁶¹. The paucity and brevity of the Gouda accounts has been mentioned above. But this payment of 15 lb. is too large and too precise to have been for some routine service or other. It seems more likely that the remark was intended to indicate the general nature of Gros' work, and that he was paid not so much for writing as for influencing the right person, Charles of Burgundy, in the business of the charter. Since both the amount and the year of payment (book year 1468–69) coincide with the first payments of 15 lb. recorded at Leiden it seems justified to conclude that Gouda paid at least one installment of the gift of 120 lb. agreed to by the several cities.

If it was intended that the nine cities and towns of Holland (Delft, Haarlem, Leiden, Amsterdam, Gouda, Rotterdam, Schiedam, Hoorn and The Hague) named in the charters relating to the Small Offices which Charles of Burgundy granted to them should each pay 15 lb. per year for eight years to Jean Gros, or 120 lb. in total each, then this implies a grand total of nine times this sum. Who took the initiative in proposing such a gift and such a sum? Evidence in the accounts at Leiden shows that, as far as Leiden was involved, it was a direct demand from Gros himself. But it is possible that Charles of Burgundy initiated it⁶².

Guillaume de Bische also received a present of money from Leiden, but it was a wedding present. Charles wrote a personal letter to the cities of Holland, inviting them to send representatives to attend Bische's wedding celebrations at The Hague. In doing so they would also show their love, honour and friendship (*minne, eer ende vrientcip*) for Charles himself⁶³. The cities agreed that each would give Bische a suitable present. Leiden resolved to give him as a present and favour (*huesschede ende doechte*) a measure of cloth or its value in cash whenever he should next visit Leiden in Charles' company⁶⁴. The intention was to

⁶¹ GA/Go inv. no. 1139, fo. 19v. There is also a terse notice for 1477, inv. no. 1141, fo. 8 (book year 1476–77), implying that a messenger was sent to The Hague with a letter for Jean Gros.

⁶² GA/ Le, Vroedschapsres. inv. no. 382, fo. 37, dated 14 May 1469. For references to wedding presents for Jean Gros recommended by Charles of Burgundy COCKSHAW, Personnel (see n. 16) p. 147f. and p. 150f; PARAVICINI, Invitations ... Documents (see n. 2) p. 128–131 for documents pertaining to Jean Gros, and here further below.

⁶³ For an analysis of what these and similar terms like honour and assistance might mean in an invitation from Charles of Burgundy PARAVICINI, Invitations au mariage (see n. 2) p. 693–695 and PARAVICINI, Invitations ... Documents (see n. 2) p. 20–21. Bische's marriage ceremony proper took place in the autumn of 1466; see n. 28 above.

⁶⁴ *Item bij den gerechte ende vroesip is overdragen van der scheyncke heeren Willems die Byse tot zijn brullofte ende feeste dair mijn genadige heere van Charlois gescreven heeft alse dat men hem van der stede wegen*

make a suitably impressive ceremony of the gift in the duke's presence. The visit took place, and Bische received 75 Postulaets guilders in cash. At Leiden the present had been discussed at meetings of the council (*vroedschap*) on 23 October and 19 December 1466 preceding⁶⁵.

It was also mentioned at that time at Haarlem on 22 October, and again at the beginning of December 1466 in The Hague⁶⁶. But there is no evidence in the Haarlem accounts that any wedding present was ever in fact given to Guillaume de Bische. In discussing the consequences of refusing an invitation of that kind from Charles the Bold, Paravicini singled out the peripheral areas of the Burgundian state as possible recalcitrants, and remarked that the periphery could permit itself what was forbidden at the centre⁶⁷. Was Haarlem simply at the periphery, or did the city have another, stronger advocate and line of defence in Archdeacon Guillaume de Clugny?

Cockshaw drew attention to wedding presents for Jean Gros which were recommended by Charles of Burgundy. The city of Lille offered Jean Gros as a wedding present silver plate to the value of 25 *lions d'or*. Abbeville made a present to Jean Gros of six *tasses d'argent armoyés des armes de la dite ville* on his marriage⁶⁸. Other examples of Charles' letters of recommendation are known for the Southern Netherlands but none for the Northern Netherlands. However, the following episode reveals that the cities of Holland knew about Gros' marriage, and the need to give him a wedding present.

Haarlem's failure to give Jean Gros a wedding present is expressly recorded in the transcript of an angry message which the city received from him. The First Secretary and *Audiencier*, who was then at The Hague, refused point blank to help Haarlem in the matter of the current *aides*, and the reasons which he gave included his not having received a wedding present from Haarlem, nor payment for other services he had performed, nor the present which he said had been promised him in common with undertakings by the other cities of

scheyncken sal een puyck half laken of soe veel an gelde als een puycke draecht, ende dat soe wanneer als mijn genadige heere van Charlois ende heere Willem voirs. tot Leyden gecomen sullen wesen, GA/Le, Vroedschapsres., inv. no. 382, fo. 17, dated 19 Dec. 1466; similarly GA/Le inv. no. 533, fo. 105.

⁶⁵ *Item soe hadde mijn genad. Heer van Charlois gescreven an den groten steden van Hollant van der bruilofte Heeren Willem die Bisse, dat zij tot zynre begeerten ten feestdage ter bruilofte comen off senden wouden ende hem ter eren van mijnen genad. Heeren minne, eer ende vrientscip bewijsen, dair men zynre genad. zeer lief ende danckelic an doen zoude, GA/Le inv. no. 538, fo. 104v; ibid. fo. 113v; also GA/Le inv. no. 567, fo. 5v. The text of GA/Le inv. no. 538, fo. 104v is printed in Werner PARAVICINI (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen (1433–1477)*, Frankfurt am Main 1995; R 472, p. 177, and in PARAVICINI, *Invitations ... Documents* (see n. 2) p. 117–118.*

⁶⁶ The entries are brief and uninformative; GA/Ha inv. no. 19/42, fo. 24 and fo. 26.

⁶⁷ PARAVICINI, *Invitations au mariage* (see n. 2) p. 696; PARAVICINI, *Invitations ... Documents* (see n. 2) p. 22–23.

⁶⁸ COCKSHAW, *Personnel* (see n. 16) p. 150 and n. 925 there. For detailed analyses of correspondence and presents made in connection with this marriage PARAVICINI, *Invitations au mariage* (see n. 2) p. 706 and n. 104 there; PARAVICINI, *Invitations ... Documents* (see n. 2) p. 128–131; PARAVICINI, *Briefwechsel* (see n. 65) p. 592–593.

Holland⁶⁹. This may be a reference to the pension of 15 lb. per annum for eight years which had been promised by each of the cities for his work in having the Small Offices restored to them. Gros' blunt and outspoken message to Haarlem may be contrasted with a letter of thanks, which Paravicini described as the response of a professional and the only such letter known, which Gros sent to his native city of Dijon for their present to him of three silver vessels: the letter contained *beaucoup de mots, beaucoup de deference, et peu de contenu*⁷⁰. This reaction from Jean Gros did not deter Haarlem from seeking his help in the matter of taxes which Charles wanted made payable by the clergy in Holland at that time⁷¹. Since Haarlem was blessed with many nunneries and other religious houses and institutions this was a matter of great local importance, on a par with that of the Small Offices.

If brokerage and patronage were the officials' aims in their relationships with the cities of Holland, were there other factors which played a role in their acceptance of gifts? Did venality determine or influence the flow of gifts to Clugny, Bische and Gros? Were they motivated to any extent by love of money or avarice as suggested by Marsilje and by Stein? Perhaps they were, for Clugny, Bische and Gros were all rich men⁷². Other evidence of money presents and gifts to them can be found in the accounts of monasteries, churches and ecclesiastical institutions in Holland and Zeeland⁷³.

But events in the war then being waged were moving to a climax and Gros' role as helper and mediator in fiscal matters would soon be played out. The last payment made to Jean Gros found in the accounts of Leiden was for 150 lb. which he received from the distribution of the *aides*. There is a similar sum noted about a year later, but that one was not payed out. News of the death of Charles of Burgundy took some time to reach the authorities in Holland, but when it finally did its effects on his officials and their emoluments was momentous and final⁷⁴.

⁶⁹ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/49, fo. 48, dated 14 June 1474; see below.

⁷⁰ PARAVICINI, *Invitations au mariage* (see n. 2) p. 699; PARAVICINI, *Invitations ... Documents* (see n. 2) p. 25.

⁷¹ ... *te spreken mit meinen Heer den Cancellier ende mitter Audienchier ... roerende den exsijsen van den geestelijcen personen ...*, GA/Ha inv. no. 19/49, fo. 53, dated 10 Sept. 1474.

⁷² MARSILJE, *Financiële beleid* (see n. 36) p. 86; Robert STEIN, *Burgundian bureaucracy as a model for the Low Countries? The Chambres des Comptes and the creation of an administrative unity in: STEIN (ed.), Powerbrokers* (see n. 2) p. 3–26, especially p. 6. There is an essay on avarice by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), the near contemporary of Clugny, Bische and Gros, in: Riccardo FUBINI (ed.), *P. Bracciolini, Opera Omnia Vol. I*, Turin 1964. See also Richard NEWHAUSER, *The treatises on vices and virtues in Latin and the vernacular*, *Typologie de Sources*, Fasc. 66, Turnhout 1983.

⁷³ The nunnery at Leeuwenhorst in Holland offered as a wedding present to Guillaume de Bische 16 lb. 13 s. 4 d, and to a son of Jean Gros 8 lb.; Geertruida DE MOOR, *Verborgten en geborgen. Het cisterciënzerinnenklooster Leeuwenhorst in de Noordwijkse regio (1261–1574)*, Hilversum 1994, p. 387. When the abbot of St Aubert in Cambrai was elected in 1477 Guillaume de Bische received a present of 58 *daalders*; DE MOOR, *Guillaume (de) Bische(s)* (see n. 22) column 84.

⁷⁴ GA/Le inv. no. 550, fo. 155; GA/Le inv. no. 552, fo. 168v. Also MARSILJE, *Financiële beleid* (see n. 36) p. 88 and n. 255 there. For news of Charles of Burgundy's death see GA/Le inv. no. 556, f. 60, and for the

C. Gifts in kind

Gifts of wine were normal presents made to visiting dignitaries. Presents of money were sometimes unusual in character, and indicate attitudes between receivers and givers which cannot be described as other than informal, implying something like a patron-client relationship. There was a third category - presents in kind. As far as such presents to Clugny, Bische and Gros are concerned they were basic foodstuffs and building materials. There is an item in the accounts of Haarlem for 1472–73 describing a scuttle (*scottel*) of fish which was sent to Jean Gros following his own request made at Brussels. It was to be paid for jointly by five cities of Holland. Haarlem's share in the cost was 21 s. 4 d. On the simplest assumption that the other cities paid too, then the value of this present, perhaps exceeding five pounds, implies a considerable quantity of fish⁷⁵.

There are several entries in the accounts recording that Leiden and Haarlem sent large numbers of oak planks (*wagenschot*; wainscotting), 100 and 200 at a time from each city to Clugny, Bische and Gros who were busy in those years building or extending their residences at Ghent and Bruges⁷⁶. These gifts of timber were made expressly at the requests of the recipients to several or all of the cities of Holland⁷⁷, and in the case of Jean Gros there is evidence that the gift of wainscotting to him was again linked to restoration of the cities' rights to the Small Offices (below). A certain feudal parallel suggests itself between these gifts in kind and similar ones made to Charles of Burgundy during his visits to the cities and towns. On visits to Haarlem in the 1460's and 1470's (and earlier to Brielle) he was presented with wine in large amounts, and with foodstuffs intended for his own table, besides other gifts of food for his retinue, symbolizing his princely status⁷⁸.

non-payment of 150 lb. from the *aides* to Jean Gros following the death of Charles GA/Le inv. no. 556, fo. 168. A year previously (GA/Le inv. no. 550, fo. 155) he received 150 lb. On that occasion there was also a payment of 50 lb. made to *Heer Ferry van Clungy, archidiaecke*. This is a clerical error, for in GA/Le inv. no. 550, fo. 97 (dated 12 March 1475) the 50 lb. was accounted for correctly: *Ferry van Clugny, bisscop van Doirnicke*. Ferry de Clugny is usually identified properly in the sources by reference to his bishops's title, and Guillaume de Clugny by his title either of archdeacon or protonotary.

⁷⁵ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/47, fo. 79. For the significance of fish as a present and at representative dinners in the late Middle Ages: Petra J. E. M. VAN DAM, *Feestvissen en vastenvissen. Culturele, ecologische en economische aspecten van de visconsumptie in de Nederlanden in de Late Middeleeuwen*, Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis 29 (2003) p. 467–496; GROEBNER, *Gefährliche Geschenke* (see n. 2) p. 59–60.

⁷⁶ For Jean Gros at Bruges BARTIER, *Légistes* (see n. 16) p. 379; *Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant qu'il ait pu faire bâtir à Bruges, au coin du Pont des Ânes, l'hôtel où plus tard sera enfermé Maximilien*; DERVILLE, *Pots-de-vin* (see n. 1) p. 362 and n. 165 there.

⁷⁷ GA/Le inv. no. 543, fo. 146 (to Clugny); GA/Le inv. no. 539, fo. 112v (to Bische); compare MARSILJE, *Financiële beleid* (see n. 36) p. 261 and n. 93 there; GA/Ha inv. no. 19/47, fo. 73 (to Bische); *Item want mijn Heer die Audiencier, Meester Jan die Groes, tot anderen tijden hadde doen versoicken an den steden om elke stede hem te geven twee hondert wagenschots ... is hem bij consent van den vroescip gegeven tot Brugge, gelijc die anderen steden, II/C wagenschots ...*, GA/Le inv. no. 539, fo. 112.

⁷⁸ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/38, fo. 37v (wine); GA/Ha inv. no. 19/42 (twelve swans and an ox); GA/Ha inv. no. 19/47, fo. 60v (wine, swans). In a visit to Brielle the count of Charolais was presented with one *aem* (about 150

D. Money paid to lower officials

To close this description of formal and informal gifts a brief description of payments made to lower members in the hierarchy of officials, the servants of Clugny, and Gros, and the servants of Charles of Burgundy, is included. It is not at once obvious what the nature of the payments to those officials in the accounts of Leiden and to a lesser extent of Haarlem was. The sums of money paid were not extraordinary, but their significance may lie in the fact that they were expressly linked in the accounts to the names or titles of the three higher officials, and certain phrases used were similar to those used to justify the much larger payments made to their superiors. At Bruges the chamberlain (*camerlinc*) of the Protonotary Clugny was given 12 s. 8 d. by Leiden, just as the other cities of Holland did, but no specific reason is given except that he was involved in much work at Bruges and elsewhere (*veel te doen hadde tot Brugge ende tot andere plaitzen*)⁷⁹. The money was perhaps in the nature of a perquisite. Other payments made to the secretaries of Jean Gros need no comment. They were paid 4 lb. for providing authenticized copies of letters and documents concerning the Small Offices, the originals of which were kept at Delft⁸⁰. Jan Wandel, who was also a secretary to Charles of Burgundy, translated those letters from the French and was paid 2 lb. 6 s. 8 d., a sum in line with payments for other secretarial work. Another clerk of Jean Gros was paid 36 s. for secretarial work.

But there is an unusual item in the accounts of Leiden concerning an appreciable money gift to be made to officials other than Clugny, Bische and Gros. The gift was solicited by Charles himself and it was out of the ordinary. On the 21 August 1467, not long after Charles' accession, Jan van Zonnevelt and Willem van Bosschuysen travelled from Leiden where they were burgomasters to Haarlem to convene there with the other cities of Holland about the request for 2000 *schilden* which they had been asked to distribute among Charles' servants and household personel (*die men doen zoude onder mijns genad. Heeren dienaren ende huysgesinde*). But the deputies to the diet could not agree on an answer. It was decided that each city and the Common Land of Holland should decide for themselves to whose advantage such a proposal was⁸¹. In this instance there is no evidence in the accounts that any part of the 2000 *schilden* was paid by Leiden.

litres) of Rhenish wine: *Item geschenct mijn Heer van Carloeys als hij te Brielle ghecomen was een aem with Rijns wijns, coste xi schilden*; source: GA/Brielle, Stadsrekeningen (so-called Brown Book, not inventorized), for the year 1453, fo. 11. This visit to Brielle is not recorded in Vander Linden's itinerary; Herman VANDER LINDEN, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne (1419–1467) et de Charles, Comte de Charolais (1433–1467)*, Brussels 1940.

⁷⁹ GA/Le 547, fo. 119.

⁸⁰ GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 99 and fo. 99v.

⁸¹ ... *soe wortet opgeset om elc bet te vernemen van wien die steden ende tlant best geholpen ende gevordert wair ende vorderscip hadden ...*, GA/Le inv. no. 536, fo. 64. On various sums of 2000 *schilden* for distribution among the court officials in The Hague and elsewhere see also MARSILJE, *Financiële beleid* (see n. 36) p. 300–302.

4. Quantification

Quantification in the work of Boone and Derville on gifts of wine is a guide for the present study in assessing the status of Clugny, Bische and Gros relative to one another. While Derville concerned himself with the relationship between gifts of wine and decision-making in the Burgundian state, Boone directed his attention to questions of prestige within social groups and groups of individuals in medieval Ghent⁸². Boone used as an index the expenditures by the civic authorities on gifts of wine and other presents to individuals in the period 1400 to 1460. Since the data are numerous they allowed clear trends with time to be discerned and firm conclusions to be drawn from them.

Van Uytven also carried out a study into prestige within medieval social hierarchies, and he described a number of indices which are equally amenable to accurate measurement, such as gifts of wine (as above), costs of travel and of board and lodging incurred by officials, and of clothing allowances to officials⁸³. All are recorded in the cities' account books and can be used to establish orders of precedence, prestige and social rank.

The present study was used to throw light on the three questions formulated above: were the gifts given to Clugny, Bische and Gros unique in Holland?; did they reflect on the recipients' professional abilities as a *cadre* of negotiators and on their values to both Charles of Burgundy and to the cities of Holland?; did these three men form a mini-hierarchy in the perception of the Hollanders? Concerning gifts of wine and dinners from the city of Leiden (for which more data, including dates, are available) the following table can be constructed. It should be recalled that 1467 was the year of Bische's appointment as Chamberlain (*Camerheer*).

Wine (W; *stedekannen*) and dinners (D) from the city of Leiden to:

Year	Clugny		Bische		Gros	
	W	D	W	D	W	D
1462	4	1		1	-	-
1464	2+2	-	2+2	-	2+2	-
1467	4	-	4+2	-	-	-
1472	-	1	-	-	-	1
1473	4	1	4	-	-	-
Totals	16	3	14	1	4	1

In Haarlem Bische and Gros each received two flasks of wine during a joint visit in January 1467 when Charles of Burgundy visited the city. For Clugny the Haarlem accounts record four flasks on one occasion (book year 1462–63), and five on 16 July 1472 but jointly with other commissioners. In Brielle Jean Gros received two flasks of wine on at least one visit

⁸² BOONE, Dons et pots-de-vin (see n. 1) *passim*; DERVILLE, Pots-de-vin (see n. 1) *passim*.

⁸³ VAN UYTVEN, Vers une autre colloque (see n. 1) *passim*.

during the book year 1467–68 when, coming from The Hague, he visited the town `again' (*als hij weder uut den Haag quam*)⁸⁴. Clugny received two dinners in Haarlem (1462–63 and 1472), but Bische and Gros did not receive any.

The conclusion is that in Leiden and Haarlem Clugny was honoured more frequently and more liberally than Bische, who in turn was treated better than Jean Gros. But the presents in kind, of timber and wainscoting and fish, appear to show something different because Bische received gifts of 400 oak planks, Gros 200 and Clugny 100, and Gros was the only one of the three to receive a present of fish. This suggests that while wine and money gifts are indeed reliable indices indicating status, gifts of consumer goods like fish and wainscoting or oak paneling were incidental and may simply reflect the recipient's immediate practical wishes.

An analysis of the money gifts is made difficult by the fact that it is not known how the present (*huesschede*) of 1440 pounds in 1472 was shared between Clugny, Gros and the other commissioners of the *aides*. But the size of the money gifts given exclusively to Clugny by Leiden (35 Rhine guilders, 400 pounds and 50 pounds) and by Haarlem (75 pounds, 320 pounds and the extra 100 crowns) outweighs the pension of 120 pounds (8 times 15 pounds) paid to Gros, or the wedding present of 75 Postulaets guilders given to Bische by Leiden. Therefore, allowing for the limited number of sources (Haarlem, Leiden), there seems no doubt that Clugny in the matter of money gifts was also the clear winner. Gros came third in the race. But Bische's status, it may be remarked once more, remains ambiguous.

With this review completed of gifts and formal and informal payments to Guillaume de Clugny, Guillaume de Bische and Jean Gros by the cities of Holland, an attempt will be made now to assess the meaning of the gifts by considering first the kind of work which Clugny, Bische and Gros did as intermediaries between Charles of Burgundy and the city councils. Then some further implications will be considered, using models of patronage and concepts of relationships in late medieval societies between patrons and clients.

5. Meaning of the gifts and payments

To return to the questions raised in the introductory section, the following statement provides partial answers: the accounts of Leiden and Haarlem and to a lesser extent of Gouda and Brielle, present a consistent picture of Clugny, Bische and Gros as a unique group of officials within the Burgundian administration in their relations with the cities of Holland, and especially they were unique for the amount of work which they did for the cities and for the presents and gifts which they received from them. No other individuals or group of individuals was so consistently rewarded as those three were.

The work performed by Clugny and Gros was financial, legal and administrative. There was scarcely any business of importance in which these two men did not participate. The *aides*, the Small Offices, the vassals' military service, the amortisation of church property, tolls and excises and the raising of loans on the duke's feudal estates and property - all these and more were the areas in which they negotiated and mediated. One of these subjects has been singled out here for discussion. The topic is that of the Small Offices which

⁸⁴ GA/Brielle, Stadsrekeningen (so-called Brown Book, not inventorized), for 1467–68, fo. 15. Charles of Burgundy visited the town about this time too; *Item betaillt voor X/C torcken die verbornt waren als mijn Heer van Bourgognien hier was in mijns Heeren huysse van Oostoanen ...*, *ibid.* fo. 29v.

were important to the cities because this example illustrates the close relationship and the indistinct boundaries between the formal and informal spheres in which Clugny and Gros operated. The closely intertwined interests of the duke, his officials and the city elites, and the mediating roles of Clugny, Bische and Gros become apparent in the question of the Small Offices.

A. Gifts in relation to the Small Offices

In 1469 Charles of Burgundy began to permit his officials to farm out the so-called Small Offices (*cliene diensten, cliene officien*) which had hitherto been a prerogative of the cities⁸⁵. The Small Offices, such as those of clerk, schoolmaster, controller of the draperies, and others formed an integral part of local life and of the local economy and administration. At Leiden the Small Offices were frequently filled by patricians and their family members⁸⁶. Understandably therefore, the cities of Holland were anxious to recover their rights, and Clugny, Bische and Gros all mediated in this important matter. The first reference to this which was found was the gift of 35 Rhine guilders which Clugny received from Leiden and from Delft for help in obtaining a charter or ordinance from Charles by which the cities' rights were restored, called *tstuc van de clienen diensten*⁸⁷.

This is a reference to the charter which Charles granted to Delft, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Gouda, Rotterdam, Schiedam, Hoorn, and The Hague on 10 March 1470, by which their rights to manage the Small Offices were restored, albeit only to a limited extent. One of the main points of interest to Leiden was the office concerning quality control and measurement of the locally produced textiles (*dat wairdeynscip mitten officien van der draperie*), which is expressly mentioned both in the accounts of Leiden in which the gift to Clugny is recorded and in the charter. In addition the charter contained a number of reservations, and it required an investigation to be made into the cities' rights and the duke's prerogatives. In May 1469 the local council (*vroedschap*) at Leiden passed a resolution that in order to receive confirmation of all the charters for which Jan Gros demanded 125 gold crowns etc. consent be given to pay for the confirmation with 100 gold crowns and with 200 planks of wainscotting, just as other cities had done⁸⁸. The importance of the charter to Leiden is underlined also by the fact that the city's legal representative, Aernt Mulairt, was at Ghent at the end of December 1469 when on 31 December a letter was sent to him from Leiden concerning *tstuc van den cliene diensten*⁸⁹. Between early January and mid-February 1470 the States held a series of diets at Ghent at which Charles of Burgundy presided. Three

⁸⁵ MARSILJE, Financiële beleid (see n. 36) in the section entitled Toenemende bemoeinis van de landsregering met het stedelijke beleid, p. 86–90, especially p. 87–88 and n. 251 there; DAMEN, Staat van dienst (see n. 2) p. 408–409.

⁸⁶ DE BOER, Politische elite (see n. 36) p. 92.

⁸⁷ ... *int tstuck van den clienen officien ende diensten die elke stede te setten ende te ontsetten heeft, ende sonderlinge Leyden aengaende alsoe dat wairdeynscip mitten officien van der draperie ...*, GA/Le inv. no. 542, fo. 79; GA/Le, inv. no. 542, fo. 79, 35 guilders to Clugny and other payments; and GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 99 and 99v, payments to Gros and others.

⁸⁸ *Item om te vercrigen die confirmacie van allen hantvesten, dairof meester Jan Groes eyscht CXXV gouden cronon etc., is geconsenteert die confirmacie te lossenen mit C gouden cronon ende mit II/C wagenschots, gelyc andere steden gedaen hebben.*, GA/ Le, Vroedschapsres. inv. no. 382, f. 37, dated 14 May 1469. One hundred gold crowns is equivalent to 160 lb. of 30 groats, and this is presumed here to refer to the eight yearly payments of 15 lb. (totaling 120 lb.) which were in fact paid by Leiden to Jean Gros (see above). [NOTE ADDED JAN. 2007: an alternative explanation, perhaps, is that Gros stipulated pounds of 40 groats].

⁸⁹ GA/Le inv. no. 567, A/8/1470, fo. 4, dated 31 Dec. 1469.

topics predominated at the diets; the coinage, the Small Offices, and scutage to be paid by the military vassals⁹⁰.

Subsequently Charles again granted letters patent re-affirming the cities' rights to the Small Offices. This is the charter of 26 March 1473 in which Charles thanked the recipients for their consent to the six-year *aides*, and he promised them not to dispose of the Small Offices again, unless investigation should show that the rights of collation were his in any case. The close relation between the charter regulating the interests of the cities and the reference in it to the *aides*, which were the duke's main concern, may be noted. About the same time (1473) Jean Gros was paid 20 Rhine guilders for providing or mediating a number of legal instruments, one of which was expressly related to the Small Offices. His clerks were also paid smaller sums of money for work which they did in the same matter, and Jan Wandel provided translations of the documents from French into Dutch. It seems probable that the Leiden accounts in this instance refer to the charter of 26 March 1473 which at that time was kept at Delft. An original of the charter of 10 March 1470 relating to the Small Offices is still kept at Delft, the second one of 26 March 1473 is now in the National Archives at The Hague⁹¹.

No evidence was found at Leiden or Haarlem linking Guillaume de Bische directly to official meetings or showing that he was present at discussions on the Small Offices. The only information relating to him was found under the headings of presents. But there are indications of his working behind the scenes. The first is circumstantial evidence; Clugny, Bische and Gros were found several times to be all three in Holland at the same time. Bische and Gros accompanied Charles of Burgundy on a visit to Haarlem in 1467 when they received presents of wine. But they were reported more often in Leiden. Clugny and Bische were there on 12 May 1462 when they were entertained to dinner. In August 1464 Clugny, Bische and Gros were, in various combinations, in each other's company and sometimes all three together at Leiden, and again on 14, 19 and 20 January 1467 in various constellations. On 20 July 1472 Clugny and Gros visited Leiden, and in February 1473 Bische visited Leiden about the same time that Clugny was at The Hague⁹².

The second pointer to Bische's role as an intermediary between Charles of Burgundy and the city elites is the language which was used in the accounts to explain the presents given to him. A certain gradation may be observed because the language used for Clugny and Gros is of a stereotype which applied to all high dignitaries. It refers in a formal sense

⁹⁰ ... *ende andren officien van den steden...*; ... *ende ooc angaede der wapeninghen ...*, printed in: Wim BLOCKMANS (ed.), *Handelingen van de Leden en van de Staten van Vlaanderen (1467–1477)*, Brussels 1971, p. 80–83.

⁹¹ The charter of 10 March 1470 relating to the small offices is in GA/Delft, inv. no. 1638; see Jan SOUTENDAM, *Inventaris der Charters en Privilegien berustende op het Archief der Gemeente Delft 1246–1599*, Delft 1860, p. 29 and 31. The charter of 26 March 1473 is in the National Archives (ARA) at The Hague; Petrus A. MEILINK, *Archief van de Staten van Holland en de hen opgevolgde gewestelijke besturen. Eerste deel. Archieven van de Staten van Holland voor 1572*, 's-Gravenhage 1929, Reg. 57, p. 241 and Reg. 61, p. 243. This inventory was revised and augmented by H. J. P. G. (Dick) KAAJAN and republished at The Hague in 1993; see p. xxxvi and n. 37 there for references to these two charters.

⁹² GA/Ha inv. no. 19/42, f. 36v; GA/Le inv. no. 527, fo. 69; GA/Le inv. no. 530, fo. 81 and fo. 82v; GA/Le inv. no. 538, fo. 72v, fo. 73, fo. 74, fo. 75; GA/Le inv. no. 549, fo. 53 and fo. 79.

mainly to the large amount of work which they performed on behalf of the cities (*ende want die stede dicwijl mit hem [Clugny] te doen heeft ende zijnre behoeft ; ende want men zijnre [Gros] veel te doen heeft in den Hove mijns genad. Heeren ; voir alzulke dienste end arbeit als hij [Gros] der stede van Leyden gedaen heeft*)⁹³. This should be compared with what was said of Bische. His name was coupled expressly with that of the duke: because he is much in audience by my gracious Lord, and [we] make much use of him by my gracious Lord; and similarly: he has often helped and advanced this city's interests before our gracious lord, especially with the Small Offices⁹⁴. This reference to the Small Offices was the only concrete evidence which was found for the work which Bische performed for Leiden, but it is enough to explain the city's gratitude to him for his help. Clugny and Gros derived their influence in part from the hard work which they did for Charles and for the cities, but Bische, perhaps more than they, had the ear of the duke (*veel audiencie*).

In this discussion about relationships between officials of Charles of Burgundy and the leading figures in the cities of Holland whom we have called their clients or partners what was their relationship to Charles himself? It was not easy for the commissioners of finances or the city fathers to please their lord. His father, Philip the Good, had now and then expressed dissatisfaction when faced with resistance to his demands for more money but Philip was moderate compared to Charles. Money lent by Holland to Charles when he was count of Charolais in the 1460's was counted in hundreds of pounds. The *aides* which Charles demanded and got in the 1470's were counted in hundreds of thousands. The tone of his displeasure when his subjects resisted him was also grimmer. Besides the traditional address Gracious Lord sources in Holland started to use the term *geduchte heer* (Formidable or Redoubtable Lord) in imitation of the king of France's address. When opposed Charles could become incensed or enraged (*verbolgen*)⁹⁵. In a study of Charles of Burgundy's correspondence Paravicini remarked that *Liebe und Freundschaft sind mir in den Briefen Karls des Kühnen bislang nicht begegnet*⁹⁶. Under these circumstances someone like Bische who had the duke's ear could be a powerful political friend indeed.

⁹³ GA/Le inv. no. 543, fo. 146; GA/Le inv. no. 539, fo. 112v; GA/Le inv. no. 542, fo. 86. See for similar expressions also GA/Le inv. no. 543, fo. 156v; GA/Le inv. no. 547, fo. 134v. Compare also *de moeite, peijne ende aerbeyt die hij [Gros] ghehadt hadde in de expeditie van den letteren*, in: BLOCKMANS (ed.), *Handelingen* (see n. 90) p. 183f, describing the work and the payment of a salary to Jean Gros.

⁹⁴ ... *soe als hij [Bische] veel audiencie bij mijnen genad. Heeren heeft ende men zijnre dickwijl te doen heeft aan mijnen genad. Heeren*, GA/Le inv. no. 538, fo 104v; printed in PARAVICINI, *Invitations ... Documents* (see n. 2) p. 118; *ende zoe als hij der stede te veel tijden voir mijnen genad. Heeren in horen saken behulpelijc ende vorderlijc geweest heeft ende sonderlinge den clienen diensten*, GA/Le inv. no. 539, fo. 112v. For the significance of the audience: PARAVICINI, *Die zwölf »Magnificences«* (see n. 31) *passim*.

⁹⁵ GA/Ha inv. no. 19/49, fo. 31, fo. 45 (*geduchte Heer*); GA/Le inv. no. 547, fo. 58 (*verbolgen*) and similarly elsewhere in the sources. The expression *harde, geduchte Heer* appears to be the more usual mode of address used for Charles of Burgundy in these and preceding years in the Flemish sources; BLOCKMANS (ed.), *Handelingen* (see n. 90) *passim*. For the title *souverain seigneur* which Charles of Burgundy assumed to himself in 1474 and thereafter, PARAVICINI, *Die zwölf »Magnificenses«* (see n. 31) p. 367–368.

⁹⁶ Werner PARAVICINI, *Der Briefwechsel Karls des Kühnen; ein Editionsprojekt*, *J. Medieval History* 11 (1985) p. 347–364; p. 348.

B. Patronage and presents

The concepts associated with the terms patron-client and patron-brokerage allow a distinction to be made between the positions of Haarlem and Leiden in their relationships to Clugny, Bische and Gros. Marsilje concluded that Leiden was not in a patron-client relationship to Charles' commissioners because Leiden managed to assert itself reasonably. The sources bear this out, especially when Haarlem's behaviour is drawn on for comparison. For the period of his study 1400–1460 Boone concluded that Ghent similarly was not in the position of a client to the dukes of Burgundy⁹⁷. In Holland Leiden employed Clugny, Bische and Gros as brokers in a patron-brokerage relationship, but Haarlem seemed more truly to depend on the help of the Protonotary and Jean Gros, and was therefore in a patron-client relationship to them.

Clugny belonged to the nobility, while Bische was ennobled by Charles. This and their close association with the duke gave them authority and some autonomy in their dealings with the city councils. For the continuation of the *aides* they were free, apparently without limits, to act with full power to do as Charles of Burgundy himself would do in the matter⁹⁸. No doubt these confidants knew the duke's mind and where his and their own best interests lay. Charles of Burgundy was content that his officers recognized that ultimate control lay in his hands⁹⁹. Blockmans' model (above) therefore accommodates the positions and the activities of Clugny, Bische and Gros as brokers between Leiden and the prince very well, and of Clugny and Gros as late feudal patrons protecting the interests of their client Haarlem. These conclusions are summarized in the following table.

Relationships between the officials and the cities:

	Clugny	Bische	Gros
Leiden	Broker	Broker	Broker
Haarlem	Patron	(?)	Patron

At the same time, the displeasure which Jean Gros expressed openly on not receiving certain gifts from Haarlem reveals that he was also in part an honest exponent of the simpler commercial economic model of Van Klaveren. This attitude of the indignant patron can be sensed in the message which Jean Gros sent to the authorities in Haarlem refusing them further help because they had not paid him for work which he had already done for them. His indignation is tangible even in the transcript. The exact form and content of Jan Gros'

⁹⁷ MARSILJE, Financiële beleid (see n. 36) p. 87 and p. 90; BOONE, Dons et pots-de-vin (see n. 1) p. 486.

⁹⁸ ... *up tstuck van der voirs. bede van X jaeren te continueren ... mit volcomen machte van te doene des mijn genad. Heer in der sake soude mogen doen ...*, GA/Le inv. no. 547, fo. 116.

⁹⁹ Werner PARAVICINI, *Ordre et règle. Charles le Téméraire et Ses Ordonnances de l'Hôtel*, Comptes rendus de Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1999) 311–359 especially p. 326.

message (*boetscap*) to Haarlem is not know. But in the transcript when Jan Gros says he will do nothing (*niets*) for Haarlem the word *niets* is repeated. This emphatic negative is a sign of Gros' indignation, or at least the impression created in the clerk's mind who wrote the message down. Jean Gros felt cheated and let down, and he added that he would do nothing more for Haarlem nor even hear of it until he had been paid and satisfied in advance about the present which he said had been promised to him by that city, just as the other good cities of Holland had satisfied him for certain services which he as one of the commissioners had done on the cities' behalf in the ordinance of the *aides*, and also about his wedding present, and furthermore ...; and thus his complaint goes on and on¹⁰⁰.

Referring once more to the diagram or network of relationships above, Haarlem (A) felt disadvantaged or threatened in the question of taxation and the *aides*, so Haarlem gave Clugny (B in the diagram) not only the 200 guilders which had been agreed on as its share of the 1200 paid jointly by the cities of Holland, but also an extra 100 crowns as protection money specifically to guard Haarlem's interests against those of Leiden and Delft (C). This example of partners A and B and the threat from C illustrates that the arrangement can be incorporated into larger structures and schemes of relationships. All the cities of Holland imagined that in tax questions they needed protection against their southern neighbours in the Burgundian state when the *aides* was involved, but Haarlem more than others felt it needed protection against the neighbouring cities in Holland.

Clugny was part of an extended network of relationships, and the network included Charles of Burgundy himself in a double role. He was both a threat to the privileges of the cities and the ultimate temporal protector. Bische, Gros, Haneron and others were individual elements in the network too. At another level of society the city elites had their own system of informal relationships. Within the communities there were civic receptions, dinners and presentations of wine on certain secular and church feast days throughout the year, and at other times there were similar events for the deputies of the cities and towns meeting during the diets (*dagvaarten*)¹⁰¹.

Similarly a bond from A1 (Haarlem) to B1 (Clugny) does not preclude a direct bond from Haarlem to Charles of Burgundy. As duke of Burgundy Charles held public audiences so that in principle he could be approached personally. After an audience with Philip and Charles in September 1466 deputies from Haarlem sought the Count of Charolais' attention directly and privately at a time when they needed his help¹⁰². In terms of the model this

¹⁰⁰ ... in der stede saicken niets, niets doen en woude noch oeck ijert dairaf hoeren, hij en zoude eerst ende al voren betaelt ende vernuecht wesen van den hueschede die hij zeyde dat him toegeseit was bij derzelver stede, gelijc den anderen goeden steden van Hollant die him vernuecht hadden van zekeren diensten die hij als een van den gecommiteerden in der stede saicken gedaen hadde in tstuck van der bede ende oeck ter eenen van zijnre bruloft, ende voort ..., GA/Ha inv. no. 19/49, fo. 48, dated 14 June 1474. The double *niets* occurs elsewhere in the sources but not often. It should not be ignored in transcription simply as a clerical error; see for example ... dat dese stede van al de extraordinarijssen uuytgeven ende lasten nyets, nyets en weten, GA/Ha Vroedschapsres. 1501–1516, f. 94–94v, dated 3 June 1512. This was a reference to high, extraordinary costs made in the period of the Guelders war, about which Haarlem claimed to know nothing.

¹⁰¹ The costs of these events are easily found in the accounts but they are not considered here further. For Ghent in the period 1400–1460, BOONE, Dons et pots-de-vin (see n. 1) *passim*.

¹⁰² ... ende sonderlinge mijnen voirs. genad. Heeren van Charolais te spreken van zekere zaken deser stede alleen zeer treffelic aengaende, GA/Ha inv. no. 19/42, fo. 23v, dated 21 Sept. 1466.

means that the cells shown above could be joined in space by lines of communication from both Clugny and Haarlem directly to Charles, forming a more intricate lattice and re-emphasising the bilateral character of the relationships or bonds.

Confidentiality and trust in each other are characteristics required by broker and client. If they are violated then this can lead to (partial) breakdown of the relationship or the network. Gros felt that his trust was betrayed by Haarlem but it is remarkable how dependent or threatened the members of the Haarlem *vroedschap* apparently felt, for they continued to seek the help of Gros and Clugny. On one occasion Haarlem sent a courier to Mechelen in order to find out where the latter was, and the courier was gone for ten days searching for him¹⁰³. This close relationship appears to have been founded on Haarlem's need to buy protection.

Blockmans reasoned that brokerage and patronage were signs of a segmented society and weak authority in the state. It was this authority that Charles of Burgundy was trying to strengthen, among other measures by combatting the excesses of the present-giving (*huesschede*) system, and he issued court ordinances in which he fixed the charges which his secretaries and privy councillors were allowed to make for their legal and administrative services for third parties. In the accounts of Leiden *tstuc van den clienen diensten* and *tstuc van den paymente* by which these latter ordinances are indicated are frequently mentioned together in the years about 1469–1470¹⁰⁴. But Charles' dilemma was that he was constrained to break his own rules. In essence, Blockmans wrote, these practices formed a continuation of usages which were typical for a feudal system of government. Daily problems could be solved much more efficiently through direct personal relations than via the long lines of formal procedures¹⁰⁵.

As a corollary to this Blockmans added that the officials had to be willing and able to accept the role of brokers. The nobility were ideally placed to assume it. They occupied a middle position in which they were clients of their lord, brokers for local communities, and sometimes patrons for individuals or groups. Patron-brokerage is a term which was coined by P. A. Allum to describe this¹⁰⁶, and it is indicative of a dispersed network of relationships which are connected to each other largely through the activities of the broker, as shown above for the cities of Holland.

¹⁰³ ... *wair die Prothonotaris wesen mochte ...*, GA/Ha inv. no. 19/48, fo. 42.

¹⁰⁴ For example, *Item opten VI/en dach Februario [1470] ... bij den anderen steden groot ende clien in den Hage ... op tstuc van den paymente ...*, GA/Le inv. no. 542, f. 38v; The ordinances are printed in VAN ROMPAEY, *Grote Raad* (see n. 16) p. 462–491, and Jan VAN ROMPAEY, *Hofraad en Grote Raad in de Hofordinancie van 1 Januari 1469, Recht en Instellingen in de Oude Nederlanden tijdens de Middeleeuwen en de Nieuwe Tijd. Liber Amicorum Jan Buntinx*, Louvain 1981, p. 303–324.

¹⁰⁵ *In wezen vormden dese praktijken een voortzetting van gebruiken die typisch waren voor een feodaal heerschappijsysteem ... Dagelijkse problemen konden veel efficiënter werden opgelost door directe persoonlijke relaties dan langs de lange lijnen van formele procedures*, BLOCKMANS, *Corruptie* (see n. 1) p. 244; also BOS-ROPS, *Power of money* (see n. 5) p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ Cited in: EISENSTADT, RONIGER, *Patrons, clients* (see n. 1) p. 230.

6. Conclusions

The three questions posed in the introductory section above can be answered positively. While some ambiguity remains about Bische, money gifts given to Clugny and Gros in the division of the *aides* were remarkable both for their value and in the predictability of the gifts. Gifts to them in relation to the *aides* were structural, and they reflected the satisfaction of the cities of Holland that negotiations in reaching agreement on the *aides* was to the cities' advantage *vis-a-vis* one another, and for Holland as a whole relative to the cities of Brabant and Flanders. For Leiden in particular the matter of the Small Offices within the city administrations and the freedom to dispose over them was of great importance. As a result Jean Gros profitted from his brokerage in arranging the charters which Charles of Burgundy granted to Leiden and certain other cities of Holland concerning the Small Offices.

The gifts are a pointer to the second question about the men's professional abilities. In the sources at Haarlem and Leiden there are explicit statements of praise and of thanks to Clugny and Gros for their help in the matters referred to, and to Bische, who while still remaining in the shadows was recognized by contemporaries as an influential man who had the ear of the prince. The careers of these three men in French service after the demise of Charles of Burgundy in 1477 are further evidence that they were all highly capable and successful administrators and financial experts by the standards of the period.

On the third question - the perception of Clugny, Bische and Gros as a *cadre* or mini-hierarchy in Holland - it was suggested in the opening pages above that there was some bond or force uniting Clugny, Bische and Gros which distinguished them in Holland from others of Charles' officials and secretaries. The answer is more than hypothetical. For Clugny and Gros it is plain, firstly, that they were men working closely together, energetically and with commitment in their administrative and financial work. Similarly, because Bische was much in audience by Charles of Burgundy he must have had a close relationship with the *Audiencier* Jean Gros. There is circumstantial evidence that Clugny, Bische and Gros were all three together in Holland at various times in the years under review, and they were unique for the succession of gifts and payments made to them in Holland. While there are parallels between Guillaume de Clugny and Antoine Haneron, and between Jean Gros and Jan Wandel in their official duties in Holland, Haneron and Wandel were not given gifts by Leiden and Haarlem to the extent that Clugny, Bische and Gros were.

Taking this and their close and long lasting proximity to Charles of Burgundy as trusted confidants and administrators it is proposed therefore that Clugny, Bische and Gros consciously formed a team based on their friendships to the prince and to one another, and on their knowledge and expertise as administrators and negotiators in financial matters. The city elites viewed them in effect as a mini-hierarchy in the Burgundian administration in Holland. There is strength in unity. Through their relationships to the cities of Holland Clugny, Bische and Gros worked as a *cadre* to maintain and strengthen the authority of the prince and of the central administration of which they were a part.

Printed in J. P. Ward, 'Guillaume de Clugny, Guillaume de Bische and Jean Gros: Mediators between Charles the Bold of Burgundy and the cities of Holland (1460-1477)', *FRANCIA. Forschungen zur Westeuropaischen Geschichte*, 33/1 (2006) 69-99.