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Jelle HAEMERS, *De Gentse Opstand (1449–1453)*. De Strijd tussen Rivaliserende Netwerken om het Stedelijke Kapitaal, Kortrijk, Heule (UGA) 2004, 503 p., ISBN 90-6768-629-8, EUR 78,00.

The author of this book set himself a Herculean task: to unravel and reveal the links, the divisions and the struggles between rival networks during the years 1449–1453 in Ghent, Flanders' greatest city then as now, in the great uprising against Philip the Good of Burgundy. The publisher's blurb states that this is the first integral study of this uprising against Philip the Good, but the military aspects of the enterprise are under-illuminated. The fighting is not part of the author's remit (p. 284), but he has covered some of that terrain in other publications (see p. 464). The book's subtitle indicates its main theme; the struggle between rival networks for control of Ghent's political and economic power structures, the justiciaries and guilds, and through them public and economic life, Ghent's civic capital. The author's sources include the contemporary Diary (*Dagboek*) of Ghent, the Chronicle of Flanders and a large number of unedited and unpublished registers of the magistrates' courts and the city's guilds. These he supplemented by other documents and chronicles which include those on the side of the winner, the duke of Burgundy. The book has ten sections or chapters, beginning with a statement of the author's aims and his sources, and ending with two maps, appendices and a bibliography. Haemers describes the work of reconstructing what he calls »dead networks« (p. 20), which continues throughout the book. The other seven sections have as subjects: Ghent, its administrative and judicial institutions, and its networks of individuals; policies of successive dukes of Burgundy towards the city, and Ghent's responses to them; the origins of the armed conflict of mid-fifteenth century; the climax of the struggle; Ghent's military defeats and eclipse; punishments and repression by the duke and his successors; and a general conclusion.

Certain themes which appear and reappear in the book are the roles of the kings of France and the counts of Flanders, later of the dukes of Burgundy, and how the people of Ghent tried to play off one overlord against the other. This heroic phase of Ghent's political development was concentrated around the persons of Jacob van Artevelde (1290–1345) and Philip (1340–1382) his son, both of whom led rebellions against the count of Flanders. The period culminated in the recognition in 1360 of a system of government in Ghent in which the burgesses and the guilds were involved in administering the city, the so-called Three Member (*Drie Leden*) system. Another theme, one of the most important, is the effects which the renewed judiciary and administration had on limiting conflicts with its overlord and within the city (p. 41). But about mid-fifteenth century long running conflicts between Ghent and its rulers culminated in a confrontation between particularist powers intent of preserving the city's privileges, and a centralising power in the person of the duke.

However, the networks within Ghent are Haemers' main subject. He distinguishes three main groups: networks formed by Ghent's social elite, the duke of Burgundy's networks, and networks within the city's guilds. Much that follows is related to and rationalized by the workings of these networks. Nothing appears to have been overlooked; families' and individuals' names are detailed in births, deaths, marriages, wills, codicils and wardships, bills of sale of goods and houses, etc. The book's register contains more than seven hundred names, many of them with multiple entries. Haemers reveals in detail how clusters of families within Ghent's social elite through their economic power and their marriage strategies formed dynamic networks in a self-perpetuating oligarchy. Those networks were the backbone and ribs of the city's governing systems; i. e. they extended vertically and laterally through private, public, political and economic life. The members organized themselves in a rational and strategic way by a process of homogamy, i. e. arranged marriages within specific social groups or classes. The duke of Burgundy's networks, with which Philip the Good finally infiltrated the city's ruling classes, were made up of pro-centralist noblemen and his own up and coming officials, together with the top layer of the social elite in Ghent.

The duke's supporters were linked to him in two ways: by their noble status in some cases, and by their careers in his service. Here the duke's officers functioned *inter alia* as power brokers. A system of arranged marriages to daughters of the wealthier members of the city elite was one of the duke's softer methods for penetrating Ghent's power structures, matched by patronage and other informal methods.

The third major system of networks in Ghent was that of artisans and the city guilds, in which there were large differences between the top and the lower layers. Haemers depicts the artisans's networks as a pyramid, the upper echelons of which reached into the social elite with whom they formed a coalition of particularists based on self interest, which seized power in the period 1447–1449 (p. 138). The uprising was »a Golden Age« for networks which had for many years been excluded from local government (p. 339). Their success is explained partly by their manipulation of the masses in giving them the impression through public meetings and referendums that they were participating in the decision making. But the lower echelons of the guilds' members remain anonymous or, like some of the duke's spies whom Haemers identifies tentatively, shadowy at best. Through all of the major networks there were horizontal and vertical divisions, like geological fault lines, determined by class and by individual self-interest.

Ostensibly, the opening of the mid-century conflict dates from 1447 when Philip of Burgundy failed to negotiate a permanent tax on salt akin to the French king's gabelle. Philip intended the salt tax as a financial corner stone of his modern Burgundian state, to replace the supply (*aides*) which he otherwise had to re-negotiate every few years. At a deeper, more fundamental level the breach between him and his subjects in Ghent was one of centralisation versus particularism, and the defence, as the citizens saw it, of Ghent's privileges. Certain themes recur throughout: Ghent's historical past and greatness, represented by the Van Artevelde, their policies and their politics; the course of local elections; the readiness of the city's magistrates to remain in negotiation with the duke of Burgundy even in the midst of an armed struggle, but equally their determination to hold on to their political and economic hegemony over Ghent's hinterland; and as a corollary to all that Philip of Burgundy's determination to break Ghent's resistance by gentle methods such as patronage, bribery and arranged marriages if possible, but otherwise by military means.

Philip of Burgundy was not impressed by Ghent's mobilizations in the years 1451–53 (p. 427). On both sides direct military activity during the uprising mostly took the form of a guerrilla war; raids and blockades directed against the enemy's allies and his sympathizers. The only major engagement was the battle of Gaverre, described as one of the best documented of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (p. 377). For the military phases of the uprising Haemers is concerned as much with the elections of commanders in Ghent than with the details of their military dispositions. Nonetheless, he provides enough information and some intriguing glimpses into military formations which must interest historians: armoured ships for running blockades; the White Caps (*Witte Kaproenen*) who enforced law and order in the city; English mercenaries who are likened to a Trojan Horse (p. 300). They fought first for Ghent and then defected to Philip of Burgundy when the tide turned. Most interesting of all, perhaps, are the mysterious Green Tilters about whom little seems to be known. Other studies are in preparation (p. 267, n. 350), which may shed more light on civic military organisation in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and later. Haemers is critical of his sources and of previous interpretations. For the theoretical background to his study he draws on Boone, Blockmans, Tilly and others, but he modifies and enlarges on their ideas where he feels it necessary. For example, on collective action Haemers discusses (p. 195 and again on p. 203) Tilly's model which, he says, describes but does not explain the mobilization of resources. In the end, the key to Philip of Burgundy's success against Ghent lay in his setting the small towns of the hinterland against their domineering neighbour Ghent, »a giant on clay feet« (p. 272). A second determining factor which caused the Van Artevelde model

of con-social politics to fail was that the people of Ghent had forgotten how to fight or were no longer able to win in open battle against professional soldiers (p. 434). However, despite repressive measures first of Philip the Good, later of his son Charles of Burgundy, remarkably little changed within the city's government. Ghent's particularist factions survived to fight another day. Not until nearly a century later, first under Emperor Maximilian I and then Charles V, were they finally broken by a combination of political, social and economic repressions.

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Réponse au compte rendu de Armand BAERISWYL du livre: *Village et ville au Moyen Âge: les dynamiques morphologiques*, 2 vol., sous la direction de Bernard GAUTHIEZ, Élisabeth ZADORA-RIO et Henri GALINIÉ, Tours 2003, paru dans *Francia* 33/1 (2006), p. 186–191.

Monsieur A. Baeriswyl, archéologue du Service archéologique du canton de Berne, a fait récemment un compte rendu très critique de l'ouvrage que nous avons co-dirigé, qui doit être, selon lui, »considéré comme le produit tardif d'une phase révolue de l'histoire urbaine«. De notre côté, nous pensons que M. Baeriswyl n'a pas vraiment lu notre ouvrage, et qu'il n'en a pas, en tout cas, saisi le propos, et c'est pourquoi nous souhaitons exercer notre droit de réponse pour apporter quelques éclaircissements.

Les critiques de M. Baeriswyl peuvent être regroupées en deux points:

1. Des considérations générales sur les limites de l'analyse morphologique, largement étayées par une série d'exemples de fouilles allemandes et suisses, qui montrent des transformations radicales du tissu urbain qui ont totalement fait disparaître toute trace de l'organisation urbaine antérieure, ou qui mettent en évidence les erreurs d'interprétation auxquelles peut conduire l'analyse morphologique.
2. Le faible nombre de citations d'ouvrages allemands, qui témoignerait de notre ignorance de la bibliographie germanophone. M. Baeriswyl pousse assez loin cette dernière proposition, puisqu'il écrit en toutes lettres que seule cette ignorance peut expliquer que nous ayons perdu notre temps à traiter de questions auxquelles les Allemands et les Suisses (germanophones) ont apporté depuis longtemps des solutions définitives.

En ce qui concerne le premier point, nous sommes entièrement d'accord avec M. Baeriswyl, et nous avons tellement souligné ces réserves dans l'ouvrage, dans l'introduction et dans le chapitre final de la synthèse, comme dans les études de cas (en particulier dans celles sur Grenoble et Angers, mais aussi dans beaucoup d'autres), que nous sommes fondés à mettre en doute le sérieux de la lecture de M. Baeriswyl. Nous sommes forcés également de constater que le positionnement scientifique de l'ouvrage, comme ses objectifs, lui ont tout à fait échappé. Nous nous permettons donc d'apporter les précisions suivantes:

1. L'ouvrage s'inscrit dans les recherches sur la spatialité (représentations, pratiques et organisation matérielle de l'espace), domaine qui se situe à la confluence de l'archéologie, de l'histoire et de la géographie, et qui connaît un développement important depuis vingt ou trente ans en France et en Angleterre, mais qui est très peu représenté en Allemagne<sup>1</sup>. Les historiens germanophones (à défaut des archéologues) se sont interrogés sur le peu d'intérêt porté à l'espace dans la recherche historique outre-Rhin. Ils avancent principalement deux explications: d'une part, l'absence presque totale, en Allemagne, de collaborations scientifiques entre historiens, géographes et archéologues<sup>2</sup>; d'autre part,

1 Il ne doit pas être confondu avec la *Landesgeschichte* et l'abondante production de cartographie historique à laquelle elle a donné lieu.

2 Ce constat est formulé par Hans-Joachim SCHMIDT, qui y voit non seulement »un obstacle à l'interdisciplinarité, mais aussi une barrière qui renforce les obstacles à la compréhension entre médié-