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THE GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE BURGUNDIAN MINTS IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

by Dr. Peter Spufford

The greater part of the Low Countries were united under Burgundian rule in the 1430's, and in 1433 the duke, Philip the Good, introduced a common coinage for his territories with the issue of identical coins from the mints of four of his principalities, those of Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Hainault.

At any one time there was only one mint in each of these principalities. Over the next seventy years the mint of Flanders was sometimes at Ghent, and sometimes at Bruges; that of Brabant at Brussels, Malines, Louvain or Antwerp; that of Holland at Dordrecht or The Hague; and that of Hainault at Valenciennes. The original intention was that identical coins should also be issued in a fifth principality, Namur, but the mint was closed instead and the principality served with coin from Philip's other mints. When Philip acquired Luxemburg, he half-heartedly introduced the minting of his common silver coinage into that principality¹.

When his son Charles acquired Gelderland, he extended the minting of both the common silver and the common gold coinages into that territory much more thoroughly².

One of the problems that arose from this unification of the coinage of the Netherlands from 1433 onwards was the question of how to administer the separate mints in the different principalities, so as to maintain the essential unity of practice in a number of institutions with their own separate traditions. Although extremely similar coins were struck in the non-Burgundian territories in the Low Countries, notably the ecclesiastical principalities of Utrecht and Liege, their mints were controlled by entirely independent administrations. In this article I cover only the operations of the mints of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Hainault and Gelderland³.

The existing administrations of the individual mints of the Burgundian Netherlands already bore a marked similarity to each other⁴.

Each of the mints was run as a separate industrial enterprise by a businessman who, as master, took on its management for a term of years. He brought with him the necessary working capital and the entrepreneurial skill to operate it at a profit. The prince provided the fixed capital; warrens of buildings and their equipment, and the skilled workforce was provided by hereditary corporations of **ouvriers** and **monnayeurs** who performed the long sequence of operations required to produce coin in the later middle ages. There was a considerable division of labour in those mints, which were geared to convert bullion into new coins by the million whenever the market required it. Such mints were amongst the largest industrial complexes of the later middle ages and came as near to 'factory' conditions as any manufacturing enterprise did before the eighteenth century. Those who took up the mastership of such mints were naturally drawn from amongst the richest and most successful men in the commercial and industrial cities of the Netherlands.

As well as the craftsmen who worked for the master, each mint also had a

complement of officials representing the interests of the prince. There were wardens who had the general oversight of the mints, assayers who ensured that the coinage was of the correct fineness, and die engravers. All of these were salaried officials, whose salaries were paid, at least in part, by the ruler out of his seignorage. In addition there were frequently contragardes who represented the interests of the merchant communities who were the prime customers of the mints.

This administrative pattern for the individual mints had already a century and a half of development behind it, so that they had a mature and fully evolved organization by the fifteenth century, which needed only relatively minor modifications in structure during the two-thirds of a century under discussion.

However, as soon as more than one mint fell under the lordship of the Burgundian dukes, general mint officers were appointed, over and above the officers of the individual mints. They had jurisdiction over monetary affairs in all the increasing ducal dominions in the Low Countries. Unlike the local mint administration, which was old and relatively static, this general administration was new and rapidly changing. At first the general officers were obviously modelled on the French pattern,⁵ and were the natural means of co-ordinating the work of divers mints in divers provinces. Some general officers had already been appointed before the coinages of the various principalities were unified in 1433. In 1433 the general officers consisted of three general masters and an assayer-general⁶. In 1438 two additional general masters were appointed and new comprehensive instructions on the duties of the general masters were issued⁷. A little later the post of assayer-general disappeared until around 1460.⁸ The five general masters had a permanent headquarters in the 'Chambre des Monnaies' at Lille, where at least one of them had to be permanently in attendance to give advice and take decisions as required. The remaining general masters would either be about their own business, or else conducting itinerant visitations of mints and money-changers. As well as their oversight of the mints, which they were supposed to inspect annually, they had also to oversee the money-changers, inspect their weights and balances, and ensure that they sent to the mints a quantity of bullion proportionate to their scale of business. Beyond the money-changers their general oversight stretched out to goldsmiths, mercers, and any others likely to be concerned with bullion. In this general oversight of the supply of bullion they were naturally assisted by the wardens of the individual mints, and, from time to time, by extra assistants who were commissioned specifically to detect unlicensed money-changers and arrest those found transporting bullion out of ducal territory⁹. Occasionally they may have been concerned in the seizure of contraband bullion themselves¹⁰. All the general masters gathered together only when boxes were to be opened and assayed, when accounts were to be rendered and audited, when mints were to be farmed out¹¹, or when advice was required by the duke.

The duke required such advice for preparing a monetary ordinance, for example, for elaborating the consequent minting instructions, for devising methods to counter the king of France's claims over the Amiens and Saint Quentin mints, for dealing with illegally inflated market prices set on coin, or for making preparations for meetings of estates. The general masters were normally made members of the ducal council, and one or more were usually officially present

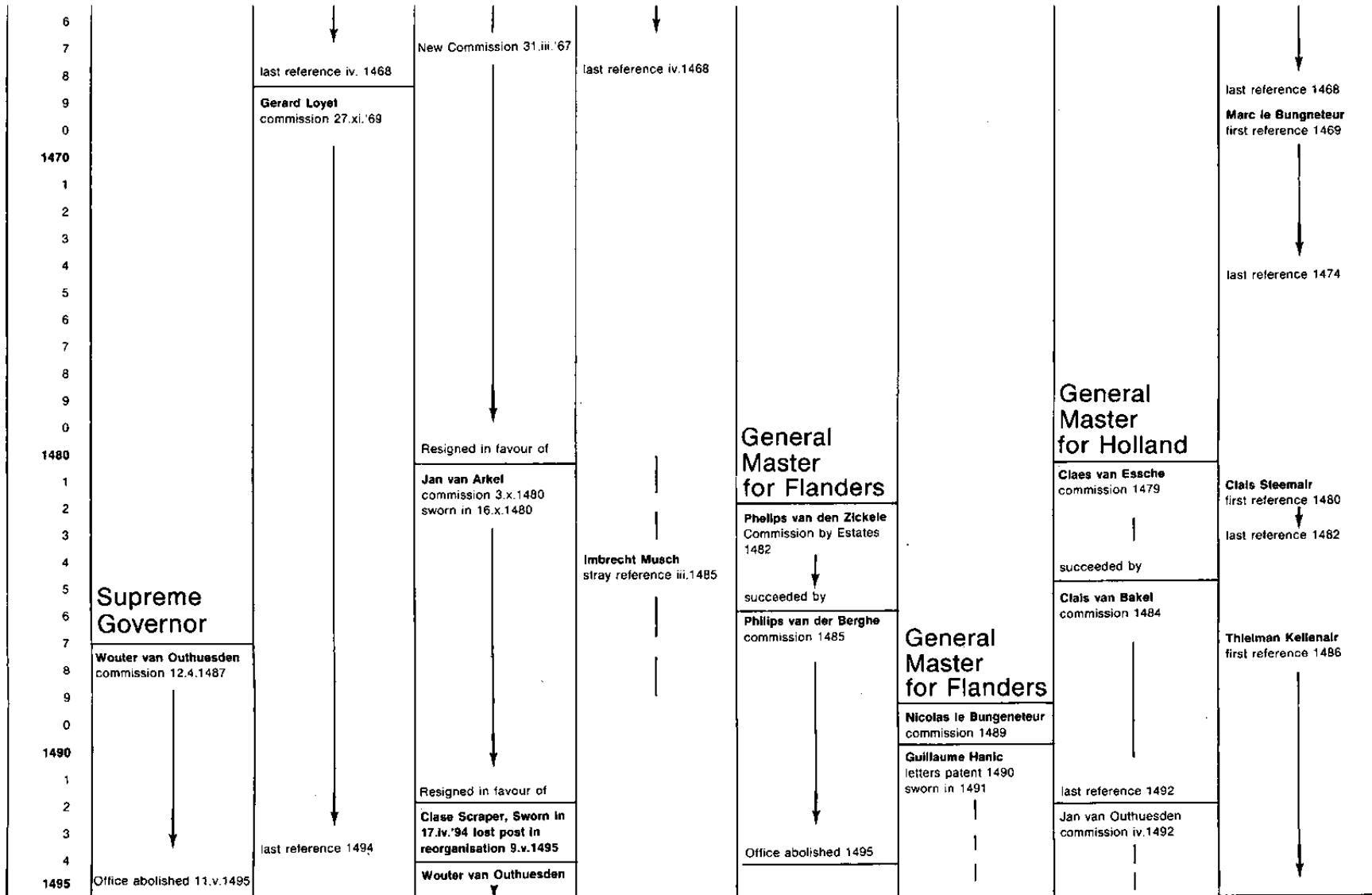
to uphold ducal interests at general, or even provincial, meetings of estates which were to discuss the 'question monetaire'¹². At this stage the 'Chambre des Monnaies' appeared to have become a well-established corporate body, comparable to its French counterpart, like which it was closely connected with the *chambres des comptes*. The permanent accommodation of the 'Chambre des Monnaies' was situated in the building of the Flemish *chambre des comptes* at Lille. It was here that meetings of general masters were convened. It was here that the boxes of individual mints were opened and the contents assayed. It was here that the records of the 'Chambre des Monnaies' were kept, together with such necessary paraphernalia as the gold 'toucheaux' of standard alloys for making assays¹³. Members of the *chambres des comptes* frequently took an interest in the activities of the *chambre des monnaies*, and one or more *maitres des comptes* were present at the farming of mints, the opening of boxes and the assay of their contents¹⁴. When a new standard of gold coin was issued, 'enseignes', heavy gold pieces of up to an ounce in weight, were distributed, not only to the wardens of individual mints¹⁵, and to the general masters, but also to the masters, auditors and clerk of each *chambre des comptes*, at the Hague and Brussels, as well as at Lille. The cost of silver and copper casting-counters (*jettons*, *gectoires*, *leghgelt*, *leghpenningen*) made by the mints for *chambres des comptes*, whether for reckoning purposes or as perquisites for the officers, was borne by the seignorage¹⁶. Payments were also sometimes made from the seignorage for the upkeep of the *chambres des comptes*.

During the 1440's, when the mints were shutting, three of the five general masters cease to be heard of. They presumably died, and no replacements were provided¹⁷. This not only seems to have broken the continuity of personnel, but also seems to have destroyed the newly found corporate feeling of the *chambre des monnaies*. The other two general masters, Daniel Thieulaine and Guillaume du Jardin were still in office in March 1454 when plans for the new coinage of lions were being drawn up, but their appointments were brought to an end. In July they were described as 'formerly general masters'. At a later date du Jardin received a fresh commission, but in 1454 itself the oversight of the new coinage was entrusted to two entirely new general masters, Guillaume de Troyes and Aernoult Musch.

The death of Philip the Good in 1467 terminated these appointments. Of the three only one was certainly recommissioned by Charles¹⁸. At the beginning of Mary's reign the number of general officers still remained at three, two general masters and an assayer-general. When the *chambres des comptes* were united at Malines in 1474, the general officers moved there at the same time. Similarly with the decentralisation of the *chambres des comptes*, the 'généraux' returned to Lille in 1479, and an additional general mastership, for Holland, Zealand and Friesland, was created at about the same time¹⁹. In France, in the second half of the fifteenth century, venality made its appearance among the financial offices of the royal administration and the general masterships of the mints were no exception. They were sold by their possessors, or passed on to their sons or nephews²⁰. It is not clear whether the same development took place in the Netherlands, but in 1480 Guillaume de Troyes resigned his general mastership in favour of Jan van Arkel. There is no evidence to show whether or not the

Appendix General Officers of the Burgundian Mints in the Netherlands 1433-1495

1433	General Masters	Gilles Rasoir last reference 3.iv.134 died iv. or.v.1434	Pierre de Hauteville	Jean Nemery died 1434			Assayer General René Hazart last reference 1440
4							
5							
6		succeeded by Guillaume du Jardin commission 16.v. 1434 sworn in 8.vi.1434		succeeded by Jacques du Pont commission 1434			
7							
8							
9							
0							
1440					New ordinance for General Masters 1438		
1					Daniel Thieulaine commission 1438	Thomas Orlant commission 1438	
2				last reerant 1443			
3							
4							
5						last reference 1445	
6			last reference 1447				
7							
8							
9							
0							
1450							
1							
2							
3							
4		still in office iii.1454			still in office iii.1454		
5		out of office vii.1454	Guillaume de Troyes appointed iii.1454	Aernt Musch first reference 1454	out of office vii.1454		
6							
7							
8							
9							
0							
1460							
1		Fresch commission in or before 1462					Loys Steemair first reference 1460
2							



office was sold to van Arkel, but it certainly looks as if de Troyes had some say in the choice of his successor.

The death of Mary in 1482 was the signal for further decentralisation of the administration²¹ and the mint administration did not escape the general trend. The 'three Members of Flanders took the opportunity of appointing a general master for Flanders²², on the analogy of the general master already existing for Holland. Maximilian's reaction to this move was to emphasise one of the already existing general masters, Gerard Loyet, as being a superior general master with wider jurisdiction and a higher salary²³. Thus the corporate *chambre des monnaies* of equal general masters had been turned into a hierarchy by about 1485. At the head was Gerard Loyet, as general master of all mints, below him was Jan van Arkel, nominally a general master without limitation of place, but in fact functioning primarily in Brabant. Then below this again were Philip van den Berghe, general master for the mints of Flanders, and Clais van Bakel, general master for the mints of Holland. In 1487 the hierarchy was increased by the creation of the new office of supreme governor of all mints, which was confided to Walter van Outhuesden²⁴. During the troubles in Flanders a second general mastership was created in 1489, perhaps in rivalry to the already existing general master for Flanders²⁵. The name of Humbert Musch also occurs in one reference as a general master, without provincial limitation. Thus, including the assayer general, the number of general officers seems to have increased from three to as many as eight during these years of chaos. This proliferation of offices was quite unnecessary, but was the result of attempts to centralise and decentralise at the same time.

The 'reintegration du domaine' of May 1495 struck vigorously at all superfluous posts, and the mints were not exempted from the general pruning of the administration. The supreme governorship was abolished, provincial general masterships were abolished, and the status quo at the death of Charles was restored, two ordinary general masters and one assayer general²⁶. In the individual mints there was a considerable paring of salaries and the office of *contregarde* was removed from those paid out of the seignorage, if not completely abolished. The savings from the **reintegration du domaine** were not as considerable as had been hoped, since some of the displaced individuals soon managed to have themselves put back on the mint payroll. For example in December 1495 Philip van den Berghe was granted a pension, charged on the Flanders mint, of 100 francs a year, backdated to 7 May, the day after his general-mastership had been abolished, whilst Pieter de Merende, whose office of *contregarde* at the Bruges mint had also been abolished in the **reintegration**, was reappointed to it by fresh letters patent in February 1496²⁷. Such is commonly the fate of well intentioned attempts to reduce the ever growing costs of bureaucracy. When the general officers of the mints had finished their gradual recovery from the axing of the civil service in the retrenchment of 1495, the basic form taken by the restored general mint organization was to remain the same until the Revolt of the Netherlands. The normal complement of general masters was re-established at three, as it had been in the 1460's. The regional designations of the 1480's, 'for Flanders' and 'for Holland' crept back into use, and the third general master came to be described as 'for Brabant'. The period of rapid change and adaption was over. The framework of administration in the

1560s and 1570s was not very different from that at the beginning of the century. There was only one significant change. In the fifteenth century an engraver from one of the individual mints, for example Jehan van Orshagen of the Louvain mint in 1466, or Janne van Nyemegen of the Malines mint in 1488, had been picked out personally on an ad hoc basis to design new types and to engrave the initial batch of puncheons required for them. In the sixteenth century such a man was dignified with the formal title of **tailleur** or **graveur général des coins**²⁸.

The annual salary of an ordinary general master was 200 francs of 32 groats (26 li. 13 s. 4 d. groat), but Gerard Loyet and Wouter van Outhuesden were both paid for a time at a higher rate, 300 francs a year (40 li. groat). The salaries of the general masters were normally assigned to individual mints for payment, usually the two richer mints of Flanders and Brabant. Payment was not always forthcoming²⁹. A french document of 1459 distinguished between the salary of the office and its **droits**³⁰, and it would indeed be surprising if the fees from those under their jurisdiction, did not amount to a substantial sum. Certainly, without the fees, the salary of the office was a great deal less than that of a warden. Wardens usually received thirty pounds groat, paid partially by the mint master out of their profits, and partially by the duke out of the seignorage, and in addition received a further sum of forty pounds groat each year from the mint masters for 'expenses' and enjoyed a free house in the mint and allowance of food and clothing in addition. Wardens certainly gave up these emoluments to become general masters, which implies that the rewards of the latter office were even greater. By comparison the daily wages of master craftsmen in the building trades in Antwerp in summer were stable at twelve brabançon groats, for most of the century. Allowing for two hundred to two hundred and fifty working days a year, this made an annual income of seven or eight flemish pounds groat for a highly skilled workman in fairly full employment in the city with the highest wages in the Low Countries³¹.

I have been unable to discover what the salary of the assayer general was supposed to be³². The assayer general was better placed to pick up extra fees for occasional assays than the assayers of particular mints. Marc le Bungeteur was paid a fee of 12 li. 12s. paris out of the 1472-4 Bruges mint account for eighteen assays at Bruges and Utrecht, and 42 li. 8 s. paris for a run of 12 assays of gold and of 18 of silver in October 1474 at Malines to establish a new table of 'empirances', the assessments of fineness on which the mintmasters, and from them the money changers, based the rates that they would pay for different foreign coin as bullion³³.

The salaries of the general masters and the assayer general were supplemented by travelling allowances, at 2 francs of 32 groats per day, which was the same rate as that of masters in the *chambres des comptes*. The travel allowance for wardens was 1½ francs, the same rate as for auditors in the *chambres des comptes*. These travel allowances were very necessary, for the work of general masters often entailed a great deal of travelling. There were not only the regular visitations of mints and money changers, but attendance at council meetings and sessions of the estates-general, or waiting on the duke or the chancellor in distant places³⁴.

The general masters were frequently recruited from among the particular mint

masters³⁵, and the assayer-general from among the local mint assayers³⁶, but sometimes a warden became a general master³⁷, and occasionally the sequence of offices held by an individual was reversed, and a general officer took up a local office³⁸. However, recruitment at this level was quite often from outside the ranks of mint officials. Gerard Loyet, the famous goldsmith, and Wouter van Outhuesden, the keeper of jewels to successive dukes, were only the best known of these³⁹.

Men of the fifteenth century were prepared to value coined money at so much higher a rate than uncoined bullion that it was possible not only to maintain this pyramid-like mint organisation, running upwards from the 'ouvriers' and 'monnayeurs' in provincial mints to the supreme governor of all the mints, but also to allow a variable measure of profit to the prince. The Burgundian dukes however deliberately eschewed this source of revenue, and, except in times of crisis, their mints were expected to do no more than pay for their own upkeep, with only a small margin over.

1. I have not dealt with Luxemburg, which has been most recently and thoroughly treated by Raymond Weiller, *La circulation monétaire et les trouvailles numismatiques du moyen âge et des temps contemporains au pays de Luxembourg*, Luxembourg, 1977.
2. The mint of Gelderland was normally at Nijmegen or Arnhem, but later at Zaltbommel and eventually in exile at Malines.
3. The mint accounts and other related documents on which this article is based are in the Archives Départementales du Nord at Lille (in future footnotes to be abbreviated as Arch. Nord); the Archives Départementales of the Côte d'Or at Dijon; the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague (to be abbreviated A.R.). The Rekeningen of the Rekenkamer of Holland there are to be abbreviated 'Rek. Rek. '); and the Archives Générales du Royaume in Brussels (abbreviated A.G.R.), where I have used two collections, those of the Chambre des Comptes (abbreviated 'Ch. C.') and the Manuscrits Divers. The sums of money involved were mostly expressed in these documents in pounds, shillings and pence groat of Flanders (abbreviated 'li. s. d. gr. '). However some sums were expressed in Flemish money paris. 12 li. paris = 1 li. gr. Others were expressed in francs of 32 groats, 7½ francs = 1 li. gr. I have frequently reduced sums in other moneys of account into Flemish money groat. For further details of accounting systems in use in the fifteenth century see my *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands*, chapter one and appendix one, pp. 13-28 and 166-9.
4. I have dealt with the administration of the individual mints in a recent essay in the Festschrift for Professor Philip Grierson, ed. C. Brooke and B. H. I. H. Stewart (Cambridge, 1980).
5. The French were the first, in the fourteenth century, to evolve a system for the general administration of groups of mints. J. Bailhache, 'Chambre et Cour des Monnaies (XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles). Aperçu Historique', *Revue Numismatique*, 4th ser., xxxvii-xxxix (1934-6).
6. The general masters were then Pierre de Hauteville, seigneur d'Ars, already a general master in 1426, and re-commissioned in 1432 (Arch. Nord, B. 1605 fo. 55v); Jan Nemery, commissioned for the first time in 1432 (Arch. Nord, B. 1604 fo. 86v); and Gilles Rasoir. Rasoir died in April or May 1434, and Nemery, although the newest of the general masters, was relieved of his post in June on account of his age and incapacity (Arch. Nord, B. 1605 fo. 63v). René Hazart was assayer general by March 1434. The various general officers appear in tabular form as an appendix. See below pp.
7. Arch. Nord, B. 1605 fos. 237v and 238.
8. René Hazart was still described as Assayer General at the opening of the boxes of the Brussels mint in May 1440, but had become Warden of the Valenciennes mint by May 1443. In 1446 Loys Steemair complained that he had not received any salary as Assayer General since 1460. This was presumably the date of his appointment. His son, Claes, became Assayer of the Malines mint in his place in July 1460.

9. For example, Jehan de Hingettes in November 1433, Arch. Nord, B. 1605 fo. 29v; Pierre Barzille in 1466, and Joris Ghiselin in 1468-70. Such men were rewarded with a proportion of the bullion they seized, which rose from a fifth in 1433 to a quarter in 1466 to a third by 1470.
10. In the 1482-4 Flanders account, one of the general masters, Phelips van der Zickele, is recorded as bringing in 691 li. parisis of confiscated bullion. A.G.R., Ch. C. 18197.
11. In the ordinance of 1438 they were empowered to appoint a salaried 'commis' to run any mint for which they could not find a master to take it at farm. I do not know of this power being exercised.
12. For example in January and February 1461, two general masters, Guillaume de Troyes and Aernt Musch were present at the combined meeting of the estates of Brabant, the Four Members of Flanders and the deputies of the towns of Holland; in January 1467 the assayer general, Loys Steemair was at Lille with the deputies of the towns of Brabant, Flanders and Hainault; in the autumn of 1482 Phelips van der Zickele, the general master for Flanders, was at the meeting of the Three Members of Flanders at Aalst, whilst twice in the summer of 1493 the Supreme Governor, Wouter van Outhuesdene was at Malines at two separate assemblies there.
13. Such records as, for example the correspondence of the general masters are still to be found with the records of the Chambre des Comptes now in the Archives Départementales du Nord at Lille.
14. The mint accounts normally record the presence of 'gens des comptes', without specifying their names. Occasionally names are given, so that we know that there were three Maitres des Comptes present at the 1436-7 boxes of the Brussels mint and four at the opening of the 1466-7 boxes of the Louvain mint, but only one, the formidable Barthelemy a la Truye, at the opening of the 1437 boxes of the Brussels mint in May 1440.
15. For these 'enseignes' see the sequence of articles by Marcel Hoc in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, lxxxvii (1935), 13-27; lxxix (1937), 25-38; and xci (1939), 27-37.
16. P. Spufford, 'Mint Organization in the Burgundian Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', in *Essays Presented to Philip Grierson*, ed. C. Brooke and B. H. I. H. Stewart (Cambridge, 1980), pp.
17. The last reference to Jacques du Pont in connection with the mints was in 1443, to Thomas Orlant in 1445 and to Pierre de Hauteville in 1447. They probably died, although a Pierre de Hauteville, more likely his lawyer son than the general master of the mints, became in turn a master of requests, and a master in the chambre des comptes at Lille in the 1450's.
18. Guillaume de Troyes was recommissioned. Aernout Musch and Guillaume du Jardin are last referred to as general masters in April 1468. Soon afterwards Gerard Loyet was appointed. Guillaume du Jardin, although not recommissioned, continued to be involved with the mints for some years.
19. The first holder was Claes van Essche, commissioned in December 1479. Marjoke de Roos, *Sij Ontbooden te Coomen Rekenen. Munt en Muntpersoneel in Holland in de vijftiende eeuw* (duplicated, Groningen 1978), p. 86. I am indebted to Marjoke de Roos, who is still working on this subject, for her generous permission to quote from this privately circulated paper.
20. J. Bailhache, 'Chambre et Cour des Monnaies', *Revue Numismatique*, 4th. ser., xxxvi (1934), 181-2.
21. For example provincial receivers general were revived to stand between the local receivers and the over all ducal receiver general.
22. A.G.R., Ch. C., 18197.
23. 300 francs of 32 groats annually instead of 200 francs.
24. Letters patent creating him 'Gouverneur Superieur de toutes les monnaies en tous les pays et seigneuries ... pardeca' or 'Opperste Gouverneur van alle mijne genad' heeren munten van herwaerts' were issued in April 1487. They were dated on the 12th., 19th., or 27th. of the month according to different sources! A.G.R., Ch. C., 18119; Mss. Divers 2540; and A.R., Rek. Rek. 4937, viii.
25. In 1485 Phielips van der Zickele, the first holder of the general mastership for Flanders, which had been created in 1482 by the Three Members of Flanders, had been succeeded by Philip van den Berghe. In June 1489 a second general mastership for Flanders was confided to Nicolas le Bungeleur, until recently particular master of the Ghent mint, and in December 1490 Guillaume Hanic was commissioned by the Count of Nassau to succeed him. All this without apparently disturbing Philip van den Berghe in his office, in which he continued until 1495.

26. Only Thielman Kellenair, the assayer general, remained undisturbed in his office. Claes de Scraper was relieved of his general-mastership, which was confided to Wouter van Outhuesden, who ceased to be supreme governor. Philip van den Berghe was relieved of his general-mastership for Flanders, and nothing more was heard of Guillaume Hanic's general mastership for Flanders or Jan van Outhuesden's for Holland. Gerard Loyet ceased to be paid a salary from the seignorage in June 1494. It is not clear if he died, or resigned then, or was just unable to obtain his salary.
27. A.G.R., Ch. C. 18121.
28. Luc Smolderen, 'Jacques Jonghelinck, Waradin de la Monnaie d'Anvers de 1572 à 1606', *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, cxv (1969), 95-97.
29. In the 1469-71 account of the Bruges mint, one of the general masters, Guillaume de Troyes, appears, trying, unsuccessfully, to claim his salary for various years back to 1454. In the next account, for 1471-2, he received an interim payment of 400 li. paris, but this still left over a thousand pounds paris of back pay outstanding. In 1435 and 1436 Jacques du Pont, having failed to obtain his salary from the mint of Brabant, on which it was assigned, arranged for it to be paid to him by the Receiver General of Brabant (A.G.R., Ch. C. 17987). If one could not get round it this way, it was always worth while going on trying to obtain back pay from the proper source. One might be lucky, like Guion Jardin, assayer at the Flanders mint from 1440 to 1476 who, at last, in 1475, a few months before his death, received his salary for 1445 and 1446, only thirty years late!
30. Bailhache, *loc. cit.*
31. Stable at this rate from circa 1441/3 to circa 1496. Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, i, The Hague, 1963, 459-460.
32. In the 1466-7 account of the Ghent mint the assayer general, Loys Steemair, appears, trying, unsuccessfully, to claim his salary back to 1460, but without specifying the rate at which he had hoped to be paid.
33. A.G.R., Ch. C. 18109 and 18110. Not all the assays undertaken for the mints on this occasion were conducted by official assayers. 11 assays were performed by Clement de Merende, who had ceased to be master of the Louvain mint seven years earlier.
34. For example Guillaume de Troyes received a travel allowance in 1474 for 68 days in September, October and November which he had spent either with the duke at the siege of Neuss, or with the chancellor, or in the chambre des comptes at Malines, or travelling between the ducal camp and the administrative capital on monetary business. A.G.R., Ch. C. 18110.
35. For example Jan Nemery in 1432, Guillaume du Jardin in 1434, Daniel Thieulaine in 1438, Aernoutl Musch in 1454 and Nicolas le Bungeteur in 1489, who had previously been particular masters respectively of the mints at Dordrecht; Valenciennes; Ghent and Valenciennes; Zevenbergen and Ghent; and Bruges and Ghent.
36. For example Lodewijk Steemair in 1460 and Thielman Kellenair in 1486 who previously had been the local mint assayers in the mints of Malines and Gelderland respectively.
37. For example Jacques du Pont in 1434 or Clais de Scraper in 1494, who had previously been wardens in the mints at Namur and Antwerp respectively.
38. For example in 1474 Marc le Bungeteur gave up the general assayership to become particular master of the Bruges mint, apparently of his own free will. Rather different was Philip van den Berghe, who became particular master of the Bruges mint in 1495 temporarily, after his general mastership had been abolished, or Rene Hazart who became warden of the Valenciennes mint after the apparent abolition of the assayer generalship between 1440 and 1443.
39. Gerard Loyet, *valet de chambre*, councillor and official goldsmith to Charles the Rash, was appointed general master of the mints of the two Burgundies in 1467 (Arch. Cote d'Or B. 1773 fo. 110) and in the Netherlands in 1469. Walter van Outhuesden, or van Huesden, had been *garde des joyaux* since at least September 1477, when he delivered ducal plate for melting down and minting. (Arch. Nord, B. 2115 fo. 17v) and was still in that office in 1500. In 1455 Guillaume de Troyes, a protégé of the count of Etampes, was appointed a general master. He held the office for a quarter of a century and in 1480 resigned in favour of Jan van Arkel. Van Arkel, although a Brussels money changer, appears to have had nothing to do with the running of any of the mints previously. He was required to abandon money changing. Arch. Nord, B. 33 fo. 63. Philips van der Zickele of Ghent, the man whom the Three Members of Flanders appointed to be general master of the Flemish mints in 1482, also appears to have been without mint experience.