

Francia - Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte

Bd. 29/1

2002

DOI: 10.11588/fr.2002.1.45517

Copyright

Das Digitalisat wird Ihnen von perspectivia.net, der Online-Publikationsplattform der Stiftung Deutsche Geisteswissenschaftliche Institute im Ausland (DGIA), zur Verfügung gestellt. Bitte beachten Sie, dass das Digitalisat urheberrechtlich geschützt ist. Erlaubt ist aber das Lesen, das Ausdrucken des Textes, das Herunterladen, das Speichern der Daten auf einem eigenen Datenträger soweit die vorgenannten Handlungen ausschließlich zu privaten und nicht-kommerziellen Zwecken erfolgen. Eine darüber hinausgehende unerlaubte Verwendung, Reproduktion oder Weitergabe einzelner Inhalte oder Bilder können sowohl zivil- als auch strafrechtlich verfolgt werden.

MARIO DAMEN

LINKING COURT AND COUNTIES

The Governors and Stadholders of Holland and Zeeland in the Fifteenth Century

One of the most important officers of the Burgundian-Habsburg state-apparatus was the provincial governor or stadholder (*stadhouder* in Dutch). However, little has been written on this powerful officer at a regional level. In 1959 Paul Rosenfeld published a summary of his PhD-thesis on the provincial governors in the first half of the sixteenth century. He did not analyse the officers as a group, although he made some general remarks in the last pages of his article. In his view, they descended nearly all from the older noble lineages, were members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, were alleged to the dynasty and were ready »to offer their lives in order to enhance its fortunes«. Their ideal consisted of serving the state and they had a »keen awareness of nationality«, even though they were continuously »striving for renown and for social advancement¹. Recently, short biographies have been published in a useful repertory on the knights of the Golden Fleece. We also find the lives and careers of most of the provincial governors described well in Hans Cools' PhD-thesis on the aristocracy in the Burgundian-Habsburg lands in the period 1475–1530². Nevertheless, we still lack the story of the origins of the office. Why did the Burgundian dukes appoint these governors in their expanding personal union of the Netherlands? Who were these men and what were their tasks? In the following I will confine my attention to the regional administration of Holland and Zeeland, and more specifically to the governor or stadholder of these counties in the fifteenth century. In my view the stadholder was the most important link between the heart of the Burgundian administration, the court, and the counties of Holland and Zeeland. First, I will show how the office of stadholder developed between 1425, the start of the incorporation of the counties of Holland and Zeeland into the Burgundian personal union, and 1482, the year of the death of Mary of Burgundy. Then, I will present a prosopographical analysis of the holders of the office in this period³. I will conclude with the material and immaterial advantages these officers enjoyed thanks to their position.

- 1 Paul ROSENFELD, *The provincial governors from the minority of Charles V to the revolt* (Ancien Pays et Assemblées d'État/Standen en Landen, 17), Heule, Kortrijk 1959, p. 60.
- 2 Raphaël DE SMEDT (ed.), *Les chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XV^e siècle. Notices bio-bibliographiques* (Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe D: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 3), Frankfurt a. M. 2000; Hans COOLS, *Mannen met macht. Edellieden en de moderne staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse landen, ca. 1475–ca. 1530*, Zwolle 2001.
- 3 More information and short biographies on the regional officers of the counties Holland and Zeeland in the fifteenth century can be found in my dissertation: Mario DAMEN, *De staat van dienst. De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425–1482)* (Hollandse studiën, 36), Hilversum 2001.

1. The incorporation into the Burgundian personal union

For a better understanding, I will first recall the most important facts of the gradual incorporation of the counties Holland and Zeeland into the Burgundian personal union in the period 1425–1433. This process neither took place without difficulties nor according to a preconceived plan. On the contrary, it was the result of coincidence and warfare. Furthermore, the conflict between nobles and dignitaries of towns who were divided in two political groupings, called Hoeken and Kabeljauwen, complicated the transition of Holland and Zeeland from the house of Bavaria to the house of Burgundy⁴.

In 1425, John of Bavaria died and he left the two counties to John IV of Brabant. The latter was the formal heir by virtue being the husband of Jacqueline of Bavaria, daughter of the late count William VI. However, the party of the Hoeken did not recognise John of Brabant and supported Jacqueline. As John IV was fully occupied with the government of the duchy of Brabant, he leased out the counties of Holland and Zeeland to Philip of Burgundy. However, his wife Jacqueline did not accept this arrangement and she took up arms against Philip, supported by only a few Hoeken towns and nobles. She kept up the struggle for almost three years but was no match for the Burgundian army and the Kabeljauw towns and nobles.

In July 1428 peace was concluded. In the Treaty of Delft Jacqueline recognised Philip as her heir and stadholder. They assigned their power to a Council, which would be established in The Hague, the place where the counts had had their residence until that time. Jacqueline had the right to appoint three of the nine councillors who were to form the Council. Philip would appoint the other six. Five years later, in 1433, he was formally inaugurated as count of Holland and Zeeland⁵.

In the same year Philip reformed the Council, which from that moment onwards consisted of six to ten remunerated councillors, presided over by a governor, who later would be called stadholder or lieutenant general. In the absence of the duke, the Council was not only the highest court of justice of the counties but it also acted in administrative affairs. The institution was also allowed to appoint the *demesne* officers of the counties but not to audit their accounts. Each year two or three officers from the *Chambres des comptes* of Brabant and Flanders came to The Hague to perform this task. However, in the 1440s Holland got its own *Chambre des comptes* that had three members. These officers were in charge of the financial supervision of all the *demesne* officers. The Chancery, consisting of three to six secretaries, supported both Council and *Comptes*, issuing, registering and copying the sentences, decisions, letters and so on. Moreover, in 1434 the duke appointed an attorney general to promote his interests before the Council, later followed by the appointment of a solicitor general who pleaded in the causes of the attorney general.

Thus within two decades an institutional machinery came into being, which was partly modelled after French-Burgundian and Flemish examples. The institutions were equipped

4 On this and the following see Hubertus Petrus Henricus JANSEN, *Holland, Zeeland en het Sticht 1100–1433*, in: *Nieuwe Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden II*, Haarlem 1982, p. 320–323; ID., *Jacoba van Beieren*, The Hague 1967; Wim BLOCKMANS, Walter PREVENIER, *De Bourgondiërs. De Nederlanden op weg naar eenheid 1384–1530*, Amsterdam 1997, p. 44, 85–91, 110–115.

5 On this and the following see Theodorus VAN RIEMSDIJK, *De oorsprong van het Hof van Holland*, in: *Geschiedkundige opstellen aangeboden aan Robert Fruin bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden*, The Hague 1894, p. 183–208; Taeke Sjoerd JANSMA, *Raad en Rekenkamer in Holland en Zeeland tijdens hertog Philips van Bourgondië (Bijdragen van het instituut voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 18)*, Utrecht 1932, p. 63–76, 156–169; DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 39–43, 128–136.

with fulltime salaried officers, all subject to a certain hierarchy. It should be stressed that the representatives of the subjects, the Estates of Holland and Zeeland, played a big part in this process of institutionalisation. The reason was that the salaries and travel-expenses of the officers in The Hague were financed by the subsidies paid by the subjects. Moreover, it was in the interests of the subjects to have an efficient ›national‹ court of justice and administrative centre⁶. Therefore we can say that these officers occupied an intermediary position between the prince and the subjects. They were appointed and paid by the count of Holland, that is the duke of Burgundy, but they could not neglect the interests of the people they were working for, the subjects of Holland and Zeeland.

2. Development of the office

What was the place of the stadholder within this administrative apparatus and how did the office develop? Concerning the origin of the function of stadholder we can discern two roots, a Hainault-Bavarian one and a French-Burgundian one. Already in the fourteenth century the counts of Holland, who at the same time were count of Hainault and later on of Bavaria, had to divide their time between their territories. Normally, the count appointed one or two of his councillors, in most cases a powerful nobleman and the treasurer, to guard the counties in his absence. Their most important task was to maintain law and order and to defend the counties against possible attacks⁷. During the Hundred-Years-War, the king of France appointed first *gouverneurs* and later *lieutenants* in his most peripheral areas. Usually these men were direct relatives or friends, recruited from circles closest to the king. They received a mandate, a *plain pouvoir*, for a clearly defined area, called their *gouvernement*. Although the office was set up out of military considerations, it had an administrative-judicial character as well. The princes, for example the duke of Burgundy, possessed certain areas as an *apanage* from the crown. They too appointed governors or lieutenants who could substitute them in their absence⁸.

To some extent Philip the Good followed both traditions. In the first turbulent years of his government, 1425–1428, when the war was going on with his opponent Jacqueline of Bavaria, he appointed repeatedly one or more *capiteyns ende oeverste bewarers* (captains and highest guards) who were in charge during the periods that he could not be present in Holland. These provisional officers had still mainly military tasks. This changed in 1428 when peace was concluded with Jacqueline. A Council of nine men was installed which was given both administrative and juridical tasks. They were called the nine governors. The term nine regents was also used. One of the governors, the Fleming Roeland van Uutkerke, a trustee of Philip, acted as a *primus inter pares* as he received a double salary and he could dispose of a small private army⁹.

6 Robert STEIN, De Staten en de ontwikkeling van de Raad van Holland, in: Rob HUIJBRECHT (ed.), Handelingen van het eerste Hof van Holland Symposium gehouden op 24 mei 1996 in het Algemeen Rijksarchief te Den Haag, The Hague 1997, p. 18–24; DAMEN, De staat (see n. 3) p. 43–46.

7 Theodorus VAN RIEMSDIJK, De Tresorie en Kanselarij van de graven van Holland en Zeeland uit het Henegouwse en Beyersche huis, The Hague 1908, p. 213–216, 240–241, 275–276.

8 Lexikon des Mittelalters IV, 1989, 1614, 1976; Bernard CHEVALIER, Gouverneurs et gouvernements en France entre 1450 et 1520, in: Werner PARAVICINI, Karl Ferdinand WERNER (eds.), Histoire comparée de l'administration (IV^e–XVIII^e siècles) (Beihefte der Francia, 9), Munich 1980, p. 292–298; Jean RICHARD, Les institutions duciales dans le duché de Bourgogne, in: Ferdinand LOT, Robert FAWTIER (eds.), Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge I, Paris 1957, p. 218, 246; Albert RIGAUDIÈRE, Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale II. Des temps féodaux aux temps de l'État, Paris 1994, p. 256–257.

9 VAN RIEMSDIJK, De Tresorie (see n. 7) p. 307–314, 436–444; DAMEN, De staat (see n. 3) p. 51–52.

The situation changed in 1433 when Philip the Good was formally declared count of Holland and Zeeland. He appointed his councillor-chamberlain Hue de Lannoy as new head of the Council, which conducted the administration of Holland and Zeeland on behalf of the duke (*oeverste van den raide gestelt vanwege mijns genadichs heeren ten zaicken van Hollant ende van Zeelant*). The term ›governor‹ is not used anymore. Only in sources dating from April 1439 onwards, coinciding with a visit of Philip the Good to Holland, the term appears again. De Lannoy's successor Guillaume de Lalaing was also mostly called ›head of the council‹ although the terms ›governor‹ or ›regent‹ were used as well¹⁰.

After 1445 some fundamental modifications occurred in the composition and functioning of the regional administrative machinery. These changes were connected with the disastrous political policy pursued by governor Guillaume de Lalaing. The appointment of a legally trained president and a clerk of the court in 1445, aimed to establish a more professional institution. These innovations were partly made at the request of the Estates. However, after a scandal, the president was accused of sodomy, he was dismissed, brought to trial and decapitated. It was clear that his successor had to be a man of distinction who could count on the respect of all layers of society and who could replace the prince in all respects¹¹. That is why in 1448 Philip the Good appointed a stadholder, again a member of one of the families of favourites of the duke, Jean de Lannoy, an officer who would play a crucial role in the counties for years to come¹².

In the sources from 1452 onwards, the adjective ›general‹ accompanies the word stadholder. It meant that the stadholder could substitute the prince ›generally‹, in all his executive functions, in his capacity of count of Holland and Zeeland. In the second half of the fifteenth century the term changed from ›stadholder of the prince‹ to ›stadholder of the counties of Holland and Zeeland‹¹³. This is a significant change since it reflects the ›emancipation‹ of the office. It is noteworthy that within the Burgundian personal union there were stadholders in Holland-Zeeland, Hainault and Luxemburg, and not in Brabant and Flanders. A possible explanation is that the dukes had their main residences in these last territories while they were only sporadically in their other principalities.

3. Tasks and functions

Before the Burgundian take-over the count himself presided over the Council, appointed the committal officers, administered the oath of loyalty and visited the towns to renew the town-governments. As the Burgundian dukes only sporadically visited their most Northern territories, their substitute, the stadholder, took over these tasks.

The governor and later on the stadholder was in the first place the chairman or president of the Council. That is why the stadholder was the keeper of the signet and seal. With this

10 Lannoy: Algemeen Rijksarchief The Hague, Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer Rekeningen [from now on: AGRek) inv. no. 133 f. 46v; Algemeen Rijksarchief The Hague, Hof van Holland [from now on: HvH) inv. no. 1 f. 178r, no. 2 f. 55v, 173r and 201r, no. 9 f. 55v, 123v, 182v and 199v. Lalaing: HvH inv. no. 3 f. 93v and 164v, no. 4 f. 21v and no. 5 f. 19v. See also DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 53.

11 Renée NIP, Bengaert Say, een 15de-eeuws ambtenaar, in: *Holland 15* (1983) p. 65–75; DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 61–63.

12 In French: *notre lieutenant en nosdiz pais, contez et seignouries de Hollande, Zellande et Frise*, in Dutch: *stedehouder mijns genadichs heeren van Bourgongen in sijnen landen van Holland, Zeeland ende Vriesland*. See the letter of appointment of Jean de Lannoy published by Baudouin DE LANNOY, Georges DANSAERT, *Jean de Lannoy, le Bâtitseur (1410–1493)*, Paris, Brussels 1937, p. 273–275 and the payment of his salary in AGRek inv. no. 154 f. 83r.

13 See for example several entries in the accounts of the town of Leiden where Lodewijk van Gruuthuse is called *stedehouder der landen van Hollant, Zeeland ende Vriesland*, Gemeentearchief Leiden, Secretarie-archief [from now on: SAL] inv. no. 528 f. 74r, 79v, 103v.

he could confirm all decisions and judgements made by the Council. The officers took their presidential task rather seriously. Hue de Lannoy for example attended more than 90% of the sessions of the Council. Guillaume de Lalaing was also quite active, this in contrast to Jean de Lannoy and Lodewijk van Gruuthuse. Both were far less active in the Council than their predecessors, possibly because they focused their activities more on the surroundings of the prince at the court¹⁴. This change indicates that the stadholder retired more and more from his daily activities in The Hague and concentrated on his diplomatic tasks and his liaison with the court. In 1474 a special officer was even nominated to preside the Council in absence of the stadholder. With the death of Mary of Burgundy, this office was abolished and it was not until 1510 that it was re-established¹⁵.

In my view the two most important administrative tasks of the Council concerned the tax-system, the so-called *beden* (subsidies, *aides* in French), and the renewal of the town-governments. The stadholder played an important role in the negotiating-process with the representatives of the subjects, the Estates. After they had agreed on the 'lump-sum', it had to be decided how much each town and community had to pay. This was called the apportionment. From 1462 onwards, the stadholder normally presided over the special committee for the apportionment¹⁶.

In the 1440s governor Guillaume de Lalaing was very much involved in the (re)appointment of the town governments. During the reign of Philip the Good, the Kabeljauw political elites were quite unassailable. The party of the Hoeken found in De Lalaing an ideal broker to provide them with administrative power. He favoured them in the Council and eventually his daughter Yolande married with one of the leaders of the Hoeken, Reinoud van Brederode. The Hoeken succeeded in gaining influence not only on a regional level but also on a local level. Assisted by several of his councillors who had sympathies with the Hoeken, Lalaing appointed in several towns of Holland members of this political faction in the town governments. The new men in power in their turn gave De Lalaing personal loans accompanied by some personal gifts and presents. The loans were used by De Lalaing to pay for the damages accorded to the Wendish towns, Schleswig and Holstein in the peace-treaty of Copenhagen of August 1441. In 1444 and 1445 riots broke out in the main towns of Holland, caused not only by political dissatisfaction (now the Kabeljauwen felt excluded) but also by a general dissatisfaction among the population who had to pay higher excises to finance the policy followed by the Hoeken in charge. Philip the Good himself had to come to Holland to restore law and order. He dismissed De Lalaing but at the same time he appointed representatives of both Hoeken and Kabeljauwen in the Council to achieve the political pacification of the counties. Charles the Bold changed the policy of maintaining the balance of power, followed by his father Philip the Good. By paying large sums of money to the duke, Hoeken or Kabeljauwen could maintain or obtain power in the town

14 For the figures of the participation of the governor to the sessions of the Council see DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 511–516 (bijlage – annex – III).

15 AGRek inv. no. 307 f. 112v–113r, where master Jan van Halewijn is appointed as *president ende oeverste van den raide in absencie van mijnen heere den stedehouder* and Anne Siberdinus DE BLÉ-COURT, Eduard Maurits MEIJERS (eds.), *Memorialen van het hof (den Raad) van Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland, van den secretaris Jan Rosa deelen I, II en III*, Haarlem 1929, p. xxiv (especially n. 5, where it is mentioned that in 1510 the new president was originally appointed in absence of the stadholder but because of the continued absence of the stadholder, this addition was dropped after some time).

16 For example, the committees of 1462 and 1473 were presided over by stadholder Lodewijk van Gruuthuse: SAL inv. no. 528 f. 55r, AGRek inv. no. 163 f. 107r–108r; Johannes G. SMIT (ed.), *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der dagvaarten van de Staten en steden van Holland voor 1544*, III: 1467–1477, The Hague 1998, nos. 233–234, 243.

governments. The prince, personified by his commissioners who annually renewed the town governments, played both parties off against each other in a very effective way. In the 1470s stadholder Lodewijk van Gruuthuse belonged to the commissioners who performed this task, although he generally left these tasks to his right hand, his fellow townsman from Bruges and second most important member of the Council of Holland, master Jan van Halewijn¹⁷.

Besides his juridical and administrative tasks the stadholder had an important military task. He was not only head of the troops of Holland and Zeeland that participated in the military expeditions of the Burgundian dukes, but he also had to take care of the recruitment and armament of the soldiers¹⁸. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century the military character of the office of stadholder received more emphasis. In this period there were several conflicts, both interior (the strife between Hoeken and Kabeljauwen revived in 1479 and in 1481) and exterior (wars against Gelre and Utrecht in 1478–1481 and 1481–1484 respectively – in 1482 stadholder Josse de Lalaing even lost his life in the siege of Utrecht)¹⁹.

The stadholder did not only conduct his 'foreign policy' by military means. He performed diplomatic missions as well. In April 1438 for example, a Burgundian embassy led by governor Hue de Lannoy, crossed the Channel and was received in London by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and his Privy Council. Two Flemings who were close collaborators in the Council of Holland assisted him: councillor master Hendrik Utenhove and the secretary Jan Rose. In addition, the embassy consisted of representatives of the main towns of Holland, like Leiden, Haarlem, Delft and Amsterdam. The aim was to restore the disturbed trade-relations between the counties of Holland and Zeeland on the one hand and England on the other. Two years earlier, a military conflict had broken out between the two rivalling dukes of Gloucester and Burgundy. The cloth industry in the towns of the Burgundian principalities depended on a steady supply of English wool. Privateers and military raids disturbed this trade pattern. As their jobs were being threatened and grain-prices rose, the city-populations became riotous. Therefore it was in the interest of both the towns and of the duke that normal trade-relations would prevail again. De Lannoy had already predicted the disastrous consequences of a war with England in two memoranda he wrote for the duke. De Lannoy was a real specialist as regards diplomatic relations with England: in the 1420s he had visited England at least four times. Now he was the obvious person to restore what had been damaged by the war. In this respect the stadholder was not only a representative of the prince, he also had to take into account the interests of the subjects of Holland and Zeeland. It is significant that the towns of Holland and Zeeland, who wanted to protect their trade relations with England when the Burgundian duke was officially at war with the English king, financed the trip²⁰.

17 Tom OVERSTEEGEN, *Hoeken aan de macht tijdens stadhouder Willem van Lalaing, 1440–1445* in: Jannis Willem MARSILJE (ed.), *Bloedwraak, partijstrijd en pacificatie in laat-middeleeuws Holland*. (Cahiers sociale geschiedenis, 7), Hilversum 1990, p. 106–121 and DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3), p. 364–382.

18 Antheun JANSE, *Ambition and administration. Charles the Bold and the feudal levy in Holland*, in: Martin GOSMAN e. a. (eds.), *The Propagation of power in the medieval West. Selected proceedings of the International Conference Groningen 20–23 November 1996* (Mediaevalia Groningana, 23), Groningen 1997, p. 143–162.

19 Michel VAN GENT, *Pertijelike saken. Hoeken en Kabeljauwen in het Bourgondisch-Oostenrijkse tijdperk*. (Hollandse Historische Reeks, 22), The Hague 1994, p. 207–209, 223–229, 286–297.

20 Baudouin DE LANNOY, Leo VAN DER ESSEN, *Hugues de Lannoy, le bon Seigneur de Santes (1386–1456)*, Brussels 1957, p. 124–126; Raimond VAN MARLE, *Le comté de Hollande sous Philippe le Bon 1428–1467*, The Hague 1908, annex no. XVIII; Marie-Rose THIELEMANS, *Bourgogne et Angleterre. Relations politiques et économiques entres les Pays-Bas bourguignons et l'Angleterre (1435–1467)*, Brussels 1966, p. 116–117.

4. The men

Who were the governors and stadholders of Holland and Zeeland in the Burgundian period? First, it is remarkable that six of the eight governors and stadholders were foreigners. The two local stadholders were both members of the powerful family of the Borselen from Zeeland. The Borselens were of crucial importance for the dukes of Burgundy because of their wealth, their ships and their international network, conceived through marriage alliances. Although Frank and Wolfert van Borselen were only in office for very short periods, they and other members of their family played a big role in the politics of Holland and Zeeland behind the scenes. Stadholder Lodewijk van Gruuthuse for example was the son-in-law of Hendrik van Borselen²¹.

Four of the six ›foreign‹ stadholders were born and raised in Flanders while the other two originated from the same Hainault-family, Lalaing. Already from the beginning of the reign of Philip the Good in Holland and Zeeland ›foreigners‹ were appointed, not only in the Council but also in the *Chambre des comptes* and in the Chancery. They were of crucial importance to the prince for the following reasons: their bilingualism (French and Dutch), expertise, their reliability and impartiality. The foreign officers were supposed to guarantee an effective monitoring of the regional administrative machinery and act as a liaison for the prince and the supra-regional institutions. The most important person in this respect was the prince's substitute, the stadholder.

The Burgundian dukes had a long tradition of using foreign officers in newly acquired territories. As early as 1386 duke Philip the Bold appointed some Burgundians in the Audience or Council of Flanders. During the fifteenth century, although their most important territories were situated in the Low Countries, both at the court and in the Great Council the officers with a Burgundian origin dominated²². In the regional institutions of Holland and Zeeland, in the period 1425–1482 a third part of all the salaried officers was not born in these counties²³. In this sense we could say that the foreigners among the governors and stadholder were over represented (six out of eight). One of the explanations of the use of foreigners in the regional administration was the language-question. Already in November 1425 during the first months of his stay in Holland, Philip the Good realised that he needed a Dutch speaking councillor *pour ce qu'il avoit peu de gens de son conseil sachans le langage du pays*. Similarly in September 1426 Philips' French-speaking general Jean de Villiers wanted a bilingual secretary at his disposal²⁴. It was essential for the duke that his most important representative could speak both Dutch, the language spoken in Holland and used in the regional administration, and French, the language of the duke and his court. Men like governor Roeland van Uutkerke and stadholder Lodewijk van Gruuthuse, both originating from Bruges, did not have any problem with either language. The Lannoys and the

21 On the Borselens and their networks: DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 170–173, 269–309.

22 Walter PREVENIER, *Ambtenaren in stad en land in de Nederlanden. Socio-professionele evoluties (veertiende tot zestiende eeuw)*, in: *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* [from now on: BMGN] 87 (1972) p. 55; Jan VAN ROMPAEY, *De Grote Raad van de hertogen van Boergondië en het Parlement van Mechelen*, Brussels 1973, 63, 147–148; John BARTIER, *Légistes et gens de finances au XV^e siècle: les conseillers des ducs Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, Brussels 1955, p. 46–50; Werner PARAVICINI, *Expansion et intégration. La noblesse des Pays-Bas à la cour de Philippe le Bon*, in: BMGN 95 (1980) p. 313.

23 DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 185–188.

24 ADN, B inv. no. 1933 f. 63r; Bertrand SCHNERB, *La préparation des opérations militaires au début du XV^e siècle: l'exemple d'un document prévisionnel bourguignon*, in: Philippe CONTAMINE e. a. (eds.), *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne XIV^e–XV^e siècle*, Villeneuve d'Asq 1991, p. 194.

Lalaings, who came from the French-speaking parts of Flanders and Hainault, will have learnt the language. Jean de Lannoy declared in 1464 that the Dutch language had been very useful to him during his career. He even recommended his son to take a Dutch-speaking mentor to learn the language in case he was going to study in Paris²⁵. Effectively, the stadholders had to report to the duke about the political situation in his counties and what matters were dealt with in the Council and as well as on the meetings with the representatives of the subjects, the Estates. The stadholder was often asked to come to the court and inform the duke personally what was going on in his northernmost territories.

A second reason for appointing mainly foreign stadholders was their expertise. They were acquainted with the different layers of the Burgundian administration. Some of them, like Hue de Lannoy and Guillaume de Lalaing, had already fulfilled positions in the regional administration of Flanders and Hainault²⁶. They knew what the duke expected from them. Moreover, they were nearly all active as councillor-chamberlain in the Aulic Council or in the Great Council. They kept their position during their term of office in Holland. In this way they could see to it that certain measures taken in the central institutions were implemented at a regional level. Moreover the foreign stadholders were already familiar with the counties before they were appointed. They had been there earlier on diplomatic or military missions.

A third motive for appointing those men as stadholders was their reliability. They were all, bar one, members of the Golden Fleece, a select circle of important nobles from all Burgundian territories who had taken an oath of loyalty to the duke²⁷. Moreover, all governors and stadholders had a special relationship with someone at the court. Three of the eight stadholders were probably appointed because of their excellent relationship with the duke as they were active in the Aulic Council and in diplomatic affairs. Guillaume de Lalaing had good relations with Philip the Good's wife Isabel of Portugal as he was from 1436 onwards her *chevalier d'honneur*, an important member of her household. Moreover, his daughters Yolande and Isabelle grew up at the court of the duchess and he made some important diplomatic missions on her request²⁸. Lodewijk van Gruuthuse was a councillor-chamberlain of Philip the Good's son and heir, Charles of Charolais, the later Charles the Bold²⁹. He was appointed stadholder in 1462, the year in which Charles was in Holland negotiating the consent of new subsidies. One of the demands of the Estates was a reformation of the Council and Charles the Bold played a big part in this. The former stadholder, Jean de Lannoy, who had been in office since 1448, was fired. Probably the family network he formed part of was the main cause. Jean was the son of the sister of the first chamberlain Antoine de Croÿ. Most likely he was appointed as stadholder in 1448 thanks to the mediation of his

25 DE LANNOY, DANSAERT, Jean de Lannoy (see n. 12) 139. See also Charles Arthur John ARMSTRONG, Had the Burgundian Government a policy for the nobility?, in: ID., England, France and Burgundy in the fifteenth century, London 1983, p. 207.

26 See an overview of their careers in DE SMEDT, Les chevaliers (see n. 2) p. 14–17 and DAMEN, De staat (see n. 3) p. 470–471.

27 See their biographies in DE SMEDT, Les chevaliers (see n. 2) nos. 4, 7, 42, 50, 61, 79, 80.

28 Monique SOMMÉ, Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne. Une femme au pouvoir au XV^e siècle, Villeneuve d'Asq 1998, p. 291–292; Colette BEAUNE (ed.), Le livre des faits du bon chevalier, messire Jacques de Lalaing, in: Splendeurs de la cour de Bourgogne. Récits et chroniques, Paris 1995, p. 1210. Diplomatic missions: in 1439 to Navarre for the marriage of Agnes of Cleves and Charles of Viana (ADN, B inv. no. 1966 f. 312r, 366r and no. 425/15734) and in 1442 to Luxemburg to claim the rights of Philip the Good as *mambour* of Luxemburg (ADN, B inv. no. 1982 f. 50v, 74); SOMMÉ, Isabelle (see n. 28) p. 291, 432 and by Richard VAUGHAN, Philip the Good. The apogee of Burgundy, London 1970, p. 278.

29 ADN, B inv. no. 2045 f. 110r and Holger KRUSE, Hof, Amt und Gagen. Die täglichen Gagenlisten des burgundischen Hofes (1430–1467) und der erste Hofstaat Karls des Kühnen (1456) (Pariser Historische Studien, 44), Bonn 1996, p. 262.

uncle Antoine and another uncle, former governor Hue de Lannoy. After 1457 the Croÿ-clan became very powerful at the Burgundian court. Charles of Charolais feared for his succession as duke and from that year on he tried to guarantee his succession in Holland with all means at his disposal³⁰. Of course the stadholder was an important factor in the political landscape of Holland and Zeeland and that is why Jean de Lannoy had to be disposed of. In 1463, when the Council was reformed, other officers who were closely linked to the heir apparent, were appointed to strategic positions. Gruuthuse and most other members of the Council remained in office when Charles came to power, in 1465 first as the lieutenant general of his father and then in 1467 as duke. It is the proof that the new duke already had placed his clients in the regional administration of Holland and Zeeland. He had already the right men in the right places³¹. The consequence was that when Charles the Bold died in 1477, his client Lodewijk van Gruuthuse had to retire. In that year, the new duchess Mary of Burgundy conceded to the Estates the so-called *Grand Privilege*, which did not admit the appointment of foreign officers in Holland and Zeeland. Wolfert van Borselen, a powerful nobleman from Zeeland, was appointed. It is likely that his predecessor Lodewijk van Gruuthuse had a hand in this appointment as he was the first chamberlain and one of the most important advisors of Mary of Burgundy. Moreover he was the brother in law of Wolfert van Borselen. Summing up, we could say that the stadholders thanked their position to their good relationship with a powerful patron who could be the duke or one of the members of his household, for example his wife, his son or his first chamberlain.

A final but no less important reason why the dukes installed foreign stadholders in The Hague, was their supposed impartiality. The political strife between Hoeken and Kabeljauwen continued throughout the Burgundian period. Philip the Good himself had used the conflict and had come to power in the counties with the help of the Kabeljauw towns and nobles. Even after 1436 when Jacqueline of Bavaria, his principal political opponent, died, the parties did not disappear. Only their aim changed: no longer were they for or against the new prince, but now they tried to obtain as much influence as possible in the various administrative strata. As was noted before, in the beginning of the 1440s the Hoeken found in governor Guillaume de Lalaing an ideal broker to provide them with administrative power. This resulted in a renewal of the party strife and a lot of unrest in the towns. This shows on the one hand that the duke's strategy was not always successful in this respect, and on the other hand it indicates that the governor could operate autonomously. After 1477 the party strife revived again. This time it was stadholder Wolfert van Borselen who got involved in the renewed strife between Hoeken and Kabeljauwen. Van Borselen was dismissed and duke Maximilian again appointed a foreign stadholder, Josse de Lalaing, in his place. The Estates approved it although it was stated in the *Grand Privilege*, that foreign officers could no longer form part of the administrative apparatus in Holland and Zeeland³². In the first half of the sixteenth century the stadholder would still be an exception to that rule.

30 Petrus Anne MEILINK, Holland en het conflict tussen Philips de Goede en zijn zoon van 1463–1464, in: *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, series 7, 5 (1935) p. 129–152, series 7, 6 (1935) p. 49–66. Werner PARAVICINI, Karl der Kühne. Das Ende des Hauses Burgund (Persönlichkeit und Geschichte, 94/95), Göttingen 1976, p. 20–22; VAUGHAN, Philip the Good (see n. 28) p. 340–346.

31 For more details on the clientele of Charles of Charolais in the regional administration see DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 311–333. In 1462 Jean de Lannoy did continue as governor of Lille-Douai-Orchies, the French-speaking part of Flanders. He was appointed to this function in May 1459: DE LANNOY, DANSAERT, Jean de Lannoy (see n. 12) p. 37.

32 Adriaan Gerard JONGKEES, Het Groot Privilege van Holland en Zeeland (14 maart 1477), in: Wim BLOCKMANS (ed.), 1477. Het algemene en de gewestelijke privilegiën van Maria van Bourgondië voor de Nederlanden, Kortrijk, Heule 1985, p. 145–234.

5. The advantages of the ducal service

What then, were the advantages of being in the duke's service? When we look at the non-material advantages, the stadholder enjoyed a great deal of prestige. First of all, in Holland the stadholder was the highest representative of the duke. A new stadholder could only act as the substitute of the prince when the subjects accepted him as such. That is why at his first public appearance in The Hague he had to show and read his commission letter to the members of the Council and *Chambre des comptes* and to the representatives of the subjects. Afterwards he had to swear the oath of office. Just like a new prince used to do, he made his public entry into the towns, which on this occasion gave him some objects of value. Gruuthuse for example received six silver dishes and two silver jugs from the town of Haarlem. The value of the gift had the equivalent of 714 daily wages of a master mason. The other towns had to follow suit and offered him similar gifts. Only after this the towns recognised the person who was appointed to govern the country instead of the duke, as the stadholder³³.

The question remains if those councillors-chamberlains were very eager to change their comfortable life at the court for a troublesome job in, what was from their point of view, the far north. Of course the position enabled them to distinguish themselves from other councillors-chamberlains at the court who did not have such a high regional function. Nevertheless, we know that Hue de Lannoy accepted the job against his will and only because the duke ordered him to do so. He repeatedly asked the duke to be dismissed among other reasons because of his illness (he was suffering from kidney stones)³⁴. On the other hand, Jean de Lannoy and Lodewijk van Gruuthuse were both in office for nearly fifteen years and were only dismissed because of respectively a changed balance of power at the court and the political crisis of 1477.

As regards the material advantages, the stadholder derived an excellent income from his salary, emoluments and gifts from the duke. This income had to be sufficient to maintain his estate and status and therefore it had to be in accordance with the social position of the officer in society. Moreover, serving the prince implied certain costs. The stadholder had his own household and servants and he had to be generous with gifts and dinners to impress as the highest representative of the duke³⁵. So it is not surprising that the stadholder earned the highest annual salary of all regional officers, which was 1440 lb. (of 40 groats) per year. For comparison: noble councillors in Holland only earned a quarter of that amount, which is 350 lb. While most of the annual wages of the personnel of the Council were turned into daily wages from 1463 onwards, the stadholder kept his annual salary. The salary of the stadholder of Holland and Zeeland was also high in comparison with the wages of the stadholder of Luxemburg (1.000 lb. in 1452), the stadholder of Liège (700 lb. in 1468) and the governor of Namur (300 lb. in 1473). Moreover, the stadholders were exempt from many kinds of cutbacks in expenditure on wages³⁶. In addition to his high salary the stadholder

33 Showing the letter of commission: Streekarchief Hollands Midden, Gouda, Oud-archief Gouda inv. no. 1131 f. 6v and DE LANNOY, DANSAERT, Jean de Lannoy (see n. 12) p. 276 (Jean de Lannoy in 1448). Presents for Lodewijk van Gruuthuse in 1462 recorded in Archiefdienst Kennemerland, Stadsarchief Haarlem inv. no. 19-38 f. 42r and SAL inv. no. 528 f. 103v, see also Johannes G. SMIT, *Vorst en onderdaan. Studies over Holland en Zeeland in de late middeleeuwen* (Miscellanea Neerlandica, 12), Leuven 1995, p. 338-339.

34 VAN MARLE, Comté (see n. 20) annex XII (translated by VAUGHAN, Philip the Good, see n. 28, p. 263-265). See also JANSMA, Raad en Rekenkamer (see n. 5) p. 104-105.

35 Hue de Lannoy requested and got a higher salary in 1434 *afin qu'il puist honnourablement vivre et maintenir son estat en nostre service mesmement en l'office et charge qu'il a par dela*: VAN MARLE, Comté (see n. 20) annex VIII.

36 For detailed information on the salaries of these officers see DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 217-232, especially table 5.1. For the wages of the stadholders of other territories see WERNER PARAVICINI,

received yearly 120 lb. for ›winter clothes‹. Again only his payment survived the cutbacks of 1454 when all the other payments for winter clothes were abolished. Finally, the stadholder was the only officer who received a yearly payment of 480 lb. for household goods, fuel and horse feed³⁷.

However, a good salary was not the only thing the duke had to offer. On special occasions, like a wedding, a baptism of a son or as a reward for services performed, the stadholder like other officers of the Burgundian state-apparatus, received a gift, sometimes in kind, like silver plate, but mostly in money³⁸. In the period 1425–1482 the stadholders received all together eight gifts, with an average value of 731 lb. (of 40 groats) per gift. Stadholder Josse de Lalaing received the biggest gift. In 1481 he got 2025 lb. because of exceptional services performed. In that year Lalaing succeeded in ending the rebellion of the Hoeken in the towns of Holland³⁹. From the fact that the stadholders took most advantage of the system of rewards, it can be inferred that the duke considered them as his most important agents.

The stadholder and the other officers of the Council did not only act as servants or clients of the prince, but also as clients of and brokers for other parties. Powerful nobles as well as towns like Haarlem, Delft, Leiden and Gouda supplied these officers with gifts, courtesies and loans, and expected a certain service in return. The Estates, in which the towns cited dominated, accorded substantial gifts to the officers as part of the subsidies they granted to the duke. In 1439 the Estates granted, with the explicit permission of the duke, to governor Hue de Lannoy and other officers of the Council yearly grants out of the subsidies. Hue's successors Jean de Lannoy and Lodewijk van Gruuthuse received grants too. In Zeeland more than in Holland these gifts became a structural phenomenon. This type of gifts is exceptional in the rest of the Burgundian personal union. The redistribution of tax-money suited prince, officers and towns. It increased the commitment of the administrative apparatus towards the subsidies⁴⁰.

Apart from the structural gifts out of the subsidies, the stadholder on many occasions received also gifts from the towns. Haarlem for example, donated two barrels of hop beer annually to Lodewijk van Gruuthuse. Gouda offered him a one-off present of twenty-five fresh soles. Furthermore, on three occasions the city of Leiden offered Gruuthuse a militia-man's cape to participate in a shooting-contest (the so-called bringing down the popinjay) and in 1474 Middelburg (in Zeeland) gave him 300 oak planks for his residence in Bruges. Indeed, this magnificent house can still be seen in the Flemish town. With respect to the gifts in money, in 1470 Gruuthuse received 120 lb. (of 30 groats), the equivalent of 360 daily wages

Guy de Brimeu. *Der burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen* (Pariser Historische Studien, 12), Bonn 1975, p. 246, 251, 412–413 and Raymond VAN UYTVEN, *Vorst, adel en steden: een driehoeksverhouding in Brabant van de twaalfde tot de zestiende eeuw*, in: *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis inzonderheid van het oud hertogdom Brabant* 59 (1976) p. 106–107.

37 DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 232–233, 239. For the restriction of 1454 see Algemeen Rijksarchief The Hague, Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer Registers [from now on AGReg) inv. no. 1 f. 39r–41v and JANSMA, *Raad en Rekenkamer* (see n. 5) p. 100–101. From 1465 onwards the payment for winter-clothes was integrated with the salary of the stadholder: AGRek inv. no. 165 f. 63v, 67v.

38 In 1460 Jean de Lannoy received a gift of a 1000 lb. (of 40 groats) *en faveur et contemplacion de son mariage*: Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, series B [from now on ADN, B) inv. no. 2040 f. 66r and 216v.

39 General figures for the gifts: DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 241–244. Lalaing: ADN, B inv. no. 2124f. 252r. For his military successes: VAN GENT, *Pertijelicke saicken* (see n. 19) p. 289–297.

40 For more details on the gifts from the subsidies see Mario DAMEN, *Taxation for prince and officers. The Council of Holland and the aides in the Burgundian period*, in: Robert STEIN (ed.), *Powerbrokers in the late Middle Ages. The Burgundian Low Countries in a European context*, Turnhout 2001, p. 27–46 and ID., *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 354–364.

of a master mason, from Haarlem for his mediation in the lawsuit against Pieter Bruin, probably a Haarlem citizen. Furthermore, various towns lent him enormous amounts of money, which he was not required to pay back in full⁴¹. In return the towns asked Gruuthuse on several occasions for favours. This arrangement made economic sense. For them it was cheaper and most of the times more effective to use an intermediary to appeal to the duke, than to make a trip to the duke themselves all the way to Brussels or even to Dijon.

Conclusion

When Holland and Zeeland were integrated in the Burgundian personal union, the court of the count disappeared in these counties. Instead, a regional administrative machinery was set up, in which the governor, later called stadholder, was the most important officer. In the first 25 years of Burgundian rule in Holland and Zeeland, the office of stadholder took shape. The office was based on predecessors in both the two counties as well as being modelled after French-Burgundian examples. In Holland and Zeeland the office developed out of a situation of crisis and war and found its final form after an unsuccessful experiment with a non-noble president. The stadholder replaced the count of Holland, that is the Burgundian duke, in all respects. He was his lieutenant general and the subjects of Holland and Zeeland regarded him as such. With the court at a distance, the stadholder was the most important link between the duke and his counties. He spoke the language of both the duke and his subjects in Holland and Zeeland. Moreover, he was a trustee of the duke and an expert in matters of justice, war and diplomacy. But he was not only formally the most important link between the regional and the supra-regional administrative level. Through relationships based on patronage and kinship, nearly all stadholders had strong ties with one or more persons at the court. Fundamentally, the regional administration, and especially the stadholder, was the link between the duke and his subjects. They were the perfect mediators between the Burgundian dukes with their ambitious plans on the one hand and the towns that wanted to keep their independence and privileges without paying too many subsidies, on the other. In a sense they were brokers who could provide their clients access to the patron (the duke). Through their formal and informal relations, they connected the central powers with regional and local interest groups.

The governors and stadholders of Holland and Zeeland 1428–1482 and their connection with the court of the dukes of Burgundy:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Most important connection at the court</i>	<i>Position at the court</i>	<i>Years of office</i>
Roeland van Uutkerke	Philip the Good	Duke	1428–1430
Frank van Borselen	–	–	1430–1432
Hue de Lannoy	Philip the Good	Duke	1433–1440
Guillaume de Lalaing	Isabel of Portugal	Duchess	1440–1445
Jean de Lannoy	Antoine de Croÿ	First chamberlain	
	Hue de Lannoy	Councillor-chamberlain	1448–1462
Lodewijk van Gruuthuse	Charles of Charolais	Son of the duke (later on duke)	1462–1477
Wolfert van Borselen	Lodewijk van Gruuthuse	First chamberlain	1477–1480
Josse de Lalaing	Maximilian of Austria	Duke	1480–1483

41 See on these gifts and more references DAMEN, *De staat* (see n. 3) p. 393–413.