

CIVIL DISPUTES IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY GHENT

The case study of the feud between the Rijm and Alijn families¹

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1. Premise

The history of conflicts in fourteenth-century Ghent is extensively documented in archival sources². Life in the city was conducted against a backdrop of family disputes and civil discord, and destined in many cases to alter the social equilibrium by reinforcing the political power of certain groups to the detriment of others³. Confrontations arose from quarrels between neighbours over questions of property, economic interests, perceived slurs or broken marriage vows. Often they evolved into full-blown conflicts that involved the entire city⁴. A private vendetta therefore could become an out-

¹ The present paper takes up certain themes and issues that are discussed in greater detail in *Pellegrinaggi giudiziari. Dalla Fiandra a San Nicola di Bari, a Santiago di Compostella e ad altri santuari (secc. XIV-XV)*, presentation by Paolo Caucci von Saucken, preface by Benedetto Vetere, CISC – Edizioni Compostellane, Perugia – Pomigliano d'Arco 2010.

² D. Nicholas, *The metamorphosis of a medieval City. Ghent in the age of the Artevelde, 1302-1390*, London, 1987; Id., *The van Artevelde of Ghent: the varieties of vendetta and the hero in history*, Leiden, 1988. See also the ordinance made by Philip of Namur in 1205 in L. A. Warkoenig, *Histoire constitutionnelle et administrative de la ville de Gand et de la Chatellenie du Vieux-Bourg, jusqu'à l'année 1305*, French translation A.E. Gheldolf (ed.), Brussels, 1846, n. X, pp. 248-250.

³ G. Espinas, 'Les guerres familiales dans la commune de Douai aux XIIe et XIVe siècles. Les trêves et les paix', *Nouvelles Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 23 (1899), pp. 415-473; D. Nicholas, 'Crime and punishment in fourteenth century Ghent', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis*, 48 (1970) 2, pp. 289-334; 48 (1970) 4, pp. 1141-1176; Id., 'Vendetta and Civil Disorder in Late Medieval Ghent', in R.M. Golden (ed.), *Social History of Western Civilization. Readings from the Ancient World to the Seventeenth Century*, I, New York, 1992, pp. 179-192; F. Blockmans, *Een middeleeuwse vendetta: Gent 1300*, Houten, 1987; Id., 'Een patricische veete te Gent op het einde der XIIIe eeuw', *Bulletin der Koninklijke commissie van geschiedenis*, 99 (1935), pp. 573-692; F.-L. Ganshof, 'Pèlerinages expiratoires flamands à Saint Gilles pendant le XIV^e siècle', *Annales du Midi*, 78 (1966), pp. 391-407.

⁴ G. Volkmar, 'Conflit', in A. J. Arnaud (ed.) *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de théorie et de sociologie du droit*, Paris, 1988, pp. 91-94.

right feud⁵. These were not barbarian customs which dated from the past, but they were a feasible means of conflict resolution in the medieval society, which was characterized by a sort of “judicial pluralism”⁶. In addition, according to Andrea Zorzi, internal conflict in city states was characterized by three key elements: the vendetta as a mechanism for evening the score in conflicts, the feud as a way of managing networks of friends and enemies over time, and peace as a political objective that was both private and public at the same time⁷. Also in Ghent, the archival records demonstrate the intense efforts made by ‘peace makers’ (*paysierders*) in seeking to negotiate peace between rival groups. Good examples in terms of the vehemence that characterized them are the feuds between the Borluut and Van Sint-Baafs⁸ families and between the Rijm and Alijn families. The latter was a long and

⁵ According to Charles Petit-Dutaillis “la vengeance familiale est une des premières formes organisées de la justice” (Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Documents nouveaux sur le droit de vengeance dans les Pays-Bas au XVe siècle: lettres de rémission de Philippe le Bon*, Paris, 1908, p. 42); compare also with O. Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft. Grundfragen der territorialen Verfassungsgeschichte Österreichs im Mittelalter*, Vienna, 1965, p. 59; C. Gauvard, ‘Giustizia e pace’, in J. Le Goff, J.-C. Schmitt (eds.), *Dizionario dell’Occidente medievale. Temi e percorsi*, G. Sergi (Italian edition), 1, Torino, 2003, pp. 488-497, p. 490; C. Gauvard, “*De grâce especial*”. *Crime, Etat et Société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 2 voll., Paris, 1991, pp. 753-787; see also M. Nikichine, *La justice et la paix à Douai à la fin du Moyen Âge* (thesis for archivist and paleography diploma, École Nationale des Chartes), Paris, 2005, pp. 221-311; A. Zorzi, *La cultura della vendetta nel conflitto politico in età comunale*, in R. Delle Donne, Zorzi (eds.), *Le storie e la memoria. In onore di Arnold Esch*, Firenze, 2002, pp. 135-170. See also C. Glaudemans, *Om die wrake wille. Eigenrichting, veten en verzoening in laatmiddeleeuws Holland en Zeeland*, Hilversum, 2004, p. 116-169; J. W. Marsilje, *Bloedwraak, partijstrijd en pacificatie in laat-middeleeuws Holland*, Hilversum, 1990; D. Nicholas, *The van Artevelde of Ghent: the varieties of vendetta and the hero in history*, Leiden, 1988. The literature on feuds is very rich; for an introduction see the following: K. F. Otterbein, ‘Feuding’, in D. Levinson, M. Ember (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, New York, 1996, pp. 492-496; M. Gluckman, ‘The peace in the feud’, *Past and Present*, 7 (1955), pp. 1-15; C. S. Otterbein, ‘An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth: A cross-cultural study of feuding’, *American Anthropologist*, 67 (1965), pp. 1470-1482; J. Black-Michaud, *Cohesive force. Feud in the Mediterranean and the Middle East*, New York, 1975, pp. 27-31; S. Carroll, ‘The peace in the feud in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France’, *Past and Present*, 178 (2003), pp. 74-115.

⁶ P. Grossi, ‘Il sistema giuridico medievale e la civiltà comunale’, in A. Zorzi (ed.), *La civiltà comunale italiana nella storiografia internazionale*, Firenze, 2008, p. 11. Compare also with *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, in W. Davies, P. Fouracre (eds.), Cambridge, 1986; *L’infrajudiciaire du Moyen Âge à l’époque contemporaine*, B. Garnot, R. Fry (eds.), Dijon, 1996; P. Stein, *Legal institutions. The development of dispute settlement*, Italian edition *I fondamenti del diritto europeo: profili sostanziali e processuali dell’evoluzione dei sistemi giuridici*, A. De Vita, M. D. Panforti, V. Varano (eds.), Milano 1987; N. Rouland, *Anthropologie juridique*, Paris, 1988; Id., *Aux confins du droit. Anthropologie juridique de la modernité*, Paris, 1991; C. Wickham, *Legge, pratiche e conflitti: tribunali e risoluzione delle dispute nella Toscana del XII secolo*, Roma, 2000; A. Zorzi, ‘Pluralismo giudiziario e documentazione: il caso di Firenze in età comunale’, in J. Chiffolleau, C. Gauvard, A. Zorzi (eds.), *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l’Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rome, 2007, pp. 125-187, in particular, bibliography references p. 128 n. 9-10.

⁷ A. Zorzi, ‘I conflitti nell’Italia comunale. Riflessioni sullo stato degli studi e sulle prospettive di ricerca’, in A. Zorzi (ed.), *Conflitti, paci e vendette nell’Italia comunale*, Firenze, 2009, pp. 7-42, in part. p. 39.

⁸ F. Blockmans, *Een patricische veete te Gent*, pp. 573-692; Ganshof, *Pèlerinages expiatoires*, pp. 391-407.

bloody affair that was performed against a backdrop of social and political transformations, reflecting the widespread tension and instability of the urban environment. It represents a case of great interest because it involved a series of elements including slurs on the family honour, vendettas and episodes of violence followed by immediate pacification, which collectively would seem to give it the character of a feud. By analysing the relevant documents, we sought to reconstruct this “social drama”⁹, with all its implications and developments, describing the various phases and identifying the causes. This required a reconstruction of the social fabric of the medieval town.

2. The origins of the feud

Belgian scholars have put forward various hypotheses concerning the reasons for the hostilities between the Rijm and Alijn families. The picture that emerges is highly complicated. With the passage of time the dispute became a sort of legend, “à la suite de quelque ballade ou poème flamand, que la nature du sujet aura peut-être popularisé au XIV^e ou XV^e siècle”¹⁰. This mixture of historical fact and folk memory has led some researchers such as Diericx and Voisin to attribute the entire episode and its causes to a question of love between youngsters whose families did not approve¹¹.

According to this tradition, a young fuller called Hendrik Alijn fell in love with a maiden named Godelieve from a higher-ranking family of weavers. Godelieve’s father however, who was not at all well-disposed towards the fullers, opposed the marriage. He decided instead to give his daughter’s hand to the wealthy Simon Rijm, also from the guild of the weavers. Godelieve’s refusal to marry Rijm is what sparked the violent enmity between the two rivals that was to leave one of them dead. Indeed, Simon Rijm killed Hendrik Alijn, his brother Zeger and their servant. After the killing, the assassin kidnapped the fair Godelieve but was swiftly obliged by the authorities to release her. Following this tragic episode, the young woman was entrusted to the

⁹ V. Turner, *Dramas, fields and metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Itacha, 1974; Id. *From ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York, 1982.

¹⁰ J. De Saint-Genois, “Origine de l’hospice de St. Cathérine, dit Kinderen Alyn’s Hospital a Gand”, *Messenger des sciences historique*, 1850, pp. 99-100.

¹¹ C.-L. Diericx, *Mémoires sur la ville de Gand*, 2, Gent, 1814-1815, pp. 550-551; A. Voisin, *Guide des voyageurs dans la ville de Gand ou, notice historique sur cette ville, ses monuments et ses hommes célèbres*, Gand, 1826, pp. 272-273.

béguinage¹² of Saint Elisabeth (Holy Corner) and Simon Rijm and his accomplices were banished for life.

The Rijm family settled the dispute by founding a hospital for sick poor people, known as the *Kinderen Alyn's Hospital*, in memory of the victim¹³. The murder of the Alijn brothers by Simon Rijm and the foundation of the hospital is accepted by tradition and confirmed by the sources. However, regarding the abduction, a document from 1335 mentions a Jan Rijm as the perpetrator of the episode¹⁴. Jan Rijm was none other than the father of Simon Rijm, and for this reason the document is believed to refer to a different matter, since it happened more than twenty years earlier. It is probable therefore that with the passage of time the abduction episode was attributed to the son instead of the father. Thus the feud between the brothers Gossin and Simon Rijm, sons of Jan, and the brothers Hendrik and Zeger Alijn, sons of Simon, is assumed to be unconnected to the love story in question¹⁵.

¹² See also W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* edited with an introduction by Martin E. Marty, New York, 1982; J. Gilissen, *Le status de la femme dans l'ancien droit belge*, in *La femme*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions, vol. XII, t. 2, Brussels, 1962, pp. 255-321; O. Nübel, *Mittelalterliche Beginen- und Sozialsiedlungen in den Niederlanden*, Tübingen, 1970; B. Bolton, 'Mulieres Sanctae', in D. Baker (ed.), *Sanctity and Secularity. The Church and the World*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 77-96; J.-C. Schmitt, *L'Église et les clercs face aux béguines et aux bégards du Rhin supérieur du XIVe au XVe siècle*, Paris-La Haye-New-York, 1978; W. J. Koorn, *Begijnhoven in Holland en Zeeland gedurende de Middeleeuwen*, Assen, 1981; M. C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*, Chicago, 1986; Ead., 'Citizenship and Gender: Women's Political Status in Northern Medieval Cities', in M. Erler, M. Kowaleski (eds.), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, Athens, 1988, pp. 37-60; J. Ziegler, 'The Curtis Beguinages in the Southern Low Countries and Art Patronage: Interpretation and Historiography', *Bulletin van her Belgische Historische Instituut te Rome*, 57 (1987), pp. 31-70; W. Simons, 'The Beguine Movement in the Southern Low Countries: A Reassessment', *Bulletin van her Belgische Historische Instituut te Rome*, 59 (1989), pp. 63-105; M. Suydam, 'Writing Beguines: Ecstatic Performances', *Magistra*, 2/1 (1996), pp. 137-169; W. Simons, J. E. Ziegler, 'Phenomenal Religion in the Thirteenth Century and Its Image: Elisabeth of Spalbeek and the Passion Cult', *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), pp. 117-126; M. Danneel, *Weduwen en wezen in het laat-middeleeuwse Gent*, Leuven, 1995; W. Simons, *Cities of ladies: Beguine communities in the medieval low countries, 1200-1565*, Philadelphia, 2001.

¹³ P. Rogghé, 'Het Alinhospitaal te Gent', *Appeltjes van Het Meetijsland*, 16 (1965), pp. 132-145; De Saint-Genois, *Origine de l'hospice*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁴ "Comme en prison [...] li bailli li seut, il n'a put avoir loy", Royal Archives Brussels, *Pièces revenues de Vienne an 1864*, n. 743; Gilissen, *Le statut de la femme*, pp. 255-321; M. Greilsammer, 'Raps de séduction et raps violents en Flandre et en Brabant à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Revue d'histoire du droit*, 56 (1988), pp. 49-84.

¹⁵ Rogghé, 'Het Alinhospitaal', p. 134; J. Haemers, 'Alijn (Simon)', *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 18 (2007), c. 8-11.



Illustration 1. The 'Alijnhospitaal' in Ghent.

Other scholars, such as Jules de Saint-Genois, see the murder of the Alijn brothers as being related to the tension at that time between certain social groups, and specifically the competition between the guilds of the fullers and the weavers¹⁶. A closer analysis of the people involved in the affair may therefore help to clarify the origin of the conflict. The Rijm family, just like the Alijns, belonged to the urban patriciate (*virii hereditarii*). Since the 13th century, or even the late 12th century, they owned property near the port¹⁷. Simon and Gossin, sons of Jan Rijm, resided in the Scelstrate, the street where the wealthy citizens of Ghent lived¹⁸. Members of this family were always present in the political life of the city, and had established familial ties with the city's other powerful aristocratic families¹⁹. In the 13th century, the Rijms had been part of the *schepenen*

¹⁶ V. Fris, *Histoire de Gand depuis les origines jusqu'en 1913*, Gent, 1930, p. 86. Conflict between Weavers and fullers at Ghent, see D. Nicholas, *The metamorphosis of medieval City. Ghent in the age of the Artevelde (1302-1390)*, London, 1987, pp. 135-177; J. Huyttens, *Recherche sur les corporations gantoise, notamment sur celles des tisserands et des foulons notamment sur celles des tisserands et des foulons, leur organisation civile, religieuse, militaire et commerciale*, Gent, 1861; M. Boone, A. J. Brand, 'Vollersoproeren en collectieve actie in Gent en Leiden in de 14de en de 15de eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis*, 19 (1993), pp. 168-192, M. Boone, 'Armes, courses, assemblées et commocions. Les gens de métier et l'usage de la violence dans la société urbaine flamande à la fin du moyen âge', *Revue du Nord*, 87 (2005), pp. 7-33.

¹⁷ F. Blockmans, *Het Gentsche stadspatriciaat tot omstreeks 1302*, Antwerp, 1938, p. 134.

¹⁸ P. Rogghé, *Gent klerken in de XIV en de XV eeuw*, Gent, 1985, p. 70.

¹⁹ De Saint-Genois, *Origine de l'hospice*, p. 110; P. Rogghé, 'Italianen te Gent in de XIVe eeuw. Een Merkewaardig Florentijnsch hostelliërs makelaarsgeslacht: de Gualterotti', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederland*, I (1946), pp. 197-225.

van de keure, which took the side of the king of France against the Count, only to switch sides and support the Count during the government of the democratic faction²⁰. Following in their father's footsteps, Simon and Gossin Rijm were actively involved in the cloth trade. They also became rentiers and intermediaries in economic transactions and were involved in foreign exchange. The Rijms were also well-known for their involvement in episodes of violence and disorder in the course of numerous conflicts and feuds, aided and abetted by their retinue, who were also involved in the murder of the Alijn brothers²¹.

The father of Hendrik and Zeger, who were killed in the church of St John, was Simon Alijn²². Married to Katelijne Zilverbergs, he lived in the parish of St Michael, near Leie and the Oudeburgstraat. As well as Hendrik and Zeger, Simon also had another son, Pieter, who married Maria Rijm, the sister of the same Rijm brothers who were to kill her husband's brothers in 1354²³. The Alijn brothers' father, a cloth merchant, was probably one of the better-off citizens of the city. His sons Hendrik and Pieter were shearers, and Zeger was an innkeeper. Like the Rijms, the Alijn family also sought to establish relations by marriage with other important families in Ghent, and took an active part in the political life of the city²⁴.

This would tend to exclude the idea, mentioned above, that it was rivalry between social groups – tuckers and weavers – that lay behind the violence, since neither the assassins nor the victims belonged to these categories. According to Paul Rogghé, the origins are to be sought in another act of violence, i.e. the murder by Geraard van Steenhuyze of Otto van Gheetscure and Zeger Boele, both of whom were *schepenen* (city aldermen) of Ghent. On the 16th of April 1353, Willem Van Steenhuyze made amends for the murder on behalf of his brother Geraard²⁵. Among the numerous guarantors acting for Steenhuyze was Gossin Rijm, while Hendrik Alijn acted as guarantor for the other side, i.e. for Hendrik Boele, a relative of Zoele²⁶.

²⁰ F. Blockmans, *Het Gentsche*, pp. 460, pp. 463-464; P. C. Van Der Meersch, *Memorieboek der Stad Ghent, 1301-1737*, I, Gent, 1852, pp. 40-41, 44-45, 69-73.

²¹ N. De Pauw, 'La vie intime en Flandre au moyen âge d'après des documents inédits', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, LXXII (1913), pp. 1-96, in part. pp. 30-31.

²² De Saint-Genois, *Origine de l'hospice*, pp. 112-118.

²³ It should be remembered that Gossin Rijm was also married to a woman named Maria Rijm, who belonged to another branch of the family however; the couple had six children. Simon Rijm was the father of two daughters (P. Rogghé, 'Het Alinhospitaal', pp. 134-136; J. Haemers, 'Rijm (Gosin en Simon)', *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 18 (2007), c. 757-761).

²⁴ De Saint-Genois, *Origine de l'hospice*, pp. 109; 116; L. A. Warkoenig, *Histoire constitutionnelle*, p. 93.

²⁵ *Coutume de la ville de Gand*, A. E. Gheldolf (ed.), I, Brussels 1868, pp. 524-529.

²⁶ *Cartulaire de Louis de Male Comte de Flandre, (1348 à 1358)*, 2 voll., Th. de Limburg-Stürum (ed.), Bruges, 1898-1901, n. CCCCLXXVII, pp. 423-425.

The sources show that in a moment of anger, Hendrik Alijn accused Gossin Rijm of having behaved treacherously during the convoluted political developments of 1348-1349. The accusation was a reference to the support provided by some of the most important families in Ghent to Louis II of Flanders, better known as Louis of Male, who was seeking to reconquer the county from the the Anglophile government of Geraard Denijs and Jan Van de Velde. Louis of Male became Count of Flanders thanks to the intervention of the French, who defeated the Flemish forces at Le Quesnoy in 1348, taking Ghent in 1349²⁷. Thus we appear to be dealing with two eminent Ghent families that were progressively moving up the social and economic scale. The Rijm and Alijn families sought – at all times and by whatever means – to play a significant role in the life of the city²⁸. This required alliances and balances however, and also entailed periodic failures, divisions and internecine conflicts. Hendrik Alin held the post of *schepe-nen* in 1349 and 1351, and supported the government that swept away the Anglophiles on the 3rd of January 1349²⁹. During the government of Jacob Van Artevelde, the Rijms prudently remained outside the city council, subsequently holding the post of alderman again after the fall of the Anglophile coalition. Gossin Rijm was appointed alderman in 1350 and again in 1353³⁰. Without knowing exactly what Hendrik Alijn is supposed to have done to offend Gossin Rijm, it is difficult to draw a clear picture of the situation³¹. Honour was valued above all else, and was to be defended by all means necessary, denying any accusations or slurs, particularly that of treachery. When the accusations were serious, the response could be spectacular, heightening tensions and worsening the situation³². From words to deeds was a brief step indeed³³. In addition, in this particular case, the bitterness and hatred between the two families was also fuelled by the refusal of Hendrik Alijn to accept the marriage of his brother Pieter with a

²⁷ Rogghé, *Gemeente ende vrient.*, pp. 101-135; Id., 'Het Alinhospitaal', p. 141.

²⁸ Compare F. Blockmans, *Een patricische veete te Gent*, pp. 573-692.

²⁹ Van Der Meersch, *Memorieboek*, pp. 66-70.

³⁰ Rogghé, 'Het Alinhospitaal', p. 140; Van Der Meersch, *Memorieboek*, pp. 69-73.

³¹ A. Saint-Denis, 'La punition des mauvaises paroles aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in B. Garnot (ed.), *La petite délinquance du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, (Actes du colloque de Dijon, 9-10 octobre 1997), Dijon, 1998, pp. 403-415.

³² C. Gauvard, "*De grâce especial*", p. 715; M. Dinges, 'Negocier son honneur dans le peuple parisien aux XVIIIe: la route, "l'infrajudiciaire" et la justice', in B. Garnot, R. Fry (eds.) *L'infrajudiciaire du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, Dijon, 1996, p. 394; see also Id., *Der Maurermeister und der Finanzrichter. Ehre, Geld und soziale Kontrolle im Paris des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, 1994, pp. 348-363.

³³ Cfr. Gauvard, "*De grâce especial*", p. 736.

woman of the Rijm family³⁴. Hence Gossin Rijm's reaction. The refusal offended him so much that Hendrik and Zeger Alijn paid for this social game of perceived insults with their lives³⁵. Thus a series of developments contributed to the rising tension. In spite of everything, the most plausible hypothesis concerning the origins of the feud remains political in nature³⁶.

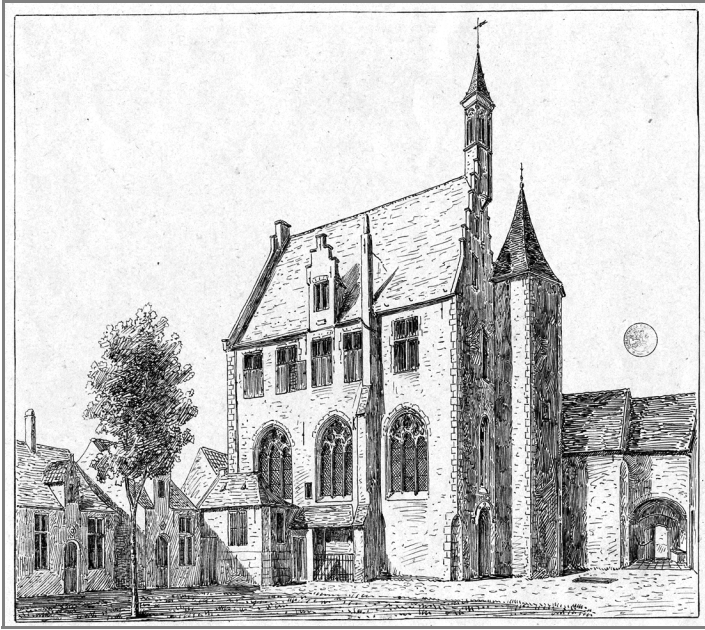


Illustration 2. The chapel of the Hospital (lithography by A. Heins, who used an aquarel of Aug. Van den Eynde AG L44/10a; Stadsarchief Gent-De Zwarte Doos, fotografie Storm Calle).

³⁴ Women in particular, as well as being the means by which property was passed on to the next generation and family alliances were established, could also be an aggravating factor in the questions of honour that were a part of every conflict (A. Zorzi, *La trasformazione di un quadro politico. Ricerche su politica e giustizia a Firenze dal comune allo Stato territoriale*, Firenze, 2008, pp. 108-109).

³⁵ Cl. Levi-Strauss, *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*, Paris, 1947; Id., *Anthropologie structurale*, Paris, 1958; *Storia universale della famiglia, I: Antichità, Medioevo, Oriente Antico*, (Italian edition) A. Leone (ed.), Milano, 1987.

³⁶ "A general pacification was arranged before the comital council in 1353 between the Steenhuize party and the heirs of one of the *schepenen*. Although the episode led to the outbreak of the Rijm-Alijn feud, it is of greater importance in the general history of Flanders than in the story of criminality at Ghent" (D. Nicholas, 'Crime and punishment in fourteenth, pp. 1170-1171).

3. The feud and its rules: attempts at conciliation

The feud served to establish the social order by constructing alliances that committed their respective members to providing mutual assistance³⁷. Thus, conflicts between families or social groups could not be reduced to a series of personal and isolated actions³⁸. On the contrary, they placed people firmly within a broader framework of dichotomous relationships between two conflicting fronts³⁹. Family cohesion served as a kind of social glue, preserving the identity and honour of the individual⁴⁰. The friends⁴¹ and family⁴² of the wronged party constituted a highly cohesive nucleus, which determined the way in which the vendetta would be consummated⁴³. Thus whether to avenge oneself for an insult received and to pursue a conflict over time were options that individuals and family groups had to weigh in terms of the availability of adequate resources⁴⁴. Hendrik Alijn's accusation of treachery had disturbed the peace, triggering a series of reprisals. Thus the city authorities urgently had to find a way to re-establish harmony. The pacification that followed the murder of Otto van Gheetscure and Zeger Boele was aimed at resolving the enmity between the Rijms and the Alijns but the agreement did not put an end to their

³⁷ Zorzi, *La trasformazione di un quadro politico*, p. 166, in part. see also cap. VI *Le pratiche infragiudiziarie*, pp. 163-171. Obviously, as pointed out by Andrea Gamberini, the notion that the feud represented a regulated way of conducting a conflict needs to be verified case by case (A. Gamberini, 'La faida e la costruzione della parentela. Qualche nota sulle famiglie signorili reggiane alla fine del Medioevo', *Storia e Società*, XXV, 94 (2001), pp. 659-678).

³⁸ C. Gauvard, 'Violenza', in J. Le Goff, J.-C. Schmitt (eds.), G. Sergi (Italian edition), *Dizionario dell'Occidente medievale. Temi e percorsi*, t. 2, Torino, 2004, pp. 1204-1212.

³⁹ A. Torre, 'Faide, fazioni e partiti, ovvero la ridefinizione della politica nei feudi imperiali della Langhe tra Seicento e Settecento', *Quaderni storici*, 63 (1986), pp. 775-810, in part. pp. 781-782.

⁴⁰ See also B. Beigner 'Honneur', *Dictionnaire de la culture juridique*, sous la direction de D. Alland, S. Rials, Paris, 2003, pp. 790-793; J. Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and social status', in J.G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honor and Shame. The values of Mediterranean society*, Chicago, 1966, pp. 19-78; *Onore e storia nelle società mediterranee*, G. Fiume (ed.), Palermo, 1989; B. Beigner, *L'honneur et le droit*, Paris, 1995; J. C. Davis, *People of the Mediterranean. An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology*, London, 1977.

⁴¹ The term "helper" also refers to the social organization of the family system, see Gauvard, "De grâce especial", pp. 678-682.

⁴² M. Bloch, *La società feudale*, Torino 1987, pp. 147-167; Brunner, *Terra e potere*, p. 29. The importance of family relationships in the social system, see J. Murray, 'Family, Marriage and Moneychanging in Medieval Bruges', *Journal of Medieval History*, 14 (1988), pp. 115-125; R. Jacob, *Les époux, le seigneur et la cité: coutume et pratiques matrimoniales des bourgeois et paysans de France du Nord au moyen âge*, Brussels, 1990, pp. 84-94; H. Goody, *The development of the family and marriage in Europe*, Cambridge, 1983; Ch. K Klapish, 'Parenti, amici e vicini: il territorio urbano d'una famiglia mercantile nel XIV secolo', *Quaderni Storici*, 33 (1976), pp. 972-973; G. Duby, J. Le Goff, *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, Roma, 1977; R. Merzario, 'Il mercato matrimoniale stretto', in A. Manoukian (ed.), *I vincoli familiari in Italia. Dal secolo XI al secolo XX*, Bologna 1983, pp. 166-194. Solidarity mechanisms parental shall be disregarded if the feud is "un momento di ridefinizione degli equilibri interni e della distribuzione del potere".

⁴³ A. Zorzi, 'La legittimazione delle pratiche della vendetta nell'Italia comunale', *e-Spania. Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévale*, 40 (déc 2007; <http://e-spania.revues.org/document2043.html>)

rivalry. Between 1353 and 1354, Count Louis of Male, who had learned of the continuous tension between the two families, invited the *paysierders* of Ghent to make a fresh attempt at reconciliation⁴⁵. When summoned, the two families appeared together with their respective guarantors⁴⁶, since it was part of the negotiation procedure to call as many relatives and friends as possible to one's aid. The inclusion of the family group meant sharing the responsibility⁴⁷. On this occasion Hendrik Alijn stated once again, on his and his brother Zeger's behalf, that he had never spoken in offensive terms of either Simon or Gossin Rijn⁴⁸. Having heard both sides, the *paysierders* decreed a legal truce⁴⁹, making those present promise solemnly that they would put aside their differences and no longer disturb the public peace⁵⁰. In addition, it was stipulated that whoever should breach the terms of the reconciliation would be obliged to pay compensation of 300 pond parisis to the injured party. The two families agreed to the conditions and signed them with a good grace, at least apparently.

⁴⁴ A. Zorzi, "Ius erat in armis". Faide e conflitti tra pratiche sociali e pratiche di governo, in G. Chittolini, A. Molho, P. Schiera (eds.), *Origini dello stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna, 1994, p. 614). See, for example, the feud between Cerchi and Donati during the thirteenth and fourteenth century in Florence, the *bellum* between Torriani and Visconti in Milan, the *werra* between Poltroni and Calorosi in Mantova, and again the dispute between Gherardesca and Visconti in Pisa. I. Del Lungo, 'Una vendetta in Firenze il giorno di San Giovanni del 1295', *Archivio storico italiano*, XVIII (1886), pp. 355-409; A. M. Enriques, 'La vendetta nella vita e nella legislazione fiorentina', *Archivio storico italiano*, XCI (1933), pp. 85-146; pp. 181-223; Diurni, 'La vendetta privata in Dante, in *Vendetta*, voce dell'*Enciclopedia dantesca*, vol. V, Milano 1976, pp. 915-918; G. Franceschini, 'La vita politica e sociale nel Duecento', in *Storia di Milano*, vol. IV, Milano 1954, pp. 298-303; E. Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa. Dalle origini del podestariato alla signoria dei Donaratico*, Napoli, 1962, p. 86; A. Torre, *Faide, fazioni e partiti*; O. Raggio, *Faide e parentele. Lo stato genovese visto dalla Fontanabuona*, Torino, 1990; Zorzi, *La trasformazione di un quadro politico*, pp. 95-120, G. Gardoni, 'Conflitti, vendette e aggregazioni familiari a Mantova', in A. Zorzi (ed.), *Conflitti, paci e vendette*, pp. 43-104; C. E. Tavilla, 'Paci, feudalità e poteri pubblici nell'esperienza del Ducato estense (sec. XV-XVIII)', in M. Cavina (ed.), *Duelli, faide e rapacificazioni. Elaborazioni concettuali, esperienze storiche*, Milano, 2001, pp. 285-318.

⁴⁵ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 12. "De welcke woorden wy bevalen onsen scepenen van Ghend dat zy den vorseiden wancost, rancuer, nyt, ende onminne themwaert namen gheel ende al omne daer af te makene ende te ordinerne in den name van ons een eeuwelic vast ende wettelic zoendinc tusschen beide vorseiden partyen".

⁴⁶ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 5.

⁴⁷ J. Heers, *Il clan familiare nel Medioevo. Studi sulle strutture politiche e sociali degli ambienti urbani*, Napoli, 1976, p. 152; D. Barthélemy, 'La vengeance, le jugement et le compromis', in *Le règlement des conflits au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2001, pp. 11-20.

⁴⁸ SAG, *Registers van staten en goed*, (1353-1354) f. 255v. "mondprekende met eede ende met al dat hi doen mochte [...] noynt alsulcke worden (te) hebben ghesproken te Symoene ofte te Gossine Rim".

⁴⁹ Espinas, *Les guerres familiales*, p. 419; R. C. van Caenegem, *Geschiedenis van het strafrecht in Vlaanderen van de XI^e tot de XIV^e eeuw*, Brussel, 1954, p. 224. See also E. Pouillet, *Histoire du droit pénal dans l'anciens duché de Brabant*, vol. I, Brussels, 1867, p. 175; G. Princi Braccini, 'Termini germanici per il diritto', in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli V-VIII)*, Spoleto, 1995, pp. 1122-1124; N. Gonthier, 'Faire la paix: un devoir ou un délit? Quelques réflexions sur les actions de pacification à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *L'infrajudiciaire du Moyen Âge*, p. 46.

⁵⁰ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 5.

Indeed, to reject the reconciliation imposed by the city authorities constituted a violation of the public peace.

4. The climax of the violence: the triple murder

Despite their solemn commitment, in 1354 in the church of St John in Ghent, in broad daylight during the mass, Hendrik Alijn and his brother Zeger were killed by the brothers Simon and Gossin Rijm, with the aid of their accomplices: Jan, the bastard son of Walembeke; Diederik (or Lanceloet), servant of Simon Rijm; Jan Bette; Gilles de Baerbeke; Fierin den Juede (“the Jew”), servant of Gossin Rijm; Gijselbrecht Van den Briele; Lauwerine van der Elst; and Jan den Dievel (“the Devil”). Subsequently, in the cemetery near the church, one of the Alijns’ servants was also murdered⁵¹. After the murder, the assassins fled. Although family conflicts in Ghent were common, the cruelty of this triple murder was such it caused shock and outrage among the citizens⁵². Some women who had witnessed the tragic episode were so upset that they miscarried⁵³.

In order to offend somebody’s honour, the action had to take place in public. Indeed there were special places and moments for avenging insults, such as the market, the street and even the church. Mornings were preferred, as were feast days such as Sunday, because they were moments when people would gather, thus providing particularly favourable conditions. The action had to gain the greatest notoriety possible; it was not supposed to remain anonymous or private. In this case the event was classified among the *mauvais faits*⁵⁴. The presence of the public was the guarantee that a question of honour would be settled satisfactorily⁵⁵.

What made this crime particularly bad was the place in which it was committed, i.e. the church, since murder was combined with sacrilege. The choice of location was clearly determined by the need for maximum exposure, so that all would know of the deed. However, the violation of the truce declared by the

⁵¹ SAG, Serie 416, doc. 94, (5 May 1354).

⁵² The murder of the Alijn brothers recalls another equally serious killing that took place a few years earlier. At the end of the funeral of one of the sons of Jurdaen Rijm, again in the church of St John, brothers Justaen and Willem Van den Kerchove were murdered (F. Blockmans, *Een patricische*, p. 661).

⁵³ SAG, Serie 416 doc. 94, (5 May 1354). “[...] ende van vare eenige bedorven sijn ende de vrucht die si droughen”.

⁵⁴ N. Gonthier, *Le châtement du crime au Moyen Âge*, Rennes, 1998, p. 21

⁵⁵ Gauvard, “*De grâce especial*”, p. 736). Compare also with A. A. Settia, ‘I luoghi e le tecniche dello scontro’, in *Magnati e popolani nell’Italia comunale*, Pistoia 1997, pp. 81-115, in part. pp. 82-85; Nikichine, *La justice et la paix*, pp. 229-233; C. Povoletto, ‘Entre la force de l’honneur et le pouvoir de la justice: le délit de viol en Italie (XIV^e-XIX^e)’, in *L’infrajudiciaire*, pp. 153-164.

paysierders was itself an aggravating circumstance, and the flight of those responsible heightened the tension and the desire for vendetta on the part of the Alijns⁵⁶. To avenge the victims was considered an act of respect for their memory. If the shame was not redeemed it would form part of the moral inheritance of the other family members, who were obliged to make amends. Thus, as Brunner points out, blood vendetta was an obligation towards the deceased, who, according to established belief in the Middle Ages, lived, though in another guise, so that the family was a community of both the living and the dead⁵⁷. As mentioned above, the vendetta was an imperative for the entire family group. The number of people involved allowed the individual to play a social role within the community, since the resolution of conflict was closely linked to family solidarity and client networks.

Following the triple murder, the Count of Flanders, in his role as chief justice, went immediately to Ghent, raising the matter at the meeting of the Council on the 9th of May 1354. On that occasion, he did no more than confer responsibility for dealing with the case on the city magistrates⁵⁸. The authorities decided to pass sentence despite the absence of the Rijm brothers, declaring that this was proof in itself of their guilt⁵⁹. On the 6th of June 1354, the *schepenen* convicted the brothers Simon and Gossin Rijm together with their accomplices, which was followed by negotiations between the organs of justice and representatives of the wanted men. Other severe penalties were also inflicted on the Rijm family and its property. For those who violated the terms of an official pacification, punishment or fine, the prescribed penalty was the destruction of their property (*abattis*), including by fire⁶⁰. In the case of the Rijms, their

⁵⁶ Gauvard, *Giustizia e pace*, p. 491.

⁵⁷ Brunner, *Terra e potere*, p. 69; Compare also with Heers, *Il clan familiare*, p. 149; Gauvard, “*De grâce especial*”, p. 664; B. Schnapper, *La justice, la famille, la répression pénale (XVI^e-XX^e siècle)*, Paris 1991. See also M. Bennett, ‘Spiritual Kinship and the Baptismal Name in Traditional European Society’, in D. Postles, J. T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Studies on the Personal Name in Later Medieval England and Wales*, Kalamazoo, 2006, pp. 115-146.

⁵⁸ SAG, Serie 416, doc. 94, (5 May 1354) “*daden segghen ende bevelen onsen vorseiden scepenen van ghent dat zy tforseide fait naer de groothede ende horribelhede vorseid corrigiren zouden*”.

⁵⁹ M. Vallerani, *La giustizia pubblica medievale*, Bologna, 2005, p. 23.

⁶⁰ “*virii Attrebatenses domum ejus, [...] si voluerint prosternere possunt*”, Privilège de Philippe de Flandres, 1180 env., in *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire du droit municipal en France des origines à la Révolution*. Artois, I, (ed.), I, Paris, 1934, vol. I. p. 207. See also art. 4 de L'Institutio Pacis de Laon del 1128: “*Liceat juratis omnem malefactoris illius substantiam destruere*”, in A. Saint-Denis, *Apogée d'un cité, Laon et le Laonnois, aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, Nancy, 1994, p. 139 n. 4 (N. Gonthier, *Le bâtiment du crime*, pp. 177-178).

houses were burned to the ground, with an order that they were not to be rebuilt⁶¹. As well as punishing the guilty on the economic level, these acts were designed to bring about their public disgrace⁶². A reward of 100 pond tournois was offered for help leading to their capture⁶³. The Count confirmed the sentence on the 29th of June 1354, in a document recalling how the reconciliation of 1353, agreed before the murder, had been accepted by both sides of their own volition⁶⁴. In another act dated 15th of August 1354, the Count confirmed that the Rijms' crime had also been committed against him personally⁶⁵. This is because the murder of the Alijn brothers was in breach of the *zoendinginc*, authorised by the Count himself in 1353, in which the Rijms had undertaken to put an end to the hostilities.

Pieter Alijn, brother of the two victims and husband of Marie Rijm, sister of Simon and Gossin Rijm, solemnly swore to desist from any attempt at vendetta, on pain of being fined 100 pond tournois⁶⁶. He also promised to no longer see his wife without the consent of her parents⁶⁷. But Pieter did not keep this promise and on the 26th of December 1355 he was sentenced by the *schepenen* to pay a fine of 1,000 pond tournois and have his property confiscated for having returned to his home⁶⁸. In fact the role of Pieter Alijn in this affair is not entirely clear. Given the prevailing mentality of the period, his willingness to abstain from any form of revenge for the death of his brothers is incomprehensible. From the deeds of reconciliation, it was to emerge subsequently that Maria Rijm and her husband Pieter Alijn had been in a sense accessories to the crime, since

⁶¹ Judgement issued by the Count confirming the decision of the *schepenen*: "ende daertoe hare huse doen afbreken ende die nemmermeer te betemmerne teoughen (eewige) daghen" (cfr. SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX [Alijns hospitaal] doc. 10). See also *Keure* of 1297, art. 7, in *Coutume*, pp. 428-429; cfr. A. Delcourt, *La vengeance de la commune. L'arsin et l'abattis de maison en Flandre et en Hainaut*, Lille, 1930, p. 40; M. Le Glay, 'De l'arsin et de l'abattis de maison dans le Nord de la France', *Bulletin de la Commission historique du département du Nord*, t. I, Lille, 1843, pp. 248-279.

⁶² A. Zorzi, 'Rituali della violenza, cerimonie penali, rappresentazioni della giustizia nelle città italiane centro-settentrionali (secolo XIII-XV)', in P. Cammarosano (ed.), *Le forme di propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, Roma, 1994, p. 411. "De Bajamonte fo questo terreno, e mo per lo so iniquo tradimento posto in comun, et per l'altrui spavento e per mostrar a tutti sen[n]o", in A. Pertile, *Storia del diritto penale*, in Id., *Storia del diritto italiano*, 2ed. vol. V, Bologna 1996, p. 351.

⁶³ Cfr. SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, doc. 10. "So dat boven desen wetteliken zoendinghe, aldus zonder eenich bedwanc ofte constraint van iemene, mear ghedaen met goeden vrijen wille in beede ziden".

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, doc. 12. (Compare also M. Sbriccoli, *Crimen lesæ maiestatis. Il problema del reato politico alle soglie della scienza penalistica moderna*, Milano, 1974, pp. 65-66).

⁶⁶ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 8.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, "no te gane no te stane metten joncvrouwe, synen vive, no te hare house te comen, het en ware bi consente van vader ende moeder".

⁶⁸ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 16.

they had done nothing to prevent it⁶⁹. This was also confirmed by the sentence of the *schepenen*, who, a few months later, on the 16th of March 1356 declared Pieter to have been an accomplice to the murder of his own brothers and condemned him to be banished for 50 years⁷⁰.

Despite all the promises, the discord and tension continued, dividing many of the most important families in Ghent that were linked to the Rijms and the Alijns. The murder of the two brothers had further fuelled the hatred, leaving the enemies of the Rijms with a blind thirst for vendetta, and driving the other side to acts that showed complete disregard for law and order. The continuous disputes, fuelled by a game of shifting alliances, meant that the affair could never be brought to a conclusion. At times when the hostility was at its most bitter, the efforts at mediation intensified. The two sides were able to entrust third parties with the task of negotiating a peace, but the results of such endeavours were unpredictable⁷¹. Jean Van de Zickele, treasurer of the Count of Flanders, Gilles van Lathem, deacon of the Petit-Métiers and Eustache van den Hole, deacon of the weavers, men of undoubted prestige, were enlisted in this task⁷². In order for the decisions taken in the course of the pacification to be valid however, they had to be ratified in the presence of the city authorities. Simon Damman and Hendrik Alijn, uncles of the deceased, came forward together with their friends to represent the Alijns, with Simon and Gossin Rijn, also accompanied by their retinue, on the other side. On returning to the city, the Rijms declared that they would accept full responsibility for the murder of the Alijns⁷³. The reconciliation agreement, drawn up on the 17th of May 1361, obliged both parties to renounce all forms of vendetta and to forgive each other. The Rijn brothers would pay a sum for the foundation of a

⁶⁹ The house of Maria Rijn, like that of her brothers, was demolished, *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, n. DXXIII, pp. 470-473. (Compare *supra* note 61).

⁷⁰ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) c. 15: "Schepenen vander stede van Ghend, maken kent ende kenlic allen date en Pieter Aliin, f. Symoens, es wettelic gebannen uten lande van Vlaenderen inder vormen ende manieren dat hier naer bescreven staet: Pieter Aliin, f. Symoens, L. jaer uten lande van Vlaenderen, omne dat hij wiste van rade ende van dade ende toebriinghere was van den jammerliken faite dat gheviel te Sente Jans in de kerke daer Heinric end Zefger zijne broedre, [...], ende ghegheven int jaer ons Heeren M. CCC. vive en vyftich den XVI dach in maerte".

⁷¹ Gauvard, "*De grâce especial*", p. 646, see in part. graph n. 36)

⁷² SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 36.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

hospital for the sick and indigent⁷⁴. In addition, Simon Rijm would go on a pilgrimage to St Peter's in Rome and to Santiago de Compostela⁷⁵.

Simon Rijm, acting on his own behalf in the agreement, vowed to respect the conditions. His brother Gossin however continued to declare his innocence. He stated once more that he could not accept the conditions of the agreement, which in his view was tantamount to an admission of guilt, aggravated by perjury since his original declaration of innocence had been made in the presence of many knights and men of the law⁷⁶. He decided therefore that he would not modify his deposition. Obligated to accept this provisional solution, Gossin Rijm proposed that the accord be made legitimate in the presence of the Count, promising to accept whatever decision he should wish to make. The Alijns accepted⁷⁷.

5. Fines and pilgrimages imposed by Count Louis of Male

Count Louis of Male took responsibility for enforcing the clauses in the agreement drawn up previously under the auspices of the arbiters, but at the same time he reserved the right to prescribe new conditions where necessary⁷⁸. On the 30th of January 1362, Maria Rijm, wife of Gossin Rijm⁷⁹, had renounced, in her own name and that of Simon, Gossin's young son, all forms of revenge and vendetta, pardoning both the original offence and the harm suffered with the demolition of their house. On behalf of her first born son she gave a commitment that

⁷⁴ The other charities institutions present in Ghent compare A. M. de Vocht, 'Het gentse antwoord op de armoede: De sociale instelling van revers en volders te Gent in de late Middeleeuwen', *Annalen van de Belgische Vereniging voor Hospitaalgeschiedenis*, 19 (1981), pp. 3-32; C. de Coninck, W. Blockmans, 'Geschiedenis van de Gentese Leprozerie "Het Rijke Gasthuis" vanaf de stichting (ca. 1146) tot omstreeks 1370', *Annalen van de Belgische Vereniging voor Hospitaalgeschiedenis*, 5 (1967), pp. 5-35; E. Luyckx-Foucke, 'Het Sint-Aubertus Gesticht op Poortakker', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, 18 (1943), pp. 77-96; G. Maréchal, 'Het Sint-Annahospitaal te Sint-Baafs te Gent', *Annalen van de Belgische Vereniging voor Hospitaalgeschiedenis*, 4 (1966), pp. 31-50; L. van Puyvelde, *Un hôpital du Moyen Age et un abbaye y annexée: La Biloke de Gand. Etude archéologique*, Gent, 1925; J. B. Béthune, H. van Werveke, *Het Godhuis van Sint-Jan en Sint-Pauwel te Gent, Bijgenaamd de Leugemeete*, Gent, 1902.

⁷⁵ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 34 "[...] Symone Rijm doen eene pelegrimage te Sente Pieters ende te Sente Pauwele ten hoghen Rome. Ende eene pelerimage te Sente Jacobs in Galissien".

⁷⁶ Saint-Genois, *Origine de l'hospice*, p. 118. *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, n. CCCLXXXVI, pp. 423-425.

⁷⁷ W. Prevenier, 'Les sources de la pratique judiciaire en Flandre du XIIe au XVe siècle et leur mise en oeuvre par les historiens', in J. Chiffolleau, C. Gauvard, A. Zorzi (eds.), *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l'Occident à la fin du Moyen Age*, Rome, 2007, p. 118; J. Buntinx, *De Audiëntie van de graven van Vlaanderen*, Brussels, 1949, pp. 289-416.

⁷⁸ Saint-Genois, 'Origine de l'hospice', pp. 116-118.

⁷⁹ Gossin Rijm was married to a woman named Maria Rijm who belonged to another branch of the family and should not be confused with Gossin's sister, cfr. *supra* note 29.

as soon as he had reached adulthood he would confirm the forms and terms of the agreement, and so would their other sons⁸⁰.

The Count summoned the council on the 5th of May 1362 to meet at the abbey of Tronchiennes where a solemn pacification was agreed⁸¹. The act clearly shows the clemency with which the Count judged the guilty. Rousseaux and Levy observe that criminal justice “est également investie d’une dimension religieuse, assurant le rapport de l’homme au surnaturel à travers la figure du Dieu juge, et cimentant les rapports sociaux autour de la figure du juge souverain, investi du pouvoir de punir et de pardonner”⁸².

The parties were thus urged to make peace and to forgive each other, promising to renounce all forms of reprisal or vendetta⁸³. At times the admissions of guilt entailed an act of public humiliation performed in the presence of members of the family who had borne the insult, who were thus witnesses to the request for pardon⁸⁴.

On another level, these pacifications often took the form of an economic transaction, centred largely on the quantification of the damage and the insult. In our case, the payment was set at 100 pond parisis annual hereditary income for the foundation of a hospice and 20 pond parisis annual hereditary income for the management and maintenance of a chapel⁸⁵. It was also specified that in case of insolvency, any property belonging to the guilty parties within a range of

⁸⁰ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 33. Cfr. E. Evans-Pritchard, *La femme dans les sociétés primitives et autres essais d’anthropologie*, Paris, 1971; *La femme au Moyen Âge*, M. Rouche, J. Heuclin, G. Duby (eds.), Maubeuge, 1990.

⁸¹ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 43.

⁸² X. Rousseaux, R. Levy, *Le pénal dans tous ses États. Justice, États et Sociétés en Europe (XII^{ème}-XX^{ème} siècles)*, Brussels, 1997, p. 17; compare also to R. Jacob, ‘Le jugement de Dieu et la formation de la fonction de juger dans l’histoire européenne’, *Histoire de la justice*, 4 (1991), pp. 53-78; Gauvard, “De grâce especial”; R. Muchembled, *Le temps des supplices. De l’obéissance sous les rois absolus. XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1992.

⁸³ ACG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 43.

⁸⁴ In Saint-Omer, in order to be pardoned by their adversaries, the Zoene family collectively walked the whole length of the church nave. It appears to have been a sort of unconditional surrender, the culprit being obliged to hand over his sword to the head of the opposing family. See G. Van Kempen, *De la composition pécuniaire pour l’homicide d’après la loi silique, son maintien dans les coutumiers de Saint-Omer jusqu’à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, Digione, 1902; Zorzi, *Rituali di violenza*, pp. 395-425.

⁸⁵ The Kinderen Alyn’s Hospital was also known as the Hospice of St. Catherine from the name of the chapel. (SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX [Alijns hospitaal] doc. 19). “[...] Cum exequutores testamenti seu ultime volti venerabili viru Symonis Alin, quondam civis Gandensis ac domicelle Katarinem eius coniugis, de bonis datis sue solutis in emendam mortis venerabilium virorum Henrici et Sygneri Alin, filiorum predictorum Symonis atque Katarine, iuxta dictum et ordinationem illustrissimi principis domini nostri Comitis Flandriem in domo habitationis eorumdem coniugum, sita infra limites parochie sancti Michaelis Gentensis, nostri patronatus, hospitale, capellam cum campanili et campana, in honore beate Katharine virginis et martiris, nec non duas capellanas perpetuo desserviendas, ibidem fundare et dotare proponant. [...] Datum in monastero nostro predicto, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo tertio, XXIII die mensis julii”.

three miles of the city would be mortgaged. They had one year from the signing of the agreement to provide the friends and relatives of Hendrik and Zeger with guarantees for these incomes. This was not the first time in a pacification that the compensation to be paid to the relatives of the victim was set aside for the construction of a charitable institution⁸⁶. It is interesting in this regard to note that as part of the agreement that ended the feud between the Awans and Varoux families in Liège it was decided that the imposed pilgrimages would be converted into pecuniary fines, which were then set aside for the foundation of a church⁸⁷.

The Count expressed no opinion concerning the role played by Pieter Alijn in the murder of his brothers, probably because on this occasion Simon and Gossin Rijm chose to keep their brother-in-law out of it. In spite of everything, the Count reserved the right to make further pronouncements in the event of new elements coming to light concerning Pieter's involvement in the affair. He was called to bear witness both as an injured party in relation to the death of his brothers, and as a possible accomplice in their murder.

It was in the second part of the agreement that the *amendes honorables* were indicated. The Count was in favour of a pilgrimage. As always, various factors were involved in the choice of destination. Although the council was supposed to adopt the clauses of the agreement of the 17th of May 1361, it could also modify some of its provisions if it believed this to be necessary. Thus, on Simon, considered to be the prime culprit in the triple murder, the council decided to impose not one but two pilgrimages, in accordance with precise conditions⁸⁸. In honour of the victim's friends and relatives, he was to go on a pilgrimage to St Peter's in Rome and Santiago de Compostela⁸⁹. The first of these was to be completed by the feast of the martyrdom of St John the Baptist in late August of the same year.

Considering the date of the pacification agreement, the 5th of May 1362, Simon Rijm had just two and half months to perform this long pilgrimage. Upon his return he would then have to set off for Santiago within 40 days. As well as the obligation to return to Ghent with the documents certifying that the pilgrimage had been accomplished, Rijm was also ordered to cross the river

⁸⁶ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 43, compare *supra* note 79.

⁸⁷ Paix des XII, Liège 16 May 1355, in J. J. Raikem., M. L. Polain (eds.), *Coutumes du pays de Liège*, I, Brussels, 1870.

⁸⁸ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 34.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, doc. 43, compare *supra* note 79.

Somme in France for a period of three years starting from the time of his return from the second pilgrimage, unless the sanction was revoked in the meantime⁹⁰.

Similar punishments were reserved for Simon Rijm's accomplices. Gossin was sentenced to go on a pilgrimage to Saint Catherine of Harnau⁹¹ within a month of the pacification agreement. Jan, bastard son of Walembeke, was sent on a pilgrimage to St Nicholas of Bari, Simon Rijm's servant Diederik to St Louis of Marseilles and Jan Bette to St Mark of Venice. In consideration of his advanced age, Gillis of Barbeke was sent on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Putte, in Flanders. Gossin Rijm's servant Fierin, nicknamed the Jew, was sent to the sanctuary of Holy Cross in Liège; Ghiselbrecht van den Briele had to go to the sanctuary of St Andrew in Scotland; Jan, nicknamed the Devil, went to the sanctuary of Piedigrotta in Naples⁹².

To those who were assigned a nearby destination, i.e. within the region, the Count granted one month to complete the pilgrimage, whereas those going to more distant sanctuaries, such as St Nicholas of Bari, had to return by the 29th of August – the feast of St John the Baptist – of the same year⁹³.

6. The pilgrimage certificates

On their return, those who were given such sentences were obliged to present documents certifying that they had performed the pilgrimage to the authorities. In this specific case, just six pilgrimage certificates are conserved with the acts pertaining to the pacification agreement⁹⁴. Regarding the other pilgrimages imposed in the same ruling there is no information, although the ruling itself included a clause to the effect that the council could take account of factors that might make the pilgrimage particularly difficult and allow it to be converted into a monetary fine⁹⁵.

Together with the acts relating to the pacification agreement between the Rijms and the Alijns, the historic documentation from Kinderen Alyn's Hospital, now held in the Ghent city archives, includes six pilgrimage certificates. These cover only the pilgrimages to Rome⁹⁶, St Nicholas of Bari⁹⁷, Our Lady of

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Probably Arnau, Koenisberg (Kaliningrad).

⁹² SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 43, compare *supra* note 79.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) docc. 44-49.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, doc. 43, compare *supra* note 79.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, doc. 49.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. 47.

Piedegrotta in Naples⁹⁸ and St Andrew in Scotland⁹⁹. Four of the six certificates were issued by the ecclesiastical authorities of the sanctuaries, i.e. by the Prior of St Andrew's cathedral in Scotland, the abbot and rector of the church of Santa Maria di Piedigrotta in Naples, the Chapter of the church of San Nicola in Bari and the Apostolic Penitentiary of St Peter's Basilica in Rome. The other certificates were issued by Giovanni d'Enghien, Count of Lecce, in 1362¹⁰⁰.

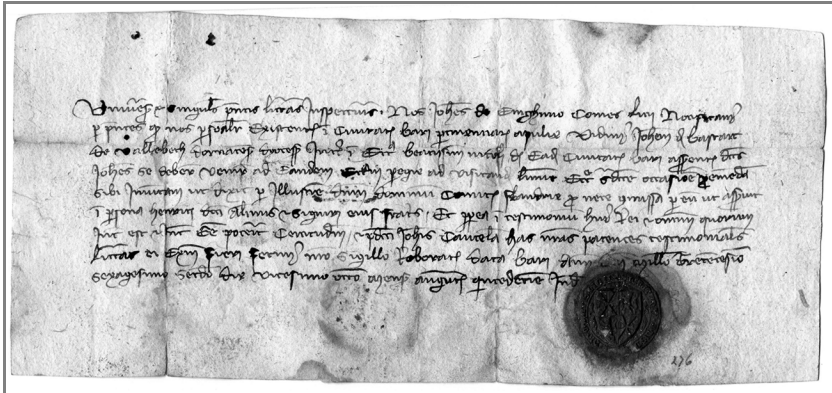


Illustration 3. The charter of 1362 (Stadsarchief Gent, Fonds Alijnsghodshuis, Reeks LXX, charter nr. 48; Stadsarchief Gent-De Zwarte Doos, fotografie Storm Calle).

The text has the same format in all cases. After the salutation comes a statement that the pilgrim, whose forename, surname and country of origin are specified, did indeed reach the designated sanctuary. This is followed by a declaration that the pilgrimage was completed in accordance with the appropriate ritual. The final section concerns the document's legal validity and authenticity¹⁰¹.

Admission to the sacraments of confession and penitence were necessary conditions for absolution. For this reason confession of one's sins at the place of pilgrimage was a given, whether or not it was specified in the sentence. Of the six certificates in our possession, only the one issued to Simon Rijm by the Apostolic Penitentiary of St Peter's Basilica in Rome states that the person named in the document was absolved of all his sins¹⁰².

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, doc. 45.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, doc. 44.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, doc. 48.

¹⁰¹ Compare *supra* note 95-99.

¹⁰² Compare *supra* note 95.

The sentence stipulated that the pilgrims were supposed to be back in the city by the 29th of August of the same year, i.e. 1362. It did not specify however whether this deadline was absolute, and it seems to have been respected in very few cases, as may be seen by checking the dates on the documents¹⁰³. The sentence ordered Simon Rijm to go on two pilgrimages, one to St Peter's in Rome and the other to Santiago di Compostela, but he was given ample freedom to choose which sanctuary he would visit first. The certificate issued by the Apostolic Penitentiary of St Peter's Basilica in Rome shows that on the 8th of September he was still in Rome¹⁰⁴, while concerning Rijm's pilgrimage to the tomb of St James the Apostle there is no documentary evidence at all. Of great interest due to their singularity are the two certificates "signed" by Giovanni d'Enghien at a time when he was the Count of Lecce¹⁰⁵, which accompany the certificates issued by the religious authorities. In fact it was highly unusual for the civil authorities to issue that type of certificate, which could not in any case substitute those issued by the religious authorities. They may thus be considered as additional evidence of the fulfilment of the terms of the sentence. In the first of these certificates, released in Naples on the 10th of August 1362, Count d'Enghien declares that Jan, nicknamed "the Devil", has completed the pilgrimage to Santa Maria di Piedigrotta, in penance for the murder of the Alijn brothers, and that Jan de Bostart de Wallenberth is about to go on a pilgrimage to St Nicholas of Bari for the same reasons¹⁰⁶. A certificate "signed" by the abbot Marino Brancaccio on the 9th of August 1362¹⁰⁷ confirms that Jan den Dievel completed the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Santa Maria di Piedigrotta, but for Jan de Bostart the Count could only attest to the beginning of the journey. Indeed, the Count of Lecce certified the completion of Jan de Bostart's pilgrimage to the sanctuary of St Nicholas in the second document bearing his signature, issued in Bari on the 28th of August 1362 and confirmed by a similar declaration by the Chapter of St Nicholas' Basilica¹⁰⁸. Comparison of the documents in question allows us furthermore to establish that Jan den Dievel and Jan de Bostart de Wallenberth

¹⁰³ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 44.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, "Datum Rome, apud sanctum Petrum, VI° Idus septembris, pontificatus domini Innocencii pape VI, anno decimo".

¹⁰⁵ F. Panarelli, I del Balzo Orsini e gli Enghien, in B. Vetere, A. Cassiano, (eds.), *Dal Giglio all'Orso. I principi d'Angiò e Orsini del Balzo nel Salento*, Galatina, 2007, pp. 25-35, p. 30; A. Keisewetter, *Problemi della signoria del Balzo Orsini in Puglia*, in *Studi sul principato di Taranto in età orsiniana*, Bari, 2005, pp. 7-88, qui p. 16-17; G. H. Patten de Clone, *Deux souveraines descendantes des seigneurs d'Enghien Marie d'Enghien, comtesse de Lecce, et Elisabeth Woodville, première reine Elisabeth d'Angleterre*, Brussels, 1955.

¹⁰⁶ SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal) doc. 46.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. 45.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, doc. 48.

travelled together from Ghent to Naples. It is possible that the pair then travelled from Naples to Bari in the company of Giovanni d'Enghien, a hypothesis made all the more plausible when one considers the fact that the documents issued by the Count were signed within a few days of each other in different cities, i.e. Naples and Bari¹⁰⁹.

The question then arises of why Count d'Enghien chose to travel in the company of these two pilgrims who were also convicted murderers. Giovanni d'Enghien, the second son of Isabella di Brienne and Gualtieri d'Enghien, had inherited the County of Lecce on the death of his uncle Gualtieri VI di Brienne. It is possible that the two pilgrims knew the Count personally, given their common origins, or that they had deliberately sought to make his acquaintance while they were in Naples, given that he was a compatriot of theirs in a foreign land, but this is purely conjecture.

7. Conclusion

The social and political tensions of the fourteenth-century city states in Flanders constitute the real subject of historical interest rather than the individual episodes in themselves, which do however reflect and make visible the process of social, political, economic, and cultural transformation of that time. This process began in the West with conflicts which were conditioned by an urban environment that was characterized by a manufacturing and credit-based economy. The pacification agreement decreed by the Count in 1362 marks the conclusion of a conflict which had reawakened an old enmity between two lineages and drawn in friends and client networks, leading to the formation of two opposing alliances. In the course of this affair the solidarity and support of the group played a key role in determining how the conflict would be performed. As we noticed in the pacification agreement, pilgrimage was one of the main punishments for wrongdoing. It should be remembered here that unlike other sanctions pilgrimage served a number of purposes: it kept the culprit away from the community for a while, it restored the injured party's honour and it rehabilitated the criminal. In addition, if for some reason the culprit was unable to go on the journey, this could be converted into a monetary fine. It is clear that in this part of Europe pilgrimage was frequently an "imposed" practice of which religious elements were thus chiefly formal (the choice of sanctuary as destination and the sacraments during the visit), with the original spirit of atonement expressed in

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, docc. 45-48.

the fatigue and privations of the journey. In the hands of the city authorities it had in fact become a way of compensating the victims, their families and retinue, and even the urban community as a whole, who, as mentioned previously, was able in this way to rid itself temporarily of its most “troublesome” members. Obliging this type of pilgrim to present – on their return – a certificate issued by the religious authorities in whose jurisdiction the sanctuary lay shows the degree to which the civil authorities had become involved in the administration of pilgrimages and is evidence of the purpose for which they were now being used.

For the city of Ghent, the conservation of the pilgrimage certificates represents an exemplary case. We can only speculate to find an answer on the question why the six certificates were kept. It is reasonable to assume however that the decision to keep the six certificates was directly linked to the Rijm-Alijn feud. The affair was a historically important episode for the city and it involved two of its most influential and prestigious families. It is also possible that the certificates survived because they constitute an indirect record of the events that led to the Alijn Hospital’s foundation. The historic seat of this prestigious charitable institution, known as *La Maison d’Alijn*, today houses the *Musée des choses qui (ne) passent (jamais)*.

Appendix

SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal)
doc. 43.

Wy Lodewijc, Grave van Vlaendren, Hertoghe van Brabant, Grave van Nevers, van Rethen, ende here van Machlinie, doen te wetene allen lieden dat als zware veechte was tusschen Heinric Aline, Symoen Damman, haren maghen ende vrienden ende diere toebehoren an deene zide ende Symoen Riime, Gossin Riime, haren mannen, maghen ende vrienden ende die daertoe behoren an d'andere, als van doot van Heinric Aline ende Zegher Aline, ghebroeders, Symoen Alins kindre waren, dies God ghenadech zy; daerof wy omme ruste ende pais te makene tusschen den vors. partijen dickent ghemoeyt waren ende glievollecht van diversen personen hebbende tbeleet van onser stede van Ghend, ende van den vrienden ende maghen Symoens ende Gossins vorseid ende van den haren so verre dat wy ons deraf ondervonden hebben ende so verre dertoe ghedaen ten vervolghen vorseid dat de veechte van den doden vorseid ende alle zaken die daerute ghespruut ende comen waren van al tat tonswaert bleven siin ende tonsen segghen ende ordenance, behouden alle zaken die voren daerof ghetretiert ende ghepresentert waren naer den compromisse dat daerof ons overghegheven was van beeden partijen om die te verbeterne, te hoghene ende te verschoonne alsoo ons goed soude dinken, up d'welke zulke ende so souffisante verzeckertheiden ende borch-tuchten ghedaen hebben ghesiin ende verkent voor onse manne ende voor onse wet van Ghend, om te hondene onse segghen ende ordenance van al dat wy daerof segghen ende ordeneren souden, naer alle zaken die daerof voren ghetraitiert ende ghepresentiert hebben ghesiin, ende naer den compromisse alsooc vorseid es, dat wy ende partijen daerof mits den verzeckertheden, borch-tuchten ende kennessen die daerof beseghelt ende ghedaen siin voor onse manne ende voor onse scepenen van Ghend ende op sulke painen als daerin verclaerst siin, ons wel daerof vernoucht ghehouden hebben, wy up tbliven op de borch-tucht op de verzeckertheide ende up de painen vors., hebben gheordenert, gheprononchiert ende gheseit onse segghen ende ordenance tusschen den vors. partijen van allen zaken vorseid in dese manieren: Int eerste, dat van allen scaden, costen ende lasten die Symoen ende Gossin Riim ende alle andre wie zy siin, gehat moghen hebben sidert dat Heinric ende Zegher Aline of enich van hem voeren van live ter doot, waest bi vervolghene van maeghen endo vrienden Heinricx ende Zeghers vors., of van doene of van doen doene of in wat manieren dat was, of in wat voughen dat genen van hemlieden scade, verlies of last ghenomen

hebben, of bi wien dat Symoen ende Gossin, ghebroedre, over hemlieden, over hare hoir ende naercommers ende over alle andre zowien dat anghaen mach, die nemmermeer verhalen sullen no doen piinen te verhaelne in ghenre manieren up gemen die eist of wesen mach, gheboren of ongeboren, noch wanconst dinghen, maer van al tal vergheten ende vergheven sullen ziin zonder enich expres of middel. Item zo zullen Symoen ende Gossin Riim vorseid of haere borghen gheven in rechten zoendinghe, in zalicheiden ende over de zielen van den doden vorseid ende in de eere van Gode ende van den vrienden ende maghen, hondert pond. paris. siaers erveliker renten, teenen eeweliken hospitale end. twintech pond. paris siaers erveliker renten teenre capelrien bonf, wel beset op drie milen naer den stede van Ghend; ende dese renten sullen zy bewysen wel ende souffisanteleke, binnen eenen jare Heinric Aline, Symoen Damman ende den maghen ende vrienden van Heinric en Zegheren vorseid, omme die te bestelne ende te bekeerne teenen eeweliken hospitale ende teenre capelrie, daert hemlieden ghenoughelixt wesen sal, behouden emmer onsen rechte; ende hadden de maghe ende vriende van Heinric ende Zegheren vors. lievere, so sullen Symoen ende Goessin Riim vors., op hare boorghen hemlieden delivreren twee hondert pond. groter tornoyse, in ghereeden, ghelde, binder tijt vors. over de ervelike renten van den hospitale ende capelrie vorseid. Item zo zal Symoen doen eene pelgrimage tsinte Pieters ende tsinte Pauwels ten hoghien Rome ende eene pelgrimage tsinte Jacops in Galissen, in de eere van den vrienden ende maghen van den doden vorseid. Ende omme dat wy macht hebben bi wille, versouke ende consente van partien, tsoendinc vorseid te hoghene, te beterne ende te verschoonne boven allen den vorseiden pointen ende elc zonderlinghes, dewelke pointe voren waren ghetreiert ende ghepresentert tusschen den vorseiden partien ghelijc zy vorscreven zijn, zo zegghen wy ende wysen int hoghen, int beteren ende int versconen van den zoendinghe vors. up alsulke versekertheden, borch-tuchten ende painen als derof ghedaen sijn in deser manieren: Eerst dier zy gheboden hebben twintech pond. paris. siaers erveliker renten om eene capelrie, mids datter twee ghebroeders doot waren, zo zegghen wy ende versconen dat van noch eene andre capelrie ooc van twintech ponden paris. siaers, ervelike, so datter twee capelrien wesen sullen over elx broeders doot: eene elke capelrie van twintech ponden paris. siaers ervelike, ende die te besettene ghelije den andren. Item zal Symoen Riim purren omme te doene de eerste pelgrimage te sinte Pieters ende tsinte Pauwels ten hoghe Rome, bin sinte Jans daghe untghaende oust eerst commende ende hem van daer wederghekeert wezende, zo sal hi binnen veertech daghen daernaer weder purren ende doen sine andre pelgrimage te sinte Jacops in Galisien ende goede lettren bringhen dat hise wel ende ghenauwelike ghedaen heeft,

ende ne sal niet moghen commen an desside der Sommen, bin drien jaren naer dat hi dachterste pelgrimaige ghedaen sal hebben, tenware bi den orlove ende consente van ons. Item so sal Gossin Riim doen eene pelgrimaige te sinte Kathelinen te Harnau. Ende purren om die te doene bin eene maent near dat wijs hem vermanen sullen of doen vermanen. Item de bastard van Walembeke zal doen eene pelgrimaige tsinte Niclaeus ten Oosten Baren, ende purren bin tsinte Jans daghe untghaende oust eerst commende. Item Diederic die men zeicht Lance-loot, Symoen Riim knecht, sal doene een pelgrimaige tsinte Lodewijcs in Marsaillen ende sal purren bin tsinte Jans daghe uutghaende oust. Item Jhan Bette, s'her Joos broeder, sal doen eene pelgrimaige tsinte Marcx in Venegien ende purren bin sinte Jhans daghe vorseid. Item Gillis van Barbeke op dat hi noch levende es, zal doen eene pelgrimaige tonser vrouwen te Putte ende purren bin tsinte Jans daghe vorseid. Item Fierin de Jeude, die hem als doet heeten, Gossin Riim knape, sal doen eene pelgrimaige ten helegghen cruce te Luken ende purren bin sinte Jhans daghe vorseid. Item Ghiselbrecht Van den Briele sal doen eene pelgrimaige tsinte Andries in Scotland, ende purren bin sinte Jhans daghe vorseid. Item Lanwerin Van der Helst sal doen eene pelgrimaige te sinte Chire in Nevers, ende purren bin sinte Jhans daghe vorseid. Item Jhans de Dievel sal doen eene pelgrimaige tonser Vrouwen te Pedegonte bi Napels an de poort, eude purren bin sinte Jhans daghe vors. Ende waert so dat enich van den personen vors. eneghe nootziine hadden, bi den welken de pelgrimagien niet ghedaen waren, daerof houden wy de kennesse tonswaert up de painen en borch-tuchte vorseid. Ende mids desen zoendinghe, zo zegghen wy dat Symoen ende Goessin Riim bringhen sullen tonswaert bin veertech daghen alle lettren ende ghescrijften die zy hebben themwaert als van eneghen zoendinghe dat Symoen of Gossin voortijts voor dit zoendinc ghedaen mochten hebben, als men zeicht, ieglien Pieter Aline, daermede hem Symoen of Goessin vors. naermaels helpen mochten iof wilden ghehelpen, in enegher maniere omme die te nieute te doene of alsoot ons ghelieven sal. Item als van Pieter Aline dat houden wy tonswaert, omme daerof onse segghen te zegghene in tiden ende in wilen, alsooc ons ghenoughen sal van dat hi mesgrepen mach hebben enimer ghebeel zoendinc wesende ende den vors. Pieter wesende binnen zoendinghe, zonder fraude ende ooghielist. Item als van der quijscedinghe van der Jonckvrouwe Gossin Riim wyve, die ghedaen es over haer en alle de ghone die beschaet mochten siin als van de schaden sconfiericheide ende grief, die hare of der haren bin der veechten ghedaen moghen ziin, in wat manieren dat ghesien heist ende de painen ende versekertheiden die daerop ghedaen ende ghemackt siin ende alle anderen, die wysen wy van waerden, ende ghehouden blivende ghelijc dat zy ghedaen ziin. Ende, voort waert zo dat

in enich point van onsen segghene vorseid enighe donkerheit, twifel of gheheil ware, daeraf onthouden wy de kennesse ende verclaersinghe tonswaert ende ton-sen hoire ende naercommers, up de painen, versekertheiden ende bortuchten vors. Ende mids desen zegghene ende verschonne van den zoendinghe vors. so es onse zeggen ende wijsdomme, dat een goed gheheel zoendine zy van allen zaken tusschen Heinric Aline, Symoen den Amman, haren maghen endse vrienden ende die daertoe behoren, an deene nide, ende Symoen Riim, Gossin Riim over hemlieden ende alle de ghone die daerof bewetticht zijn ende over alle hare maghe, vriende ende over alle de ghone diemens wanconnen mach ende hem toebehoren an dandere. Ende dit vors. zoendinc ende zegghen wel te houdene up de painen, borch-tuchten ende versekertheiden die daerof ghenomen siin an dene zide ende an dandere ende up zoendinc brake, behouden emmer als van Pieter Aline dat wy dat tonswaert houden ende gheheel, zoendinc wesende van hem ende allen andren die den vors. partijen an heeden ziden anghaen moghen also vors. es. Hierover waren van onsen rade H. Lodewijc van Namen, onse neve, de borchgrave van Dixmude, de here van Axele, de here Van der Woestine ende van Nevele, de here Van Pouke, H. Roeland Van Pouke, H. Gherard van Rassenghem, H. Lodewijc Van den Walle, de Proest van Harlebeke, onse cancel-lier, ende Pieter, Jhans zone, onse ontfanghere van Vlaenderen, ende vele andre. Dit was ghedaen te Dronghine, in de abdie, den vijften dach van Meye, int jaer ons Heren dusentech drie hondert twee ende zestech.

SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 44.

Universis sancte Matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes litteras pervenerint. Tho-mas, permissione divina prior ecclesie cathedralis sancti/ Andreae in Scotia, salu-tem in Domino sempiternam. Quia primum est et (meritorum) perhibere testi-monium veritatis, universitati/ vestre notum facimus per praesentes Gyselbertum de Bryele, Tornacensis dyocesis, presencium exhibitorem pro penitencia sibi iniuncta occasione / cuiusdam homicidii ab ipso, pro peccatis limina beati / Andree apostoli in Scotia devote visitasse ac peregrinationem sibi iniunctam humiliter adim/plesse et hoc omnibus quorum interest vel interesse potest pre-sencium tenore notificamus. Dat(a) apud sanctum Andream, sub sigillo nostro, / undecimo die mensis iunii, anno Domini M°. CCC°. sexagesimo. secundo.

SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 45.

Marinus Brancacius de Neapoli, abbas et rector ecclesie beate Marie de Pedegructis²¹ scite prope Neapolim iuxta mare, notum facimus universis/ Christi fidelibus, presentes licteras inspecturis, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod Iohannes dictus Dyabolus, Dornacencis diocesis, sicut dixit, causa devocionis/ et oracionis ac pro causa sibi iniuncta per dominum ... comitem Frandrie fideliter et reverenter, pro nece commissa per eum, sicut asseruit, in personam Herrici dicti/ Aliinis et Signiri, eius fratris, limina dictae ecclesie beate Marie visitavit, ut debuit, ibique aliquibus diebus congruis honoribus frequenter iugiter veneravit, multosque labores/ pertulit et degustavit amaritudinem, satis videtur iustum et equitati conveniens ut quiete habeat post laborema. In cuius rei testimonium et omnium quorum et/ cuius inde interest et interesse poterit certitudinem et dicti Johannis cautelam has nostras presentes testimoniales licteras ei exinde fieri fecimus, nostro sigil/lo munitas. Data Neapoli, anno Domini millesimo CCC^oLXII^o, die VIII^o augusti, XV indictionis, pontificatus santissimi in Christo patris et domini domini nostri Innocentii pape/ VI, anno decimo.

SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 46.

Universis et singulis presentes licteras inspecturis, nos Iohannes d'Enghinio, comes Licii, notum facimus per presentes quod nos personaliter existentes Neapoli / de Regno Sicilie et de provincia Terre Laboris vidimus Iohannem dictum Dyabolum Dornacensis dyocesis, sicut dixit, asserentem coram nobis se venisse/ causa devotionis et onoris peregre et etiam pro occasione et pro emenda sibi iniuncta, ut dixit, per illustrem dominum dominum comitem Flandrie pro/ nece commissa per eum ut asseruit in personas Herrici dicti Aliinis et Signiri, eius fratris, ad visitandum limina ecclesie beate Marie de Pedegruttis/ site prope Neapolim iuxta mare; nec non Iohannem de Bostart de Walleberth, Dornacensis dyocesis, ut dixit, asserentem se debere ire peregre ad visitandum/ limina ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai de Baro, occasione et pro emenda sibi iniuncta per predictum illustrem dominum dominum comitem Flandrie pro nece similiter commissa/ per eum, ut dixit, in personas Herrici et Signiri fratrum predictorum. Et propterea, in testimonium huius rei et omnium quorum interest et poterit interesse certitudinem/ et predictorum Iohannis dicti Dyaboli et Iohannis de Bostart cautelam has nostras presentes testimoniales licteras eis exinde fieri fecimus, nostro

sigillo roboratas./ Datam Neapoli, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo secundo, die decimo augusti, quintedecime indictionis.

SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 47.

Universis et singulis presentes litteras inspecturis capitulum regalis ecclesie Sancti Nicolai/ de Baro, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Universitati vestre tenore presentium notum facimus et/ testamur quod constitutus in nostri presentia Iohannes de Bosstairta de Walenbelth et Tornacensis dyocesis/ lator praesentium asseruit sibi fuisse iniunctum per illustrem principem et dominum dominum comitem/ Flandriae de occisione Herrici dicti Alijns et Sigeri eius fratris ut limina Beati Nicolai/ personaliter visitare deberet quod Dei gratia devote adimplevit nobis ipsum pro causa predicta in nostra/ ecclesia videntibus. In cuius rei testimonium et ipsius Iohannis cautelam presentes nostras patentes/ et testimoniales licteras fieri fecimus sigilli nostri Capituli appensione munitas. Scripta Bari in/ dicta ecclesia, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo secundo, die XXVIII^o, mensis agusti/ XV^e indictionis.

SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal), doc. 48.

Universis et singulis presentes litteras inspecturis. Nos Iohannes d'Enghinio, comes Licii, notum facimus/ per presentes quod nos personaliter existentes in civitate Bari pertinenciarum Apuliae vidimus Iohannem de Bastart/ de Wallerberth Dornacensis dyocesis intus in ecclesia Beatissimi Nicol[a]i de eadem civitate Bari asserentem dictus/ Iohannes se debere venire ad eandem ecclesiam peregre ad visitandum limina ecclesiae supradicte occasione pro emenda/ sibi iniunctam ut dixit per illustrem dominum dominum Comitem Flandrie pro nece commissa per eum ut asseruit,/ in persona Herrici dicti Aliniis et Signiri, eius fratris. Et propterea in testimonium huius rei et omnium quorum/ interest et interesse poterit certitudinem et praedicti Iohannis cautelam has nostra patentes testimoniales/ litteras ei exinde fieri fecimus nostro sigillo roboratas. Data Bari, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo/ sexagesimo secundo, die vicesimo octavo mensis augusti, quintedecime indictionis.

SAG, Oud Archief, *Religieuze instellingen*, serie LXX (Alijns hospitaal),
doc. 49.

Ut universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis. frater Raimundus de Molendino, domini .pape. peni/tentiarius, salutem in Domino. Vestre universsitati notum facimus per presentes quod nobilis vir Symon/ Rym, Tornascensis dyocesis laycus lator presentium pro animabus suis Henrrigii dicti Elins et Sygerii eius fratris/ limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli personaliter visitavit et se coram nobis humiliter praesentavit ipsum autem/ a reatu laycalium homicidiorum ac aliis peccatis suis que nobis in foro confessionis apperuit, ad vos auctoritate/ domini .papae. remittimus absolutum introytu ecclesie eidem restitutum et sibi pro huiusmodi peccatis suis iniunximus/ penitentiam salutarem quam secundum Deum et sue anime saluti vidimus expedireb. Datum Rome, apud sanctum Petrum, VI° Idus septembris, pontificatus domini Innocencii .pape VI, anno decimo.