

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

*THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER OF ST MAARTEN AT UTRECHT BEFORE THE REVOLT*

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Faculty of Arts.



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A B S T R A C T

F A C U L T Y    O F    A R T S  
D O C T O R    O F    P H I L O S O P H Y

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The cathedral chapter of Utrecht was by 1500, save for the offices of dean and provost, a largely self-recruiting body of conservative-minded, wealthy and well-connected men, accustomed to playing a leading role in the spiritual and temporal governance of the diocese and prince-bishopric. The transfer of the temporalities of the bishopric to the emperor Charles V in 1528 reduced the temporal role of the Chapter, but did not alter its conservative interpretation of its privileges or the financial and social strength with which to defend them.

By 1550 this wealth had underpinned successful opposition to two schemes to encroach upon the wealth of the Chapter, first by its provost and then the bishop. The dominant role of the Chapter in the Estates of Utrecht ensured that the latter was in matters of taxation among the most uncooperative territories in the Habsburg Netherlands. The Chapter's links with interested parties in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy in Brussels enabled it to sabotage significantly Philip II's scheme of new bishoprics in the northern Netherlands and so preserve its positions.

This study argues that while the Chapter successfully defended its interests against the Habsburg government, its truculent conduct aroused antagonisms in the central government towards the provincial Estates of Utrecht. This created tensions which predisposed a sufficient

number of the ruling elite in the province, including the First Estate, the clergy, to turn to the prince of Orange and to rebel Holland after 1576 and ultimately to adhere, albeit with reservations, to the Union of Utrecht in 1579.

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It was remarked to me early on in my studies that research was a lonely business, and there is much to support that view. To be the only person in the British Isles who knows, or indeed cares, anything about the cathedral chapter of Utrecht in the sixteenth century, has some claims to loneliness. That it has not been anything like as grim as this description might suggest has in great measure been due to the friendship of Drs. Frans Rikhof who has been working on the *vicarissen* of the cathedral chapter of Utrecht. Conversations with him have been as much a pleasure as they have been enlightening. Although my work on the canons of the cathedral has been my concern alone, it has been aided immeasurably by the insights I have drawn from a fellow worker in the rather esoteric vineyard of the Utrecht *Kapittelwereld*.

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but to all that work there. It may be unusual, but I should like here to thank the friendly and cheerful service of the 'boys in the back room', that anonymous succession of young Dutchmen, who for conscientious reasons feel they cannot serve their country through military service, and have opted instead for duty with the archives service, and who in the process have delivered, on the hottest of days, uncounted dusty registers to my desk, doubtless under the not unreasonable impression that I was completely mad.

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S. F. C. M.  
London,  
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**AN ESSAY IN ORTHOGRAPHY.**

The writer in English on historical subjects concerning the northern Netherlands enters upon an unequal struggle in the matter of consistency of orthography. The principal areas in which this struggle is played out lies in the nomenclature of place-names. In this study the basic principle adopted has been to use the native form for place names, and especially the Dutch form for places in Dutch speaking areas. This has been applied to the case of Brussel, but with exception of cases of certain well-known forms in English, e.g. Antwerp, Flushing, and The Hague. In some few cases the Dutch form is used, but the French form is indicated in brackets, e.g. Kortrijk (Courtrai), Brugge (Bruges). Provincial names that have well-known English forms have also been retained, e.g. Flanders, Gelderland and Hainault. Holland is taken to refer exclusively to the county of Holland. The Netherlands is taken to refer to the Habsburg dominions north of and including Luxemburg, and the territories of the present kingdoms of Belgium and of the Netherlands are indicated by the use of the phrases southern Netherlands and northern Netherlands. Burgundy is understood to represent the former Valois possessions of the duchy and the *Franche Comté* or free county of Burgundy. The Empire is the shortened form of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Rhineland refers largely to the ecclesiastical principalities of Cologne, Mainz and Trier and their hinterlands. The province of Utrecht is referred to by its local sixteenth century name of the *Sticht*.

Much of the source material for this study is documents in Latin, and it is in that language that many of the names of persons connected with this study appear, e.g. Johannes de Beka, Wilhelmus ab Enckevoirt and Adrianus Florentii. In order that some consistency prevail in sentences that include the names of lay as well as clerical persons, the Dutch form is adopted, e.g. Johan van Beka, Willem van Enckevoirt and Adriaan Florisz. Inconsistency is unavoidable however, in the case of persons known to derive from francophone areas, and it is nonsense to transpose their names to Dutch form just for the sake of it. Thus reference is made to Jean de Warisoulx, a noble of Namur, canon of the Utrecht cathedral, rather than to Johan van Warisoulx. Unfortunately

for consistency this gentleman had a nephew, also a canon of the cathedral, named in the Latin sources as Ludovicus de Heijenhoven. The form Lodewijk van Heijenhoven has been opted for, but on no other base than that the name looks Dutch in origin. In the case of those few noble families from the Empire, the Dutch form of the name has been retained when the subject is a member of the chapter of Utrecht, e.g. Johan van Drolshagen, but the German form retained for relatives, e.g. Arnold von Drolshagen, as the *Adelsprädikat* has significance in German that 'van' does not possess in Dutch.

Familiar francophone name-forms have been retained, e.g. Perronet de Granvelle. An exception has been made to the native form of the names of princely families, mainly German, where the English formula has been adopted, e.g. Henry of Bavaria, Frederick of Baden, both bishops of Utrecht, and cardinal Theodore of Montferrat, and also applied in the case of the numerous members legitimate and illegitimate of the Valois house of Burgundy, e.g. Nicholas of Burgundy, provost of the chapter of St. Pieter at Utrecht. Dutch forms of christian names are used, with one exception. This is the form George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht, a case that has caused considerable heart-searching. As a francophone noble with a French name he should logically be Georges d'Egmont, but as the bishop of Utrecht he appears quite frequently in the text, and the unsatisfactory but convenient Anglo-batavism was adopted more by the prescriptive usage of the writer in draft forms of this study than on grounds of linguistic logic. The names of saints in ecclesiastical institutions have been retained in Latin where there is no obvious secular form, e.g. the chapter of St. Lebuinus at Deventer, the chapter of St. Plechelmus at Oldenzaal, but the obvious Dutch form has been retained where it is clear to an English reader, e.g. the chapters of St. Jan, St. Marie and St. Pieter at Utrecht.

Where possible the names of political institutions have been retained in their original form, and in Dutch where a choice between the former and French has been available. This policy has been adopted less for reasons of linguistic purity than for the belief that the institutions of different areas are by their very nature *sui generis*. In the first place exact parallels do not really exist between Netherlands models and contemporary English practice, although of course,

similarities do exist. Thus although the Habsburg Netherlands did indeed possess after 1531 a *Geheime Raad*, to call it the Privy Council, while not exactly wrong, does not do justice to the nature of the institutions in either country. To call the *Hof van Utrecht* or the *Hof van Holland* the Provincial Court, or the Provincial Council, does damage in the first form to the administrative role, and to the judicial role in the second form of these bodies, and nor can exact parallels be drawn between these bodies and, say, the Council of the North in England. Secondly there is the basic problem that certain terms simply cannot be translated. An example is the office of *schout* which in the case of cities like Utrecht has been likened to the office of an English sheriff. Perhaps so, but many small villages also had their *schouten* and in no way does the parallel work then. A further case where the Dutch is retained is in the phrase *Heer van X*, largely because the strict translation 'Lord of' is awkward in English. In the case of Church institutions the same principle applies, that a Dutch form is used, except that where there are obvious English equivalents they are used, e.g. diocese, deanery, archdeaconry etc., but exceptions are made for the following two terms, *vicarie* which is basically a chantry, and the Dutch form of the episcopal official, the *officiaal* is retained to avoid confusion.

The one major exception to the principle of using Dutch terms in a largely Dutch context has been the use of the term 'the Crown'. The Netherlands were not a monarchy in the strict sense, although its rulers were monarchs. In the various dominions that made up the Habsburg Netherlands the ruler had sovereign powers, but ruled with varying titles. His representative if a member of the family is termed the Regent, and if a subject, is termed the Governor-General.

#### A NOTE ON CURRENCIES.

The principal currency of account on the western seaboard of the Northern Netherlands was the Holland florin, sometimes designated the *petit livre de Flandre*, which comprised 20 *deniers* of 12 *sols*. This currency was sometimes known as the Carolus gulden, comprising 20 *stuivers*. The Holland florin was the currency in which demands by the central government were made to the various provinces of the Habsburg Netherlands for *beden* or subsidies. While the Holland florin was indeed much used in government accounting, in the Northern Netherlands use was also made of the *pond grote Vlaams.*, that is a unit of six florins. This, for instance, was the currency used by the *Rekenkamer* in The Hague for the collection of clerical subsidies in the diocese of Utrecht during the sixteenth century.

In the eastern regions reference is sometimes found in the sixteenth century to the Rhenish gulden, a coin that was of a slightly higher value than the Holland florin, being made up of 28 *stuivers*.

In Utrecht the principal money of account was the Utrecht £, or *penningen*, valued in the course of the fifteenth century in a varying number of *wit.* (22 in 1396, 40 in 1424, 96 in 1445 and 156 in 1479). The rate of exchange between the Utrecht £ and the Holland Florin stabilised from the year 1530 onward at 2½ Utrecht £ to the florin.

The various chamberlains accounts of the cathedral were kept in Utrecht pounds, and the cathedral seems among the Utrecht chapters to have been very conservative in its accounting styles, for some of the other chapters rapidly moved over to keeping their accounts in Holland florins after the *Overdracht* or transfer of the temporalities of the bishopric of Utrecht in 1528. The chapter of Oudmunster for instance kept its accounts as co-lord of Hagestein in Holland florins from 1526. The cathedral was not to change to this style till the early fifteen sixties.

In their relations with the papal Curia, as payers of annates upon benefices, the canons of the Chapter dealt in ducats which appear to have been exchanged in the sixteenth century at two ducats of the Curia, or *de camera*, to the Holland florin.

## SELECT GLOSSARY.

What follows is a glossary of the principal terms used in this study which may be unfamiliar to the English reader. Although many are more fully explained at their first appearance in the text, it was thought useful to place this brief guide at the beginning of the study. It makes no pretence to be exhaustive.

*BEDE.*

A tax laid upon his subjects by the prince in the Netherlands, which may be likened to the lay subsidy of the contemporary Tudor monarchy in England. These *beden* were of two kinds, the ordinary, comprising levies on certain basic commodities, such as beer and wine etc., and extraordinary, levied usually for defence of the realm. The incidence of these taxes varied from province to province under a system known as the *quotisatie* and Utrecht was assessed at 2% of the whole of any *bede*.

*BURGGRAAF.*

In the medieval period the emperor's representative in a walled city, and for instance an office hereditary in the family of the princes of Orange for the city of Antwerp. For the purposes of this study it refers to the hereditary rulers of the district of Montfoort. There was an office of *Burggraaf* of Utrecht, but its power seems to have been restricted to rather vague fiscal rights in the markets of the city of Utrecht. By the late fifteenth century these rights seem to have been venal, although claimed as an hereditary office by the family of Brederode.

## CANONRY AND PREBEND.

The first was the possession of a place or stall in the choir of a collegiate church, with the right to sit in a capitular body. The second was the emoluments to support that position, either through daily distributions in kind, or in cash.

## THE CHAPTER.

Used exclusively in this study to refer to the cathedral chapter of St. Maarten at Utrecht.

*DOM.*

The Dutch form for the cathedral of St. Maarten at Utrecht.

*DOMHEREN.*

The canons of St. Maarten.

*GRIFFIER.*

The Clerk or *custos rotularum* and judge in civil and criminal matters of the *Hof van Utrecht*.

*HOOFDKERKEN.*

A term used in the historiography of the Sticht to denote the five great collegiate churches of the city of Utrecht, those of the cathedral, St. Salvator or the Oudmunster, St. Pieter, St. Jan and St. Marie. It occasionally has the meaning of including the collegiate churches of the diocese of Utrecht whose provosts were also archdeacons, i.e. those of Arnhem, Deventer, Emmerich and Oldenzaal.

*HOF VAN UTRECHT.*

A feature of Habsburg rule was the existence in each of the Netherlands provinces of an executive arm of the princely government the provincial court or *Hof*. It had administrative and judicial roles. Presided over by a president with varying numbers of *raden* or councillors, who could be full-time or extraordinary, and with a clerical wing presided over by the *Griffier*.

*IMMUNITEIT.*

In effect the closes around the five great collegiate churches. These areas, designated by grills placed in the street, were free from the jurisdiction of the city.

*KAPITTELWERELD.*

A term used in the historiography of the diocese of Utrecht to encompass that large group of canons that comprised membership of the five chapters of the city. It carries with it a far wider application, including the families and servants of the canons, their role as administrators of the diocese, etc.

*LANDSHEER.*

The numerous provinces of the Burgundian and Habsburg territories had originally different titles for their prince, e.g., the duke of Brabant, the counts of Flanders and of Holland. Newly acquired territories of the sixteenth century included, in the north-east, the duchy of Gelderland and the prince-bishopric of Utrecht. As the Habsburg ruler was also king and emperor, the term *Landsheer* came to be used in place of the numerous titles.

*MAGISTRAAT.*

The term used for the city council of Utrecht. The council was, under the Habsburgs, nominated in the name of the central government, but probably by the *stadhouder*, on an annual basis, comprising a *Raad* of twenty-four, and a bench of aldermen, the *schepensbank*, of twelve, presided over by two *Burgemeesters*. In maintaining a judicial role over the citizenry as a court of first instance, the *Magistraat* was assisted by the *Schout* (which see).

*OVERDRACHT.*

The term used in Dutch historiography for the two treaties of Schoonhoven and Dordrecht of 1528 by which the temporal powers of the bishops of Utrecht passed into the hands of the Habsburgs in the person first of Charles V and later Philip II.

*PLACET.*

The document required by all applicants for admission to benefices in the Habsburg Netherlands granting royal consent to their admission. This requirement appears to have been developed as a response to the pressure of papal provisions in the fifteenth century.

*PROVISIONS.*

More correctly papal provisions, the right of the pope to collate to a benefice, irrespective of existing rights of collation. The pope's rights in this respect were limited and governed in the Burgundian and Habsburg Netherlands by the terms of the Germanic Concordat, or Concordat of Vienna of 1448.

*PRELAATEN.*

The title of *prelaat* was usually given in the sixteenth century to the head of a great monastery, such as the *prelaat van Egmond*, the *prelaat van Middelburg*, etc.. But this title was also given to the two senior officers, the provost and the dean, of the five chapters at Utrecht, and it is so used in the *Resolutiesboek* of the *Dom*.

*REKENKAMER.*

The principal organ of the treasury in the Northern Netherlands, situated in The Hague. Originally the tax-collecting and accounting office of the counts of Holland, its machinery came to be used by the Habsburgs for the collection of revenues in much of the Northern Netherlands, and its officers were responsible for the collection of taxes in the province of Utrecht.

*RIDDERSCHAP.*

The nobility of the province of Utrecht as constituted in the *Staten van Utrecht*. Nobility in the province descended to all legitimate offspring of a noble, but Utrecht was unusual in the Netherlands in that its nobility was defined for session in the Estates as possessing one of the specified fortified and moated *Hofsteden* of the province, rather than by prescriptive right. The province's nobility might, in economic terms, be fairly equated with the English substantial gentry.

*SCHOUT.*

An official with judicial functions. Villages and small towns as well as great cities had their *schouten*, and the word is usually translated as sheriff. This analogy is fair for a city such as Utrecht, where under the bishops the *schout* was appointed from the nobility of the province to represent the bishop. By the mid-sixteenth century there is some suggestion that if not quite an honorary position, it may have been venal.

*SEDE VACANTE.*

This term is used of that period between the death or demission of a bishop and the appointment of a successor. In the case of Utrecht before 1528, this was of special importance, for while the spiritual aspects of the office fell to a vicar-general *in spritualibus*, the temporal affairs of the principality fell to a chapter-general of the five chapters of the city of Utrecht.

*STADHOUDER.*

The prince's representative in the province, and invariably a noble of very great rank. After 1534 the office of *Stadhouder* of Utrecht was combined with that of the the counties of Holland and Zeeland. It is hard to define precisely what his role was, for the prince also maintained in the province an executive arm, the *Hof van Utrecht*. The office appears to have served as a link between the province and the Crown. Certainly the stadhouder was not a frequent visitor to the city or province,

## THE STICHT.

The temporal lordship of the bishops of Utrecht, properly divided into those lands along the eastern shore of the *Zuider Zee*, of *Overijssel* and *Drenthe*, known as the *Oversticht*, and the lands around the city of Utrecht known as the *Nedersticht*. During the sixteenth century the word was increasingly used for the latter area. After the *Overdracht*, the *Sticht* was united to Holland and Zeeland under the same *stadhouder*, while the *Oversticht* tended to be the charge of a *stadhouder* of one of the northern provinces, i.e. *Groningen* or *Friesland*.

## VICARTSSEN.

Chantry priests. There were several chantries in the cathedral, and the priests attached to them were known as the *Domvicarissen*.

## A B B R E V I A T I O N S.

The principal abbreviations used in this study are as follows.

AKD	Rijksarchief Utrecht: Archief van het kapittel ten Dom.
AKJ	" " : Archief van het kapittel van St. Jan.
AKM	" " : Archief van het kapittel van St. Marie.
AKO	" " : Archief van het kapittel van Oudmunster.
AKP	" " : Archief van het kapittel van St. Pieter.
A. G. K. K. N.	Archive voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland.
A. A. Ut.	Archief van het aartsbisdom Utrecht.
A. v. d. R.	Rijksarchief Utrecht: Archief van het Rijksarchivaris.
Berigtigen.	Berigtgen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht.
B. B. H.	Bijdragen van het Bisdom Haarlem.
B. C. R. H.	Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire.
B. M. G. H.	Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historische Genootschap te Utrecht.
B. N. B.	Biographie Nationale de Belgique.
Codex Dip.	Codex diplomaticus neerlandicus.
E. H. R.	English Historical Review.
Fabriekrek.	Bronnen tot de Bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom, te Utrecht, Ed. N. B. Tenhaeff, 's-Gravenhage, 1946; Ed. W. Jappe Alberts, 's-Gravenhage, 1969, 1976.
Kronijk.	Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht.
Mat. Köln.	K. Keussen, Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, Bonn, 3 vols, 1892 - 1931.
Mat. Leuven.	A. Schilling, (Ed.), <i>Matricule de l'université de Louvin</i> , Leuven, 1948 onwards.
M. N. H. I. R.	Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historische Instituut te Rome.
N. E. W.	Nationaal Biographisch Woordenboek.
N. N. B. W.	Nieuwe Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek.
OBC	Rijksarchief Utrecht: Archief van het Oud Bisschopelijke Cleresie.
Placaatboek.	J. Van de Water, <i>Groot Placaatboek ... van Utrecht</i> , 3 vols. Utrecht, 1729.
Rechtsboek.	S. Muller, Fszn., <i>Het rechtsboek van het Dom van Utrecht door Mr. Hugo Wstinc</i> , 's-Gravenhage, 1895.
Rechtsbronnen.	<i>Rechtsbronnen van de Dom van Utrecht</i> , 's-Gravenhage, 1903.
RAU	Rijksarchief van de provincie Utrecht.
Tijd. v. Gesch.	Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis.

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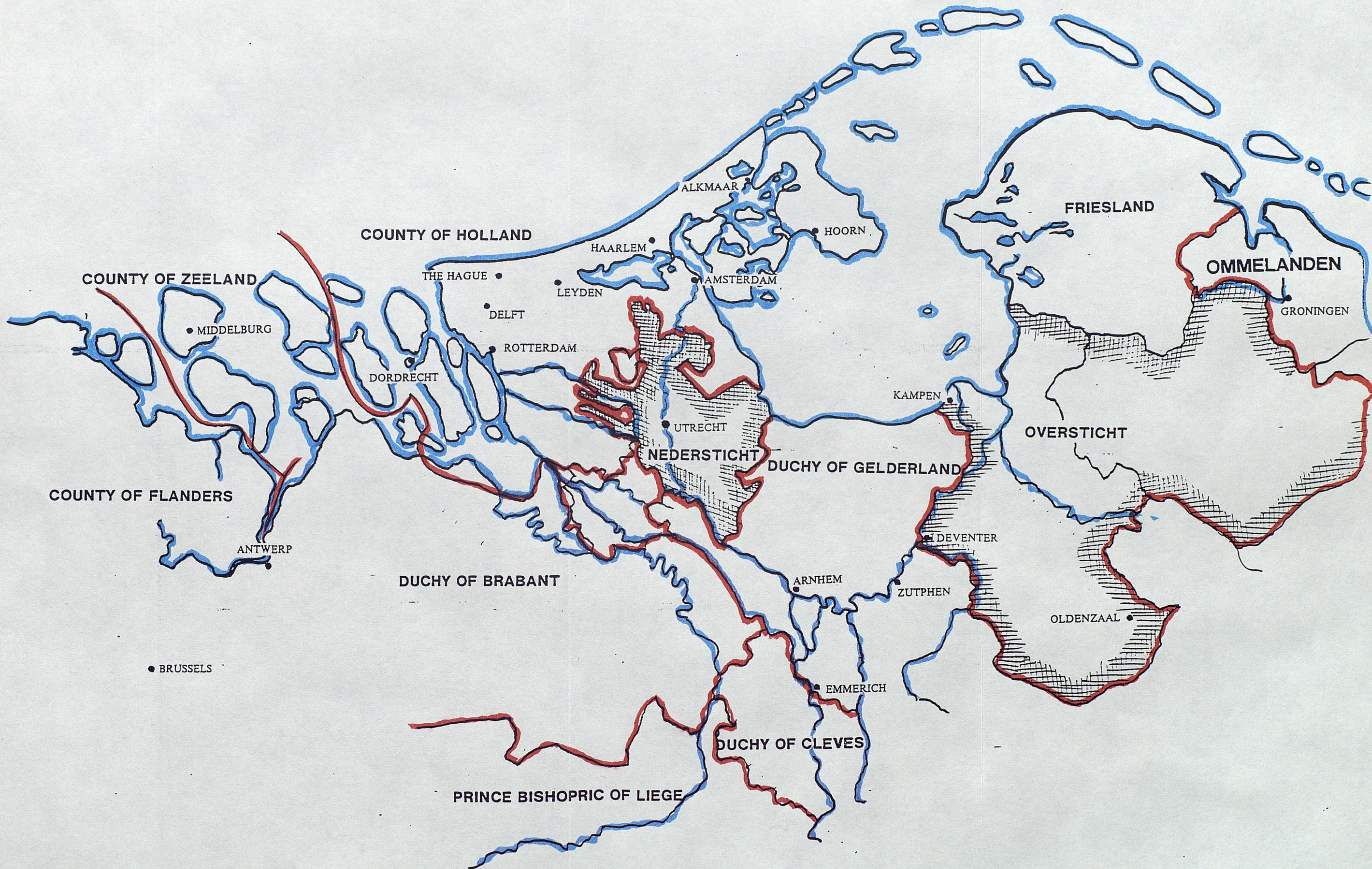
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PROLOGUE: A PROVINCE, A CITY, A CHURCH.

The temporal lordship of the bishops of Utrecht dating from the mid ninth century came to an end with the transfer of the regalian jurisdiction to the emperor Charles V. This event is referred to in Netherlands history as the *overdracht van de temporaliteit*.<sup>1</sup> These rights were exercised by the bishop over two distinct and separate geographical areas. The first of these areas was on the eastern shore of the Zuider Zee, known as the *Oversticht*, comprising the present-day province of Overijssel with the *Ommelanden* of Groningen. It was in the sixteenth century a poor, rather backward area, and sparsely populated, although containing in the town of Deventer<sup>2</sup> one important centre, and in Kampen<sup>3</sup> a significant trading port, as well as other smaller centres at Oldenzaal and Zwolle.<sup>4</sup> Save as the place of origin for some persons significant to this study, the *Oversticht* will not further concern us.

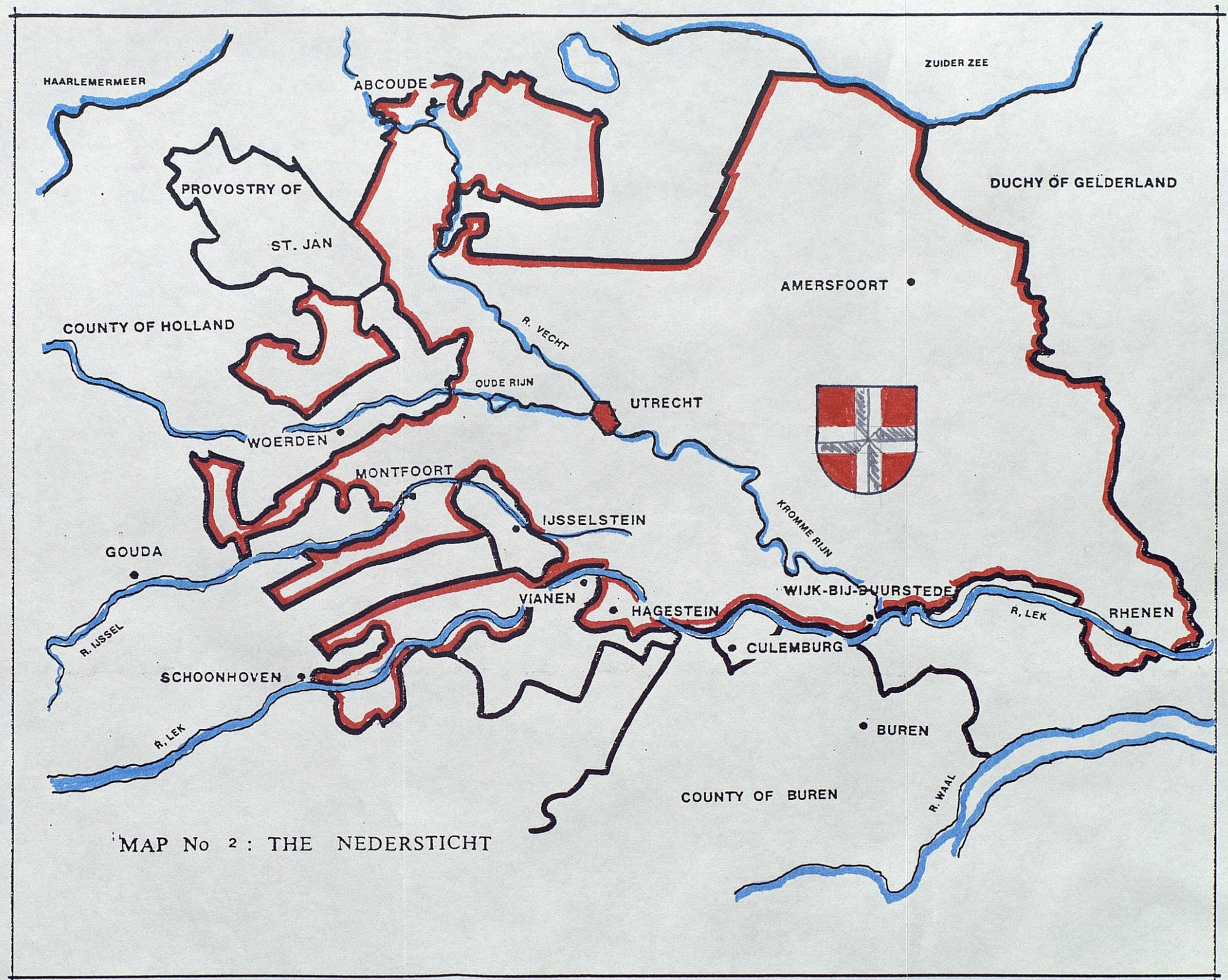
The *Nedersticht*, or simply the *Sticht*, as it was known, was the district to the south of the Zuider Zee around the city of Utrecht, and for our intents and purposes is represented by the present day province of Utrecht. As a political unit it was noteworthy for its curious shape [Map No. 1.] which was due largely to the centuries long inroads made upon the bishop's secular lordship by the restless and constantly expanding dynastic principalities of Gelderland and Holland. This constantly embattled state may also have given rise to the quasi-independent lordships on the outskirts of the *Sticht*, the *proosdijlanden* belonging to the chapter of St. Jan in Utrecht lying between Holland and Utrecht, the lordship of Vianen in the hands of the truculent house of Brederode, to the south, with Buren and Culemburg, the seats of



MAP No. 1 THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS PRIOR TO 1528.

influential comital families, and the nests of the van Boetzelaer and van Bronkhorst families to the east. It might also be noted that Utrecht was the smallest of the northern Netherlands provinces that made up the acquisitions of Charles V and the inheritance of Philip II. It was an overwhelmingly rural province, largely flat but with rising heathlands in the east and north-east, a land of small villages, many of these dominated by the moated manor houses and fortalices, known as *hofsteden*, of the province's numerous nobility, or *ridderschap*. Apart from the villages there were some four small walled towns. Of these Wijk-bij-Duurstede was until 1528 the seat of the bishops of Utrecht, who resided at a castle there, much and gloriously embellished in the fifteenth century, and even today an impressive ruin. Amersfoort and Rhenen were of no great size, the latter indeed being in some decay in the sixteenth century, while the former was noted for its political antipathy to the city of Utrecht.<sup>63</sup> There remained but Montfoort, again of no great size, but important as the *caput* of the powerful *Burggraven van Montfoort*, who were traditionally regarded as the First Noble of the *Sticht*, the town and its environs held a somewhat uncertain juridical position within the province.<sup>64</sup> There is little doubt that apart from some small river trade, the produce of the area was consumed within the province, and such as was surplus to its needs was consumed largely by the city of Utrecht.

The city of Utrecht, whose origins may be traced to the foundation of a chapel dedicated to St. Thomas in the seventh century, lay athwart the western vestiges of the Rhine, known locally as the *Kromme Rijn*, and its tributary the *Vecht*, on a series of small islands



formed of both rivers and of canals. Selected as his seat by the apostle of the Frisians, St. Willibrod, Utrecht gained in importance with the spread of Christianity and with the increasing political role of its bishops.<sup>89</sup> Following upon this episcopal development had come the growth of civic consciousness, which by the thirteenth century had become a serious rival to the authority of the bishop within the walls of the city. This increasing civic consciousness was articulated through the guilds which uniquely in the northern Netherlands, achieved considerable political autonomy from the lord of the city, the bishop, initially by the *Gildebrief* of 1304,<sup>90</sup> and from subsequent concessions wrested in the following decades.

The logical outcome of this development was a fierce struggle between the city and the bishop that culminated in the late fifteenth century. Left to itself, the city might well have emerged victorious in its struggle with its overlord, but the *Sticht* was at this period coming within the political orbit of the Valois dukes of Burgundy whose territorial ambitions grew apace under the last duke, Charles 'the Bold'. It was these later rulers, and in the person of their heir and successor, the Habsburg archduke, and later emperor, Maximilian, that brought the city to some semblance of obedience in 1484. It remained an uneasy obedience, for while the houses of Valois and Habsburg effectively named the prince-bishops,<sup>91</sup> the *Sticht* increasingly became the battlefield between the Habsburgs and the rising power of the dukes of Gelderland to the east. Naturally the city did not hesitate to take advantage of the options open to it that this situation allowed. It freely enlisted the aid of local magnates to oppose the Habsburgs, such as the *Burggraven van Montfoort*, and the *Brederode Heeren van Vianen*,

which last claimed the title of *Burggraven van Utrecht*. But there was a price to pay for this anachronistic independence: constant warfare. This warfare exhausted the financial resources of the bishop, and the *Sticht*, without securing the safety or independence of either the *Sticht* or the city of Utrecht. The *Overdracht* of 1528 was the inevitable outcome, as the great weight of the Habsburgs bore down the brilliant but brief aggrandizement of Gelderland, a struggle much of which was played out upon *Sticht* territory.

As the duchy of Gelderland was not incorporated into the Habsburg dominions until 1543, the *Sticht* remained something of a war zone for some years after the *overdracht*, and hence there was necessity still in the walls that encircled the city of Utrecht, and they were indeed to remain standing for the rest of the sixteenth century. These defences were strengthened by the ambivalent presence of the Vredenburg, a large fortress built by the emperor Charles V, a step taken probably more to overawe the city than to protect it.

Within the walls there existed a population whose size can only be guessed at for our period. One authority has suggested that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the population may have stood at twenty thousand.<sup>113</sup> This guess is scarcely enhanced by contemporary opinion upon the subject. In 1569 the two incumbents of the major church of the city, the *Buurkerk*, gave it as their opinion that the population of the cure lay between eight and nine thousand souls, but implied that it was higher by adding that there were many other chapels in the parish.<sup>123</sup> In 1577 the *Staten van Utrecht*, or Estates of the province, being acutely short of money, and not wishing to raise any by methods utilised so recently by the duke of Alva, to whose fiscal policies they

had raised furious opposition, hit upon the expedient of a hearth tax. This required, naturally enough, a hearth count, and the officials charged with this curious duty enumerated a total of 8860 hearths within the city and its liberty.<sup>13</sup> The *Staten van Utrecht* had second thoughts however, and abandoned hearths as a basis for taxation. It is not until the second half of the sixteenth century that a total of some thirty thousand inhabitants emerges,<sup>14</sup> and this figure may represent something of an increase over the general level of the sixteenth century population, due to the return of peaceful conditions within the *Sticht* itself, after the upheaval of the years of the Revolt to about 1590. Suffice to note that Utrecht was by contemporary English standards a very large city, and even on the continent of Europe at the time of Charles V it could be considered a substantial city.

It is something of an open question as to how the significantly large population of the city secured its livelihood in the sixteenth century. Its textile industry was nugatory by the mid-seventeenth century when compared with a centre such as Leyden.<sup>15</sup> Even in the sixteenth century the cathedral chapter was a great purchaser of English cloth for its choristers.<sup>16</sup> Like the *platteland*, or country districts around her, Utrecht largely appears to have consumed the produce of the trades represented by her guilds, most of which were concerned with either food or clothing in their various forms.<sup>17</sup> For this period the city has been characterised as a centre of neither trade nor industry.<sup>18</sup> If the city possessed a role it was essentially that of a market and service city. The former was based upon the local rural produce, such as the fruits of the Betuwe and the peat used as fuel from the extensive fens of the province.<sup>19</sup> The question of the city as a

service centre can be but briefly touched upon here. Throughout the Habsburg period the city was the seat of an executive arm of the central government in Brussels, the *Hof van Utrecht*. With both judicial and administrative functions the *Hof* had the attendant personnel of judges, notaries, clerks, and a host of subordinate functionaries,<sup>21</sup> whilst a similar nexus centred upon the collection of taxes by the officials resident in Utrecht of the *Rekenkamer* in The Hague.<sup>22</sup> The initial *raison d'être* of the city had been the Church, and she spread wide the net of her officialdom. The bishop had his courts within the city, as did the archdeacon, the *Domproost*. The city housed numerous clerical corporations, religious houses and almshouses, perhaps a total in the region of fifty in the four parishes of the city with, apart from their clerical inmates, staffs of officials and servants. Many of the nobility of the *Sticht* maintained houses in the city, and there were also families of substance, if not nobility or patricians, the 'better sort' who maintained households. It was this combination of nobles, clerics, officials, and patricians who, possessing money drawn from the city, the *Sticht* and beyond, spent it within the city: Utrecht was a great employer of labour and a spender of money.

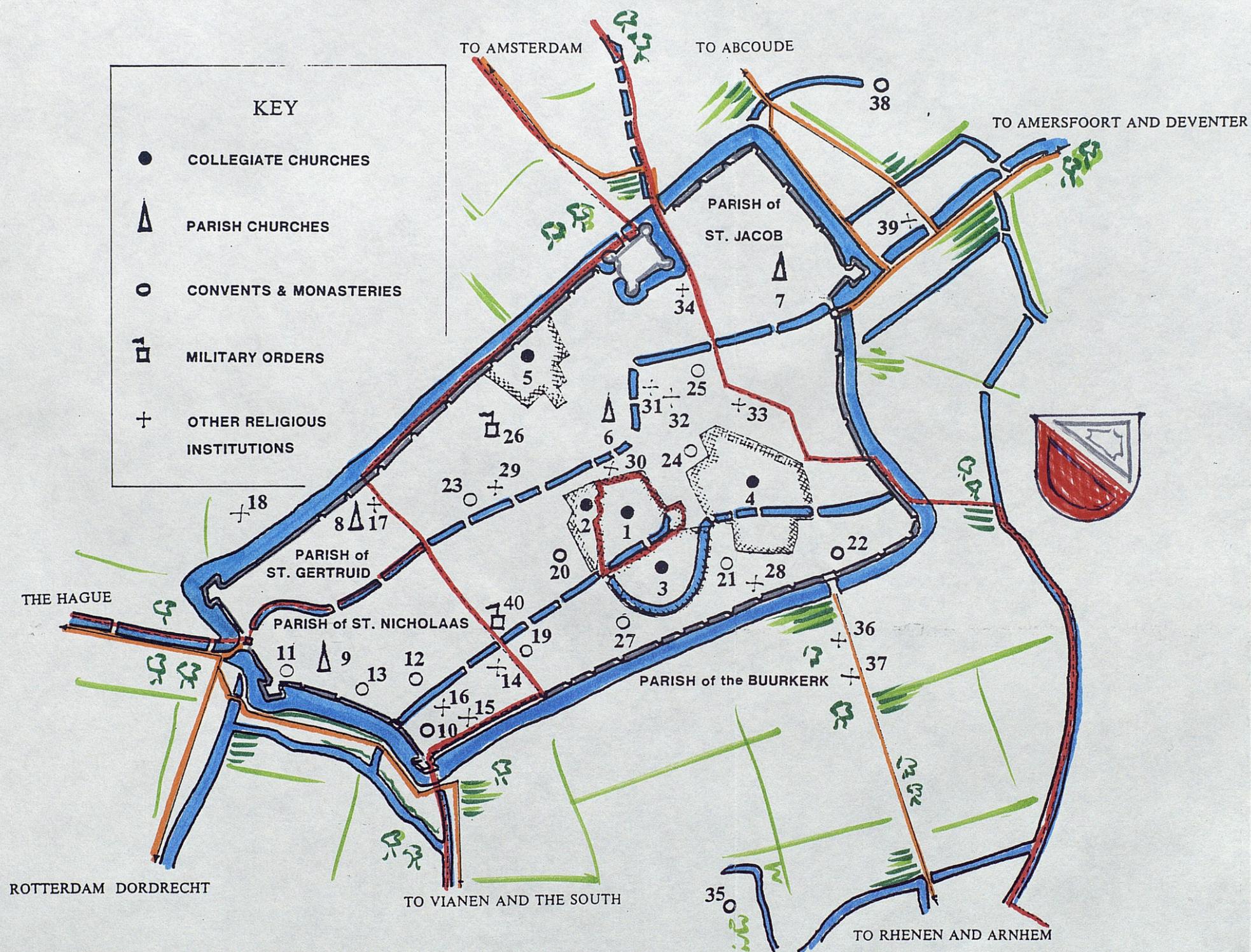
The crowds of employed, under-employed and unemployed that made up the mass of the population was governed within the city by a corporation, the *Magistraat*, that had exemplified at different times extremes of democracy and oligarchy,<sup>23</sup> but that for most of the sixteenth century was ever paternalistic and exclusive. Dating from the gains made by the granting of the *Gildebrief* of 1304, the *Magistraat* was made up of three elements, the *Raad*, the *schepenbank*, and a college of masters and past-masters of the guilds, called the *Oudermannen*. From

these elements were elected in the autumn of each year the executive responsible for the day to day running of the affairs of the city. The members of the *raad* and *schepensbank* each elected one *burgemeester*, who with the two most senior members among the *Oudermannen* acting as co-chairmen, comprised a ruling executive known as the *Oversten*.<sup>24</sup> Before 1528, the year of the *Overdracht*, the major preoccupation of the *Magistraat* had been to exclude the power of the bishop from the city, and at the same time restrain the power of the populace within the city. On the whole, as we have seen, it was largely successful in both these aims, and particularly the former. It was the very success of excluding the bishop that drove bishop Henry of Bavaria to abandon his temporal rights over the *Sticht* to Charles V in 1528, and this in turn convinced the emperor that he would not suffer the same treatment as the bishops at the hands of his newly acquired city. The experience of Utrecht was not unique in this respect, for the emperor acted in the same way in 1522 on securing Tournai (Doornik), and moved similarly against the guilds of Ghent in 1540.

The new authoritarian spirit experienced in the civic life of the city of Utrecht was apparent in three clear ways. The first was the brutal appearance of the fortress constructed to protect the city, the ironically named *Vredenburg*, some of whose cannon embrasures looked into the city, and from which it was separated by a moat.<sup>25</sup> The second element was the complete exclusion of the guilds from any part of the exercise of civic power. Not only were they removed as an electorate for what had largely been a forum of the "better sort" among the citizens of Utrecht, but their own meetings concerning their respective trades were henceforth closely supervised by officers of the *Hof van Utrecht*.<sup>26</sup>

Finally there was the existence of executive representatives of the emperor. In the first place there was the personal representative, the *stadhouder*. This official, after the initial years establishing Habsburg rule in the province, was an infrequent visitor to the city and province, but none the less influential for all that. The combination of several such offices in one person, invariably a great court noble, made the *stadhouder* to some degree a remote figure, and after 1534, when the emperor Charles V ordained that the *stadhouderschap* of Utrecht was henceforth to be combined with that of Holland and Zeeland, this remoteness was perhaps to some degree increased.<sup>27)</sup> The vacuum thus left came to be filled by the local elite or, as came to be resented, by that of rich neighbouring Holland. Important though the *stadhouder* was, the oversight of the province fell to the officers of the *Hof van Utrecht*, a president and five *raden*, and their subordinate staffs.<sup>28)</sup> A key function of the *Hof* was the strict control of the *Magistraat*, which was done through the forms traditional to the city government, the *schepenbank*, and *raad*, but in complete contrast to the spirit hitherto prevailing, and without the guild element, the college of *Oudermannen*. The two remaining bodies, the *raad* of twenty-four, and the twelve strong *schepenbank* were now each nominated on an annual basis by the central government, acting through the *stadhouder*, or more frequently through the officers of the *Hof*, and it was these powers also that nominated the two *burgemeesters*, who along with the *schout*, a member of the *ridderschap* of the *Sticht*,<sup>29)</sup> formed on an annual basis the new *Oversten* of the city.<sup>30)</sup>

Two further points need to be made before leaving the subject of the city government. The first is the very strong links in terms of



PRINCIPAL ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS

- 1 THE CATHEDRAL and immunity.
- 2 OUDMUNSTER and immunity.
- 3 ST. PIETER and immunity.
- 4 ST. JAN and immunity.
- 5 ST. MARIE and immunity.
- 6 BUURKERK.
- 7 ST. JACOB.
- 8 ST GERTRUID.
- 9 ST. NICHOLAAS.
- 10 ST. SERVAAS CONVENT (Cistercian).
- 11 ST. NICHOLAAS CONVENT (Franciscan).
- 12 ST. AGNES CONVENT (Regularissen).
- 13 CARMELITE CONVENT.
- 14 ST. QUINTUS *Gasthuis*.
- 15 ST. MARIA-MAGDALENA *Gasthuis*.
- 16 ST. MAGDALENA *Gasthuis*.
- 17 ST. BARTHOLEMEUS *Gasthuis*.
- 18 ST. ANNA Chapel.
- 19 BRIGGITINE CONVENT.
- 20 ST. PAUL'S ABBEY. (Benedictine).
- 21 ST. ALEXIS MONASTERY, (*Cellebroeders*).
- 22 WITTEVROUWEN CONVENT (*Premonstratensian*).
- 23 AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY.
- 24 *MINDERBROEDERS* (Franciscans).
- 25 ST. CECILIA CONVENT (Franciscans).
- 26 TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.
- 27 JERUSALEM CONVENT (Franciscans).
- 28 XII APOSTELEN *Gasthuis*.
- 29 ST. JACOB *Gasthuis*.
- 30 HEYLIGE-GEEST *Gasthuis*.
- 31 ST. BARBARA *Gasthuis*.
- 32 ST. LAURENTIUS *Gasthuis*.
- 33 ST. MARGARETHA *Gasthuis*.
- 34 ST. ELIZABETH *Gasthuis*.
- 35 CONVENT OF OUDWIJK (Benedictine).
- 36 ST. MARTHA *Gasthuis*.
- 37 HEYLIGE-KRUIS *Gasthuis*.
- 38 BETHLEHEM CONVENT (Franciscans).
- 39 ST MARTINUS *Gasthuis*.
- 40 KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

MAP No, 3 : THE PRINCIPAL ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE CITY OF UTRECHT

personnel between the representatives of the city's elite as nominated to the *Magistraat*, and the *Ridderschap* of the province. While this is not the place to elaborate the point, it should be appreciated that Utrecht was not a city in which the nobility was at odds with the patriciate, for the nobility and patriciate were at one in their concern to contain the population at large. Finally it should be borne in mind that since 1528 the *Magistraat* had no force of armed citizenry, or *schutterij*, at its command, unlike most of the towns of the neighbouring county of Holland.<sup>31</sup> Such military presence as there was in the city was supplied by the garrison of the Vredenburg alone. The absence of a citizen guard was to have serious consequences for the city and province in the years 1566 to 1577, and the expulsion of the garrison was to have fatal consequences for royal government of the province in the years after 1577.

Sixteenth century Utrecht was probably much as it appeared in a print of the early seventeenth century by Droogsloot, a walled city containing a mass of brick-built housing rising to two or three stories for the most, yet like all early modern urban landscapes, containing much of *rus in urbe*. Contemporary visitors remarked rather unspecifically upon the noble buildings of the city, but all mentioned the numerous ecclesiastical buildings that gave the city a profile dominated by the towers and spires of the great churches of the city.<sup>32</sup> The greatest of these towers belonged to the cathedral of St. Maarten, which even to-day is impressive although contiguous to some of the most insensitive modern architecture in western Europe. This church of St. Maarten lay consciously at the centre of a complex of capitular

churches, those of the Oudmunster, St. Pieter, St. Jan, and St. Marie, and the abbey of St. Paul, laid out in the form of a cross.<sup>33</sup> [Map No. 2] The original romanesque cathedral building of bishop Balderik (918 - 975) added to by bishop Adelbold (1010 - 1026) was severely damaged by the fire that swept through the city on 29 April 1253, and it was probably shortly thereafter that the decision was taken to rebuild the cathedral in the gothic style, although it was to be a century yet before the romanesque core was demolished. In 1321 work was begun upon the great tower.<sup>34</sup> Within this rising building masses were offered at the high altar by the canons of the cathedral. These gentlemen, the *Domheren*, constituted a corporation, the chapter, or *Domkapittel* of Utrecht, the subject of this study.

Before considering the structure of the cathedral chapter of St. Maarten at Utrecht in the century or so before its secularization in the sixteenth century, it is worth noting certain aspects of its development in previous centuries. In the early days of church organization in the Christian west, the city was the charge of the bishop, wherein he kept his *cathedra*, or seat, which charge was served by the bishop and the clerks of his *familia*, or household. Certainly at Utrecht it was believed that St. Willibrod, (ob. 738) the apostle of the Frisians, had established such a community: *canonicorum coenobitalium construxit ecclesiam, in qua cathedralem sedem stabilare jussit.*<sup>35</sup> Another source, perhaps rather implausibly, states that as early as this the number of canons was forty.<sup>36</sup> As the missionary stage in the expansion of Christianity passed, the group of clergy around the bishop became distinguished and differentiated both in name and function from the clergy serving the rural communities. Increasingly the clergy of the

cathedral, the *clerici primi gradus*, or more specifically the *consilarii episcopi*, became concerned with the ritual in the cathedral church and with the lawful occasions of episcopal administration. This last grew ever more complex, necessitating a growing number of clergy attached to the cathedral. It is important to appreciate that these clerics, some of whom were men of substance in their own right, were not monks bound to a monastic life. The cathedral clergy lived together geographically rather than as a community.<sup>37</sup> This, however, appeared to clash with the strongly held desire in the western church to live up to the apostolic ideal of Acts IV: 32, especially as interpreted by the rule of St. Augustine and his clergy at Hippo.

A strict adhesion to a rule designed for the north African littoral in the fourth century was not applicable in the long term to the christian north, and by the eighth century and early ninth century, under the impetus of reform movements initiated by St. Boniface (680 - 754) and others, there evolved a series of rules designed to govern clergy living in common.<sup>38</sup> Of these rules, the most important, because the most widely adopted, was that drawn up by bishop Chrodegang of Metz around 755.<sup>39</sup> Though based largely upon the rule of St. Benedict, these *parva decretula* were chiefly remarkable for the importance placed upon the individual poverty of the clerks living under them. In addition, though not surprisingly, bearing in mind the authorship, the role of the bishop was much emphasised.<sup>40</sup> To contemporaries the rule of Chrodegang appeared a useful basis for leading the perfect canonical life, and it passed into the clerical practice of the church in northern Europe, largely through the incorporation of its substance in the canons of the Council of Aachen of 816 - 17, becoming the basis for cathedral and

collegiate church organization within the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>41</sup> Whether the community at Utrecht followed this rule is not known for certain, but by 944 the common life appears to have been maintained still, for in granting lands to be held jointly by St. Maarten and the *Oudmunster* at Utrecht, a charter of Otto I refers to the gift for *usibus fratrum ... terram prememorate pontificalis, in duobus monasteriis inibi Deo famulantium.*<sup>42</sup>

In succeeding centuries much difficulty was experienced in maintaining the pattern so happily formed by Chrodegang's *decretulum*, an ideal it will be recalled for clerks living together, not a rule for a monastic community. A first blow to this ideal had been the physical conditions experienced consequent upon the invasions and following unrest in the course of the late ninth, the tenth and eleventh centuries. Civil disruption had its effect upon the church, and there had been a relaxation of clerical standards and discipline. This manifested itself in three ways. First, there was a tendency to divide the common goods of the capitular body into separate prebends or portions, for the support of individual clerks. Again, clerks seem increasingly to have held private property, a clear departure from the apostolic ideal. Finally, the common dormitory and refectory were deserted for private dwellings of the individual clerks. How long the common life was maintained at Utrecht is not clear. The chronicler Heda in his history refers to a gift bestowed in 1031 upon the *cenobio Sancti Martini confessoris*,<sup>43</sup> while an episcopal grant of the church of Medemblik to St. Maarten in 1118 refers to the *fratrum in ecclesia beati Martini Deo famulantium.*<sup>44</sup> Certainly by 1139 the canons of the *Oudmunster*, a foundation situated quite literally within the very

shadows of St. Maarten, were quitting the cloister,<sup>46</sup> and there is no reason to presume that their brethren at the cathedral were any less adventurous. Indeed by 1209 there is clear evidence that the common life at the cathedral was at an end, for the bishop of Utrecht threatened with excommunication any canon holding the property, literally the *praebendam*, of a fellow canon.<sup>46</sup> Though the episcopal fulmination at this early date testifies that all was not well, matters were to become even worse in subsequent years. Disputes and ill-will among the canons over prebends and prebendal goods and alienations led in 1341 to the then dean, Hendrik van Jutfaas, securing agreement from the canons to the Chapter administering its goods once more in common.<sup>47</sup>

As the struggle to attach the episcopal *familia* to an apostolic ideal flowed and ebbed in these centuries, so also the nature of that *familia* changed, and changed out of all recognition. Changes in society, the influence of feudalism, the demands of rapidly expanding royal and papal *curiae*, as well as that of the bishop, transformed the clergy of the cathedral from being simply part of the bishop's household into members of wealthy and independent corporations. By the grant of gifts of land or franchises, such corporations developed into powerful feudatories in their own right, frequently, if not invariably at odds with their bishop. Some of these capitular franchises were considerable, particularly in the Empire, where for instance the chapter of Paderborn possessed a fortress at Lippepringe, while that of Mainz lorded it over the town of Bingen on the Rhine.<sup>48</sup> The cathedral at Utrecht was rather slow at securing such quasi-regalian rights, but it did eventually do so by purchasing along with the chapter of the *Oudmunster* the lordship of

Hagestein in 1510 from Johan van Egmont-IJsselstein.<sup>49</sup> On a lesser scale, but of more immediate practical use for the day to day life of the Chapter were the immunities it secured within the city of Utrecht itself. The area around the cathedral, marked by small obelisks,<sup>50</sup> and a species of small cattle-grid set into the street, called *roosters*,<sup>51</sup> created at once an area of peace and quiet and at the same time free from the jurisdiction of the city. Within this enclave were the houses of the canons and other buildings associated with the life of a great corporation. While Utrecht was not unique in possessing such enclaves within the city's jurisdiction, it is perhaps worth noting that in addition to the cathedral, there were four other such immunities, those of the other great collegiate churches of the city.<sup>52</sup>

The primary duty of the canons of St. Maarten was succinctly described by a chronicler as *diebus et noctibus vacarent laudibus Dei*,<sup>53</sup> that is, singing the long round of the daily offices. While this never ceased to be the *raison d'être* of the Chapter, those social and political changes alluded to earlier already ensured that beyond the walls of the choir, the Chapter took on important duties. Principal among these was the role it played in, first, the election of the bishop, and then the administration of the diocese and principality *sede vacante*, that is upon the resignation or demise of the bishop. From the unclear and imprecise accounts of early episcopal elections at Utrecht it would seem that as elsewhere in the Christian west, the electoral body comprised numerous elements, that is, clergy, nobles, people, with in addition, significant roles for the pope and emperor. As time passes this electoral body became more formalised and exclusive. By the mid-twelfth century, at for instance the II Lateran Council (1139), the

election of bishops was held to lie with clergy of the cathedral, laymen being now formally excluded, although of course, their considerable influence could not be so excluded.

At Utrecht however, the restrictive right of the clergy to elect the bishop had not been linked with a monopoly to do so by the clergy of the cathedral, as was largely the case elsewhere. In an account of the episcopal election of 1150 at Utrecht, the electoral body was described as the *fratres* and *capitulum*, and it was by no means clear or certain that this referred exclusively to the canons of the Utrecht *Dam*, for as late as 1227 at a subsequent election there is reference to the act being performed by *tota ecclesia*. The historian of these developments, R. R. Post, concludes that the form of the electoral body had stabilised by 1342,<sup>54</sup> to a form that was enshrined in the statutes of the cathedral. By these the right of election lay in a broad electoral college comprising the canons *capitulares* of the five great chapters, the *Hoofdkerken* of Utrecht, their *prelaaten*, that is the provost and dean of each of these chapters, and in addition, from beyond the city, the provost-archdeacons of the chapters of Arnhem, Deventer, Emmerich and Oldenzaal.<sup>55</sup> While the example of an electoral college broader than the cathedral chapter was not unknown,<sup>56</sup> the electoral college at Utrecht strikes one as singularly comprehensive.

As has been suggested previously, this right of election was not, indeed could never be, insulated from the political realities existing outside the electoral college. The 'people' had been early excluded,<sup>57</sup> but could hardly be ignored in a matter that concerned the choice of their sovereign prince, and as late as 1524 at least two turbulent mobs within the city at the election following upon the death

of bishop Phillip of Burgundy appear to have had a significant effect upon the outcome.<sup>59</sup> The nobility, in the persons of both electors and candidates retained a strong interest in episcopal elections. But it was the territorial princes who secured lasting control over the election of the bishop, and amongst these it was the Valois dukes of Burgundy who secured the strongest lien on the see. The late fifteenth century saw fierce struggles over the election of the bishop at Utrecht, which 'election' was increasingly decided, not at Utrecht by the suffrages of the electoral college, but at Rome, by the nomination of the pope, and this last largely at the instance of the Valois dukes and Habsburg emperors.<sup>60</sup> The territorial ambitions threatened the independence of the prince-bishop of Utrecht, but were never articulated as direct conquest or incorporation. Nevertheless a succession of bishops secured the see either as clients of the Burgundian duke or his relatives.<sup>60</sup> This influential sway over the bishopric was converted to permanent possession by the heir to the Burgundian inheritance, the emperor Charles V in 1528, when the temporalities of the see of Utrecht were transferred to the emperor and his heirs in perpetuity, with the consent of the pope and the *Staten van Utrecht*, or Estates of the principality. In addition to the temporalities, the emperor secured papal consent to his nomination in perpetuity of the bishops of Utrecht.<sup>61</sup> These two events effectively ended the independent political role of the cathedral chapter. While the facade of election was maintained, the reality was that the canons performed little more than a dignified and empty ritual, a memorial to an earlier historical reality.

The cathedral chapter of Utrecht comprised some forty-one prebends. These were distributed into two unequal portions. Three

prebends were annexed to the cathedral fabric to support the daily services at the high altar. The remainder supported the members of the Chapter,<sup>62</sup> Within the Chapter there was a hierarchy both of sacerdotal condition and office. According to the cathedral statutes the canons were divided into nine canons in the order of priest, ten canons in the order of deacon, ten canons in the order of sub-deacon, and finally nine *acoliti canonici*.<sup>63</sup>

By the early modern period this body of canons was governed by two important dignitaries, the provost and the dean, known as the *prelaaten*. The senior dignitary was nominally the *Domproost*, the provost.<sup>64</sup> As in so many of the cathedral chapters of the Empire, the position of provost had come to be no more than that a much gilded figurehead, and at Utrecht this was expressed succinctly by the dictum that he was *Extra capitulum, sed supra capitulum*.<sup>65</sup> At Utrecht this development was demonstrated by the fact that shorn of voting power in capitular deliberations,<sup>66</sup> the provost had not by the sixteenth century even power over the administration of the capitular estate that was the nominal *raison d' être* of his existence, even this role was exercised through a surrogate chosen by the Chapter, the *socius*.<sup>67</sup> The great wealth of the office was derived from the existence, also common in the cathedral constitutions of the Empire, of the responsibility of archdeacon being annexed to his office. In the case of the *Domproost* the archdeaconry so attached, known as the archdeaconry of the *Dom*, must be reckoned as one of the most extensive in the Roman Church, for it comprised in effect the western part of what now constitutes the present kingdom of the Netherlands,<sup>68</sup> and even in the early modern period

encompassed the littoral, rich in towns, villages, and resources natural and cultivated, of the counties of Holland and Zeeland. [See Map 4]

Until the fourteenth century at least the provost at Utrecht, who had to be a cleric in the order of deacon, had been elected by the canons,<sup>69</sup> but this right had been eroded, in theory at least, by the papacy. In the Empire the office of provost of a cathedral chapter was reserved both by the Concordat of Vienna of 1448, otherwise known as the Germanic Concordat, and by particular indults to the papacy.<sup>70</sup> By the late fifteenth century at Utrecht this papal nomination was more apparent than real. Although from 1474 onwards and throughout the sixteenth century the pope did indeed provide to the office, it was at the behest of the dukes of Burgundy and their Hapsburg heirs. In 1500 a curialist cardinal, Julian Cesarini secured provision to the office, but was barred by the prompt action of Philip of Burgundy, who secured the provision of his kinsman Philibert Naturelli.<sup>71</sup> Between 1474 and 1545 the provosts of Utrecht, or *Domproosten*, were Habsburg servants, while those provided after 1545 were close kinsmen of important Habsburg officials, as the following list indicates:

PROVOST-ARCHDEACONS OF UTRECHT.

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 1474 - 1499 | SIMON VAN DER SLUYS.<br>Personal physician to duke Charles <i>the Bold</i> of Burgundy.   |
| 1500 - 1529 | PHILIBERT NATURELLI.<br>Envoy at the papal Curia to the archduke Philip <i>the Fair</i> , later ambassador to France for the emperor Charles V. |
| 1529 - 1530 | CLAUDIUS DE BOISSET.<br>President of the <i>Geheime Raad</i> .  |
| 1530 - 1543 | JOHAN SLACHEK.<br>Negotiator of the <i>Overdracht</i> at Rome.  |

- 1545 - 1572      CORNELIS VAN MEIROP.  
                     Son of Vincent van Meirop the *Tresorier*  
                     -*Generaal* of the Netherlands.
- 1573 - 1603      ANTHOINE DE HENNIN DE BOSSU.  
                     Son of the Count of Bossu, Knight of the Golden  
                     Fleece.

The effective head of the Chapter in our period was the dean. The cathedral statutes specified that the office of dean was elective,<sup>72</sup> and this right was enjoyed openly by the Chapter at least until 1528. Doubtless the bishops of Utrecht sought to influence the capitular election to secure congenial persons in so important a position. Yet the Chapter can be shown to have retained some real independence in this area. In 1509 on the death of Ludoph van Veen the Chapter proceeded to elect the Gelderland nobleman Jacob van Appeltern, counsellor to the duke of Gelderland, as dean.<sup>73</sup> This was a period of intense struggle between the Habsburgs and the duke of Gelderland, and the former were not slow to retaliate, for Habsburgs sought to secure by means of papal provision the nomination of their devoted client Willem van Enckevoirt, then resident in Rome, but the Chapter remained impervious to both the papal provision and succeeding complaints by Enckevoirt, and Van Appeltern remained secure in office until his death in May 1527.<sup>74</sup>

The death of dean Van Appeltern saw some tumultuous and certainly uncanonical gatherings to elect a successor, resulting in the rapid consecutive election of two of the canons, Amelis van Zuylen van Nyvelt and Thomas van Nyekerken, who with some scant right called themselves deans of Utrecht.<sup>75</sup> Consequent upon the *overdracht* of 1528 Charles V firmly named Johan van der Vorst van Loenbeek as dean,<sup>76</sup> and equally firmly appears to have instructed the officers of his newly

created *Hof van Utrecht* to supervise any future decanal elections in all the collegiate churches of Utrecht.<sup>77</sup>

The emperor's action was both unilateral and not apparently accepted by the capitular clergy. While the clergy were prepared perhaps after 1528 to accept the nomination by the Habsburgs to the bishopric of Utrecht and to the provostry of the cathedral, they seem to have believed that the emperor had preserved their rights of election to the deanery. As all the emperor had done was to affirm that the clergy should retain their existing privileges,<sup>78</sup> there clearly remained room for dispute, and so on 7 February 1540 the Regent Mary of Hungary had issued an edict forbidding the Chapter to elect without the consent of the central government.<sup>79</sup> Following the nomination of dean Van der Vorst there were to be three vacancies in the office of dean, all caused by the death of the incumbent. In each case the officers of the *Hof van Utrecht* sped to the cathedral on learning of the dean's demise, and formally forbade the canons to hold an election pending the arrival of royal letters of nomination. There is clear evidence that at each vacancy, in 1546, 1559, and quite dramatically so in 1572, the Chapter proceeded to, or attempted, in defiance of the officers of the *Hof van Utrecht*, a form of election.<sup>80</sup> [See APPENDIX 18] In two of the three cases referred to, that is in 1546 and 1572, the government in fact confirmed the wishes expressed by the Chapter, and proceeded to appoint as dean, in the first instance, Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven, and in the second instance, Johan van Bruhesen.<sup>81</sup> The office of dean demanded strict residence at Utrecht,<sup>82</sup> and his emoluments were double those of the resident canons, for by an episcopal grant of 1118, the office of dean had the bishop's prebend in the Chapter annexed to it.<sup>83</sup>

The deans of Utrecht in the sixteenth century were what might have been expected of the chief officer of an important church: well-born, well-connected and competent men. Only one of these men was to secure promotion to the episcopate, and that was ten days before his death, and his appointment had something of the scandalous about it.<sup>e2</sup> One is left with the impression that the deanery of Utrecht was, on the whole, the ultimate destination of rather dull men.

## DEANS OF UTRECHT.

- 1471 - 1509      LUDOPH VAN VEEN.
- 1509 - 1526      JACOB VAN APPELETEREN.  
Elected by Chapter, but election disputed  
ineffectively by Willem van Enckenvoirt.  
Gelderland nobleman, counsellor to the duke of  
Gelderland.
- 1526 - 1528      *Amelis van Zuylen van Nyvelt.*  
Elected in the words of a contemporary *armis*  
*magis factionis, quam sodalium suarum suffragiis*  
*sussectum.*
- 1528              *Thomas van Nyekerken.*  
Elected dean on removal of Van Zuylen, but in his  
turn removed by Charles V.
- 1529 - 1546      JOHAN VAN DER VORST VAN LOENBEEK.  
Appointed by emperor Charles V.  
Son of Johan Gijs Van der Vorst, Grand  
Chancellor of Burgundy.
- 1549 - 1559      ADRIAAN VAN RENESSE VAN WULVEN.  
Appointed by emperor Charles V.  
The Chapter informed the Regent Mary of Hungary  
that *Indien wij totter selve electie geprocedeert*  
*hadden, souden ongetwijffelt gecosen ende*  
*geeligeert hebben den eersam ende Edele Heeren*  
*Adriaen Van Renesse, Doem-Scholaster...*  
Member of a prominent Stichtse family.  
A married man, described as possessing *een*  
*enormis libido*, and with a papal dispensation  
to hold ecclesiastical office.

- 1560 - 1572      JOHAN VAN DER VECHT.  
 Appointed by Philip II.  
 Came of a *regenten* family of Kampen,  
 His brother was to be *Burgemeester* of Utrecht  
 during the *Beeldenstorm*.
- 1572 - 1600      JOHAN VAN BRUHESEN.  
 Elected by Chapter on evening that previous dean  
 died, after misleading *Hof van Utrecht* that an  
 election would take place.  
 Philip II confirms election.  
 Distant kinsman of dean Van der Vorst, and a  
 client of Viglius, president of the *Geheime  
 Raad*.  
 Fled the city of Utrecht, January 1577,  
 when the Spanish held fortress of  
 Vredenburg was captured by citizens.
- 1581 - 1600      JOHAN VAN DUVENVOORDE.  
 Nominated dean by the *Staten van Utrecht* on the  
 deprivation and banishment of dean Van Bruhesen.

The *Domthesaurier* or cathedral treasurer was not a financial officer of the Chapter, but the officer charged with the conservation of the altar ornaments necessary for divine service and the provision of lights for cathedral services. He had for this purpose two deputies, one who looked after the tower, and another who supervised the decorous provision of the various hangings, candles and liturgical ornaments in the choir, although the *Domthesaurier* was himself required to make an annual inventory of the cathedral treasures.<sup>84</sup> The office carried with considerable powers of patronage, principally the advowson of the parish church of Zaltbommel, and the patronage of the prebends of the chapter established in that church.<sup>85</sup> There existed also something of a landed estate, which had been added to early in the sixteenth century, by the endowments of land at Kothen and Nederlangenbroek, of one of the incumbents of the office, Evert Zoudenbalch.<sup>86</sup>

The office was an onerous one, and because of the public nature of its exercise, one apparently open to criticism. At some stage in 1532 the dean had cause to complain of insufficient lights in the choir.<sup>87</sup> A rather more serious series of complaints developed in the mid fiteen-thirties (1535 - 1539), when Albert Pigge, never the easiest of colleagues, was charged by the Chapter with neglecting the proper and sufficient supply of oil and wax for the lights at divine service. Pigge's excuse was that the lands charged with the supply of these commodities, which apparently lay in the duchy of Gelderland, were pawned to the *Staten van Utrecht*.<sup>88</sup> Another explanation reflecting more upon Pigge's administration, which in some measure supports the *Domthesaurier's* explanation, lies in the circumstance that also at this period he was behind hand with payments for the supply of candles from one Willem Boemert.<sup>89</sup>

The office, which apparently, and understandably, lay in the gift of the bishop appears to have passed by papal provision and resignation which may suggest in some instances purchase. The lengthy hold on the office by the Zoudenbalch family came to an end in 1524 by the sudden death of Gerard Zoudenbalch, and although the nomination lay with the bishop, it was a papal providee, Albert Pigge who was installed in June 1525.<sup>90</sup> Papal provision or resignation, the office came to be held after the death of Pigge by those well-connected with the bureaucratic elite of the Netherlands, as the following list reveals.

#### *DOMTHESAURIERS OF UTRECHT.*

1475 - 1482.      JOHAN TULMAN.  
                             By papal provision.  
                             Originally from the diocese of Paderborn.

- 1482 - 1503      EVERT ZOUDENBALCH.  
                   ?  
                   Of a prominent family of the city and Sticht.
- 1503 - 1524      GERARD ZOUDENBALCH I.  
                   By resignation of his uncle and predecessor.  
                   Of a prominent family of the city and Sticht.
- 1525 - 1543      ALBERT PIGGE.  
                   By papal provision.  
                   Originally from a *regenten* family of Kampen.  
                   A Catholic polemicist with a Curial background.
- 1543 - 1554      JOOST PRAET VAN MOERKERKEN.  
                   By papal provision, after a dispute with Mr.  
                   Augustin de Taxis, who sought entry by means of a  
                   *prima precum* of the emperor Ferdinand.  
                   Son of the *Stadhouder* of Holand, Zeeland and  
                   Utrecht.
- 1554 - 1562      BUCHO VAN MONTZIMA.  
                   By resignation and exchange of his predecessor.  
                   Nephew to Viglius, president of the *Geheime  
                   Raad*.
- 1562 - 1567      CHARLES PERRONET DE GRANVELLE.  
                   By resignation and exchange of his predecessor.  
                   Son of Grand Chancellor of Burgundy, and  
                   brother to Antoine Perronet de Granvelle,  
                   bishop of Arras.
- 1567 - 1574      JOHAN VAN BRUHESEN.  
                   By resignation and exchange of his predecessor.  
                   Kinsman to dean van der Vorst, and to Nicholas  
                   Michault of the *Raad van Financiën*.
- 1574 - 1585      ENGELBRECHT VAN BRUHESEN.  
                   By resignation and exchange of his predecessor  
                   consequent upon the latter being elected dean of  
                   Utrecht.

The office of *Domscholaster* was by the sixteenth century something of a survival of a more significant medieval past. Technically the holder of the post was responsible for the theological fitness of candidates presented for ordination and for the supervision and licensing of schoolmasters within the diocese.<sup>913</sup> How far this was in practice carried out other than in the matter of collecting fees for

these purposes is hard to say. Certainly in the late fifteenth century, in 1493, the then *Domscholaster*, Johan van Renesse I, complained of his exclusion from this function by the bishop, David of Burgundy, who had granted these powers to someone else. The aggrieved *Domscholaster* went on to claim that by this act the bishop had deprived him of some 2000 gulden, which seems an extraordinarily large sum, although the period over which this loss is alleged to have been sustained is not stated.<sup>92</sup> A register survives of ordinations carried out in the years 1505 - 1515,<sup>93</sup> although it would seem that shortly after this date, from at least 1518, these functions were carried out by a deputy, because the *Domscholaster* appointed that year was only fourteen years of age.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, the increasing threat of heresy later in the century made his supervision of the schoolmasters of the diocese something of a necessity, and we find that on at least two occasions, in 1559, and in 1575, the *Domscholaster* fined men for teaching without licences.<sup>95</sup>

The *Domscholaster* had a respectable estate made up of land at Bunnik and Odijk, and in the fourteenth century at least, the tithes of Wulverbroek. He shared by the early sixteenth century with the *Scholaster* of the Oudmunster portions of the tithes of Bergambacht and Lekkerkerk.<sup>96</sup> Surviving accounts from the years 1516 - 1517 reveal his revenues to have been made up of 205 florins from ordination fees, and 111 florins from the estate, making a total of 316 Holland florins, from which 37 florins were deducted for expenses.<sup>97</sup>

The office of *Domscholaster* appears to have passed much as that of the *Domthesaurierschap*, largely by resignations that might suggest sales: certainly the appointment of Henricus Huysselman, aged fourteen, in 1518 would appear to confirm this.

## DOMSCHOLASTEREN OF UTRECHT.

- ? - 1504      JOHAN VAN RENESSE I.
- 1504 - 1517      ULRICH BIEL.  
By episcopal nomination on death of predecessor.  
Originally from Baden and a close servant of  
bishop Frederik of Baden.
- 1518 - 1535      HENDRIK HUYSSSELMAN.  
By papal provision on death of his predecessor.  
Nephew to the influential curialist Johan van  
Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten, later Datary.
- 1535 - 1549      ADRIAAN VAN RENESSE VAN WULVEN.  
By papal provision on death of predecessor.  
Member of leading Stichtse family.
- 1549 - 1600      JOHAN VAN DUVENVOORDE.  
By resignation of predecessor on nomination to  
deanery of Utrecht.

For historical reasons there were attached to the Chapter several benefices, in addition to those of the archdeaconries of the *Dom* and the *Choriepiscopus*, that could only be held by canons, namely the provostries of the chapters of Elst, Leyden, Culemburg, and St. Odilienburg. These gave a certain primacy to their holders, and the provostries of Elst and Culemburg, by the sixteenth century at least still retained respectable revenues.<sup>98</sup> Following upon these were the general body of the canons, the *Domheren*, who sat in their stalls in order of seniority of reception, the longest serving of which appears to have been called the *vice-decanus*, and he served as the dean's deputy in the latter's absence.<sup>99</sup> Below these gentlemen there stretched a large and complicated hierarchy of *Domvicarissen*, or chantry priests, precentors and succentors, choristers, and a whole regiment of lay officials and employees, from the Clerk to the Chapter, the capitular *Rentmeesters*, the capitular *Schout*, or security officer, through messengers, fishermen, down to the humble *schobatorus* or sweeper of the

nave, that made up the *familia* of the cathedral, but which did not comprise the members of the Chapter.

## CHAPTER I : RECRUITMENT TO THE CHAPTER.

## 1 : Age upon securing a prebend: minors.

In approaching the subject of the age at which canons were recruited into the cathedral chapter at Utrecht it is as well to recall the antiquity of its constitution. Based largely upon the *Decretulum* of Chrodegang of Metz that was incorporated to the church law of the Empire at the Council of Aachen in 816 - 817<sup>1)</sup>, the constitution of the Chapter had in many respects become fixed by about the year 1200 as far as the administration of prebends was concerned.<sup>2)</sup> A full corpus of statutes was compiled at some stage between the years 1345 and 1349.<sup>3)</sup> At that time it was noted that the Chapter should comprise some nine canons in priest's orders, ten canons in deacons's orders, ten further canons in the order of sub-deacon, and finally *novem acoliti canonici*,<sup>4)</sup> and it was further enacted that these nine last were to receive half the value of a prebend, their role in the Chapter being that of *scolares*, in *officio acolitus ministrantes*.<sup>5)</sup> It seems clear that *acoliti* or *scolares* were child oblates, and had as such at that period, as potential clerics, along with boy choristers, a perfectly legitimate role in the early life of the Chapter as the bishop's *familia*.

By the early modern period a *canonico scolari* was deemed to have reached his majority at eighteen years of age, the age recognised by canon law as the minimum for the sub-diaconate. At this stage or shortly thereafter the aspirant canon went through the process *ad emancipandum*, or emancipation as it was termed. The *scholaster* of the Chapter presented the adolescent either in his own person, or by proxy, to the Chapter, with documentary proofs of his age and attestation of his fitness for study. On the verification of these points by the Chapter,

the young aspirant or his surrogate was conducted to his designated stall in the choir of the cathedral. Thereafter the young canon was despatched for a course of study lasting at least two years, usually at a university of his own choice.<sup>67</sup> On emancipation the young canon proceeded by the usual course, which will be outlined below, to full membership of the Chapter in the same way as other adults. Even so, by the sixteenth century the admission of boys had become something of an abuse. The Chapter could legitimately receive adolescents of, say, fifteen years of age and above, for these might well, by contemporary practice be embarking upon a course of study at the university, but little defence could be made at this period for the reception of those much younger. Canonries were, nevertheless, secured for those of tenderer years, by means of papal dispensation.

Three examples of dispensations secured in favour of minors serve to illustrate the working of the system in the diocese and cathedral of Utrecht in the first half of the sixteenth century. Gerardis Davidis de Haerlem, nine years of age, was granted a dispensation on the grounds of age in 1518 to hold church benefices,<sup>70</sup> though this particular licence may have been to possess *vicarieen*, or chantries, only. The second example, a dispensation from pope Julius II of 7 December 1503, specifically permitted the holding of a canonry and prebend in an unnamed church, by the thirteen year old noble, Otto de Heuckelom, clerk of the diocese of Utrecht.<sup>69</sup> This adolescent nobleman had in fact already received a prebend at Utrecht cathedral in August the same year, and the dispensation was essential to secure possession.<sup>69</sup> His subsequent admission was doubtless due to his birth and connections, for he was the son of the *Heer van Heuckelom*,

TABLE 1.

## MINORS ADMITTED TO THE CHAPTER 1480 - 1580.

	Time prior to emancipation	Noble	Province	Capitular canon	Other destination
BEYER, Gerard.	5½ months	-	Utrecht	11 yrs.	-
BOSSU, Ant, Henin de.	6 yrs.	*	Hainault	-	-
BRUHESEN, Joh. van.	3yrs 1 mnth.	*	Brabant	33 yrs.	-
DUVENVOORDE, Jo. van.	7yrs 8 mnths.	*	Holland	48 yrs.	-
GROEFF V. Erkelens, M.	2 yrs.	*	Gelder'd	19 yrs.	-
GROENEVELT, Arn. van.	c. 6 yrs.	*	Hainault	4 yrs.	Resignation
GROENEVELT, Jor. van.	1½ yrs.	*	Hainault	4 yrs.	Resignation
HAER, Joh. van de.	1 yr.	*	Utrecht	7 yrs.	-
HAARLEM, Bern. de.	6 yrs.	-	Holland	43 yrs.	-
HEIJENHOVEN, Lud. de.	2 yrs.	*	Luxemburg		Resignation
HOUTHEM, Lib. van.	3½ yrs.	*	Brabant	4 yrs.	-
HEUCKELOM, Otto van.	5 yrs.	*	Brabant	5 yrs.	-
HUYSSSELMAN, Hend.	7 yrs.	-	Cleves	-	-
IJSENDOORN, Wout. van.	2½ yrs.	*	Utrecht	14 yrs.	-
DENGLYS, Gabriel.	6 yrs.	-	Flanders	6 yrs.	-
RAM II, Adriaan.	1½ yrs.	-	Utrecht	27 yrs.	-
RUBENPRÉ, Ant. de.	7 yrs.	*	Namur	-	Resignation
RUBENPRÉ, Ch. de.	3½ yrs.	*	Namur	-	Resignation
RENESE, Ger. van	2½ yrs.	*	Utrecht	-	Resignation
TAETS V. LOCKHORST, D.	2½ yrs.	*	Utrecht	39 yrs.	-
TORCK, Johan.	9 yrs.	*	Gelder'd	-	Resignation
UTENENG, Amelis.	1 yr.	*	Utrecht	10 yrs.	Resignation
UTENENG, Beernt.	4 yrs.	*	Utrecht	-	-
VECHT, Hen. van der.	4 yrs.	-	O'rijssel	16 yrs.	-
VEEN, Ger. van.	1 yr.	-	O'rijssel	18 yrs.	Resignation
VORST II, Joh van der.	3½ yrs.	*	Brabant	-	Resignation
VORST, Joost van der.	3½ yrs.	*	Brabant	-	Resignation
WAEL, Johan van.	2 yrs.	*	Utrecht	-	-
WITTENHORST, Dirk van.	8 yrs.	*	Gelder'd	-	-
ZUYLEN V. NIJVELT II, J.	19 yrs.	*	Utrecht	19 yrs.	-
ZUYLEN V. NIJVELY I, J.	1 yr. 10 mths.	*	Utrecht	28 yrs.	-

while his uncle, the formidable Willem van Weerdenborch van Broichuisen<sup>10</sup> was already a member of the Chapter. Finally, when Johan van Zuylen van Nyvelt, the eight year old son of Jacob van Zuylen van Nyvelt, *Heer van Geresteyn*, applied on 6 August 1535, for the next vacant prebend in the gift of the Chapter, his procurators duly presented certification that the applicant had received the tonsure and a papal dispensation, dated at Rome, the 4 February 1534, allowing him to take up his prebend despite being below the canonical age.<sup>11</sup> Some two years later, on 18 April 1536, the *nobilis et honestus juvenis* Johan de Zuylen de Nyvelt, *minorenis* was duly admitted to the canonry and prebend vacant upon the death of Henricus Zoudenbalch.<sup>12</sup>

From the list of thirty-one minors, [See Table opp] that is, those below the age of eighteen, admitted to canonries at the cathedral between 1480 and 1581, it is clear, and not altogether surprising, that as a group they derived from prominent families of the *Sticht* and the neighbouring provinces. Of this total eight minors received their canonries at the hands of kinsfolk already members of the Chapter.<sup>13</sup> A second feature to be noted of these youthful canons is that just over half, that is some sixteen, was of university age, which as is discussed below in chapter III, is taken to be fifteen years of age and upwards.<sup>14</sup> Of the remaining boys it is to be observed that eight secured prebends below the age of twelve years of age, and all save two of these came of noble families of the Habsburg Netherlands: the Van Wael van Vronesteyn and Van Zuylen of Utrecht, the Van Duvenvoorde of Holland, the Torck family of Gelderland, the Hennin de Bossu of Flanders, and the Rubenpré of Namur. Of the two exceptions, Gabriel Denglys came of a family from Brugge, but having connections with the

principality of Liège, while Henricus Huysselman, a Rhinelander, was a nephew to the Johan Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten, a man of some considerable influence at the papal curia.<sup>15</sup> On the whole the child canon at the cathedral of Utrecht was a noble.

One further point perhaps worth mentioning is the incidence of admissions of minors to the Chapter throughout the period under review, which is indicated in the table below.

Table No. 2 : *ADMISSION OF MINORS BY DECADE.*

DECADE:	1480-	1490-	1500-	1510-	1520-	1530-	1540-	1550-	1560-	1570-
	-1489	-1499	-1509	-1519	-1529	-1539	-1549	-1559	-1569	-1579
ENTRY:	1	1	3	4	1	7	3	6	5	0

The total of thirty-one minors admitted after 1480 does not lend itself to much in the way of statistical analysis. Just over two thirds, that is twenty-two minors, were admitted in the decades after the *Overdracht*, or transfer of temporalities of 1528, and of this number the highest total, some seven cases, fell in the decade immediately after. While one might be tempted to suppose pressure from prominent families connected with the Habsburg administration following the establishment of the emperor Charles V's rule in the province, such a conclusion would be misleading, since of the seven minors, two, Johan van Zuylen I and Amelis Uteneng, came from the province of Utrecht, while the two brothers De Rubenpré, although from a comital family of Namur, had in their Van Renesse mother a lady from a well-known Utrecht house. The total of eleven minors admitted between 1550 and 1569 testifies to the tenacity of the Chapter's influence over recruitment, for they were admitted at a time when the royal government was seeking to bring some

measure of control over the composition of the cathedral chapters of the Netherlands through the introduction of the bull *Super universas* of 1559 as part of its fight against heresy.

Perhaps of more significance than the mere numbers of admissions is the question as to how many youthful canons continued with a clerical career in the Chapter, rather than utilising their canonries as a species of bursary for university study before venturing forth into the wider world as laymen. From the thirty-one minors noted all but one<sup>16)</sup> proceeded to emancipation, and of the remainder, twenty<sup>17)</sup> entered the Chapter as full canons, that is as *capitulares*. All but two of these last died as canons of Utrecht cathedral. The two exceptions were Joris (George) van Groenevelt, who resigned his prebend after four years, to follow a secular career as heir to his father,<sup>18)</sup> and Gerard van Veen whose career was rather more remarkable. Van Veen had been a member of the Chapter for eighteen years, when he resigned in October, 1575, and it was recorded of him that he had embraced Calvinism, had married, fathered many children, and died 1586 in poverty in Emden.<sup>19)</sup> There remain nine minors who although emancipated, did not proceed to full membership of the Chapter. Two of these died young while students,<sup>20)</sup> and a third was murdered.<sup>21)</sup> Of the remaining six, the two Van der Vorst brothers Johan II and Joost resigned in order to marry,<sup>22)</sup> while Antoine de Rubenpré, Arnold van Groenevelt and Lodewijk van Heijenhoven appear to have resigned to follow lay careers, that may well have included marriage, although this is not known for certain.<sup>23)</sup> Last of all was Anthoine de Hennin de Bossu who having secured a prebend in 1558 was to become provost of the cathedral in 1573 which while it gave him a prebend, did not give him a role in the Chapter's deliberations.<sup>24)</sup>

A curious development concerning the recruitment of minors that was current in the sixteenth century was the possibility of securing a canonry for a very young child by the agency of a *locum tenens*. The Chapter countenanced the practice whereby a canonry could be held for a youngster till they reached an age at which formal entry into possession of a canonry could be effected. It is not known if this practice obtained in other cathedral chapters of the Empire. A striking example concerns Johan Torck, son of the Gelderland magnate Lubbert Torck, *Heer van Hemert*. On the death of the canon Bernhard Uteneng in 1527, the Chapter bestowed the vacant canonry upon one Anthonis Hoefflant, and he accepted it *bona fide* for the benefit of Johan Torck, who at that date was about three years of age.<sup>25</sup> Some six years later, in 1533, Hoefflant duly resigned his canonry to Johan Torck. A similar case occurred in 1566 when Willem Beyer II held a canonry *bona fide* for his son Johan Beyer II who was a minor at this time, and to whom he resigned the prebend in 1572.<sup>26</sup>

In brief it may be asserted that though minors were accepted into the cathedral chapter at Utrecht throughout the sixteenth century, their total number was small, and the great majority of them proceeded to a clerical career. The admission of minors was an abuse, but an abuse at Utrecht that appears to have been confined on the whole to precisely that class that monopolised so much of the upper ranks of the church, the nobility.

## 2 : Birth.

Admission to the cathedral chapter at Utrecht had traditionally been open to freemen only. The cathedral statutes of the mid-fourteenth century explicitly stated *Nullus servus vel libertus, cercosensulis vel curmedalis in ecclesia nostra potest esse canonicus.*<sup>27</sup> The Chapter had not participated in the trend so noticeable in the German chapters whereby they became largely the preserve of the nobility through the introduction of statutes demanding of candidates strict nobiliary qualifications.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand it should not be imagined that the canons admitted to the Chapter came from a wide range of society. While there may not have existed strict, well defined nobiliary or graduate qualifications for entry, the canons of Utrecht cathedral doubtless recognised whom they meant as 'the right sort' suitable to join their ranks. Un-free status was not specifically a problem by our period, although around 1461 one Bernhard van Coesvelt was the subject of a prolonged enquiry by the Chapter which consulted legal opinion on the question as to whether a person whose former status was that of *keurmadig* or *wastinsig*<sup>28</sup> could become a member of a cathedral or collegiate church. His arcane status apparently implied either servile land tenure or personal servile status.<sup>29</sup> The lawyers submitted very long replies arguing rather safely if inconclusively that the answer depended upon custom and existing statutes.<sup>30</sup> The Chapter would seem to have played safe, for Bernhard van Coesvelt was not received as a canon.

By the sixteenth century the Chapter demanded of candidates for entry a series of documents whose import ensured that such were acceptable *super natalibus suis, vita et conversione.*<sup>31</sup> Prime amongst these documents was an attestation of legitimate birth. The question of

legitimacy appears to have exercised the Chapter in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. The statutes of the Chapter had clearly forbidden the acceptance of those of defective birth. As early as 1248 the bishop of Utrecht had sought to inhibit the sons of clerics from inheriting their father's benefices in their lifetime.<sup>32</sup> This statute is not proof that those sons were necessarily illegitimate, and it should be interpreted as an attempt to thwart the creation of family groupings within the body of canons. But by 1297 another bishop of Utrecht had enjoined upon the Chapter a statute that proclaimed *Nullus paciens defectum in natalibus potest esse canonicus in ecclesia nostra*<sup>33</sup> By the early sixteenth century, in 1505 or 1506, the Chapter had secured from the pope approval of a statute stating on this occasion *Nemo illegitimus obtinere posset canonicatus et dignitatus*.<sup>34</sup>

Apart from emphasising the apparently perennial nature of the problem of defective birth, the date of this last statute is of some interest. At this time the provost of the cathedral, Philibert Naturelli, who had obtained his office in 1500,<sup>35</sup> and the provost of St. Pieter's, Utrecht, Nicholas of Burgundy, who had obtained his office in 1498,<sup>36</sup> were both illegitimate. In 1508 the Chapter was to contest before the episcopal judge in ecclesiastical matters, the *officiaal*, the lawful birth of one of its own members, Herman van Lockhorst, who had not only been a canon since 1482, but was in addition at the time dean of the Oudmunster, and the episcopal vicar-general.<sup>37</sup> Finally, the Chapter had just received, in October, 1505, as a canon, at the behest of the archduke Philip of Austria, and heir of the Burgundian lands, the rather ambivalent figure of Adriaan Floriszn, then councillor to the duchess dowager of Burgundy, Margaret of York, and later to

become pope as Adrian VI,<sup>38</sup> Florisz'n's admission may be significant in that his parentage has apparently never been fully established: contemporaries may well have been better informed. Whether the Chapter's actions in this period, adopting the statute of 1505 - 6 and embarking upon a suit against one of its own members, represent some obscure internecine feud or has wider implications of an anti-Habsburg nature, it is hard to be certain. The next decade or so was certainly to see elements of a struggle between the Habsburgs and supporters of the Duke of Gelderland played out at Utrecht.<sup>39</sup> Suffice to observe here that the cathedral was not alone at this period in its concern about the issue of defective birth. The chapter of St. Marie passed a statute forbidding the admission of bastards in 1521<sup>40</sup> as did that of St. Pieter in 1523, tactfully doing so shortly after the death of its illegitimate provost,<sup>41</sup> while beyond Utrecht the chapter of the Hofkapel in The Hague took a disputed case in 1508 involving a person of alleged illegitimate birth as far as the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen.<sup>42</sup>

The answer to the difficulty of defective birth could of course be overcome either by the grant of dispensation from to the pope, or by an act of legitimation conceded by the sovereign power. The former option was certainly utilised at some of the collegiate churches at Utrecht. Bernhard Uteneng II, son of the *scholaster* of St. Pieter, Cornelis Uteneng, secured confirmation from pope Paul IV of a dispensation granted by a predecessor, on the strength of which he duly entered into possession of a canonry at St. Jan.<sup>43</sup> The chapter of St. Jan had received at least one other bastard in this period, and the chapter of St. Marie had received some four illegitimate canons prior to 1526.<sup>44</sup> Apart from the case of Naturelli already referred to, there

seems to be but two cases where illegitimacy might be presumed of canons of the cathedral, but obscurity surrounds both. In the first case, that of Johan Beyer II, who secured a prebend by the resignation of his father Willem Beyer II, on 30 August 1572, several members of the Chapter protested. Interestingly enough, in their protest these canons cited not the statute of 1505 - 6, but that of 1248 whereby sons of clerics were forbidden access to the benefices of their fathers during the lifetime of the latter. The protest failed as the Chapter ruled that when the father, Willem Beyer II, had been collated to the prebend in 1566, by his brother Gerard Beyer be it noted, the prebend had been specifically bestowed *bona fide* that is, as we have seen, bestowed on the father as *locum tenens* for his son, who was then a minor. The Chapter was clearly arguing that the statute of 1248 was inapplicable as the benefice did not technically belong to Willem Beyer II, and hence his son Johan Beyer II was duly admitted to his prebend. In the second instance Albert van der Vorst was collated by his father Domenicus van der Vorst in 1559. Once again there is no suggestion in the *Domresoluties* that the son was illegitimate, and no particular exception was taken by the Chapter to his admission. Although his father is not recorded as being married, that cannot be taken as evidence that he was not so joined.<sup>45</sup> There may well be a quite reputable explanation for the collation of a son to his father's canonry, for example Willem Beyer II or Domenicus van der Vorst may have been widowers who had taken minor orders late in life, so that Johan Beyer II and Albert van der Vorst could have been born in wedlock. The grounds of the protest in the first case suggest perhaps something of this order.<sup>46</sup>

Members of the Utrecht *kapittelwereld* certainly obtained legitimisation for their offspring from the sovereign power, but the slight evidence available would suggest that this was not primarily in order to secure ecclesiastical benefices. Early in the century the dean of St. Jan and *domkannunik* Thomas van Nyekerken had two illegitimate children by one Elizabeth Richalids, a daughter Clara and a son, Thomas van Nyekerken II. Both were legitimised by an act of the emperor Charles V on 23 April 1556. The dean's son had, however, been received as a canon of St. Jan at least as early as 1551 when he is mentioned as such in his father's will,<sup>47</sup> so we may presume that his entry was preceded by a papal dispensation. As dean Van Nyekerken died in August, 1556, the same year as the act of legitimisation, it is probable that what was at stake was the succession to the secular property of the dean.<sup>48</sup> Much later in the century there is the case of the son of the *domkannunik* Johan Axel seeking letters of legitimisation from Philip II, in 1590, but to what end is unknown.<sup>49</sup>

In short it seems that after the statute of 1505 - 6 the Chapter was enabled to restrict its membership to those born in lawful wedlock. This would be relatively easy for aspirants from the diocese of Utrecht whose credentials would be a matter, as the luckless Herman van Lockhorst was to claim, of *fama publican*<sup>50</sup>, but less so for strangers bearing papal provision or *prima precum*. In these cases the candidates had to provide letters of attestation as to their legitimate birth. A register of these survives covering some nine applications from the first three decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Two examples may suffice to illustrate the scope of these documents. Lazerus de Rosetis seems to have been an Italian cleric whose career led him to the

household of the cardinal archbishop of Estragom, councillor to the king of Hungary. This last cleric chanced to be in Rome when pope Julius II died. He therefore took part in the election of his successor, where it seems he took a leading role in securing the election of pope Leo X.<sup>52</sup> While doubtless the cardinal archbishop was richly rewarded by the pope as was the custom, some crumbs of papal largesse descended to his *familiaris* Rosetis in the shape of succession to the several benefices of the lately deceased curialist Johan Krijs, amongst which was a canonry at the cathedral of Utrecht.<sup>53</sup> Rosetis' certificate notes that he is a priest, a canon of the cathedral of Estragom, and further that he was legitimate, *mensa et thoro natus*, although his place of birth and parents' names are not given. This attestation was issued by one Gaspar Bezer, *vicaris* of the cathedral of Breslau, although in what capacity is not stated, and the names of the witnesses are indecipherable.<sup>54</sup> Coming from what must have appeared to be the edge of the known world to the canons of Utrecht, despite whatever misgivings they may have had, the Chapter admitted Rosetis to the prebend. A similar document in favour of Johan van Drolshagen of c. 1507 is much more informative. It reveals that Drolshagen was in the order of sub-deacon, born in the parish of St. Martin in the city of Munster, the legitimate son of the armigerous Arnold von Drolshagen and his wife Richemodi.<sup>55</sup> Here again the document has been attacked by damp and the rank and signature of the issuing authority has been obliterated. Three of the remaining examples were issued by the episcopal *official* of Liege, one by the *official* of Munster, and another by the *official* of the provost of Emmerich. In addition two of the candidates secured attestations from local town governments, Hendrik Huysseleman, who was subsequently received as a

canon, that of the town of Bielefeld (Westphalia), and Cornelis Ziemers that of the *regenten* of Hoorn in Westfriesland.<sup>56</sup>

### 3 : Clerical status.

A further requisite of the candidate for a canonry at the cathedral was a certificate confirming the aspirant's clerical status. The *Rechtsboek* of the cathedral had laid it down that a canon who was a minor should on attaining the age of eighteen receive the order of sub-deacon.<sup>57</sup> It will be recalled that the constitution of the Chapter required that specific numbers of its canons should be in specific orders, that is nine priests, ten deacons, ten sub-deacons, and nine acolytes, in other words all canons of the cathedral except for the acolytes,<sup>58</sup> had to be at least in the order of sub-deacon. A not untypical entry in the *Domresoluties* was that of 16 March, 1535, when Johan van der Vorst van Loenbeke was admitted as dean, an office that by the statutes of the Chapter could only be held by a priest, it was observed that Van der Vorst was *admissus ad prebendam et actu in ordinam subdiaconale*.<sup>59</sup> On occasion, however, the Chapter did waive the requirement of the sub-diaconate, an example being the reception of the Namur nobleman Jean de Warisoulx, who had secured a prebend by exchange in 1550. He held the canonry till 1564, in the April of which year the Chapter absolved him from taking the order of sub-deacon. In August the same year he resigned his prebend to his nephew Lodewijk van Heijenhoven, entering upon the state of matrimony with a noble lady.<sup>60</sup>

On the whole, the possession of the subdiaconate at least seems to have been usual for entry to the Chapter. From the late fifteenth century there survives an example of a certificate in favour of Gerard Beyer I, who was to become a *domkannunik* in 1514, issued by the margrave Frederick of Baden, bishop of Utrecht, testifying that Beyer had received the subdiaconate at the hands of the auxiliary bishop of Utrecht, on 10 March 1498.<sup>61</sup> Beyer had in fact secured in the previous year, in September 1497, one of the cathedral chantries, the *vicarie* on the altar of St. Margarete.<sup>62</sup> In 1502 he secured from the papal legate cardinal Peraudi a dispensation from seeking the order of deacon and ordination for five years.<sup>63</sup> Within that period he had acquired, a further *vicarie* at St. Marie, in 1507, which he resigned, as was required, since by the statutes at Utrecht a man could not hold two benefices in the same church, consequent on becoming a canon there in 1510.<sup>64</sup> Whether he secured further dispensations is not known, nor is it known whether he proceeded to ordination, for, despite becoming involved in a dispute he eventually lost over the possession of the parish church of Duivenee in 1517,<sup>65</sup> as we shall see, Gerard Beyer's claim upon a benefice with cure of souls, cannot be taken as evidence that he possessed priest's orders. Indeed his career has been outlined in some detail here because it exemplifies some of the difficulties in determining whether or not the canons of the Utrecht *Dom* were in major orders. It has been suggested by one respected source that the title *dominus* in documents is usually sufficient to indicate priestly status,<sup>66</sup> but this may be too optimistic for the canons of the cathedral, whose social status was considerable, and they might well have merited this mark of respect in their capacity as secular lords.

We may safely assume that the vast majority of the canons were sub-deacons, but as the case of Jacob van Appelteren illustrates, it is far harder to discover whether or not they were priests. The possession of a parish church, a benefice with cure of souls, might seem to indicate ordination, but in 1501, Van Appelteren, deacon and *domkannunik*, secured a papal dispensation to delay ordination for two years, despite his possession of the church of Wassum in the diocese of Liège.<sup>67</sup> As it was, he did not take priest's orders until 1509, some three months after his election as dean of Utrecht.<sup>68</sup>

The sacerdotal status of some thirty canons of the *Dom* can be established with certainty. Ten of these belonged to the Utrecht *Priesterbroederschap*, an association of priests devoted to the provision of qualified clergy to serve at the numerous chantries throughout the city.<sup>69</sup> The remaining twenty are identified as priests by specific reference in contemporary documents.<sup>70</sup> A further thirty-seven may - very tentatively - be classified as priests, although it must be stressed that the known use of dispensations makes these last identifications suspect, and they are advanced in the light of *prima facie* evidence only. Amongst this last group some twenty-seven canons may have held priestly orders on the grounds that they held parish churches,<sup>71</sup> but for the reason given above this is not infallible evidence. Nevertheless, even allowing for a fair degree of abuse in this area, the figure is suggestive. We may add to this last group a smaller one comprising those canons, eight in number, who held senior offices in collegiate churches that normally implied priestly status, that is, usually the office of dean.<sup>72</sup> Finally there remain the three canons who held posts that implied priestly status, that is specifically episcopal

chaplains,<sup>73</sup> for whom we may presume their office was rather more than a household official given this cover-all title, but was specifically charged with chapel duties.

At the very least, the thirty identifiable priests represent around 12% of the total number of canons of our period, while the higher total sixty-eight, secured by adding the more ambivalent sample of thirty-eight would suggest an upper limit of 27% of the canons in the period 1477 - 1581 had been ordained priests. Whether this sort of calculation really tells us anything about the chapter of Utrecht in the sixteenth century may be doubted: that the Chapter was not a college of priests is clear, but then its constitution was not designed to create one. What seems to have been required was sufficient numbers of priests and deacons to carry out in a dignified manner the duty of serving the high altar for each day of the liturgical year. Whether in addition the small number of identifiable priests is, as a group, worthy of further investigation is also doubtful. We may however note that of the total eighteen were not from the principality or *Sticht* of Utrecht, and of these, twelve came from dioceses other than that of Utrecht.<sup>74</sup>

#### 4 : Means of securing a prebend.

At a congress of German princes held at Aschaffenburg in July 1447, under the presidency of the emperor Frederick III, it was agreed that Nicholas V should be recognised as the lawfully elected pope. This princely decision was subsequently confirmed and ratified at Vienna in February, 1448. For his part the newly recognised pope issued a bull on 19 March 1448, confirming the Concordat recently agreed to at Vienna.<sup>75</sup> Older historians, it has been claimed by J. B. Toews, have tended to see

this concordat as signifying "the re-establishment of papal supremacy, the destruction of conciliarism and even the partial restoration of the medieval Christian Commonwealth by virtue of the submission of the Empire to Rome".<sup>76</sup> For his part Toews, has suggested a different and more modest interpretation. He sees the concordat as clarifying imperial-papal relations. This process is seen also as clarifying these relations in the face of strong claims by the emperor to be master in his own house, to have control of ecclesiastical lands and institutions,<sup>77</sup> 'providing a legal basis for the territorial church which emerged in the sixteenth century'.<sup>78</sup> Toews also points out that the concordat was actually an extra-legal agreement in which most precepts of canon law were conveniently ignored, and that from a strictly diplomatic point of view it was 'nothing more than an agreement between two states'.<sup>79</sup>

In effect the terms of the Concordat of Vienna sought within the Empire to affirm the rights of election of cathedral chapters and the election of the heads of certain monastic houses, to regulate papal taxation, to regulate the reception of papal provisions and reservations. The first clause concerns those benefices reserved to the pope, and they are the traditional cases of those benefices falling vacant *apud sedem apostolicam*, through deposition or translation by the pope himself, by papal arbitration in disputed elections, by resignation, or by the death of papal officials of the papal curia.<sup>80</sup> By the second clause the pope was empowered to present to benefices if the legitimate collator failed to do so, and in the case of undue delay also to present.<sup>81</sup> It was the third clause that particularly concerned the cathedrals and collegiate churches of the Empire, and therefore the

cathedral of Utrecht. In this instance the pope reserved to himself in cathedral chapters the presentation to that dignity following the bishop, that is to the office of provost,<sup>82</sup> while vacancies falling in the remaining offices and benefices were to be left to the ordinary collator, papal provisions notwithstanding, falling vacant in the even months of the year. In the uneven months of the year the pope was to retain the right to nomination through papal provision, and such a nomination was to remain valid if presented within three months following the vacancy.<sup>83</sup> It is this convention for the filling of vacancies, especially those in cathedral and collegiate churches, that has come to be known in the administrative history of the church of the Empire as the 'alternative'. The fourth clause enumerated the charges payable to the Apostolic Chamber in place of the much resented *fructus primi anni*, the so-called common services or annates.<sup>84</sup> In the case of simple prebends at cathedral churches the tax was to be levied at a flat rate of 24 florins irrespective of their value.<sup>85</sup>

The Concordat of Vienna was accepted at the cathedral of Utrecht, and after the *Overdracht* of 1528, the emperor Charles V confirmed the Concordat in 1548,<sup>86</sup> and it continued to govern entry to the Chapter until the bull *Super universas* of 1559. Although there were then several means securing a prebend, these were exercised within the framework of the Concordat of Vienna, that is, vacancies falling in even months were filled by the Chapter, while vacancies falling in uneven months were filled by the pope. We now turn to a closer examination of these means of securing a prebend.

According to the cathedral statutes prebends were conferred by *decanum nostram et capitulum communiter*.<sup>87</sup> By the sixteenth century, if

not earlier, this statement is far too simplistic. Entry to possession of a canonry and prebend of the Chapter was by several formal means: (i) exchange, (ii) resignation *in favorem*, (iii) coadjutory *de jure successionis*, (iv) collation by the capitular *turnarius*, (of which further details are given below), (v) episcopal collation following an undesignated resignation, (vi) papal provision, and (vii) nomination by the Holy Roman Emperor by *prima precum*. Any of these means, or a combination of them, might be utilised by the *Landsheer*, by a Netherlands magnate, or indeed anyone desirous of membership of the Chapter for themselves or their kinsfolk or connections. Finally, and most informal of all, and specifically forbidden by canon law, was the purchase of prebends, simony.

Exchange of benefices, *permutatio*, was sanctioned by canon law. At its most basic the transaction involved agreement by the contracting parties before a notary and witnesses whereby two, or on occasion more, benefices were exchanged with the permission of the legal collator or patron of the benefices, and with the consent also of the ordinary.<sup>229</sup> In addition such an exchange was invalid if either of the principals involved in the transaction died within twenty days of completion,<sup>230</sup> a provision intended to prevent death-bed exchanges that would have robbed collators of their rights of presentation, and created a species of mortmain in benefices. Some fourteen accounts of the episcopal vicar-general of the diocese of Utrecht, and of the archdeacon of Utrecht, to whom fees were payable on the exchange of benefices, have been published for the sixteenth century.<sup>231</sup> From these it is clear that a considerable traffic in benefices of all types existed: those without cure of souls

such as chantries to important cathedral offices, as well as parish churches, which did carry cure of souls.<sup>91</sup>

Clearly an exchange could only take place if the parties to the agreement both had something to exchange. Technically all clerics had a possession capable of exchange in their 'title'. A cleric's title was in canon law his means of support, either a benefice or office, and thirdly, and most important for an aspiring cleric, private means, *ad titulum patrimonii*. For the class under discussion in this study, this last claim for a title was quite genuine, but it was a claim that could be easily abused.<sup>92</sup> In the published accounts from the diocese of Utrecht this ambivalent possession, cited therein as *pro beneficio titulari*, makes its appearance countless times in exchange transactions. It will be recalled that an exchange required the consent of the patron or collator and ordinary. The collator of prebends in the cathedral was the Chapter itself, and it does not appear to have refused requests for exchanges, for doubtless its resident members had their own subterranean means of ascertaining if an aspirant proposing an exchange was acceptable. Certainly each recorded exchange in the *Domresoluties* is preceded a day or two earlier with a paragraph headed *licentia permutat. prebem*. Episcopal consent appears to have been largely a formality, although evidence for refusals would be understandably scant.<sup>93</sup>

Among a wide range of benefices exchanged, the printed accounts mentioned above refer only to four cases which concern prebends at the *Dom*,<sup>94</sup> but this figure represents only a tiny fraction of such exchanges in prebends at the cathedral that actually took place. Of some 197 prebends falling vacant in our period, 127 became so on the death of the incumbent, while of the remainder, some 70 prebends, were exchanges.

As might be expected simple exchanges allowed for the retention of prebends in the hands of members of one particular family, an abuse already alluded to in the provision of a lapse of twenty days after the exchange in which the principals were still to be living.<sup>95</sup> Of the seventy prebends exchanged in the period 1477 to 1581, fourteen, almost a quarter, were exchanges between close relatives, most commonly within one generation, brothers with brothers, or from one generation to another from uncles with nephews.<sup>96</sup> The motives for the other exchanges are considered below.

A more elaborate form of exchange was the process known in full as *resignatio in favorem tertii cum reservatione pensionis annuae*, whereby the holder of a benefice resigned it into the hands of the pope on the understanding that the pope will regrant it to a person named in the act of resignation in return for a pension charged on the benefice.<sup>97</sup> This procedure was naturally very costly, for the documentation took place at Rome, and necessitated the employment of procurators by the various parties concerned. It is not therefore altogether surprising to find it little used for simple prebends outside family exchanges. Given the expense of these procedures it was probably preferable to secure papal provision, which was usually for the next vacancy, rather than resignations *in favorem* for a specific vacancy. Resignations *in favorem* usually included the provision of a pension to the original holder of the benefice. In the case of a disputed presentation, where both parties wished to avoid expensive litigation in the Roman Curia, one claimant might resign his claims to the other in return for a pension usually, though not invariably, charged on the disputed benefice.<sup>98</sup> That this same practice was followed in the case

of prebends in the *Dom* need not be doubted, but evidence in specific cases of prebends does not survive, although we know that this happened in respect of two cathedral offices.

On the death of Mr. Willem van Alphen, provost of Leyden, in 1494, the provostry was bestowed upon Mr. Nicholaas de Lavennis, chaplain to the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy, but the office was charged with a pension payable to Mr. Willem Heda.<sup>99</sup> Heda was employed as secretary to Philibert Naturelli, orator of duke Philip of Burgundy at the papal curia who had applied for the reversion Alphen's various benefices, including the provostry of Leyden, in 1493,<sup>100</sup> the year before Alphen's death. A possible interpretation of these events could well be that Naturelli had agreed to withdraw his claims upon the provostry of Leyden for a pension in favour of his secretary. With Naturelli in Rome capable of causing endless delays, Lavennis probably thought it prudent to reach such an accommodation. A second occasion appears to have concerned the office of treasurer of the cathedral, the *Domthesaurier*. On the death of Albert Pigge in 1543 the vacant office was claimed by Joost van Praet van Moerkerken on the collation of the bishop of Utrecht, George van Egmont. There also appeared the proctors of another claimant, Mr. Augustin de Taxis, whose claims to the office derived from the *prima precum* exercised in his favour from Ferdinand, King of the Romans, brother to the emperor Charles V. Both candidates were formidable claimants: Van Praet van Moerkerken was the son of the *stadhouder* of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, Lodewijk van Praet van Moerkerken, as well as already being a member of the Chapter,<sup>101</sup> while Augustin de Taxis was a relation, albeit illegitimate, of the Imperial Master of the Posts of the Empire, the count of Taxis.<sup>102</sup> The Chapter

accepted Van Praet van Moerkerken, but there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that de Taxis was bought off. In 1548 the *pastoor* of Bovenkarspel in Westfriesland was excommunicated for his failure to continue the payment of a *jaarrente*, or annuity, of eighteen gold ducats in favour of Mr. Augustin de Taxis.<sup>103</sup> The significance of this case arises from the circumstance that the patron of the living of Bovenskarspel was none other than the *Domthesaurier* of Utrecht.<sup>104</sup>

A variant form of exchange was the appointment of a *coadjutor de jure successionis*, that is, the appointment of an assistant who on the demise of the benefice holder would succeed him. While this practice developed from the honourable desire to lighten the burden of aging clerics with multifarious duties, it had the disadvantage in elective offices, such as those of bishop, abbot or dean of excluding the suffrages of the elective body, and in nominated offices, of excluding the rights of the patron. For these reasons the creation of such coadjutories had to be sanctioned by the pope, making this therefore an expensive process. Even so, at least one prebend in the *Dom* was secured in this manner. In 1539 - 40 the Brabant nobleman Liebrecht van Houthem petitioned pope Paul III that because of his failing eyesight and other sufferings, Johan van Bruhezen, also from Brabant, be appointed his *coadjutor de jure successionis*, which petition was granted on 14 June 1540.<sup>105</sup> Later in the same decade, in 1546, a similar petition was granted to Marcus van Weze, *domkannunik* and provost of Elst, who suffering from gout, claimed to need the services of a *coadjutor* in the person of Dirk van Wittenhorst. What was at stake here was not Van Weze's prebend, for Van Wittenhorst was already a member of the Chapter, but Van Weze's rich provostry of Elst.<sup>106</sup> The *Domproosdij* itself passed

in this way in 1562 when Cornelis van Meiroop secured papal assent to the appointment as his coadjutor of Antoine de Hennin de Bossu.<sup>107</sup> Because of the heavy expenses this method of entry to the Chapter was limited to the wealthy and well-connected who used it in respect of cathedral offices rather than for of simple prebends. We may reasonably suspect that it could also be a cover for a straightforward purchase, but there is no documentary evidence, which in the circumstances need cause no surprise, to prove this.

Something of the opportunities for self-recruitment in the membership of the Chapter have been revealed in the mechanism of exchange, resignation and coadjutorship. A further area for self-recruitment lay in the filling of vacancies on the death of a canon. According to the Concordat of Vienna of 1448, and the system of the 'alternative' to which it gave rise, the Chapter retained the right to collate to vacancies falling in the even months of the year. On the death of a canon in the even months, the Chapter represented by the dean and the full capitular canons, the *capitulares*, nominated to the vacancy *capitulariter*. This was not done by a general majority vote of all the canons on the candidates for admission, but by the nomination of one canon, the *turnarius*, representing his fellows on this occasion. The institution of the *turnarius* was well-known in the chapters of the Empire,<sup>108</sup> and could be of two kinds, the *turnus fixus* and the *turnus errans*. By the first each canon in a collegiate body in turn of seniority, irrespective of the time of the year, collated to vacant benefices. The second method, the *turnus errans*, operated when the liturgical year was divided up for the purpose of spreading the burdens of the services among the canons, either by the week, the month, or

indeed any other designated period, and the canon thus on duty nominated to vacancies falling in his period of duty.<sup>108</sup> At Utrecht both forms were utilised up to the end of the fifteenth century. Entry to all positions in the cathedral, both lay and clerical, not held by canons, had been governed since 1341 by the application of the *turnus errans*, but the statute governing these dispositions specifically excludes canonries, which were to be bestowed by means of the *turnus fixus*.<sup>109</sup> Thus individual canons had the right to nominate to prebends in strict turn, rather than by virtue of the circumstance of being on duty at some period in the year, some of which periods, the winter months for instance, might carry off more canons than more temperate periods.

According to the *Rechtsboeck* the canons had originally agreed in advance upon the candidate to be received at any forthcoming vacancy not already predetermined by other forms of collation or earlier agreements. Thus in June 1482, Johan ter Molen, doctor of medicine and already a canon of Deventer, secured the consent of a majority of the fourteen canons present that he should receive the next vacant prebend in the gift of the Chapter. Ter Molen had to wait until 15 June 1486 before he was admitted to a prebend.<sup>110</sup> Whether this procedure was conducive to peaceful relations within the Chapter may be doubted, for cabal and ill-will was inherent in the system of pre-election that this procedure implied. Certainly this practice caused discord in other chapters of the city,<sup>112</sup> and it may well have been this that led the Chapter to promulgate a statute on 27 October, 1500, at a meeting attended by some twenty-three resident canons, which stated that in future prebends would be bestowed *in turno ordinaria*. With the opportunities for nepotism that such a method of recruitment by the *turnarius* implied, there was clearly

a motive for that opportunity to be institutionalised for the benefit of the individual resident canons. We do not know who took this initiative for change, but it may be significant that at the next vacancy to be filled by the Chapter, the dean, Ludolph van Veen, with the canons agreeing *concorditer*, nominated his nephew Johan van Uterwijk.<sup>113</sup> The only other observation to be made about the timing of this statute is that it occurred during a period of increasing rivalry between the partisans of Habsburg and Gelderland within the *Sticht*. This procedure may be demonstrated by taking at random the working of the system by canons entering the Chapter in the decade 1550 -1559. In this period three canons, Johan van Veen, who entered the Chapter in 1525, Hendrik Govertszn. *alias* van Compostell, 1527, and finally Albert van der Vorst, 1537, nominated respectively in 1553, 1558, and 1564.<sup>114</sup>

The *Domresoluties* unfortunately do not consistently record the name of the *turnarius* on every occasion that the Chapter collated to a vacant prebend. Where the *turnarius* is named, we discover that a significant number, some twelve out of the fifty-one occasions when the Chapter collated, were nominations in favour of close relatives, thus:

TABLE NO. 3 : *TURNARIUS COLLATING KINSMAN TO PREBEND.*

TURNARIUS.	KINSHIP TO NOMINEE.
Ludolphus van Veen, Dean, (1500)	Maternal uncle to Johan van Uterwijk.
Herman Tulman, (1510)	Maternal uncle to Gerard Hucker.
Adriaan Ram I, (1517)	Uncle to Adriaan Ram II.
Arnold Boeckelaer, (1518)	Maternal uncle to Frans Sonck.
Albert van Leeuwenberch, (1526)	Uncle to Maarten van Leeuwenberch.
Gerard Beyer I, (1544)	Uncle to Johan Beyer II.
Adriaan Ram II, (1545)	Brother to Gerard Ram.
Johan van Veen, (1552)	Great-uncle to Gerard van Veen.
Hendrik Govertszn. (1558)	Uncle to Johan van Wee.
Albert van der Vorst, (1559)	Son to Domenicus van der Vorst.
Johan Beyer, (1566)	Brother to Willem Beyer II.
Gerard Ram, (1580)	Maternal uncle to Arnold van der Kark.

It was possible, of course to collate more remote kinsmen, but this is less easy to verify, but the desire to utilise the infrequent opportunity to grant freely a prebend to one's kinsfolk would be strong in sixteenth century Utrecht. As an example one may cite the case of dean Johan van Bruhesen, on whom the role of *turnarius* fell in 1577. His only available brother being already a member of the Chapter, the canonry was bestowed upon a distant cousin, Louis Micault, although as the cousin was the son Nicholas Micault, then a member of the *Geheime Raad*, one suspects perhaps a trifle more than family affinity in the gift.<sup>115</sup>

The opportunity for rewarding friends or ingratiating oneself with potential patrons would appear to be considerable. Something of this last may be present in the circumstances of Adriaan van Renesse's nomination of Maximilian Morillon to a canonry in 1551. Renesse was, on his own admission quite unsuited to the clerical life, but appears to have determined upon doing as well as might be out of his enforced clerical status by collecting prebends and parish churches.<sup>116</sup> On 18 April 1549 the Crown nominated him to the deanery of Utrecht. How he came by this benefice for which as a married man he seemed particularly ill-suited,<sup>117</sup> is unknown, nevertheless some considerable influence would appear to have been exercised upon his behalf. It is however suggestive, though no more, that in February 1551, some two years after his appointment as dean, Renesse as *turnarius* collated Maximilian Morillon to a prebend in the *Dom*, who in turn resigned it a year later.<sup>118</sup> Morillon was an important figure in the circle of Antoine Perronet de Granvelle, later cardinal, but at that date bishop of Arras, but more importantly, perhaps, for Renesse's career, the son of Nicolas

Perronet de Granvelle, Grand Chancellor of Burgundy, and effectively the emperor's right-hand man in the Habsburg Netherlands.<sup>119</sup> Whether Morillon was the link between Renesse and the powerful Granvelle family is an open question, and it is an even more open question as to whether the prebend, the first in the gift of the new dean, was part of any *quid pro quo* for securing the deanery of Utrecht, but the circumstances are suggestive.

The topic of simony in the transfer of canonries is discussed more fully at the end of this chapter, but it is clear that the right of presentation by the *turnarius* could be a negotiable asset, and there is some *prima facie* evidence that the opportunity to treat it as such was taken. Reference has already been made to the admission of minors, and in particular to the case of Johan Torck for whom a species of *locum tenens* was found in the person of Anthonis Hoefflant, to whom in 1527 the prebend was given. Significantly Hoefflant secured his prebend from the *turnarius* Johan van Drolshagen. There seems to be no clear connection in terms of kinship or affinity in other respects between the son of a *burgemeister* of Münster, Johan van Drolshagen and the Gelderland magnate family of Torck,<sup>120</sup> although the existence of such links should not be discounted entirely. In the many of the cases where there is no obvious links of family or office between *turnarius* and nominee, it may be uncharitable to assume simony, but the opportunity was there nonetheless.

Papal provision to benefices throughout Christian Europe stemmed from the concept of the papal plenitude of power over the whole Church and was used initially by the popes to reward servants at the Curia and elsewhere. The process by which such provisions were made was first

officially recognised under pope Clement IV (1265 - 1268) with the issue of the decretal *Licet ecclesiarum* of 27 August 1265, by which benefices of those dying at the papal Curia lay in the gift of the pope. This was extended under pope Boniface VIII (1294 - 1303) to the benefices of those dying within two days journey of the papal court, and these classifications were further extended under pope Clement V (1305 - 1314). It was under pope John XXII (1316 - 1344) that the accretions of papal claims to provide to benefices since the initial decree of 1265 were codified, in the constitution *Ex debito*, and this effectively covered all benefices held by anyone attending the Curia, or attached to it, wherever they might be at the time of their death.

This process was not without criticism or opposition. As Barraclough noted, the papal registers of the thirteenth century are the best proof of a growing and determined resistance to provisions,<sup>121</sup> but he went on further to observe, however, "that the system of provisions, as it existed about the middle of the thirteenth century, produced itself."<sup>122</sup> The reason for this is epitomised in the words of Ulrich of Steinfeld who had been asked by a friend about the best means of securing a canonry in the chapter of St. Cassius at Bonn. While acknowledging that a worthy life was no doubt the most admirable recommendation for such a position, the best way of securing it was to approach the strongest agency that could procure it: *Fideliter vobis consulo ut humilitate et servicio vestro per amicos vestros potius apud eos agatis quam per superiorem potestatem.*<sup>123</sup> While provisions incurred considerable criticism from contemporaries,<sup>124</sup> as well as historians of the late medieval church,<sup>125</sup> the initiative for provisions by the pope at the instance of agencies outside the papal Curia must not be

overlooked, Barraclough reminds us that, "They [provisions] were not powers taken by the papacy, but powers given to the papacy".<sup>126</sup> Hence while papal provisions were often used by agencies outside the papacy, they were utilising powers given to the papacy, not taken by, the papacy, and hence also was recognised by other outsiders a need to regulate this power to nominate. It clearly was the case by the mid-fourteenth century in the Empire at least, if not also elsewhere, that some form of control on the power of the pope in the nomination of benefices in general, and rather more significantly, in the presentation of prebends in collegiate churches, was necessary. Barraclough and Mollat may have found mitigating reasons to explain the papacy's use of provisions,<sup>127</sup> but there can be little doubt such grants on a large scale deprived collegiate bodies and monastic houses of their electoral rights.<sup>128</sup>

In the Empire electoral rights became increasingly important as the collegiate churches, and especially cathedral chapters became more socially exclusive. This is not the place to discuss this issue at length,<sup>129</sup> but by the fifteenth century there was a marked stiffening in nobiliary requirements for admission to such churches,<sup>130</sup> but this ran counter to the policy of the papacy. According to one historian of the Rhenish cathedral chapters,

*Die Päpste erreichten ihren Zweck höchstens dann wenn das Kapitel gegen den Providierten, namentlich gegen dessen Abstammung nichts einzuwenden hatte, was aber selten vorkam, da die Päpste sass nur Kurialen providierten ohne Ansehung des Geburtstandes*<sup>131</sup>

Whether this was in fact the case is debatable, but it is undoubted that the Concordat of Vienna certainly set a limit upon papal powers of nomination in collegiate churches, and the system of the 'alternative',

(an inhibiting element in accepting provisions to be discussed later), certainly did not make up for the losses incurred by the concessions made by the papacy in 1448.<sup>132)</sup> While historians have stressed, and rightly so, the importance of the concordat of Vienna in terms of loss to the papacy, and of gains for the expanding territorial princes of the Empire,<sup>133)</sup> in many ways the chief beneficiary appears to have been the nobility, who by co-options, resignations *in favorem*, and simony, secured places in many chapters both cathedral and collegiate. The members of such chapters have been fairly described by one historian as

"... mostly not in priests' orders and drawn exclusively from noble families, (*Gottesjunker* as they were called) ... indistinguishable from their fighting, hunting elder brothers, except for their unmarried status".<sup>134)</sup>

Provisions, or more accurately, reservations, fell into two classes, the special reservation and the general reservation. The special reservation concerned one benefice only, by reason of its location, status or possessor, and such a reservation might last in perpetuity or for a specific period.<sup>135)</sup> We have already seen how the papacy reserved to itself the nomination to the dignity following the bishop, that is, the provost, in each of the cathedral chapters of the Empire. In the Habsburg Netherlands two examples in addition to the provostry of the cathedral of Utrecht may suffice to illustrate the case. The nomination to the bishopric of Cambrai, while technically in the gift of the cathedral chapter there by election, was reserved to the papacy. When under the terms of the scheme of new bishoprics set up by Philip II in 1559 Cambrai was raised to archiepiscopal status, the papal rights of nomination were specifically safeguarded.<sup>136)</sup> In the diocese

diocese of Utrecht the provostry of St. Jan in the city of utrecht was also reserved to the papacy.<sup>137</sup> Although papal rights in these benefices was recognised by all, it should at once be acknowledged that in practice these reservations in the Netherlands were often at the disposal of the *Landsheer*. The bishops of Cambrai in the sixteenth century came of families prominent at the Habsburg court, <sup>138</sup> while the provosts of St. Jan in the same period, initially curialists, were by the middle of the century, Habsburg officials and their connections who owed little to the papacy for their benefice.<sup>139</sup>

The pope's traditional rights of nomination under the special reservations caused less resentment than the general reservations. General reservations affected, either in perpetuity or temporarily, all benefices within certain categories, vacant or due to fall vacant, either in the whole church, or in some specified province, diocese or kingdom.<sup>140</sup> In the Netherlands these general reservations were almost totally absorbed, or rather transferred by the pope, to the ruler as in indults granted to the emperor Charles V in 1515.<sup>141</sup>

In addition to reservations which applied to benefices in fact vacant, the popes had also claimed to present to benefices not yet vacant, but which would become so at some future date, the so-called right of expective. This development led to intense lobbying of patrons of benefices who by the pontificate of Alexander IV (1254 - 1261) were, according to the pope himself, faced with numerous *recepti*, sometimes as many as ten or so; in the case of collegiate churches, the *recepti* greatly exceeded the number of prebends available. The pope acted decisively, if unfairly, in issuing the constitution *Execrabilis* of 5 April 1255, by limiting those received by expective in any church to

four.<sup>142</sup> It did not eradicate the problem, but as Barraclough observed it was 'a provisional enactment, intended to remedy a definite existing evil'. The pope's action highlights one important point to be borne in mind in considering papal provisions. A provision was made on the initiative of the petitioner for a benefice alone. Barraclough continues:

'...a petition was not refused, if the necessary legal requirements were fulfilled and the usual fees paid; for the central organisation regarded its task, not as that of filling vacant places in the hierarchy to greatest possible advantage, but merely providing remedies against unqualified petitioners and of preventing illegalities on the part of the impetrant... At the Curia no one knew what had been disposed of.<sup>143</sup>

The bearer of an expective or a provision had thus to run the gauntlet of objections at the church at which he presented his claims: the petitioner's lack of qualifications at law, such as age or defective birth, existing papal indulgences or indults at particular churches, or indeed the existence of rival claimants. An illustration of these perils can be gained by the activity of Johan van Voorthuisen who by means of a papal expective secured possession of the provostry of the chapter of Deventer, only to run foul of the Regent Margaret of Parma who was administering the creation of the new diocese of Deventer to which the provostry was to be annexed for the endowment of the new bishop there.<sup>144</sup> As may be imagined, securing a reservation or expective was expensive. The aspirant cleric required the means to support agents at Rome to press his claims at the Curia, and then to pay the fees due on the numerous stages that his petition went through, from supplication to bull of provision,<sup>145</sup> and finally to secure the service of proctors to present the completed bull to the relevant collator, should the candidate be unable to take possession in person.

An examination of the system of reservations in the sixteenth century at Utrecht often raises more questions than it explain. There are certainly examples of the pope exerting a straightforward reservation over a canonry at the *Dom*, as when on the 27 November 1528, Clement VII granted Adolf van Crefeld such a canonry and reserved a prebend for him.<sup>146</sup> That was the commonest form of what is known as the papal provision. Once the papal letter was issued it was then up to the providee to secure the services of an agent in or near the place of his reserved benefice, so that as soon as a vacancy occurred, he was enabled to make good his claim. The complexities that could ensue are illustrated by the events following the demise of Gerard Zoudenbalch in the summer of 1522. The prebend thus falling vacant was claimed by the *domkannunik* Markus van Weze, provost of Elst, on behalf of the curialist Pierre Maiorot. The distant Maiorot had to contend with the very formidable opposition of Joris Schenck van Toutenburg, *stadhouder* of Friesland, acting on behalf of his son Frederik Schenck. The Chapter of Utrecht received letters from the alert father, as well as from the bishop of Utrecht Philip of Burgundy, and in addition from the regent Margaret of Austria. Even as these letters were being penned, the Chapter had in fact accepted Frederik Schenck van Toutenburg by virtue of an episcopal nomination made in his favour on the occasion of bishop Philip of Burgundy's *blijde inkomst* or state entry in June 1517. It was not quite the end of the affair however, for the doubtless experienced Maiorot had also secured letters of provision from the emperor, the so-called *prima precum*, and once more the bishop was urged by the vigilant father to write to the Chapter, in November 1522, on the younger Schenck's behalf warning it to ignore the claim of Maiorot.<sup>147</sup> But by

November the persistent curialist had been admitted to a prebend, vacant by the death of Arnold Boeckelaer, by virtue of his *prima precum*.<sup>148</sup> Fortunately for the parties concerned the affair was relatively straightforward and they avoided the long drawn-out and expensive litigation at the Curia which often occurred in such claims.<sup>149</sup>

It is clear that the influential curialists were in a very good position to secure provisions and reservations, but they were not of course, the persons to make use of the system. Families with younger sons destined for the Church may well have thought the initial investment of money in the expensive process of securing provision to benefices well worth the effort, especially if it reduced claims upon the expectations of the eldest son.<sup>150</sup> This may well have been the circumstances behind the series of papal provisions made in favour of Maximilian van Waelscapelle, whose father Joris van Waelscapelle was *rentmeester* to Adolf van Bourgondie, *Heer van Beveren*, an important figure and landowner in the county of Zeeland.<sup>151</sup> In the course of the years 1560 - 61 Maximilian van Waelscapelle was provided to stalls at the *Dom* at the collegiate church of St. Servaas at Maastricht, as well as to a *vicarie* in St. Pieter's at Utrecht.<sup>152</sup> He secured both canonries and in later life was to become provost of Leyden.<sup>153</sup> There are other examples of such ecclesiastical *apanages* being created for a younger son. The young Dirk van Wittenhorst, a son of the influential Gelderland nobleman, Johan van Wittenhorst, *drost* of Keppel and *raad* in the Hof van Gelderland,<sup>154</sup> secured a papal provision to a canonry in the *Dom* in 1544 and took possession of a prebend the following year. A year later, in 1546, he obtained a papal bull naming him as *coadjutor de jure successionis* to the aged and gout-ridden Markus van Weze, provost of

Elst. What was remarkable about these provisions was that they were made in favour of a boy of between seven and ten years of age, for although securing his canonry at the *Dom* in 1545 he was not emancipated until January 1554.<sup>155</sup>

Papal provisions to benefices at the cathedral of Utrecht fell clearly into two types, those for canonries and those for cathedral offices. Some twenty papal providees were accepted for prebends.<sup>156</sup> Twelve of these provisions favoured persons closely connected personally with the Roman Curia as either officials or servants of officials there,<sup>157</sup> or the kinsmen of such officials.<sup>158</sup> Of the remaining providees five were minors of noble birth,<sup>159</sup> and one adult nobleman.<sup>159</sup> This last group appears to have secured papal provisions presumably because, with Ulrich of Steinfeld they believed that the strongest power should be invoked, and saw these as a means of securing and creating an *apange* of ecclesiastical benefices. Much the same motive appears to have been behind the provision in favour of the humanist Andreas Maes *alias* Masius, who by the time he secured his prebend at utrecht was despairing of a major advance in his clerical career, and indeed abandoned it in 1558 to marry a rich heiress.<sup>160</sup> There remains only the case of Ulrich Biel whose provision is convincingly explained by his role as *zegelbewaarder*, or Keeper of the Seals to the margrave Frederick of Baden, bishop of Utrecht.<sup>161</sup>

Of those received at the cathedral of Utrecht by means of papal provision it remains to be observed that as a group they were rich and influential, the clerics not surprisingly being closely connected with Rome, while the minors came from powerful families local to the northern Netherlands. Both groups made use of a means of recruitment to the

Chapter that while nominally of benefit to the Church, in that it was designed to reward service to it, had effectively become an abuse for the benefit of the rich and well-connected providees themselves.

In one sense we have now completed our survey of the formal means of securing a prebend at the *Dom*. In practice there were at least two other methods that could secure a prebend that were hallowed by practice. The first of these were the so-called *prima precum*, or nominations by the Holy Roman Emperor. By long tradition, dating back at least to the thirteenth century, each newly elected emperor on the occasion of his coronation was granted the right to nominate to one vacancy in a benefice in ecclesiastical patronage.<sup>162</sup> This right was also extended to the newly elected King of the Romans, the technical heir of the Holy Roman Emperor, elected in the latter's lifetime.<sup>163</sup> Though these nominations were initially granted to clerks in imperial service, they were soon bestowed on those sufficiently influential with the emperor, or at the behest of members of the royal family, as we see from the following case. In 1532 the Regent in the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary, asked the archduke Ferdinand to confer *preces royales* on one Mr. Johan Everhardszn., and this in the Regent's words, *avant tous autres* because of the role he had played in bringing Overijssel to the obedience of the emperor Charles V.<sup>164</sup> Such *precum* for royal servants could be transferred to subordinate officials as appears from the action of Charles V when in June 1517 he wrote to the chapter of Deventer requesting that the first vacant prebend be given to whomsoever Mr Herman Hagen and Mr. Evert van Ens, two of his officers in Overijssel, should nominate.<sup>165</sup>

It is scarcely surprising to learn that what had begun as a grace granted during the *blijde inkomst* or state entry extended towards a new ruler, had become by the sixteenth century come to be institutionalised by the emperors as a means of raising money, for which purpose there existed at the itinerant imperial court a *rotulus*, or roll of such letters issued. The price for such *precum* by the middle of the sixteenth century at Brussels was thought to be about 170 carolus gulden.<sup>166</sup>

Two rolls of *precum* survive for the end of the fifteenth century and early years of the sixteenth century, specifically for 1486 and c. 1508. It is clear from examining these rolls that those who sought these *precum* had a choice of securing one directed to the bishop of a diocese requesting a benefice, any benefice, therein, or alternatively having a request aimed at a particular institution for a benefice in its gift. In the first category may be placed the *precum* in favour of the *domkannunik* Bernhard Mom or Mommen, dean of St. Lutgeri in Münster, addressed to the bishop of Paderborn for an unspecified benefice in the latter's diocese.<sup>167</sup> From the first of the *rotuli*, the so-called 'parchment' roll, we learn that some forty-five such petitions were addressed to the bishop, various ecclesiastical corporations, and clerical dignitaries of the city of Utrecht. Four of these were directed to dignitaries of the cathedral, to the Treasurer, for prebends at Zaltbommel of which he was patron,<sup>168</sup> and to the dean. To this last were addressed requests on behalf of Johan Menchen and Johan van Rijn, neither of whom were received as canons.<sup>169</sup> In the later roll of c. 1508 the number of petitions for the city of Utrecht is much reduced, a mere dozen being addressed to the clergy of the city. The *Dom* was approached on behalf of

three candidates, Joost van Amerongen, Herman Rinck, cleric of the diocese of Cologne, and Johan Voss, son of a *burgemeester* of Gorcum, none of whom appear to have been received as canons, although Johan Voss may perhaps be one and the same as the curialist Johan de Vos van Averzate, who was received as a canon by means of a papal provision in March 1519.<sup>171</sup>

Entry to the Chapter of Utrecht by means of the *prima precum* was very rare. We have seen how the curialist Pierre Maiorot was admitted by virtue of one in July 1524,<sup>172</sup> and but only two others appear to have secured entry by this means. One was Frederick, count of 's Heerenberg, who was admitted on 2 May 1567, who was the son of Oswald II, count of 's Heerenberg, or van den Berg (1508 - 1546), but perhaps more significantly was a kinsman by marriage of William, prince of Orange,<sup>173</sup> then *stadhouder* of Utrecht. The last example, Dubbold van Urk, or Ork, shows how the system worked, and hence why it was infrequently invoked. Van Urk was a member of a family strongly entrenched in the town government of Kampen,<sup>174</sup> where he was a priest, and *vicaris perpetua*, that is, effectively incumbent of the parish church of St. Nicolaas in Kampen. By some means or other he had secured *precum* issued by the emperor's brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, at Prague on 7 February 1535. These letters were duly presented to the vice-dean and resident canons of the cathedral on 6 August, and a copy of the full notarial act registering the Chapter's decision to accept the letters for the next vacancy in its gift was copied into the *Domresoluties*.<sup>175</sup> It was not until 17 September 1537 that Van Urk was granted his prebend, on the death of Johan van Drolshagen, represented by his two procurators, both canons of the Oudmunster, the *scholaster*

Arnold Buser, and Goswin van Hattum, the latter of whom also came of a prominent family of Kampen.<sup>176></sup> We have no means of knowing what all this cost, but bearing in mind the protracted procedure, with fees payable at Kampen for notarial acts as to his credentials, fees on the purchase of the *precum* in Prague, fees to his procurators in Utrecht, it was only for the wealthy and patient. It is not surprising to learn that Van Urk was to resign his prebend in July 1538,<sup>177></sup> a resignation that was almost certainly a sale.

The right of *prima precum* seems also to have been exercised by princes of the Empire, and certainly as long as they held their regalian powers, by the bishop of Utrecht. We have noted the acceptance by the Chapter of Frederik Schenck van Toutenberg on the strength of a nomination by bishop Philip of Burgundy,<sup>178></sup> and the bishop had issued other such requests in favour of other individuals at the same time, directed to the chapters of the Oudmunster and St. Marie in the city, and to that of Deventer.<sup>179></sup> After the *Overdracht*, the bishops of utrecht were in no better position *vis á vis* the Chapter in the matter of nomination than any other magnate. When bishop George of Egmont's chaplain secured a prebend in 1548, it was by exchange, while the son of the same bishop's constable at Wijk-bij-Duurstede secured his prebend through a papal provision.<sup>180></sup>

There remained one other form of this grace and that was the Chapter's decision to mark the visit of the emperor Charles V's son Philip to Utrecht in 1549 by granting the next vacant prebend in its gift to whomsoever he should nominate. In due course, in October 1555, Otto van Malsen, son of the *Heer van Malsen*, was granted the prebend so designated.<sup>181></sup>

The whole issue of simony is complicated by the fact that canon law the purchase of benefices was illegal: the parties involved took pains to cover their tracks. For that reason the historian rarely finds outright evidence of direct purchase. Usually he has to reach his tentative conclusions by using inferential evidence and by taking account of hearsay and contemporary comment. At Utrecht in the sixteenth century simony over prebends was certainly practised. Early in the century Gerard Lister, a correspondent of Erasmus, had hopes of a prebend at the chapter of St. Marie, but on learning that the transfer to him would involve simony, he decorously withdrew from the affair.<sup>182</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century a contemporary, Hendrik Cuyck, bishop of Roermond, and brother to of the *Domkannunik* Wilger Cuyck, could look back forty years at the Utrecht *Kapittelwereld* and note sorrowfully that 'not a few' of the canons of that time had secured their prebends by simony.<sup>183</sup> In the archives of the *Oude Bisschopelijke Cleresie* at Utrecht there survives a contract of 1572 for the next presentation by the *turnarius* in the same chapter of St. Marie that has more than a whiff of the simoniacal transaction about it.<sup>184</sup>

Something of the difficulty in detecting simony may be gathered from a comparison of two nominally legitimate transactions concerning the the transfer of prebends at the cathedral of Utrecht in the sixteenth century. The first case, which appears a legitimate exchange, concerns the contract entered into by Dirk Lieverjan, *Domkannunik*, on the one hand, and Anthonis van Renesse, canon of St. Marie and son of the Stichtse nobleman Johan van Renesse van Wulven. By a notarial act of 9 december 1521, Bernhard van Haarlem, *Domkannunik* and doctor in canon

law, acting as proctor for Lieverjan, produced the episcopal licence necessary for the exchange of the prebend, after which the contracting parties proceeded to the *tractatus* or exchange bargain. Renesse undertook to pay the charges or annates due in the Apostolic Chamber, set at forty gold ducats. In addition he undertook to pay Lieverjan an annual pension for life of 12*ƒ* Flemish, that is some 72 florins, charged upon the revenues of Renesse's portion of the cure of the church of Baarland. The mechanism for the payment is also explained for the agreement states that Lieverjan will receive the annual pension direct from Renesse's *vice-cureit* on Baarland.<sup>185</sup>

The second case looks more suspicious. This transaction over a prebend at the cathedral in 1529 was between Joost van Praet van Moerkerken, son of the *stadhouder* of Holland and Zeeland, Lodewijk van Praet van Moerkerken, on the one hand, and the Brabant jurist, Johan van Loemel, on the other. According to the contract Van Praet van Moerkerken agreed to pay the charges due in the Apostolic Chamber, the sum once more of forty gold ducats, and in addition, agreed to pay Van Loemel a life pension of sixty gold ducats, or 120 florins, a not inconsiderable sum, secured upon an unnamed *vicarie* in an anonymous church in Antwerp allegedly held by Van Praet van Moerkerken. In return, in addition to resigning his prebend at Utrecht, Van Loemel agreed to pay Van Praet van Moerkerken two annual pensions of twenty-four ducats each, or a total of 192 florins, charged upon the parish churches of Asch and Geel, both in the diocese of Cambrai, of which Van Loemel was incumbent.<sup>186</sup> Technically all this elaborate business was a *bona fide* exchange, but the specific references to Van Loemel's benefices, and the ostentatiously vague reference to Van Praet van Moerkerken's *vicarie*

raise at least the doubt as to whether the last in fact existed, and whether Van Loemel, was ever intended to pay the pensions mentioned.

A candidate collated to a benefice in the Habsburg territories by a non-Habsburg subject, such as collations by, for instance, papal provision, or to parishes in the gift of the duke of Gelderland, could not gain access to such benefices until he received royal letters of consent, the *lettres de placet*. At its simplest this was a licence from the crown to hold such a benefice. Its role in church state relations in the Habsburg Netherlands should be seen as an attempt by the crown to limit access to benefices to its own subjects. Before 1559 the ecclesiastical structure of the Netherlands had an intrinsic flaw, (as far as both Valois and Habsburg rulers were concerned), for foreigners could quite legitimately place in benefices within their borders persons considered unsuitable. This unsuitability was not so much moral or political, although those elements doubtless had their role, so much as economic, for the revenues from these benefices could then be utilised away from these same territories, and this was especially held to be the case of papal providees.<sup>187</sup>

Other ecclesiastical powers nearer home also caused problems for the rulers of the Netherlands, especially the bishop of Liège, whose archdeacons were responsible for clerical discipline over much of Brabant and Namur,<sup>188</sup> the bishop of Cambrai whose archdeacons also administered much of southern Brabant,<sup>189</sup> and finally, until 1528, the bishop of Utrecht, whose cathedral provost, the *Domproost* of our study, was responsible for clerical discipline over much of the northern Netherlands. An even more striking example of the problem concerned the rights of the cathedral chapter at Utrecht directly in its exercise of

the powers of archdeacon in North Holland through its officer the provost of Westfriesland. This functionary, always a member of the Chapter, exercised the Chapter's authority of archdeacon through a deputy, the dean of Westfriesland, who resided at Hoorn. The crux of what became known as the Utrecht Schism, between the years 1435 and 1475,<sup>190</sup> was the exercise of disciplinary rights over the subjects of the duke of Burgundy by what in effect were the subjects of a foreign prince, the bishop of Utrecht. In this particular case settlement was only achieved when the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy, nominated to the provostry of Westfriesland a candidate of the duke of Burgundy, in 1469.<sup>191</sup> Various interconnected lawsuits and appeals protracted the matter until 1475.<sup>192</sup>

It is only fair to point out that the dukes of Burgundy, and their Habsburg heirs sought to act in precisely the same way towards their neighbours. The prince bishopric of Liège was virtually a client state until the late sixteenth century,<sup>193</sup> and indeed Charles V was suspected to have designs upon its territory,<sup>194</sup> and much the same was alleged of the lands of the prince-bishopric of Munster,<sup>195</sup> while the logical conclusion of such designs was realised in the *Overdracht* of the prince bishopric of Utrecht in 1528. While the problems of Westfriesland, and relations with neighbouring prelates were more matters of high politics, the dukes of Burgundy, and the government of Charles V were also concerned with the problem at the level of more humble benefices, for between 1485 and 1553 the rulers issued some eight ordinances enforcing the *placet*.<sup>196</sup>

In the joint names of Maximilian and the archduke Philip some three edicts were issued in 1485, 1493, and 1498. The first of these

series, that of 12 September 1485, rehearsed the need to control what it alleged was the flood of bulls, expectives and provisions emanating from the Court of Rome, according to the text, to a degree experienced in the Habsburg lands *more than in any other Christian land*. As a result, such mandates were not henceforth to be received in the Habsburg lands and lordships.<sup>197</sup> On 23 October 1493, a similar edict inveighed against the same evils, commenting on this occasion that the number of bulls prevented the subjects of the prince in Flanders being able to profit from the privileges of the province in the matter of benefices. Specifically complaint was made of the practice already mentioned whereby as a result of a papal provision, resignation would be made to a disappointed candidate in return for a pension secured upon the vacated benefice.<sup>198</sup> The element of blackmail that this practice implied was understandably resented, for the disappointed candidate was faced with expense whatever path he took: a protracted court case at the Curia, or a benefice burdened with a pension for the foreseeable future.<sup>199</sup> It was therefore ordained that such provisions, letters or commands could not be exercised without *lettres d'attache* of the king or of a provincial council.<sup>200</sup> Three years later a similar ordinance was issued.<sup>201</sup>

It is not possible to assess the impact of these early edicts: their frequency rather belies their force. It is not until the 1540's that a further series of edicts are issued upon the subject of the *placet*, a time it will be observed that coincides with the issue of the *Formula reformationis* of 1548. In these the emphasis is somewhat different. The emperor Charles V is prepared to grant the *placet* for bulls of provision, but not in the case of certain well-defined categories. The first inhibitions related to pastoral ability in that

exception is taken in these edicts to provisions to parish churches where there is clear inability or lack of intention to reside. Secondly, the *placet* is not to be granted to candidates under the canonical age relevant to the benefice concerned, while finally none were to be admitted to a cure of souls who could not speak the language of his charges.<sup>201</sup> On a rather different level the edicts forbid coadjutories *de jure successionis* to prebends and other simple benefices.<sup>202</sup> It must be presumed that this last was becoming something of a problem in the decade of the 1540's for the edict to concern itself with the matter. Certainly the practice of securing the appointment of coadjutories could create a species of prebendal *mortmain* limiting the exercise of such patronage as the crown possessed in collegiate churches. Behind such coadjutories also lay the probability of simony. At the *Dom* both elements can be illustrated for this decade. In November, 1546, Marcus van Weze, provost of Elst, secured a coadjutory *de jure successionis* in favour of his probable kinsman Dirk van Wittenhorst, while in June, 1540, Liebrecht van Houthem secured a similar privilege in favour of Johan van Bruhezen,<sup>203</sup> with whom no obvious connection genealogical or otherwise has been ascertained. That these coadjutories were but a simoniacal device is perhaps suggested by the fact that in both the cases of Wittenhorst and Bruhezen, entry to the Chapter was not effected by this means.<sup>204</sup>

As has been suggested, the significant number of proclamations on the subject of the *placet* argues that the Habsburgs were not initially successful in controlling access to benefices, and perhaps it would be fairer to them to suggest that this was not their principal objective: rather it was to limit the element of abuse by others than

themselves. The Habsburgs would appear to have had no especial objection to provisions or collations by strangers, so long as they were exercised in favour of their own subjects, and with their consent, and for their benefit. By the terms of the last edict upon the subject, that of 9 March 1559, it emerges, what might well have been guessed, that the *placet* was for sale. The edict concerns the obtaining of the *placet* from papal nuncios and legates, in which instance we learn that double the rate was to be charged. It is a matter of regret that it has not been possible to ascertain what rates were charged in these instances. What makes this edict significantly the last in the series, is that it proscribes for those that infringed its terms the blanket penalty of confiscation of property.<sup>205</sup>

Evidence of the presentation of the *placet* at the *Dom* is slight, for few examples survive. Some fifteen applications for stalls and other benefices exist in the archives of the Chapter that date from the reigns of Charles V and Phillip II, not all for prebends there, and not all decipherable.<sup>206</sup> Two examples survive for un-successful applicants<sup>207</sup> and five for those subsequently received, with the possibility of one further example in favour of Dirk van Wittenhorst.<sup>208</sup>

Something of the way the system worked appears from the correspondence between Frans van Kampen van Son, *alias* Sonnius, and Viglius, president of the Privy Council in the course of 1558. Sonnius, while in Rome negotiating the scheme of new bishoprics, also secured preferment in the form of papal provisions for his nephew Cornelis van Kampen van Son, the later *domkannunik*, in particular a canonry in the chapter of St. Jan in Den Bosch. In a further letter of 30 October 1558, Sonnius asks Viglius to secure the *lettre de placet* for his nephew.<sup>208</sup>

The rectitude of Sonnius can be contrasted with that of another *domkannunik*, Johan Voorthuizen, who had secured the provostry of Deventer in 1560 by means of a papal provision, and was admitted to the benefice without, as the Regent Margaret of Parma informed Philip II, the *placet*.<sup>210</sup> This was particularly irritating to the Regent as the provostry had been earmarked for the endowment of the proposed new see at Deventer.<sup>211</sup> In addition the Regent appears to have harboured dark thoughts about Voorthuizen who had according to her "conducted the affairs of the young protonotary [Rupert van] Brederode [younger brother of Hendrik] in his claims to the coadjutory of [the bishopric of] Cambrai".<sup>212</sup> The government in Brussels was inclined to eye askance the Brederode family and its connections at this time, although in fairness to Voorthuizen the benefice of Deventer lay in an area of 'new conquest' in which the claims of the crown were not so well established as in the 'patrimonial provinces'.

Evidence from the records of the *Hof van Utrecht* suggests that such *placets* were first registered there, presumably approved, and released for presentation to the ecclesiastical institution concerned. A good example of this is the progression of the *prima precum* for a stall in the Chapter granted to Mr. Dubbold van Urk by the emperor in Prague on 7 February 1535. The *placet* for this was duly registered at the *Hof van Utrecht* on 5 August 1535, and on the following day the wording of the *precum* was duly entered into the *Resolutieboeck* of the Chapter, although it was not to be until 27 September 1537, that a vacancy occurred at which Van Urk could make good his claims.<sup>213</sup> Similarly, the considerable pluralist Pieter van der Vorst, bishop of Acqui, appears to have secured papal provision to various benefices in the dioceses of

Cambrai and Utrecht in the course of the summer of 1535, for on 31 October that year he was registering a *placet*, transcribed in French, for these benefices with the *Hof van Utrecht*.<sup>214</sup> On the 24 November 1535, he secured a prebend at the *Dom* vacant upon the death of Lazerus de Rosetis,<sup>215</sup> although it is not clear if this was by papal provision, it seems very likely that it was. In passing it is worth mentioning that the *placet* appears to have been required also for pensions, although whether for all pensions is unclear. When in December, 1537 Johan Schetter, canon of the Oudmunster and provost of Zutphen, inherited the reversion of the considerable pension of 100 gold *gulden* granted by pope Clement VII in favour of Johan Inghenwinkel charged upon the provostry of the Oudmunster, it was apparently necessary for him to have the *placet* allowing him to take up the pension registered at the *Hof van Utrecht*. Described as "from the land of Cleves",<sup>216</sup> and later in his life having connections with members of the higher Netherlands nobility,<sup>217</sup> he may at this earlier period have been precisely the sort of 'foreigner' that edicts concerning the *placet* were aimed, for despite being a canon of the Oudmunster, he was a major benefice-holder in the then unfriendly county of Zutphen. Presumably his reputation, or cash, was satisfactory.

## CHAPTER II : SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF MEN.

The Chapter's links with Rome were manifold and continuous. Hence it is no wonder that there should be in its membership a significant group with strong links with the Curia. By the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century however, this body was largely composed of canons with past experience of residence at the Curia. The Chapter had by then ceased to provide incomes for a solid block of absentee curialists. Thus at the turn of the century Herman van Lockhorst, (canon 1482), dean of the Oudmunster and *domkannunik*, had seen service under pope Sixtus IV in 1483 as *palfrenarius*, or master of the horse<sup>1)</sup>; Willem Alfijn, or Alphen, (canon 1481), had apparently served in Rome as an agent of the archduke Philip, 1494;<sup>2)</sup> Steven van Rumelaer, (canon 1484) had served in Rome as procurator of the Teutonic Knights from 1490 to 1496<sup>3)</sup>; Johan Potken, (canon 1503), provost of Emmerich, was a papal chamberlain in 1503<sup>4)</sup>; while there is some evidence that Johan Tusschenbroek (canon 1488) may also have seen service there from around 1478 onwards.<sup>5)</sup> In addition to those who had entered the Chapter after service at Rome there was a group of absentee curialists, albeit small, which for particular reasons was most evident in the period c. 1510 - 1535.

Although the pontificate of Adriaan VI might seem as good and sufficient reason for this concentration of curialists, it should not be overlooked that prior to his election as pope, Adriaan's career had not been in Rome.<sup>6)</sup> Though that pontificate certainly fired the imaginations of aspiring clerics from the northern Netherlands,<sup>7)</sup> the far more significant figure in this respect was Willem van Enckevoirt,<sup>8)</sup> the true

focus at this period for the employment of Netherlanders at the Curia.<sup>9</sup> Though to contemporaries he was second only to Adriaan VI during the latter's short pontificate, or as a correspondent phrased it 'half of Adrian's heart and soul',<sup>10</sup> Enckevoirt had over a quarter of a century's experience at Rome before Adriaan even arrived in the city as pope. It is true that he matriculated at Leuven, studying both civil and canon law, when he was pupil of Adriaan's,<sup>11</sup> but when he departed from these studies for Rome, where he seems to have been active in 1489,<sup>12</sup> there is no reason to suppose that Adriaan could do very much for him there, for his own career did not really blossom till his appointment as tutor to the prince Charles in or around 1505. It was largely by his own efforts that Enckevoirt was carving out a career for himself under successive pontiffs,<sup>13</sup> although it is probable that Adriaan promoted the appointment of Enckevoirt as an agent of the archduke Philip,<sup>14</sup> and later, clearly, Charles V. Even so, there is no doubt that Adriaan's pontificate, brief though it was, was the pinnacle of Enckevoirt's career. His appointment as Datary, in August 1522, a post which effectively controlled the traffic of benefices through the Roman Curia, as well as his elevation to the purple, an appointment unique in the pontificate,<sup>15</sup> ensured that even the death of the pope left him a man of very great influence at Rome, and until his own death in 1534, probably the principal representative of the emperor Charles V at the Curia.

Although many Netherlanders secured employment at Rome under Adriaan VI, some can be shown to have had contacts with Enckevoirt before the former's pontificate, and it was Enckevoirt that sustained them in the decade after its end.<sup>16</sup> Illustrative of this group as far

as it concerned canons of the *Dom* was Johan van Beka, who was employed at the Curia under Adriaan VI, but can be shown to have been resident there by 1509, and linked with Enckevoirt by 1514, when described as *cubicularius* and *scriptor* to pope Leo X.<sup>17</sup> Two further canons, Philibert Naturelli,<sup>18</sup> later *Domproost*, and Willem Heda, both agents of the archduke Philip at Rome, appear to have had links with Enckevoirt around 1500,<sup>19</sup> while a third canon, Johan van Loemel, having links with Adriaan in 1516, acted as Enckevoirt's *vicaris* in the latter's provostry of St. Rombout at Mechelen in 1515.<sup>20</sup> The connection with the Enckevoirt circle is rather less certain in the case of Johan de Vos van Averzaet, *familiar* to pope Leo X in 1513,<sup>21</sup> We should note that the Roman 'circle' around Willem van Enckevoirt was recruited for the most part from northern Netherlanders rather than from the Burgundian lands as a whole, although the key element may well be the *alumni* of the university of Leuven. Beyond these curialists with connections with the Burgundian court, mention should be made of his own kin, and more especially his nephews. Of these last perhaps the most noticeable for our purposes was the nephew Michael Lombaerts van Enckevoirt, who appears to have had the oversight of his uncle's interests in the diocese of Utrecht at least, and who was to succeed to his uncle's benefices in the *Dom* and Oudmunster<sup>22</sup>.

While Enckevoirt was an important figure, so for obvious reasons was Adriaan Floriszn., especially when he became pope: it was not for nothing that the bells of the *Dom* rang for many days when the news arrived in Utrecht.<sup>23</sup> But as far as the Chapter was concerned, few of its members can be shown to owe their prebends to him, and certainly the brevity of his pontificate must have a role in this. The proximity of

the date of Enckevoirt's entry to the Chapter, in February, 1505, and that of Adriaan Floriszn's, in October the same year, is suggestive, but little more.<sup>24</sup> Johan Dedel, who may have been a relative,<sup>25</sup> and was almost certainly his pupil at Leuven, and appears to have been acting as Adriaan's agent at Utrecht, at least since Adriaan entered the Chapter. It was to Dedel that Adriaan resigned his first prebend at the *Dom* in 1517.<sup>26</sup> While Dedel may typify the great personage's 'man of business', who profited from the relationship, we should also note that the Dedel family was of some standing in the city of Utrecht, and other members of the family in this generation secured promotion in the church. It is an open question whether these promotions were testimony to the family's local standing or an unclarified consanguinity with the rising Adriaan Floriszn.<sup>27</sup>

Anthonis Taets van Amerongen came of a prominent *Stichtse* noble family. His connection with Adriaan does not appear to have been based upon college days, but may have followed that older tradition of lodging young nobles with great prelates or magnates. However, it is known that Taets was something of a traveller, a pilgrim on quite a grand scale, and he may well have entered Adriaan's service on a visit to Spain, for he was described during the pontificate as *familiaris antiquus*<sup>28</sup> His career at Rome was rudely interrupted like many others by the unexpected death of the pontiff in 1523;<sup>29</sup> by May 1524 Taets was resident in Utrecht, apparently utilising in the years following connections there and in Rome to secure his future, in which endeavour he was by no means unsuccessful.<sup>30</sup> Links appear to have existed with another curialist Pierre Maiorot, *familiaris* to Adriaan VI, from the diocese of Besançon, and member of a prominent legal family in that city. Granted a prebend

at the cathedral of Utrecht in 1522, he resigned shortly thereafter to Anthonis Taets.<sup>31></sup>

Albert Pigge should perhaps be mentioned at this point, for although he did not secure a stall at the *Dom* until after Adriaan's death, but he was summoned to Rome by him. Deriving again from the Leuven circle, he was invited to Rome in 1522 to address his considerable powers of polemic to the Lutheran heresy, a role he continued under Adriaan's successors. At Utrecht his accumulation of benefices was only marginally more impressive than his capacity for litigation.<sup>32></sup> Finally some question hangs over the relationship, if any, between Adriaan Floriszn. and Johan Anthonis Beijns who succeeded him in his second prebend at the *Dom* on the occasion of his election to the papacy. The circumstances suggest a link though its precise nature remains uncertain.<sup>33></sup>

It could be argued that the traffic in prebends associated with Adriaan Floriszn. and Willem van Enckevoirt and their circle was no more than the traditional means of supporting and rewarding princely servants and a nascent diplomatic service. Yet little more than naked nepotism and exploitation motivated the sustained and single-minded benefice hunting of Johan Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten. Aloys Schulte, as one who worked upon the papal archives of the period observed, "Ich habe bei meiner grossen Streife durch die Registerbande keinen deutschen Kurialen offer gefunden als ihn".<sup>34></sup> Inghenwinkel's connection with Utrecht, apart from his origins in nearby Xanten, may have stemmed from a connection with Enckevoirt with whom it was alleged by an unfriendly source as early as 1516 that he was working hand in glove, while under the pontificate of Adriaan VI he was credited with wielding considerable

influence.<sup>35</sup> Although he never held benefices in the city of Utrecht, nor a prebend in the *Dom*, he enjoyed a pension of 100 gold florins charged upon the provostry of the Oudmunster.<sup>36</sup> However his influence can be discerned in the presence within the cathedral chapter of several of his relations and clients. Two nephews, sons of his sister, Hendrick Ben and Hendrick Huysselman, secured prebends in the Chapter, as did one of his servants Johan Schoenrode, and but briefly, the latter's brother Dirk Schoenrode.<sup>37</sup>

Another considerable pluralist, with many benefices in the northern Netherlands, was Pieter van der Vorst, bishop of Acqui and nuncio to the Empire in 1536 and 1537, who may be regarded in some ways the heir to Willem van Enckevoirt. As well as being executor of the latter's will, he secured some of his benefices, but he is perhaps more important at Utrecht for being, along with his brother Johan van der Vorst, *domdeken*, instrumental in planting and nurturing a widespread family network in the cathedral chapter,<sup>38</sup> an aspect to be examined further below.

With the deaths of Enckevoirt and Inghenwinkel in 1534, and that of Pieter van der Vorst in 1549, the age of the great pluralists at the papal court who had links with the diocese of Utrecht appears to have passed. Although pluralists were to remain a feature of the senior clergy of the Utrecht *kapittelwereld*,<sup>39</sup> such churchmen did not accumulate benefices on the supra-diocesan scale of their predecessors of the period c. 1510 - 1535. The change may well be attributable to the absence of a great Netherlands figure at the Curia, and almost certainly to the increasing control of the government of the emperor Charles V on the access to such benefices as lay within his dominions by the stricter

application of the royal *placet*<sup>40</sup> On the other hand the change may well have emanated from a change of attitude at Rome itself. It may be significant that as early as 1536, shortly after the death of Willem van Enckevoirt, pope Paul III, not noted as in the vanguard of reform, although not indifferent to its need, saw fit to cancel all the benefices granted to Pieter van der Vorst, bishop of Acqui, a very considerable pluralist in his own right, who was about to depart as papal legate to the Empire.<sup>41</sup> It is quite true that the flow of papal provisions in favour of Van der Vorst continued thereafter,<sup>42</sup> but at a rather more reduced pace.

Perhaps more instructive was the case a decade or so later of the notorious benefice hunter Judoch Hoetfilter, who as theologian and legal representative at the Curia had amassed a wide range of benefices in the Empire.<sup>43</sup> For long provost of the cathedral of Lübeck, he was elected bishop of that city in 1548.<sup>44</sup> His cumulation of benefices<sup>45</sup> was not at that time appreciated in Rome, and as Knod observes 'Erst 1533 entschloss er sich, nach Lübeck zu reisen, verlangte indessen vorher die Beibehaltung aller seiner früheren Präbenden. Über diese Unersättlichkeit erzürnt, machte ihm der Papst [Paul III Farnese] Vorwürfe'.<sup>46</sup> Significantly Hoetfilter did indeed resign his benefices in the city of Utrecht in 1548, and in December of that year he secured papal approval of his election to the see of Lübeck.<sup>47</sup>

From the last quarter of the fifteenth century to 1528 the secular territories of the bishop of Utrecht passed from a precarious independence to absorption into the Habsburg Netherlands. This is not the place to record that process, but it may be safely believed that there were no institutions that did not feel the effect of that

change.<sup>48</sup> For our purposes it is sufficient to note that there was a significant change in the personnel of the senior ranks of the *Hoofdkerken* at Utrecht, and this process has already been charted in the prologue of this study in relation to the *prelaaten* of the cathedral, and particularly the office of dean, the effective resident head of the Chapter. There is some evidence that benefices in the *Dom* above and beyond the status, and quite clearly, value, of ordinary prebends may have been susceptible to this change also, for instance the *Domthesaurierschap* or Treasurership, and the provostry of Leyden.<sup>49</sup> There is little evidence, however, to show that there was any correspondingly significant change in the personnel of the Chapter as a whole. Even before the *overdracht*, there had always been been a sprinkling of servants and clients of the Habsburgs: a *maître de requêtes*, and a member of the *Hof van Holland* under Maximilian, a relative of the First President of the *Parlement* of the Franche Comté, or the son of a *rentmeester* in The Hague.<sup>50</sup> It is ever a difficult matter to determine categorically what influences secured a man a prebend at the Utrecht *Dom*, but it seems that few canons in the period c. 1500 to 1581 owed their prebends solely to their connection with the royal administration and its clientage. Among this group there is no obvious pattern, save perhaps something of a concentration of recruitment in the period 1540 - 1555, and a large proportion of close relatives of established figures,<sup>51</sup> rather than, as in the case of provost Morillon,<sup>52</sup> officials themselves.

It would be rash, however, to assume that there was not a greater penetration of the Chapter by persons looking to Brussels after 1528, but that is a different matter. As we have seen with papal

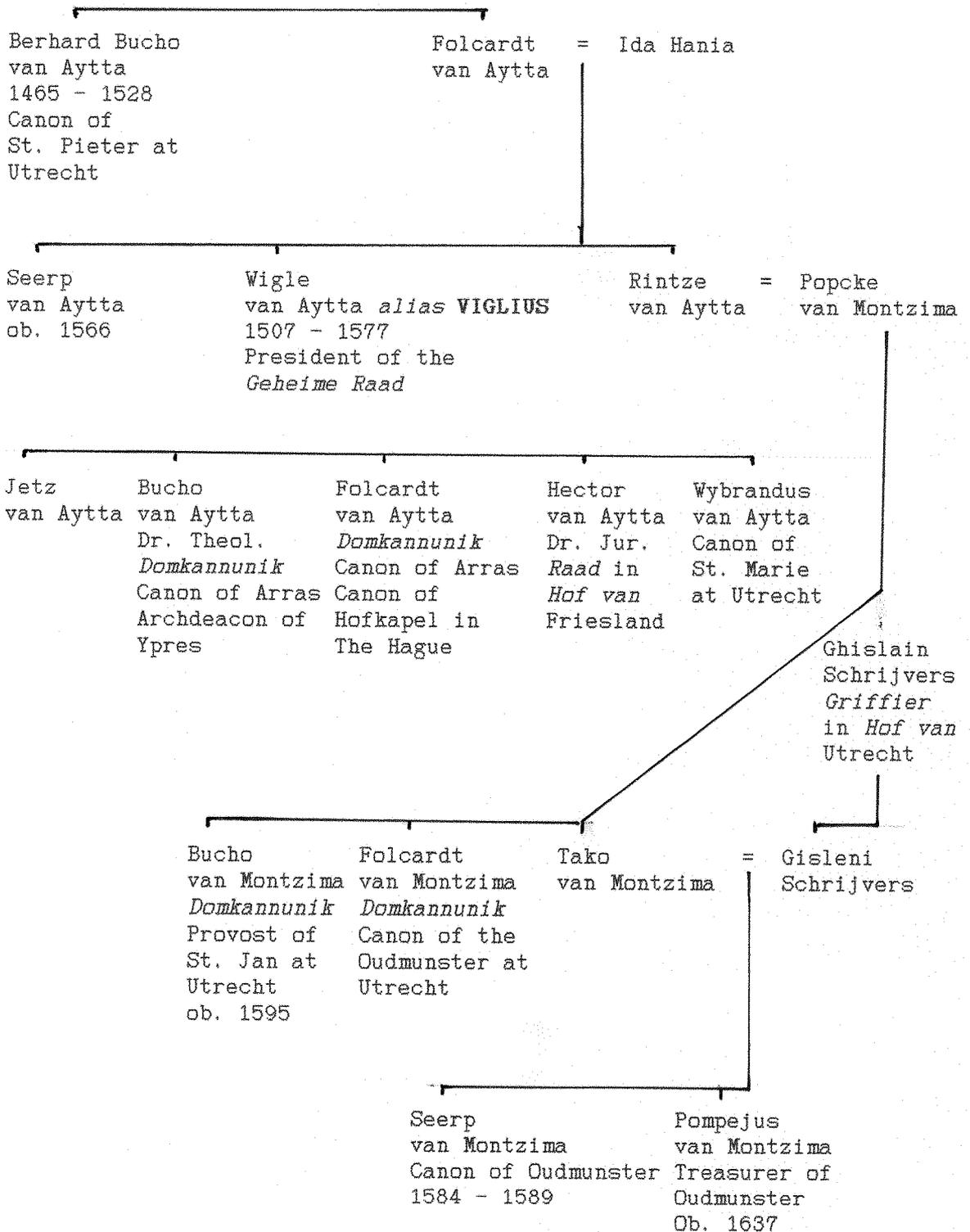
provisions and *prima precum*, the authority granting access to the prebend was by no means always the instigator of the award. In the Habsburg period royal orders to the Chapter to grant prebends were quite as likely to be the result of local notabilities' links with the Court as preremptory demands of the Court alone. Thus the request of the Regent Mary of Hungary that Adriaan van IJsendoorn be given a stall in the cathedral owed less to Court influence than to the presence of the aspirant's uncle, the *Heer van Sterckenerch*, as *raad* in the *Hof van Utrecht*. As the IJsendoorn family were of greater antiquity than the *Hof* in the province, it is a moot point as to which element was the more important in the bestowal of the prebend by the Chapter in December, 1548.<sup>53</sup>

Links with the central government might be interpreted as a disadvantage in some cases. It might be thought that the *Hof van Utrecht* itself, as the agent of the royal judicial and administrative authority within the province might act as force for patronage in relation to the Chapter. When in the summer of 1567 Johan Beyer, canon of the *Dom* died, cardinal Granvelle took it upon himself to write to the president of the *Hof van Utrecht* requesting the vacated prebend for one Alexander van Grutvoet.<sup>54</sup> There is no trace of an application for this gentleman in the *Domresoluties*, and it requires no great effort to imagine the priority given by the resident canons of the Chapter to such a request from such a source, a fallen minister, albeit in the favour of the king, transferred by such an official at that date.

On the other hand, the problem was often that there was competition by different agents of the central government for the spoils of the Chapter. In 1570 the president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, George

TABLE 4.

*VIGLIUS VAN AYTTA AND HIS NEPHEWS*



Rattaller, sought to secure a prebend in the cathedral for his brother Dirk Rattaller, canon of Gorcum, on the death of the Egbert Leussinck. As the *domkannunik* had died in a papal month, the nomination lay, by the terms of the papal bull *super universas* of 1559 with the new archbishop, Frederick Schenck van Toutenburg. The president of the *Hof van Utrecht* was unsuccessful: the vacant prebend went to the auxilliary bishop of Utrecht, Joachim van Oprode.<sup>55</sup>

This might be thought a right and proper choice for an archbishop to make, even one with the tarnished image of Schenck van Toutenburg; Van Oprode had a reputation as a Catholic polemicist, and in his capacity as *pastoor* of the principal church of the city of Utrecht, the *Buurkerk*, he was noted for having preached more often than was required of him.<sup>56</sup> While such credentials might indeed have influenced the archbishop's choice, the following family details give cause for further reflection. Auxilliary bishop Van Oprode had a brother Jacob van Oprode, who in December, 1567, had been made *rentmeester* of fines in the city of Utrecht.<sup>56</sup> He had received that post at the express request, made in March the same year, of the *Griffier* of the *Hof van Utrecht*, Mr. Ghislain Schryvers.<sup>57</sup> That request had been made to no less a person than Viglius, the president of the *Geheime Raad*, whose role and interest are explained by the fact that *Griffier* Schryvers of the *Hof van Utrecht* was father-in-law to one of Viglius' numerous nephews, Tako van Montzima, whose brother Bucho van Montzima was already a member of the cathedral chapter, and indeed was provost of St. Jan in the city.<sup>58</sup> [See Table 4.] The president of the *Hof van Utrecht* could hardly, on these terms, compete with his own *Griffier*. It is equally clear that the archbishop knew whose requests were dispensable. Such

were the ramifications around many such applications and subsequent collations. In other chapters of the city officers of the *Hof* had been successful in securing prebends for their kinsfolk, and in two cases secured the deanery of St. Marie for sons,<sup>69</sup> but in the *Dom* there seem to have been only three canons who can be said to have links with the *Hof van Utrecht*.<sup>60</sup>

It seems likely that for a corporation such as the Chapter, its links with the central government would not be through the latter's local officers in the *Hof van Utrecht*, whose local judgements and actions might make them inimical to the Chapter, but directly with key figures to whom individual canons were related either by family or great friendship. Early in the century *Damproost* Cornelis van Meiroop was son of the *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands, while Frederick Schenck van Toutenburg was son of the *stadhouder* of Friesland. Bucho and Folcardt van Montzima were nephews of the president of the *Geheime Raad*, while Johan van Bruhezen's kinsman was secretary for Netherlands affairs attendant upon Philip II in Spain, and at the same period a brother and devoted servant of cardinal Granvelle held prebends in the cathedral. The Chapter had means of *démarche* of a most privileged nature.<sup>61</sup> Where the *Hof van Utrecht* does seem to have had a significant effect, however, was in reducing the role of the canons in the government of the province. As long as the bishops had exercised regalian powers one finds episcopal officers in the Chapter.<sup>62</sup> After 1528 no canons seem to have held secular offices in the administration of the principality such as they had done earlier. Hence the episcopal clients thereafter were household officials such as chaplains, or kin of an episcopal secretary or bailiff.<sup>63</sup> The presence of episcopal relatives in the membership of

TABLE 5

## FAMILY GROUPS IN THE FIVE CHAPTERS OF UTRECHT.

	CATHEDRAL	oudmunster	ST. PIETER	ST JAN	ST. MARIE.
TWO CANONS OF SAME NAME		Cuynretorf Honthorst See Tables 6 and 7	Alendorp Lichtenburg Uteneng Winsen Wael	Nijkerken Ruysch Taets van Amerongen	Rijswijk Ter Spille
THREE CANONS OF SAME NAME	Baden Leeuwenberch Ram Veen Drakenberch	Assendelf	De Jonghe Coddendoort	Rumelaer	Amersfoort Rutenberg
FOUR CANONS OF SAME NAME	Amstel van Mijnden Van der Vorst Van Zuylen van Nijvelt Zoudenbalch	Medemblik			
FIVE CANONS OF SAME NAME	Renesse van Wulven		Taets van Amerongen		Taets van Amerongen
SIX CANONS OF SAME NAME	Beyer				

the Chapter ceases to be a feature after the resignation of Fredrick of Baden, although the nephews of bishop Willem van Enckevoirt are clearly an exception. Diocesan officers such as the vicar-general, the episcopal official, or the auxilliary bishop appear but spasmodically as members of the Chapter,<sup>64</sup> and there is no evidence to suggest that the Chapter felt it necessary to engross these officers to its membership. On the other hand there was an area where the bishop, or rather the archbishop, did enlarge his patronage. By the reorganisation of the diocese of the Habsburg Netherlands under the bull *Super universas* of 1559, the nomination to the first nine vacant prebends in the Chapter were to fall, as we have seen above, to the new archbishop. As we shall see, it was precisely the Chapter's ability to make successful *demarches* at a very high level such that this move to alter the membership of the Chapter was so modified that by January 1581, a mere six canons had been so appointed.<sup>65</sup>

So far we have considered only those groups and elements extraneous to the city and province of Utrecht, the papal Curia, the central government, the bishop, that might appear significantly to have had an effect upon the composition of the Chapter. All the *hoofdkerken* of the city of Utrecht displayed examples of families with several members as canons, although few groups comprised more than two or three canons. [See Table 5] As in other chapters, at the *Dom* the commonest groupings, bearing in mind the convention of resignation *in favorem*, and the collations made by the *turnarius*, were those of brothers [See Table 6] or uncles and nephews, [See Table 7] although fathers and sons were not unknown.<sup>66</sup> A group that used such opportunities to some effect were the families of the deans of Utrecht, all of whom, with the exception of

TABLE 6

*FAMILY GROUPS IN THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER - I : BROTHERS.*

Bucho van Montzima  
Folcardt van Montzima

Johan van Bruhezen  
Englebrecht van Bruhezen

Johan van Drakenborch  
Dirk van Drakenborch

Lambrecht ten Duynen  
Koenraad ten Duynen

Maurits Groeff van Erkelens  
Gijsbert Groeff van Erkelens

Arnold van Groenevelt  
Joris van Groenevelt

Frederik van Reede  
Gerard van Reede

Antoine de Rubenpré  
Charles de Rubenpré

Steven van Zuylen van Nyvelt van Zeveneder  
Johan van Zuylen van Nyvelt van Zevender

Jacob van Appelteren and Johan van Bruhezen (1572 - 1577) left a scattering of nephews among the canons, although only one dean, Ludolph van Veen, (1471 - 1508), seems to have initiated anything like a dynasty of more than one generation.<sup>67</sup> Apart from the rather special position of the deans, a good example, if perhaps rather unusual, of tenacious membership in the Chapter by one family is illustrated by the case of the long established city family of Ram. Adriaan Ram I succeeded to the prebend of his maternal uncle, Hugo van der Hoeve in 1489; in due course, as *turnarius* he collated to a stall his nephew Adriaan Ram II, then aged sixteen years old, while in his turn, and by the same method of acting as *turnarius* he brought his brother Gerard Ram, then also a canon of the Oudmunster, in to the cathedral chapter in 1545. As Gerard Ram died in 1587 it will be seen that from 1489 to that date there were canons of the Ram family in the *Dom*.<sup>68</sup> Occasionally the pattern was more complex as the example of the Renesse van Wulven family and its connections reveals. Johan van Renesse, *Heer van Wulven*, (ob. c. 1530 - 1535) placed three of his sons in the Chapter, two, Johan and Gerard, for very short periods,<sup>69</sup> which might suggest that their prebends were regarded as a species of bursary or means of support until careers could be decided for them. A third son, Adriaan van Renesse, was despite an avowed dislike and unfitness for the clerical state, to remain a canon for the rest of his life, become dean of Utrecht in 1546, and on the very eve of his death be nominated archbishop. Gerard van Renesse, *Heer van Wulven*, (1509 - 1568), went on to make a secular career becoming a *raad* in the *Hof van Utrecht*, in his turn placed two sons in the Chapter, Johan van Renesse IV, canon 1547 - 1565, and George van Renesse, canon 1565 - 1580. Of the three daughters of Gerard van Renesse, two had sons

TABLE 7

FAMILY GROUPS IN THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER - II : UNCLÉS AND NEPHEWS.

A. Groups of the same name:

Willem van Enckevoirt, cardinal.  
Michael van Enckevoirt, nephew to above.

Frans van Kampen, of Son, *alias* Sonnius.  
Cornelis van Kampen, nephew to above.

Dirk van der Haer.  
Johan van der Haer, nephew to above.

Johan van der Vecht, dean of Utrecht.  
Hendrik van der Vecht, nephew to above.

Amelis van Zuylen van Nyvelt, provost of Leyden.  
Johan van Zuylen van Nyvelt, nephew to above.

Antoon Taets van Amerongen.  
Willem Taets van Amerongen, nephew to above.

B. Groups of different names.

Willem van Broichuisen van Weerdenborch.  
Otto van Heuckelom, nephew of above.

Arnold Boeckelaer.  
Frans Sonck, nephew to above.

Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven, dean of Utrecht.  
Johan van Duvendoorde, dean of Utrecht, nephew to above.

Herman Tulman.  
Gerard Hucker, nephew of above.

Jean de Warisoulx.  
Louis de Heijnhoven, nephew to above.

Ludolph van Veen, dean of Utrecht.  
Johan van Uterwijk, nephew to above.

Hugo van der Hoeve.  
Adriaan Ram, provost of Leyden, nephew to above.

C. Groups of three.

Frederik of Baden, bishop of Utrecht.  
Christopher of Baden, *Chariepiscopus* nephew to above.  
Rudolph of Baden, *Chariepiscopus*, brother to above.

Abraham van Leeuwenbergh.  
Albert van Leeuwenbergh, nephew to above.  
Maarten van Leeuwenbergh, brother to above.

in the Chapter, Henri de Cotereau, canon 1577 - 1586, and Johan van Duvenvoorde, canon 1540 - 1600, and when Frederick van Rheede, canon 1564 - 1594, and Gerard van Rheede, canon from 1575 onwards entered the Chapter, it was as grandsons of a third daughter of Gerard van Wulven.<sup>70</sup> [See Table 8]

A final group in the Chapter worth noting, although not easy to characterise, was that of the six members of the Beyer family. [See Table 9] Two members of this family, whose genealogy is difficult to construct, held legal posts significant in the Utrecht *kapittelwereld* and diocese. Gerard Beyer was notary to the Chapter in 1491, was its secretary by 1509, and in 1530 was *officiaal* of the *Domproost*. Johan Beyer, described in the records of the *Dom* vaguely as a relative of the foregoing, possibly an uncle, was notary to the episcopal vicar-general.<sup>71</sup> Even so, the family's prominence seems to have been based on a consistent grasping of the opportunities that the self-recruiting element in the Chapter's constitution allowed. Thus in three generations Gerard Beyer collated his nephew Johan Beyer to a stall in 1544 while in his turn Johan Beyer brought in his brother Willem Beyer as a canon in 1566, and further, despite the protests of some of the Chapter, this latter succeeded in resigning his prebend to his son, another Johan Beyer, in 1572.<sup>72</sup> It would be difficult to imagine a clearer example of the proprietary attitude to prebend on the eve of the Chapter's existence as an active Catholic corporation.<sup>73</sup>

The foregoing examples, while perhaps unusual, although by no means unique in the *kapittelwereld* of Utrecht,<sup>74</sup> indicate the extent of the involvement in the Chapter of two elements of the province's society, the city élite and the nobility. Although it may be useful to

TABLE 8

THE FAMILY OF RENESSE VAN WULVEN AND CONNECTIONS IN THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER.

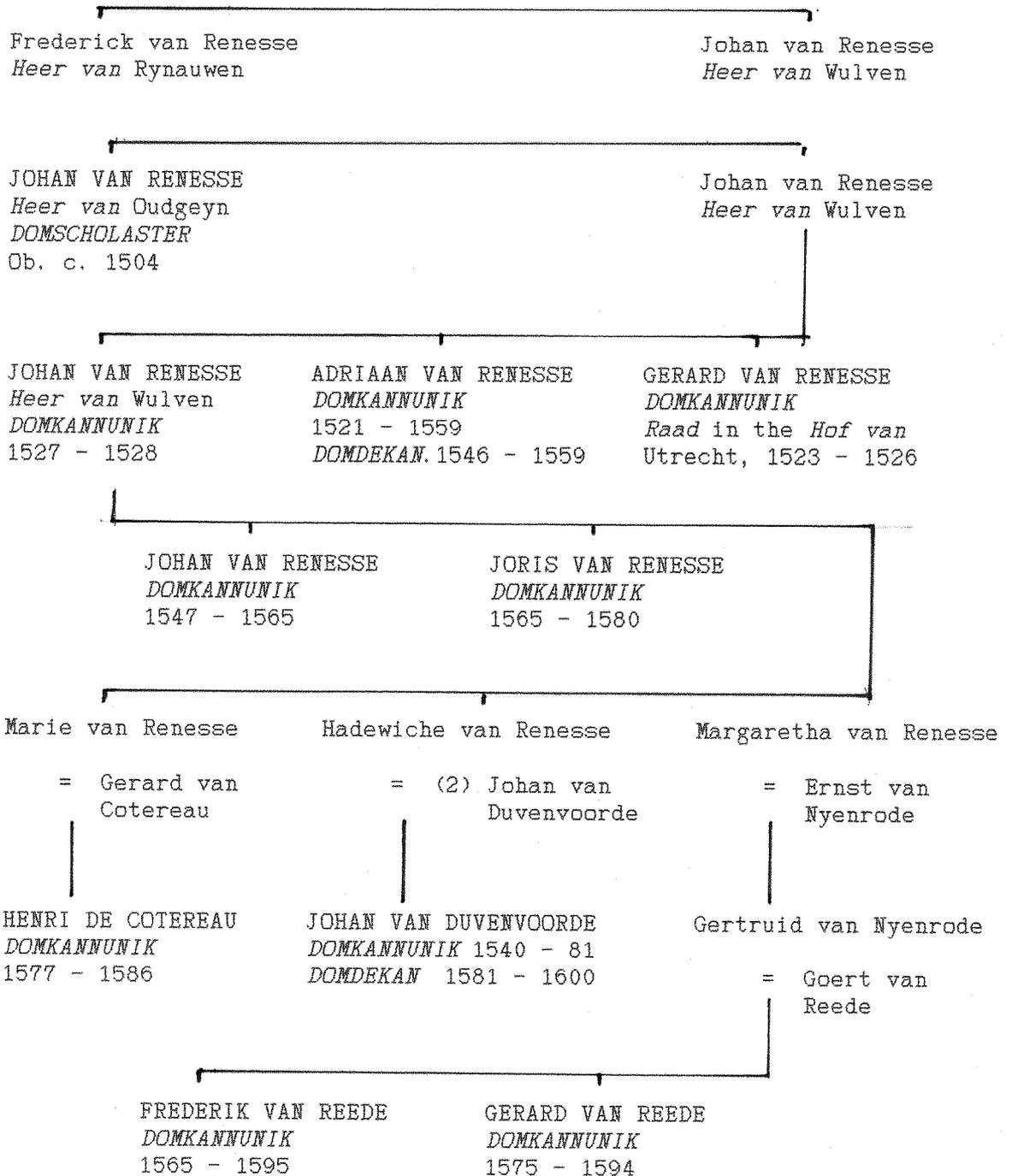
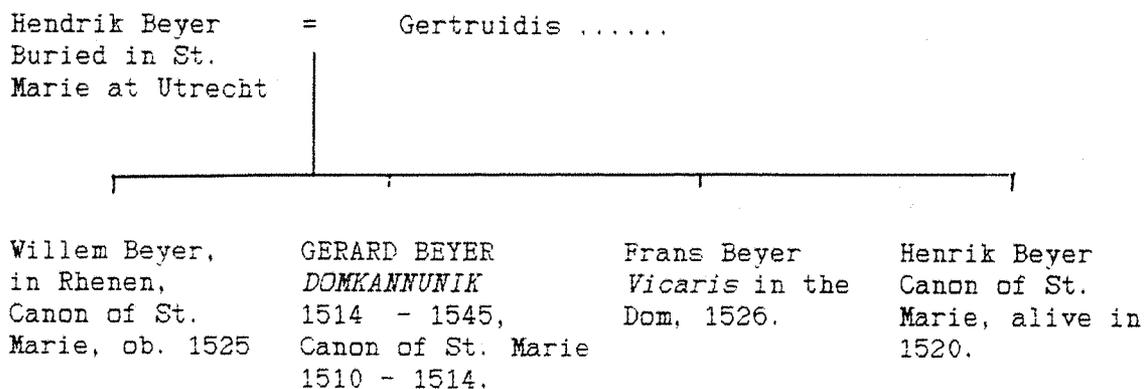
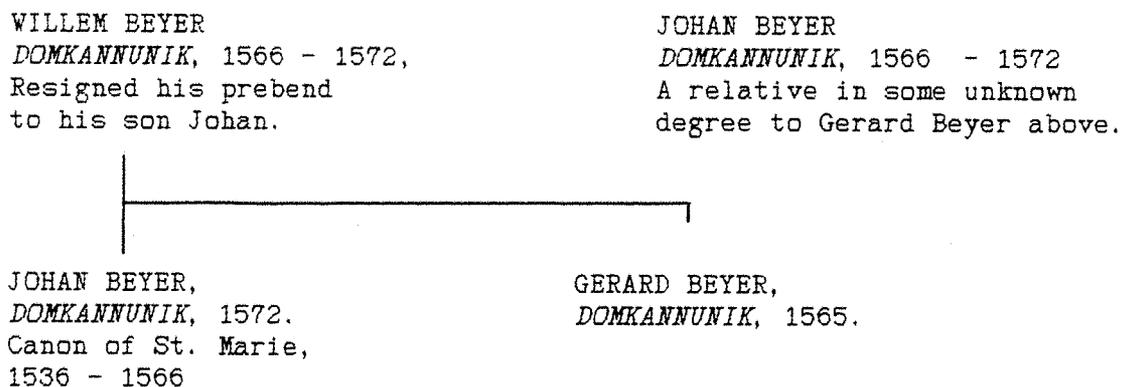


TABLE 9

TWO FRAGMENTS OF GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF BEYER.



Willem Beyer  
Citizen of Utrecht.



make such a distinction, the history of the city government of Utrecht in our period throws some doubt upon this. The constitution of the city government or *Magistraat* from the late fifteenth century was essentially paternalistic. Extremes of oligarchy and democracy had been attempted but both were shortlived,<sup>75</sup> although for the most part the city council remained an exclusive body. Prior to the *overdracht* membership depended upon citizenship and links with one of the city's guilds.<sup>76</sup> From the body of freemen guild-members there were elected, about the end of October each year, two elements, the twelve member *schepenbank*, roughly analogous to a court of aldermen, and the twenty-four strong *raad*, or common council, and in addition two *cameraers* or chamberlains, in effect treasurers, were also elected. *Raad* and *schepenbank* combined to elect one each of their number to be joint *burgemeesters*. In addition there existed in the upper ranks of the city government, the *schout*, a species of sheriff-like functionary, appointed prior to the *overdracht* by the bishop, and thereafter by the central government, or by its representative the *stadhouder*, from among the provincial *ridderschap*. It was this trio of *schout* and two *burgemeester* that ruled the city for the ensuing year.<sup>77</sup> While this is not the place to examine the city council in detail, it is worth noting that throughout our period the provincial nobility played an important role in its government, several members of the *ridderschap* acting as *burgemeester*.<sup>78</sup> What room there had been for choice of membership of the council prior to the *overdracht* is not clear, <sup>79</sup> but under the Habsburgs the *magistraat* was nominated annually by the *stadhouder*, or his surrogates, from a list submitted by the retiring council.<sup>80</sup> By 1541 there is some evidence that the nobility

was to some degree institutionalised in the council, forming a large part of the *schepenbank*<sup>81</sup> )

Some consideration, albeit brief, must be given to the question of nobility. The problem of defining the nobility in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century is compounded by the variations from province to province. It is true that an initial assessment can be made in relation to the very great nobles,<sup>82</sup> the so-called 'higher nobility', all undoubtedly rich, and associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. In the northern provinces the residence of such great ones were rare, although along the banks of the 'great rivers' there were the quasi-independent enclaves of some feudatories of the Empire, such as the counts of Montfoort, Culemburg, Buren and Ravensteyn and the Brederode lords of Vianen, and the lesser, but no less independent-minded lords of Batenberg and Bronckhorst, and the lands of the Teutonic Knights at Luiksgastel.<sup>83</sup> Some of the 'higher nobility' held manors in the north; the prince of Orange possessed many *heerlijkheden* in the county of Holland, as too a lesser degree did the counts of Egmont and Hoorn, but as these were not often resident, and nobility in effect came to be represented by the *landadel*, which may be equated with the substantial gentry in England.<sup>84</sup> For contemporaries there were no real difficulties in defining the nobility - *Ridders* were so recognised by virtue of their residence on long held family estates, their possession of *heerlijkheden*, in essence manorial rights, which did not necessarily imply ownership of the land so encompassed; and finally their ability to live 'nobly', which in practical terms meant abstaining from trade.<sup>85</sup> That some such order existed in Utrecht is clear, but the situation is clarified for us somewhat because between 1536 and 1539 it was agreed in

the *Staten van Utrecht* that henceforth the owners of some fifty-five *hofsteden*, that is specifically moated manor houses with draw-bridges, should comprise the *ridderschap* of Utrecht.<sup>86</sup> Such *hofsteden* could be inherited by females, and the husbands of such ladies naturally entered into the rights that they carried, and like other feudal property, the *hofsteden* could be sold, although there seems to have been a unwritten convention that such sales were only to nobles.<sup>87</sup>

Not surprisingly the Utrecht *ridderschap* were well represented in the Chapter providing some forty-eight canons throughout the century. Of this number some twenty were drawn from only four families, those of Renesse van Wulven, the Van Zuylen, the Amstel van Mijnden and the Van Leeuwenbergs.<sup>88</sup> Even so the remainder of the canons are a roll-call of *goede Utrechtse klingende namen*,<sup>89</sup> the flower of the province's nobility. From the surrounding provinces there was considerable variation of numbers.<sup>90</sup>

In a different category were those canons who belonged to the high nobility, that is princely, and quasi-princely families of the Empire. This group included two margraves of Baden, relations to bishop Frederick of Baden, himself a member of the Chapter.<sup>91</sup> In additions there were members of the widespread family of Wittelsbach, in this case the counts of Zimmern,<sup>92</sup> and a duke of Cleves, and a duke of Saxe-Lauenberg.<sup>93</sup> Also stemming from a princely family of the Empire was the cardinal of the counts of Monferrat, who acted as an agent for the Valois duke Charles 'the Bold' at the papal Curia in the late fifteenth century.<sup>94</sup> Four other canons derived from comital families, Everard, count of Manderscheid-Blankenheim, Herman, count of Neuenahr, Fredrick, count of 's Heerenberg, while to these last may be added Jasper, count

of Rennenberg, also a count of the Empire, but from a family that held possessions in the *Sticht*. Membership of the Chapter by such high born nobles can be explained by various factors. In the case of some, who were important members of neighbouring chapters, possession of a canonry at Utrecht seems to have been a mark of courtesy, as in the case of Neuenahr and Saxe-Lauenberg, who were both provosts of the metropolitan chapter of Cologne, membership of which chapter was commonly given to the princes of the houses of Baden, Cleves and Wittelsbach. Something of the same may well be true of the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, who was provost of Munster.<sup>95</sup> The counts of Manderscheid and Neuenahr, also canons of Cologne, were from families powerful in the Lower Rhine region and a stall at Utrecht would be well within the 'spheres of interest' of such families.

Although the Chapter was to lie after the *overdracht* of 1528 in the territories of the Habsburgs, it should not be overlooked that until 1559 it remained ecclesiastically dependent upon the archbishop of Cologne, and many of its members held benefices in that diocese, and that many ecclesiastical disputes concerning capitular properties in the eastern Netherlands could fall under the appellate jurisdiction of the archbishop of Cologne and his officers.<sup>96</sup> Good relations with these powerful corporation such as the chapters of Cologne, and to a lesser degree, of Münster, were clearly advisable.

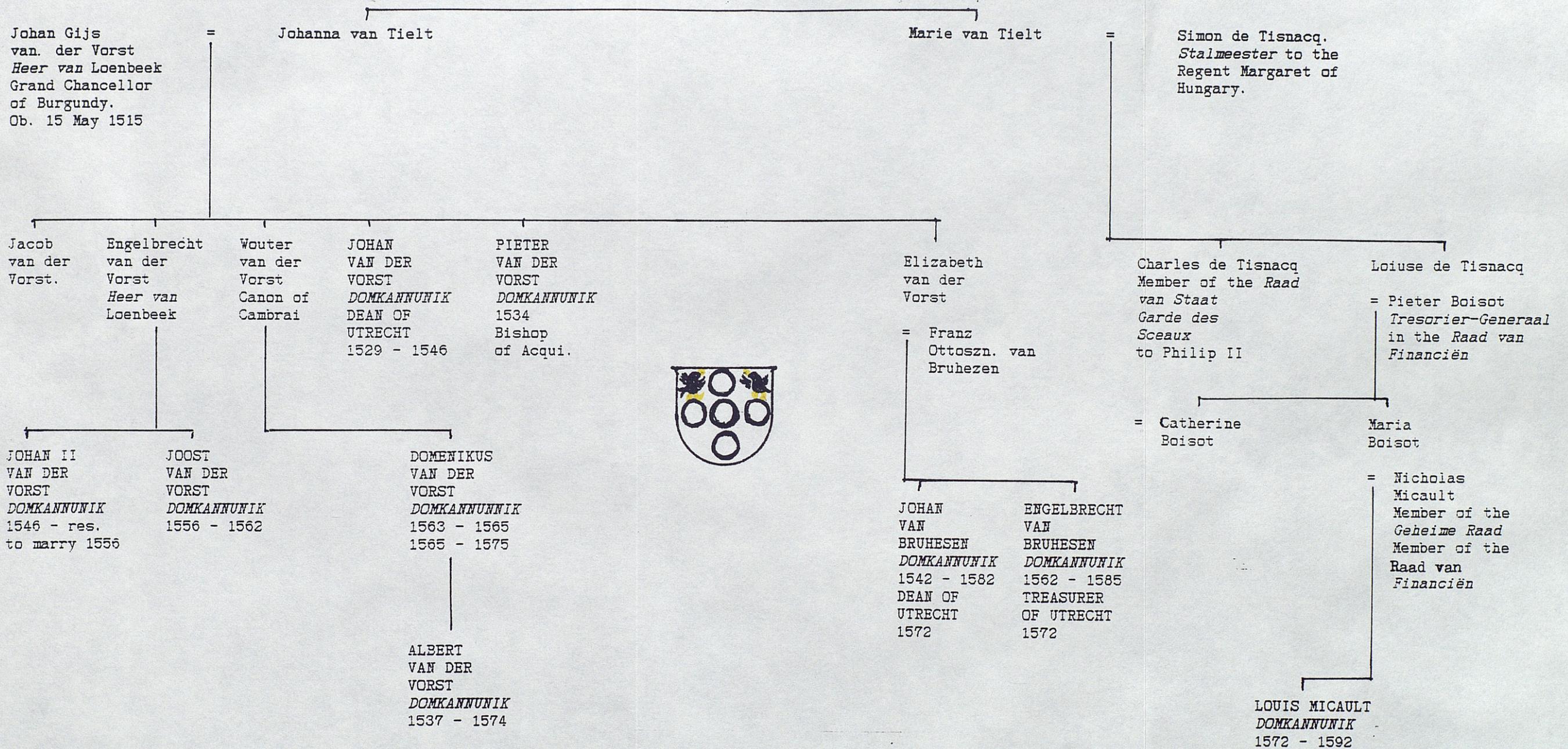
These high born canons embodied the tail end of a tradition of great clerics from what may be loosely termed the Lower Rhine, the lands of the diocese to the east and south east of Utrecht. An examination of the north German cathedral chapters reveals a considerable duplication of membership among their princely canons,<sup>97</sup> and in the late fifteenth

century this feature was not unknown at Utrecht.<sup>98</sup> Beside these great ones from this area there were of course lesser fry, such as Johan Potken, provost of Emmerich, and Johan Tussenbroek, provost of the *Alten Kapelle* at Regensberg,<sup>99</sup> but as with their princely fellows the striking feature is the falling off of recruitment from the late 'twenties of the sixteenth century.<sup>100</sup> As this diminution predates the stricter enforcement of the *placet* by the emperor Charles V, it must be presumed that in the unsettled conditions of the warfare raging between Habsburg and Gelderland in that same decade, a canonry at Utrecht was no longer an investment that it had once been. This can hardly be the whole of the matter, for such relations had been poor in the mid to late fifteenth century, and this element had not then appeared to affect relations, and it is therefore hard to offer at present any entirely convincing explanation

As something of a footnote to the question of multiple membership of the great chapters of the Empire, we may note those the canons of the *Dom* who possessed prebends in other chapters, held such stalls in churches of roughly equivalent rank. Although the question of pluralism is treated elsewhere, it is perhaps pertinent to point out here that a canon of the *Dom* would only exceptionally hold prebends in the other Utrecht *Hoofdkerken*, and within the diocese of Utrecht, in the chapter of Deventer, and perhaps the *prelaaturschappen*, that is the offices of provost or dean, of the chapters of Arnhem, Oldenzaal and Zutphen.<sup>101</sup> Among the numerous other chapters of the diocese, whose revenues could not, of course, match the venerable and richer foundations already mentioned, only three cases can be cited of a *domkannunik* possessing such a canonry, and even in one of these

TABLE 10

THE VAN DER VORST VAN LOENBEEK AND CONNECTIONS IN THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER.



instances there is uncertainty over the identification. If a *domkannunik* did have connections with such chapters, it was to be head of it, as in the case of Hendrik Zoudenbalch and Cornelis van Meirop, deans respectively of the chapters of St. Maartensdijk and of the *Hofkapel* in The Hague.<sup>102</sup>

Reference has already been made to the influence of powerful curialists on the membership of the Chapter, and the study of the *prelaaten* of the Chapter has revealed the success of the central government in making these benefices part of its patronage in the course of the sixteenth century. It may then be readily imagined that the combination of these influences would be formidable. And so an examination of the Van der Vorst family and its connections between 1524 and 1581 proves, for this group comprised no less than nine canons in the Chapter. [See Table 10] The key figures in this development were cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt and Johan Gijs van der Vorst, which last had a distinguished career of service to the House of Habsburg that culminated in the Grand Chancellorship of Burgundy, a success all the more remarkable in that Van der Vorst's father was a butcher. Dying in 1518,<sup>103</sup> he had been able to provide generously for his numerous offspring, the younger sons especially being launched upon careers in the church. Of these sons, Pieter van der Vorst, took the road to Rome where he appears to have come under the aegis of cardinal Van Enckevoirt, although the principal feature of his life was the nunciature to the Empire in 1536 - 37, clearly a testimony of his standing with pope Paul III, and his capacity to stand on his own feet after the death of Van Enckevoirt in 1535. He was a great accumulator of benefices, which his position at the Curia facilitated, and amongst

KEY

Bishopric of Utrecht  
prior to 1559



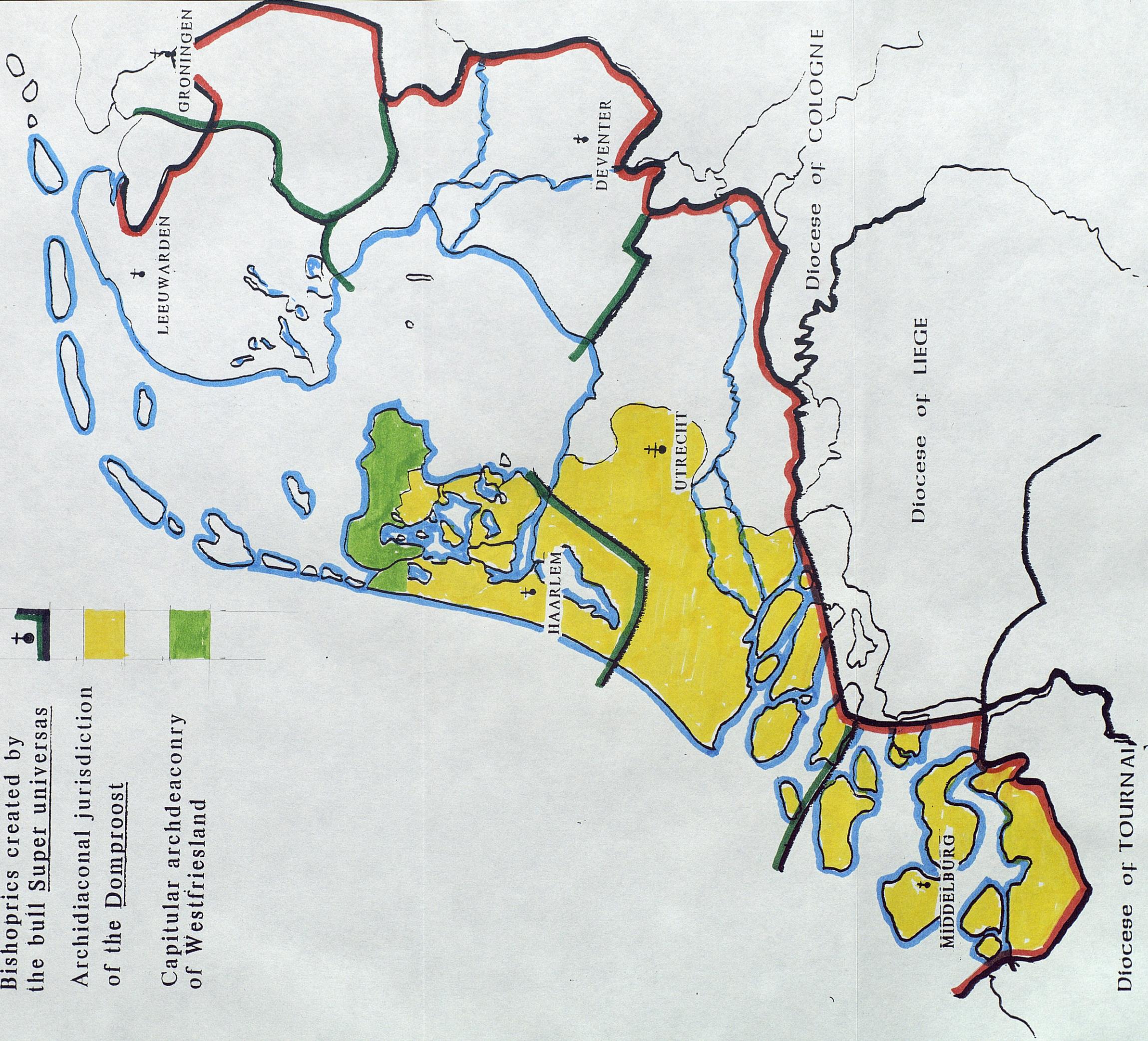
Bishoprics created by  
the bull Super universas



Archidiaconal jurisdiction  
of the Domproost



Capitular archdeaconry  
of Westfriesland



MAP 4 : THE DIOCESE OF UTRECHT 1559 - 1572

these were two prebends in the *Dom*, as well as a *commende* over a third.<sup>104</sup> His brother Johan van der Vorst also had a clerical career which prior to 1529 was spent in Brabant, he again appears to have derived impetus from his brother's connections with cardinal van Enckevoirt. In the course of 1528 the emperor Charles V sought finally to regularise the confused series of claims upon the deanery of Utrecht. His choice fell upon Johan van der Vorst, largely it would seem, on the recommendation of Van Enckevoirt, who considered that he was, as he informed the Regent Margaret of Austria, *personne ydoine et souffisant a cest estat*, adding significantly *oultre ce quil est subiectz de sadite Majeste et a eu son pere chancellier de Brabant*.<sup>105</sup> And that says it all. From then on a series of nephews and cousins of dean van der Vorst entered the Chapter, and one of the cousins, Johan van Bruhezen, was to become dean himself in 1572.

The brothers Pieter and Johan van der Vorst were dead by 1549. The continuing success of the Van der Vorst family at Utrecht is not explained solely by an exaggerated reverence for long defunct cardinals and chancellors. The success of Johan van Bruhezen in securing the deanery, albeit under curious circumstances, has been related elsewhere, but for our purposes here it is sufficient to note that the van der Vorst nephews were connected to the Tisnacq and Boisot families, members of which were by the mid sixteenth century in key positions in the *Raad van Staat* and the *Raad van Financiën*. Current connections as well as parentage and kinship secured important patronage. Johan van Bruhezen also appears to have had a relatively close connection with the important figure of Viglius, president of the Privy Council, with whom he maintained a regular correspondence dating from at least June of

1565, and its tone then suggests a more distant origin.<sup>106></sup> But the support of these connections also demanded a return, hence it is not altogether surprising that dean Van Bruhezen was instrumental in 1572, the year of his election and confirmation as dean, in collating to a prebend at the *Dom* a very distant kinsman, Louis Micault, who, distant kinsman though he might be, was the son of a member of the *Geheime Raad*

.107>

As far as simple canonries were concerned, save for the requisite of legitimate birth, the chapter of St. Maarten was not an exclusive body in any statutory or legalistic sense, as were some of the chapters of the Empire. Yet in practical terms a canonry at the *Dom* of Utrecht was reserved to men of the 'better sort', to men of well established backgrounds, though this was not invariably an alternative description for the nobility. While the Chapter was the natural home for the younger sons of *Stichtse* noble houses, and those of neighbouring provinces, it also attracted the sons of families prominent in the city government. Prior to the *overdracht* of 1528 the Chapter's prebends were suitable rewards for a small number of episcopal servants, whilst thereafter they became the quarry of well-connected administrative families in the central government at Brussels. The sixteenth century saw a decline in the number of canons entering the Chapter by means of papal provision, although this must be seen in the light of two developments: the stricter enforcement of the royal *placet* from 1540 onwards, and the waning of the personal influence of individual Netherlanders at the papal Curia. A handful of families did create dynasties in the membership of the Chapter, but this feature appears to have had little effect upon its conduct.

And what of individuals ? At one end one might cite the glorious example of Adriaan Florisz. who became pope, and but for his early death might have initiated some form of Catholic reform from the top.<sup>108</sup> At the other one might cite the iconoclast Cornelis van Nijenrode, who in his scoloped cloak, set about smashing the font in the principal parish church of the city of Utrecht during the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566.<sup>109</sup> In between lay a wide spectrum of achievement in the world's terms. The historical records of a corporation such as the cathedral of Utrecht seldom allow the human side to emerge. For every bundle of *rentebrieven*, volumes of account books and resolutions, there are only few personal glimpses. The *domkannunik* Amelis van Zuylen van Nyvelt may well have been an accomplished cross-bowman, for the Chapter took wine with him on the occasion that he won the prize for shooting the *papegai*<sup>110</sup>; *Domproost* Cornelis van Meiroop made annotations in his books<sup>111</sup>; *Domproost* de Bossu was hopeless at Latin at school, and had to undergo a 'crash course' on reaching university<sup>112</sup>. This writer experienced a moment of humour when scouring the entries of the *Fabriekrekening* as he imagined the occasion on which the *domkannunik* Johan Krijs presented the archbishop of Cologne with a live seal.<sup>113</sup> Occasionally the documents reveal our canons in an unfavourable light: the Gelderland nobleman dean Van Appelteren may have been a murderer,<sup>114</sup> while the Brabant nobleman Liebrecht van Houthem feared to be called one,<sup>115</sup> and Johan Bogart seems to have been a violent man,<sup>116</sup> Frederick Schenk had an unenviable reputation for both avarice and lechery.<sup>117</sup> And the good ? "Oft interred with their bones". Conventional piety reveals gifts to the cathedral,<sup>118</sup> their wills reveal the pious bequests,<sup>119</sup> and the *Fabriekrekening* abound with

payments for small acts of charity,<sup>120</sup> but as with the pictorial arts so with biography, hell is rather more stimulating to depict than heaven. Like all corporations, the daily life, within the constraints of the society in which it functioned, was probably more humdrum and unexciting than the records of its scandals and upheavals might suggest. To those without, the Chapter was probably as litigious and difficult as any contemporary corporation, but to the members of its *familia* it was probably, according to its lights, a good master. Endless and expensive court cases over tithes comprise the records, but when the cathedral sweeper died, the canons ordered the tolling of the little bell *Michael*;<sup>121</sup> the Chapter fought with great tenacity against its provost in the years 1530 - 1540, but it sent two of its choristers off to the seaside to convalesce after being bitten by a dog.<sup>122</sup>

Bearing in mind the constituency from which its membership was drawn, it is not surprising that the Chapter appears as an introspective and conservative clerical backwater; as we shall see, untouched by the Lutheran heresy, apparently uncomprehending of the threat of reformed protestantism, and baffled and embarrassed by the events of the opening years of the reign of Philip II. The figure of Cornelis van Nijenrode can only have horrified the majority of the Chapter, if only because his behaviour brought such unwelcome attention to their corporation. Members of the Chapter would not have perhaps warmed to the description of its members, by one who knew them well, as given over to the worship of Bacchus and Venus,<sup>123</sup> or been unaware of their reputation for venial sins among the clergy of the diocese as a whole,<sup>124</sup> but gossip would not have hurt their elevated social position. Not that the Chapter was without men of distinction in its membership, but it has to be owned

that such luminaries as it did contain, Adriaan Florisz. n., Masius, Sonnius, even the litigious Piggius, had not made their names at Utrecht - to such as these the prebend at the *Dom* was a useful makeweight to fortunes and reputations sought, and made, elsewhere. In the sixteenth century its provosts were initially men of the second rank in royal service, but increasingly the office came to be held by well-connected nonentities. After the *overdracht*, with the remarkable and short-lived exception of Adriaan van Renesse, who was archbishop-designate of Utrecht for ten days, the office of dean was the zenith of the useful but dull careers of its holders, and after 1577 the last avowedly Catholic dean was to sign himself the 'unfortunate dean of Utrecht'.<sup>125</sup> To the *domkannunik*, perhaps more a seeker after *douce quiétude*<sup>126</sup> truth, sitting beneath the trees before the church of St. Marie on a Sunday afternoon in August, chatting to his friends, issuing luncheon invitations,<sup>127</sup> the tumultuous events of the reign of Philip II were as bewildering as they were unwelcome.

#### THE CANON AS PLURALIST.

##### 1) PARISH CHURCHES.

The patronage of churches in the northern Netherlands fall into two groups. The first of these was those churches in the hands of lay patrons. Chief amongst these was the prince or *Landsheer*, who in effect was the Hapsburg ruler as heir to the various duke and counts of the provinces that formed the Netherlands. In the diocese of Utrecht, the *Landsheer* had in his gift some of the richest and most important churches, including the richest parish in all Holland, that of Haarlem.<sup>128</sup> After the *Landsheer* came those churches in the gift of

nobles and lords of manors. Since the origin of this patronage was often the *Eigenkirchen* of the original foundation by a feudal lord, the patronage secured by the *jus patronatus* incident upon *dote, aedificatione et fundo*, this type of church was almost invariably found in the rural parish and was seldom of any great value. There were exceptions in those churches, such as Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom and Montfoort, that were the seats of great fiefs, and in which there was often also founded by the lord of the place, a chapter of secular canons.<sup>129</sup> Exceptionally the patronage of a church was vested in the hands of a town council, although by the sixteenth century this was increasingly the practice *de facto* in some of the more important towns.<sup>130</sup>

The clergy formed the second group of patrons. Such patronage was in the majority of cases in the northern Netherlands exercised by the great abbeys and collegiate churches, rather than the bishop, who possessed very limited powers of collation in the diocese of Utrecht itself.<sup>131</sup> Rather more unusually parish clergy exercised such rights as the incumbents of ancient 'mother churches'.<sup>132</sup> It scarcely needs to be observed that the above outline of the theoretical basis for the bestowal of churches was subject to extraneous and subterranean pressures culminating in collation by a particular patron.

Only three canons of the *Dom* can be shown to have held churches of which the patronage was held by a layman other than the *Landsheer*. Two of these canons, Gerlacus van der Donck and Cornelis van Meirop appear to have held family livings, or in the latter case, livings bought especially for the young man concerned.<sup>133</sup> In the third case, the high-born Judocus van Praet van Moerkercken, son of the *stadhouder*

of Holland, was nephew to the patron of his church of Giessen-Oudkerk.<sup>134</sup> The case of two further canons is clouded by doubts as to identification, but one Coenrad Strick, *pastoor* of Homoet in Gelderland, a church in the gift of the count of Berghen, may be identified with the *domkannunik* of the same name, and a like identification is possible for Johan Anthonisz., the incumbent of Montfoort, the *caput* of the *Heren van Montfoort*.<sup>135</sup> The major lay patron in the northern Netherlands was the *Landsheer*, but even after the *Overdracht* of 1528, there is no clear evidence to suggest that this source of patronage was of any great importance for the *domkannuniken* of Utrecht in their search for parish churches. Only three canons had clear links with the Crown through service. Adriaan Florensz., as adviser to the duchess dowager of Burgundy, Margaret of York, secured three churches in the princely gift in Holland and Zeeland,<sup>136</sup> while Claude de Bousset, archdeacon of Arras, a stalwart servant of the Hapsburgs, held the rich church of Graft.<sup>137</sup> Willem Heda, secretary to Maximilian, and his son Philip, King of Castile, was presented to the wealthy church of Edam.<sup>138</sup> Crown livings were also at the disposal of the relations and connections of influential royal officials. Among these last the *stadhouder* was clearly well placed to exert influence in the bestowal of rich benefices in the gift of the Crown, and indeed those in the gift of others. Judocus de Praet van Moerkercken, son of Lodewijk van Praet, *stadhouder* of Holland and Zeeland, was instituted to the important church of St. Lawrence at Rotterdam in 1535 - 1536, on the death of the papal chamberlain Andreas Venrode,<sup>139</sup> A further example of this is the case of the Holland church of Haastrecht, in the gift of the Crown, which was bestowed upon Cornelis van Meiroop, son of the royal *Rekenmeester* of Holland.<sup>140</sup> A not

dissimilar case concerns the incumbent of the wealthy Crown living of Graft, Arnold Boekelair, from a prominent family of Dordrecht, but more specifically the brother of Mr. Thomas Boekelair, *Rentmeester-Generaal* of Holland.<sup>141</sup> On the other hand the case of the Utrecht canon Cornelis van Hoorn who in 1547 held the Crown living of Spaarnwoude cannot be further enlarged upon, save to observe that he was apparently closely associated with the count of Hoogstraaten, the *stadhouder* of Holland, and this may account for his nomination. Whether in addition his qualification as a physician further explains the relationship with Hoogstraten is unknown.<sup>142</sup> For the pluralist canon of Utrecht, the lay patron was of little importance. It was perhaps only natural that the aspiring pluralist of the northern Netherlands looked in the sixteenth century, to the clerical patrons, that is to the great abbeys and collegiate churches.

Not unexpectedly nepotism played a significant role in securing benefices in the gift of such corporations. An example from the late fifteenth century concerns the *domkannunik* Arnold van 's-Gravenzande, *Raad* in the *Hof van Holland* and canon of the *Hofkapel* in The Hague, as well as being a considerable pluralist in parish churches in Zeeland. His kinship with Johan van 's-Gravenzande, the abbot of Middelburg, is not clear, but in view of the events surrounding the gift of the church of Sinoutskerke on Zuidbeveland some relationship seems probable. Arnold van 's-Gravenzande laid claim to the church in 1468, despite the pretensions of a papal providee. His namesake the abbot of Middelburg fell in with the papal arbitrator in the dispute that followed and placed Arnold in possession in 1469.<sup>143</sup> Some four years later the abbot presented Arnold to the *vicarie* on the altar of St. Anna in the chapel

Coemans, canon of St. Jan, the church of Bovenkarspel already mentioned.<sup>151</sup> Finally, Henrick Zoudenbalch, the subject of the unsuccessful attempt by his brother the *Domthesaurier* to install him in Bovenkarspel, did in fact secure that church, which he was noted as holding in 1536.<sup>152</sup> how he came by the benefice is not known, but it may well have been a collusive resignation. Some obscurity surrounds the incumbency of the parish church of Sassenheim in Holland, formally in the gift of the abbey of Egmont, but which became incorporated to the Chapter by at least 1520.<sup>153</sup> Although indeed held by two canons of the *Dom* in succession, these incumbencies appear to have part of the protracted manoeuvres to secure the incorporation. In the meantime, from 1520 the church appears to have been served by a *vice-cureit*, one Johan Willemszn, until 1528, when the archidiaconal registers record the gift of the church to Gijsbert Brunt, dean of Capelle in Zeeland. This cleric was the brother of Reynier Brunt, procurator-general for the county of Holland, an important official at any time, but from the Chapter's point of view in 1528, the year of the *Overdracht*, doubtless a man to be cultivated.<sup>154</sup>

Nepotism or patronage of a more defensible nature may occur where an employer sought to reward a servant by such means. It has already been seen at work in the case of Adriaan Floriszn, but an equally straightforward example was the gift by bishop Egmont of Utrecht of the church of Hausay, a dependency of the bishop's commendatory abbey of St. Amand, as well as the church of Oostende in Zuidbeveland, to his chaplain, the *Domkannunik* Georges Strijt.<sup>155</sup> However, few of the canons of Utrecht fell into this category, although two examples illustrating the importance of powerful connections are instructive as to the way in

of Domburg.<sup>144</sup> Another, somewhat later example, was the possession of the church of Rijnsburg in Holland, by Frederick Schenck van Toutenburg, who was given the church in 1543 by his sister Maria van Toutenburg, abbess of Rijnsburg.<sup>145</sup>

It might be thought that the Chapter as a great ecclesiastical corporation with several churches in its gift would be a source of benefices for its canons. This certainly seems to have been the practice in the relatively poor chapter of St. Jan,<sup>146</sup> and possibly so in the chapter of St. Pieter.<sup>147</sup> There is however some negative evidence to suggest that in fact this was not in fact the case at the *Dom*. By the sixteenth century the Chapter collated to some thirty-six churches in the diocese, none of whose incumbents can be identified as *domkannuniken* as incumbents at any of these churches.<sup>148</sup> What is much more striking is that when such nepotistic attempts were made they seem to have been repulsed. Thus in 1526 when a vacancy occurred in the church of Bovenkarspel in Westfriesland,, which church lay in the gift of the Chapter, a dispute arose between the *Domthesaurier* Gerard Zoudenbalch, and Dirck van Drakenborch, the *Turnarius* representing the Chapter, as to who should present. Zoudenbalch sought to collate his brother Hendrik Zoudenbalch, but the Chapter in the persons of three of its members delegated to examine the matter decided against him, and allowed the nomination of the candidate of the *Turnarius*.<sup>149</sup>

On the other hand, it was possible for members of the Chapter to secure such livings by other means. Thus Egbert Luessinck secured in 1540 the church of Schellinghout in Westfriesland by exchange with Arnold Muters, himself a *vicaris* of the *Dom*,<sup>150</sup> while another canon, Johan Waldorian, secured in 1543, also by the resignation of Gerard

which benefices in the gift of great abbeys were acquired by those who appear to have had no connection with such corporations. Mr. Roelof Campinck had been a chorister in the chapel of the emperor Charles V, and thus was singularly well placed to secure marks of royal favour, or, as appears in this instance, since he seems to have been owed arrears of pay,<sup>156</sup> to secure compensation. At a vacancy in the church of Westkappelle in Zeeland in 1532 the abbot of Middelburg presented his candidate to the living, it being in his gift, only to have the presentation contested by Campinck bearing letters of presentation from the emperor. The contest was long and hard, passing from the *Hof van Holland* to the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen, and with royal consent, passing to appeal at the papal Curia, which delegated the matter to the dean of the chapel royal of St. Gudule at Brussels. The final sentence went in favour of Campinck, but he seems to have secured a less troublesome benefice, a *vicarie* worth *in absentia*, which was a crucial point, some £8 Flemish, as well as retaining the church. The case lasted for seven years, involving both sides in considerable expense no doubt, although the abbot of Middelburg did succeed in preserving the presentation to the church for monks of his abbey.<sup>157</sup>

Even more instructive was the history of the presentation to the wealthy church of Alkmaar, valued in the 1532 subsidy at around £100 Flemish or some 600 florins per annum.<sup>158</sup> Nominally in the gift of the great abbey of Egmond,<sup>159</sup> there were signs in the late fifteenth century that these rights were slipping away through the consecutive admission of papal providees, for in 1474 the pope was prevailed upon to issue a bull confirming the 'ancient' rights of the abbey to the patronage of the church.<sup>160</sup> In the spring of the year 1500, on the

death of the then incumbent, the abbot of Egmond sought to collate to the church one of his monks, the Holland nobleman Adriaan van Foreest. This intention was blocked by a series of claims dating back into the fifteenth century. The acting *vice-cureit* Johan Honsbach had clearly been waiting for this vacancy to present his claims. Whether the abbot bought out these claims, or Honsbach realised that his position was hopeless in view of what happened next is not known, but he remained as *vice-cureit* until his death in 1503. But the abbot's situation was not thereby eased, for within a few days of his nomination of Adriaan van Foreest, there appeared upon the scene the procurators of Johan Potken, *domkannunik* and also provost of Emmerich, bearing papal letters of provision dating from 1492. Nor was this claimant alone, for by the late summer of 1500 there had emerged two further candidates, one armed with *prima precum* from the emperor, and the other bearing letters of provision from the papal legate to the Empire.<sup>161</sup>

From this flurry of claims no clear result emerged for some years, at least until 1517, when it would appear that although the church was still in litigation, Johan Potken was in possession.<sup>162</sup> By 1528 the air seems to have cleared a little in that the church was said at that date to be in the possession of count Herman von Neuenahr, *domkannunik* and provost of Cologne.<sup>163</sup> Whether the abbot of Egmond had a role other than that of powerless acquiescence in all this is hard to say, but it seems doubtful, for on the death of Von Neuenahr in 1530, when he may have been on the point of resigning the church,<sup>164</sup> it was the newly appointed bishop of Utrecht, cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt, who collated the new *pastoor* of Alkmaar. His nominee was one Richard de Bruela, described as *secretario et familiari nostro continuo*

*commensuali*, whom the cardinal claimed to appoint, rather vaguely, on *auctoritate nostra ordinaria*, but as if aware of the unsure ground of this last, it was significantly added that the nomination was *quam vigore indultorum apostolicum nobis concessorum*.<sup>165</sup> How effective this intervention was is not clear: the abbot of Egmond made a presentation of one of his monks in 1534, and by 1544 the church was in the hands of the episcopal vicar-general, Jacob Uteneng, dean of St. Pieter's at Utrecht.<sup>166</sup>

In the foregoing account of the church of Alkmaar reference has been made to papal provisions. Clearly parish churches were as accessible as canonries by this means. As might be expected, it is among the group of curialists that one finds such grants most extensively utilised. Whereas the traffic in provisions to canonries can be clearly demonstrated in some cases to have originated in the desire of influential families to cater for younger sons, provisions to parish churches appear largely limited to those with curialist backgrounds. Among the canons of the *Dom* is the straightforward example of the gift of the church of Erkelens, in the diocese of Liège, to Lazarus de Rosetis.<sup>167</sup> but to this can be added Johan Potken at Alkmaar,<sup>168</sup> and Steven van Rumelaer at Boxtel.<sup>169</sup> Willem Heda, a secretary in royal service secured a papal provision to the church of Alphen-aan-der-Rijn.<sup>170</sup> Although the details are unknown, papal provision was doubtless the source of the numerous churches held by cardinal van Enckevoirt<sup>171</sup> and possibly also the litigation laden benefices of Albert Pigge.<sup>172</sup> Links with the papal Curia where he served for some years, in the households of first cardinal Pallavicini and then cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt almost certainly explains the possession of the

church of Hillegom by Cornelis van Heemstede,<sup>173</sup> and long connection with cardinal Pucci may explain the claims upon and possession of Kampen by Johan Slacheck.<sup>174</sup>

Access to parochial benefices by means of papal provision further appears to cease, as far as the canons of the *Dom* are concerned, by about 1530. This was probably due initially less to the *overdracht* of 1528, or the increasingly effective enforcement of the *placet* by the emperor Charles V in 1540, than to the waning of the influence of figures in the Florenti-Van Enckevoirt circle at Rome. Even so, for the period following 1540, papal provisions had to meet the challenge of a stricter oversight by the royal government of the bestowal of benefices to which reference has already been made.

Finally, in the matter of securing a church, some mention must be made of simony, an element already referred to in the case of prebends. Though outlawed by the church simony was practised, albeit disguised by various means, such as exchanges and collusive resignations. Not that by the sixteenth century much trouble was taken to disguise what was going on, especially in relation to benefices without cure of souls. Indeed in the archidiaconal accounts of the *Dom* the process was institutionalised by recourse to a fictitious chantry, that of SS. Georgius and Blasius alleged to exist in the *Nicholaaskerk* at Utrecht, to effect 'exchanges' for those with nothing except hard cash to exchange. Another method was to leave the name of the benefice blank in the documentation, replacing it with the formula 'title benefice', that is, private means, that certainly all canons of the cathedral of Utrecht were required by its statutes to possess.<sup>175</sup> Although such exchanges appear in the archidiaconal accounts for

canonries, no record of an exchange of a parish church by a *domkannunik* has not been found there.

Yet such exchanges did take place. In 1523 Pierre Mairot, from a prominent legal family of the Franche Comté, resigned his prebend in the *Dom* to Anthonis Taets van Amerongen, who may at that date have been in the service of pope Adriaan VI. As the pope died in that year it may be that Taets van Amerongen was considering rebuilding his career in his homeland, for he was certainly back in Utrecht by 6 May 1524. Connections with Mairot were not entirely lost for in 1531 - 1532 the archidiaconal records note the resignation of the church of Zunderdorp, in Amstelland in Holland, by Mairot to Taets van Amerongen.<sup>176</sup> This was almost certainly a sale. Similarly, the resignation of a portion of the Jacobskerk in Utrecht to the *domkannunik* Thomas van Nyekerken in 1529 - 30 by the *Domkannunik* Herman, count of Neuenahr, may well have been a sale, especially as Neuenahr held also the church of Oostzouburg in Zeeland, in 1528, and Thomas van Nyekerken held it by 1532.<sup>177</sup> All this is speculation as perforce it must be, since such transactions were by in their very nature were secret. Only laborious searches through notarial archives, beyond the scope of this study, could reveal if private agreements between parties to a simple, and legal, payment, were accompanied by a resignation or exchange of a church.

Having secured presentation to a church, it was next necessary to obtain institution to it by the archdeacon. It was at this stage that a problem arose. At its most basic, canon law laid down that a parish church must be served by a duly ordained priest. As we have seen, however, relatively few of the canons of the *Dom* were in major orders. But to the wealthy and well-connected this was not a great barrier to



progress: there was always a papal dispensation. A good example of this was the case of the Gelderland nobleman, the *domkannunik* Jacob van Appelteren, brother to the *Heer van Persingen*. Although but a deacon, at some stage before August 1501, he had secured the church of Wassom, in the diocese of Liège. At that date he secured from the pope a dispensation to delay for two years taking ordination. Van Appelteren was not in fact ordained until 1509, consequent upon his election as dean of Utrecht, an office usually requiring ordination, and he may well have secured further such dispensations in the meantime.<sup>178</sup> In similar circumstances, Thomas van Nyekerken, in 1528, on his election to the deanery of St. Jan at Utrecht, secured a dispensation from Clement VII to delay ordination.<sup>179</sup> Further examples are not known, but if this defect existed among other canons of the *Dom*, holding benefices with cure of souls, doubtless a similar solution was found. In the sixteenth century, as indeed at earlier periods, possession of a parish church was no evidence of sacerdotal status.

Once instituted to a church there was an obligation to serve it. This was, however, in the case of some pluralists, far from their minds, and never further than when the sole purpose of securing a church was to resign it with the maximum profit. The simplest method, and an openly legal method, was to gain papal consent to resign a church, and at the same time retain a pension derived from its revenues, payable by one's successor. Linked with this was the right of *accessum* or *regressum*, whereby if such a pension were not paid, re-possession of the benefice could be obtained. Cardinal van Enckenvoirt, for instance, secured the church of Breukelen in Utrecht *cum jure accessus*, in 1514, when he resigned it for a pension to Cornelis van Rotterdam.<sup>180</sup> A pension so

gained might itself be transferred to a third party, as in the involved case concerning the church of Haffen in the diocese of Cologne. The key figure in this affair, even if he does not appear directly, was the immensely influential Johan Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten, who although not a canon of the *Dom*, was intimately linked with a number of them, and one of his nephews, Gerard Huysselmans, possessed a stall in the cathedral. It was another nephew, Koenrad Inghenwinkel, who had secured the church of Haffen, but speedily resigned it to one Johan de Hoen, reserving a pension upon the benefice to be paid to the *domkannunik* Gerard Huysselman.<sup>181</sup> It scarcely needs to be pointed out that this type of transaction was, on the whole, limited to the small number of canons with close links with the papal Curia, although not exclusively so, as witness the resignation of the church of Goederee by Adriaan Florenszn. in 1515 for a pension,<sup>182</sup> at a time when he was not especially linked with the papal court.

If the church were to be retained, the pluralist took upon himself certain well recognised obligations. While he himself might escape these obligations by means of dispensations or, alas, simple neglect, they nevertheless remained to be fulfilled. In theory the parish priest was supposed to dispense the sacraments, especially that of the Altar, as well as baptism and confession, and was supposed to say the daily offices in his church, and preach. Outside the church building he was supposed also to visit his flock, either to encourage them in times of need, or admonish, if necessary; to visit the sick and dying, to whom he would administer the last rites. This is not the place to consider whether these demands were realised in the northern Netherlands in our period, but it must be observed that this period saw immense

changes in the perception of the role of the priest. A patron in 1505, presenting a priest to a remote and poor living in Westfriesland hoped rather vaguely that his appointee would *in alles doen gelyck een guet pastoir schuldich te doen.*<sup>183</sup>

While the Lutheran heresy, did not penetrate deeply into the Netherlands the Reformation was not without its effects upon government policy and the Catholic Church. Some senior clergy were conscious of the need to confront protestantism, and there are signs of this in the Netherlands from the mid-century onwards. Much later in the century the emphasis seems to be changing, and despite the scepticism that must always be present in reviewing visitational records, one cannot fail to notice the concern to stress the wide range of activities undertaken by the incumbent. During a visitation of the church of Honswijk in 1570, the churchwardens asserted that the priest was *een goet slecht heer, die alle zijn diensten van prediken, sacramenten tadministeren ende andere dingen wel ende willich doet.*<sup>184</sup> Again, the priest at Eemnes Binnendijks in 1568, according to the churchwarden, *die gemeente dient, die sacramenten administreert ende die siecken vertroest.* which was rather more than the *pastoor* himself claimed to be his role: *op Sonndagen misse te doen, vesper te singen ende te prediken op Aposteldagen metten misse en vesper te singen.*<sup>185</sup> For the absentee pluralist these duties had to be performed by a deputy.

While no doubt there was an element of vocation in the men who worked at parish level, the profit motive also played a significant part. For the absentee the problem was quite simple: the church was a piece of property to be exploited for his maximum benefit. What the absentee paid his deputy from the revenues of the parish depended upon

three elements, the availability locally of suitably qualified clergy to serve, the existence of charges already incurred upon the benefice, and the total revenues of the church. It is clear that by the middle of the sixteenth century, in the northern Netherlands, a small though evident decline in the numbers of priests available to serve parish churches occurred.<sup>136</sup> It was therefore probably easier to recruit from the clerical prolateriat in the first half of the century than it was later on. Unfortunately there is no direct evidence on this point, as far as recruitment goes, in the first half of the century.

By the middle of the century one example can be cited that throws an interesting light on the provision of a deputy to serve an absentee. The church in question was that of Rijnsburg, in Holland, lying in the shadow of the great nunnery there, and which in 1543 had been given by the abbess, Maria van Toutenberg, to her brother Frederick Schenck van Toutenberg, *Domkannunik* and provost of St. Pieter at Utrecht. A vacancy having occurred in the vice-curacy, it was the abbess who appeared to be concerning herself about securing a successor, rather than the incumbent, but since the latter had a reputation for parsimony, it was perhaps not altogether surprising. At all events the abbess recommended to her brother one Willem Claeszn. who had been warmly recommended to her by leading citizens, amongst whom was the *schout*, at Haarlem, the candidate being it seems *een goet geleert man... ende een man van goede leuen, die nyet beruft en is van eenyge nye secten*. The young man was twenty-one years of age, and thereby lies a problem, for one can only wonder what the archbishop was proposing in selecting one under the canonical age of ordination, although perhaps there was in the background the ubiquitous papal dispensation. Nevertheless the candidate

had clearly impressed the abbess, who then proceeded to the delicate matter of payment. It appeared that his predecessor had received 10*ƒ* Flemish per annum, which was one half of the revenues of the church to the incumbent, and this in the opinion of the abbess was inadequate for the present time, and she suggested that the candidate be offered 15*ƒ* Flemish. Bearing in mind Schenck van Toutenberg's reputation in money matters, it is hard to believe that this suggestion was lightly made or that it was received with any great approval, and indeed it may be that hard bargaining took place such that Willem Claeszn. felt unable to take up the curacy, for it was not he who was appointed. In November 1554 Schenck informed Elburg van Boetzelaer, his sister's successor as abbess of Rijnsburg, that he had appointed one Danckaert Franszn. as his *vice-cureit* adding as if aware that he had not secured first class goods *verhoepende hij zijn jonckheijt mit doicht ende eer sal suppleren, dair wy hem int langhe tho vermaent ende gerequiriert hebben*. It is doubtful if the spiritual need of the parishioners of Rijnsburg entered into the calculations of their absentee *pastoor* in selecting his surrogate. When, some years later, in 1564, Schenck resigned the church to his *vice-cureit*, a resignation involving a law-suit, for which the then abbess felt constrained to pay some of the costs to her new incumbent, one has the feeling that it was probably about money. With Schenck it always was. 1872

In the late medieval church the 'starveling curate' was no figment of the imagination, yet it may be necessary to qualify this picture in certain respects. Clearly in a rich and fertile land such as that presented by the north Netherlands littoral, the position of surrogate *pastoor* was no doubt more comfortable than in the less rich

areas. Hence it is not altogether surprising to find something of a 'career' *vice-cureit* in such areas, that is, persons apparently well qualified in their own right, who appear to have been content to serve other men for most of their careers. Some examples from the county of Holland are instructive in this respect, as well as for the light they shed on the attitudes of absentee incumbents to their churches.

One Alwinus Dirkszn. of the village of Graft in Holland, matriculated at Leuven in 1503, proceeding to study canon law.<sup>188</sup> The circumstance of his family are unknown, as is his career prior to his appearance as *vice-cureit* in his home village in 1528 where he deputised for the former *Domproost* Claude de Bousset.<sup>189</sup> A few years later, around 1535, he is found serving as *vice-cureit* at Hillegom, when noted as possessing a master's title, for the absentee curialist and *domkannunik* Cornelis van Haemstede.<sup>190</sup> When Alwinus Dirkszn. departed he was succeeded by another local, Ysbrand, son of Gerard Jacobszn. of Graft. He too enrolled at Leuven, in 1501, and also studied canon law.<sup>191</sup> By 1517 he was *vice-cureit* at Purmerend to Mr. Pieter Bruyn, dean of the chapter of St. Pancras at Leyden.<sup>192</sup> However, by about 1535 he was back in his home village as deputy to Claude de Bousset,<sup>193</sup> where he seems to have remained till his last days, for in the course of 1551 - 1552 he was granted permission to make a will, when noted with his master's title, as *pastoor* of Graft. For how long he had been incumbent is not clear, but by the beginning of 1552 he had either died or resigned, for on 3 January that year his successor was instituted.<sup>194</sup> What financial arrangements were involved is quite unknown, but both Graft and Hillegom were quite wealthy churches,<sup>195</sup> hence it may be surmised that the salary provided could attract men of

calibre, although possession of a degree did not mean aptitude for the priesthood, nor can a degree in canon law be equated with pastoral ability. Where the details can be ascertained it is interesting to note that, including the two cases noted above, several *vice-cureiten* can be identified as having matriculated at the university.<sup>196</sup>

The arrangements made by the considerable pluralist cardinal van Enckevoirt were clearly exceptional, but in principle are illustrative of the little local nexuses by which absentees could ensure that their churches were served. Van Enckevoirt held some four churches in the diocese of Liège, those of Bakel, Leende, the *personaat* of Schijndel, all in the deanery of Woensel, and the church of Loon-op-Zand, in the neighbouring deanery of Hilvarenbeek.<sup>197</sup> At Bakel between 1510 and 1524, Enckevoirt was served by two surrogates, Godfried van Amstel and Pieter Kawenberch. Nothing is known of the latter, but Van Amstel had apparently held a *vicarie* on the altar of St. John the Baptist in the church as early as 1485, and was still holding it in 1510. There was also a certain Johan van Amstel, almost certainly a relative, who was rector of an altar in the nearby church of Deurne, where he too served an altar and a further chapel in the church of Berkel for absentee rectors.<sup>198</sup> At Leende a similar arrangement existed whereby the church was served by a deputy, Hendrik van der Meer around 1510, but by 1524 he had been succeeded by Jacob Boux.<sup>199</sup> Van der Meer was clearly a professional *vice-cureit*, similar to those in Holland, for he had served originally the absentee Johan Gruyter in the latter's church at Mierlo, but by 1510 he had moved to Leende, whereby he had in his turn become the absentee rector of a *vicarie* in Mierlo. He also seems to have possessed a further *vicarie* in the chapel at Hersel in the parish of

Asten.<sup>200</sup> He was on the move again by 1524, for at that date he was serving another absentee, Hendrik Cawenberch, at the church of Ginneken.<sup>201</sup> His successor at Leende, Jacob Boux, serving there in 1524, had a benefice in the nearby church of Heeze, demanding some seven masses per week, which if it was to be served properly, would seem to indicate his residence there.<sup>202</sup> In Schijndel, the third church possessed by cardinal van Enckenvoirt, as *persona personatus* probably had few if any pastoral duties, and the cure of souls appears to have been exercised by the rector of the *vicarie* in the church, one Amis de Tectoris, who certainly served the second *vicarie* of SS. Marie & John the Baptist in the same church.<sup>203</sup> Finally at Loon-op-Zand the cardinal seems to have paid for his deputies from the revenues of the church, for they do not appear holding minor benefices in the church, or in any of the neighbouring churches and chapels.<sup>204</sup>

It is clear that the holding of churches by absentees was a canonical offence, although as J. Absil points out, one the Church was prepared to tolerate under certain conditions. Service at the papal Curia, and attendance at the university were good and sufficient reasons for absence, and for which a licence was doubtless not too difficult to obtain.<sup>205</sup> The group of clerics under review were men of influence, and if not possessing always good reason for absence, were not thereby incommoded. For these canons the parish benefice was an investment to be exploited. But this exploitation was clearly to be done within the limits of well recognised conventions. The obligation to supply a surrogate appears to have been entered into with some conscientiousness, although there is no way of assessing the pastoral quality of such persons. Some of these *vice-cureiten* were university men, and this may

mean no more than that they were as a group more able to defend their employer's interests in that notoriously litigious age. Where the absentees' interests were largely financial, this last was not unimportant, for it is a commonplace of all societies that the interests of the absentee go to the wall. It is also clear that the patron of the living took an interest in seeing that the parish was well served.

Among the canons of the cathedral of Utrecht it seems clear that the parish church was seen as an investment by only a few. Most of the great pluralists among them were strongly connected with the papacy, and were confined largely to the first half of the sixteenth century. Such as possessed churches thereafter did so from family links, as in the case of Praet van Moerkerken, or from personal service to the patron, as in the case of Georges Strijt. While the closer control of the gift of benefices with cure of souls may be the result of heightened awareness of the threat of heresy,<sup>206</sup> it is probably also the case that the financial demands of an absentee would be resented, and perhaps as the century progressed, increasingly so. The situation at Eemenes Binnendijks in 1568, where for part of his revenues, the incumbent *heeft hy van elcke communicant een halven stuver sjaers, dwelcke hy van huuse te huuse gaet haelen*,<sup>207</sup> must have been fraught with difficulties. Perhaps on that account his predecessor, Hendrik Pieck, almost certainly identifiable with the Gelderland nobleman, and canon of St. Marie at Utrecht, resigned the church after a short tenure.<sup>208</sup> Similarly there is a hint that matters were becoming troublesome at Rijsburg, which Schenck van Toutenberg resigned, but this may well have been linked with his elevation to the archbishopric of Utrecht. One suspects that parish

churches were simply becoming too troublesome, to be as good an investment as they had formerly appeared.

## 2) CHANTRIES.

A chantry or *vicarie*, had originally been the provision of masses for personal needs at private expense. The Middle Ages, and more especially the thirteenth century, saw the gradual association of these services with the private intention of the repose of the souls of particular individuals, either at the time of their death, or on anniversaries of the death, or indeed both. As time went on the desire to increase the observance ensured the celebration of masses on a weekly and even daily basis. For this intention to be realised it became necessary to endow such services, either with an initial cash payment or to the person or institution charged by the founder with the duty. It became the custom to found chantries in places where there was an already established body of clergy able to say the masses: religious houses and parish churches. The institution of the chantry was eminently flexible, encompassing as it did the grandiose foundations of colleges to pray for the souls of kings, magnates, and their families, the endowment of one or two priests by the monied, and guilds or individuals hiring a stipendary chaplain. Thus it was that the main lines of the chantry were drawn: anniversary mass for the souls of founder and their kin, with probably subordinate services throughout the year, and an endowment of land, the rents of which provided the income for the celebrant, and a clearly denoted right of appointment, the patronage, of the benefice.<sup>209)</sup>

In the Netherlands the development was similar. One of the earliest chantries founded appears to be that founded at Leiderdorp in

1320, while by 1364 one Hugo Braem had founded a *vicarie* at the collegiate church of St Marie in Utrecht. In succeeding centuries the practice went on apace. By the sixteenth century one of the features of the parish churches of the Holland towns was the large number of *altaristen* attached to them: Some of the totals are striking, Haarlem possessed 87, the two parish churches of Amsterdam 60 and 65 respectively, Alkmaar 62, and to take a smaller centre of population, Edam 13. One slight variation on the theme of a single chantry founded for the specific private needs of a private person in the Netherlands was the development of small corporations of duly qualified clergy, who in addition to singing the office, were to commemorate for the dead in a group, the *Zeven getijden*. In essence this was a surrogate development of the notion of the college of priests formed to do the same thing, but as the latter were clearly very expensive undertakings, limited only to the greatest in the land, so there grew up the practice of forming these small corporations to perform similar functions without the paraphernalia of separate church, clausteral dwellings and hierarchy of officials.

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By the sixteenth century most parish churches and collegiate churches had their complement of chantries, established in side aisles or even in their own subordinate chapels built in between pillars or as time progressed, in specially constructed chapels of some size, as was the case in the *nova opera*, or apsidal chapels of the cathedral at Utrecht.<sup>211</sup> The *Dom*, like the parish churches of the city of Utrecht and the other collegiate churches, had its body of *vicarissen* charged with saying masses at the numerous subordinate altars in the church. The cathedral possessed in addition to the high altar some twenty-seven

subordinate altars, and attached to these altars were some forty-six *vicarieën*.<sup>212)</sup> Appointment to these *vicarieën* or chantries lay with the Chapter or its members inndividually.<sup>213)</sup> Under a cathedral statute of 1297 no cleric might hold more than one benefice in the cathedral, (although they could hold benefices elsewhere in the city) hence it was not possible for a man to be both canon and *vicaris*. in the cathedral of Utrecht.<sup>214)</sup> The possession of a *vicarie* required that the incumbent be able to perform the services stipulated by the terms of the foundation charter. This clearly implied a person in the full orders of a priest. Canon law permitted however, that the duties could be undertaken by a duly qualified deputy, so that such chantries could in fact be held by those in lower orders than that of priest. Consequently many chantries were held by absentees or, with sufficient dispensation, by minors. Thus the visitation of the *Buurkerk* of Utrecht in 1569 reveals that Cornelis Corneliszn. van Oudewater, who held the *vicarie* on the altar of St. Jacob actually resided in Montfoort, and the two masses per week that his foundation required of him were said by a deputy.<sup>215)</sup> Similarly Jacob Hochtman, who held the chantry of SS. Mary, Simon & Jude, and Barbara, was a resident canon at Aachen, and his masses were said by the Friars minor. This absentee also held the *vicarie* of St. Mary of Sorrows in the same church, and the weekly mass was celebrated by Pieter van Aalst.<sup>216)</sup>

Mention of this Pieter van Aalst raises the question of how *vicarieën* were to be served if the incumbent were not available by reason of defective orders or age. At Utrecht this problem was overcome by the creation of a corporation of ordained priests for this very purpose, the *Priesterbroederschap*.<sup>217)</sup> Its members were available to

serve at the large number of chantries founded in the city of Utrecht. Clearly this organisation permitted an orderly method of securing the services of duly qualified priests to serve the chantries. In rural areas the absentee chantry possessor had perforce to find whom he could. There is some evidence that in such areas the duties would be undertaken by the incumbent. Thus in 1510 in the parish church of Luyksgestel the altar of chantry of the Holy Cross, possessed by the absentee Wouter van Palude was served by the incumbent of the church, Hubrecht Brunix.<sup>218</sup>

At the same 1569 visitation of the *Buurkerk* some three minors were noted as possessing chantries. The *Koster* or sexton of the *Buurkerk* had a nephew Antoon Speyert, aged eighteen years, resident at Arras, who held the chantry of the Holy Cross.<sup>219</sup> The *vicarie* of St. Mary and SS. Johan Baptist, Bartholomew and Barbara, was possessed by the fifteen year old Everard van Doyenborch, and the duty of two masses per week, to be said on Wednesdays and Fridays, plus the recital of the psalms *Misere mei* and *De profundis* was performed by Lucas de Cruyff, one of the portioners of the *Buurkerk*. It is worth adding that the possession of this benefice by the young Everard was not quite as improper as it might appear, for the chantry had to be *conferendum uni de sanguine illorum de Doyenborch*.<sup>220</sup> Roeloff Lauwerman, aged between sixteen or seventeen years of age, possessed the *vicarie* of the *Minoris Calendrie*.<sup>221</sup> Within the *Dom* itself the Chapter permitted the holding of its *vicarieën* by minors. On 15 October 1537 the Chapter admitted the under-age Joost Beyer to the *vicarie* of SS. Andreas & Pontiani, on presentation of a papal dispensation for age.<sup>222</sup>

In addition the duties of a chantry varied greatly. The *vicarieën* in the *Buurkerk* do not appear to have demanded daily masses,

the duties varying between one and four masses per week, with occasionally the singing of psalms. In some cases the days of the week were specified: the incumbent of the *vicarie* called the so-called Sartorum chantry in the *Buurkerk* which was charged with saying three masses in the week, on Sunday and Wednesday, and the third *ad placitum celebranda*.<sup>223</sup> It was possible that the duties demanded more than just service at one altar. The *vicarie* of St. Vincent on the altar of St. Mary of Sorrows in the *Buurkerk* required in addition to the saying of mass in that church the service of singing the *Venite exultemus Domino* in the mornings at the collegiate church of St. Marie, a duty that in this case was performed by a deputy.<sup>224</sup> It was possible to serve a chantry by saying the masses in another church: in 1526 - 27 the incumbent of a *vicarie* in the parish church of Beverwijk was permitted to celebrate the two required masses at the altar of St. Severin in the parish church of Haarlem.<sup>225</sup>

Of great interest to the incumbent was the income of the chantry. Most of the chantries or *vicarieën* in the *Buurkerk* were worth between 50 and 100 gulden,<sup>226</sup> although there were two chantries in the collegiate church of St. Barbara in Culemburg, with the duty of four masses a week, worth 100 gulden.<sup>227</sup> Another rich *vicarie* lay in the gift of the Brederode family, *Heren van Vianen*, founded in the parish church of Ameide, and was worth around 100 gulden, largely secured on tithes.<sup>228</sup> It must be presumed in the absence of more detailed further research is undertaken, that most *vicarieën* were worth less value than parish churches. The problems encountered by *vicaris* connected with securing the income of a chantry differed little - apart perhaps from the contentious tithe - from those faced by the parish priest. From the

*Buurkerk* evidence it would appear that the endowments of many of the *vicarieën* were scattered pieces of land, often of small extent. The endowments of one chantry there were composed of 4 *jugera* at IJsselstein, worth around 12 florins a year while another parcel of land at Jutphaas yielded some 13 florins a year.<sup>229</sup> By contrast the Doyenberch chantry already referred to above, derived its revenue not only from the rent from lands, but also from loans to individuals, and from some *renten* invested with the *Staten van Utrecht*.<sup>230</sup> The troublesome nature of chantry land-holdings should be borne in mind. Presumably in order to secure a more convenient income some of the *Domvicarissen* compounded their land holdings for income from cash investments.<sup>231</sup>

The sort of man who went on to become a *domkannunik* might acquire a *vicarie* at an early stage in his clerical career. On 20 August 1540 Johan van Wee, son of the Utrecht goldsmith Herman van Wee was admitted to the *vicarie* of St. Paul in the *Dom*. He was born on 31 December 1528, and so was about twelve years of age on admission.<sup>232</sup> He subsequently proceeded to university, matriculating at Leuven in May, 1544.<sup>233</sup> and it may well be that the revenues of his chantry in the cathedral paid for his studies. Gerard Beyer II also secured a *vicarie* in the *Dom* when a minor, by the resignation of Rochus Voschszn. on 26 April 1559,<sup>234</sup> which might suggest that it was purchased by his parents. That this might have been the case is perhaps confirmed by the fact that by 1561 the *pachters*, or tenants of the chantry were in dispute with their landlord.<sup>235</sup> Certainly if Gerard Beyer or his parents had to pay for the chantry they would have good reason to raise the rents on, or charge higher premiums, that is, entry fines, for

leases upon the chantry lands. Typical of the *Domkannunik* who possessed *vicarieën* was Maarten van Leeuwenberch, who secured the *vicarie* of St. Steven in the *Dom* on 18 August 1506.<sup>236</sup> It is not known when he resigned this benefice, but he certainly did not possess it when on the 13 February 1526 he was admitted to a prebend in the *Dom*. He was by that time a canon of St. Jan, which he had been since at least 1518 - 19, for he was described when instituted to the *vicarie* of *B. Mariae Virginæ* in an un-named church of the deanery of the Gooiland.<sup>237</sup> In the course of 1525 - 26 he secured the chantry of *Nostra Domine* in the St. Nicolaaskerk in Utrecht.<sup>238</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this study to pursue the possession of chantries by individual canons of the cathedral. A *vicarie* was doubtless regarded as much a piece of property as any other benefice by the higher clergy of the northern Netherlands. Provided they were qualified and resident there is no reason to suppose the majority of the canons neglected their duties. The *Domkannunik* Egbert Leussinck possessed a *vicarie* in the *Buurkerk* at Utrecht, and he could presumably perform his two masses in the week there when he was not required in the choir of the cathedral.<sup>239</sup> If other canons possessed chantries in places more than half a day's ride from the city, then they were at least supposed to make provision for the serving of the masses. Absentees of their class who possessed *vicarieën* in the *Buurkerk* appear, as we have seen, to have made suitable arrangements. There are no grounds for concluding that the *domkannuniken* neglected this to any great degree.

### THE EDUCATION OF THE CANONS.

We have no clear evidence as to the pre-university education of the canons of St. Maarten at Utrecht in the sixteenth century. Since, as we shall see, a fairly substantial number of the canons proceeded to universities later, pursuing studies initially, and thereafter almost totally, carried out in Latin, it must be assumed that the rudiments of reading, writing and Latin were gained early on in the lives of those destined by their families for a career in the Church. But it is uncertain to what extent they received their education in the schools within the city of Utrecht.

There were some five capitular schools and four parochial schools in the city by the late fifteenth century, but these probably laid only the most basic foundations for literacy, and then only perhaps, in the case of the capitular schools, for their choristers. Certainly by the early sixteenth century the cathedral chapter was despatching promising young students to the schools of Deventer and Den Bosch, although as this may well have been for musical training, perhaps not too much should be read into this.<sup>240</sup> On the other hand, the Chapter reduced the salary of the *Rectoris scholarium* in 1504 so that the revenues of his immediate superior, the *Domscholaster*, should not be impaired, which suggests where the Chapter's priorities lay, if nothing else.<sup>241</sup> By the middle of the century at least it was clear what this *Rectoris scholarium* was supposed to do, for when on 28 September 1558 Mr Hector was appointed to the post the *Domresoluties* noted that he was to teach 'the boys', presumably at least the choristers, reading, writing and computation.<sup>242</sup> G. W. Kernkamp concluded that by the late fifteenth century schooling available in Utrecht scarcely provided a sufficient

basis for study at the university and we can find no reason to dissent from this sober assessment.<sup>243</sup> The fact that Utrecht's most illustrious son of this period, Adriaan Florisz., the future pope Adrian VI, received his education away from the city may support this view.<sup>244</sup>

The sixteenth century, however, saw a significant development, in the rise and flowering of the St. Hieronymusschool, a foundation of the late fifteenth century, under the auspices of the Brothers of the Common Life.<sup>245</sup> By 1565, when three teachers at the school leased its facilities for twelve years, and issued what was in effect a prospectus, it claimed to have eight classes, and to give a grounding in Latin and an introduction to Greek. In the higher classes there were opportunities to acquire knowledge of mathematics and physics, while the pupils of the two most senior classes could in extra-curricular time, begin the study of Hebrew, medicine and law.<sup>246</sup> The circumstances of the picture so drawn induces a slight scepticism, but there was no doubt as to the quality of some of the staff which during the century appears to have included Lambertius Hortensius and Georgius Macropedius,<sup>247</sup> if not as has been thought, Hinne Rode.<sup>248</sup> Boys from distinguished families were apparently attending the school by the middle of the century,<sup>249</sup> but whether the *alumni* were mainly clerks in minor orders,<sup>250</sup> perhaps destined for the clerical prolatariat, or the sons of the urban patriciate and local nobility is not clear.

Bearing in mind the considerable wealth of the vast majority of the canons it is probable that if they did not attend an institution similar to that of the St. Hieronymusschool, then they received their basic learning at the hands of a household cleric or specially employed tutor. This was certainly the case of of the young Cornelis van Meirp,

later *Domproost* (1545 - 1572), son of the the *Rekenmeester* of Holland, and later to be *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands. The tutor in question was Johan Willemszn. who was rewarded with a *vicarie* in the St. Jacobskerk in The Hague at some date prior to 1528.<sup>251</sup> Van Meirop's successor as *Domproost* Antoine de Hennin de Bossu, (1572 - 1606) son of the count of Bossu, may well also have had a tutor, but the results of his ministrations were unimpressive. The young Hennin de Bossu, already a canon of Liège, and aged about fourteen years of age, matriculated at the university of Cologne in May 1558. His shortcomings in Latin were then discovered and he was hurriedly despatched *facti inferioris scholae grammaticorum*, to cram with the Jesuits of that city.<sup>252</sup>

Whatever the primary and secondary education of our canons may have been, many considered a university education of some sort to be essential. In approaching the topic of university education of the canons in the sixteenth century it might be thought that little difficulty would be encountered. Before the late Middle Ages a degree was, in the words of an historian of the university of Paris 'simply of interest to clerics, future professors [i.e. teachers] in arts and prospective bachelors of medicine and theology'.<sup>253</sup> The late Middle Ages, however, saw a change in attitude, when as Denys Hay observed, 'the landed classes accepted in the end the necessity of formal education'.<sup>254</sup> This development occurred at different paces in different places, but a major feature was clearly the recognition by the nobility in general, and the magnates in particular of the value of education.<sup>255</sup> In an important article concerning the education of the aristocracy in the Renaissance, J. H. Hexter pinpoints a significant area in the process by specific reference to the high nobility of the

Burgundian Netherlands.<sup>256</sup> Proceeding from the evidence of Commynes (c. 1445 - c. 1511), who claimed that young men of his rank 'went to study the tongue of Cicero and Virgil at the schools of Louvain, Cologne and Paris', Hexter approaches what he rightly terms the 'heart of the matter' in a quotation from a letter of Jean de Lannoy to his son, written in 1465. The following extract is illustrative of the issue:

'... I was never put to school. I therefore know and can know nothing. I realise this chance is for me lost and gone, never to be recovered, for I do not see or expect any remedy as to Latin or other studies. No day passes that I do not regret this, especially when I find myself in the council of the king [of France] or duke of Burgundy, and I know not nor dare not to speak my opinion after the learned, eloquent legists and *ystoryens* (sic) who have spoken before me. For I do not know the order or manner of speaking and can say nothing but 'Master John and Master Peter spoke well, and I am of his opinion'. Whence I have often felt deep shame and humiliation in my heart'.<sup>257</sup>

Thus a member of the flower of Burgundian chivalry. Considering the addressee of the letter, one might be tempted to consider this outpouring to be a homily directed at an adolescent sluggard reluctant to apply himself to his books, although it seems it was penned on the birth of one of de Lannoy's sons.<sup>258</sup> It might also be read as a veiled attack on the 'legists', whose opinions were apparently heard *before* those *des anciens lignages*.<sup>259</sup> The nobility of the sixteenth century Netherlands recognised that education brought influence, and therefore, power and they pursued it accordingly.

By the first quarter of the sixteenth century we find a determined effort to put things right being made by at least one Stichtse magnate. In 1523 Charlotte van Brederode, dowager *Vrouw van Montfoort*, secured the services of a French cleric, who had apparently studied law, as tutor to her sons. He was hired with the specific task of teaching *Latijn, Gryxe ende in den Keyserlijken rechten ende*

*Walsche*.<sup>260</sup> While the sons of the Lannoy and Montfoort families cannot be classed with the gentry of the Sticht, it must not be supposed that the latter were any less impervious to the need for a formal education.

If there was a quickening of interest among the landed classes in a formal academic education leading to a degree of some description,<sup>261</sup> there still remains the question as to what contemporaries expected of such study. For the Middle Ages it has been observed that 'the relationship of knowledge to teaching was a close one in the medieval university concept of the scholar... a degree meant permission to begin to teach'.<sup>262</sup> The desire or need to teach, however, was unlikely to have been the spur for the nobles, substantial gentry, and opulent sons of commerce who matriculated at the universities of Europe throughout the sixteenth century, and whose fellows comprised the majority of the canons of St. Maarten.<sup>263</sup> While it is doubtful if the basic substance of university courses changed radically in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, it seems clear that the end of such studies had changed. Amid much else, what the parents of the young men flooding into the universities appeared to have wanted for their offspring was *latinity*, *law*, and *savoir-faire*.<sup>264</sup>

The first of these requisites is self-evident. The needs of a clerical career apart, (and they were quite considerable), Latin was to remain the great vehicle of ideas among the educated men for many years after the Reformation. At a more basic level Latin was simply the language of nearly all instruction at universities, a *sine qua non* for all study, as canon de Bossu could attest. The rudiments of law in the make-up, of a gentleman had ever been present, but during the sixteenth century it was clearly becoming the means of entry to public office and

princely service. Throughout Europe princes great and small were extending their power, and with it went the extension of bureaucracy. The Sticht no less than other areas felt this movement. By incorporation into the dominions of the Habsburgs, despite promises to respect local privileges, the political classes of the former prince-bishopric were faced with an organ of centralization in the creation of the *Hof van Utrecht*, and with the potential of appeals in the law-suits of its citizens to the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen. The very events of the *Overdracht* were witness to the weakness, financial and military, of the Sticht. Apart, perhaps from the *Staten van Utrecht*, whose interests were very narrow,<sup>265</sup> all that remained to protect local privileges were the courts and all that sustained the income of the provincial elite that was being eroded by inflation, was the prospect of employment by the very prince whose authority encroached on the local elite.<sup>266</sup> On the question of *savoir-faire* it is, of course impossible to be specific. One may view the works of Castiglione and Thomas Elyot on the 'why' of education, and the works of Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives and Sadoleto on the 'how' of education, and still be sceptical as to the extent of their influence,<sup>267</sup> but in the end there is no disputing Hay's observation, noted earlier, that the landed classes 'accepted... the necessity of formal education'.

For those destined for the Church there was little doubt that some form of academic training was considered essential, but as we shall see, there seems to have been some variation as to how far this training went. Of the 215 canons of St. Maarten who held prebends between the years 1500 and 1580, 103 can be identified from existing printed university matriculation lists. (The total may be slightly higher, due

to difficulties of identification). An additional eighteen used, or were referred to by, academic titles in contemporary documents. Five further canons occupied positions that, while not incompatible with lack of formal training, seems unlikely - two vicars-general of the diocese of Utrecht, one papal judge-delegate, one university lecturer in medicine, and one canon employed extensively in legal business of the cathedral.<sup>268</sup> Discounting the doubtful cases entirely, this still leaves the canons of Utrecht cathedral, in contemporary terms, a body with a substantial element of university trained men. Two examples suffice to endorse this impression. Of the twenty-five *Domkannuniken* present at the election of Henry of Bavaria as bishop of Utrecht in 1524, seventeen appear on matriculation lists. Similarly, of those fifteen canons voting at the election of Johan van Bruhesen as dean of Utrecht in 1572, eleven had matriculated at a university.<sup>269</sup> Examining the total of 103 matriculations a little more closely, it is clear that there was a small group that had attended more than one university. Some twenty had attended two universities, six attended three, and two had attended four universities.<sup>270</sup>

The universities favoured by the families of the *Domkannuniken* fell into two clear groups, those of close proximity, and those regarded perhaps as having special desirable characteristics. It is hardly surprising to learn that attendance at the university of Leuven, some 85 matriculations out of 103, was far and away the most popular choice for the potential *clerici primi gradus* of the diocese of Utrecht. Apart from being a Dutch speaking town, the university was well-respected for its academic rigour, and in the sixteenth century, for the religious orthodoxy of its faculty of theology.<sup>271</sup> Cologne followed though at

some distance, with some eighteen matriculations, presumably favoured for its proximity, with easy access by river from the Sticht, Gelderland and Overijssel, and by the late sixteenth century, for its religious orthodoxy.<sup>272</sup> Paris appealed on account of the opportunity it afforded Netherlanders to perfect French and the reputation of the Sorbonne, but in the case of the northern provinces these attractions were offset by the obviously increased expense of despatching students there. For that reason only fifteen canons are known to have matriculated at Paris. Even so, the reputation of more remote universities could draw Netherlanders. For example, the university of Orleans attracted a small though significant number of future canons. Though the eight matriculands included Gaspard, count of Rennenberg, and one representative of the affluent Holland nobility, Jan van Duvenvoorde, the rest were younger sons of the Stichtse *ridderschap* or similar. Clearly what was at stake here was the reputation of certain faculties, in this case the faculty of law.<sup>273</sup> Bologna clearly had the advantage of a sojourn in Italy as well as a famed legal school, but only six made the journey there, and of those but two were from the northern Netherlands.<sup>274</sup> The attraction of the university of Dôle, with its five matriculations, is less obvious, but the cluster of matriculations between 1548 and 1554 suggest that the resumption of Habsburg-Valois hostilities dictated the choice of a francophone university in Habsburg territory.<sup>275</sup>

Having arrived at university the next prerequisite was the course of study. The problem here is that there is little consistency in the matriculation rolls recording the faculty of registration. All undergraduates had to complete a basic arts course, so of any that

matriculated it might be assumed that they had done so in arts. But matriculation is not, was not then the same as graduation, so that matriculation alone is no clear indication of study: the *Domkannunik* Auson Galama matriculated at Cologne in 1547 but was given leave by the Chapter to discontinue his studies, whether for reasons of health or lack of capacity is not recorded.<sup>276</sup> In addition, where a student made multiple matriculations, he might stay for only a brief period, indicating very little of his course of studies. Indeed, in some cases one wonders whether for the nobleman destined for cathedral prebends, study was not on occasion a prolonged language course. The francophone noble Philippe de Mera, canon of Liège and Utrecht, matriculated at Bologna, where he remained for some four years, proceeded to Leuven, where he stayed for three years and then ended up at Cologne in 1547. It is hard to believe that he was not at the end of that experience an accomplished speaker in Dutch, German and Italian.<sup>277</sup> Where the study is recorded, and where titles are used in later life it appears that of the 123 canons who appeared to have followed academic courses in the period 1500 and 1580, 111 followed named courses. Of these, seventeen studied or secured degrees in law. In the half-way house of the degree of both laws, that is civil and canon law, the figure was eight, while in the degree for canon law, that of decretals, the figure was seven. Thus in the fields of law, the total of canons studying this subject was thirty-two, by far the largest grouping of graduates and students. Theology and arts were represented by eight each, with medicine having but three.

It might be thought that the possession of the title of doctor was some criterion for study, but it simply was not so: the title could

be bought, and the principal culprits in this respect seem to have been the Italian universities. As Erasmus so disarmingly explained, despite earlier disclaimers, 'I have obtained the doctor's degree in theology, [from the university of Turin] and that quite contrary to my intention, only because I was overcome by the prayers of friends'.<sup>278</sup> It was an example doubtless followed by others. Some nineteen canons of the *Dom* held the title of doctor,<sup>278</sup> but how they came by them is not known in most cases. On the other hand there is no reason to doubt the seriousness of study that went to secure the degree of doctor of theology at Leuven, or that such as Adriaan Florisz. and Sonnius, who both lectured in the faculty at Leuven, did not fully deserve their titles.

What the various individuals made of their university experience is hard to say. That the preponderance of lawyers might suggest a tendency to litigation rather begs the question as to whether the need for a legal training was the result of the threat of litigation. The Church was a great corporation that impinged on men's lives at many points, and at each of these points was open to dispute. Simply as landowner and titheowner the Chapter was liable to disputes, both as prosecutor and defendant. It is hardly surprising to find therefore that the Chapter was well supplied with men capable of rendering good legal advice at first instance, although naturally it took professional advice in matters of major import, such as its disputes with provost Slachek in the fifteen-thirties, and the bishop Egmont in the fifteen-forties. Beyond that one can only speculate as to the impact of such education as the sixteenth century university offered above and beyond the elements of vocational training. On the other hand, as a body, whether as

representatives in the *Staten van Utrecht*, or as members of delegations to the Regent in Brussels, one should not underestimate the intellectual impact that the educated canons of the cathedral made on contemporaries. These men were not fools, they had the best education that their age offered, and they were in consequence able and willing to articulate their aims and needs. Contemporaries recognised this, and did not make the mistake of underestimating their strength.

## CHAPTER III :

## THE WEALTH OF THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER AND THE REVENUES OF THE CANONS.

The core and essential shape of the estates of the chapter of St. Maarten had been largely defined by around the year 1200 when its properties were listed in the so-called *Liber Camerae*.<sup>1></sup> Further properties donated for eleemosynary purposes are noted by Wstinc in a catalogue dating from around the middle years of the fourteenth century,<sup>2></sup> while the extent of the estate in the late sixteenth century is outlined in a memorandum of the vicaris Wouter Brock.<sup>3></sup> Like all such ecclesiastical estates it was in the course of time to suffer depredations, alienations and losses from its neighbours and enemies, and not least at the hands of members of the Chapter itself. As we have seen, the common life of the Chapter was in some disarray by the middle of the twelfth century, and by 1209 a bishop of Utrecht could refer to the *praebendam* of individual canons.<sup>4></sup> Such advantages as the creation of individual prebendal estates may have had in the short term had all but vanished by the middle of the fourteenth century. Through the maladministration of some of the canons, alienations and the losses had occurred so commonly that the individual prebendal estates were now of widely differing values. The consequent inequalities were a source of venom and strife amongst the canons. It says much for the strength of character of the then dean, Hendrik van Jutphaas, and indeed it might be added, of the ire of the canons, that it was agreed on the 2 March 1341 that henceforth the capitular goods should be held in common, and their fruits distributed in forty individual shares.<sup>5></sup>

The elements making up the capitular estate were tithes, lands and secular jurisdictions. The possession of tithes in some form or

another gave the Chapter an interest in some fifty-five parishes throughout the northern Netherlands. Understandably, some twenty-three of these parishes lay in the *Nedersticht* itself.<sup>6></sup> In the county of Holland the Chapter was a tithe holder in fifteen parishes,<sup>7></sup> and in a further nine in the duchy of Gelderland.<sup>8></sup> In the quasi-independent lordship of the Brederode family at Vianen, tithes were payable in three parishes,<sup>9></sup> while in the neighbouring lordship of Culemburg tithes were owed in two parishes,<sup>10></sup> and finally, in the *Oversticht* the Chapter held tithes in a further three parishes.<sup>11></sup> In several of these parishes the Chapter was also patron of the living,<sup>12></sup> while as a vestige of the ancient confraternity that the Chapter possessed with the chapter of the Oudmunster in Utrecht, it shared the tithes with that foundation in at least five of its parishes.<sup>13></sup>

The possession of tithes was, as elsewhere in Europe, a cause of contention to the titheowner. While this is not the place to plot this element in the Chapter's estate, it is worth noting that as titheholder the canons came into conflict with two powerful neighbours. Within the *Land of Vianen* the Chapter was a major titheowner in the parishes of Vianen and Lexmond, in the last of which it held the advowson also. Between 1504 and 1525 the Chapter was in dispute with the Brederode family, *Heren van Vianen*.<sup>14></sup> Similarly in the lordship of Culemburg, in the parishes of Everdingen and Goberdingen, tithe disputes involved the canons in a lengthy law-suit between 1500 and 1504 with the ruling count, and led to an appeal to the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen in 1547.<sup>15></sup> These same parishes caused a further case before the *Hof van Holland* in the years 1552 to 1562 with the Van Pallandt family as heirs of the counts of Culemburg.<sup>16></sup>

The landed estate of the Chapter was considerable, and may be considered as having two natures, that of ground landlord in which it is seen as the possessor of *erfpachten*, or quit-rents, and in addition as direct landlord, the grantor of *pachten* or leases. In the *Nedersticht* the Chapter or its provost was a ground landlord in forty parishes, as well as in the *Vrijheit* or Liberty of the city of Utrecht,<sup>17</sup> in eight parishes in the county of Holland,<sup>18</sup> three parishes in the barony of IJsselstein<sup>19</sup> and four parishes in the county of Buren.<sup>20</sup> Beyond the diocese the *Domproost* possessed an estate in the county of Berg,<sup>21</sup> and the Chapter possessed lands and tithes in the duchies of Cleves,<sup>22</sup> and Brabant,<sup>23</sup> and the county of Flanders.<sup>24</sup>

It is worth noting here, although the point will be developed more fully later, that the income from these *erfpachten* was not accounted for centrally, but dispersed through the accounts of the various *cameraers* or chamberlains of the Chapter, with the result that an overall picture of their role in the finances of the Chapter is hard to gauge. Suffice to say that the sums involved were not considerable in relation to the income of the Chapter as a whole, although these sums were on occasion worth having. Typical of the type of payments the *erfpachten* brought in may be discerned from the following examples. The provost and chapter of the St. Marie at Brugge paid 11 florins a year for lands it held of St. Maarten in the parish of Sesele in Flanders.<sup>25</sup> Rather more significant was the 108 florins<sup>26</sup> paid as its share to the *Dom* by the *Heer van Merode* in 1551 for lands held of the *Dom* and *Oudmunster* jointly in Westerloo, the Veluwe, Quackerbeke, Hersel and Berchem, following upon the renewal of the *erfpacht* of the lands in 1550 for 1,000 gold florins.<sup>27</sup>

As with tithes, these *erfpachten* induced disputes with powerful interests. Intermittent court cases and disputes over *erfpachten* granted to the *Heren van Culemburg* stretched over the first half of the sixteenth century<sup>28</sup>, while capitular claims in respect to them in the barony of IJsselstein brought about disputes at various times with William of Orange and the count of Berlaymont, the latter in a case before the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen in the years 1571 to 1575.<sup>29</sup> Nor was it the great ones only who sought to dispute with their ground landlord. Hendrik Willemszn. Neutman, who held a parcel of land in the parish of Schalkwijk in the *Overkwartier*, was taken by the Chapter before the *Hof van Utrecht* in 1562 to settle the question as to whether his ground rent of six *oude schild* should be paid in the nominal or real value of the *oude schild*. He lost his case.<sup>30</sup>

The landed estate directly occupied by the Chapter and rented out by it was of formidable extent. It lay in some fifty parishes of the *Nedersticht*,<sup>30</sup> sixteen parishes in the county of Holland, barony of IJsselstein and on the banks of the river Lek,<sup>31</sup> in six parishes in the lands of Culemburg and Buren,<sup>32</sup> and in eight parishes in the duchy of Gelderland.<sup>33</sup> This estate was administered in the first instance, that is as between the tenants and representatives of the Chapter, by *rentmeesteren* or *ontvangers*, that is stewards or receivers, who were in turn responsible to the various *cameraers* or chamberlains of accounts to which individual properties were annexed, as well as to the Chapter as a whole. A brief word needs to be noted about these receivers in that individual members of the Chapter as clerics were not able to act as private persons in land transactions.<sup>34</sup> Hence in its dealings with its tenantry the Chapter had to empower a trusted officer with the authority

to conclude leases. By the middle of the fifteenth century this role had fallen upon the *schout* of the *Dom* for properties within the *Sticht*. In 1451 the Chapter issued a commission as *Schout* to Nicolaas van Galencoop, to be renewed annually and for which he had to deposit sureties.<sup>35</sup> In the commissions granted to Frederick Jacobszn. at the turn of the sixteenth century, that is in 1502 and 1505, the Chapter authorised him to grant leases.<sup>36</sup> Where occasional clerics were utilised it must be presumed that they possessed the desired specialised local knowledge. Aernt Koel, *pastoor* of Buren, and his brother Alert Koel, also a cleric, were commissioned by the Chapter in 1490 to administer the capitular properties in Gelderland, in the Neder Betuwe, but significantly the commission associated them in the task with the *schout* of the Chapter Otto van Elswert.<sup>37</sup>

Often there was a convenient officer available to the Chapter in the manorial bailiff, as in the case of the Lordship of Hagestein, owned jointly with the *Oudmunster*. Here the bailiff or *Drost* was charged with the collection of rents and tithes in the lordship and parishes round about, and a good example of the burden this implied is found in the commission granted by the Chapter to Johan Taets van Amerongen in 1562. He was particularly charged with the collection of *erfpachten*, for which purpose he was provided by the Chapter with a register annually through the secretary of the Chapter, Sander van Bommel, who had himself held the office of *Drost* of Hagestein some years before. Such monies as Taets van Amerongen was to receive were to be remitted to the capitular chamberlains on a quarterly basis.<sup>38</sup> Taets van Amerongen it may be noted was evidently of a higher social status than *schouten* and other receivers earlier in the century, and this may also reflect the greater

importance attached to the function. The Chapter appointed two members of the Thin family, linked with the city patriciate of Utrecht, to the receiverships of Bergambacht in the county of Holland, in 1549, 1558 and 1566, which suggests a considerable tenure, and to the receivership of lands around Schoonhoven, in 1558, 1559, and 1561.<sup>39</sup> A nobleman of a similar status to Taets van Amerongen was Willem van Zuylen van Nyvelt, whom the Chapter entrusted with the receivership of its lands at Bergambacht. There was a rationale in this appointment as Van Zuylen van Nyvelt was *Heer van Bergambacht*. It was nevertheless an unfortunate appointment for the man showed himself to be a staunch Reformed Protestant: he became heavily involved in the troubles at Utrecht incident upon the image-breaking of the summer of 1566, and the abortive rebellion of Brederode thereafter, and defaulted on his remittances, leaving the Chapter to pursue its losses with royal commissioners charged with the confiscation of his property.<sup>40</sup>

Bearing in mind the origin of the decision of 1341 to administer capitular goods in common and the maladministration of the canons, it is not altogether surprising to find a paucity of canons involved in the farming of capitular properties in the sixteenth century. The experience of the Chapter with the canon Marcus van Weeze, provost of Elst and Culemburg, was no doubt suggestive, solitary and and salutary, although in fairness to both parties, it should be noted that Van Weeze was the agent of the *Staten van Utrecht*. In 1524 Marcus van Weeze leased the lands and tithes of the *Minor camera*, lying in the parishes of Beusichem, Asch and Tricht for twelve years. Van Weeze's administration, on the falling in of the lease, led to a court hearing before the *gerecht* of Buren in 1535, and finally in a compromise arrangement

secured between the provost and chapter on the one hand, and Van Weeze on the other at the instance of a committee of three other canons of the *Dom*, in 1536.<sup>41</sup> The experiment was not repeated.

Before leaving this description of the landed estate of the Chapter two other properties deserve mention. The first of these was the extensive fishing rights that the *Dom* possessed jointly with the chapter of the Oudmunster in the Uitermeer in the Gooiland. These rights are mentioned as being possessed by the cathedral in a list dating from between the years 777 and 866.<sup>42</sup> By the sixteenth century these rights were leased out.<sup>43</sup> Owing presumably to the shifting tides in the Uitermeer, islands formed, and the settlement or utilization of these led to disputes with the two chapters by settlers. Thus in 1518 the two chapters invoked the aid of the *stadhouder* of Holland in seeking to imprison recalcitrant leaseholders of a newly formed island.<sup>44</sup> A similar occasion occurred in 1549 and led to a ten year long dispute with Cornelis Buyck, *burgemeester* of Amsterdam which proceeded as far as the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen.<sup>45</sup>

A further instance of a condominium possessed by the *Dom* and the chapter of the Oudmunster was the purchase in 1510 for 3,400 £Flemish, of the lordship of Hagestein.<sup>46</sup> The *Land van Hagestein* as the lordship was known, had come by conquest from Holland into the possession of the bishops of Utrecht at the beginning of the fifteenth century. As a late acquisition of the secular principality of the bishops it did not fall administratively under the existing structure of the *Sticht*, but had a separate administrator in the *Drost* of Hagestein. The *Drost* exercised under the bishop rights of high justice, that is the competence of capital charges, with appeal only to the bishop. In 1459 the then bishop

of Utrecht, David of Burgundy, had leased the office of *Drost* for 400 Rhenish gulden to Reinout van Brederode, *Heer van Vianen* and *Ameide*, and had united to it the office of *schout* at *Vreeswijk*. In turn the *Heer van Brederode* had created from these offices a species of *appenage* for his illegitimate son *Walraven van Brederode* in 1465. The whole matter was complicated by the enfeoffment of the *Land van Hagestein* by the bishop to *Johan van Egmont*, *Heer van Egmond*, *stadhouder* of *Holland*, in 1483, with the rights of high justice, which by now could only be exercised by members of the *Brederode* family as *de facto* if not *de jure* hereditary *Drosten*<sup>47</sup> The result of all this was that when the chapters of the *Dom* and the chapter of the *Oudmunster* began their condominium of *Hagestein*, they were faced with a ten-year wrangle (1514-1525) to buy out these *Brederode* rights.<sup>48</sup> No sooner was the end in sight of these troubles than the emperor *Charles V* sought in 1522 to question the Chapters' rights to possess the lordship at all, which it will be recalled had originally been a fief of the county of *Holland*.<sup>49</sup> Having surmounted that hurdle the chapters were faced after the *overdracht*, with the animosity of the emperor's officers in the newly acquired province of *Utrecht*, in particular, the *Rentmeester*, or collector of the royal demesne revenues of *Utrecht*. The latter was forced to accept in 1532 the emperor's recognition of the exemption of the *Land van Hagestein* from the *huisgeld*, *morgengeld* and the *bieraccijns*, the principal ordinary taxes of the province of *Utrecht*.<sup>50</sup> What he would not accept was the capitular retention of the *schoutambt* of *Vreeswijk*, with its police powers, which lay on the *Utrecht* shore of the river *Lek*, and which he claimed as part of the royal demesne.<sup>51</sup> His viewpoint was accepted by the *stadhouder* of *Utrecht*, *Antoine de Lalaing*, the count of *Hoogstraten*,

adjudicated that the office belonged to the emperor, but that the crown acknowledged past claims and agreed to pay the two chapters a pension or quit rent of 150 gulden<sup>52</sup> as compensation.

This is not the place to discuss the role of the Chapter as landlord in a fief such as Hagestein, but the possession of this particular estate in the years 1566 and 1579 was to be something of a bed of nails for the Chapter. The close proximity of Hagestein to Vianen at a time when Hendrik van Brederode, lord of the latter place, was in all but open revolt against Philip II brought nothing but trouble to the canons of the *Dom* and the chapter of the Oudmunster, not least because there was in the *Huis te Hagestein*, something of a fortalice that was used by the rebels as a species of forward base for their nefarious activities.<sup>53</sup> By 1569 this fort and the priest's house had been either burnt down or demolished. Despite rebuilding<sup>54</sup> the financial burdens placed upon the chapters by the revolutionary events following upon the collapse of Spanish power in the city of Utrecht in January of 1577, led the co-lords of Hagestein to contemplate the sale of their troublesome fief,<sup>55</sup> but this plan was not carried through in the sixteenth century and the canons of the *Dom* remained *Heren van Hagestein* until 1675.<sup>56</sup>

The capitular endowment from whence the prebend was derived can be classified in three ways. In the first place there were those lands and revenues whose income was intended to defray the expenses connected with the religious services and building of the cathedral, that is to feed and clothe the canons, to provide for candles, vestments and service books, to maintain the choir, and to care for the cathedral fabric.

In addition there were those properties in the possession of the Chapter for which no specific charge or responsibility was demanded, and from the profits of which the canons received shares according to their rank and status. The most junior canons were those canons, who having indeed received a canonry at the *Dom* had not as yet become full members of the Chapter, or *capitulares*. The former, the canons *non capitulares* were gentlemen, young men or adolescents, who although perhaps resident, had not yet taken the decisive step to enter the capitular body. This step was gained by the aspirant for full membership of the Chapter, at the conclusion of the First Residence, or enforced stay within the cathedral immunity, a period of at least six months, applying to the dean for permission to perform three acts in the choir and at the high altar of the cathedral, those of reading the lessons of the day, reading the holy Gospel, and assisting at mass in the condition of his orders, that is either as sub-deacon, deacon, or more rarely, priest. On completing these requirements, the aspirant became a canon *capitularis*, and as such became entitled to a major part of the revenues at the disposal of the capitular body.<sup>57</sup>

Finally there were those revenues not primarily belonging to the Chapter, but in which the canons had an interest through historical developments. A good example of this was the role the resident canons took in the disposal of the revenues of the numerous chantries or *vicarieën* or chantries established within the cathedral. Although the chantries were served by a subaltern staff of *vicarissen* quite separate from the canons of the cathedral, any defaults in the service of the altars by these *vicarissen* led to financial penalties being imposed by the canons, and such financial penalties were pocketed by the resident

canons. Another example was the share that the canons possessed in the sums raised by the collection for indulgences within the diocese.

Before proceeding to discuss the capitular accounts some brief mention ought to be made of the point at which a canon was enabled to touch the fruits of his benefice. The impression is all too easily given, in discussing pluralism in prebends in the pre-Reformation Church, of funds flowing freely and effortlessly to the fortunate pluralist. This is highly misleading. In practice the revenues derived from a prebend were slight indeed unless the requirements of residence were fulfilled. Even to qualify for the right to residence did not come easily, for in most chapters, cathedral or collegiate, there were strict rules concerning periods of time, known variously as *carentiejaren*, or *anneés de carence*, or 'years of dearth', that had to elapse between the death of a canon and the entry into full possession of the prebend by his successor. This aptly named period varied from church to church, and the period was also divided differently. At its simplest, the system worked as follows: immediately upon the death of a canon the revenues of the prebend became the property of his heirs for a set period, the so-called years of grace, there then followed a further period when the revenues of the prebend were diverted to other purposes, usually the cathedral fabric. Then, and only then might the funds be released for the incoming canon. At Utrecht the period of the *carentiejaren* was the considerable period of four years, two years of grace to the heirs of the defunct canon, and two years to the cathedral fabric.<sup>58</sup> Utrecht was similar to the cathedral chapter of Liège in this respect,<sup>59</sup> not so severe as at Speyer, where the period of waiting was some five years and thirty days, but considerably less generous than at Konstanz, where the

period was only two years and thirty days, or for priest canons (as distinct from canons of noble birth) at Cologne, where one year and one month was demanded.<sup>60</sup> It was the existence of the practice of the *caientiejaren* that the three classes of canon appear in the accounts. The *pleno* of the accounts was the full *capitularis* canon, in possession of a *supplementum*, an additional payment made to the most senior canons, the *medii* were those canons who had survived the *caientiejaren* and entered into residence and full membership of the Chapter, but not yet in possession of a *supplementum*, and the *quartarii*, those canons who held the simple canonry, awaiting the end of the *caientiejaren*, and hence neither *capitulares* nor necessarily resident.<sup>61</sup>

The structure of the various cathedral accounts follow somewhat the pattern that is known from British medieval practice through the Obedientaries rolls of the great Benedictine abbeys.<sup>62</sup> Accounts were kept of sums derived from scattered estates devoted to specific purposes. There seems to have been no central accounting body and in one village or manor containing several parcels of capitular land the tenants might pay their dues to different treasurers.<sup>63</sup> Certainly by the sixteenth century one has the impression that the accountancy practice of the *Dom* was very conservative. When both the *Dom* and the chapter of the Oudmunster of Utrecht undertook in the early sixteenth century their condominium of the lordship of Hagestein, the latter collegiate church created a separate accounting body for their revenues, the *Camer van Hagestein*;<sup>64</sup> whereas the revenues accruing to the *Dom* were buried in existing accounts. Although all this diffusion is inconvenient and tedious to the modern researcher, it must not be forgotten that in the early modern period local revenues were often

disbursed locally and a central accounting system would, with the difficulties of travel and transport, be inconvenient in practice then, as finding one's way through the accounts is now. In part this conservatism was probably due to the purpose for which such accounts were kept. The prime importance of the accounts lay not so much in the amounts of revenue they recorded, although that was of course important, but in how such revenues were divided among the various grades of canon. To a resident canon *capitulare* it was essential to know that he had received his rightful due from each particular account, rather than to be concerned with 'rational' accounting and administrative methods. Early modern accounts were not designed to show a balance at a given moment, but to locate where money was: in hand, disbursed, or in arrears.

Revenues allocated to specific eleemosynary purposes appear in four of the cathedral accounts, namely the *Minor Camera*, the *Bona Cerevisiae*, the *Bona succentorum*, and finally the *Fabriekrekening*.

It was the estates providing the revenues of the *Minor camera* that comprised the core and the major support of the capitular endowment. Initially and primarily this had been applied to the *raison d'être* of services in the cathedral, the celebration *memoriam defunctorum et festivitates sanctorum*.<sup>65)</sup>

By the sixteenth century this original purpose of the *Minor camera* had come to have a somewhat wider application. The expenses or charges upon this account fell under some seven headings, the first of which was payments, on a monthly basis, for the celebration of obits and feast-days to the individual canons present at such services. Following this element were two further headings that concerned payments to the

canons divided into the two classes of resident canon and non-resident canon. Residents received undoubtedly the lion's share in the form of daily distributions for canons attending the various services, while the second total, very much smaller, was reserved to pay non-resident canons who attended services during their occasional visits to the cathedral city.

Two further headings concerned the payments to the canons for attending business meetings of the Chapter. These capitular meetings were classified in two ways, ordinary meetings or *capitulum generale*. These appear to have taken place about twice a week throughout the year. Special meetings were denoted in the accounts as *cum juramento et denario*. and were much less frequent, being held roughly once a month, with a not unexpected gap in the summer months, when canons went on holiday and inspected the collection of the harvest and tithe. At the ordinary meetings the sum of 10 Utrecht shillings was divided among the canons, irrespective of the number present, while at the special meetings the specific sum of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  Utrecht, (about four fifths of a Holland Florin), was awarded to each canon present. It is difficult to ascertain what matters of business dictated the distinction in Chapter meetings. From the accounts of 1530 for instance, discussions concerning the lawsuit over the provostry, the financing of a deputation to the *Staten van Utrecht* concerning the Vliet river, and the proposal to despatch a deputation to Brussels were all classified as the business of the *capitulum generale*. On the other hand, by a decision on 7 October the same year, the Chapter of twenty residents present decided *cum juramento et denario*, to sell some land at Abcoude. Possibly the distinction between the two types of meeting, and hence the fees payable

for attendance, lies in the distinction as to whether or not a move to change the *status quo* was involved, and the alienation of some part of the capitular estate would require consideration by a special meeting *cum juramento et denario*.

The accounts of the *Minor camera* closed with two headings: the first was a list of pensions charged upon the account of the *Minor camera*. As no special rationale seems present for assigning these pensions to this account, one may conclude that they were simply charged to the account of the cathedral best able to bear them. The final entries concerned the not unexpected contingency of extraordinary expenses. Again there is no real pattern for the sums charged to this account, although one of the major items appears to be the arrears payable by the Chapter of the *dijkgeld* for the river Lek and for the coastal defences. <sup>see</sup>

As with other accounts of the Chapter, once the expenses incurred under the seven headings described here were honoured, the residue, was distributed among the resident canons in accordance with their degree, that is either as *pleno* or *medii*. It is perhaps important to appreciate that although the *Minor camera* was the principal source of funds for the canons performing duties in the choir, its importance in the cash rewards that made up the prebend of a canon of Utrecht lay not in these payments but first in the daily distributions for the upkeep of the household of a canon, and secondly in the division of the surplus.

To illustrate this point we shall examine the accounts for the year 1533. In that year the *cameraer* of the *Minor camera* received 12,308 <sup>fl</sup>Utrecht. His expenses, which included the daily distributions to the twenty-five resident canons of 3,164 <sup>fl</sup>Utrecht, amounted to 7,511 <sup>fl</sup>

Utrecht, leaving a surplus to be divided once more among the resident canons of 3,797 £Utrecht. These sums were not divided evenly among the residents. In 1533 there were resident at Utrecht twenty-two canons classed for payments from this account as *pleno* or 'full' canons, with three canons classed as *medii*, and they received exactly half the amount paid to the *pleno* canons. For the year 1533 this meant that the *pleno* canon received from daily distributions the sum of 126£ Utrecht, and a further 35£ Utrecht from the division of the surplus, giving a total of 161£ Utrecht, which at the rate of exchange that year gave a total of 64 Fl. Holland.<sup>67</sup> Despite its name, the *Minor camera* was the principal source of the wealth of a prebend at Utrecht. [See Appendix IV]

After the revenues from the *Minor Camer* there followed as eleemosynary elements in the sums that made up the prebend the accounts of the *Bona cerevisie*, literally the beer money, but in practice an account producing by the sixteenth century small sums. Between 1545 and 1578 this chamber produced sums ranging from 8 to 18 Holland florins for each *pleno* canon in normal years.<sup>68</sup> In addition to these two accounts the canons took shares in the surplus of two further accounts devoted to the support of the choir, the *Bona choralium*, and the *Bona succentorum*. These accounts also produced sums seldom rising into double figures in the sixteenth century. Although in themselves the sums might not appear very great, if one considers the revenues of the *Bona cerevisie*, *Bona choralium* and *Bona succentorum*, as a joint sum then one is looking at a total sum of around thirty Holland florins a year, no mean adjunct to the prebendal income.<sup>69</sup>

There was a further account, the *Bona divisa* whose role remains uncertain. It was an account administering a scattered series of

properties, possibly acquired since the crystallisation of properties attached to the existing accounts such as the *Minor camere* and *Bona cerevisie*. It was however from this account that the Chapter paid out its *lijfrenten* and *losrenten*, (redeemable annuities) the means by which it borrowed money. Though there is no opportunity here for a thorough study of this aspect of the Chapter's economic position, it is worth examining the methods by which the Chapter raised money in a hurry.

The accounts for the year 1570 - 71 present a good view of *losrenten* raised for emergencies. In that year three items were the subject of special provision by the Chapter. In the first place the Chapter was seeking to make good the muddle following upon the abrupt departure of the *cameraer* of the *Maior camera* in 1565. This was Cornelis van Nijenrode, who because of his only too public involvement in the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566, had been forced to flee. Although he had resigned his prebend shortly before these events, he had done so in the middle of his term as *cameraer* and considerable confusion had ensued. In order to keep the peace among the resident canons the Chapter had decided to resort to borrowing the money needed to make settlement payments. In addition the Chapter wanted money to pay for a new organ. Finally the Chapter wanted to resolve its long running dispute with Sonnius, bishop of Den Bosch, over his prebend. In brief the Chapter had declined to pay his prebend during his absences on business, largely concerned with the creation of the New Bishoprics. Its reluctance was reinforced by the probably ill-founded, but understandable belief that Sonnius had been responsible for the loss of the Chapter's jurisdiction in Westfriesland. [See chapter VI] After much tergiversation the Chapter had agreed to a retrospective compounding of Sonnius' claims, and had decided to pay

this out of a loan raised in the city of Utrecht. The loan repayment and interest charges for the three items in 1570 came to 554 Holland florins.<sup>70</sup>

The *Bona Divisa* also seems to have been the account into which pious bequests were paid, entered as *recepta extraordinaria*. In 1551 it received the substantial sum of 4,092 $\frac{1}{2}$  Utrecht from the will of *domkannunik* Adriaan Ram I. In the following year, 1552, perhaps an unusually good year, it received bequests from the executors of the *Domvicaris* Jacob van Dordrecht the sum of 131 $\frac{1}{2}$  Utrecht, and a similar sum from the will of Antoon van IJsendoorn, *Heer van Sterckenberg*, a *raad* in the *Hof van Utrecht*. In 1567 it received 100 Holland florins from the *domkannunik* Johan van Bruhezen for the foundation of a mass and sermon to be held on the feast of the Venerable Sacrament. It would appear to have received trust funds also, for again in 1552 the *cameraer* received from the estate of the late *domkannunik* Lambrecht ten Duynen the sum of 900 Holland florins for the foundation of a bursary at the university of Leuven.<sup>71</sup> Again the sums derived from this account paid to each resident canon seldom exceeded thirty florins, although on occasion it did produce larger sums, as for instance in the years 1555 - 1559 when the totals arose to about forty florins.<sup>72</sup>

Further revenues came from the *Maior Camera*. Accounted under fourteen heads were basically two main sources of income, tithes and leases. The former comprised the tithes of IJsselstein, Honswijk, Gobberdingen, Hagestein, Vianen, Lexmond, and the Langenbroeks. *Factum* or perpetual ground rents, provided revenues in IJsselstein and Langenbiesen, in the Achtersloot, Hagestein and Den Eng, in which last two places payment was also made in *capon*, although whether these really

were renders in kind - they total some ninety eight *caponen* - or a compounded sum is hard to tell. The accounts also record the phantom nature of claims to *censum* in Dieren, Driel and Groningen, as year after year the entry following is *nihil*. This account quite clearly had the nature of 'pocket money' for the canons. The charges upon it were small compared to the total income, comprising largely administrative expenses, although some *renten* were annually purchased from its revenues<sup>73</sup> and the bulk of the revenue was divided among the resident canons.

If the foregoing paragraphs have dwelt upon the financial content of a prebend in the cathedral at Utrecht, it is time to turn to the other face of the matter, the obligations incumbent upon a canon to sing the office in his stall in choir. It was from the remaining source of income open to a canon of the *Dam*, that while relatively minor in financial terms, nevertheless lay at the heart of the Chapter's activity, the *presentiegeld*, or payments made for presence of the canons in choir. The richness of the liturgical year ensured that there were few days that could be classed as 'normal', that is, there was a constantly shifting series of feasts and festivals of varying importance that vied with the weekly observance of the singing of the hours in choir. Even so, festivals and feasts apart, a canon present at Matins received *xij schellingen*, *iiij schellingen* at Prime, and *ij schellingen* at the hours of Terce, Sext and Nones. For attendance at the daily High Mass a canon received *iiij schellingen v stuivers* while at Vespers *ante prandium*, *viij schellingen* was paid. This was followed by Compline, for which the sum of *viij schellingen* was paid, and we may imagine perhaps the tardy canon, hot and dusty perhaps from a tour of inspection of

capitular properties, rustling into choir to the words *Jube dominae benedicare ...noctem quietem et finem perfectum concedat nobis dominus omnipotens.*

Payments rose on Sundays, when *x schellingen* was paid, and for processions falling upon Sundays the resident canon was paid *xij schellingen*. At the great feasts attendance money naturally rose. On the occasion of the cathedral's patronal feast of St. Maarten *xv schellingen* was paid for the vigil, *xxxviiij schellingen* for each major hour, and *xix schellingen* for the lesser hours on the feast itself. Christmas, with its heavy burden of services of the midnight mass, morning mass and mass of the day, as well as its complement of hours brought *xix schellingen* to major services, and for attendance at a second mass the sum of *viiij schellingen*. Easter services secured similar payments, although the major payments went to the services of *Cena domine*, or the Maunday Thursday observances, in which the resident canons shared in a sum of 3*ƒ* Utrecht *xvii schellingen iijd.*

Scattered among the feasts of the church common to the Roman obedience were feasts and commemoration services peculiar to the cathedral at Utrecht for which special payments were available to the resident canons. Among these were two sixteenth century foundations. The first was the series of masses founded for the soul of the *domkannunik* Thomas de Nyekerken, dean of St. Jan and vicar-general, for whose obits each canon present received *vj schellingen*. The second was the foundation, in 1548, by bishop George van Egmont of a mass of the Venerable Sacrament to be sung on the first Thursday of each month, for which those present shared in the considerable sum of some 11 Holland florins *xiiij stuivers* and *iij albi*. For the obits of the *domkannunikenen*

Renesse and Van der Donck, falling upon the nineteenth and twenty-ninth days of each month, the sums of *x* and *vi schellingen* respectively were paid. The obit of canon Arnold Beuckelaer, commemorated on the twenty-third day of each month secured for those present the sum of *xiiij schellingen*, while the anniversary of his death, the twentieth of November, was observed with the payment of *xviiij schellingen*.<sup>74</sup>

The close scrutiny of the attendance figures of each individual canon is beyond the scope of this study. As the sums available for attendance in choir by the full number of resident canons was 476 Holland florins,<sup>75</sup> or on a very rough division among the twenty or so canons that made up the resident body through most of the sixteenth century, a sum somewhat less than twenty florins a year, it can be seen that the sums of money from this source were not great compared with those available from the other cathedral accounts. Yet in inverse proportion to the size of the rewards was time spent in choir. If a resident canon was not out and about on the lawful occasions of capitular business, then he was bound by the nature of his calling to attend a long series of daily services, suitably clad, in choir in his stall. It is true that it was rather up to the individual canon to honour this obligation in his own way.

It is possible to construct something of a pattern of attendance, although it would be very rash indeed to read any interpretation of religious commitment into such figures, unless accompanied by other clear evidence. Lists of *presentiegeld* survive for 1471, 1478 and 1479.<sup>76</sup> [See Appendix VIII] Excluding the deans, who were required to reside, and secured a double payment for choir duties, the body of resident canons would seem to fall, as one might expect,

into three clear groups, chosen, admittedly on an arbitrary basis: the poor of 50ƒ Utrecht or less , the respectable of between 50ƒ Utrecht and 100ƒ Utrecht , and the assiduous attenders of 100ƒUt and above. The result is indicated below:

**TABLE NO 11**

***PRESENTIEGELD FOR THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.***

	0 - 50ƒ Ut.	50ƒ Ut - 100ƒ Ut.	100ƒ Ut upwards.
1471	5 residents	13 residents	6 residents
1478	5 "	9 "	5 "
1479	3 "	13 "	3 "
1503	6 "	12 "	6 "

It should perhaps be stressed that if a canon was away on capitular business he was allowed his *presentiegeld*. The other observation to be made about the assiduous attenders is that it is within that group one finds some evidence of religious commitment as evidenced by outward symbols of conventional piety of the age. In the 1471 list Evert Zoudenbalch was paid 144 ƒUt for choir attendance, and he was to found an almshouse in the city of Utrecht.<sup>77</sup> Gerlach van der Donck who secured the high payments of over 140 ƒUt in the years 1471, 1478 and 1479 was to found a monthly obit for his soul. Johan Jacobsz. IJsbrandi, another most assiduous attender in choir, receiving payments of over 150ƒUt in the same years, and 103 ƒUt in 1503, was much concerned with beautification of the cathedral altar.<sup>78</sup> Even this sort of evidence is not conclusive in any way: Van der Donck may just have been scared of hell.

A brief study was undertaken of attendance in choir for the years 1555 - 1566. These were years of mounting criticism of the secular government of Philip II, and more pertinently, years of some turbulence for the *amour propre* of the Chapter as it suffered attack under the scheme of New Bishoprics in the Netherlands of 1559. It is not suggested that these events had any marked effect upon the Catholic belief among the canons as it then existed. With hindsight one knows the careers of some of the canons subsequent to these years. In the following table the *presentiegeld* is given, (in the first table in  $\text{ƒ}$  Utrecht, in the second in Holland florins), for the three most assiduous canons each year, and for certain selected canons whose subsequent careers were of interest.

TABLE NO. 12

**PRESENTIEGELD FOR SELECTED CANONS 1555 - 1560.**

	1555	1556	1557	1558	1559	1560
Godfridiszn. Hen.	216	219	203	218	230	
Poelenburch, Jac.	216	235	237	234	240	261
Vorst, A. v.d.	184					
Bruhezen, Joh.		238	257	211	239	264
Veen, Ger. v.		13	49	59	67	67
Nijenrode, Corn.	155	142	145	106	141	165
Duvenvoorde, J. v.	81	79	116	126	54	88
Strijt, Joris.						112
Vorst, Jud. v.d.	26					
Groenevelt, A.	4					
Mulert, D.	18					

TABLE NO 13

**PRESENTIEGELD FOR SELECTED CANONS 1561 - 1566.**

	1561	1562	1563	1564	1565	1566
Poelenberch, Jac.	128					
Bruhezen, J.	123					
Strijt, Joris.	112					
Nijenrode, Corn.	96	89	79	56	54	-
Duvenvoorde, J.	35	39	28	20	24	38

From the above tables it can be seen that canons Poelenburch, Hendrik Godfridiszn., Johan Van Bruhezen, and Joris Strijt were quite assiduous attenders in choir. Little is known of the first two, but the second was to become dean of Utrecht in 1572, and was known for his strong Catholic stance, and indeed he had founded a mass in the cathedral. Joris Strijt was chaplain to George van Egmont, the bishop of Utrecht, and on the latter's death in 1559, took up residence in Utrecht. The names of Judoch van der Vorst, Dirk Mulert and Groenevelt have been noted for they were the worst attenders in choir, and may also have been legitimately absent. Gerard van Veen was credited on his resignation with turning Calvinist and retiring to Emden, fathering many children and dying in poverty. Johan van Duvenvoorde, a Holland nobleman, was later to throw in his lot decisively with the Revolt, and to become the first *Domdeken* by nomination of the *Staten van Utrecht* in 1600: in sympathy a Catholic, but something of a 'political' protestant. Perhaps the most interesting figure was Cornelis van Nijenrode, who was to resign his prebend in 1565, and take a leading and very public role in the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566, and to be banished thereafter. It may be doubted as to whether the attendance in choir can be stretched to indicate these later histories, but the figures are suggestive, not to say tantalizing, for all that.

We turn now to the question of the value of a prebend in the cathedral of Utrecht in comparison with other collegiate churches of the city and diocese and beyond. In so doing it is important to bear in mind the following points regarding any figures for the values of prebends. The research is necessarily limited to only fully resident canons. In addition, as far as the Utrecht chapters are concerned, it has been thought best for the purposes of comparison to concentrate upon the two major accounts of each chapter, that is the *Minor camera* and the *Major camera* respectively.

As for the accounts it should be borne in mind that in the first place when the *camaraers* compiled their accounts they recorded only monies received and monies not received but owed. The result is that while an annual total can be achieved, it is almost certainly less than the real income for any given year, as later *camaraers* would add into their account any arrears from the given year of the first *camaraer*. These arrears or *restanten* would in difficult periods distort the annual totals. Thus in the early fifteen seventies, the opening years of the Revolt, the collection of rents appears to have been difficult, yet within a few years arrears were being paid so that while the nominal value of the prebend did indeed fall sharply, the extent of the fall was to some extent exaggerated because the accounts took no account of arrears. This can be made clearer by examination of the accounts of the *Maior camera* of the cathedral for the years 1569 - 1577. In this case the payments to a full canon *capitulare* from the account appear to have fallen from 119 Holland florins in 1569 to 74 Holland florins in 1577. In fact this fall was offset by arrears that made the true figures

for 1569 and 1577 166 and 116 Holland florins respectively, a significant fall, but not quite as dire as the figures might initially suggest. [See Appendix III - C]

The cathedral was the wealthiest of the five chapters of the city of Utrecht. In 1542 pope Paul III granted the right to collect a clerical subsidy from his Netherlands dominions to the emperor Charles V in order to press war against the Turks. For all benefices above the value of 24 gulden p. a. the rate was 50%.<sup>79</sup> Whether this was the sum actually collected from the Utrecht chapters may perhaps be doubted, if only because the emperor's authority had but recently been established in the city and province.<sup>80</sup> Even so, the subsidy was to be collected in two instalments in the course of 1543, in the *Register van taxatie* for the collection of the subsidy in the benefices of Nedersticht the totals noted *pro utroque termino* for the chapters of the city of Utrecht stood as in the following table:

**TABLE No. 14.**

**THE FIVE CHAPTERS OF UTRECHT AND THE CLERICAL SUBSIDY OF 1542.**

This table is based upon the *Register van taxatie* AKD 3351.

<i>Die Kerck van den Dom.</i>	1039 Rhenish gulden
<i>Die Kerck van Oudmunster.</i>	600 Rhenish gulden
<i>Die Kerck van St. Pieter.</i>	The totals are totally obliterated by damp.
<i>Die Kerck van St. Jan.</i>	523 Rhenish florins.
<i>Die Kerck van St. Marie.</i>	573 Rhenish florins.

The position was little different by the middle of the century, for in a similar subsidy granted in 1552 the ranking order of the Utrecht chapters is the same.

## TABLE No 15.

## THE FIVE CHAPTERS OF UTRECHT AND THE CLERICAL SUBSIDY OF 1552.

This table is based upon a dossier in *AKD 3374*. The subsidy was for 10,000 gulden, and the sums payable by the chapters included the *vicarissen* or chantry priests, the *supporten*.

<i>Die kercken van den Doem mett alle hoir supporten.</i>	1229 gulden.
<i>Die kercke van t'Oudmonster mett alle hoir supporten.</i>	808 gulden.
<i>Die Kercke van St. Pieters mett all hoir supporten.</i>	469 gulden.
<i>Die kercke van St. Jan mett alle hoir supporten.</i>	531 gulden.
<i>Die kercke van St Marien mett alle hoir supporten.</i>	724 gulden.

There were wealthy abbeys and convents in the province of Utrecht, but their corporate wealth never approached that of the cathedral. In the same subsidy of 1552 the ranking of the major houses of the *Nedersticht* was as follows:

## TABLE No 16.

## RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF THE NEDERSTICHT AND THE CLERICAL SUBSIDY OF 1552.

The abbey of Oudwijk :	assessed at 656 gulden.
The Commandery of the Teutonic Knights at Utrecht :	" 562 gulden.
The convent of St. Servaas:	" 529 gulden.
The abbey of Oostbroeck:	" 464 gulden.
The convent of Ten Dael:	" 400 gulden.
The <i>Vrouwenklooster</i> :	367 gulden.
The Charterhouse of Utrecht:	316 gulden.
The abbey of St. Paul:	300 gulden.

For comparison of prebends among the city chapters the following examples have been taken. The prebend of Willem van Lockhorst at St. Pieter for the years 1518 - 1522 and his prebend at St Marie in the years 1535 - 1546, the prebend of Johan Bogart at St. Pieter for the years 1550 - 1575, the prebend of Dirk Lieverjan at St. Jan for the

years 1520 - 1528, the prebend of Koenraad ten Duynen at St. Jan for the years 1535 - 1546 and finally the prebend of Cornelis van Meiroop, *Domproost*, as a canon of St. Marie from 1549 - 1573. It has not been possible to consult the accounts of the Oudmunster. The details of these prebends is supplied in Appendix XII, but a brief digest is given in the table below.

TABLE NO. 17

**THE INCOME OF SOME UTRECHT PREBENDS : 1530 - 1580.**

(Totals are given at five year intervals in Holland florins)

	CATHEDRAL	ST. PIETER	ST. JAN	ST. MARIE.
1530			199	
1535			214	
1540			[213 in 1539]	
1545				
1550	?	220		143
1555	455	212		205
1560	447	226		204
1565	583	220		[191 in 1567]
1570	408	[Missing but 198 in 1569]		124
1575	?	109		?
1580	?	?		?

Evidently a resident canon of the *Dom* was a wealthy man in the wealthy echelons of a wealthy corporation.

To put the income of a *Domkannunik* in context the figures of the 1547 subsidy are useful. In that year the collectors of the subsidy drew up a digest of the clerical assessments of the *Nedersticht* and its contents are outlined in the table over.

## TABLE No 18

*ASSESSMENT OF 1547 CLERICAL SUBSIDY FOR THE NEDERSTICHT.*

Based upon the dossier in AKD 3363.

The Five chapters and their *supporten*.

<i>Dom</i>	1,490 gulden.	
Oudmunster	985 gulden	
St. Pieter	505 gulden	
St. Jan	500 gulden	
St. Marie	880 gulden	
		Total : 4,360 gulden.

Parish churches of city of Utrecht and their *vicarissen*.

Total 180 gulden.

Abbeys and convents of the Nedersticht.

Total 3,710 gulden.

The chapter, parish churches, lesser benefices and *fabrieken* of the towns of Amersfoort, Wijk-bij-Duurstede, Rhenen and Montfoort.

Total 470 gulden.

Benefices and *Fabrieken* of the countryside of the Nedersticht.

Total 267 gulden.

The properties of *uytenheemde* benefices and religious houses, i.e. those beyond the province.

Total 356 gulden.

Total for the whole province : 9,248 gulden.

The other chapters of the diocese of Utrecht were poor things compared with the cathedral. In the Nedersticht itself there were three chapters, those of Wijk-bij-Duurstede, Amersfoort and ter Horst. In the subsidy of 1542, the assessment of half the incomes which the subsidy allowed, of the entire capitular bodies of these foundations were 80, 75 and 10 gulden respectively.<sup>81</sup> The figure of 10 gulden for the four canons of Ter Horst reveals the gulf that lay between a canon of that foundation and of the cathedral. The chapters of the diocese whose prebends were in royal nomination were of varied wealth. The twelve prebends of the *Hofkapel* in The Hague were said to be worth *xiiij ofte xv ponden groots*

*Vlaams*, or about 90 gulden p.a. At Dordrecht the crown appointed to most of the seventeen prebends and these were worth *in loco viij oft ix ponds groot*, or about 54 gulden, and *in absentie niet*. Matters seemed rather better at Geervliet where the fifteen prebends were worth *in loco xxviij of xxx pond groot*. or 180 gulden, and *in absentie vi of vij pond groot*, or 42 gulden. At Den Briel the twelve prebends were worth around 100 Rhenish gulden each, as were also the eight prebends of Oostvoorne. The fourteen prebends at Gorcum were worth around *xl oft fyfty*, Rhenish gulden, but *in absentie niet veel*.<sup>82</sup> In the case of those chapters that were associations of previously independent chantry priests, and hence did not possess a system of common funds, such as those of Leyden and Zierikzee, the income of the various 'prebends' varied. Even so, they were relatively poor compared with the prebends of Utrecht. At Leyden, for instance the dean of the chapter of St. Pancras, received apart from the revenues of his chantry, 20 *groot*, or about 120 gulden, from the twenty-four other chantry revenues, and a double portion from the daily distributions.<sup>83</sup> At Zierikzee the richest chantry, or 'prebend' in the 1532 clerical subsidy was assessed for half its value at 105 florins, but one of the poorest appears to have been assessed at 6 gulden.<sup>84</sup>

Information on the revenues of the ancient chapters of the eastern areas of the diocese of Utrecht is more difficult to secure. No suitable accounts for the chapters of Arnhem, Deventer, Emmerich and Oldenzaal. At Deventer there is a somewhat ambivalent document concerning the resignation of a prebend in the chapter of St. Lebuinus there by the margrave Christopher of Baden. The margrave appears to have resigned the prebend with supplement, that is a full or *pleno* prebend,

in February, 1561, in return for a pension secured upon two *rentebriefven* of 200 and 15 gold gulden respectively.<sup>84</sup> The problem here is that there is no clue as to how many years purchase this represents. As a presumably non-resident canon, the margrave Christopher of Baden would not have had part in the distributions due to residents, and the sum of 215 gulden a year must be seen as a total acceptable to the incoming canon from future revenues, but should not read too much into this figure.

In the dioceses beyond Utrecht one again comes upon the problem of paucity of information. Figures exist for prebends at several collegiate churches in the Burgundian Netherlands in the dioceses of Cambrai, Kortrijk (Courtrai) and Liège from around the middle of the fifteenth century. The values are given in *livres*.<sup>85</sup> (alas, the type of *livre* is not indicated). Rather more useful are the assessment of the value of prebends in some of the cathedral chapters of the Empire. These estimates stem from information given in the dossiers of personal details and references supplied to the papacy for candidates for the episcopate in the years prior to the Council of Trent, and it must be a moot point as to how far they represent realistic information or clerical gossip. According to this survey a prebend at the cathedral of Mainz in 1546 was said to be worth about 300 Rhenish florins, while at the cathedral of Regensburg the resident canon secured 200 Rhenish florins. At the highly aristocratic cathedral chapter of Würzburg the 'junior' canons received 100 Rhenish florins, while the full *capitulares* or senior canons were said to receive the substantial sum of 500 Rhenish florins. The revenues at Paderborn and Trier are given in ducats, and at a sixteenth century rate of exchange used at the papal Curia this would

appear to be 1 ducat equalled  $1\frac{1}{2}$  florins. Hence the revenues of a canon of the cathedral at Paderborn stated at 100 ducats would be 150 florins, while the revenues of a canon at Trier, said to be 200 ducats, would be 300 florins.<sup>86</sup>

## CHAPTER IV :

## ASSAULTS FROM THE CLERGY.

## I : THE ASSAULT FROM WITHIN - THE CHAPTER v PROVOST JOHAN SLACHECK.

It is quite easy to believe that litigation was almost a way of life among the educated and wealthy classes of early modern society, and perhaps no more so than among the closed and rather introspective society that comprised a collegiate church.<sup>1)</sup> This impression is, of course, gained precisely because by its very nature litigation gave rise to voluminous justificatory records. It is therefore not surprising to find the records of the cathedral chapter of Utrecht littered with the detritus of petty squabbles taken to law by individual canons against each other.<sup>2)</sup> Doubtless these lawsuits largely represented no more than those personality clashes and petty jealousies, almost invariably articulated in financial wrangles of some sort, that must result from living in the cathedral close, although equally they may also represent political and family rivalries.<sup>3)</sup> But equally, when the corporate identity of the college or society was threatened, or when, more likely, its financial resources had covetous eyes cast upon it, then with some rapidity, these little rivalries were buried, and a unity was revealed that presented a solid front to the insolent outsider. Two examples of this occurred in the history of the Chapter in the first half of the sixteenth century. The first involved the attempt of the provost, Johan Slaccheck (1531) to secure personal control over the revenues of the provostry, while the second involved the attempt of George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht, (1534 - 1559) to incorporate these same provostal revenues to the see of Utrecht.

The exact origins of provost Slacheck's suit against the Chapter, initially before the *Hof van Utrecht*, are unknown, and must perforce be a matter of speculation. Suffice to observe that what he proposed through a successful outcome to his litigation was something of a revolution in his role as provost *vis á vis* his chapter. Though by sixteenth century the provost of the cathedral of Utrecht had a position that was little more than that of a gilded *rentier*, the recipient of revenues remitted to him by capitular officials, Slacheck's claims were designed to make him master not only of the revenues of the provostry by their direct exploitation by himself, but also to extend his powers of patronage within the diocese through increased intervention in the archidiaconal office attached to the provostry. In addition to these developments, he proposed to change significantly his role within the Chapter itself. It was small wonder that Johan Slacheck and the dean and chapter of Utrecht became locked in a prolonged and determined struggle that lasted some fifteen years.

From the morass of documentation<sup>4</sup> engendered by the various suits to which the quarrel gave rise the following claims and counter-claims emerge. For his part provost Slacheck made eight specific claims, the substance of which may be usefully examined under three heads, namely, the provostry, the archdeaconry of Utrecht, and the role of the provost in the Chapter. In the first place Slacheck sought to lease out the lands of the provostry freely, either in his own person or through nominees, these last directly responsible to himself, rather than in the person of the capitular nominee, ever a member of the Chapter, the *Socius* of the provost. Not only did he seek control of the exploitation of the lands, but he sought the right to lease out, or farm, the office

of *schout* in those lordships where the Chapter exercised this right. In the administration of the archdeaconry he desired what he described as the 'full profits', by which he meant that the collection of the revenues should once more be directly in his hands, rather than in those of the capitular nominee, once more a member of the Chapter, the *officiaal*. He also wanted the direct nomination to the office of rural dean or *landdeken* within the archdeaconry. Finally, he wanted to alter his position within the Chapter, which had over the centuries atrophied to the rather anomalous state described in the dictum utilised at Utrecht, *Extra capitulum sed supra capitulum*,<sup>57</sup> for Slacheck claimed to sit in the Chapter as archdeacon, his intention being to secure a real role in its deliberations, rather than the honorific primacy bereft of substance that was essentially his lot. He also laid claim to rights and profits from his role in the Chapter, presumably the *supplementum* to his prebend that full capitular canons, the *capitulares* received due to their seniority, and which the provost did not receive.

Faced with these large claims it is not surprising to learn that the Chapter firmly rebutted them. To begin with the Chapter sought to disabuse the provost of the impression that he owned anything: on the contrary the Chapter insisted that the lands of the provostry belonged to the church of St. Maarten, not to the provost, who was but the Chapter's representative in the administration of those lands. As for the archdeaconry it was claimed that it was the gift of the bishop to the cathedral and Chapter, to be enjoyed by the Chapter. For this reason, the revenues and profits of the archdeaconry were exploited exclusively by the Chapter through their representative, the *officiaal*, chosen from among the canons, and the authority for this was a charter

of 1263 concerning provost Gobert van Perweis.<sup>6></sup> The Chapter could indeed produce further evidence for the existing situation by reference to the arbitration of the bishop of Utrecht, Arnold van Hoorn, in a not dissimilar wrangle in 1377.<sup>7></sup> Indeed this last document was a particularly significant element in the capitular defence, for as part of the arbitration of that year had been a promise of the then provost, Sweder van Uterloe, to swear an oath to observe the provisions of the arbitration, and further that he did so in the name of his successors, who were required to swear the same oath in due course before being admitted to the office of provost. It was not helpful to Slacheck's case that the dean and Chapter could produce sealed attestations of all his predecessors to this oath of Sweder van Uterloe, and most telling of all, that of Johan Slacheck himself, dated 1 June 1530.<sup>8></sup>

It would be wearisome indeed to provide a detailed account of the protracted litigation that comprised the case of Slacheck *versus* the dean and chapter of Utrecht,<sup>9></sup> but certain points stand out and merit some discussion. There is a gap in the *Domresoluties* from 1529 until 1534,<sup>10></sup> and a similar gap exists in the *minuten* from 1525 until the 9 June 1531,<sup>11></sup> so we do not know at what stage the Chapter became aware of its provost's intentions, but by the 21 January 1531, twenty-six canons, the full resident body at that date, signed an act of union to resist Slacheck's claims.<sup>12></sup>

Although it can be at best but speculation, some regard must be paid to the motivaton of the provost in mounting an attack upon his Chapter. Slacheck's personality cannot be precisely determined from the scattered documentation concerning him, but certain consistent traits do appear. Like many of his contemporaries he seemed prone to much

troublesome litigation, and like other senior clergy of his time he was a pluralist, and the overall impression is that he was something of a troublemaker.<sup>13></sup> On the other hand, he was clearly an experienced diplomat, he could act decisively,<sup>14></sup> and was not without some vision and political acumen,<sup>15></sup> and he was not, despite his faults, a fool. Hence it must be with some caution that his attack on the Chapter be dismissed as the outcome of a flaw of character, probably greed, although that indeed may well indeed be the explanation. That personal gain was an important, and perhaps natural, issue we may be certain. The immediate background to his appointment might suggest pressing financial need. His diplomatic mission to Rome to negotiate with the pope the acceptance of the *overdracht* was doubtless expensive, and he may have incurred expenses more than wisdom dictated on the expectation of first securing the deanery of Utrecht, and when that was bestowed elsewhere, the promise of the provostry of Utrecht.<sup>16></sup> In this respect a papal rescript to the Apostolic Chamber of 2 August 1534, whereby the ban of excommunication laid upon Slacheck, *Domproost* of Utrecht, is lifted, for six months only, since he has paid part of the arrears due upon the annates chargeable upon various benefices, is at least suggestive.<sup>17></sup>

Slacheck's entry into possession of the provostry of Utrecht was delayed by the nomination of the highly placed and highly favoured Habsburg servant, Claude de Boisset, archdeacon of Arras,<sup>18></sup> and this must have been something of a disappointment. De Boisset was duly persuaded to resign, but it is hard to believe that he did so without some form of compensation, for the benefice was well-known to be a rich one, and for all we know, Slacheck's possession of the provostry may have been burdened with a pension to his predecessor.<sup>19></sup> The years

immediately prior to his nomination as provost at Utrecht saw him concerned in a complicated, acrimonious and doubtless expensive, legal dispute with the *Domthesaurier* Albert Pigge, over a whole series of benefices, namely the provostry of St. Marie at Utrecht, the deanery of St. Lebuinus at Deventer and the churches of Kampen and Oldemarkt. In addition there is a further possible motivation for the animosity between Piggus and Slachek. Whether Slachek was aware of it is not known, but there is a strong possibility that Piggus was the author of a robust attack upon the whole notion of the *overdracht* that may have been circulating in the diocese by 1531.<sup>20</sup> Even when successfully installed in the deanery at Deventer, Slachek's absence on his mission to Rome caused strife with the chapter of St. Lebuinus, which declined to pay him his share of the daily distributions for his prebend, and Slachek had to call upon the count of Hoogstraten, and through him, the Regent Margaret of Austria, to bring it to heel.<sup>21</sup>

How far one may proceed with justice to two further considerations is less clear. In the first place it seems that Slacheck's mission to Rome was the peak of his career. Certainly it could be argued that the initially proposed reward for his efforts in that respect, the deanery of Utrecht, with its *ex officio* presidency of the *Staten van Utrecht*, and the effective headship of the greatest landowning corporation of the *Sticht*, would have made him an influential figure in the recently acquired territory of Utrecht, a territory moreover of which one of his apparent patrons, Antoine de Lalaing, count of Hoogstraten was to be *stadhouder*.<sup>22</sup> The possession instead, of the albeit rich, but relatively powerless office of provost may have been insufficiently demanding for what appears to have been a restless

spirit, and perhaps it may have been viewed by Slacheck as a demotion. A second point worth considering is the changing structure of both government and personnel in the Habsburg Netherlands at the time of the contest between provost and Chapter. The years 1529 to 1531 saw significant measures taken to create organs of executive power for the whole Habsburg dominions in the Netherlands, the so-called *collaterale raden*.<sup>23</sup> The death of the Regent Margaret of Austria in 1530 saw the appointment of a new Regent, Mary of Hungary, and saw the rise to power of Nicholas Perronet de Granvelle, who became in all but name the chief minister of the Habsburg Netherlands.<sup>24</sup> Although Slacheck appears to have had the support of the powerful count of Hoogstraten, that support was essentially for the successful outcome of the specific mission to Rome, one in which Hoogstraten was for personal reasons very interested, for he clearly sought to advance his natural son Antoine de Lalaing to the see of Utrecht, and there is no reason to suppose that Slacheck had been chosen other than for his connections in the Eternal City. There is no evidence that he enjoyed any great support from Hoogstraten in terms of his career generally, and the count after 1531 was increasingly concerned with financial affairs as president of the newly created *Raad van Financiën*, rather than diplomacy, which was Slacheck's *forte*.<sup>25</sup>

During the course of his mission to Rome he is known to have had contact by letter with Vincent van Meirop, then the *Rekenmeester van Holland*, evidently a rising star, for he was soon to be made *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands,<sup>26</sup> a point to which further reference will be made. He also had support over his claims to the provostry of Utrecht in the form of two memorials from the imperial ambassador in Rome, Lodewijk van Praet van Moerkerken, not yet the formidable and powerful

figure he was to become.<sup>27</sup> If there was a significant link for Slacheck's advancement with the influential bureaucratic elite around the Regent Mary of Hungary, it was probably Laurens van Blioul, with whom Slacheck corresponded during the mission to Rome. De Blioul had been *Audiencier* since 1493, and while influential, by 1531 he was perhaps feeling the burdens of his office, for he was to resign his place in February, 1532, though he was to live on for some ten years yet.<sup>28</sup> Slacheck would appear, in the years of his suit with his chapter to be, if not friendless, then bereft of a powerful figure desirous of furthering his career. As we shall see, however, he could count upon some support in high places, but there would seem to have been a price to pay.

Turning to the other side of the contest it becomes immediately apparent that the Chapter of Utrecht was determined to prosecute its defence with energy, and to deploy the talents of its members to the full. After the unanimous declaration of the resident canons to oppose the provost a lull of six months interposed before we discern the Chapter in action. On the 4th. July, 1531, the Chapter constituted its proctors for the legal processes before the *Hof van Utrecht*, one of whom was the *domkannunik* Lazarus de Rosetis.<sup>29</sup> Having had a varied career in Hungary, Rome and latterly at Cologne, where he resided as dean of the collegiate church of St. Severin,<sup>30</sup> he served as the Chapter's legal adviser in a wide range of cases for some years.<sup>31</sup> Those institutional changes in the central government referred to earlier were to some extent paralleled by, but for a different reason, the *Overdracht* of 1528, and hence by changes in the government of the *Sticht*. The recently created *Hof van Utrecht*, the appeal court, the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen,

all organs of Habsburg power, were relatively unknown entities to the elite of the *Sticht*,<sup>32</sup> as were the personnel of these courts. In the new situation created by the *Overdracht* the Chapter had to ensure a good rapport with those at the centre of power in the emperor's government. There seems little doubt that the Chapter, apart from defending its position in the courts, was prepared to explore other avenues.

On the 6 August 1531, the Chapter empowered two of its members, the dean Johan van der Vorst, *Heer van Loenbeek*, and the *Domthesaurier*, Albert Pigge, to proceed to Brussels to treat with the high and mighty wheresoever they might be found.<sup>33</sup> The choice of these two men was an astute move for several reasons. The dean was in the first place the *de facto* head of the Chapter and could be expected to be its spokesman in weighty matters, if for no other reason than that he had been appointed by the central government, that is, he was the nominee of the emperor Charles V himself, who had appointed him in 1528, on the advice of cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt.<sup>34</sup> He was the son of Johan Ghijs van der Vorst, chancellor of Brabant, who had died in 1509, but perhaps more significantly for the immediate purposes of his mission to Brussels, he was the nephew by marriage of Simon de Tisnacq, *écuyer* to the newly appointed Regent, Mary of Hungary.<sup>35</sup> Apart from his connections with the bureaucratic world around the Regent, he would seem to have been a well qualified lawyer, if we may judge by his lengthy legal studies, carried out at no less than four universities in France and Italy.<sup>36</sup> The dean's fellow deputy to Brussels, Albert Pigge, has been described as an wrathful genius,<sup>37</sup> and is known to a wider public as an implacable Catholic polemicist,<sup>38</sup> and to the student of northern Netherlands clerics as a most litigious benefice hunter. For all that

however, there is no doubt that he was a competent man of affairs, perhaps inclined to rashness, as the Chapter was to learn. We need not preclude out of hand a malicious intent in his colleagues in the Chapter of pitting him against his loathed opponent Johan Slacheck.<sup>39</sup>

The course of the legal contest is not easy to follow, but encompassed at least three forms of action.<sup>40</sup> The first was the litigation before the *Hof van Utrecht* in the years 1531 to 1537. This itself comprised several elements, one of which was the sequestration of the contested properties of the provostry from 1531 to May, 1535, and the placing of them in the hands of an official receiver, Gobelinus Volquinus, canon of St. Jan, and *pastoor* of Zwolle, an interesting choice if only because there is some evidence of animosity towards him by Albert Pigge. This seems to have been largely because the latter alleged heresy against the former, although the charge may not be unconnected with the dispute over the church of Kampen already referred to above.<sup>41</sup> The administration of the sequestered lands in turn gave rise to complaints, charges and counter-charges between provost Slachek and the dean and chapter of Utrecht, and these wrangles appear to have encompassed yet further disputes between the provost and another member of the Chapter, Marcus van Weeze, provost of Culemburg. He had been acting as the representative of the *Staten van Utrecht* in the administration of some of the provostal estates in the duchy of Gelderland.<sup>42</sup>

The next major element in the suit was the crux of the matter already referred to, the position and powers of the provost, in which each side submitted its principal arguments at great length, and over the years 1531 to 1534. It was during the course of this that the

Chapter became involved in a rather embarrassing contretemps with the *Hof van Utrecht*. In the course of its depositions the Chapter had submitted a *Requeste*, dated 4 December 1531, written in Latin, urging a speedy conclusion to the litigation. To this document the officials of the *Hof* took exception, and summoned before them a delegation from the Chapter to receive a magisterial rebuke. During the administration of this admonition it emerged that the officers of the *Hof* took particular umbrage to a phrase implying neglect by the court of the emperor's interests, which they characterised as a *groete schandelijke injurien op den Raidt mit onwarachticheyd cannilery*, which words they proceed to describe as *seer indiscreet ... tenderende tot seditie*. Dean van der Vecht and his colleagues affected to know nothing of all this, claiming that they had handed over their ideas on paper, written in *duytsche*, to Albert Pigge, and he had been carried away, they suavely averred in *exemini vehementia*, notwithstanding which the dean declined to have any part of the capitular *Requeste* altered, on which note the session ended.<sup>43</sup> Bearing in mind the date of this occasion, a few months after the creation of the *Hof van Utrecht*, we should not be surprised if the canons had taken a haughty line, even in the polemical prose of Pigge, or if the officers of the *Hof van Utrecht* suffered from a heightened awareness of their dignity: all part of learning to live with each other no doubt.

The *Hof van Utrecht* duly delivered itself of its *sententie provisionale*, after ripe deliberation, on 22 December 1533, and came down firmly in favour of the *status quo ante*, or as an anonymous hand, although possibly that of dean Van der Vorst, wrote in the margin of the copy of the sentence preserved by the Chapter, *Captm man tenet' ut*

*prepositus teneat ipsi*.<sup>44</sup> This sentence unleashed a further series of disputes concerning the alleged maladministration of the goods of the provostry by the mutual opponents, which dragged the whole matter on for a further period until 1537, by which time Slacheck was involved in yet another dispute with his chapter at Deventer.<sup>45</sup>

More significant however was the decision by the dean and chapter in 1538 to appeal for final and binding arbitration on substance and costs to the emperor Charles V. This task the emperor duly delegated on 11 December 1538, to a commission of three, under the presidency of George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht, along with the president of the Privy Council, Jean de Carondelet, archbishop of Palermo, and Phillippe Nigri, chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>46</sup> This commission itself generated even more paper-work, certainly that is the case on the side of the Chapter which caused to be compiled a vast history of the various suits since 1530, added to which were the records of the *proces verbaelen* of hearings before the commission in Brussels, the whole bound in a dossier running to some 603 pages written on both sides.<sup>47</sup> In addition the Chapter applied to legal experts at the university of Leuven who supplied it with a further 150 pages of their views under the title *Consilium pro] D[omi]n[u]s decano et capitulo eccl[es]ae cathedralis Traiecten[sis]: contra D[omi]n[u]s Praepositum eiusdem eccl[es]ae 1540*.<sup>48</sup> It is hard to suppose provost Slacheck had any less ammunition. The result of the royal commission's deliberations was a further defeat for the provost, and its recommendations were along the lines of the sentence of the *Hof van Utrecht*, which were embodied in a papal bull of 13 *kal.*, November, that is 18 October 1542.<sup>49</sup>

From the welter of litigation to which provost Slacheck's attempts to secure greater financial and executive powers gave rise, certain points deserve further consideration. To begin with it would appear that Slacheck's case was feeble, and one can only presume that either pressing financial need spurred him on to the further financial commitment that the various suits implied, or that elements in his character induced the same result. A third eventuality, that he was supported by more powerful figures in his general line of conduct seems untenable. He could perhaps rely upon the support of powerful individuals over specific elements in his litigation, as for instance the curious appointment already referred to above, of Volquinus, a known opponent of one of the Chapter's leading protagonists, as receiver of the capitular lands. In addition, he may, as we shall see below, have received financial support in the later stages of the litigation. It might be thought that his action would embarrass the central government at a sensitive moment in its possession of the *Sticht*. But at this precise time, the fifteen thirties, the Brussels government had good reason to be rather grateful that the church authorities at the cathedral were preoccupied with internal disputes. Within three years of the *overdracht* the government received a long list of complaints, or *doleantiën* from the dean of Utrecht complaining of infractions of church rights and privileges by officers of the *Hof van Utrecht*.<sup>50</sup> A quarrel among the clerics of the richest and most powerful ecclesiastical corporation in the *Sticht*, and one that brought the same quarrelsome clerics as suppliants before the *Hof van Utrecht*, could only strengthen the hand of the government and the *stadhouder*. The crown does not seek to intervene save in the persons of its officers in the *Hof van Utrecht*,

and it is late in the proceedings when it does become directly involved, and then as the final arbiter.

From the point of view of the Chapter the whole affair can have been nothing but a vexatious and expensive experience. It is possible that during the course of the litigious events between 1530 and 1542 important links were forged with the bureaucratic elite in Brussels, although this development can only be guessed at.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, when in the following decade of the fifteen forties the Chapter was to be at loggerheads with its bishop, again over the provostry, it certainly had friends at court that ensured that it emerged once more victorious.

Even so, the victory over provost Slacheck was something of a double edged sword for the Chapter, for in the process a revelation had occurred of its wealth that was communicated beyond the walls of the Chapter House. When discussing the limitations that the *Acta capitularia* of the chapter of Speyer imposes upon the historian, L. G. Duggan observed that the reader may well feel "that he has entered the cloister but not the chapter house, that, in the end, the cathedral chapter remains a slightly mysterious monolith".<sup>52</sup> This observation could be equally well applied to the chapter of Utrecht. Canons at Utrecht were required to keep the secrets of the Chapter, and its members required, so they claimed, the permission of the dean to communicate such information to third parties.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately the Chapter had submitted as part of its evidence to the royal commission very full details of the financial standing of one of its officers, the provost, to a very interested party, who had a pressing interest in increasing his

revenues, and that individual as we shall see was George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht.

The financial cost was staggering. A note upon the costs incurred mentions a figure of 3700 Brabant gulden, half to be paid by each side.<sup>54</sup> The average annual revenues of the provost from the archdeaconry alone was at this period around 1500 Holland florins, although as annual totals fluctuated considerably this is slightly misleading. The revenues were certainly rising by the late fifteen thirties, in the financial year 1539 - 40 the sum of 2145 Holland florins was remitted to the provost.<sup>55</sup> The Holland Florin was of slightly lower value than the Brabant gulden at this period. It should be borne in mind that the revenues of the provost of Utrecht represented one of the richest, indeed probably the richest, individual benefices, (as distinct from corporate revenues of, say, an abbey or chapter) in the Northern Netherlands. Hence something of the magnitude of the suit can be gauged from these figures. Having secured agreement upon costs was not the same as securing them however, although in this instance it would seem that it was the Chapter that was being fractious. As the remitting body of funds to provost Slacheck it could easily cause him financial difficulty, and this may well have come at a time when the provost was in no position to complain with any great vigour, for he was to die in April, 1543, shortly after the Chapter had, in October, 1542, gained papal confirmation of its decisive victory over him. That the provost had claims against the Chapter that it tacitly acknowledged is clear from the lengthy dispute it had with his heirs on his death. These claims were finally adjusted and extinguished in the provisions made by the Chapter for Slacheck's nephew Hillebrand Vrijen, *alias* Slacheck,

*Domvicaris* and canon of Deventer, who thereby received a life pension of 80 gold gulden, a memorial that was to haunt capitular chamberlains well into the fifteenth seventies.<sup>56</sup> That Slachek may have secured some financial support is possible, and as we shall see in the case of the attempted incorporation of the provostry by the bishop of Utrecht, he might have secured it in that period, but it may or may not be significant that in his last years Slacheck agreed to the appointment of a co-adjutor to his provostry, with right of succession. The fortunate candidate destined to secure the reversion of one of the richest benefices in the northern Netherlands was Cornelis van Mierop, son of Vincent van Mierop, *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands, and known to Slacheck since the mission to Rome to secure the *Overdracht*,<sup>57</sup> It does not seem implausible to believe that in this case one man's adversity was another man's opportunity.

## II : THE ATTACK FROM WITHOUT : THE CHAPTER v. GEORGE VAN EGMONT, BISHOP OF UTRECHT.

The last ripples of the Slacheck affair were dying away early in 1540,<sup>58</sup> at a time when the minds of the resident canons of the cathedral were doubtless occupied with the pleasurable anticipation of the impending visit to the city in the August of that year of the emperor Charles V in order to hold a court of the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps in preparation for this event, George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht, paid one of his infrequent visits to his episcopal city during March, 1540, on which occasion the Chapter honoured him with wine.<sup>60</sup> Whether any reference to the approaching successful conclusion

of their law-suit with their provost, in which it must have been well-known the bishop had played a considerable part, was made, we cannot know. It would have been unfortunate if the bishop had gained the impression that his Chapter was suffering from litigious fatigue, for as events were to show, this was far from the case. Probably his mind was on his deranged finances [See Appendix 1.] and he had perhaps already made discreet overtures to the emperor concerning his position, for some allieviation of his problems came hard upon the emperor's state visit to Utrecht in August.

The day of the glittering and solemn visit of the imperial court arrived, and members of the Chapter, along with the bishop and other clergy arrayed in sumptuous vestments awaited their sovereign at the border of the cathedral's *immunitet* within the city, in the warm summer evening of 14 August 1540. A few days later the Court departed, doubtless leaving behind tales of spectacle, gracious words and expense, to be repeated and mulled over in the year to come.<sup>61</sup>

The precise chronology of the immediate and long-term actions taken to assist the finances of bishop George van Egmont are quite unknown. On 30 September 1540, the emperor Charles V issued a mandate to the president of his Privy Council in the Netherlands, Lodewijk Schore, ordering him to proceed to secure general agreement to the incorporation of the provostry of the cathedral of Utrecht to the bishopric, in favour of George van Egmont.<sup>62</sup> No-one in official circles can have assumed that this was to be an easy matter to accomplish, if only because the existing provost, Johan Slacheck, was alive, and had in the person of Cornelis van Meirop a coadjutor *de jure successionis*<sup>63</sup> To tide the bishop over till this matter was sorted out the emperor entered in to an

agreement with George van Egmont on 10 October 1540, by which the annual pension of 2,000 gold gulden secured upon the royal demesne was to be replaced by the transference to the bishop of the so-called *bisschopstienden* of the *Sticht* hitherto held by the crown.<sup>64</sup> The inference in this move is that these revenues, a species of tithe on 'new' products of the soil not encompassed in the original grain and fruit concept of the tithe, were worth rather more than the former royal pension, but not as much as the revenues of the provostry.

Following upon all this one can but speculate as to the feelings of the Chapter when it received at some date prior to 16 September 1541, news that the emperor Charles was proposing to seek papal approval for the incorporation of the provostry of the cathedral to the *tafelgoederen* of the bishop of Utrecht. Such feelings as may have been expressed cannot have been assuaged when it was realised that the imperial orders were dated 30 September 1540, that is within a few weeks of the royal visit to the city. According to the mandate, signed by Charles V and directed to Lodewijk Schore, president of the Privy Council, and almost certainly dictated at the behest of bishop Van Egmont, the emperor was prompted to act by the knowledge that the 2,000 gold gulden of revenues of the see were insufficient, and diminishing daily, when the charges on these revenues were increasing. The president of the Privy Council was to secure two things, namely, in the first place, the agreement of Johan Slacheck to the incorporation of the provostry, and secondly, by *bons moyens* to avoid strife and debates to secure general agreement with all others concerned to the proposal.<sup>65</sup> This last was a forlorn hope as far as the Chapter was concerned, especially in the light of their successful, though long-drawn out defeat of the same Johan Slacheck.

Certainly the resident members of the Chapter had acted by 16 September 1541, for on that date some seventeen canons had signed a bond of union to oppose the imperial proposals *unanimiter et nemine discrepante*, to which were attached the signed proxies of three further canons temporarily absent upon capitular business.<sup>66</sup>

As in the preceding struggle with Slacheck, the members of the Chapter embarked upon a many pronged attack to defend themselves. In essence this was aimed against four distinct targets: George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht; the Regent Mary of Hungary and her officers in Brussels; the emperor Charles V; and the papal court.

With the bishop, as the 'onlie true begetter' of its troubles in this instance, the Chapter can have had scant hope. He was in need of money, the Chapter possessed it, and short of supplying him with an alternative source of income, there was absolutely no reason for him to desist. The bishop was in a strong position, for he had only to sit back and await the fruition of his plans, which while no doubt expensive in terms of the odd bribe among the emperor's servants, or fee at the papal court, were essentially open-ended as far as he was concerned. The emperor's honour was engaged once he had agreed to support the bishop, and even if this particular ploy failed, there was little long-term likelihood of the bishop not securing something, either in the form of a pension or some alternative benefice. Perhaps it was in the realisation of the strength of the bishop's position that the Chapter despatched to him on 16 October 1541, a rather lack-lustre Latin protest urging the bishop to consider the damage he was doing to the Church in general, and to the cathedral of Utrecht in particular, and begging him to desist.<sup>67</sup>

If the Chapter was initially powerless, there is clear evidence that it

did not hesitate to make its feelings clear in a less subtle, but clearly effective ways, for on a subsequent visit to the city, the *satellites et corrosores vulgariter cluyvers*, of the canons, as the bishop phrased it, had thrown stones at the roof of the episcopal residence.<sup>68</sup>

The Regent Mary of Hungary was the executant of the emperor's policy, and to her fell the doubtless thankless task of trying to head off the indignation of the Chapter. For reasons that are not clear this appears to have taken something over a year to materialise, although the Chapter was not unaware of what was afoot in general. It is hard to believe that the Chapter was not in this period engaged in at least subterranean soundings as to their chances in this particular quarter. The Chapter was in contact with the Regent by 16 February 1542, when she despatched a letter more or less telling it to obey the wishes of *onsen heere end broer* in the matter.<sup>69</sup> This may well have been due to the delay incurred in securing the agreement of Cornelis van Meirop to the cancellation of his coadjutory *de jure successionis* to Johan Slacheck, and as we shall see, there is some slight evidence that he proposed fighting to retain his rights. In addition the papal Curia was a by-word for delay and expense in producing the documentation permitting the incorporation even when the pope's permission had been secured for the proposal. The capitular response took the form of a remonstrance running to some forty-eight clauses. There was some fairly frivolous stuff in all this: clause 20 dwelt upon the iniquity of the bishop taking an oath to observe the privileges of the Chapter; the illegal basis of such a proposed incorporation was averred in clause 23. Rather more seriously, the point was made in clause 35 that endless trouble would ensue in the

union of the episcopal and archdiaconal jurisdiction. The crux of the capitular defence lay in clauses 7 to 12, where the Chapter bluntly declared that the emperor's proposals were in flat contradiction to the agreements entered in to by himself and the clergy of Utrecht in the *Overdracht* of 1528.<sup>70</sup>

When the contents of this document were conveyed to the Regent is not known, but it was subsequent to a letter from the Regent to the Chapter of 9 November 1542, wherein she refers to the emperor's having secured papal consent to the incorporation.<sup>71</sup> It was this information that stirred the Chapter on 22 November to propose submitting its plea on account of the *saer trefflick ende saer groote ende zwaar timportantie ende dangereuse consequenties* of the incorporation by means of a delegation comprising the canons Frans Sonck and Joost van Praet van Moerkerken to Brussels, which duly arrived in the city shortly after the 13 December 1542.<sup>72</sup> The choice of the delegation was shrewd. Sonck was a skilled lawyer, while Praet van Moerkerken was the son of Lodewijk van Praet van Moerkerken, who had on 18 October 1540, been nominated president of the *Raad van Financiën*, and later in the same year, to membership of the *Raad van Staat*.<sup>73</sup> Even if not a great deal was to be gained in practical terms by the delegation, it is impossible to believe that it did not return to the Chapter of Utrecht with a great deal of information as to the way in which the land lay concerning its case, and possibly, as subsequent events might suggest, some pertinent advice as to whom to make further address.

When the delegation came before the Regent it had three main areas of argument to advance, of which the first was the declaration of its undying loyalty to the emperor. In the second place the antiquity

of the church of Utrecht was stressed, and the promises made by the emperor in 1528. Finally the Chapter had to address itself to what it saw as the devious and malicious activities of the bishop, or as the instructions phrased it *dat zyne hoichweerdigheit in de selve saicke ten minsten dissimuleerd ofte de selve saicke genoichsaem favorizende die mede dede vervolgen...*<sup>74</sup> When the delegation saw the Regent she gave them short shrift dismissing them, and followed this up with a dusty letter of 8 January 1543, to the Chapter, misliking the protest and the manner of it being submitted. The Regent affected to believe that once her royal brother had expressed a wish it was the duty of his subjects to acquiesce in it.<sup>75</sup>

The Chapter had probably early learnt that the Regent was bound by instructions from the emperor, and was in no position to initiate any policy in direct opposition to him, and it may well have concluded that little more was to be gained by prolonging actions at Brussels. It is hardly surprising to learn that hard upon the dismissal of canons Sonck and Praet van Moerkerken in January, 1543, the Chapter was addressing letters that broadened the campaign to a wider field. On 27 January 1543, the Clerk to the Chapter penned several important documents. The first of these was a letter to the cardinal Datary protesting at the underhand method of disposing of the provostry of Utrecht. Besides this letter the Chapter constituted as its procurator in Rome one Koenraad Rumault. This was the formal opening of the legal steps of an appeal in canon law. A second letter, addressed to the cardinal of S. Crucis, in much the same terms as that to the Datary, opened a more subtle campaign of appeal.<sup>76</sup> The cardinal of S. Crucis, Marcellus Cervini, later the short-lived pope Marcellus II, was an interesting figure for the Chapter

to address. In 1539, when bishop of Nicaastro, he had been the brains in the glittering legation of cardinal Alexander Farnese to France and the Netherlands.<sup>77</sup> He had clearly made contacts with important political figures and the higher clergy of the Netherlands on that journey, and although we cannot know what they may have been, it would be surprising if they had not included chancellor Nicholas Perronet de Granvelle, and his son, Antoine, bishop of Arras. It was to the former that the Chapter also wrote on the 27 January 1543, outlining the Chapter's principal argument, that the proposed incorporation of the provostry was a breach of the promises made by the emperor in 1528.<sup>78</sup> In the absence of his father, who travelled with the emperor, Antoine Perronet de Granvelle, bishop of Arras, was also a person of influence. As well as the see of Arras, he held the provostry of St. Marie at Utrecht. The Chapter wrote to him, addressing him as *confrati nostro* on 31 March 1543, again stressing the agreements of 1528.<sup>79</sup>

In all these *démarches* the Chapter was endeavouring to build up a range of opinion favourable to itself sufficient to counter the actions of the emperor on behalf of a highly placed nobleman of the Netherlands. It has to be admitted that placed in this light the Chapter appeared to have little chance of success, and one has to observe also the apparently minimal impact on government thinking of stressing the agreements of the *Overdracht*. Events from the summer of 1543 to the spring of 1544 appeared to confirm this. The death of provost Slachek in April, 1543, seemed to promise some glimmer of hope, for although the incorporation of the provostry had secured papal approval by January, 1543, the co-adjutory *de jure successionis* in favour of Cornelis van Meirop had not been cancelled. The Chapter sent letters to cardinal

Marcellus Cervini and to Antoine Perronet de Granvelle on 17 June 1543, pointing this out.<sup>80</sup> This had no effect, and the bishop embarked upon taking possession, by his procurators, of the provostry, although this was easier said than done, for the Chapter, so the bishop was later to claim, set guards on the cathedral preventing his procurators from delivering the bulls of provision, and taking possession of the provost's stall in the choir.<sup>81</sup> As long as the Chapter was acting on its own behalf, it does not seem to have prospered in this issue. And yet, by the summer of 1544, all had been upset, the bishop had renounced his claims upon the provostry, and the emperor had annuled his decree ordering the incorporation of the provostry to the bishopric, and the pope confirmed this *volte face*, and a new provost sat in the stall at Utrecht. The key seems to be that by the Spring of 1544, the Chapter was no longer acting upon its own.

Although the name of Vincent van Mierop, *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands nowhere appears in the documentation, it seems clear that he was the key figure in what happened next. It was his son, Cornelis van Meiroop, dean of the Oudmunster at Utrecht since 1527, who had the co-adjutory *de jure-successionis* to provost Slachek. His father had not hesitated to spend his money in creating a species of ecclesiastical *apenage* for his son by relatively discreet simony.<sup>82</sup> It needs no great imagination to see that the Chapter's position was radically altered when its interests were linked with the family interests of one of the most powerful members of the Netherlands bureaucratic elite. By what means Vincent van Meiroop secured his aims is not known, although some inkling is gained by the existence of a, regrettably, undated document signed by Cornelis van Meiroop constituting

three procurators to act for him, Johan-Baptist Naturelli, dean of Antwerp, Nicolaas van Leene, and most significantly, one Andreas de Castillo, *Scriptor Apostolicus*, who resided at Rome.<sup>83</sup> Clearly, at some stage, Cornelis van Meirop, or, more probably, his father Vincent van Meirop, contemplated pursuing his cause at Rome.

How far the Chapter was working in collusion with Vincent van Meirop is impossible to say, although a copy of the documents concerning Cornelis van Meirop's proctors in Rome in its archives is at least suggestive. Suffice to note that in the spring of 1544 it took the decision to appeal directly to the emperor, and to this end despatched dean Van der Vorst to Speyer where the peripethetic court of Charles V was then to be found. In a series of letters from that city dean Van der Vorst informed his colleagues of the progress of his efforts. The key influence appears to have been the papal nuncio, Giovanni Poggio, bishop of Troppo,<sup>84</sup> but why he should have been so favourably disposed to the quest of dean Van der Vorst is quite inscrutable. One might glibly assert bribery: one might hypothesise upon unknown contacts from earlier years with influential members of the north Netherlands clergy. The bishop of Troppo had been in the train of Alexander Farnese and Marcellus Cervini in 1539, and there is some evidence that he was involved in securing Antoine Perronet de Granvelle a benefice in the church of Liège.<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, it may be that, being as well-versed in canon law as Poggio undoubtedly was, he was aware that the Chapter had a good case in terms of demanding an appeal at Rome, and the actions of the emperor in decreeing the disposal of church property without such a hearing was not a good precedent to permit. Whatever the

reasons the fact remains that on 16 July 1544 Charles V revoked the mandate concerning the incorporation of the provostry.<sup>86</sup>

The Chapter was also fortunate in its antagonist. If we may attribute the influence of Vincent van Meirop we must also recognise the negative role of bishop George van Egmont. He ceases to play any significant role after January 1543, and it is reasonable to speculate why this was so. The answer lies in the basic purpose for his initial action, his need for money. He had sought the incorporation because his own finances were under considerable pressure. The incorporation could not take place until the death of provost Slachek, and even then there was always the possibility of the revenues being saddled with a pension to a former provost, (Claude de Boisot, rather than Slacheck, it will be recalled had been appointed to succeed Naturelli in 1530), and in the interim, the bishop had been granted the so-called *bischofstienden*. The Chapter of Utrecht had so prolonged its opposition that the bishop found, somewhat to his surprise no doubt, that the revenues of the *bischofstienden* were not only a respectable sum, somewhat in excess of the revenues of the provostry, but in the fifteen forties, were steadily rising, from 5133 gulden in 1547, to 6192 gulden in 1549.<sup>87</sup> Set against this, the continuing expense of his litigation with the Chapter, not to mention the distasteful attentions of the capitular *cluyvers*, it is hardly surprising that the bishop rested content with what he had.

In all the foregoing the following points stand out. Despite a move towards reform in church matters that appears to characterise Charles V's attitude in governing his Netherlands dominions, he remained susceptible to the pressure for favours from his great court nobles and their families. It is true that Charles in this period was perhaps more

concerned with the threat of heresy, rather than institutional reform of the church in his dominions, although he was not unaware of the connection between clerical abuses and heresy. Perhaps what is more interesting at this period is the apparent ease with which Charles appeared able to dispose of benefices, not only with regard to who should have them, but also to how they were to be arranged within the Catholic church. It is true that in this particular instance he was supported, egged on even, by a leading cleric of the Netherlands church. Equally, in dealing with the papal curia, Charles had, in his quite genuine concern at the spread of heresy, a powerful bargaining counter. As the fact of the spread of heresy was unquestioned, so any attempts by Charles in his dominions to counter the threat had to be supported. Any solution that the emperor proposed concerning the strengthening of episcopal power, financially or otherwise, could hardly be gainsaid at Rome. This combination of emperor, bishop and pope would normally be unassailable, and the early history of the events here narrated make this clear.

The matter was not that simple however. Charles V was no more able than any other ruler of the period to respond to the requests of a single person, family, or faction in isolation, without regard to other interests. A benefice as rich as the provostry of Utrecht was the goal of the very highest Netherlands families by the sixteenth century. The provostry had already, by the creation of a coadjutory *de jure successionis*, been effectively earmarked by a powerful individual for a member of his family. Vincent van Meirop, the *Tresorier-Generaal*, could not openly flout the wishes of the emperor in a matter so grave as this, nor is it likely that he would have succeeded ultimately against a

member of the high nobility. But the possession of the coadjutory would doubtless have been sold dear in the process. It was doubtless in the discreet opposition that this figure mounted that the Chapter had its greatest hopes.

The Chapter had in effect two courses open to it. In the first, it had to put itself at the mercy of the secular power by simple petition that what the emperor proposed, the emperor might withdraw. This it pursued with the emperor's surrogate the Regent Mary of Hungary, and the bishop himself. The members of the Chapter had scant hopes in those quarters, and something of this feeling may be indicated by the appeal to the treaties entered into by the emperor in 1528 at the time of the *Overdracht*. With the building of the fortress of the Vredenburg in the city of Utrecht, and the gradual eclipse of Gelderland in the early 1540's, certainly made such appeals more those of rhetoric than force. On the other hand the Chapter could make much trouble through a perfectly legitimate appeal to Rome, and the greatest trouble lay in the delay that such an appeal could involve. Since the bishop wanted rapid financial rescue, this capacity was probably the Chapter's greatest asset.

Finally some consideration must be given to the whole question of how it was that a wealthy benefice given by the emperor in all good faith, albeit by judicious prodding of an interested party, came to be transferred elsewhere after some four years subterranean lobbying. It is beyond the scope of this study to enter into the factions, their adherents and their policies around the emperor Charles V. But it gives food for thought that a nobleman of the standing of George van Egmont, brother of the count of Egmont, had to make way for the son of a

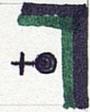
bureaucrat. Does the struggle over the provostry of Utrecht represent but an element in the struggle between the traditional advisers of the prince and the allegedly rising bureaucratic elites? This question has been examined for the Habsburg Netherlands by Baelde, and he clearly demonstrates a sense of chagrin by the Netherlands nobility aimed at the *legistes*.<sup>88</sup> It is perfectly true that in this case the nobleman bishop George van Egmont, in real terms, did quite well out of events. But what of the honour of his house? Is it too much to see in the nomination to the Order of the Golden Fleece of Lamoraal van Egmont, the bishop's nephew, in the chapter of the order held in 1546 in Utrecht<sup>89</sup> some element of face-saving? Certainly Lamoraal van Egmont was a great noble of the Netherlands, and since his marriage to Sabina of Bavaria-Palatinate in 1544, in Speyer, be it noted, of quasi-international standing. But at the date of his installation as a knight of the Golden Fleece he was only twenty-two years of age: his career as military commander and *stadhouder* were features of the fifteen fifties.<sup>90</sup> It is not suggested that the affair of the provostry of Utrecht was of major significance, but the ripples and cross-currents to which it gave rise had their part in the family strategies of those who served the emperor Charles V.

KEY

Bishopric of Utrecht prior to 1559



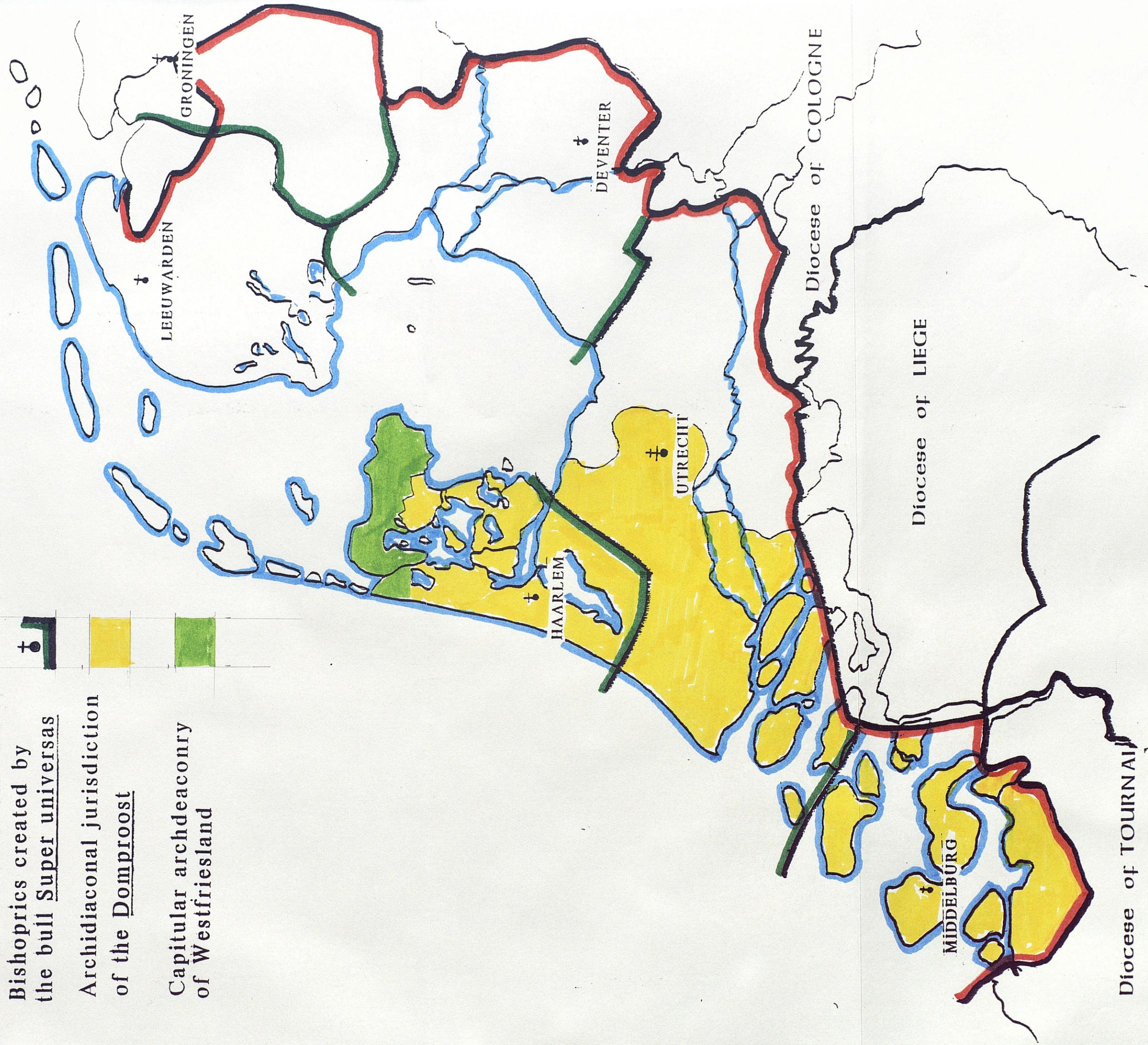
Bishoprics created by the bull Super universas



Archidiaconal jurisdiction of the Domproost



Capitular archdeaconry of Westfriesland



MAP 4 : THE DIOCESE OF UTRECHT 1559 - 1572

## CHAPTER V :

## THE "NEW BISHOPRICS" SCHEME OF PHILIP II AND THE DIOCESE OF UTRECHT.

The reign of Charles V saw two attempts to reorganise the diocesan structure in his Netherlands dominions, the first in the years 1521 - 1530, and the second in the years 1551 - 1552. We cannot discern specifically at what stage Charles or his advisers, included amongst which was the papal nuncio to the Netherlands, judged this reorganisation to be the most suitable response to the threat of heresy in the north,<sup>1)</sup> but by August, 1521, a proposal of some sort had been submitted to pope Leo X. The details are unknown, and all that we can learn is that the pope, while favourable in principle, declared himself unprepared to act without the consent of the neighbouring bishops of Cambrai, Liège and Utrecht, all at this time sovereign princes of the Empire.<sup>2)</sup> While the emperor can be seen to have a close personal interest in the plan, one must not overlook the role of his Regent in

the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria, who in this first period seems to have taken some of the initiative. This was doubtless due in the first place to the necessity of her administration in the Netherlands furnishing both pope and emperor with specific and detailed information for such changes as the reorganisation must entail.<sup>3></sup> The timing of these initiatives in diocesan boundary changes suggests that they may have played some part in the Regent's apparent attempts to limit the jurisdictional powers of ecclesiastics outside the Habsburg Netherlands on her nephew's subjects. Such had certainly been her aim in securing the creation of separate provinces within the Netherlands for the monastic orders of the Dominicans (1515), the Augustinians (1522), and the Franciscans (1527)<sup>4></sup>

An unlooked for impetus to the realization of the emperor's hopes was gained by the election of his former tutor, Adriaan of Utrecht, as pope in 1522,<sup>5></sup> and Charles was not slow to press his plans at the Curia,<sup>6></sup> although the early and unexpected death of the pope in 1523 must have been something of a blow to any hopes initially entertained. Negotiations continued, however, with the new pope, Clement VII, in August, 1524,<sup>7></sup> and by October, 1525, the specific proposals for the creation of new dioceses were under discussion.

For our purposes the plans for the huge diocese of Utrecht envisaged a tripartite division. Everything outside the counties of Holland and Zeeland, areas politically independent of the Habsburgs at this date, was to be retained by the bishop of Utrecht. For Holland a diocese was planned at Leyden, with the cathedral to be established in the collegiate church of St. Pancras, while for Zeeland and the *Vierambachten*, an enclave of the diocese of Utrecht in the county of

Flanders, there was to be a cathedral in the collegiate church of St. Pieter in Middelburg. Apart from the provision of the new dioceses there was the very important proposal that the emperor was to have the rights of nomination to the dioceses so created,<sup>99</sup> a rather significant extension of the canonically accepted view that *jus patronatus acquiritur dote, aedificatione et fundo*. This extension of the convention concerning parish churches to dioceses shows very clearly the two-pronged nature of Habsburg thinking: ecclesiastical reform and political advantage.

It would seem that this plan was under consideration in the succeeding years, and by the summer of 1527 the Regent Margaret of Austria was urging the emperor to press the pope for agreement, but Charles V felt that following close upon the Sack of Rome, the time was not ripe.<sup>99</sup> Our next view of the scheme is derived from a lengthy Latin memorandum dating from between March 1528, and September 1529. From this we learn that while the diocese of Utrecht was still to be trisected, the plan was altered only with respect to Holland, where the cathedral was no longer to be established in Leyden, but at Haarlem. In addition there was the striking proposal that the new cathedral at Haarlem should be served by the canons and indeed all the attached clergy of the *Oudmunster* at Utrecht, by this date incorporated into the dominions of Charles V. In addition there was the no less striking, and for the future the significant proposal, that the cathedral at Middelburg be transferred from the collegiate church of St. Pieter, and be served not by secular canons but by the monks of the Onse Lieve Vrouw abbey in that city.<sup>100</sup>

Several points should perhaps be noted about this scheme at this stage. The first is the circumstance that the timing of the proposal to dismember the diocese of Utrecht was most propitious. The bishop of Utrecht, Henry of Bavaria, had transferred the temporalities of the see, in the course of the years 1528 and 1529 and was thereafter in the process of resigning his office of bishop.<sup>11</sup> By the 1 October 1529, a new bishop had been nominated for Utrecht, Charles V's influential agent at the Roman Curia, the Datary, cardinal Willem van Enckenvoirt, bishop of Tortosa.<sup>12</sup> Thus it appeared that little difficulty would be experienced in the proposed dismemberment of the diocese of Utrecht: its bishop was no longer a foreign prince, at the head of an independent state, but a devoted servant of the Habsburgs holding a diocese in Habsburg lands. In addition some consideration must be given to the imaginative, although unclear, provision of endowments for the proposed new sees. In the case of Haarlem, to be endowed with the chapter of the Oudmunster at Utrecht, the key figure would seem once again to be cardinal Van Enckenvoirt, for among his numerous benefices he held the provostry of the Oudmunster at Utrecht.<sup>13</sup> This was a rich benefice: in 1566 it was valued at around 1200 florins *per annum*.<sup>14</sup> Although there is no evidence for it, it would not have been impossible that a future bishop of Haarlem would also be a future provost of the *Oudmunster*, and this to be achieved by the resignation, subject to suitable compensation, no doubt, of the pliable cardinal Van Enckenvoirt.

The situation at Middelburg was not so simple, for the proposed service of the cathedral was to be provided by the monks of the great abbey of Onse Lieve Vrouw at Middelburg, at whose head since 1518, was the abbot Maximillian of Burgundy.<sup>15</sup> It must also be a matter of

speculation as to whether this man might have been considered a suitable candidate as bishop. However chimerical these hypotheses, two points deserve emphasising from these proposals of 1528 - 1529. First was the rather obvious need to mould the new episcopal structure from the existing ecclesiastical conditions, and the implication of the proposals that future endowments should come from collegiate churches, and the more interesting extension, and indeed the later solution, that such endowment be charged upon religious houses. From where this last idea derived is something of a mystery: neither in the Netherlands, north-eastern France nor in the Empire were there bishops with monastic cathedral chapters. Interestingly enough, the nearest example geographically to the anonymous writer of 1528 - 1529 was that of Christ Church cathedral at Canterbury: in England the monastic cathedral chapter was quite familiar.

On the other hand we may perhaps not need to look to the English model, for there did exist in practice a species of half-way house, at least in terms of financing a bishop, in the age old and European-wide practice of the commendation of benefices. By this means, benefices could be held *in commendam*, that is, a benefice holder was granted a papal dispensation to 'take care' of a further benefice, and while not exclusively applied to abbeys, it was in relation to this type of benefice that the term occurred most frequently. In the early history of the practice in the Church it was applied for good and sufficient reasons, usually for the institution of reform. It would be idle to pretend, however, that commendation by the sixteenth century was anything but an abuse, furnishing additional revenues to the higher clergy, and an abuse that bore heavily upon monastic houses.<sup>16</sup> A brief

consideration of the Netherlands episcopate under Charles V and Philip II reveals the extent of the abuse. Robert de Croy, bishop of Cambrai, (1519 - 1556), held also the wealthy Benedictine priory of Watten, while his co-adjutor, Guillaume de Croy held the richest abbey in the Netherlands, that of Afflighem. Another member of the Croy family, Charles de Croy, bishop of Tournai, (1525 - 1564), secured Afflighem on the death of his kinsman. George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht, (1534 - 1559) held the abbey of St. Amand-en-Pavele. Even before the publication of the Bull *Super universas* setting up the scheme of new bishoprics in 1559, Granvelle, bishop of Arras, was manoeuvring to succeed Egmont at St. Amand.<sup>17></sup>

The scheme of 1528 - 1529 bore no fruit. The Regent Margaret of Austria urged action with the pope in a letter to the emperor of 3 January 1530, the Regent clearly believing that the *rapprochement* between pope and emperor secured at the peace of Barcelona, in June, 1529, and the approaching coronation of the emperor in Bologna, (it was to take place on 24 February 1530), were opportunities for Charles to advance his proposals.<sup>18></sup> Even so, the whole matter seems to have run into the sands of Vatican discussions, and plans for Utrecht became subordinated to the pressing needs of the provision for the devastated see of Thérouanne,<sup>19></sup> and it may well be as Dierickx suggests, that the death of the Regent Margaret of Austria in December 1530 brought an end to initiatives at that time.<sup>18></sup>

A period of some twenty years now elapsed before further initiatives of a major nature occurred, although the governors of the Netherlands were concerned in the mid 1540's with the creation of a bishopric by the almost total destruction of the city of Thérouanne

.<sup>20</sup> If the government had the will, it was also clear that it lacked the means effectively to combat the threat of heresy, and this was rendered no easier by the continuing lack of cooperation in its aims by the provincial authorities. These authorities were not especially sympathetic to Lutheranism or later to Reformed protestantism, but were antagonistic towards the Crown's definition of heresy as *lèse majesté*, a definition that rendered the charge of heresy immune to local claims of *non evocando*.<sup>21</sup> Even so, there were concerned individuals in the Netherlands who had come to the conclusion that a major and radical overhaul of the ecclesiastical structure was a necessity in the struggle against the ever increasing threat of heresy, as well as an imperative for reform in the Church generally. The circumstances in which an important document, by an unidentified author dating from between 1 May 1551 and the 28 April 1552, was drafted, are unknown.<sup>22</sup> This document warrents closer examination, for it embodies important elements that were to recur word for word in the Bull *Super universas* of 1559.

The authorship of this key document has not been satisfactorily established. It bears the superscription 'Sonnius', that is the name by which the prominent Netherlands theologian Franciscus van der Veld from Son in Brabant was known,<sup>23</sup> but Dierickx throws some doubt upon this attribution and more convincingly suggests the authorship of Ruard Tapper of Enkhuizen, a well known if unpopular inquisitor in Holland.<sup>24</sup> Certainly the author is well informed about ecclesiastical institutions in Holland and Zeeland, and about Leuven, although he betrays some inaccuracies on areas further afield, as appears from his comments about the city of Utrecht.<sup>25</sup> As we shall see there were some serious deficiencies in our author's plan, but these elements do not detract

from the importance, perspicacity and range of the proposals, which may be considered under four heads.

In the first place the provision of ecclesiastical provinces and sees was on a much greater scale than the earlier scheme. Two provinces were envisaged, at Mechelen and Utrecht, a provision that clearly ignored the linguistic realities of the Habsburg Netherlands in not providing a province, as was to be done later, for the Walloon districts. Concentrating upon the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht we note that suffragans were projected at Deventer or Zwolle, at Groningen or Leeuwarden, at Haarlem or Alkmaar, and at Middelburg. In addition it was proposed to erect a see at Roermond to compensate the archbishop of Cologne for the loss to his metropolitan province of the suffragan see of Utrecht. This attempt to head off the opposition of a powerful prince, indeed one of the Electors of the Empire, reveals some political perspicacity. This feature was however dropped from the proposals of 1559, when the diocese of Roermond was incorporated to the new province of Utrecht.

The second element to note was the composition of the new cathedral chapters to be created. Uppermost in the author's mind was the fight against heresy, and hence his concern that a proportion of these chapters should be fully committed to this struggle, and the spearhead of this attack he conceived to lie in a corps of highly qualified university graduates. Nine prebends in the proposed chapters were to be reserved for graduates: three doctors of theology, three doctors of canon law, and three bachelors in either law or theology, which last were, significantly, to be nobles. Again of these nine graduates three of the doctors, two in theology and one in law, were to be papal

inquisitors, while three doctors were further to be episcopal inquisitors. The expectations placed upon this graduate squadron did not end there, for it was further envisaged that it would supply three disciplinary officers of both clergy and laity in the persons of three archdeacons for each diocese, that is one for the city, and two for the surrounding countryside. Whatever the merits of the scheme for fighting heresy, certainly it seemed to promise preferment to graduates and especially for graduates of the university of Leuven.

Our author also considered the question of endowment, taking as his example Middelburg for which diocese he proposed that the revenues of the great Premonstratensian abbey in the city be tapped. He was explicit as to how these revenues were to be divided: one third for the new bishop, one third for the new chapter that included the corps of nine graduates, and the remaining third for the monks.<sup>26</sup>

The fourth head to be considered was not in fact mentioned in the document under consideration, and that was the question of nomination to the proposed bishoprics. Certainly in the earlier scheme of 1522 it was planned that nomination was to lie with the *Landsheer*<sup>27</sup>. It may well be that the anonymous author assumed that his scheme would need royal support and that royal nomination was a natural corollary to its realization.

Since much in principle of what has gone before was largely incorporated into the scheme advocated by Philip II for the ecclesiastical reorganisation of the Netherlands as it was presented for, and secured, papal approval, some examination of the thinking behind the proposals is necessary, if only to highlight the thinking of those that most vehemently opposed the scheme when it became public

knowledge. In his commentary upon the anonymous scheme of 1551 - 1552 Dierickx makes two major points. First he notes that the author appears to have had a dislike of abbeys in general and Premonstratentian abbeys in particular. The basis for this view is the undoubted fact that many of the proposed sees, and especially those of the north, that is those especially to be carved out of the diocese of Utrecht, were to be endowed from abbeys.<sup>28</sup> Secondly he notes the absence of any proposals for royal nomination or patronage of the new sees, and claims that this reveals that the plans were drawn up purely in terms of Catholic reform, and contained no trace of absolutism or Caesaropapist tendencies.<sup>29</sup>

To some extent Dierickx's analysis suffers from looking at the conclusions of the anonymous author without fully considering the writer's path to those conclusions. This is an important consideration for while it has been stressed that the scheme that emerged as the bull *Super universas* of 1559 was heir to the proposals of 1551 - 1552, it was not the lineal descendant: the reforms of Philip II in 1559 departed in important respects from the earlier scheme. It is argued here that the anonymous author came to his conclusions because he had already rejected other solutions, and that he had rejected them because he knew his subject. Those responsible for the scheme of 1559, and if our author is indeed Tapper, he was not as we shall see one of them, brought rather different priorities to bear.

Apart from the key issue of the fight against heresy the document of 1551 - 1552 places its principal concern reasonably enough in the geographical placing of the new sees, the role of supervision of clergy and laity, and more vital still, the endowment of the new sees. Setting aside the rather rigid provisions for the composition of the

chapters, let us examine the author's thoughts as illustrated by his proposals for the diocese of Utrecht, an area it is clear he knew well. The plans for Utrecht envisaged the siting of the four new sees in a choice of some seven populous towns, Deventer, Zwolle, Groningen, Leeuwarden, Haarlem and Middelburg. Each of which possessed a major parish church that could bear comparison with a respectably sized cathedral. A good example of this was in one of the towns chosen as a see, Haarlem, whose great *Bavokerk* still dominates the city today. Another of the chosen cities, Deventer, possessed as our anonymous author notes a capitular church of considerable importance and size.<sup>30</sup> He also observes that these great parish churches possessed numerous *vicarieën* or chantries whose incumbents could become the new chapter, as at Groningen and Haarlem,<sup>31</sup> and then proceeds to suggest that the new sees be endowed with the revenues of contiguous religious houses, that of Egmond or Heilo for the see of Haarlem, and the wealthy abbey of Aduard for the see of Groningen.<sup>32</sup> One is bound to ponder as to why having mentioned the numerous chantries the writer then opted for the endowment through abbatial revenues. It would seem that the key issue was the realities of existing private interests and basic practical situations.

Let us take the parish churches first. As the repositories of civic identity in ecclesiastical matters,<sup>33</sup> the parish churches' subsidiary altars often sprang from private or corporate zeal and generosity, the patronage of such benefices lying in the hands of either founders kin or trade guilds, and often the town council. These civic patrons in the parish church *vicarieën* were commonly closely allied to the town magistracies whose aid was essential for any effective move

against heresy. The incorporation of such benefices of the expense of the rights of their patrons in order to create both a papal and episcopal inquisition could hardly, in the climate of the 1550's and 1560's, be contemplated.<sup>34</sup>

Nor was the prospect of endowing the new sees from existing capitular bodies quite so simple or practicable as appears at first sight. The diocese of Utrecht contained numerous chapters, and they fell unevenly into three groups. The first group comprised the ancient and rich foundations of the city of Utrecht, and to these must be added the equally ancient although not so opulent chapters of Deventer, Oldenzaal, Arnhem and Zutphen. Because rich and powerful, these bodies had to be carefully handled, and with the exception of Deventer, whose choice was surely dictated by geographical factors, our author chose not to include them in his scheme. Tradition and logic certainly ensured that Utrecht remained a centre of ecclesiastical organisation in the north. However, some caution was also exercised in dealing with the clergy of the city: we read nothing further of schemes similar to the literal translation of the chapter of the Oudmunster to Haarlem, as in 1528 - 1529,<sup>35</sup> although as a device it was to be utilised to provide a chapter for Haarlem in the scheme of Philip II.<sup>36</sup>

The second group of chapters in the diocese contained some old and respectable foundations such as the chapters of Dordrecht, Leyden and The Hague. Our author seems to have considered these last two,<sup>37</sup> but neither appears in his endowment for Haarlem. The reason is not far to seek. The prebends of Leyden were formally *vicarieën* whose holders had been incorporated as a chapter in the late fifteenth century, but the patronage of these prebends remained in various hands, most of them

laymen.<sup>38</sup> The prebends of the *Hofkapel* in The Hague, although in the gift of the Crown, were largely utilised for the clerical members of the *Hof van Holland* and their kinsfolk,<sup>39</sup> and the anonymous author doubtless decided that it was not advisable to antagonise the members of such a powerful and well-connected institution. It is perhaps worth observing in passing that Dordrecht, possessing a chapter, and a very large parish church, Onse Lieve Vrouw, was probably discounted not only upon the grounds of the multiple patronage of its prebends, but more practically because it was built upon an island that effectively hampered convenient contact with its immediate hinterland.<sup>40</sup>

The remaining group of chapters within the diocese of Utrecht, the largest group, encompassed a wide range of foundations, from the respectable but moderately endowed chapter of Zierikzee in Zeeland,<sup>41</sup> to the impoverished and well-nigh phantom collegiate body established in the old Stichtse frontier castle of Ter Horst<sup>42</sup> in the *Sticht*, but all possessed either separately or together the twin defects of private patronage of the prebends, or a paucity of income. It is also worth noting at this point that the Crown was at a grave disadvantage in terms of its own patronage in capitular bodies within the diocese. As heir to the pious foundations of the counts of Holland and Zeeland, and of the bishops of Utrecht, the Crown had rights in several chapters, but they were universally poor and as one contemporary observed of the revenues of the prebends of Oostvoorne, they were 'not worth much'.<sup>43</sup> Small wonder that our anonymous author cast his eyes upon the rich abbeys of the diocese of Utrecht, which as he observed *Certe omnia monasteria in publicam utilitatem ecclesiae erecta sunt*.<sup>44</sup>

If one may grant that the plan had the advantage of not encroaching upon lay patronage, it must be owned also that its author appears to have underestimated grossly, or perhaps not even considered, the opposition of two important groups. The first of these groups comprised the existing archdeacons of the existing dioceses. It will be recalled that according to the proposals these were to be replaced by a trio of new archdeacons, all academically highly qualified, attached to each of the new cathedrals. Nowhere does there seem to have been thought given to the sheer problems which would arise when the existing archdeacons were replaced by the new archdeacons, whose financial position under the new scheme seemed highly precarious. It must not be forgotten that the existing archdeacons, in the diocese of Utrecht at any rate, were the masters of considerable revenues. Around the third quarter of the sixteenth century evidence suggests that the *Domproost* was drawing some 3,000 Holland florins *per annum* from his large archdeaconry,<sup>45</sup> the provost of the Oudmunster may have had revenues of roughly 1,200 Holland florins,<sup>46</sup> while a little later on the provostry of St. Marie was believed to be worth some 1,000 Holland florins to its holder.<sup>47</sup> Opposition to royal policy in the matter of the new bishoprics may not have been a matter of threatened vested interests alone, but clearly played a very significant part.

It hardly needs to be stressed that the second group whose opposition was apparently rather underestimated were monastic houses threatened with the incorporation of their revenues. In fairness, it must be conceded that we do not know that these points had not been pondered in the drawing up of the scheme, although as the author stresses the urgency of reform, it is hard to believe that the practical

application of his ideas did not demand some consideration of the issue, even if it were not articulated in his proposals. On the other hand, because for him the issue of the fight against heresy was paramount, he would not have been the first zealot to assume that the urgency and primacy of his cause would be apparent to all ecclesiastical bodies, or that the sweet reasonableness of his position would disarm all opposition among churchmen. Our author was not totally without a grasp on realities, however, in one very important respect: he was aware of the importance of the nobility. True, he did expect his noble recruits for his ideal cathedral chapters to possess high academic qualifications, but the recognition that the nobility had claims by virtue of their existing power and prestige was shrewd.

Before considering in detail the scheme of new bishoprics of 1559, and in particular the scheme as it affected the Chapter at Utrecht, some weight should be given to the history of its immediate conception. In this it seems that three influences were at work. In the first place there were the residual activities of the emperor Charles V in the years 1553 - 1555 in securing a substitute episcopal city for that of Thérouanne, followed by the personal inclinations and perhaps direct initiative of Philip II to make the fight against heresy in the Netherlands the priority of his reign there. Finally there was the initiative and influence of a small group of academics and ecclesiastics associated both with the episcopal inquisition and university of Leuven, that for want of a better term may be loosely described as the 'Leuven lobby'. As a background to the actions of these groups and persons may be mentioned the quite fortuitous condition of the Netherlands episcopate in the years 1556 - 1559 that made the period the most

propitious occasion for such a major reform as the bull *Super universas* of 1559 envisaged.

Amid the numerous concerns that filled Charles V's last years as ruler in the Netherlands was the task of finding an episcopal city in the place of Thérouanne, largely devastated by his own artillery in the wars against the French. It need not concern us unduly here what these initiatives were except that between November, 1551 and May, 1556 several attempts were made either to divide the see between existing French and Netherlands sees, or to transfer the see to either Ieper (Ypres) or Veurne.<sup>48</sup> How far this preoccupation with the problems of a single see came to be part of the 'advice' concerning a broader scheme that the Regent Margaret of Parma, in a letter to the *Staten van Brabant* of 1562, alleged that Charles had imparted to Philip II is hard to say.<sup>49</sup> Whether the Regent was invoking the emperor's name to give some authority to what by then had become a very unpopular element of government policy, or referring to specific plans of a far reaching nature of which trace has so far escaped us is also an open question. It remains only to add that the emperor's plans for the division of the diocese of Thérouanne had received favourable reception by the pope in May, 1556.<sup>50</sup>

There is no doubt that the emperor's successor Philip II was deeply concerned with the fight against heresy. There is little doubt that he would have been more than willing to consider any concrete proposals on the issue. It is difficult to determine the king's role above and beyond support for the initiatives that led to the detailed submissions that culminated in the terms of the bull *Super universas*. Philip's approach to business of policy-making was very much on the

basis of divide and rule, an approach enjoined upon in his youth him by his father, who apparently observed to him upon one occasion 'Do not bind yourself to, or become dependent upon any individual, because although it may save time it does no good'.<sup>51</sup> One of the king's closest servants observed in the mid 1560's that the king 'dealt first with one, and then with another, concealing something from one, revealing it to another'.<sup>52</sup> This practice had its penalties: not the least was his reputation for deviousness that has come down the ages, especially in the historiography of northern Europe.<sup>53</sup> The observation implies that the king's method was as injurious to himself as to others, the historian of his reign in the Netherlands might well single out his extraordinary manoeuvres to save face at the eclipse of cardinal Granvelle in 1564,<sup>54</sup> and the deliberate obfuscation of count Egmont in 1565<sup>55</sup> as instances of deception as a means of policy. Philip II was not unique among rulers then, or indeed now, in this respect, and a good case could be made out for suggesting that the king had good reasons to deal as he did with the high nobility of the Netherlands by the mid 1560's.<sup>56</sup> It seems clear that from the beginning of his reign some of the king's subjects in the Netherlands did not trust the king, and that a more general distrust of the king, based upon more than resentment of his fiscal demands, immediate, continuous and gross though they appeared to his subjects, found expression in their opposition to the scheme of new bishoprics. While the vast majority of the king's subjects in the Netherlands could identify with his detestation of heresy, many of the political nation feared that his chosen method was also designed to undermine their position. This aspect of his religious reform had

greater import for the Brabantine abbeys<sup>57</sup> than for any of the major ecclesiastical institutions of the diocese of Utrecht.

It is clear from his close personal oversight of his bishops attending the later sessions of the Council of Trent that royal policy in matters of religion originated firmly with the king.<sup>58</sup> There is no reason to see this as a development of his kingship: it was there from its inception. However, the historian of the king's relationship with his Netherlands subjects is at something of a disadvantage in tracing the formation of royal policy due to the king's very presence in Brussels from 1555 to 1559. Although there is evidence that the king actually preferred written matter before him for his consideration<sup>59</sup> the royal wishes could be transmitted directly by word of mouth. We should not discount the possibility of discreet interviews with zealous clerics with solutions to the apparently ever-increasing problem of heresy. And perhaps not just zealous clerics, for the draft proposals of 1551 -1552 were submitted initially to the president of the *Geheime Raad*, the jurist Viglius,<sup>60</sup> and he no less than others at Brussels had an interest in securing the king's ear, and it cannot have been unknown that matters of religion was a sure path to the king's attention. Had Philip need of concrete proposals to commence the fight against heresy, they were to hand, and there is some slight evidence that they were under discussion at the highest level during September, 1556,<sup>61</sup> and rather more substantial evidence that matters were advanced by October the same year.

Although the source is but diplomatic gossip, the evidence is quite specific. In writing to the Doge and Senate on the 18 October 1556, the Venetian ambassador related that

"... it has been suggested to him [Emmanuel-Philibert, duke of Savoy, governor-general in the Netherlands] as a necessary measure on account of the religion which is in a bad way [*che va a male*] to found three bishoprics, one for Brussels, another for Antwerp and a third for this city [Ghent] and that he has found an easy way for providing them with revenues"<sup>62</sup>

It seems reasonable to conclude that what the ambassador heard about was either a copy of the scheme of 1551 - 1552, or more likely, in view of the specific reference to the means of endowment, allegedly 'easy', a separate re-working of that scheme. Dierickx makes a strong, although not altogether conclusive case for attributing this 'easy' endowment to Sonnius,<sup>63</sup> and thereby we are introduced to what has been referred to above as the 'Leuven lobby'. We have already seen the possible role attributed to Ruard Tapper, chancellor of the university of Leuven, a principal inquisitor of the Netherlands,<sup>64</sup> in drawing up the plan of 1551 - 1552. Tapper was to die in March, 1559, and while that does not preclude the possibility of Tapper's role, the fact that Philip II in a letter of March 1558, to the pope's nephew, cardinal Carlo Carraffa, legate in Brussels, recommended Sonnius to his good offices, suggests that the torch may have been handed on.<sup>65</sup> As we have seen, a plan of some sort was thought to have been with Philip II's governor-general in the Netherlands, and this may well have been the work of Sonnius. The rumour picked up by the Venetian ambassador may have related to a quite different element in the initial planning of the new scheme, to the work of the first commission set up by Philip II to consider the matter, whose activities were so discreet that even its membership is not known for certain.<sup>66</sup> Dierickx considered that the two figures most likely to have been involved at the very earliest stages were Viglius, a plausible assumption as he had been the original recipient of the scheme of 1551 -

1552, and rather less convincingly the experienced jurist and diplomat Philips Negri, chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, because he appears on the second commission set up to consider the matter, the so-called 'commission of five'.<sup>67</sup>

Finally some consideration should be given to the timing of the proposal for the new scheme of bishoprics. It has been suggested that the desire of Philip II for action against heresy carried some impetus from the beginning of the reign, but the years 1556 - 1559 saw propitious circumstances, chiefly death, for a major remodelling of the episcopate in the Netherlands. At Cambrai the bishop Robert de Croy died in August, 1556.<sup>68</sup> The bishopric of Arras was held by the ambitious Granvelle, a man who perhaps did not believe his future lay in the Netherlands at all, but at the side of his king, wheresoever that might be. The sees of Tournai and Utrecht were held respectively by Charles de Croy and George van Egmont, both elderly men, and neither disposed to incommode their prince by factiousness, or as it transpired, longevity, for Egmont was to die in 1559,<sup>69</sup> and Croy in 1564.<sup>70</sup> Trouble might have been expected from Liège which was technically an independent prince-bishopric, but the devoted Habsburg client bishop, George of Austria, an illegitimate uncle to the late emperor, dying in 1556, was succeeded by his equally devoted, though mentally unstable coadjutor, Robert van Berghen, who was himself the brother of Johan van Berghen, Marquis of Glymes, governor of the counties of Hainault and Namur.<sup>71</sup> From Philip II's point of view, not much opposition was to be expected from the Netherlands episcopate. Resistance was to come from other quarters.

As far as the Chapter of Utrecht was concerned, the new scheme, announced to them in a letter by Sonnius from Rome of 15 May 1559,

beginning, perhaps in the circumstances a trifle infelicitously and unctuously 'dearly and most beloved brethern',<sup>72</sup> presented a severe threat at several levels. In the first place the Chapter did not relish the existence of an archbishop, whose dignity and status it feared would be upheld by charges upon its revenues, and those of the other collegiate churches of the city. Neither was the Chapter very enthusiastic about an archbishop whose presence was to be very real indeed, since under the terms of the scheme he was to have a prebend in each of the chapters of Utrecht.<sup>73</sup> For the *Dom* this was particularly worrying, for it had twenty years earlier fought off the attack of the present bishop, George van Egmont, upon the revenues of its provostry. The Chapter preferred its bishops to be as distant as possible; Egmont had been troublesome, but at least he lived in Flanders in his abbey of St. Amand, while his predecessor, cardinal van Enckevoirt, resident in Rome, had never even visited the diocese.

If the Chapter were now threatened with a troublesome bishop, it was in addition to suffer financial loss by the transfer to the new bishopric of Haarlem of its archidiaconal jurisdiction over Westfriesland. This area, lying in North Holland, was administered directly by the Chapter as archdeacon, and brought in some 1800 florins a year, which after payment of some 600 florins to the capitular agent, the dean of Westfriesland, who actually performed the duties of archdeacon, left a healthy sum over to be divided amongst the resident canons, a body of some twenty-two or so persons. Finally, one member of the Chapter, the provost, was to lose large areas of jurisdiction which he exercised as archdeacon over the counties of Holland and Zeeland, and

part of Flanders, by the creation of new bishoprics at Haarlem and Middelburg.<sup>74</sup>

In naming the new archbishop for Utrecht the government in Brussels had very bad luck. The original choice had been reasonably enough the existing incumbent, George van Egmont, but he had died in September, 1559. As his successor the incumbent dean of Utrecht, Adriaan van Renesse, was nominated, but he too died, within ten days of his nomination. Finally the choice of the government fell upon Frederick Schenck van Toutenberg, provost of St. Pieter in Utrecht, and also provost of Oldenzaal, who secured papal confirmation as archbishop in March 1561.<sup>75</sup> This is not the place to dwell upon the curious choice the government had made, for Schenck was a notorious absentee pluralist, as well as having an unenviable public reputation for avarice and lechery, which last had resulted in public charges of rape.<sup>76</sup> He was also bone idle, and not the man to engage in energetic disputes with the canons of Utrecht who knew him only too well. Indeed, shortly after his consecration he departed for his episcopal residence at Wijk-bij-Duurstede, where he sought after *douce quietude*.<sup>77</sup> His nomination was the first stroke of luck for the Chapter.

Apart from his character, the nomination of Schenck provided the Chapter with a further opportunity that it was not slow to utilise. Although the pope had granted the nomination to most of the new bishoprics to Philip II,<sup>78</sup> including that of Utrecht, the government was bound by the treaty it had signed in 1528 to permit the Five Chapters of Utrecht formally to elect the bishop of Utrecht. While still only a formality even before 1559, the canons used the threat to oppose Schenck's nomination, claiming on the specious grounds that as he was to

be archbishop instead of bishop, the whole matter would have to be discussed at a session of the *Staten van Utrecht*. If true, as was allegedly reported to the Regent Margaret of Parma, even more alarming was the threat by the Chapter of invoking the aid of the *Staten van Brabant*. Well might she write to Philip II with these prospects in view of a *tres-mauvais commencement*.<sup>79</sup> Although in practice this would have been something of a red-herring as far as achieving an absolute block to royal policy, as a delaying tactic it was particularly effective, and the threat of collusive action between provinces appeared even more more sinister. Delay was the one thing the government sought to avoid at all costs. Not only that, but the government in Brussels was already locked in a difficult struggle with the *Staten van Brabant* over the plan to incorporate abbeys to the episcopal revenues of the proposed new sees, abbeys, be it noted, whose heads had seats in the same *Staten van Brabant*.<sup>80</sup> An extension of the same seemingly endless turmoil to even the small province of Utrecht, whose Estates had a remarkable record of non-cooperation with Brussels in financial matters, was more than could be tolerated. Hence the Chapter was strikingly successful. After the very hard bargaining with the Chapter's delegation in Brussels, the running of rings around the royal commissioners in Utrecht, and the threat of quite dire action, an accord was reached.<sup>81</sup> On 13 November 1561, the archbishop was formally elected, with as the, doubtless highly relieved, but presumably much discomfited royal commissioners sent to oversee the matter reported, 'a good grace and due reverence, with the customary fine solemnities'.<sup>82</sup> Small wonder, for the canons had much on which to congratulate themselves.

Consideration must now be given to how and why it was that the Chapter secured such favourable treatment, in a manner that effectively nullified much of the original intention of the scheme created by the bull *Super universas*. Three major elements lay initially outside the Chapter's control, but it was quick to seize on the advantages that were to be gained from these circumstances. The first of these was the calibre of at least two of the three bishops appointed to administer what had effectively been the archdeaconry of the *Domproost*. [See Map 4] In the second place the Chapter appears to have had the assistance of senior and well-placed officials of the central government acting on behalf of the interests of the Chapter, and of course, in their own and that of their families. Finally the problems which beset the implementation of the scheme of New bishoprics elsewhere were skillfully utilised by the Chapter.

There seems little doubt that the appointment of Frederik Schenck van Toutenberg to the new primatial see at Utrecht was largely secured by William of Nassau, prince of Orange,<sup>83</sup> and it may be surmised that perhaps the same applied to the appointment of Nicholas van Nieuwland to the see of Haarlem,<sup>84</sup> although there is no direct proof of this last, indeed it was believed that he may have been the nominee of Granvelle.<sup>85</sup> There is no need to assume either that these appointments represent anything more on the part of these powerful men than a desire to create a clientage. Granvelle may have hoped for a certain counterweight to the influence of the prince of Orange in the north, and certainly the prince of Orange would desire compliant and amenable persons in his *stadhouderschappen* of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, and the inevitable advantages to be gained from the successful

appointment of his protegés, as seems to have been the case of the nomination of Schenck van Toutenberg.<sup>86</sup>

The position of Schenck van Toutenberg vis à vis the Chapter made him more vulnerable than at first appears. As part of the elevation to the archbishopric of Utrecht Schenck van Toutenberg was to divest himself of his other benefices. At the date of his nomination he held the provostry of St. Pieter in Utrecht, the provostry of Oldenzaal in Drenthe and the parish church of Rijnsburg in Holland.<sup>87</sup> Of these benefices the provostry of Oldenzaal was destined for the endowment of the bishopric of Deventer, and it was clear that Schenck van Toutenberg would have to resign the benefice at some stage.<sup>88</sup> In view of the fact that the new archbishop was to resign the church of Rijnsburg by December 1564, there was clearly a stage at which the new archbishop would suffer some immediate diminution of revenue. Schenck van Toutenberg had a reputation for avarice,<sup>89</sup> and it must be surmised that the canons of Utrecht were well aware of it. Quite clearly, the longer they held out against his appointment to the archbishopric, the greater the impact of his financial problems would be.

It may well be that for this reason the central government, possibly at the prompting of the archbishop, agreed that in place of a prebend in each of the existing chapters at Utrecht to be set aside for the new archbishop, the chapters should provide a flat rate pension of 1800 florins. Even on this issue the chapters were able to beat the archbishop down, for in the final agreement secured the chapters consented to pay 1500 florins.<sup>90</sup> In addition the chapters of Utrecht had managed to ensure that the archbishop's revenues were not charged on the possessions of the Utrecht chapters but were to be secured, as the

Regent Margaret of Parma phrased it, 'by other means'.<sup>91</sup> In practice the remainder of the archbishop's full endowment was to be a pension secured upon the income of the great abbey of St. Paul at Utrecht and in addition the incorporation of the revenues of two commanderies of the Knights of St. John.<sup>92</sup>

As with the appointment of Schenck van Toutenberg, the nomination of Nicholaas van Nieuwland to the see of Haarlem was something of a blessing in disguise for the Chapter. He was well known to the canons of the city of Utrecht, first as the auxiliary bishop of Utrecht,<sup>94</sup> and secondly as a rather controversial royal nominee to the deanery of St. Marie in the same city.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps less creditably he was known in the diocese as 'Drunken Nicky'.<sup>96</sup> He certainly appears to have taken his nomination to Haarlem as an opportunity to enrich himself, for as bishop he was endowed with the revenues of the abbacy of Egmond, one of the richest abbeys in all Holland. He declined to take up residence in his episcopal city, and betook himself to the summer residence of the abbots of Egmond at Abtspoel, and initially concerned himself but marginally with the state of the remoter parts of his diocese. When in 1563 Viglius sought a report on the state of the archdeaconry of Westfriesland, the bishop of Haarlem was quite unable to furnish any details whatsoever. The interest of the central government appears to have had some effect however, for in the course of the following year the bishop undertook visitations in the Westland and the island of Texel, although as this last comprised but four parishes, it can scarcely be regarded a major element in the pastoral oversight of his diocese.<sup>97</sup>

The appointment of Nicholaas van Nieuwland to the see of Haarlem threatened the Chapter's rights as archdeacon in Westfriesland, an archdeaconry in which most unusually the Chapter acted in all but name as ordinary.<sup>987</sup> The revenues accruing from this jurisdiction were claimed to be about 600 florins p. a., and may well have been higher, which shared among some twenty or twenty-two resident canons represented the very respectable sum of some twenty-five to thirty florins p.a. The Chapter could in this instance derive benefit from a governmental decision taken early in the scheme of New Bishoprics to compensate bishops for loss of jurisdiction through the new scheme.<sup>988</sup> Now while the Chapter was not a bishop, it did not need a great deal of pressure to prove that it exercised quasi-ordinary jurisdiction, and doubtless as a means of securing rapid compliance with its wishes the central government saw fit to treat it as such. The result was an agreement whereby Nicholaas van Nieuwland as bishop of Haarlem agreed to pay the Chapter a pension of 600 p.a. florins in compensation for the loss of its jurisdiction in Westfriesland, payable upon the bishop exercising such jurisdiction. In practice Nicholaas van Nieuwland was never to exercise such jurisdiction, and the archdeaconry of Westfriesland effectively remained in the hands of the dean and Chapter of Utrecht until 1572. It may be observed in passing that in practice also the *Domproost* exercised archidiaconal jurisdiction in a good deal of the diocese of Haarlem until 1572.<sup>1000</sup>

In the matter of the provost's jurisdiction in Zeeland, to be removed and undertaken by Nicolaas van Bergh *alias* de Castro, the new bishop of Middelburg, it should not be forgotten that although the *Domproost* was the eventual recipient of revenues from Zeeland, the

machinery of collection lay in the hands of the officers of the Chapter, thus giving them a considerable say in the mechanics of running the vast archdeaconry. The fight of the *Domproost* to retain his revenues was also the struggle of the Chapter. Nicholaas van Bergh was a bishop much more in the mould demanded by the imperatives of the scheme of new bishoprics. He had functioned as inquisitor for some years, and as late as the summer of 1560 he, along with the *Domkannunik* Johan van Wee had departed as inquisitors to Overijssel and Groningen.<sup>101</sup> Such a figure was not lightly to be trifled with in the exercise of his jurisdiction when appointed as bishop of Middelburg. There then ensued an immense legal battle between the *Domproost* and the bishop that brought the functioning of the ecclesiastical courts and indeed the whole machinery of ecclesiastical discipline practically to a standstill.<sup>102</sup> There is little doubt that the *Domproost* and Chapter had very powerful allies in this struggle. As early as October 1561 the Chapter paid Viglius, and Joachim Hopper *alias* Hopperus, 100 florins each for services in the matter of the *jurisdictione Zeelandia*.<sup>103</sup> That these not inconsiderable sums were perhaps annual pensions is suggested as Hopperus, on the occasion of a further visit to the Chapter at Utrecht on 24 August 1564 to receive wine of honour, was given a 100 florins as recompense for his labours *in causa Zeeland jurisdictionis*.<sup>104</sup> Hopperus visited the Chapter again on 28 September the same year.<sup>105</sup> It was not until 1566 that an agreement was obtained, and even then it left much of the *Domproost's* revenues untouched<sup>106</sup> - but it was to be from other causes that these revenues, and indeed episcopal jurisdiction was to be swept from the county Zeeland.

The role of prominent officials of the central government acting in their own interests and with the collusion of the Chapter cannot be proved conclusively. On the other hand, it is pretty clear from the activities of Viglius and Hopperus in the matter of the *Domproost's* jurisdiction in Zeeland that their influence must have been decisive in the decision of the government to permit a most inconvenient division of episcopal and archdiaconal jurisdiction in the new diocese of Middelburg that to a large extent nullified the activities of the bishop.<sup>107</sup> Equally it may well have been the influence of Viglius that was decisive in the curious, yet also politic decision of the government to order the recruitment of the academically highly qualified graduates, destined to act as the spearhead of the inquisition, into the Chapter by nomination in papal months only,<sup>108</sup> rather than ordering the Chapter to accept government nominees for the next nine vacancies. In the case of most of the other dioceses a new chapter was to be constituted, and the first nine places were to be reserved for the graduate corps. At Utrecht where a chapter already existed it might have made sense for the government to have secured a papal indult to fill the next vacant falling prebends with government nominees, although this of course would have been time-consuming, and would have provided grounds for endless appeals to the papacy in canon law.

That this course was not followed had perhaps much to do with Viglius, as well as with the desire for speed in the implementation of the principles of the bull *Super universas*, is suggested by the fact that the first three nominations made by this means were in favour of Viglius' relatives: two nephews, Bucho and Folcart van Montzima, and a connection by marriage, Joachim van Oprode, auxiliary bishop of

Utrecht.<sup>109</sup> As it was, although this means of recruitment through entry into the Chapter through the filling of vacancies in papal months only, undoubtedly benefitted the wide-spread family network of Aytta van Zwicchem, it need cause no surprise that after some twenty years, that is in 1580, when the Catholic faith was outlawed in the province of Utrecht, only six such nominations had been made. While the calibre of these six canons was high in academic terms, for all possessed doctoral degrees in theology or law,<sup>110</sup> they formed only a small proportion of the main body of the canons, whom one unkind but well informed observer characterised as 'entirely given over to the worship of Bacchus and Venus'.<sup>111</sup>

One last concession was extracted from the government that in many respects drove something of a coach and horses through much of the intention of the elaborate scheme of 1559 as far as the counties of Holland and Zeeland in particular were concerned, but which also had an impact upon the rest of the scheme in the north. By this final concession the Crown agreed that the existing archdeacons of the existing diocese of Utrecht should continue to exercise fully their archidiaconal authority for the remainder of their natural lives.<sup>112</sup> This was a considerable concession, for in order that the religious reform envisaged under the scheme of 1559 should be effective it was necessary that the archidiaconal jurisdiction, that is the effective disciplinary arm of the Church over cleric and lay alike, should be able to back up the work of the inquisition. By this concession the Crown saddled the incoming new bishops with archdeacons not of their choosing, or particularly concerned with their priorities. This was not a matter of great moment at Utrecht itself, where archbishop Schenck van

Toutenberg could scarcely be seen as a luminary of reform, while much the same lassitude prevailed at Haarlem. An area where considerable trouble was experienced was in Zeeland where the new bishop of Middelburg, Nicolaas van Bergh, *alias de Castro*<sup>113</sup> a man initially dedicated to the Catholic reform, was embroiled with the former archdeacon, the *Domproost* of Utrecht, Cornelis van Meirop. This is not the place to plot this sordid struggle, which lasted until 1566, and involved what appeared to be the quite powerless intervention of the Regent Margaret of Parma, but its principal feature as far as the provost was concerned was the severe diminution of his considerable revenues from that area.<sup>114</sup>

The effective implementation of the scheme of new bishoprics in the north must be judged on the progress achieved by 1572, the year in which permanent and continuous revolt dislocated the normal functioning of government, lay and ecclesiastical, in Philip II's Netherlands dominions. It is true that before that date there were also strong forces of disruption, but a line must be drawn at some stage to see whether the scheme was actually working. In the north the general judgement must surely be that it was not working. By 1572 the bishops appointed to Haarlem and Utrecht were dismal failures as far as pastoral zeal was concerned, Schenck indeed being described by one staunchly royalist cleric as quite unfit for his position,<sup>115</sup> and that of course was the result of the calibre of bishop appointed, rather than a judgement upon the scheme itself. Even so, the Chapter at Utrecht had not been penetrated by a great number of zealots eager to fight against heresy. Not that the area around Utrecht itself was especially prone to heresy, although as was to be clear in 1566, there was a determined

minority of religious dissidents within the city itself, whose presence was to be significant in later decades.<sup>116</sup> The Chapter of Utrecht retained considerable powers not only in Westfriesland, but the provost retained authority in important areas nominally in the charge of the bishop of Haarlem,<sup>117</sup> and by 1566 had brought ecclesiastical government in the bishopric of Middelburg almost to a standstill. It adds nothing to the reputation of the provost that what lay behind his actions were stark financial facts. In 1559 the income of the provost as archdeacon of Holland and Zeeland had been 3092 florins: in 1571 this had been reduced to 1097 florins, while the receiver dolefully noted for the following year that in seven deaneries in Zeeland nothing had been collected *propter novas turbas* and he was able to remit but 318 florins to the provost.<sup>118</sup>

The motives of those among the laity who opposed the scheme of new bishoprics may have been a mixture of religious zeal, political calculation and fear, but the opposition of the clergy seems to have been at best an uncomprehending conservatism, and at worst a tenacious regard for their vested interests. Nevertheless, the historian cannot disregard these vested interests any more than could the contemporary government in Brussels. There is little doubt that in this case these vested interests proved almost decisive, for before concluding, some consideration must be given to the question as to how it was possible so effectively to emasculate a scheme so dear to the heart of Philip II. Undoubtedly first and foremost was the absence of the king, and the delegation of the implementation of the scheme to those not ardently committed to it. Cardinal Granvelle thought it all most impractical, and from the first warned that it would take years to implement.<sup>119</sup>

Margaret of Parma acted as little more than a post office in Brussels for complaints and endless correspondence with Philip II and the pope. There is no doubt that the scheme inherited a considerable element of distrust of government policy generally, and in specific areas, as for example in Brabant, where the proposed reforms were seen in some quarters as an attempt to undermine provincial liberties; the new bishoprics seemed to have little to do with religious reform.<sup>120</sup>

At Utrecht interested parties made very serious inroads into the effectiveness of the scheme. It is an exaggeration to say that by 1572 ecclesiastical jurisdiction lay more or less where it had lain prior to the publication of the Bull *Super universas*, but not much of an exaggeration. An explanation of this can certainly include the central government's preoccupation with the opposition of the abbey and Estates of Brabant, but it should also include the threat to convoke the Estates of Utrecht, whose conduct since 1559 had become a by-word for obstruction. Also some considerable part must have been played, albeit behind the scenes, by the very powerful incumbent archdeacons of the diocese of Utrecht.

The archdeacons of the diocese of Utrecht, it will be recalled, were the provosts of the five great chapters of the city, including the cathedral, and in 1559 they were a very interesting group of men, and a roll call of them and their connections is the key to an understanding of the concessions made for the diocese of Utrecht. At the Oudmunster the provost was Robert van Berghen, prince-bishop of Liège, and brother to the influential Johan van Berghen, *Grand Bailli* of Hainault and governor of the county of Namur, Knight of the Golden Fleece.<sup>121</sup> The provost archdeacon of St. Jan was Charles Perronet de Granvelle, brother

to the cardinal, and at this date apparently functioning as master of the household to the prince of Orange.<sup>122</sup> The provost archdeacon of St. Marie was cardinal Granvelle himself, and though he was to resign the provostry rapidly, it went to the cardinal's 'man of business' Maximillian Morillon.<sup>123</sup> The provost archdeacon of St. Pieter was the new archbishop, Schenck van Toutenburg, himself the son of one of Charles V's most trusted *stadhouders*<sup>124</sup> while the *Domproost* was as we have seen, Cornelis van Meirop, member of the *Geheime Raad*, and son of a former Treasurer-general of the Netherlands under Charles V.<sup>125</sup> The central government was not, in the matter of the diocese of Utrecht, dealing with obscure provincials, but with key men in the administration of both the past and present rulers of the Netherlands.

When, in the course of 1566 the Regent Margaret of Parma came to submit the names of candidates for the vacant provostry of the Oudmunster at Utrecht, one of them the brother of the prince of Orange, and another the uncle of the count of Hoogstraten, she wrote to Philip II that 'these gentlemen are of such merit that due regard must be paid to the claims of those they recommend'<sup>126</sup> The interests involved in filling a major clerical benefice were not so very different from those involving a major restructuring of an entire hierarchy in the Netherlands of Philip II, and king, clergy and nobles knew it.

## CHAPTER VI :

THE CHAPTER, THE ESTATES OF UTRECHT, AND THE FIRST *BEDDE* OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II.

The rise of the formally convened parliaments in the late Middle Ages is well documented.<sup>1)</sup> Understandably it is the emergence of such parliaments in what later became the great nation states of Europe that has preoccupied historians. Of late however, some attention has been given to the development of parliaments in the smaller political units of Europe. At Utrecht the development of the Estates, or *Staten*, can be clearly derived from the council or *raad* of the prince-bishop. The familiar division within the Estates, of clergy, nobility, and burghers, was by the mid-fourteenth established at Utrecht, where by 1354 the bishop referred to *ecclesie... ridderen ende knapen, ende steden van onsen lande*. The so-called *Stichtse landbrief* of 1375, issued by bishop Arnold van Hoorn, formalised the shape of the Estates of Utrecht.<sup>2)</sup> Henceforth the *Staten van Utrecht* comprised, for the First Estate, representatives of the five *Hoofdkerken*, that is representatives of the cathedral chapter of St. Maarten, and of the chapters of the Oudmunster, St. Pieter, St. Jan, and St. Marie, all in the city of Utrecht; for the Second Estate members of the Utrecht *Ridderschap*, present in their own persons, and for the the Third Estate principally the representatives of the city council of Utrecht, and thereafter, fromtime to time, representatives from the smaller towns of the *Sticht*, Amersfoort, Montfoort, Rhenen and Wijk-bij-Duurstede.<sup>3)</sup>

The representatives of the first estate appear to have been delegations from the chapters comprising normally at least the dean and

senior, that is the longest serving canon, but frequently one or two other canons as well.<sup>4></sup> Shortly after the *Overdracht* of 1528, the nobility ceased to base its representation upon prescriptive right but chose instead the more formal criterion of possession of a specific, named, *hofstede*, that is a moated and fortified manor house. Between 1531 and 1539 the *Staten* recognised some fifty-four *hofsteden* carrying for their owners the right to be seated in the *Ridderschap* of Utrecht.<sup>5></sup> The city of Utrecht appears at the same period to have been represented by a delegation, from the *Magistraat*, or city council, not the citizenry, comprising one or both of its *burgemeesters*, and its secretary. The small *Steden* on the less frequent occasions that they were represented tended to despatch their *burgemeesters* and secretaries.<sup>6></sup>

The student of representative institutions in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire at once faces two major problems: the large number of constituent states within the Empire, and the need to distinguish between the development of parliaments in lay, as opposed to ecclesiastical principalities. The student of an ecclesiastical state soon discovers how cursorily the subject of its parliament has been treated at the hands of historians.<sup>7></sup> However, there exist the valuable studies of Robert Folz, whose work outlines the problems of the subject at a general level,<sup>8></sup> while Rudolphine von Oer has dealt with the estates of ecclesiastical principalities for the eighteenth century<sup>9></sup>, and there are two useful local studies, of Basel and Liège respectively.<sup>10></sup> The most important treatment of the topic to appear to date is Lawrence G. Duggan's masterly study of the prince-bishopric of Speyer in the late Middle Ages.<sup>11></sup> Of the representative institutions in

ecclesiastical principalities Duggan observes succinctly that 'they often appeared late, met infrequently, and achieved little stature'.<sup>12</sup> The explanation for this had been hinted at by Carsten's observation in his study of the rise of Prussia that such parliaments were dominated by the cathedral chapter.<sup>13</sup> It is from this point that Duggan advances the argument that the 'singularly powerful position' of such chapters was achieved in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a result of four basic developments. In the first place he cites the increased constitutional significance accorded the cathedral chapter in the revived and rapidly changing canon law. In addition the chapters secured substantial ecclesiastical jurisdiction and control at the expense of the bishop. These developments, when taken in conjunction with the great financial resources at their disposal and the increasingly aristocratic composition of their membership, and hence outlook, made these chapters a formidable force. The combination of these elements meant that, in responding to the challenges and difficulties of state building, the cathedral chapter was enabled as Duggan suggests, 'to acquire many of the rights and prerogatives traditionally associated with the diets (*sic*) of the German principalities'.<sup>14</sup>

It will be interesting to discuss to what extent the chapter of St. Maarten at Utrecht conforms with Duggan's attractive hypothesis. With respect to canon law, we have already already observed that at Utrecht, in the important area of the election of the bishop, and the exercise of authority *sede vacante*, the cathedral had not secured a monopoly of power, as had largely been the case elsewhere. While it is true that a primacy had been allotted to the *Dom* in the choice of the date of the election of the bishop, and the role of its *prelaaten* in such elections,

effective power lay with the wider constituency of the Utrecht *Kapittel-Generaal*. By the late fifteenth century even this rather diluted power with respect to the episcopal election was threatened by the ambitions of the Valois dukes of Burgundy. In their endeavours to secure the principality as first a client state, and then as an *appennage* for junior members of their house, the dukes increasingly using the ultimate authority of the papacy to overrule the votes of the chapters at Utrecht. The episcopal election of 1524, on the death of prince-bishop Philip of Burgundy, was the last effective expression of capitular opinion, but it was exercised within the constraints of the deteriorating political independence of the *Sticht*, caught unhappily as it was between the relentless rise of Burgundy, and the more meteoritic ambitions of Gelderland.<sup>15</sup> It has already been noted how the cathedral chapter did indeed increasingly engross episcopal spiritual authority, rather than princely authority exercised by the bishop, through the acquisition of important elements of the *bannus episcopalis*. This authority was largely encompassed in the prerogatives of the archdeacon of the *Dom*, which office was exercised by the head of the Chapter, the *Domproost*. Through the rise of the economic power of Holland, this office by the sixteenth century was exercised over the richest regions of the diocese, bringing to both the Chapter as landowner, and the *Domproost* as a judicial officer, considerable revenues. It is hardly surprising that in the sixteenth century one of the bishops of Utrecht, George van Egmont, sought to recover some part of these revenues by seeking to incorporate to the episcopal *tafelgoederen* the provostry of the cathedral.<sup>16</sup> The Chapter itself exercised quasi-episcopal powers

in the Noorderkwartier of Holland through its officer, always a canon of the cathedral, the provost of Westfriesland.<sup>172</sup>

The character of the *Staten van Utrecht* in the reign of Philip II is to a large degree influenced by the forms and patterns imposed by first, the *Overdracht* of 1528, and secondly and more specifically, by the *Hof van Utrecht* established by decrees of 1529 and 1530. Though the *Hof van Utrecht* still awaits its historian, we may regard it as the executive organ of Habsburg rule in the Sticht, fulfilling a role which for the English reader may perhaps be likened to the Tudor Councils of the North and of the the Marches, although there were clear differences. The personnel of the *Hof* comprised a president and five *ordinaris raden* or councillors, a *procurer-generaal*, who acted as a species of crown prosecutor somewhat similar to the present day Scottish procurator-fiscal, and to keep the records, a *griffier*. The *Hof* administered justice throughout the Sticht, and enforced decrees from the central government in Brussels.<sup>182</sup> It was required to keep a watchful eye on the personnel and on the institutions of law and order in the territory, that is over the three *maarschalcken* of Eemland, Nederkwartier and Overkwartier, along with the Land van Montfort, officers in whose persons were combined the police and judicial powers analogous to the quarter-sessions, and below them the *schouten*, basically a police officer but capable of acting as a form of magistrate of first instance.<sup>183</sup> Understandably the duties of the *Hof* were widespread and multifarious, we are most concerned with its role in controlling the activities of the *Staten van Utrecht* in the opening years of the reign of Philip II.

To begin with the *Staten* could only be convoked in the name of the *Landsheer*, that is, Philip II, by the dean of the cathedral of

Utrecht, the *Domdeken*, president *ex officio* of the *Staten* on receipt of a letter from the president of the *Hof*, or failing him, from one of the *ordinaris raden*<sup>20</sup> There had never been, even before the *Overdracht*, any automatic right of self-convocation for the *Staten*, although the *Magna Carta* of the Utrecht Estates, the *Stichtse Landbrief* of 1375 had rather implied that in the event of the *Landsheer* failing to live up to its promises, his subjects no longer owed him fealty till he had made good the failure to keep agreements that the relevant clause, the thirteenth, in the *landbrief* is essentially about, and this might have been construed as indicating some powers of meeting, but this was never attempted prior to the years of the Revolt, although, as will be seen, never forgotten.<sup>21</sup> In addition the *Hof* directed circular letters to those it desired to attend. In the early years of Habsburg dominion this took the form to a letter addressed to the *prelaat*, that is the dean, with two or so of the most senior canons of each of the five *Hoofdkerken* of the city of Utrecht. Similar letters were despatched to the individual owners of the *Hofsteden* having session in the *Ridderschap* and to the corporations of the city of Utrecht, and of the smaller towns of Amersfoort, Montfoort, Rhenen, and Wijk-bij-Duurstede.<sup>22</sup> By the reign of Philip II the membership of the *Ridderschap* was firmly attached to the ownership of specific properties<sup>23</sup> while there seems to have been no restrictions placed upon the number of clergy attending in the delegations of their respective chapters, with, on occasion as many as five canons from a chapter attending sessions of the Estates.<sup>24</sup> We have found only one case where a provost of a chapter attended a meeting of the *Staten* and that was in the crisis year of 1566, when the count of

Rennenberg, provost of the Oudmunster, attended a meeting of the Estates following the iconoclastic riots in the city.<sup>25</sup>

Prior to the *overdracht* the Estates had met in the Great Chapter House of the cathedral of Utrecht, but under the Habsburg regime its sessions had been moved to the apparently somewhat cramped quarters of the St. Elizabeth *gasthuis*,<sup>26</sup> perhaps significantly, situated within the shadow of the Vredenburg, the great fortress then a building to dominate the city and province of Utrecht. We do not know whether this ambiance for its meetings was psychologically depressing for Stichtse *amour propre*, or whether, as the Estates themselves were to claim, thoroughly inconvenient - they met as they vividly expressed it in a letter to the *stadhouder*, the count of Hoogstraten, *onder den blauwen hemel in den regen, hagel, wind ende sneeuw*,<sup>27</sup> - to conduct Estates business. At any rate the *Hof* agreed to re-house them, in of all places, the chancellery of the very *Hof* itself, its deliberations taking place quite literally under the eye of royal officials. Meetings continued there until 1570, in which year they moved to the street called De Drift, in the fashionable area of the St. Janskerkhof. The splendid mansion there had belonged to Johan van Renesse, *Heer van Wilp*, *raad ordinaris* of the *Hof van Utrecht*, but at that date he had no further need of the accommodation, as it had been confiscated on his execution for involvement in the image-breaking of 1566 - 67. The Estates continued to meet in that thought-provoking locale until 1577, when they finally regained their traditional meeting place at the cathedral,<sup>28</sup> significantly doing so on the collapse of royal government in the city, following upon the expulsion of the Spanish garrison from the fortress of the Vredenburg.

The *Hof* did not only exercise an informal control over proceedings by virtue of its close proximity to the meetings of the Estates. Officers of the *Hof* pre-arranged the agenda of subjects to be discussed at sessions of the Estates and that agenda could not be altered without permission of the *Hof*,<sup>29</sup> nor indeed were deliberations themselves free from the pervasive influence of the agents of the central government. Officers of the *Hof* occasionally attended sessions of the Estates in person,<sup>30</sup> or threatened dire action, as on 26 May 1555 when they announced that the right to vote on proposals would be withheld unless the Estates acceded to a request for money.<sup>31</sup> If the pressure of local officials was insufficient, then the central government might ask for the aid of the *stadhouder*, by no means a resident officer, either to write to the Estates, or even proceed in person to Utrecht to harangue the obdurate Estates, as happened in 1556.<sup>32</sup> Rather more dramatic was the occasion in March 1558, when Philip II found it necessary to despatch no less a person than the count of Egmont, member of the *Raad van State*, who was not *stadhouder* of the province, to treat with the Estates.<sup>33</sup> Now it is true that the mobilization of these great personages might indicate a certain degree of weakness, or perhaps even nervousness, on the part of the central government *vis a vis* the Estates, but the latter did not view the situation in that light, indeed, as the Estates were themselves to observe to governor-general Requesens, in 1574, "they found themselves in more subjection than any other Estates",<sup>34</sup>

It should not be forgotten, that despite its peaceful acquisition, the Habsburgs regarded Utrecht as part of the territories *de nouvelle conquête*, and the dispositions for the province's

institutions revealed the fact only too clearly. The Habsburg view of the role of the Estates was summed up succinctly by a memorandum of the *Hof van Utrecht* in 1531: the Estates, one reads, were "to meet, to listen to propositions, to discuss and then to conclude"<sup>35</sup> and there is little doubt that "to conclude" meant to accede to royal demands.

During the reign of Philip II the estates met on a fairly regular basis for about two days in the month, although there were frequent occasions when the sessions continued for several days in a particular month.<sup>36</sup> The vast majority of these sessions were preoccupied with two vital concerns of the Estates. The first of these was the royal demands for money, either as excise duties on basic commodities such as wine, beer or salt, known as the *accijns*, and the extraordinary grants of money, the aids or *beden*. The second major concern was the financing, manning and repair of the dyke system of the river Lek, the *Lekdijkbovendams*, with which the Estates were charged.<sup>37</sup> While this latter responsibility was of crucial importance in the daily life of the *Sticht*, for the system covered some two thirds of the area of the principality, and meetings concerning it account for nearly half of the Estates sessions in this period, it is not proposed to examine this aspect of its activities.<sup>38</sup> It is within the realm of royal taxation that relations between the Estates and the central government, and their workings, may best be seen.

Although this writer holds the view that from an early date the subjects of Philip II in the Netherlands neither liked their new ruler nor trusted him, it must not be thought that in matters of taxation, relations between the Estates of Utrecht and the central government passed from good under Charles V to bad under Philip II. If there is any

movement, it was a change from bad to worse. Because the reign of Charles V in the Netherlands is so frequently seen as a period of sweetness and light, while trial and tribulation marked that of his successor, it is easy to overlook the immense fiscal burden that Charles imposed upon his Netherlands territories.<sup>39</sup> Nor should it be overlooked that Charles' last regnal year, and Philip's first, that is, from the summer of 1555 to the winter of 1557, were years of dearth. It rained throughout 1555 ruining the harvest that year, while in 1556 the harvest was damaged by drought, and in between, the winter of 1556 - 57 was exceptionally severe.<sup>40</sup> It was thus not surprising that when the emperor demanded an aid of his subjects in the Netherlands in the late summer of 1555, the contribution of the province of Utrecht, some 20,000 gulden, was resolutely resisted by the Estates of the province, that is by the unanimous resistance of the three orders.

Despite the presence during its deliberations on the 9 October 1555, of the president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, the Estates resisted these fiscal demands on two grounds. In the first place the Estates claimed to have burdened themselves with debts of 190,000 gulden to pay previous aids, while in addition a second instalment of 20,000 gulden outstanding from an aid of June 1555 had not yet been paid. It was also alleged that the province was in a very bad physical state due to crop failure, cattle blight and floods caused by incessant rain, and later, drought. The recital of natural disasters and seasonal calamities was a commonplace of the dialogue between tax layers and tax payers in the early modern period, but in this particular case there seems to have been some justification for the claims.<sup>41</sup> Despite several further sessions, the orders remained unanimous, until on the 7 December 1555,

the *Ridderschap* broke ranks and agreed to the aid.<sup>42</sup> The clergy and city of Utrecht held out. The day immediately preceding the declaration of the nobility, the dean and resident members of the chapter of the *Dom* had met and decided unanimously to persist in their resistance to the royal demands.<sup>43</sup> Having had the ground cut from beneath them the clergy met separately on the 17 December and decided, possibly with agreement of the city representatives, that they would give in on two conditions.<sup>44</sup> This was formally announced at a session on the 23 December 1555<sup>45</sup>

This was a defeat for the clergy and city, but as the price for their consent they secured from the king two nominal concessions, which the clergy had discussed at the meeting of the 17 December. First, the collection of the aid would be suspended if the province suffered any flooding consequent upon the breaching of the dyke system, and secondly the king agreed not to ask for further aids for a period of six years.<sup>46</sup> It has to be admitted that in the context of Philip's financial needs these concessions were not worth the paper they were written upon.

Of rather more interest is the question as to why it was the nobility that broke ranks in the opposition to the aid. In fact it is impossible to know, although a good case could be made for suggesting that the nobility as a whole were not anxious to gain a reputation for obstruction with the new *Landsheer*, the potential employer of them. There is no clear evidence that the central government utilised those subterranean methods of bribery and coercion open to it. The latter, in the form of the presence of the president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, seems initially to have failed, and with one exception, there is no evidence

of appointment to offices in the gift of the crown of the small number of nobles or their kinsfolk actually attending the sessions in which this aid was discussed, although this does not preclude the granting of pensions. It is doubtful if at this stage the government of Philip II was prepared to bribe the deputies of such an obscure, poor and insignificant province as Utrecht was in the Netherlands dominions as a whole. The one exception concerns the relatives of Ernst van Nijenrode, *Heer van Zuylensteyn*, a leading member of the Utrecht *Ridderschap* and at this date in his last months as one of the two *Burgemeesters* of the city of Utrecht. His sister Beatrix van Nijenrode, was elevated to the position of abbess of the noble convent of St. Servaas in the city,<sup>47</sup> while his son-in-law, Goert van Reede, married to his only child and heiress, Gertruid van Nijenrode, was given the office of *Schout* of the city of Utrecht.<sup>48</sup> As will be demonstrated later, these promotions may perhaps been seen more in the light of rewards to, for want of a better expression, (and the anachronistic element in the term is recognised), what may be termed a 'government manager' at Utrecht.

The truce of Vaucelles in February, 1556, while it gave a moment of repose to the war effort against France, did nothing to assist or solve Philip II's financial problems. His need for money remained as pressing as ever. His advisers estimated the immediate need as some three million gulden, and that was without addressing themselves to the problems of dealing with accumulated debt which stood at some seven million gulden. It is scarcely surprising that in this extremity something of a new approach to the whole basis of taxation was under consideration by the crown's fiscal advisers. The central government wanted in essence to widen the tax base, that is to transfer the burden

of taxation from subsidies voted by the Estates of the various provinces to a combination of income and sales taxes levied on the wealth of the country by whomsoever possessed. While it was, of course, a major change, it was not as an expedient, without precedent. An attempt to levy a 1% income tax had been suggested by the Regent Mary of Hungary in 1542, but had been both fiercely and generally successfully resisted.<sup>49</sup> One of the reasons for this resistance had been that by their very nature, these levies circumvented the exemptions to direct taxation of the nobility and clergy.<sup>50</sup>

How well the history of the abortive attempt was known to the advisers around Philip II is not known, but these latter can have had few illusions as to the manner in which their modest proposals of a 1% levy on property, and a 2% levy upon sales transactions and manufactured produce would be received. The proposals were put before delegations of the various provinces summoned to Brussels for the purpose on 12 March 1556, and these immediately referred the proposals back to their principals, the provincial Estates, in which there was, not surprisingly, almost universal opposition. Intense wrangling followed, lasting approximately three months, the principal feature of which was that the royal government let it be known that it would not disdain a much increased sum in the form of the traditional *beden* or aids, thereby quietly dropping the revolutionary change in the nature of the proposals in return for a realistic appreciation by the provincial Estates of the king's financial needs. To this modified approach the Estates of the county of Flanders was the first to respond, which it did with the offer of the considerable sum of 800,000 gulden, in the form of the traditional *bede*, to be collected as of old, an offer the king in the

light of the war situation . . . accepted on 8 June 1556,<sup>51</sup> a date of some import for the activities of the Estates of Utrecht, as we shall see.

The initiative of the Estates of Flanders was followed by the other major provinces such as the duchy of Brabant and the county of Holland, but at a painfully slow pace. It was not until December, 1556, that Holland made its bargain with the king, a province that Utrecht traditionally emulated since she paid one tenth of Holland's contribution, whilst Holland in her turn usually waited upon the decision of Brabant, for the county paid half the contribution of the duchy.<sup>52</sup> We shall now consider how Philip II's first request for money in the Netherlands was received in the province of Utrecht.

The Utrecht deputation to Brussels appears to have arrived back in the city at some time before 20 March 1556, for on that date the cathedral chapter sent a deputation comprising dean Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven, and the canons Cornelis van Nijenrode and Johan van der Vecht to a meeting of the Estates,<sup>53</sup> possibly to hear in advance the royal proposals. Certainly the delegation reported back formally to the Estates of Utrecht on 23 March 1556, where the royal proposals were ill received. Two further meetings were subsequently held by the Estates, but proceeded no further towards compliance with the king's wishes.<sup>54</sup> A third meeting was fixed for the 10 April 1556, on the morning of which the representatives of the clergy met separately in the Small Chapter House of the cathedral and agreed unanimously to propose petitioning the king, and to hold to this position in the meeting of the Estates.<sup>55</sup> Later the same day the united Estates agreed to send a deputation to the king, to whom would be outlined the dire poverty of the region, the load

of debt with which the province was burdened, and above all the view of the Estates that the present demands for a sales and income tax was neither practicable nor possible.<sup>56</sup> Needless to say the delegation despatched to Brussels secured in Brussels neither welcome nor acceptance, for the king, no king, could contemplate the possibility of his subjects declining to contribute to his financial need, nor could Philip II allow a province, no matter how poor, or how small its contribution, to create the precedent of refusing money which would be seized upon by wealthier provinces. Dismissed by their affronted prince the deputation returned to Utrecht.

The central government now went on to the offensive. The medium for this was the *stadhouder* of Utrecht, Maximilian of Burgundy *Heer van Beveren*, who was also, be it noted, *stadhouder* of Holland and Zeeland. On the 2 June 1556, the Estates of Utrecht were convened to hear read to them a letter from their *stadhouder*, urging upon its members, in the politest terms, a more accommodating stance towards the king's pressing needs. The assembled members requested, and secured, from the president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, permission to consult amongst their orders,<sup>57</sup> a permission for further delay that was probably granted by the president in the knowledge that the *stadhouder* was on his way to visit the city. Now it may be that Maximilian of Burgundy expected to learn upon his arrival, shortly before the 13 June that the king's un-cooperative subjects at Utrecht had capitulated, as had recently occurred in the equally obdurate Estates of Holland, where the *Ridderschap* of the county had broken with the voting towns and come forward with an offer of the traditional *bede* in place of the royal plans.<sup>58</sup> If that were indeed his frame of mind, he was in for a surprise, for in their session of the 13

June all three orders, the clergy, the *Ridderschap*, and the city of Utrecht were united in their opposition to the king's demands. Faced with the resolution of the Estates the *stadhouder* fell back upon what was presumably a prepared position and asked the Estates in place of the income tax and sales tax plan, to consent to a traditional grant, a *bede* of 60,000 gulden, to be paid in three half-yearly instalments.<sup>59</sup>

It will be recalled that it was the Estates of the county of Flanders that had first broken the impasse that greeted Philip II's initial demands. Negotiations between the Estates of Flanders and the crown were clearly far advanced by the end of May, 1556, for royal acceptance was given to Flander's counter-proposal of an 800,000 gulden *bede* on 8 June 1556. The knowledge of this change of tactics would have been with Maximilian van Bourgondie as he dealt with the Estates of his various governorships throughout the months of May and early June. It is an open question how far this change of front on the part of the crown was known to individual members of the Estates of Utrecht. It seems clear it was unknown to them when they despatched their rather forlorn deputation in mid-April, for they travelled to Brussels barren of any alternative proposals to those of the king, but it seems not unreasonable to hold the view that amid such a small political elite as existed in the Netherlands at this period, news of so significant a shift in royal policy would have been soon abroad. In addition this view may be confirmed by the fact that Maximilian van Bourgondie permitted but three days for the Estates of Utrecht to consider his demand for 60,000 gulden, a sum far in excess of recent demands, although the pressing needs of the government did not allow for other than brusque action by the *stadhouder*

The session of the Estates summoned for the 16 June 1556, at which they were to give their response to the *stadhouder's* request, turned out to be a rather acrid occasion, the Estates bemoaning the inability of the province to bear the burden of the unprecedented demands of the crown. It was during the recital of these woes, according to the minutes, that the *stadhouder* burst out with the observation to the assembled members of the Estates '... in the end you must and ought to consent', an observation that the Clerk to the Estates (who was also the Chapter Clerk to the cathedral) had underlined in the records, and over the *stadhouder's* word 'must' had added the words *nota bene*. The Estates were dismissed, to reassemble a week later on the 23 June<sup>60</sup> The atmosphere was not much better on this occasion, indeed the assembled Estates advanced the hope that the *stadhouder* would bear with them while they waited upon the decisions made by the great provinces of Flanders, Brabant and Holland. Maximilian van Bourgondie was not well pleased with this, for apart from delaying matters further, it smacked of collusion between provinces about which the central government was understandably sensitive. He dismissed the Estates for a further three days.<sup>61</sup> It is clear that the *stadhouder* had used the interval to good effect for when the Estates reassembled on the 26 June their unity was shattered: the nobility had broken ranks, and offered a *bede* of 30,000 gulden, to be paid in four annual instalments beginning at Easter, 1557.<sup>62</sup>

At this point it is worth breaking this recital of the train of events to examine briefly the personnel of the Estates that were until December, 1556, to put up such a determined resistance to the fiscal demands of Philip II. In the case the *Stad en steden*, that is the city

of Utrecht and the small towns of the *Sticht* there is not a great deal to tell. The governors of urban centres in the early modern period were acutely aware how adverse climatic and trading conditions affected the swarming masses of poor and under-employed and unemployed that dwelt within their walls. They were also naturally averse to the financial demands of central government where these did not demonstrably bring benefit to the towns, as for example, by keeping foreign armies from their gates. After the defeat of Gelderland in 1543 the distant wars of Charles V and Philip II had as little geographical reality in Utrecht as the death of canon Philip Mor on the Chapter Clerk at the Oudmunster who recorded that he had died 'over the Alps in Portugal'<sup>63</sup> Opposition by the city of Utrecht was expressed by its *Burgemeesters*, who were at this time Willem Bor van Amerongen and Cornelis Thin, both from families well established in the city *Magistraat*, both of whom by the summer of 1556 were in their second year of office after a solid decade as *schepen* or alderman of the city.<sup>64</sup> It is worth noting that even though the senior ranks of the *Magistraat*, the city council, were at this period the nominees of the *stadhouder*,<sup>65</sup> in the circumstances of the mid-1550's this apparently made little difference to the response of the city to royal fiscal demands.

The clergy, almost certainly the richest order represented, and numerically far and away the most numerous represented at sessions of the Estates, are the most interesting to observe, though, it is almost impossible to define their individual attitudes. It is clear from the entries in the *Domresoluties* under the heading *Quinque eccl.* that the clergy met as a separate order to discuss matters of major concern to them, and that meetings were held concerning the Estates. We have seen

already that these meetings took place immediately before those of the full Estates. The *Domresoluties* do not make it clear precisely who attended these meetings, but there is mention of the presence of the deans of the five chapters of Utrecht, and quite obviously that of the Chapter Clerk of the cathedral. Whether, or how often, other canons attended is not clear, but it may be reasonably assumed that those meetings of the clergy taking place immediately prior to those of the Estates would have included those canons proceeding as members of their respective capitular delegations to the Estates meetings.<sup>66</sup> Some thirty-one different canons attended the nine sessions of the Estates between 23 March 1556, when the original royal proposals were presented, and 27 June when the *Ridderschap* having made its offer to the crown, the other two orders refused to join them. Of this total, apart from Adriaan van Renesse, the *Domdeken* who as president *ex-officio* was present at all sessions, seven canons attended six sessions and one, five sessions. It seems reasonable to assume that the clerics attending the Estates were delegates of their chapters, and therefore expressed views already formulated in the chapters. Perhaps on that account not too much should be made of those who assiduously attended the Estates on behalf of the various chapters. On the other hand, although such delegations may traditionally have been made up of the dean and two most senior canons, they were not necessarily composed of older men. There is indeed some evidence, as will be demonstrated, that at the cathedral, the delegation in this period was made up of younger, though perhaps not less senior, men. However, of the seven canons with a solid record of attendance other than the dean-president, two came from the *Dom*, two from the

chapter of St. Marie, and one each from the remaining three chapters of St. Pieter, St. Jan and the Oudmunster.<sup>67)</sup>

The two canons of St. Marie appear unremarkable. Willem van Lochorst, *Scholaster* of his chapter, was the illegitimate son of a former vicar-general of the diocese, and came of a very distinguished family of the Utrecht *Ridderschap*, the *Heeren van Lochorst* and *Lievendaal*. He was a considerable pluralist whose promising career at Rome had been dashed by the unexpected death of pope Adriaan VI in 1523, and he had then returned to Utrecht to live on his several prebends in the city with no great distinction. This lack of distinction was certainly recognised by his peers, for as we shall see, when in July, 1556, he was nominated by the *Domdeken*, for what serpentine reason we cannot tell, to be despatched as the delegate of the clergy, on an embassy to the king, the representatives of the other chapters strongly objected, and his nomination was overruled. He was to die in 1559.<sup>68)</sup> His colleague, Lebuinus ter Spille, came initially of a patrician family of Deventer, and having entered his chapter in 1533 would seem to have appeared at sessions by virtue of his seniority.<sup>69)</sup> The representative of St. Jan, Scipio van Tielt is remarkable apparently only for his forename, by which, over a large number of varied documents, he is universally known.<sup>70)</sup> To contemporaries he was known as Scipio and to history for not much else.

The representative of the chapter of St. Pieter is marginally more interesting, in that Cornelis Uteneng, in his own right owner of the *riddermatig hofstede* Den Eng, *Scholaster* and vice-dean of his chapter,<sup>71)</sup> was brother to the dean of St. Pieter Jacob Uteneng, the vicar-general of the largely absentee bishop of Utrecht, George van

Egmont. Dean Uteneng was thought of sufficiently by the Estates that they were to nominate him in September 1557 to act on their behalf at Brussels, but whether by design or otherwise, he declined at the last minute on the ground that the bishop had ordered him to chair the autumn synod of the clergy of Utrecht.<sup>72</sup> In the Netherlands of Philip II, the vicar-general of such a large and important diocese as Utrecht was a man of considerable significance, and one wonders how much his brother's actions were a screen for some discreet opposition from the dean, who in fact attended some three sessions, including the one of the morning after the nobility broke ranks, when the clergy decided not to join them.<sup>73</sup> The representative of the rather aristocratic chapter of the Oudmunster was Lodewijk van Schore, a man more interesting for his background rather than his foreground, for he was the son of the similarly named president of the *Geheime Raad*, who had died in 1548.<sup>74</sup> His impeccable background and connections with government administrative circles may well have made him uncomfortable in taking such a public role of opposition. On the other hand, the possession of one canonry in a northern diocese, perhaps purchased with a paternal legacy, seems little enough for one so well-connected. Perhaps he was not the initially 'establishment' figure he appears.

After such lacklustre figures it is something of a relief to turn to the representatives of the cathedral chapter whose members appear to have carried considerable weight. In her interesting study of the Estates of Utrecht during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Dr. Helen Bannatyne demonstrates quite clearly that in the initial stages of the Revolt at Utrecht, the initiative in the Estates often was taken by the representatives of the *Dom*. This would seem also to have been the

case in the preceding years, even though the business of the Estates was virtually dictated by the officers of the *Hof*. Minutes were kept by the Chapter Clerk of the cathedral, who acted as Clerk to the Estates as well, all official documents were drawn up by the self-same Clerk, although deposited with the *Griffier* of the *Hof*<sup>75</sup>. As the spokesmen for the largest and wealthiest corporation in the *Sticht*, representatives of the calibre of Johan van der Vecht and Cornelis van Nijenrode naturally commanded respect.

Johan van der Vecht was the son of a *Burgemeester* of Kampen, and unfortunately not a great deal is known about him. His background was sufficiently acceptable to the canons of the cathedral for him to secure a prebend at the remarkably early age of twelve for a youth not from an established family of the *landadel*. He studied certainly at Leuven, and possibly also at Paris, though it is not known what course he followed. For someone born in 1526 it is striking that he is attending Estates sessions as early as 1555, although his seventeen year tenure of a prebend would give him considerable seniority, which may suggest some ability, or perhaps some powerful influence acting in his favour. This can only be speculation, but it is striking that following the death of the *Domdeken* Adriaan van Renesse, Van der Vecht, following a quasi-clandestine capitular election, was nominated by the king at the age of thirty-six to the deanery of the cathedral of Utrecht, 29 December 1560<sup>76</sup>. This suggests some considerable influence being exercised on his behalf, almost certainly at Brussels, although it is unclear where one should look for patronage on his behalf. After his appointment in 1559 as *Stadhouder* of the provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, one might presume the influence of the prince of Orange, but one cannot be

certain. Perhaps something of a clue lies in the interesting marriage made by Van der Vecht's brother, Herman van der Vecht, who took to wife one Sophia van Wael van Vianen, widow of Floris van Pallandt. Whether links with the Van Pallandt family, rather a grand relationship one might have thought for the son of a *burgemeester* of Kampen, were responsible for Van der Vecht's subsequent appointment as *Burgemeester* of Utrecht on 27 December 1565, or indeed the brother's nomination to the deanery of Utrecht, it is impossible to say.<sup>77</sup>

Van der Vecht's colleague at Estates sessions Cornelis van Nijenrode suffers from a future casting its shadow behind for he was to play a unique role in 1566 during the image-breaking, namely smashing up the font in the principal parish church, the *Buurkerk*, of the city, and thereafter to be banished by sentence of the duke of Alva. But in the early years of the reign of Philip II there was no sign of these developments - indeed quite the contrary, for as quite a young man he is attending sessions of the Estates as a representative of the *Dom*. His career was not dissimilar to that of Van der Vecht, except that socially he came from the *Stichtse* nobility, his father Gijsbert van Nijenrode, *maarschalk* of Eemland, himself being the son of a bastard of the *Heeren van Zuylensteyn*, from whom the influential Evert van Nijenrode, treated above, was also descended. Cornelis van Nijenrode also studied at Leuven, although again it is not known in what faculty.<sup>78</sup>

Concerning the clergy one further point needs to be made. In trying to assess opinions and who held them in the Estates session in the summer of 1556 one is struck by the notable absences. Perhaps the most conspicuous absentee was the dean of the *Oudmunster*, Cornelis van Meirop, and member of the Privy Council. Although there were other

aspects to his career, he was little more than a gilded nonentity, more important for being the son of his father, the defunct *Rekenmeester* of Holland, and later *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands. It is perhaps not therefore surprising that his attendance at both the Estates and his collegiate church were rather sparse. The other significant absentee was Nicolaas van den Bergh, *alias* de Castro, currently acting as inquistitor in the diocese of Utrecht, who was later to be nominated, under the new scheme of bishoprics, the first bishop of Middelburg.<sup>79</sup> Of the nine sessions to which reference has been made, Nicholaas de Castro was present at the exposition of the royal demands, but was absent from the negative discussions upon them that ensued. He dutifully appeared to listen to the *stadhouder's* letter, and was absent thereafter till the day on which the nobility broke ranks and made their offer to the crown, but perhaps significantly, he was absent when the clergy indicated their continuing resistance to royal demands on the next day.<sup>80</sup> Nicholaas de Castro's conduct suggests that he had some foreknowledge of the action of the nobility existed. On the other hand the rather 'low profile' exhibited by De Castro who was to be so closely associated with royal religious policy, may be taken as an indication of just how determined was the resistance among his own order to the demands of the crown.

Some consideration must now be given to that order that broke the united resistance of the Estates to the fiscal demands of Philip II in 1556. As no record exists of the precise voting on such occasions, or even how it was carried out, only motions agreed to by the unanimous decision of the three orders were recorded, we can only surmise as to who the most influential nobles were. Although the fiction existed that the nobility represented the country districts, the *platteland*, in fact

they represented their own persons. One might therefore be excused for supposing that a good attendance record implied some sort of influence, but this could well be misleading. On the other hand, the actual attendance of the *Ridderschap* in terms of numbers was very low, even on an issue as important as this *bede* not rising above nine persons.<sup>81</sup> Within this small group however, three nobles are striking for the assiduity of their attendance in this period.

The first of the nobles is Ernst van Nijenrode, *Heer van Zuylensteyn*, member of a distinguished Utrecht family, who first entered public life in 1527 as commissioner of the Lekdijk. In the period 1528 - 1535, the first years of Habsburg administration in the *Sticht* he served as *schepen* in the *Magistraat* or city council,<sup>82</sup> apparently as a nobleman in the favour of the *stadhouder*, the count of Hoogstraten, a nobleman who in the eyes of the Regent Mary of Hungary in Brussels, took rather too free a hand in the nomination to town councils in his provinces.<sup>83</sup> Nijenrode was dropped, save for the year 1541, till 1547, when he appears once more as *schepen* in the first list of nominations of *stadhouder* Maximilian van Bourgondie,<sup>84</sup> who it will be recalled lost his temper with the Estates. It is in the following year, 1548, that Nijenrode began his significant tenure of senior office in the Utrecht *Magistraat*, holding that of *schepen* and *Burgemeester*, till the autumn of 1555.<sup>85</sup> It might be thought that the link with Maximilian van Bourgondie explains his rise to influence in the city, but there is perhaps a more telling link that may throw some light upon the resistance of the Estates to royal policy in 1556.

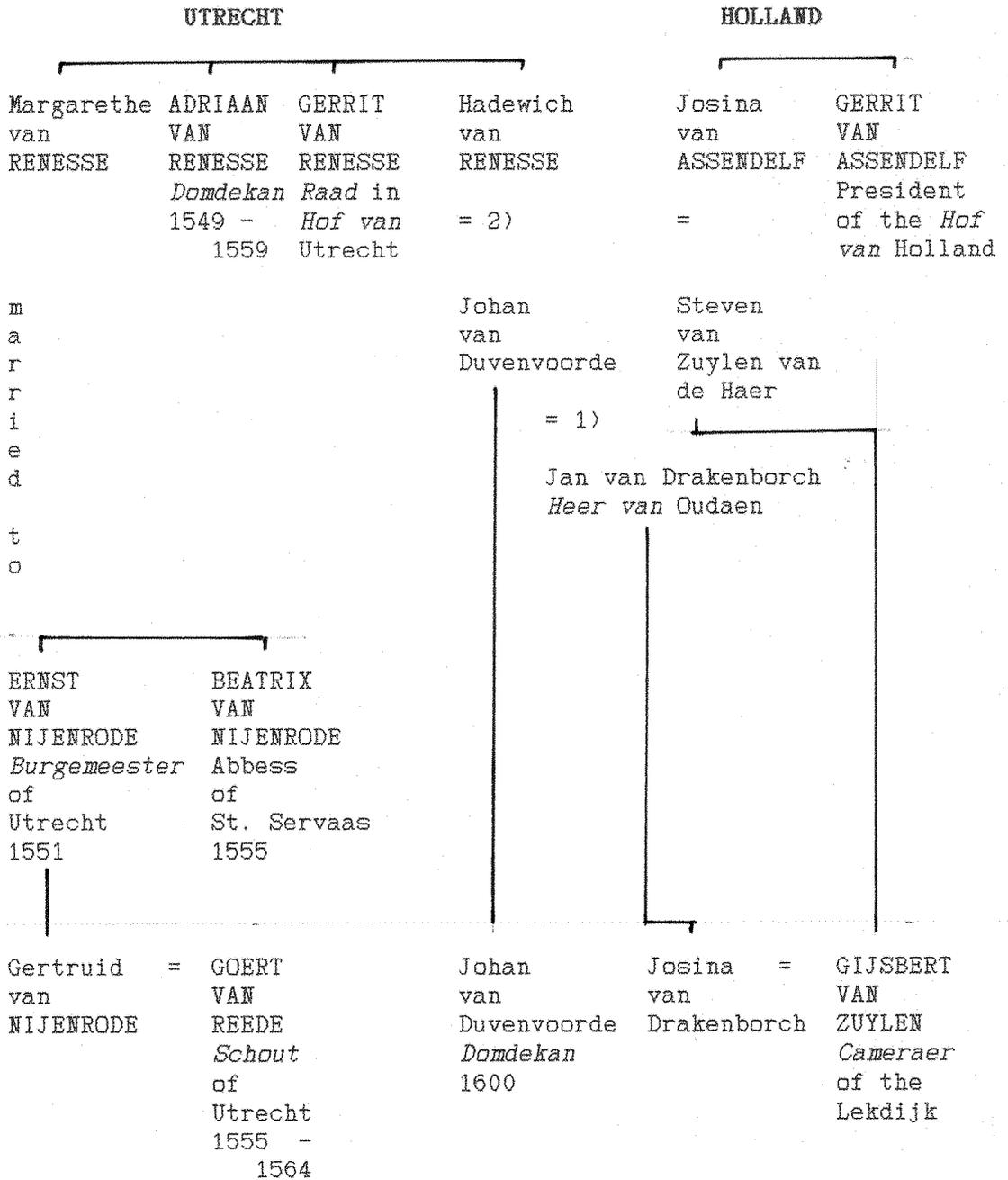
It will be recalled that Nijenrode was dropped from the city council for some years, save for that of 1541: in that year the

*stadhouder* Réne de Chalon, prince of Orange, nominated his list of those to serve on the *Magistraat* through the person of Gerrit van Assendelft, president of the *Hof van Holland*,<sup>96</sup> a person of very considerable influence with the emperor and later with the Regent Margaret of Parma,<sup>97</sup> and more significantly, to whom Nijenrode was linked by marriage. [See Table 19.] Ever since the *Cortes* of Toledo of 1534 Utrecht had been linked to Holland (and Zeeland) by a common *stadhouder*,<sup>98</sup> and the province's finances apparently came under the scrutiny of the *Grafelijke Rekenkamer* in The Hague.<sup>99</sup> It cannot have added to the popularity of the Hollanders for the citizens of Utrecht to know that it was Holland money that had built, and was paying for the the garrisoning, of the bridge on their freedom, the Vredenburg.<sup>90</sup> Understandably the influence of the wealthy and potent neighbour was much resented in Utrecht and Ernst van Nijenrode may well have represented close links with notables in that province. Certainly he secured manifest signs of the favour of the central government, and these came at very interesting dates. On the visit to the city of Utrecht in 1549, Philip, still then heir to the Netherlands, had almost certainly knighted Nijenrode.<sup>91</sup> More significant however was the nomination on 4 May 1555, just prior to the consideration by the Estates of the last *bede* of Charles V, of Nijenrode's sister Beatrix van Nijenrode to the abbacy of St. Servaas, a rich convent for noble ladies in Utrecht.<sup>92</sup> This promotion is not obviously linked to events in the Estates, but it is suggestive. Even more so was the nomination by Philip II of Nijenrode's son-in-law, Goert van Reede, husband of his only child and heiress, Geertruid van Nijenrode, to the recently vacant post of *Schout* of Utrecht, in October, 1555.<sup>93</sup> This promotion followed upon the

TABLE NO 19 :

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN ELITES OF THE STICHT AND THE COUNTY OF HOLLAND c. 1555.

LINKS BETWEEN THE FAMILIES OF VAN RENESSE VAN WULVEN, NIJENRODE AND VAN ZUYLEN VAN DE HAER, OF THE STICHT AND VAN ASSENDELF OF HOLLAND.



agreement of the Estates to the aid of June in that year.<sup>94</sup> It need be added only that Ernst van Nijenrode was the brother-in-law of the president *ex-officio* of the *Staten van Utrecht*, the *Domdeken* Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven. [See Table 19]. In Ernst van Nijenrode we may discern one of the central government's men of business in the Estates of Utrecht.

The second example of assiduous attendance in the *Ridderschap* was that of Dirk van Zuylen, *Heer van De Haar*.<sup>95</sup> The head of a prominent Utrecht house, he was also *Heer van Zevender* in Holland, and listed in the *Ridderschap* of the county to be summoned *in allen dachvaerden...extraordinaris*<sup>96</sup>, but perhaps more important, his mother was a sister of the already mentioned influential president of the *Hof van Holland*, Gerrit van Assendelf. In addition, as will be seen from the genealogical table, [See Table 19.] he had married the heiress of Oudaen, Josina van Drakenborch, whose maternal uncle was the *Domdeken* Adriaan van Renesse, who was also, as we have seen, uncle by marriage to Ernst van Nijenrode. The conclusion seems inescapable that Van Zuylen must have been of some importance in bringing over the Utrecht *Ridderschap* to join the *Ridderschap* of Holland in offering to vote for an aid for the king. This likelihood is enhanced in that the fact that figure decided upon by the Utrecht nobility, 30,000 gulden, was 10% the figure offered by the Holland nobility, the traditional differential in such matters for the two provinces.<sup>97</sup> Despite the existence of *Hof*, and of *stadhouder* it seems clear that the thrust of royal policy within the Estates of Utrecht, must have been directly exercised through the trio of *Domdeken*, Evert van Nijenrode, and Van Zuylen, and indirectly, but no less effectively, by the powerful president of Holland. That the

combined activities of the *Hof*, of the *stadhouder* and the influential family grouping outlined above could not move the Estates says something for the strength of feeling in that body.

Whether the last of our trio of nobles prominent in the Estates meetings can be seen in the same light as the foregoing is more doubtful. Although Jan van der Haer, chamberlain of the Lekdijk,<sup>99</sup> and hence a man in frequent contact with the officers of the *Rekenkamer* in The Hague, attended many sessions in this period, his role may have been that of financial adviser to the leading lights in the Estates, although his relationship to Gerrit van Assendelf of the *Hof van Holland*, and his mother-in-law's family the Renesse should not be forgotten. [See Table 19.]

With the defection of the nobility, the orders of the clergy and the *Stad en steden* were under further pressure from the *stadhouder* to do the gentlemanly thing and show a loyal and united front to the king.<sup>99</sup> He wrote to the clergy, and they considered his blandishments on the 9 July 1556. It was at this meeting that the *Domdeken* sought to nominate the innocuous Willem van Lochorst, canon of St. Marie, as the representative of the clergy, to accompany Nijenrode, representing the city, and Van Zuylen representing the *Ridderschap* on the Estates delegation to Brussels. Doubtless the intention was to give the delegation as bland a composition as possible at court, for however it was couched, not much could disguise the persistently uncooperative stance of the majority of the Estates of Utrecht, and this at a time when Flanders, Brabant and Holland, all far richer areas, were at length agreeing to answer positively, if not altogether as realistically as the crown could wish, to its needs. However, even at this level the chapters

would not cooperate and declined to elect Van Lochorst as their delegate.<sup>100</sup> The representatives of the five chapters met again on the 16 July and elected the 'conservative' Nicolaas de Castro, following yet a further session of the Estates the day previously.<sup>101</sup> This appears at first sight a somewhat surprising choice if the assessment of de Castro is correct, but not necessarily thereby a foolish choice. A man not noticeably known to be sympathetic to the Estates might well carry more weight. What is significant is that de Castro accepted: perhaps an ambitious man - he was after all to become bishop of Middelburg in 1561 by appointment of Philip II.<sup>102</sup>

What happened next is obscure because the records of the Estates are missing for the crucial period, but by 13 August the Estates of Utrecht unanimously agreed to a *bede* for the king of 33,000 gulden. The voting of this sum was the result of hard bargaining at Brussels, not least over the timing of the payment of the aid, over which a protracted wrangle ensued, the king naturally wanting as much as possible as soon as possible, the Estates seeking to defer as much as possible for as long as possible. The Estates graciously gave way to the king, granting him the *bede* for one year payable in three instalments.<sup>103</sup> The 3,000 gulden more than the nobility offered may well have been the result of some judicious attempts to mollify the king by the recalcitrant orders. In view of what the king eventually agreed to in return for this *bede* perhaps some sweetening was required.

In agreeing to the aid of 33,000 gulden the Estates had made two conditions, the first an optimistic request that the king should ask no further aids for four years. How far this was building foundations for future defences against future royal requests it is hard to say. Both

sides may have gone through the ritual with no great faith in the ability of either to keep their word, the crown not to ask, the Estates not to pay. The one was barely solvent, the other yet loyal. Rather more extraordinary was the second condition laid down by the Estates, which was that Philip II put his signature to a copy of the oath he had sworn in 1555 at his accession to preserve the liberties of the province of Utrecht.<sup>104</sup> This scarcely veiled reminder of his duties as *Landheer* can hardly have been pleasant for Philip II and his advisers, and one is not surprised to learn that he refused.<sup>105</sup> The Estates remained obdurate, and Philip II, perhaps desperate even for 33,000 gulden, or rather more likely, desperate for finality in a matter that can hardly have seemed worth 33,000 gulden, agreed.<sup>106</sup> The copy despatched to Utrecht has the words where Phillip II promises to observe the privileges, that is *zoe int generaal als particulier* underlined, and another hand has added *Nota bene*. Not only had the Estates secured that document, but they also had Philip's oath that he took on his *blijde inkomst* at Utrecht in 1549 transcribed into the *Resolutiesboek* of the Estates.<sup>107</sup>

While it is unwise to extrapolate from one example, in this case the first *bede* of the reign of Philip II, it is clear that certain characteristics emerge in the relations between Brussels and Utrecht, characteristics that were to recur in later years. These characteristics, doubtless shared by the political nations of the other provinces, were to affect the development of the Estates of Utrecht in the ensuing years, and especially so in the years of the Revolt. The first characteristic was quite clearly the strong resentment felt at Utrecht of the fiscal demands made of the province. It has not been possible to investigate the province's pleas of poverty in any detail,

but even if exaggerated they must be seen in the light of what were unquestionably regarded as the quite insupportable burdens of the emperor Charles V, followed by those of Philip II. The *bede* roused intense opposition in the Estates, and initially at least, from all three orders. In addition the novel mode of seeking to raise revenue in 1555 - 56, that is, in the plans for sales and income taxes, can to some extent explain the resistance of the privileged orders in particular, although it would be unwise to exclude a degree of altruism amongst these provincial politicians, for as Maximilian Morillon observed in 1572 to Granvelle, 'Whosoever touches the privileges cuts to the quick'.<sup>108</sup> Utrecht may have gone further than most provinces in reminding Philip II how deeply attached the province was to its charter of liberties, but there can be no doubting the alarm felt by the political elite of at least one province at the outset of his reign

It is also perhaps worth considering how far the royal government was serious in its plans to alter so fundamentally the tax basis in the Netherlands at this date. There is little doubt that Philip and his advisers would have liked the results of such a fundamental change, though they can have had few illusions about the likelihood of acceptance. Being engaged in a major war did not allow the king and his advisers much room for manoeuvre in terms of either time or policy. On the other hand it is no new technique of government to suggest in the context of taxation something so outlandish that grateful acquiescence and enhanced response meets reversion to existing modes. While no definitive answer can be vouchsafed, it is perhaps indicative of government thinking that in the following year, 1557, the Estates General for the whole Netherlands was summoned, that in the course of

1559 the scheme of new bishoprics was actively being planned, and behind all this was the terrible reality of the royal financial needs, both in terms of current expenditure, and the mountain of debt.

On the side of the king there clearly was great exasperation: on the side of the province of Utrecht apparently no understanding of the scale of difficulties faced by the royal government, although we would probably be doing our provincial politicians some injustice to assume they did not know how strong their bargaining position was. But in practical terms it meant an enormous delay in raising revenue. To secure his first *bede* in 1556 Philip II had to negotiate for almost nine months with his northern provinces, and suffer some personal humiliation at the hands of the Estates of Utrecht in the process. Small wonder, that as we have seen, the king's advisers thought that summoning the Estates General was to be preferred to the interminable negotiations endured previously. Yet here again, the province of Utrecht appears to stand out in its lack of cooperation, in that to begin with, it declined to despatch a delegation to Brussels for the opening sessions planned for November, 1557. When it did finally send a representative, it was not a delegation of members of the Estates of Utrecht that appeared in Brussels, but instead, the Clerk to the Estates, Jan van Lamzweerd.<sup>109</sup> Only after he had been peremptorily ordered back to Utrecht did the Estates send a delegation to Brussels.<sup>110</sup> Utrecht was not, of course, unique in her reluctance to address herself once more to the pressing financial need of her *Landsheer*, but she did appear remarkably obstructive.

Of no less interest were the ramifications of government policy upon the Estates Of Utrecht themselves. There can be no doubt that the

king and his advisers expected resistance from the various provinces and their Estates, and later from the Estates General, but it would seem that the resistance was stronger than was expected. The role of the *stadhouder* was quite clearly that of link between the provinces and the prince, and within that relation he was ever the representative of the crown. We do not know how frequently in the reign of the emperor Charles the *stadhouder* had addressed the Estates of Utrecht directly, but on the occasions that both the *Heer van Beveren* and the prince of Orange<sup>111</sup> did so, they were made clearly aware of the depth of feeling existing within the various orders, and in the case of Beveren, it clearly caused considerable exasperation on his side. The mission of the count of Egmont seems unusual, although one could surmise the approaching death of Beveren, for the latter died in 1559, and the prince of Orange was not appointed till that year.<sup>112</sup> Although Egmont addressed the Estates of Utrecht on two separate days in 1558, he was unable to budge them in their resistance.<sup>113</sup> It seems almost certain that it was in more discreet activities that the *stadhouder* appears most effective in gaining adhesion to the crown's wishes. From what has been noticed in the case of the *bede* of 1556, it is a moot point as to whether this was achieved by working through an already established group or groups, linked to the leading personalities in the *Hof van Utrecht*, or leading figures in the orders of the Estates, such as nobles like Ernst van Nijenrode, or the *Domdeken* Adriaan van Renesse. What does appear clear is that the crown's most successful play at Utrecht was in the *Ridderschap*, and indeed one would expect that. The prince was ever the great employer and benefactor of the nobility in early modern Europe, and for a considerable time thereafter. At Utrecht it seems to be no

accident that the increased truculence of the Estates as evidenced by the reactions to the *bede* of 1557, when the province declined to send a delegation to the Estates General at Brussels, came at the time of the death of Ernst van Nijenrode, who died in the course of that year.<sup>114</sup>

Once the nobility had been won over, pressure was brought to bear upon the other two orders, but it can only be a matter of speculation as to how they were won over. Family and patronage links would appear to be an obvious area. The presence of a 'Holland' grouping within the *Ridderschap* gathered around the figures of the *Domdeken*, Nijenrode, Van Zuylen, and the president of the *Hof van Holland*, Assendelf has been established. How much support or connection with leading clergy it had, if any, is not known, or what connections existed with members of the *Magistraat*. Promises of crown patronage and bribery would also seem likely, but beyond the cases already cited of Nijenrode's kin, nothing has come to light. The clergy as a group were probably susceptible to influence, but it is questionable as to whether they responded as a group to one source of pressure. The Utrecht *kapittelwereld* no longer supplied recruits into the local administration, and access to crown patronage of benefices had to meet the stiff competition of courtiers with powerful links in Brussels.<sup>115</sup>

There is just the hint that occasionally the clergy as a group were susceptible to pressure in the event of their being suppliants to the crown. Prior to the request of the *bede* by the king in the early spring of 1556, the five chapters of Utrecht had been much exercised by concern for the ability to hold free elections, that is, without reference to the *Hof van Utrecht*, to vacant *prelaatenschappen*, in this particular instance, the deanery of St. Marie that had fallen vacant on

the death of Herman van Lethmate van Gouda, vicar-general to George van Egmont.<sup>116></sup> The government, already warned of the approaching demise of Lethmate, named Nicolaas van Nieuwland, auxiliary bishop of Utrecht as dean. The chapter of St. Marie objected that the royal nominee was not a member of one of the *hoofdkerken* and that it would have preferred a free election, and this was the issue at meetings of the clergy of the five chapters held throughout January and February, 1556, and by 22 February, a delegation was despatched to Brussels.<sup>117></sup> With hindsight one can see that this was scarcely the time to approach the government with what must have seemed a relatively trivial matter, although in the context of royal control of important benefices it was a major issue. The crown replied with a letter of the 18 March 1556 in which, while it declined to budge on its right of nomination, it acknowledged that henceforth successors to Van Nieuwland would be chosen from among the canons of St. Marie.<sup>118></sup> In view of what was to transpire in the Estates a few days later one suspects the crown lost something of an opportunity on a matter that was close to the hearts of the clergy.

The feelings of the delegates of the city of Utrecht can only be guessed at as they faced isolation with the *ridderschap* and clergy in close relations, but ironically they were in exactly the same position. The senior ranks in the *Magistraat* were very often recruited from members of the *ridderschap*, Ernst van Nijenrode, *Heer van Zuylensteyn*, being a good example.<sup>119></sup> For the city's representatives the problem was to guess how far they could go without alienating their patrons among the *stadhouders* and influential figures at Brussels, and at the same time assess just how far the seething population beneath them would

support further imposts. Relations between the city and the government deserves further study, but is not part of this present research.

CONCLUSION: 'WHEREIN SIT OUR KITH AND KIN'.

This study has set out to examine three elements of the cathedral chapter of St. Maarten at Utrecht in the sixteenth century.

In the first place we sought to place the Chapter in the context of its historical development and provincial setting. Its resident members, the canons *capitulares* formed the *pars major et sanior* of the broad college that traditionally elected the prince-bishop, and exercised regalian powers *sede vacante*, in the event of the death or resignation of the bishop. The Chapter as a whole, in the area of Westfriesland, and its provost, as well as the *Chariepisopus*, exercised archidiaconal authority, that is disciplinary powers, over cleric and laic alike, throughout much of what is now the modern kingdom of the Netherlands. With the *Overdracht* of 1528 the temporal authority that it had formerly intermittently exercised was lost to its members, as well as the leading role that some of its members played as advisers and officials to the prince-bishop. Even so, after 1528 the Chapter and its members were men of mark, being at once members of the First Estate in the *Staten van Utrecht*, being the major landowners of the province, and being closely linked to both the *Ridderschap* and the patrician elite of the city of Utrecht.

An important element in the strength of the Chapter was its virtual autonomy in the matter of recruitment. It is true that the *prelaaten*, that is the dean and provost, were after 1528 the nominees of the *Landsheer*, but it is far from clear that the most important of these, the dean, became simply a creature of the central government, for the deans in all cases where contests developed, fought firmly in

the interests of the Chapter. It was the provost and bishop who were to be troublesome to the members of the Chapter. The key to the Chapter's autonomy of recruitment was the Germanic Concordat of 1448, that created the so-called 'Alternative', that is the means by which the Chapter itself nominated to prebends in alternate months through the *turnarius*, ensuring a continuity of membership of the Chapter in certain families. The capacity to resign prebends *in favorem* was another important mechanism for self-recruitment, again tending to the perpetuation of family groups within the Chapter. That simony was rife was certainly the case, but it does not seem to have been a cause of introducing into the Chapter men of the calibre and class other than those it would willingly see amongst its members. When in 1559 the Crown sought to create special rights of nomination to prebends as part of the scheme of new bishoprics, the mechanism was used by well-entrenched interests in Brussels, namely the family and connections of Viglius van Aytta, the president of the *Geheime Raad*, to secure several of such prebends for themselves.

Finally the type and calibre of the membership of the Chapter ensured that it was well able to look after its interests. The canons of the cathedral of Utrecht were drawn from the wealthy and well-born. The wealth supplied the good education that these men possessed, and the travel to far off places that this often entailed gave them an indefinable *savoir-faire* that made them prominent in the society in which they moved. Although the Chapter was socially exclusive in that it was drawn from monied classes, this exclusivity never became the preserve of one group within the monied classes, that is for instance, the *landadel*, or city patriciate, nor did the Chapter draw its members

exclusively from one region. The early sixteenth century saw the Chapter with a rather wider geographical spread than was to be the case later on, drawing its membership from the Rhineland and Westphalia as well as the Habsburg territories. The middle to late sixteenth century saw a narrowing of recruitment to the subjects of the Habsburg rulers. This narrowing did not bring a closer control by Brussels over the Chapter's freedom that might have been expected, but significantly allowed a greater ability to manoeuvre within the various factions around the bifurcated government structures of both the emperor Charles V and Philip II. In its various struggles the Chapter was well able to make appeals to the Regent in Brussels and directly to the *Landsheer*. The Chapter was to gain from its links with the important bureaucratic families of Aytta van Zwichem, Van Mierop and Van der Vorst, even to the degree of reversing a royal decision under Charles V and virtually sabotaging an important element of the religious policy of Philip II. The Chapter never lost sight of the importance of links with the Roman Curia. In the first half of the century these had been based upon the personal links between the Chapter and important curialists such as cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt and the papal nuncios Pieter van der Vorst and Giovanni Poggio. In the second half of the century the Chapter lacked these direct connections at the heart of the Curia, yet it felt confident enough to threaten action there as part of its opposition to the scheme of new bishoprics.

Behind all these powerful arguments for the strength of the Chapter lies the fact of its great wealth. The income of a resident canon of the cathedral of Utrecht was considerable, placing him in one of the highest classes of society. A canon could not, of course, stand

comparison with a great noble, but the canons of Utrecht could certainly vie with the *landadel*. of Utrecht and the neighbouring provinces. Even more impressive was the resources upon which the Chapter could draw in its corporate form. Few and foolhardy were those who sought to embark upon litigation with the Chapter, and those that did had usually reason to regret it. Bishop George van Egmont was fortunate in that his struggle with the Chapter was but part of a ploy to secure wealth elsewhere, and his particular struggle was underwritten by no less a person than the emperor Charles V. Even so, the Chapter made life difficult for the bishop, and it decisively defeated its other great antagonist, its own provost, Johan Slacheck. In that particular contest the Chapter and provost had to pay costs of some 3,700 gulden between them. That sum should be compared with the 100 gulden that made up the average revenues of a village priest in the diocese of Utrecht, a person who would perhaps in the main be the richest resident in the parish. In that context it is scarcely surprising that the Chapter was prepared to grant pensions of 100 gulden p.a each to Viglius and Hopperus in the matter of preserving its privileges attacked under the scheme of new bishoprics. Equally the provost, who disposed of very considerable revenues was in a strong position to cause trouble if his interests were threatened. The *Domproost* Van Mierop was able to sustain seven years of litigation against the bishop of Middelburg between 1559 and 1566, which effectively paralysed that prelate's ministry and mission as envisaged under the scheme of new bishoprics.

Having established that the Chapter and its members were wealthy and prominent persons in the Northern Netherlands it is instructive to reflect upon how this exalted station was used. In short it must be

admitted that the strong position that the Chapter's wealth and social position maintained found expression largely in longstanding and sustained opposition to the wishes of the central government.

The *Overdracht* of 1528 was accepted by the political elite of the prince-bishopric of Utrecht as an inescapable development. It was a necessity forced upon the province by its parlous political and military situation: the Sticht had become a weak state between two more powerful neighbours. Once having been signed sealed and delivered, the *Overdracht* did indeed bring peace. But it brought also obligations perhaps not initially perceived in the province, and certainly thereafter increasingly resented. In the first place the status of the province within the Habsburg territories was not then, or subsequently, clearly defined. In essence the emperor was seen by the province as entering into the role of prince-bishop as *Landsheer*, and although it has not been part of this study to trace this element, there appears to have been the feeling among the provincial elite that the still rather personal role between the province and its *Landsheer* would continue, and continue to the profit of the province. This last for the clergy, and especially the Chapter, was certainly the preservation of its privileges of jurisdiction. All classes in society must have resented the building of the Vredenburg within the city of Utrecht, and can have derived little comfort from the fact that it was paid for with Holland money. The creation of the *Hof van Utrecht* clearly cut across the freedom of action of many groups. There is little doubt however, that the emperor on his part saw the acquisition of Utrecht in two ways: the short term solution of his problems of the military defence of the recently

acquired north-eastern lands, and the long-term role of the province as a source of revenue.

From this ambivalence of perceived roles stemmed a dangerous truculence upon the part of the province, and certainly so among the clergy. Within a year of the creation of the *Hof van Utrecht*, the executive arm of Habsburg rule in the province, the *Domdeken* through the submission of *Dolentiën* was involved in lengthy criticism of royal policy towards the church, and the jurisdiction of the cathedral in particular. Royal policy hit at the independence of the chapters of Utrecht by forbidding the free election of their deans. In this case the Chapter came very close to flouting royal wishes, although it never actually elected a dean inimical to central government. The Chapter reacted sharply to the emperor's attempts to dispose of the provostry to the episcopal revenues. It was in its reactions to the scheme of New Bishopricks that the Chapter revealed its downright opposition. It manoeuvred with considerable skill, and with the apparent collusion of powerful forces in Brussels effectively to emasculate the scheme as far as the northern Netherlands was concerned. The Chapter effectively secured its own independence from a major role in financing the new archbishop, and in reality it retained its jurisdiction in Westfriesland. It retained, to all intents and purposes, control over its membership, threatened by the original terms of the bull *Super universas*, by limiting entry of the inquisitors to papal months, so that by 1580 only six had been appointed out of the proposed nine.

In matters of taxation there is little doubt that the province of Utrecht was one of the most troublesome areas with which the financially much beleaguered government of Philip II had to deal. The

king was to ask for five aids in the course of his personal residence in the Netherlands in the years 1555 - 1559. The province of Utrecht was to reveal itself thoroughly un-cooperative in furnishing any of these, although the Estates never actually failed to produce funds.<sup>1</sup> This obstreperous stance is all the more remarkable in that the province produced less than 2 percent of the basic quota that comprised any given *bede*.<sup>2</sup> Beneath the rhetoric that tax demand disputes engendered, the issue was quite clear. By the *Overdracht* of 1528 the province of Utrecht had accepted Habsburg rule in return for protection and peace. Such contractual obligations as existed were more implicit than explicit, but there was a clear assumption on the part of the Habsburgs that the first duty of the province through its Estates was to supply the prince with financial support for war to defend the common good.

It is assumed that in the emergencies of 1528 the province of Utrecht by and large accepted this initially, for until the eclipse of Gelderland in 1543 and its incorporation into the Habsburg dominions, the province was something of a war zone. This circumstance may have been the reason for Utrecht being treated initially by the Habsburgs in much the same way as Friesland in matters of taxation, that is both provinces remained outside the *quotisatie* or system of sharing the general taxation, set by the States-General of the Habsburg lands, among the various provinces. This privileged position of Utrecht came under pressure from Holland, for having provided much of the money for the incorporation of the *Sticht*, it sought to have the province joined to itself, in much the same way that the secular lands of the bishopric of Tournai had been incorporated into Flanders. A compromise was reached in 1534 however, whereby the *Sticht* retained its administrative and fiscal

independence, but was united with Holland and Zeeland under a single *Stadhouder*. Henceforth the province was summoned to sessions of the Estates-General ...*om defensie ende preservatie derselver onser landen, om als éénrelay luyden, ende onder één regiment staende, mitten anderen ten besten daerinne te handelen ende te raden*<sup>2)</sup>. It was to be a feature of Utrecht's attitude to the fiscal demands of her rulers that she be regarded as an *nieuw aankomelingen*, province, that is, liable to pay only special *beden*.<sup>3)</sup>

As the reign of Charles V progressed, and his interests became more widely diversified, the attitude of his Netherlands subjects towards the unceasing burden of taxation became more critical. This was natural enough for the so-called 'patrimonial provinces', the heartland of southern and western provinces that made up the Burgundian inheritance. But the province of Utrecht was not in terms of adhesion to the Habsburg land one of these 'patrimonial provinces', although it seems clear that the Brussels government chose so to regard them, as when for instance in 1562 the Regent could use the phrase in writing to Philip II *ledict Utrecht se joindit au patrimoine de Votsre Majesté*.<sup>3)</sup> Equally the province sought to be regarded as a different class of province, those that for instance Margaret of Parma chose in the reign of Philip II to describe as *pays ... de nouvelle conquête*.<sup>4)</sup> By this status, applied for instance to Groningen and Gelderland, it seems that the government meant that these were areas to be dealt with some sensitivity. As late as 1562 Utrecht sought from the Regent Margaret of Parma recognition of it as *nieuwe aangekom land*. This was quite clearly the crux of relations between the province and the crown, the Estates demand to be counted as newly acquired territories subject to special

agreements concerning their existing privileges, and as such to be exempted from general contributions.<sup>53</sup>

Utrecht did not claim to be totally tax exempt, and indeed was prepared to pay, and in the course of the reign of Charles V did pay at least 194,000 gulden.<sup>54</sup> But by the end of the reign the worm had turned and resistance had clearly set in.

There were doubtless many reasons for this, but we would like to propose that a crucial element was the considerable opposition of the clergy, and especially that of the five *Hoofdkerkken* as represented in the *Staten van Utrecht*. Although socially similar to the province's *Ridderschap*, the clergy split with that body more frequently than it united with it over taxation.<sup>73</sup> The reason for this can be plausibly attributed to the fact that as a group the clergy were subject to double taxation by the emperor. In the course of his reign he secured papal approval for four clerical subsidies, in the years 1532, 1542, 1546 and 1552, that bore very heavily upon the clerical wealth of the province, as in almost every case the papal subsidy was a grant of half the income from benefices worth more than twenty-four florins.<sup>83</sup>

Although the subject of these subsidies has been touched upon in an earlier chapter, the figures for the subsidies of 1542, 1547 and 1553 give some idea of the sums involved. In 1542 the canons of the five *Hoofdkerken* were taxed in the sum of 2,735 florins, of which the *domkannuniken* paid 1,039 florins,<sup>93</sup> in 1546 the canons and *vicarissen* paid a total of 4,263 florins, of which the cathedral clergy paid 1,490 florins,<sup>103</sup> while in 1553 the canons and *vicarissen* of each chapter were taxed for 3,761 florins, of which the clergy of the cathedral paid 1,229 florins.<sup>113</sup> The issue may be illustrated in another way: between 1542

and 1546, the province was seeking to find 20,000 florins for one *bede* granted to the emperor in 1545, and, while the second clerical subsidy, that of 1547, was being collected, a further *bede* of 24,000 for the war in Germany had been granted in 1547. These *beden* placed a heavy burden upon the tax payers of the province: these tax payers were also rent-payers to the clergy, the base of the wealth upon which so much of the wealth of the individual prebend depended. The point to note in all this is the relatively small and compact group of people upon whom the burden of the clerical subsidies fell.

In considering for instance the sum for which the cathedral was taxed in 1542, the sum of 1,039 florins, it must be recalled that the resident canons, a group of around twenty four individuals, bore the brunt. It is hard to find examples of what this meant to each individual, but in 1537 the *Domscholaster* had to pay 18 florins for lands at Bergambacht in Holland, while the *Domproost* had to pay 48 florins for lands in Holland and Zeeland, while the Gelderland nobleman Frederik van Gent, canon of St. Marie was taxed at 35 florins for his *vicarie* of St. Pieter in the cathedral.<sup>12</sup> Later in the reign, in the subsidy of 1552, the provost of Leyden had to pay 5 florins for his benefice in the *Buurkerk* at Utrecht, the *domkannunik* Antoon Taets van Amerongen was taxed 3 florins on a chantry in *Wijk-bij-Duurstede*, and Herman, count of Rennenberg, canon of the *Oudmunster* had to pay 15 florins for the chantry in the castle at *Zuylen*.<sup>13</sup>

The sums cited above were, of course, well within the reach of these clerics, but they largely represented the charges upon minor benefices, and the charges upon their prebends must also be taken into account. In short, the higher clergy of Utrecht may have perceived the

burden of royal taxation as greater than in fact it was, and perceived its purpose as a threat to their privileged tax position more sinister than was envisaged by their prince. The cause of the problem is not then over-taxation so much as a failure on the part of the government to communicate its needs in terms which the tax-payers could understand. The very real need for funds by Philip II, funds required, as Mia Rodriguez-Salgado has shown, for the survival of Habsburg rule in the Netherlands<sup>14</sup> was simply not appreciated by such bodies at the periphery of his policy and dominions as the chapter of Utrecht.

There was however a price to pay for this long sustained obstruction. It seems very clear that small and poor as the province Utrecht was, it had built up something of an animus against itself in official circles by the reign of Philip II, perhaps in the mind of the king himself, especially in the years after his departure in 1559. Nowhere was this more clearly illustrated than in the indictment for *lése majesté* of the entire province of Utrecht by the duke of Alba for its alleged failure to suppress the iconoclastic riots, the *Beeldenstorm*, of 1566. It is true that some of the nobility of the province had been involved in the Compromise of the Nobility, and several had subsequently been arraigned and executed for their rebellious activities under the leadership of Hendrik van Brederode at that time. The province had taken a leading role in the opposition to taxes imposed by Philip II in his absence, and had flatly refused to consent to their imposition. It was at this point, in July 1570 that the government struck back at the province, by confiscating its most cherished possession, its privileges. Precisely what these privileges were is hard to say, but the government of the duke of Alba certainly

saw them in two ways. In the first place the province was debarred from session in the Estates General, (an ironic twist since Utrecht had on occasion acted as though it had no need to attend that body), and the cancellation of their administrative functions, with that task transferred to the *Hof van Utrecht*.<sup>153</sup>

In the years 1567 to 1577 the political elite of the province was apparently given the choice of the continuing animus of the royal government, (despite the perhaps tardy restoration of the privileges in 1574), or seeking some form of *modus vivendi* with other forces. The animus of the royal government was articulated as far as the province was concerned by the heavy quartering of Spanish troops upon the province, and probably most serious of all, the failure of the central government to secure for the citizenry of the province of 'the better sort', the prime duty of maintaining law and order and defence from both the Crown's troops and those of the Sea Beggars. Royal policy seemed quite unable to appreciate the damage that its actions were doing to the perceived relationship between itself and the political elite of the province. It is worth remembering that ten years elapsed before elements in the city of Utrecht expelled the royal troops from the Vredenburg, in January 1577, with whose eviction came the collapse of royal government there. Small wonder that there arose the possibility of the province working with rebel Holland and Zeeland, albeit with considerable misgiving and with some determined opposition from within the clergy. It is not altogether surprising to find the province signing the Union of Utrecht. That this was to lead to the outlawing of the practice of the Catholic faith in the city and province was not necessarily clear at the time, for by clause XIII of the Union each province was to be permitted

to regulate its religious stance as long as freedom of conscience was upheld. 18>

In considering how and why it was that the chapter of St. Maarten survived the upheaval of the Revolt as a corporation, albeit bereft of its apostolic *raison d'être* it is well to remember that it possessed three major areas of strength.

The first strength enjoyed by the Chapter was the impact upon contemporaries of its role as a venerable and ancient institution. Not least was the impact of this on its own members. When opposing the general thrust of the scheme of New Bishoprics in general, and the application to the diocese of Utrecht in particular, the canons were careful to point out the antiquity of their corporation, all but linking its foundation with the Apostles. It is unwise to dismiss claims of this sort as but rhetoric. In neighbouring Liège the canons there described themselves as *trefonciers*,, and while this word or similar was not used at Utrecht, that sense of permanency was not lacking. If by the time of the reign of Philip II, the secular power of the Chapter was no longer, it remained a memory, which was neither distant nor forgotten. In the Chapter itself the right to elect its dean without interference from the *Hof van Utrecht* was a continuing issue, and one not clearly resolved in favour of the central government. The role played by the Chapter in the deliberations of the *Staten van Utrecht* was clearly important, and perhaps dominant.

In addition the Chapter was a wealthy and ubiquitous corporation. It was the major landowner in the province, and a considerable landowner beyond it. To the society of Early Modern Europe this was of paramount, indeed, overriding importance. But the Chapter

was a very visible element in the life of the city, especially in the great set piece religious festivals and processions of the liturgical year, or in those great moments of civic pride such as a royal visit, when the pomp and circumstance of the day would inevitably comprise, or indeed, culminate in a festive ceremony, replete with organ, trumpet, and sweet singing in the choir, at the cathedral. Even by their station on such occasions, the members of the Chapter succeeded in emphasising its prestige. When Charles V visited Utrecht in 1540, the nobility and burghers met the emperor before the city gates, and the latter on bended knee offered him the keys of the city, but the clergy waited within the city close to the cathedral, on the borders of their *immuniteiten*, and, ranged behind the bishop, greeted the emperor, standing.<sup>17</sup>

Again, in moments of leisure, strolling in its streets, sitting chatting in its squares, the canon of the *Dom* was a figure of respect and substance. At another level, in the relative quiet of the pre-industrial city, the bells of the cathedral, as of other religious corporations, enabled the populace at large to share to some degree in the life of it and its *familia*. The hours of services, the occasions of rejoicing, whether the spectacular and unique success of one of its members becoming pope, or in the deaths of canons and their kin, the deaths of capitular servants, even the election of deans and archbishops, were all matters communicated to the city population at large by bells, and no doubt too, by gossip. There is no reason to doubt an intelligent interest in the doings of the Chapter and its members by that same population. Finally, along with the canons of the other chapters of the city, the figure of the canon was well-known in Utrecht. The *domkannunik* was a constant presence in the city: the cathedral's

twenty to twenty-four or so resident canons *capitulares* formed the pinnacle of a social elite made up of members of other chapters, an especially strong group at Utrecht in the absence of a resident *stadhouder*, and the meagre numbers of the officials of the *Hof van Utrecht*. The social composition of this resident body at the cathedral ensured that it had no rivals in the city other than on the very rare occasions of the visit of emperor, bishop or *stadhouder*. The local nobility were quite literally fathers, uncles, brothers, and nephews to the canons, and much the same was true of many of the members of the *Magistraat*, and there is no great evidence from the sixteenth century that these groups were, at root, great rivals.

A second major point to be observed of the Chapter is that it was a vibrant and active organism in the lives of a wide range of people of the the city and the province and beyond. The historian does well to recall that though eclipsed in its spiritual role by the events of the Revolt, the Chapter had long possessed a profound importance in secular affairs. A Catholic cathedral chapter might well appear the obvious target for attack and abolition in an apparently aggressive protestant or Reformed polity, but such a venerable Catholic institution was itself the focus of an ill-defined but nonetheless profound respect which placed it almost beyond the reach of damaging criticisms.

Nowhere was this last more vividly expressed than in one of those cameos that bring alive for the historian, and indeed the general reader, the events described in the documentation of the time. On the 26 August 1566, Reformed protestants in an angry and frustrated mood gathered when it became clear that their demands to the *Magistraat* for a church for their preaching had not been accepted. They met within the

shadow of the west end of the collegiate church of St. Marie at Utrecht, a foundation of 1081 of the emperor Henry IV and bishop Conrad of Utrecht. In this confused and threatening scene appeared Adriaan de Wael van Vronesteyn, a member of the Utrecht *Ridderschap*. His words 'What thousand devils are on the loose here ? What does this rabble want' ? were not calculated to calm matters. He was met by two other members of the *Ridderschap*, Johan van Renesse, *Heer van Wulven* and Wilp, and his uncle Gerard van Renesse, *Raadsheer* in the *Hof van Utrecht*, uncle and brother respectively of the late *Domdeken* Adriaan van Renesse, (ob. 1559), but both known sympathisers of the Reformed. There then followed this outburst from De Wael van Vronesteyn, as given by a witness at his subsequent trial, that is worth quoting in full:

'Listen here, Gerrit van Renesse, and you Wulp', taking *Heer* Gerrit van Renesse by the arm, 'of what are you thinking ? I was present when it was signed', [ i.e. the Compromise of the Nobility] 'but it was never intended to go to such lengths as these things you start here'. And as the *Heer van Wulp* sought to evade Vronesteyn, the latter seized him by his cloak, and added 'This was not meant. See there, there stands the church founded by emperors and bishops, not the work of our hands, yours or mine, and the same goes for the other churches and abbeys in which sit our kith and kin'.<sup>182</sup>

The canons were also landlords in rural areas and the surviving records show clearly that they were daily involved in the inspection of the capitular properties, and perhaps in their years as *cameraers* of the various capitular accounts came to know well their tenants, regular payers and defaulters alike. The adage in the lands of the Empire that 'life was good under the crozier' may have been an optimistic generalization at the best of times. The relationship between the *Domkapittel* and its tenants may not always have been easy, but when violence struck the city of Utrecht in 1566 it was not the houses of the canons that were assaulted, as occurred elsewhere in Early Modern

Germany.<sup>133</sup> While the rural population may have been in awe of their ecclesiastical masters, there is no reason to suppose that the townsman was similarly disposed. Yet the Chapter was an important employer of labour both skilled and unskilled in the city. The great impetus in the building of the cathedral had passed by the early sixteenth century, yet the cathedral fabric, even in normal years, provided employment for many trades and crafts within the city. While employment was not upon a scale that could seriously underpin the labour force of a city the size of Utrecht, yet it need not be doubted that along with the other religious institutions of the city, the Church was a major employer throughout the year. Beyond the bricks and mortar there were servants of varying degrees, clerks, notaries, craftsmen and traders, all in themselves the centre of family groups perhaps largely dependent upon fees and wages from the clergy of the city. All of this may have been insufficient to support fully a working population, but enough to separate such a population from destitution.

Finally it should be recognised that within the terms of its age, the Chapter represented a concentrated repository of talent. While later ages might be sceptical of the value of the compendius nature of learning of the sixteenth century, that century valued it, and those who sought what that world of learning had to offer were honoured by those outside it. While it is true that the learning possessed by the canons was narrow, being largely law and theology, yet that learning was deep. By their very natures law and theology were studies of precedent and precision, studies well suited to a defensive mentality which the guardians of a rich and far flung fortune were required to exercise in a notoriously litigious age. The Church as a whole had been living with a

defensive attitude to its possessions for centuries, as had the cathedral Chapter, and it was no mean achievement of the canons to reach the eve of the Revolt with so much of their fortune and influence unimpaired. That it did so was largely due to the intelligence and ingenuity of its members, who were well able to make as much of a case, however weak it may have been. Frequently however, the case, in sixteenth century terms, was not weak.

The battles the canons of the Chapter had to fight were no more varied in principle than those their lay brothers in the *ridderschap* or the *Magistraat*. had to fight. If, in economic terms, Philip II sought to make his Netherlands provinces pay in more realistic terms for his war and foreign policy, then cathedral chapter and *hofstede* were equally threatened, as landowners, by such a policy, striking as it did at their fiscal immunities and the capacity of their dependents to pay both rents and local *accijns*. If, in religious terms, the legal principles of *lèse majesté* were applied to the crime of heresy, bringing economic ruin to the family through confiscation of the property of the delinquent individual, this was little different to the damage inflicted upon the incomes of resident canons and senior clergy through government policy over the New Bishoprics. These were not equal threats, but they helped to create a community of interests in a political elite that a ruler, with more room to manoeuvre than Philip II in the fifteen-fifties and fifteen-sixties, might have studied to avoid. It was no small part of Philip's misfortune in his relations with the political elite of his Netherlands dominions, that in seeking realistic solutions to the problems inherent in the defence and maintenance of his polyglot and far-flung inheritance, he should find himself pitted against some very

conservative forces indeed. It is not argued that the Chapter of Utrecht was an especially important opponent of the policies of Philip II: but it was an effective one because it had long had practice in the art of obstruction that was for it the art of survival.

**A P P E N D I C E S**

## APPENDIX 1 :

## THE PROBLEMS OF A COMMENDATORY ABBOT : GEORGE VAN EGMONT, ABBOT OF ST. AMAND-EN-PAVELE, 1521 - 1545.

George van Egmont, the fourth son of Johan van Egmont, first count of Egmont, and his wife Madeline, countess of Werdenberg, was born on 2 June 1504. As was to be expected of such a junior scion of a prominent family of the Habsburg Netherlands, clearly destined for the church, he secured early proofs of royal patronage, if not very much in the way of fruits. The emperor Charles V on the 11 October 1524, had earmarked for him the rich abbey of St. Martin at Tournai, a city that had fallen to imperial arms by December, 1521, warning the monks that on the death of their commendatory abbot, cardinal Salviati, bishop of Porto, they were to elect none but George van Egmont. Unfortunately for Egmont cardinal Salviati was not to die for some twelve years, on 28 October 1533. Doubtless Egmont's family pointed out to Charles V that while the nomination to St. Martin was an honour greatfully received by the family, it was also of no immediate practical value, for the emperor on 12 September 1525, nominated Egmont as abbot of St. Amand-en-Pavéle.

If the abbey of St. Martin at Tournai had been a castle in Spain, the abbey of St. Amand had more the nature of the poisoned chalice. Since 1518 the abbey had been held *in commendam* by Louis de Bourbon, son of the count of Vendôme, and hence a junior member of the royal house of France. Created a cardinal in 1517 at the age of twenty-four, he had been since 1510 also bishop of Laon, one of the great ecclesiastical *pairs* of France. While the seizure of Tournai had not in canon law affected Louis de Bourbon's right to its revenues, the fortunes of war dictated otherwise, as Charles V had on 8 August 1521,

charged the abbatial officers to remit no further sums due to their absentee abbot. Initially Louis de Bourbon had agreed in a gentlemanly fashion to resign his abbacy to George van Egmont in return for an annual pension of 3,000 florins payable by the latter upon the abbey's revenues. It had been upon the strength of this agreement that the emperor had nominated George van Egmont in the first place. No sooner had this bargain been concluded however, than Louis de Bourbon sought to set about re-entering upon possession of the abbacy. It seems a reasonable inference that he was encouraged in this by his sovereign Francis I, who promptly seized the French territories of two abbeys held by a Habsburg supporter, the prince-bishop of Geneva. Tedious negotiations swirled around the highly placed pawns of Geneva, Laon, and Egmont in this undignified game until 1535, before Louis de Bourbon finally desisted with his claims upon St. Amand.

As if Louis de Bourbon's tergiversations, not to mention his annual pension of 3,000 florins, were not enough to bear, Egmont, as abbot of St. Amand since 1525, was also responsible for the pensions of no less than two of the cardinal-bishop's predecessors. The first of these pensions, dating from 1513, was for 600 *livres Tournois*, plus the fruits of the dependant priory of Barisis, while the other was an annual pension of 1,000 florins, for which papal approval had been secured in 1513. In fact both these pensioners were dead by 1535, which should have made Egmont's financial position rather easier. Unfortunately the lands of the priory of Barisis lay in the war zone that was devastated and occupied by the French on the outbreak of hostilities in 1536 between Francis I and Charles V. Further approaches appear to have been made to the emperor on behalf of George van Egmont,

for the former on 27 December 1537, assigned him a pension of 6,000 *livres de Flandres* charged upon the lands of French abbeys in imperial hands. The priory of Barisis was not restored until after the Peace of Crépy in March, 1545.

Until now the revenues of George van Egmont from St. Amand had suffered damage essentially from 'enemy action', but these revenues were no less free from the depredations of his 'friends' chief amongst which was the emperor himself. As *Landsheer*, that is, as count of Hainault, he taxed the abbey annually at 1,000 florins for ordinary *aides* and *tailles*, as well as guarantor of loans raised upon the clergy of the county. In 1535 the emperor secured an extra-ordinary subsidy from the clergy of his Netherlands dominions, for which St. Amand was assessed at 6532 florins. In addition to the financial exactions of the emperor, there was Antoine Perronet de Granvelle, who on becoming bishop of Arras in 1538, secured a pension of 2,000 *livres de Flandres* charged upon the abbey, a mulcting that Egmont could do little about. Falling between his friends and foes, George van Egmont, as the possessor of an abbey estimated at his death to be worth between 14,000 and 15,000 florins *per annum*, found himself responsible for regular charges and annual pensions of some 6,000 florins. Small wonder that in 1534 the finances of the abbey were supporting an annual deficit of 3,500 florins.

George van Egmont was not without the support of other benefices, but each in turn appears on closer examination to be rather more flourishing on paper than in reality. After the grant of St. Amand in 1525, and during the turmoil over his possession that followed, Egmont had secured on 10 March 1525, a canonry in the cathedral chapter of Liège. Since the cathedral of St. Lambert at Liège had the reputation

for the richest prebends in the Empire, it might be thought that this new possession might go some way to keeping the wolf from the door, but canons in that cathedral had to wait some four years before they could touch their revenues, and such fruits, even when available, were severely diminished by Egmont's persistent absenteeism. This last feature was all the more remarkable as in addition to his canonry at Liège, Egmont had been elected dean there in 1534. In December, 1537, doubtless at the prompting of his exasperated chapter of St. Lambert, pope Paul III wrote to him enjoining either to take up residence at Liège or resign the deanery. As however shortly after securing the deanery George van Egmont had been nominated to the bishopric of Utrecht, in 1534, there was now even less likelihood of residence, the chapter of St. Lambert quietly abandoned hope and sensibly resorted to the election of an acting vice-dean. Egmont clung on to his deanery like a limpet till August, 1548, when he exchanged it with Gerard van Groesbeek for a *vicarie* in the church of Louveigné, which suggests that the deanery by then was financially no great prize, without residence which by 1580, and in the early seventeenth century was certainly the case, or that he sold the office to Van Groesbeek.

As noted earlier at the beginning of this essay George van Egmont could rely upon the support of the emperor Charles V. In the 1520's he had seen the promise of the succession to one rich abbey, St. Martin at Tournai, the actual, though disputed, possession of the abbey of St. Amand, along with a considerable cash grant, and perhaps royal influence was exerted for the deanery of Liège. The 1530's were to see the royal patronage exercised in favour of Egmont's candidacy for a bishopric. In 1533 Charles V had suggested Egmont amongst others as a

possible coadjutor *de jure successionis* to the ageing Everard de la Mark, prince-bishop of Liège. This coadjutory was bestowed elsewhere, but Egmont was not overlooked and upon the death of that devoted Habsburg client and lifetime resident of Rome, Willem van Enckevoirt, the emperor nominated Egmont to the vacant bishopric of Utrecht on 24 December 1534, a right royal Christmas present.

For all its geographical extent and the former princely status of its bishops, the secularised see of Utrecht did not bring to its bishop glittering prizes in terms of revenue. At the *overdracht* in 1528 it had been agreed that the bishop was to receive in return for the surrender of his temporal power an annual pension of 2,000 Brabant gulden, and should retain such spiritual revenues as existed, and these last appear to have been but derisory sums. In the financial year 1529 - 1530 Michael van Enckevoirt, as proctor, that is, receiver, for his uncle cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt, bishop of Utrecht, had received 268 carolus gulden, and the situation was even worse in Egmont's first year as bishop, 1535, for he received a mere 44 Holland florins. Once more one has to note that even with the annual pension of 2,000 gulden, the episcopal revenues were initially burdened with charges to the papal Curia of some 4,600 ducats. This sum would have made nonsense of the pension for some years to come, and Egmont secured on the strength of this a substantial reduction to 500 ducats of the *taxa* due in the Apostolic Chamber. At approximately the same time he secured a papal dispensation to his holding the bishopric along with his deanery at Liège and his abbacy of St. Amand. Thus it was that despite possessing a rich abbey, a prestigious bishopric and a secular pension, George van Egmont found himself in the early 1540's in straitened financial

circumstances. It was just prior to this period also that he was nominated to serve on the royal commission enquiring into the apparently interminable dispute between the Chapter of Utrecht and its provost Johan Slacheck, and it was certainly then, in leafing through the accounts of the rich provostry that the bishop or his financial advisers became aware of a possible solution to his pressing financial needs, the incorporation of the rich provostry to the *tafelgoederen* of the bishopric of Utrecht.

## APPENDIX 2 :

ACCOUNTS OF THE *PROOSDIJKAMER*.

Sample digest of the accounts for the year 1551 derived from AKD 696 - 9, the accounts of the *Proosdijkamer*.

1. I Receipts of customary payments due to the provost as:
- a) Feudal superior - Total - 48 fl.
  - b) Ecclesiastical superior, i.e. as patron of churches in the gift of the *Domproost*.- nil.
  - c) *Cens* due for provostal estates at Doorn, Cothen, the Langenbroecks and Amerongen.
  - d) Farms of the office of *schout* in Amerongen, Oostveen, Doorn, Cothen, and the Langenbroecks. Total - 28 fl.
- [N.B. This year, 1551, the *schouten*, of Doorn and Nederlangenbroeck, at the request of the provost, paid nothing].
- e) Ground rents of estates leased to the *Heer van Merode*, at Westerloo, in the Veluwe, at Quakerberke, Hersel and Berchem. Total - 108 fl.
  - f) Customry payments to the provost by chapter of St. Mary at Bruges. Total - 11 fl.
- II
- a) Receipts of various rents from lands and tithes secured upon properties around Utrecht, at Brienen, Hagesteyn, Andels, Wadenoy, and Kamerijk, which last was leased to Osbald, Count of Bergh for 232 fl.
  - b) The great and small tithes of Jaarsveld. Total - 1055 fl.
- III Rents from land at Sevenhoven. Total - 755 fl.
- IV The tithes of both Langenbroecks, one half for the provost, the other half for the *Maiore Camera*.  
To the provost Total - 569 fl.
- V Tithes in Cothen. Total - 921 fl.
- VI Rents in the the lordship of Abcoude, in Amerongen, and the tithes in Rhenen.
- [Among the tenants is noted the capitular secretary, Sander van Bommel, the rent from the last being 140 fl.]
- Total : - 3947 fl.

2. Receipts from grain sales from the capitular estates:
- |     |                           |                  |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------|
| I   | Receipts from corn sales. | Total - 1507 fl. |
| II  | Receipts from rye sales,  | Total - 849 fl.  |
| III | Receipts oats sales.      | Total - 16 fl.   |
|     | Total from grain sales:   | - 2373 fl.       |
3. Grand total of totals 1. and 2. - 6321 fl.
4. Payments made by the *Socius* of the provost, in effect the bailiff of the *proosdijkamer* by way of expenses. Under this heading fall payments made by the *Socius*:
- a) To the canons in flour doles for the daily distribution of bread during residence:  
 In this case [1551] rated at some 690 bushels (*amodius*) of 20 *schepel*), divided among thirty-two prebends.
- b) Similar doles for the resident canons *sine supplemento*.  
 Rated at some 91 bushels and one *schepel*.
- c) Similar doles divided among:
- i. For the provost's agents, the *Socius* Johan Knijff, and his *sacclanus* Willem Bogart.  
 9 bushels and 5 *schepel* each.
  - ii. For two sacristans of the cathedral.  
 3 bushels 15 *schepel* each.
  - iii. At the command of the Chapter for the capitular feast on Maunday Thursday, 3 bushels.
- The total for these doles was some 30 bushels.  
 In the year 1551 these bushel totals were computed at just over 3 florins the bushel giving a grand total under this heading of:  
 - 2140 fl.
5. A further total of rye sales:  
 - 951 fl.
6. A total of grain used in the brewing of beer for the daily distributions of the resident canons converted to a money total  
 - 1045 fl.
7. An annual, and apparently fixed, charge payable for daily distributions from what anciently must have been rights of free warren over rabbits [*Coninij*].  
 - 305 fl.
8. The receipts from other properties and rents designated the *Bonorum veterum*.  
 - 1220 fl.
9. Grand total of payments made in grain and daily distributions, and designated as expenses of the *Socius*.  
 - 5318 fl.
10. Defaulted payments.  
 - 76 fl.
11. Surplus  
 - 143 fl.



1577 4331 + 4256 = 8587 4049 1873 1821 305 = 1403 9147 - -  
[ *Restanten* on this account stood at 3623 fl.].

1578 4774 + 3386 = 11500 3464 1708 1397 305 = 1403 7974 - -  
[ *Restanten* on this account stood at 2894 fl. while by the year  
1581 it stood at 1185 fl.]

## APPENDIX 3 :

ACCOUNTS OF THE *Maior Camera*, 1538 - 1581.

The accounts of the *Maior Camera*, AKD 626 are laid out in a straightforward manner in that they comprise initially two major sections.

The first of these is the receipts, mainly cash, from some fourteen groups of payments or *summa*. These receipts derived from three main sources: *erfpachten* or ground rents, tithes and rents. The *Cameraer* of the *Maior Camera* was responsible for collecting the Chapter's ground rents in IJsselsteyn, Langenbiesen and Hagestein, and in 1549 these amounted to some 2293 £Ut. It was amidst the payments under this heading that some residual payments in kind may be discerned, for in the entries for the *erfpachten* due from Hagesteyn some seventy-eight entries note payments of capon along with money renders. Tithes were collected for the *Maior Camera* in the parishes of IJsselsteyn, Honswijk, Gobberdingen, Hagesteyn, Lexmonde and Langenbroek, and in the Land van Vianen, and quite clearly represented an important element in the wealth of the Chapter, for in 1549 they brought in the sum of 6243 £Ut., or just under half the revenues of this account. It is in the light of this sort of figure that the lengthy tithe disputes undertaken by the Chapter may be seen. Finally money rents for parcels of land were received from estates in the parishes of Achtersloot, Den Eng, (where also some 60 capon were rendered), and Oudwater, and then from numerous scattered locations.

The expenses are noted under several headings, the rather obvious ordinary expenses, and the equally expected extraordinary expenses. Also classed as an expense are the defalcations experienced due to defaulting tenants for the current year. There then follow the *restanten* or arrears from previous years from these selfsame defaulters. It is at this stage in the accounts that are noted the purchase of *Renten*.

These various *summa* were added together and subtracted from the totality of the receipts, and this surplus was set to be divided in a rather complicated manner among the capitular canons. To begin with the *restanten* (arrears from previous years) was divided into forty portions, one fortieth being the sum passed on to a fully resident capitular canon or *pleno*, half of which sum, (or one eightieth) is granted to *medii*, and half again is the share of a *quartarii*, the numbers of these varying from year to year. At this stage there is reference to *Negligentia*, an entry accounting for but 92£Ut. and for which it has not been possible to find a coherent explanation: it must be presumed the figure represents days of absence within the period of the greater residence, that is a period of more than six months in the year, during which individual canons were absent, and presumably absent without leave of the dean and Chapter. Once this subtraction has been made the remainder was divided into two portions, the first, called *Capitularibus* is divided among all the resident canons, such that the *pleno* receives two fortieths of the initial sum, again in the same proportions as above. It is after this second division that the remainder is divided among the resident members. The second portion of the revenues of the *Maior Camera*, known as *In principalibus* is also divided initially into forty portions, and applied to the capitular canons in the same way as before. At this division also is taken the sums due to defunct canons, or more

correctly, their executors and heirs, for the *karantiejaren* or years of grace, also graduated in terms of *plenii*, *medii* and *quartarii*. After this division the final division of the revenues of the *Maior camera* took place, and it accounted for the lion's share of the revenues, as may be seen from the following table, which represents the repartitions of the year 1556. In following the table it is important to bear in mind that the canon computer knew before he began his work that the surplus available to him in 1556 was 11161*Ut.* as well as 637*Ut.* in *restanten* or arrears from previous years.

I	<i>Restanten</i> i.e. arrears, for 1555:			
	637 <i>Ut.</i>	÷ 40	=	15 <i>Ut.</i>
	2 x <i>plenii</i> receive			15 <i>Ut.</i> 18sc. 7d each.
	7 x <i>medii</i> receive			7 <i>Ut.</i> 19sc. 4d each.
	4 x <i>quartarii</i> receive			3 <i>Ut.</i> 19sc. 8d each.
				Total =103 <i>Ut.</i> 11sc. 8d
II	<i>In capitularibus</i>			
	637 <i>Ut.</i>	- 103 <i>Ut.</i>	=	533 <i>Ut.</i>
	533 <i>Ut.</i>	divided among the capitular canons:		
		16 x <i>pleni</i> @ 30 <i>Ut.</i>		10sc. 5d
		3 x <i>medii</i> @ 15 <i>Ut.</i>		5sc. 2 <i>d</i>
III	<i>Negligentia</i>			
	92 <i>Ut.</i>	(23 small totals subtracted from individual canons amounting to some 9 <i>l</i> leaving 83 <i>Ut.</i> )		
	83 <i>Ut.</i>	divided among the capitular canons:		
		16 x <i>pleni</i> @ 4 <i>Ut.</i>		10sc. 4d
		2 x <i>medii</i> @ 2 <i>Ut.</i>		5sc. 2d
IV	<i>In principalibus</i>			
	11161 <i>Ut.</i>	÷ 40	=	289 <i>Ut.</i>
	2 x <i>plenii</i> receive			289 <i>Ut.</i> 15sc. 0d
	9 x <i>medii</i> receive			139 <i>Ut.</i> 10sc. 5d
	2 x <i>medii</i> for years of grace.			139 <i>Ut.</i> 10sc. 5d
	6 x <i>quartarii</i>			79 <i>Ut.</i> 15sc. 2d
	<i>Ad prebendam defunctorum</i>			
	3 x <i>plenii</i> to executors			139 <i>Ut.</i> 10sc. 5d
	2 x <i>medii</i> to executors			139 <i>Ut.</i> 10sc. 5d
				Total 3627 <i>Ut.</i> 11sc. 5d
	The sum of 11161 <i>Ut.</i>	<i>in principalibus</i> :		
	Take away the above total	3627 <i>Ut.</i> 11sc. 5d		
	This leaves the sum of	7534 <i>Ut.</i> 3sc. 3d		
	Divided among 18 <i>plenii</i> and			
	1 <i>medii</i> comprising			
	the resident canons:			
	18 x <i>plenii</i> receive			407 <i>Ut.</i> 5sc.
	1 x <i>medii</i> receives			203 <i>Ut.</i> 12sc. 6d

The combination of *Restanten*, *Negligentia*, and *in principalibus* totals 442*Ut.* 5sc. 6d

This converted to *moneta gravi*  
or 176 Holl. flor., 3st. 2alb.

A Annual totals of sums left to *Cameraer* after expenses and charges with sum remitted to each *pleno* canon, 1538 - 1581.

Accounts kept in £Ut. but totals converted to *moneta gravi*, i.e. Holland florins, in roughly the ratio of 1 Fl. Holl = 2.50 £Ut. After 1562 the accounts were kept in Holland florins. Where totals are missing, one has been supplied by computation and this is indicated by the insertion of square brackets.

	Surplus in hands of <i>Cameraer</i> in £Ut.	Remittance to <i>Pleno</i> .	
		£Ut.	Holl. flor.
1538	6609	165	
1539	[Incomplete totals]		
1540	7778	194	
1541	7276	181	
1542	6036	173	
1543	6153	153	
1544	8233	205	
1545	[Accounts missing]		
1546	" "		
1547	" "		
1548	" "		
1549	" "		
1550	12067	301	[c. 120]
1551	13375	334	[c. 133]
1552	12290	307	[c. 122]
1553	13634	340	136
1554	14611	365	146
1555	15574	389	155
1556	11161	289	111
1557	17951	448	179
1558	11905	297	119
1559	14249	331	144
1560	13807	345	138
1561	14539	363	145
1562	[Incomplete accounts]		

Hereafter receipts accounted for in Holl. Florins.

	Surplus in hands of <i>Cameraer</i> in Flor. Holl.	Share to <i>pleno</i> Holland florins.	
1563	6740		167
1564	[Incomplete accounts]		
1565	6221		155
1566	5876		144
1567	6319		157
1568	5805		145
1569	4785		119
1570	3778		94
1571	2831		70
1572	2571		64
1573	3406		[c. 85]
1574	3421		[c. 85]
1575	2868		71

1576	1638	40
1577	2918	74
1578	2517	[c.63]
1579	2563	64
1580	3260	81

B Arrears (*restanten*) from the *Maior Camer*, 1561 - 1574.

Payments appear to have been made in two stages: a division amongst all canons according to their degree of *plenii*, *medii* or *quarterii*, and then a division of the remainder among the resident canons. The sums are quite small, but the computation reveals the advantages of being a resident canon. Totals are given for *pleno* canons.

		Total							
		Holl.	Flor.	sc.	d.	Holl.	Flor.	sc.	d.
1561	I Division:		6	8	3				
	II Division:		9	11	6				
						15	19	9	
1562	I Division:		3	14	0				
	II Division:		5	6	0				
						9	0	0	
1563	I Division:		4	15	1				
	II Division:		5	19	3				
						10	14	4	
1564	I Division:			14	2				
	II Division:		1	0	3				
						1	14	5	
1565	I Division:		5	8	0				
	II Division:		8	12	0				
						14	0	0	
1566	I Division:		5	14	0				
	II Division:		8	14	0				
						14	8	0	
1567	I Division:		4	9	9				
	II Division:		6	14	0				
						11	3	9	
1568	I Division:		4	8	0				
	II Division:		6	16	0				
						11	4	0	
1569	I Division:		19	11	0				
	II Division:		28	0	0				
						47	11	0	

1570	I Division:	27 - 10 - 10	
	II Division:	38 - 8 - 6	65 - 19 - 4
1571	I Division:	68 - 19 - 0	
	II Division:	44 - 3 - 0	113 - 2 - 0
1572	I Division:	75 - 7 - 0	
	II Division:	118 - 8 - 0	193 - 15 - 0
1573	I Division:	70 - 7 - 0	
	II Division:	96 - 0 - 0	166 - 7 - 0
1574	I Division:	67 - 6 - 0	
	II Division:	90 - 8 - 0	157 - 14 - 0

[NB: The higher totals for the years 1569 onwards are some evidence of the increasing lawlessness of the country and may also represent something of the the difficulty in securing rents initially, although the presence of arrears in the totals distorts to some degree].

C Table of derived income from initial receipts and *restanten* for the years 1565 - 1577. Totals in Holland florins. Figures in square brackets are computed from untotalled entries in the accounts.

	Initial remittance to <i>pleno</i>	<i>Restanten</i>	Total
1565	155	14	169
1566	144	14	158
1567	157	11	168
1568	145	11	156
1569	119	47	166
1570	94	65	159
1571	70	113	183
1572	64	193	257
1573	[c.85]	166	251
1574	[c.85]	157	242
1575	71	?	?
1576	40	?	?
1577	73	[c.43]	[c.116]

## APPENDIX 4 :

II ACCOUNTS OF THE *Minor Camera*, 1530 - 1579.

A Annual totals of sums left in the hands of the *Camerear* after expenses and charges with the sum remitted to each resident *pleno* canon, (a number that varied annually) 1530 - 1579.

Accounts kept in £Ut. but totals converted to *moneta gravi*, i.e. Holland florins. From 1561 accounts entered in Holland florins. Where totals are missing, one has been supplied by computation and this is indicated by the insertion of square brackets.

	Surplus in hands of <i>Cameraer</i> in £Ut.	Remittance to <i>Pleno</i> . £Ut.	Holl. flor.
1530	4417		
1531	3546		
1532	2837	115	?
1533	3797	161	114
1534	3460	144	?
1535	2955	137	54
1536	5505	244	97
1537	5722	115	23
1538	3986	237	94
1539	6187	?	109
1540	5230	261	104
1541	5975	298	119
1542	6892	344	137
1543	5317	295	118
1544	7459	392	?
1545	9178	509	?
1546	10394	692	277
1547	8995	529	211
1548	8212	469	?
1549	9134	415	164
1550	10239	499	?
1551	10607	505	202
1552	11884	552	?
1553	12080	589	235
1554	13788	707	282
1555	13145	751	300
1556	12145	656	262
1557	13988	717	285
1558	13870	693	277
1559	15492	836	334
1560	16626	772	309

Totals now computed in Holland florins.

Surplus in hands of *Cameraer* in Holl. flor.

1561	7210	343
1562	7312	324
1563	7919	352
1564	7893	358
1565	8290	[414]
1566	7799	339
1567	8021	364
1568	8127	406
1569	8837	400
1570	7398	314
1571	7059	278
1572	5710	265
1573	6127	250
1574	?	?
1575	[Accounts missing]	
1576	291	11

[The picture for 1576 is not quite as grim as these totals suggests since these accounts include defalcations of 4727 fl. and two totals of arrears amounting to 3857 fl. It is difficult to assess how under the complicated system of repartition among the canons these sums were disbursed, but a rough computation suggests that a resident *pleno* might have received about 200 fl.]

1577

[Accounts missing]

1578	3334	125
1579	3586	137

## APPENDIX 5 :

ACCOUNTS OF THE *Bona divisa*, 1551 - 1573.

Annual totals of sums left in the hands of the *Cameraer* prior to division into 40 parts. It is not altogether clear as to what happened next: it seems that each *pleno* received a fortieth part of the residue of the *Bona divisa*, and when the number of fortieth parts equivalent to the number of resident canons present for that year was deducted from the residue, it was then divided among the resident canons equally. Not all residents were *pleno* canons, however, hence after the first division the residue was again divided according to whether the resident canon was *pleno*, *medii* or *quartarii*. In addition it should be borne in mind that the actual value to each resident canon is greater than the resulting figure since the computation takes no account of *restanten* due from previous years that would need to be added. The accounts were kept in £Ut, but totals of residue seem to have been noted in Holl. florins.

	Surplus in hands of <i>Cameraer</i>	One fortieth for <i>pleno</i>	Residents
1551	1103 Holl. flor.	27 Holl. flor.	20.
1552	2201	55	20
1553	2134	49	19
1554	2130	48	18
1555	2404	61	16
1556	6661	166	18
1557	2554	61	18
1558	[Accounts missing]		19
1559	2579	65	18
1560	2079	51	19
1561	2494	62	19
1562	2413	60	19
1563	2312	57	20
1564	2296	57	20
1565	2423	60	20
1566	2444	61	21
1567	2684	66	20
1568	[Accounts missing]		18
1569	" "		20
1570	2302	57	22
1571	[Accounts missing]		23
1572	2617	65	19
1573	1972	41	22

## APPENDIX 6 :

ACCOUNTS OF THE *Bona cerevisie*, 1545 - 1578.

Annual totals of sums given to an individual *pleno* canon, totals divided by 40 in £Ut. prior to 1555 and in Holland florins thereafter.

	Surplus in hands of <i>Cameraer</i>	Share per <i>pleno</i>	
		£Ut.	Holland Florins
1545	?	20	
1546	?	22	
1547	809 £Ut.	20	
1548	696	17	
1549	778	19	
1550	?	22	
1551	?	16	
1552	?	27	
1553	?	20	
1554	?	32	
1555	?	29	= 11 Holl. flor.
1556	?	28	
1557	?	33	= 13
1558	?	29	= 11
1559	?	33	= 13
1560	?	36	= 14
1561	?	35	= 14
1562	574 Holl. flor.		14
1563	656		16
1564			15
1565			16
1566			15
1567			16
1568			11
1569			18
1570			18
1571	[Accounts missing]		
1572	" "		
1573			13
1574			8
1575			23
1576			2

[NB. The *cameraer* noted in his accounts for this year *Defalcationes causa turbulentiarum horum temporum factel.*

1577	(Accounts missing)		
1578	392 Holl. flor.		9

## APPENDIX 7 :

ABSTRACTS CONCERNING HIS PREBEND FROM THE ACCOUNT BOOK OF JORIS STRIJT,  
1557 - 1560.

Joris Strijt was chaplain to bishop George van Egmont, and presumably largely attendant upon the latter at his abbey of St. Amand in Hainault. The cathedral statutes permitted a canon in the service of the bishop to be classed as a fully resident canon, but limited the chambers from which the absentee was to receive fruits. In the case of Strijt payments were made to him at different periods in the year from the *Maior camera*, the *Minor camera*, the *Bona divisa*, the *Proosdijkamer*, and the *Bona cerevisiae*. Such sums as were paid to him were either retained by the various chamberlains, or Johan van Lamsweerd, the Clerk to the Chapter, to be collected by Strijt on his visits to Utrecht, usually for the autumn synod, or finally sent to him by the hands of his servant Cornelius. His master the bishop of Utrecht died in the course of 1559 and Strijt appears to have entered full residence for the year 1559 - 60, and the accounts reveal the smaller incidental payments that a resident received from attendance in choir, as well as shares in premiums secured on the sale of tithes, and a share in the fines of absentee chantry priests, the *choralia* mentioned in the accounts. By fulfilling the terms of his First Residence, he became a full canon, or *pleno*, and this explains the rapid rise in the income from the prebend in these years, the totals for which were as follows:

1557 - 58	400 Flo. ren.
1558 - 59	310 " " .
1559 - 60	548 " " .
1560 - 61	892 " " .

It will be noted that payments from the various *camers* were spread over several years, and this explains the considerable spread in the annual totals.

He appears to have taken his choir duties seriously, and always officiated or assisted at the masses of the Venerable Sacrament, as well as the various obits in the cathedral, falling on his visits to the city. The abstracts cited below are from the account book, *AKD 330*, and the accounts appear to have been kept in Rhenish florins, noting as well payments in kind in wine. The accounts ran from the feast of St. Remigius, that is from 13 September to 12 September.

**Anno 1557.***Maior camer.*

Johan Beyer pays Strijt for the year 155 100 Flor. Ren.

Johan Beyer pays Strijt after the feast of St. Remigius, 1557, 53 florins ren. for the year 1555.

*Bonorum divisa.*

29 September 1557, Johan van Lamsweerd paid over to Strijt 41 Flor. ren. due from *cameraer* Poelenburg.

*Proosdijkamer.*

Johan Beyer paid Strijt 100 flor. ren for the year 1551.

Johan van Lamsweerd pays Strijt 106 flor. ren. for the year 1556 due from *Socius* Johan Beyer.

*Bonis cerevisie.*

Cornelis van Nijenrode pays Strijt 11 flor. ren. for 1555.

**TOTAL PAYMENTS RECEIVED IN 1557 - 58 : 400 flor. ren.**

**Anno 1558.***Maior camer.*

In September Johan Beyer paid Strijt 140 flor. ren. due from 1556.

*Bonis divisa.*

In September Dns. Poelenburg paid Strijt 43 Flor. ren.

*Bonis Cerevisie.*

Johan van Bruhezen paid Strijt 11 florins Ren.

23 May 1559 Johan van Bruhezen paid me 11 flor. ren.

*Proosdijkamer.*

In December 1558 Johan Beyer paid Strijt 105 flor. ren. for the year 1557.

**TOTAL PAYMENTS RECEIVED IN 1558 - 59 : 310 flor. ren.**

**Anno 1559.**

[The year Strijt took up full residence].

*Maior camer.*

29 November 1559 Johan Beyer paid Strijt 76 flor. ren. for 1557.

15 December 1559 Johan Beyer paid strijt 20 flor. ren. for the Christmas term.

27 January 1560 Johan beyer paid Strijt 58 flor. ren. for the year 1558.

18 March 1560 Johan Beyer paid Strijt 20 flor. ren. for the Easter term.

23 April Johan Beyer paid Strijt 40 flor. ren. for 1558.

At the end of June Johan Beyer paid Strijt 20 flor. ren. for 1559.

An un-dated payment by Johan Beyer to Strijt 16 flor. ren. for 1558.

On feast of St. Remigius Strijt received from Johan Beyer 9 flor. ren.

*Minor camer.*

15 December 1559 Strijt received 20 flor. ren. for the Christmas term.

23 March 1560 Strijt received from Groeff van Erkelens 20 flor. ren. for the Easter term

13 July Strijt received from Groeff van Erkelens 20 flor. ren.

*Bonis divisa.*

20 December 1559 Poelenburg paid Strijt 20 flor. ren. for 1558.

21 March 1560 Poelenburg paid Strijt 20 flor. ren. for 1558.

At a date prior to 30 September 1560 Poelenburg paid Strijt 38 flor. ren. for 1558.

*Proosdijkamer.*

29 November 1559, Strijt was paid 26 flor. ren. for 1558.

23 February 1560 Johan Beyer paid Strijt 25 flor. ren for 1559.

**TOTAL PAYMENTS RECEIVED IN YEAR 1559 - 60 : 448 flor. ren.**

In addition to this total from the great accounts of the cathedral Strijt was paid much smaller sums of money and gifts of cans of wine for various other services, mainly in the choir as follows:

Feast of St. Margareta - 20 July 1559 - recd. 4 stuivers.

Feast of St. Nicholas - 6 December 1559 - 4 stuivers

18 December 1559 - Strijt received from dean Renesse 3 florins and three cans of wine.

19 December 1559 - Strijt received 1½ florins from the dean from the fees paid by Dirk Boncamp on the latter's promotion to a supplement to his prebend.

30 December, 1559 - Strijt received a double share in the dean's *vinalia* or fees shared among the canons on the latter's entry to office, of 3 florins 6 stuivers.

4 January 1560 - for presence at the mass of the Venerable Sacrament, Strijt receives 3 florins 3 stuivers.

1 February 1560 - Strijt sang the mass of the Venerable Sacrament, and receives 4 florins 9 stuivers.

5 March 1560 the solemn obsequies of bishop George van Egmont are held and Strijt receives 2 florins for presence *in choro*.

7 March 1560 - Strijt paid 5 stuivers for presence at mass of Venerable Sacrament.

8 March 1560 - attended the obit mass founded by the *Domkannunik* Herman Tulman, for which Strijt was paid from the benefaction 1 stuiver, and was served wine in Chapter.

26 March 1560 receives 1 florin from the *vinalia* of an un-named canon.

27 and 28 March 1560 sat in audit over three accounts of the cathedral fabric, those of Dean van der Vecht and two of Johan van Bruhezen, for which Strijt received 1 Arnoldus gulden, valued at 8 stuivers.

4 April 1560 present at the mass of the Venerable Sacrament on which occasion Strijt received 5 stuivers.

Maunday Thursday Strijt received 5 cans of wine.

2 May 1560 present at the mass of the Venerable Sacrament, but payment not noted.

On unidentified date requiem mass for canon Knoop of St. Jan, for which Strijt received 4 stuivers - it is not clear if this was a service at the cathedral or at St. Jan.

6 June 1560 Strijt sang the mass of the Venerable Sacrament and received 8 stuivers.

30 June 1560 present at a capitular meeting *cum juramento et denario* when a new lease for the sale or farming of tithes was agreed for 60 florins, for which Strijt was paid 6 stuivers.

Feast of dedication of the cathedral received 11 cans of wine.

12 August 1560 present at the obit founded by dean Thomas de Nyekerken, dean of St. Jan, and received from the benefaction 7 stuivers.

In same month on un-named day received 8 stuiver from the obit and benefaction of bishop Frederick of Baden.

30 September received 1 *libra* from the *vinalia* of the newly received canon Johan van Wael.

At an un-named day received 4 florins ren. from the obit and benefaction of Henrik van Compostell.

*Presentiegeld* of 89 florins for the year 1559 paid to Strijt.

[N.B. To the total received from the cathedral accounts of 448 flor. ren. must be added the *presentiegeld* of 89 florins plus the 4 florins from the benefaction of Compostell, and the 10 or so florins secured from the *vinalia* as well as the small sums secured for serving *in choro*, giving a total of some 450 florins or sol.

Anno 1560 - 61.

[N.B. For this year Strijt accounts receipts under the heading of each account instead of, as hitherto, a largely chronological list of diverse entries, suggesting that perhaps the entries now represent a species of fair copy entry].

*Maior camer* .

Payments from:

*Maior camer*.

12 December, 1560, Johan beyer paid Strijt 20 flor. ren..

20 January, 1561, Johan Beyer paid Strijt 20 Flor. ren..

20 March, 1561, Beyer paid Strijt 20 Flor. ren..

27 April, 1561, 20 flor. ren..

5 May, 1561, 20 flor. ren..

3 June, 20 flor. ren..

12 June, 20 flor. ren..

*Proosdijkamer.*

8 October, 1560, 50 flor. ren., from the *choralia* for 1559.

22 February 1561, 25 flor. ren..

16 November, 1560 25 flor. ren., for 1559.

19 November, 25 flor. ren..

14 December, from the reserves of the *Maor camer*, 25 florins.

21 December, from Johan Beyer as arrears from the reserves of the *Maor camer* the sum of 18 flor. ren.

[N.B. Strijt notes the payment to a *canonis honoris*, i.e. one who would take his place in choir, of 4 flor. ren.].

Strijt notes an un-dated payment of 72 florins. [*Presentiegeld* ?]

3 June, 1561, from Johan Beyer a payment of 25 flor. ren..

7 July, paid 20 flor. ren..

18 July, paid 20 flor ren.

11 August, paid 20 flor. ren..

26 August, for 1560 25 flor. ren..

*Bona Divisa.*

3 December, 1560, paid from the hands of Poelenberg for 1559, 20 flor. ren..

1 April 1560, for 1559, recd. 20 flor. ren..

13 September, 20 flor. ren..

*Minor camer.*

29 October, 1560, Groeff van Erkelens sent by the hands of Cornelius the sum of 40 flor ren., for 1559.

For the months of December, March and July , 1559, the sum of 60 flor. ren., sent by the hands of Cornelius

13 December, 1560, Groeff van Erkelens paid 20 flor. ren..

4 January, 1561 20, flor. ren., for 1560.

18 January, 20 flor. ren..

30 January 1561, 20 flor. ren..

31 March, 40 flor. ren..

16 April, 40 flor. ren..

7 June, 20 flor. ren..

21 August, 40 flor. ren.

10 September, 50 flor. ren..

## APPENDIX 8 :

*PRESENTIEGELD FOR THE YEARS 1471, 1478, 1479 AND 1503.*

Based upon AKD 771 - 1, which is a much damaged series of sheets of paper, attacked by damp and very faint to read. The figures are in fUtrecht, and represent annual totals for attendance in choir.

	1471	1478	1479	1503
<i>Provost of St. Pieter</i>	88½Ut.			
<i>Dean of St. Marie</i>	85			
Voss	96			
Dibbout	29			
Scholaster	93	49		
Zoudenbalch, E.	144	20	54	
Steenre	94			
Greiffenclau,	59	65	68	
Gobbert, Egidius	96			144
Drakenborch I, Johan van	94	92	108	92
Tielt	90			
Provost van de Sluys	29	92	111	
Donck, Gerlach van der	149	157	154	
Amstel van Mijnden, H.	122	-	136	
Gruyter, Johan	138		62	
Utenweert,	88			
IJsbrandi, Johan Jacob	152	160	186	103
Foyt	121	124	136	
Utenhage	102			
Kessel, Nicholaas	30	70		
Hazert	64			
Maersborch	64	49	55	
Weerdenborch, Willem van	80	62	80	92
Renesse, Johan van	28	89	55	46
<i>Decanus</i>	140			
Appelteren, Jacob van	25	195	70	245
Leeuwenberch, Albert van		135	19	91
Etten, Johan van		95	120	103
Ruysch, Loeff		25		
Proys,		75		
Maddert van der Gracht			92	
Herenhove		115	114	
Pott, Antooon		70	100	
Bouchout, Johan van			119	
Asssendelft			1	82
Tulman, Herman		27	28	
<i>Provost of Oudmunster</i>				88
				52

<i>Dean of Oudmunster</i>	60
<i>Provost of Leyden</i>	146
<i>Domthesaurier</i>	118
Tussenbroeck, Johan	128
<i>Officialis Archidiaconi</i>	115
Mondwijk, Hendrik	104
Molen, Johan ter	92
Drakenborch II, Johan van	92
Beuckelaer, Arnoldus	82
Mom, Bernhard	116
Haarlem, Bernhard van	11
Biel, Ulrich	36
Haarlem, Steven van	55
Uterwijk, Johan van	57
Haer, Johan van	7

## APPENDIX 9 :

## THE CANONS OF UTRECHT CATHEDRAL 1477 - 1580.

The following list is based upon entries in the *Domresoluties*, and a seventeenth-century list *AKD 4399*, which latter list utilises a numbering of the prebends in Roman numerals from I to XXXVII. In the list that follows, the name of the canon is followed by the date of his securing the prebend, method of securing the prebend, and the briefest of biographical details.

*PREBEND I.*

MONTFERRAT, Theodore, count of.

1477 probably by papal provision.

Cardinal, and agent of Charles the Bold at the papal court.

VALLETRI, Gregori.

17 November 1477, on death of predecessor, probably by papal provision.

*Abbreviator litterarum apostolici* at the Roman Curia.

TUSSCHENBROECK, Johan.

4 December 1481 by resignation of predecessor.

Had served as *palfrenier* at the papal court.

HUCKER, Gerard.

19 August 1510 by nomination of the *turnarius*, his uncle Herman Tulman, on death of his predecessor.

ENCKEVOIRT, Michael Lombaerts van.

10 August 1528 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Nephew of cardinal Van Enchenvoirt. Provost of the Oudmunster, and a considerable pluralist.

MEIROP, Cornelis van.

20 January 1535 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor. Provost of Utrecht.

Son of Vincent van Meiroop, *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands.

AYYTA VAN ZWICHEM, Bucho.

30 September 1572 on death of predecessor, on nomination of archbishop of Utrecht by terms of bull *Super universas*.

Nephew to Viglius, president of the *Geheime Raad*.

TIJRON, Johan.

1 October 1580, by resignation and exchange with predecessor.

**PREBEND II.**

HOLLAND, Albert Adriaanszn. van.

? - ? - 1458.

*Raad* to the duke of Burgundy and Dean of the *Hofkapel* at The Hague.

RUMELAER, Steven van.

29 December 1484 on death of his predecessor.

Agent of the Teutonic Knights at Rome.

DROLSHAGEN, Johan van.

28 April 1507, on death of predecessor on 21 September 1504, possibly after dispute with a papal providee.

URK, Dubbold van.

27 September 1537, on death of predecessor, by *prima precum* of the King of the Romans.

Rector of Kampen.

VECHT, Johan van der.

1 August 1538 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Dean of Utrecht, son of Johan Gijs van der Vorst, Grand Chancellor of Burgundy.

MICAULT, Louis.

15 May 1573 by nomination of the *turnarius*, his cousin Johan van Bruhesen, on death of predecessor.

Son of Nicolas Micault, member of the *Geheime Raad*.

**PREBEND III.**

UTRENWEERT, Dirk.

4 December 1460.

KRIJS, Johan.

1 October 1483 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Papal chamberlain under Sixtus IV, and *raad* to the duke of Gelderland.

ROSETIS, Lazerus.

31 July 1517 by papal provision on death in 1513 of predecessor - the delay suggests a disputed entry into possession.

Provost of St. Severin at Cologne.

VORST, Pieter van der.

24 November 1535 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Bishop of Acqui, son of Johan Gijs van der Vorst, Grand Chancellor of Burgundy.

VORST, Albert van der.

27 April 1537 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Nephew to above.

KLEEF, Willem van.

8 April 1574 by nomination of the *turnarius* Ausonius Galama.  
Son of *Burgemeester* of Utrecht.

**PREBEND IV.**

IJSBRANDI, Jacob Janszn.  
12 May 1464.

BEN, Henrik.

12 December 1506 by papal provision, probably at the behest of his maternal uncle, the influential curialist Johan Inghenwinkel, on death of his predecessor.

BRUHESEN, Johan van.

4 April 1542 by nomination of the *turnarius*.  
Dean of Utrecht.

**PREBEND V.**

POTT, Antoon.

14 July 1473.

UTERWIJK, Johan.

5 November 1500 by nomination of the *turnarius*, his uncle the dean of Utrecht, Ludolf van Veen.

GALAMA, Ausonius.

27 June 1545 on death of predecessor.  
Frisian nobleman.

**PREBEND VI.**

LAVENNIS, Nicolaas.

31 October 1573.

Official of the archdeacon's court.

ZOUDENBALCH II. Gerard.

14 August 1522 on death of predecessor.

SCHENCK VAN TOUTENBURG, Frederik.

17 August 1522 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Son of Joris Schenck van Youtenburg, *stadhouder* of Friesland.

Provost-archdeacon of St. Pieter, Utrecht, later archbishop of Utrecht.

HAERLEM. Gerbrand Simonszn. van.

11 August 1534 by resignation and exchange with predecessor.

RUYSCH, Johan.

24 March 1540 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Papal *familiaris*.

RAM, Gerard.

27 August 1545 by nomination of the *turnarius*, his uncle Adriaan Ram II, on death of predecessor.

Son of a *Burgemeester* of Utrecht.

#### PREBEND VII.

PROYS, Roeloff.

16 April 1463.

Utrecht nobleman.

DOORNIK, Winand van.

7 July 1492.

Gelderland nobleman.

LEEUWENBERCH, Albert van.

28 August 1506.

*Heer van Amelisweert*, member of Utrecht *Ridderschap*.

MATHENESSE, Wouter van.

27 August 1540, on death of predecessor by collation of *turnarius*

Dirk Taets van Amerongen.

Holland nobleman.

DUVENVOORDE, Johan van.

28 September 1540 by resignation and exchange with predecessor, his cousin

*Domscholaster*, Holland nobleman.

#### PREBEND VIII.

GRUTER, Johan.

14 February 1449.

Son of Gijsbert Gruter, episcopal *Rentmeester* of the *Sticht*.

HAER, Johan van der.

18 September 1502 on death of predecessor.

Sub-collector of the papal Chamber.

HUYSSSELMAN, Henrik.

17 June 1515 by papal provision, secured most probably at behest of his maternal uncle the curialist Johan Inghenwinkel, on death of predecessor.

Canon of Oudmunster and of Xanten.

HOETFILTER, Joost.

11 June 1535 on death of predecessor, possibly by papal provision. Provost of Lübeck, and considerable pluralist.

POELENBERCH, Jacob van.

20 April 1549 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

#### PREBEND IX.

ZOUDENBALCH, Evert.

23 October 1445.

*Domthesaurier.*

POTKEN, Johan.

? April 1503 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Provost-archdeacon of Emmerich, and a considerable pluralist.

TAETS VAN LOCHORST, Dirk.

8 August 1506 by papal provision on resignation of predecessor.

Utrecht nobleman.

MILAN, Ludovico di.

22 March 1522.

GROVESTEYN, Siffard van.

28 September 1552 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Frisian nobleman.

#### PREBEND X.

BROICHUYSEN VAN WEERDENBURCH, Willem van.

28 December 1457.

Utrecht nobleman.

MANDERSCHEIDT, Evert, count of.

22 March 1511 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Archdeacon of Condroz in church of Liège, and considerable pluralist.

BEKA, Johan van.

1 September 1514 by decree of papal Curia after dispute with predecessor.

A considerable pluralist in parish churches and canonries.

RENESE II, Johan van.

September 1527 on death of predecessor, possibly by papal provision.  
Utrecht nobleman

DUYNEN, Lambert Ten.

27 September 1528 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor..  
From Kampen *Regenten* family.

VEEN, Gerard van.

26 April 1552 on death of predecessor, by nomination of *turnarius*,  
Johan van Veen, his uncle.

Allegedly turned Calvinist and fled to Emden.

REEDE, Gerard van.

5 October 1575 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Son of a Münster nobleman who purchased the estate of Amerongen  
in the Sticht.

#### PREBEND XI.

EDAM, Nicolaas van.

? - ? - 1475.

Auditor of the Rota at Rome. Provost of St. Georgen at Cologne.

GOBBERT, Egidii.

12 April 1477 on death of predecessor.

From Gent. Rector of Leiderdorp.

VEEN, Johan van.

1 May 1524 on death of predecessor, on nomination of *turnarius*,  
Thomas van Nykerken.

Nephew of dean Van Veen.

MONTZIMA, Bucho van.

19 August 1553 on death of predecessor.

Nephew of Viglius, president of *Geheime Raad*. *Domthesaurier*,  
Provost-archdeacon of St. Jan at Utrecht, canon of St. Pieter.

#### PREBEND XII.

DRESES, Gerard.

1475.

Domscholaster, and dean of Deventer.

MOM, Bernhard.

24 September 1488 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Of patrician family of Münster, dean of St. Ludgeri there, and  
of the Oudmunster at Utrecht.

BEYER I, Gerard.

20 August 1514 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Of prominent family of Utrecht *Kapittlewereld*, Vicar-general to  
bishop Van Enckenvoirt, canon of St. Marie.

WITTENHORST, Dirk van.

24 April 1545 on death of predecessor by papal provision.  
Son of the *Heer van Horst*, *raad* to the duke of Gelderland, his  
brother was *raad* to the duke of Cleves.

### PREBEND XIII.

CARONDOLET, Claude.

6 February 1476.

Possibly to be identified with the *bailli* of Aumont in Burgundy.  
[See also Prebend XXXI].

ETTEN, Jacob van.

30 June 1478 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

EYNATTEN, Johan van.

16 November 1485 by collation of the Chapter on death of  
predecessor.

Master of Requests to Maximilian, King of the Romans, and a  
considerable pluralist.

BEUCKELAER, Arnold.

22 September 1487 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

*Pastoor* of the *Buurkerk* in Utrecht, brother to the *Rentmeester-  
General* of Holland.

MAIOROT, Pierre.

12 July 1522 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Of a prominent family of Besancon in Franche-Comté, apparently  
serving at the papal curia.

TAETS VAN AMERONGEN, Antoon.

11 February 1524 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Of a prominent noble family of the Sticht, and son of a  
*Burgemeester* of Utrecht, canon of St. Marie.

MALSEN VAN TILBURG, Otto.

31 October 1555 on death of predecessor, by nomination of Philip II  
by capitular grant of its next nomination to the king upon the occasion  
of his state entry.

Son of the *Heer van Tilburg*.

**PREBEND XIV.**

RENESE, Johan van.

18 May 1465.

Utrecht nobleman.

ENCKEVOIRT, Willem van.

17 February 1505 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Long resident in Rome, Datary under Adrian VI, and agent of Charles V thereafter. Bishop of Tortosa and of Utrecht, provost of the Oudmunster and many other benefices.

UTENENG, Amelis.

14 June 1535 on death of predecessor.

Utrecht nobleman, resigned in order to marry.

ZUYLEN VAN NYVELT, Steven van.

5 July 1550 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Utrecht nobleman.

ZUYLEN VAN NYVELT II, Johan van.

29 September 1553, on resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his brother.

Utrecht nobleman.

**PREBEND XV.**

HERENHOVEN, Gerard van.

22 February 1470.

Dean of Reest. *Familiar* of Simon van der Sluys, provost of Utrecht.

PLAINE, Etienne de la.

11 June 1503.

Nephew to Thomas de la Plaine, Grand Chancellor of Burgundy; canon of Antwerp and St. Donat, Bruges.

ZUYLEN VAN NYVELT, Amelis van.

9 June 1507 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Son of *Heer van Geresteyn*, and from prominent *Ridderschap* family. Provost of Leyden, canon of Oudmunster.

AXEL, Johan.

4 May 1554 on death of predecessor.

Opposed signing of Union of Utrecht, went into exile in Italy.

*PREBEND XVI.*

ASSENDELFT, Dirk van.

12 September 1475.

Holland nobleman, son of the *Heer van Assendelf*, *raad* to Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

BROUWERSHAVEN, Cornelis van.

17 October 1481 by collation of the Chapter on death of predecessor.

Provost of Leyden, *rector choralis* of the *Dom*.

ALFIJN, Willem van.

20 October 1487 on death of predecessor.

From Alphen-aan-de-Rijn, *raad* to duke Philip the Fair of Burgundy, and a considerable pluralist.

BADEN, Margrave Frederick of.

22 November 1494 on death of predecessor.

Bishop of Utrecht, 1496, and possessor of prebends in the Empire.

NATURELLI, Philibert.

11 February 1500 on resignation of predecessor.

Agent at the papal court for Philip the Fair, and subsequently member of the *Geheime Raad*, and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, as well as many other benefices.

Provost of Utrecht.

MILLINGEN, Christopher van.

9 August 1529 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

VORST I, Johan van der.

15 March 1531 on death of predecessor.

*Heer van Loenbeek*, son of Johan Gijs van der Vorst, Grand Chancellor of Burgundy. Dean of Utrecht.

HAEMSTEDE, Cornelis van.

10 November 1546 on death of predecessor.

Saw service in Rome with cardinal Van Enckenvoirt, and subsequently became chaplain to Pieter van der Vorst, bishop of Acqui and Legate to the Empire. Something of a pluralist.

HOETFILTER, Joost.

December 1549 on death of predecessor probably by papal provision transferred to following.

[See also Prebend VIII]

WAEEL, Johan van.

18 February 1550 on resignation of the papal providee Joost Hoetfilter, on the death of Haemstede.

From family of the Utrecht *Ridderschap*.

BLOYS VAN TRESLONG, Otto.

24 January 1573 on death of predecessor.  
Holland nobleman.

**PREBEND XVII.**

RUYSCH, Loef.

1472.  
Papal *familiaris*.

LOCHORST, Herman van.

15 April 1482 on death of predecessor.  
Of prominent Utrecht family, had seen service at the papal court, vicar-general to bishop Frederick of Baden, dean of the Oudmunster and canon of St. Marie.

REAL, Johan.

30 September 1510 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Clerk of ordinations under bishop Philip of Burgundy.

MORILLON, Maximilian.

10 February 1552, by nomination of the *turnarius* dean Adriaan van Renesse.  
'Man of business' and copious correspondent of cardinal Granvelle. Provost of St. Marie and canon of the Oudmunster.

MULERT, Dirk.

1 February 1552, by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Overijssel nobleman, cousin to Roeloff Muylert.

**PREBEND XVIII.**

LEEUWENBERCH, Abraham van.

28 October 1472.  
Utrecht nobleman.

RENESE, Gerard van.

13 December 1523 on death of predecessor.  
Utrecht nobleman.

HEUVEL, Johan van.

20 January 1539 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Previously *Domvicaris*.

DUYNEN, Koenraad ten.

? - December 1543.  
From Kampen, and brother to Lamber ten Duynen. Can of St. Jan.

BECK VAN HELMONT, Michael.

29 August 1545, on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Canon lawyer and employed as papal judge-delegate.

WEE, Johan van.

28 June 1558 on death of predecessor by nomination of the *turnarius*,  
Henrik Godefriedszn. van Compostell, his uncle.

Son of Utrecht goldsmith Herman van Wee, member of  
Utrecht *Magistraat*. Later inquisitor.

**PREBEND XIX.**

AMSTEL VAN MIJNDEN, Herbrand van.

17 April 1452.

Utrecht nobleman. Provost of Westfriesland.

SLUYS, Simon van der.

5 June 1493 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

*Raad* and doctor to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Provost  
of Utrecht.

HEDA, Willem.

29 May 1506 on death of predecessor in 1500 and after protracted  
dispute at Rome.

Historian. Secretary to archduke Philip. Dean of St. Jan and a  
considerable pluralist.

NIEUENARR, Herman count of.

8 November 1525 on death of predecessor.

Chancellor of university of Cologne, correspondent of  
Erasmus, and considerable pluralist.

SOLMS, Joris van.

7 October 1526 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Dean of St. Pieter.

COMPOSTELL, Hendrik Godefriedszn. *alias* van.

17 June on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Brother of opulent Utrecht burgher.

WAELSCAPELLE, Maximilian van.

11 March by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Son of the *Rentmeester* of the *Heer van Beveren*.

Provost of Leyden.

**PREBEND XX.**

HOEV, Hugo van.

3 November 1472.

RAM I, Adriaan .

19 September 1485 on death of predecessor, his uncle.

From prominent Utrecht patrician family. Vicar-general to Philip of Burgundy. Provost of Leyden.

SONCK, Frans.

24 June 1518 on death of predecessor, by nomination of *turnarius*, his uncle Arnold Beuckelaer.

From Delft. Canon lawyer much employed by the Chapter.

VORST II, Johan van der.

2 September 1546 on death of predecessor.

Nephew of dean Vand der Vorst. Resigned in order to marry.

VORST, Joost van der.

13 September 1556 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his brother.

Nephew of dean Van der Vorst. Resigned in order to marry.

BRUHESEN, Engelbrecht van.

5 March 1562, by resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his cousin.

Brother to dean Van Bruhesen. *Domthesaurier*, and later Provost of Leyden.

**PREBEND XXI.**

FOYT, Johan.

30 December 1467.

*Questierder* of the cathedral indulgences.

BADEN, Margrave Christopher of.

31 August 1500 on death of predecessor.

Nephew of bishop Frederick of Baden. Canon of Cologne and Strasbourg. *Choriepiscopus* at Utrecht.

BADEN, Margrave Rudolph of.

3 April 1504, on resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his brother.

Treasure of Cologne, and canon of Mainz. *Choriepiscopus* at Utrecht.

NIJKERKEN, Thomas van.

26 April 1522, by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Vicar-general in 1526, *Choriepiscopus*, and dean of St. Jan, and other benefices.

MERA, Philippe de.

1 February 1546 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Apostolic protonotary. Canon of Liège.

STRIJT, Joris.

27 August 1548, by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Chaplain to bishop George van Egmont.

KUYCK, Wilger van.

9 June 1565 on death of predecessor, by nomination of *turnarius*  
Cornelis van Nijenrode.

**PREBEND XXII.**

RUYTER *alias* Militis, Johan DE.

30 August 1459.

Secretary of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, provost-  
archdeacon of Arnhem and a considerable pluralist.

DRAKENBORCH, Johan van.

February 1480.

Utrecht nobleman.

DRAKENBORCH, Dirk van.

29 August 1485, by resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his  
brother.

Utrecht nobleman.

SLACHEK, Johan.

28 October 1524 on death of predecessor.

From Westphalia, curialist and diplomat in Habsburg  
service. Provost of Utrecht, considerable pluralist.

[See also Prebend XXIX].

HOORN, Cornelis Remboldszn. van.

13 November 1526 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Medical doctor, possibly in service of count of Hoogstraten,  
*stadhouder* of Utrecht.

RENESSE III, Johan van.

9 October 1547 on death of predecessor.

Utrecht nobleman, later dean of St. Jan.

RENESSE, Joris van.

16 June 1565 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his  
brother.

Utrecht nobleman.

KARK, Arnold van der.

11 April 1580, on death of predecessor, on nomination of *turnarius*,  
Gerard Ram, his uncle.

**PREBEND XXIII.**

GOUDA, Wouter van.

9 August 1452.

Vicar-general to bishop David of Burgundy, 1456. Provost of St. Pieter and canon of the Oudmunster.

TULMAN, Herman.

13 December 1475 on death of predecessor.

Canon lawyer from diocese of Paderborn. *Domthesaurier* till 1482, and something of a pluralist.

HOUTHEM, Liebrecht van.

5 April 1515 on death of predecessor.

Brabant nobleman.

CAMPINCK, Roeloff.

28 March 1541, possibly by *prima precum*.

From Groningen, member of the chapel of Charles V, knight of the Holy Sepulchre. Canon of St. Pieter.

VORST, Domenikus van der.

18 February 1559, on death of predecessor, by nomination of *turnarius* Albert van der Vorst, his cousin.

[See also Prebend XXXVIII].

BEYER II, Gerard.

22 January 1565 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

From prominent legal family of city of Utrecht.

**PREBEND XXIV.**

GREIFFENCLAU, Everard, count of.

23 November 1446.

Canon of Mainz.

MOUTWIJK, Henrik van.

25 September 1485 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Canon lawyer, son and grandson of *Ouderman* of Utrecht. Canon of St. Jan.

ZETTEN, Roeloff van.

12 June 1517 on death of predecessor, by nomination of *turnarius*

Egiddi Gobbert.

UTENENG I, Bernhard.

18 April 1518 on death of predecessor.

Utrecht nobleman. Murdered in 1527.

HOEFFLANT, Antoon.

12 April 1527 prebend secured *bona fide* on behalf of Johan Torck, on nomination of *turnarius* Johan van Drolshagen.

TORCK, Johan.

30 April 1533 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Gelderland nobleman.

NIJENRODE, Cornelis van.

14 February 1543 on death of predecessor by nomination of *turnarius*  
Markus van Weze.

Utrecht nobleman. *Beeldenstormer* subsequent to resignation,  
exiled by Alva 17 August 1568.

VLIET VAN WOERDEN, Galenus van.

21 May 1566 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Holland nobleman.

HAEFTEN, Steven van.

11 October 1575 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Son of a *raad* in the *Hof van Utrecht*.

**PREBEND XXV.**

VEEN, Ludof van.

11 July 1471.  
Dean of Utrecht.

ZOUDENBALCH I, Henrik.

20 December 1508 on death of predecessor.  
From prominent Utrecht family. Dean of St. Marie, and canon of  
St. Pieter.

ZUYLEN VAN NIJVELT I, Johan van.

18 April 1536 on death of predecessor.  
Utrecht nobleman.

BERCH, Johan van der.

2 May 1567 on death of predecessor, by nomination of archbishop of  
Utrecht by terms of bull *Super universas*.  
Chaplain to archbishop Schenck van Toutenburg.

**PREBEND XXVI.**

MADDERT VAN DER GRACHT, Henrik.

7 February 1470.  
*Pastoor* of the *Buurkerk*.

BREDERODE, Frans van.

1480.  
Son of Reynald, *Heer van Brederode*.

HAERLEM, Bernhard van.

18 August 1487 on resignation and exchange with predecessor.  
Tax-collector to prince-bishop of Utrecht, 1511.

MULERT, Roeloff.

30 April 1540 by *prima precum* on death of predecessor.  
 Son Gerard Muylert, *raad* to emperor Charles V.  
 Provost of Leyden.

SCHADE, Johan.

27 August 1568 on death of predecessor, by nomination of archbishop  
 of Utrecht by terms of bull *Super universas*.  
*Procurator-fiscaal* to archbishop Schenck van Toutenburg.

**PREBEND XXVII.**

DONCK, Gerlach van der.

1445.  
 Gelderland nobleman.

HEUCKELOM VAN ARKEL, Otto van.

2 August 1503 on death of predecessor by nomination of Chapter.  
 Holland nobleman.

LIEVERJAN, Dirk.

18 October 1518 on death of predecessor.  
 Canon of St. Jan.

RENESE, Adriaan van.

7 December 1521, by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
 From prominent Utrecht *ridderschap* family. Dean of Utrecht.

TAETS VAN AMERONGEN, Willem.

18 December 1559 on death of predecessor by nomination of *turnarius*  
 Roeloff Mulert.  
 From prominent Utrecht *ridderschap* family. Dean of Oudmunster.

REEDE, Frederik van.

28 October 1564 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
 Utrecht nobleman.

**PREBEND XXVIII.**

CRUSINCK, Arnold.

1472.  
 Possibly son of *Rentmeester* in The Hague.

SAXE-LAUBURG, Bernard, duke of.

27 November 1513 on death of predecessor on nomination of Chapter.  
 Provost of the cathedrals of Cologne and Münster.

PIGGE, Albert.

20 June 1524 on death of predecessor.  
 From Kampen, Catholic polemicist, inveterate litigant and  
 benefice hunter. Dean of St. Jan, *pastoor* of Kampen.

AMSTEL VAN MIJNDEN, Joost van.

2 January 1543 on death of predecessor by nomination of the Chapter.  
Utrecht nobleman.

AMSTEL VAN MIJNDEN, Antoon van.

23 April 1545 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his  
brother.  
Utrecht nobleman

GROENEVELT, Arnold van.

2 August 1556 by papal provision on death of predecessor.  
Holland nobleman, son of bailiff of abbey of St. Amand.

GROENEVELT, Joris van.

18 August 1567 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his  
brother.  
Holland nobleman.

COTEREAU, Henri de.

31 August 1577 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Namur nobleman.

**PREBEND XXIX.**

ZOUDENBALCH I, Gerard.

24 August 1477.  
From prominent Utrecht family.  
*Damthesaurier*.

ZOURMAN, Joris.

1524 on death of predecessor.

SLACHEK, Johan.

1527 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Provost of Utrecht.  
[See also Prebend XXII].

EYCK, Frans van, *alias* De Quercu.

27 April 1543 on nomination of George van Egmont, bishop of  
Utrecht, by capitular grant on the former's state entry on 13 April  
1536.  
Brother to Bishop George van Egmont's secretary.

VELD, Frans van der, *alias* Sonnius.

24 October 1544 on the death of predecessor by nomination of the  
Chapter in place of a claim to nominate by the university of Leuven.  
Theologian, later bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch.

VELD, Cornelis van der.

23 April 1569 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his  
uncle.

**PREBEND XXX.**

DRONGELEN, Paul van.

24 September 1472.

Pluralist in parish churches. His brother was *landcommandeur* of the Teutonic Knights in Utrecht.

MONTFOORT, Lodewijk van.

1480.

From junior line of the *Burggraven van Montfoort*. Resigned in order to marry.

SOLMS, Johan van,

22 June 1501 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

*Pastoor* of Westbroek in the Gooiland.

LEEUWENBERCH, Maarten van.

13 February 1526 on death of predecessor by nomination of *turnarius*, Albert van Leeuwenberch, his brother.

Canon of St. Jan.

RENNENBERG, Jasper, count of.

1534 on death of predecessor on nomination of predecessor by nomination of bishop Henry of Bavaria at his State Entry.

Of noble family of Limburg, provost of Karpen and canon of Liège.

DENGLYS, Gabriel.

19 December 1537 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Nephew of Grand Chancellor of prince-bishopric of Liège.

*Domscholaster* as a minor.

MAES, Andreas *alias* Masius.

28 May 1554 by papal provision on death of predecessor.

Humanist scholar in the service of duke of Cleves. Resigned in order to marry.

HENNIN DE BOSSU, Antoine de.

20 July 1558 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Son of the first Count of Bossu. Canon of Liège

Provost of Utrecht.

**PREBEND XXXI.**

RUYTER, Felips Simonszn. DE, *alias* Militis.

August 1462.

BRAESEMAN, Albert.

August 1479.

From family represented in city council of Amsterdam.

CARONDOLET, Claudius.

13 October 1483 on death of predecessor.  
[See also Prebend XIII].

MOLEN, Johan ter.

15 June 1486 on death of predecessor by collation of the Chapter.  
Doctor of Medicine, Dean of the *Uberwasserkirche* in Münster, and  
canon of Deventer.

FLORISZN. Adriaan.

16 October 1505 on death of predecessor by collation of the Chapter.  
Tutor to prince Charles, later emperor.

DEDEL, Johan.

22 February 1517 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
From prominent Utrecht family. Canon of Oudmunster and St.  
Marie.

VOS VAN AVERZAET, Johan.

March 1519 by papal provision on death of predecessor.  
Doctor of medicine, and papal *familiar*.

FLORISZN., Adriaan.

15 March 1520 by papal provision on death of predecessor.  
Elected pope under the name of Adrian VI. The bells of the  
cathedral in Utrecht rang for eight days on his election.

BEIJNS, Johan Antooniszn.

28 March 1523 on elevation of predecessor to papacy.

VORST, Pieter van der.

8 February 1538 by papal provision on death of predecessor.  
[See also Prebend III].  
Bishop of Acqui in Piedmont, Legate to the Empire, 1536 - 37,  
brother to dean Van der Vorst.

GRAUWERT, Antoon.

10 June 1547 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Utrecht nobleman.

BONCAMP, Dirk.

7 May 1547 on death of predecessor.  
Episcopal advocate-fiscal.  
Provost of Leyden.

AYTTA, Folcardt van.

23 May 1570 on death of predecessor, by nomination of archbishop of  
Utrecht by terms of bull *Super universas*.  
Nephew of Viglius, president of *Geheime Raad*.

**PREBEND XXXII.**

- KARVIJN, Johan.  
5 February 1474.  
Lawyer employed by the Chapter.
- BAVARIA, Steven of Zimmern-Sponheim, duke of.  
20 May 1484 on death of predecessor.  
Provost of Strasbourg, Dean of Cologne, provost of Bonn, and canon of Mainz.
- CLEVES, Philip, duke of.  
10 October 1489 on death of predecessor by nomination of bishop of Utrecht.  
Bishop of Nevers, administrator of Amiens, canon of Cologne.  
*Choriepiscopus* at Utrecht.
- BIEL, Ulric.  
15 June 1498 by papal provision on resignation of predecessor.  
Raad to bishop Frederick of Baden.  
*Domscholaster* at Utrecht.
- LOEMEL, Johan van.  
22 May 1517 on death of predecessor by collation of the Chapter.  
Raad *extraordinaris* in the Hof van Brabant, administrator of the benefices of cardinal Enckevoirt, and a considerable pluralist.
- PRAET VAN MOERKERKEN, Joost van.  
April 1529 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Son of Louis de Praet, *stadhouder* of Holland.  
*Domthesaurier* at Utrecht.
- VOORTHUYSEN, Johan.  
4 May 1554 on the death of predecessor.  
Son of *Burgemeester* of Zutphen.  
Provost of Deventer.
- LEUSSINCK, Egbert.  
2 March 1562 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
From Doesburg. Formerly *domvicaris*.
- OPRODE, Joachim van.  
30 September 1570 on death of predecessor, by nomination of archbishop of Utrecht by terms of bull *Super universas*.  
From Antwerp. Theologian. Auxiliary bishop of Utrecht.
- TIELEMANS, Dirk.  
11 September 1576 on death of predecessor, by nomination of archbishop of Utrecht by terms of bull *Super universas*.  
Theologian.

**PREBEND XXXIII.**

DRAKENBORCH, Johan van.

22 February 1449.

Utrecht nobleman. Canon of St. Jan.

Provost of Westfriesland.

HAERLEM, Steven van.

10 October 1498 on death of predecessor.

Episcopal *officiaal* under bishop of Philip of Burgundy.

CONINCK, Frederik van.

4 October 1509 on death of predecessor, by nomination of *turnarius* Nicolaas Lavennis.

From a family prominent in the Utrecht *Magistraat*.

Canon of St. Pieter, *pastoor* of Sassenheim.

RUBENPRÉ, Charles de.

9 June 1535 by papal provision, on death of predecessor.

Namur nobleman. Canon of the Oudmunster.

RUBENPRÉ, Antoine de.

8 December 1538 by resignsation of and exchange with predecessor, his brother.

Namur nobleman.

WARISOULX, Jean de.

30 August 1550 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Namur nobleman.

HEIJENHOVEN, Lodewijk van.

10 July 1564 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his uncle.

Luxemburg nobleman.

VORST, Domenikus van der.

13 June 1571 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

[See also Prebend XXIII].

TOMBERG VAN WORMS, Joris van.

25 September 1577 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Canon of Aachen.

**PREBEND XXXIV.**

RUYTER, Nicholaas De, *alias Militis*.

30 September 1462.

's GRAVENZANDE, Arnold van.

14 January 1489.

*Raad* in the *Hof van Holland*.

A considerable pluralist.

HAER, Dirk van der.

25 February 1499 on death of predecessor.  
Papal *familiaris*.

SCHOENRODE, Dirk.

1504, by papal provision on death of predecessor.

SCHOENRODE, Johan.

8 February 1507 by papal provision, on death of his predecessor, his brother.

In service of influential curialist Johan Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten. Dean of Aachen.

WALDORIAN DE BOUVIGNIÉS, Johan.

9 July 1517 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
From family prominent in city government of Liège.  
Dean of Westfriesland.

BEYER II, Johan.

15 February 1544 on death of predecessor, by nomination of the *turnarius*, Gerard Beyer, his brother.  
Vicar-general, canon of St. Marie.

'S HEERENBERG, Frederick, count of.

2 May on death of predecessor, by *prima precum* of the Holy Roman Emperor.  
Son of Count of 's-Heerenberg.

BREDERODE, Wolffard van.

30 April 1572 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Member of junior branch of Brederode family. Resigned to take side of Orange in the Revolt.

STRICK, Koenraad.

10 June 1579 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.  
Son of a citizen of city of Utrecht.

#### ***PREBEND XXXV.***

BOUCHOUT VAN BEVERWEERD, Johan.

1476.

Utrecht nobleman. Canon of St. Marie.

WEZE, Markus van.

9 February 1507 on death of predecessor.  
Gelderland nobleman.  
Provost of Culemborg and Elst.

IJSEDOORN, Adriaan van.

14 December 1546 on death of predecessor by collation of the Chapter.  
Utrecht nobleman.

BEYER II, Willem.

Secured prebend 12 February 1566, on death of predecessor, *bona fide* for Johan Beyer.

From prominent family of Utrecht.

BEYER III, Johan.

30 August 1572 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his father.

**PREBEND XXXVI.**

BAVARIA , Steven of Zimmeren-Zweibrücken, duke of.

9 January 1470.

Treasurer of Cologne, canon of Mainz.

*Chariepiscopus* at Utrecht.

MONTFOORT, Willem van.

24 August 1481 on death of predecessor.

Cadet of the *Burgraven van Montfoort*. Provost of the Oudmunster.

IJSENDOORN, Wouter van.

16 August 1513 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Died while a student at Paris.

RAM II, Adriaan.

31 August 1517 on death of predecessor by nomination of *turnarius*, Adriaan Ram I, his uncle.

From a family prominent in the Utrecht *Magistraat*.

PERRONET DE GRANVELLE, Charles.

15 September 1550 on death of predecessor, possibly by papal provision.

Brother of cardinal Granvelle. Provost of St. Jan.

*Domthesaurier*.

RIJSWIJK, Dirk van.

6 August 1567, on death of predecessor by nomination of *turnarius*, dean Van der Vecht.

This possession looks like a collusive *locum tenens* in view of his successor.

VECHT, Henrik van der.

26 August 1569 by resignation of and exchange with predecessor.

Nephew of dean Van der Vecht, and a minor at time of admission



**PREBEND XXXVII : later the PREABENDA ARCHIEPISCOPI.**

APPELTEREN, Jacob van.

13 February 1472.

Gelderland nobleman.

Dean of Utrecht.

GROEFF VAN ERKELENS, Gijsbert.

21 June 1526 on death of predecessor, possibly by papal provision.

Gelderland nobleman, son of the *Erfvoogt* of Erkelens. Canon of Aachen. Resigned in order to marry.

GROEFF VAN ERKELENS, Maurits.

31 December 1531 on resignation of and exchange with predecessor, his brother.

Gelderland nobleman. Succeeded his brother as canon of Aachen.

SCHENCK VAN TOUTENBURG, Frederik.

7 July 1568 on death of predecessor.

Son of *stadhouder* of Friesland. Provost of St. Pieter and Oldenzaal, dean of Steenwijk, *pastoor* of Rijnsburg and Vollenhoven.

Archbishop of Utrecht, 1559 - 1580.

## APPENDIX 10 :

*RENTIERS OF THE CATHEDRAL'S BONA DIVISA, 1572 - 1573.*

The whole question of who invested in the Chapter's debts requires more detailed study. In his pioneering study of the *renten* and *renteniers* of the county of Holland, *A financial revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands*, J. D. Tracy observed of the canons of the five chapters of Utrecht '... that however the clerical elite of the northern Netherlands employed its wealth, it was apparently not in the purchase of provincial *renten*'. (p. 154) This study seeks neither to refute this or provide an alternative study of the destinations of that clerical elite's investment capital. But in going through just one account of the cathedral for the year 1572 - 73, *AKD 639 - 7*, it has been possible to present something of a glimpse of who invested in the cathedral chapter's debts. In the accounts of the *Bona Divisa* this investment took the form of first *Lijfrenten* or annuities on the recipient or other named person's life, and sometimes a combination of both, and secondly in *losrenten* or investment on which interest was paid. In the latter case the capital sums are not always entered so that it has not been possible to calculate the rate of interest the *Dom* was offering, and it may well be that the rate was by no means the same for all investors in any case.

Payments to annuitants and to investors appear to have been made in six monthly terms, dating from the date of sealing the bargain. That is, individual annuitants and investors were free, it seems, to enter into a bargain at any time in the year, and would be paid at six monthly intervals thereafter.

Under the first heading of *Lijfrenten* the accounts of the *Bona Divisa* 1572 - 73 give the names of ten annuitants.

- I 1) By far and away the largest recipient was Hillebrand Vijney *alias* Slacheck, canon of Deventer, *vicaris* of the *Dom* who was paid 112 Holland florins. He must, in the light of his name and connections, (he was the nephew and principal heir of provost Johan Slachek, who was involved in a long struggle with the Chapter over the revenues of the provostry), be regarded as something of a special case. How far the considerable sum that this annuity payment must represent was part of the late provost's personal fortune or simply part of funds held by the Chapter and acknowledged to be lawfully the provost's is hard to tell. Certainly Hillebrand Vijney was the recipient of a separate pension of 80 gold gulden as settlement of mutual claims at the end of the great court case, so it rather looks as if this annuity represents the considerable cash investment of either the provost Slacheck or his principal heir, Hillebrand Vijney himself.
- 2) Dirk de Boijesdochter, for her own life and that of her son Claes van Haarlem, received 50 Holland florins. This woman, Geertudis Dirksdochter in other documents, was the mistress of the *Domkannunik* Mr Beernt van Haerlem, and by whom he had a son Claes, and this annuity presumably represents some provision for his bastard son.
- 3) Mr. Jacob Ram, canon of St. Marie, and for the life of his brother, *jonge* Adriaan Ram received 15 Holland florins. These two gentlemen were members of an influential patrician family, well represented in the Utrecht *Kapittelwereld*, and the city government.

- 4) Mr. Anthonis Buser, *fiscali* to the archbishop, was the recipient of 12 Holland florins. Again he came of a family that was represented in the *Kapittelwereld* of Utrecht.
  - 5) Also receiving 12 Holland florins were the rather sad couple of Catherine and Jacob Doolen, probably siblings, lodged in the *Begijnhof* at Schoonhoven, described as *naturlijke*, and indicating that they were probably mental defectives or similar.
  - 6) Alidt van Cijler, of whom nothing is known, received 10 Holland Florins.
  - 7) *Joff.* Agniet Gijsbrechtsdochter, was a professed nun at the St. Agnietenconvent in Utrecht, and was the recipient of 8 Holland florins a year.
  - 8) *Joff.* Margriet Wouter Siebertsdochter, 5 Holland florins.
  - 9) Rijssent Bartholemeusdochter of Baern, 5 Holland florins.
  - 10) Lijsbert Rijcxdochter, 4 Holland florins.
- Nothing is known of these three women, but they may have been enjoining annuities created from parental inheritances.

There then follows in the accounts a section that reads in part *Lijfrenten...* [purchased] *ten tijde die guesen regneerden*, and represents funds raised in the course of 1566 - 68 presumably to cover damage sustained by the *Dom* through the *Beeldenstorm* in Utrecht, and more importantly damage sustained most notably at Hagestein, as well as on other rural properties of the Chapter. In this section seven entries occur as follows:

- II 1) Johan van Bruhezen, canon and later *Domdeken* and Engelbrecht van Bruhezen, canon of the *Dom* purchased annuities on their lives worth 125 Holland florins a year. This must have represented a considerable capital investment, and one that speaks volumes for the faith of the leading protagonist of what was later to become the 'Spanish' party at Utrecht, and his brother.
- 2) Mr. Johan Bouler and Cornelia Hermansdochter for their joint lives, received 40 Holland florins. These would appear to be a married couple rather than siblings, but nothing is known of them.
- 3) Egbert Leussinck *domkannunik* and Maria Jansdochter of Amersfoort received 37½ Holland florins on their joint lives.
- 4) Maria Jansdochter of Amersfoort on her own life, received 25 Holland florins *v schellingen*.
- 5) The Commander of the Teutonic Knights at Schoonhoven, who received payment of 12½ Rhenish gulden, that at this date represented 25 Holland florins. It is not clear if this was an annuity for himself or for the convent.
- 6) Emerentiana Egbertsdochter van Schoneneburch, received 16 Holland florins. If only for her name one wished one knew more of her.
- 7) Seger Janszn. van Goch, monk of the Briggitine convent in Utrecht. A family of this name was quite prominent in clerical circles in Utrecht, one Jan van Goch had earlier been vicar-general. Unfortunately they all appear to have been called Jan, so that it is difficult to identify them.

Following the *Lijfrenten* come the *losrenten*, with forty-two entries dating from 1537 and subsequent years. Seven of these entries represent investment incomes of over 25 Holland florins, and are as follows:

- III 1) *Joff. Bentscher van Andels* as heiress of Beernt Proys, received 84 Holland florins. The family of Proys was represented in the Utrecht *Ridderschap*
- 2) Alice Ben received for two terms the sum of 54 holland florins and 14 *schellingen*. This lady was the sister of the *Domkannunik* Hendrik Ben who had died in 1541, and this may represent a fraternal legacy. She was in fact to die in the course of this year, and was to be buried in the *Dom*.
- 3) Claes van Haarlem, through the executors of the late Mr. Beernt van Haaerlem, for whom see I - 2) above, who received 53 Holland florins 6 *schellingen*.
- 4) Mr. Johan van Drolshagen, canon and *Scholaster* of St. Marie. A member of a patrician family of Munster in Westphalia.
- 5) Cornelis van Bouch as executor for *Heer* Joris van Solms, who received 30 Holland florins. The Van Solms were a prominent family of the city patriciate.
- 6) Joanna Beyer and Johan Beyer, *Domkannunik*, received 30 Holland florins. This family were prominent members of the Utrecht *Kapittelwereld*.
- 7) Interest on the legacy of Thomas Persoels, *vicaris* of the Oudmunster, in favour of the Collegium Willibrodi in Utrecht, amounted to 25 Holland florins. The governors of this foundation were considerable investors in the *renten* of the *Dom*

The remaining investors, some thirty-five in total, with two exceptions, were the recipients of much smaller sums than the foregoing. The two exceptions were:

- IV 1) Dirk Cornelisz. *vicaris* of the chantry on the altar of SS. Catherine & Appolinaris in the *Dom*, who with consent of the Dean and Chapter had sold *zeker morgen* land belonging to his chantry, and deposited the capital sum with the Chapter. This would seem to have been a not uncommon practice, for as we shall see, several other of the *Domvicarissen* had done the same thing. Doubtless the problems of dealing with rural *pachters* over what may well have been relatively small parcels of land, distantly situated, was not worth the trouble, and conversion to a dividend paying capital sum was more convenient all round. His income from the Chapter was 22 Holland florins.
- 2) Mr. Daniel Benutz. *vicaris* of the first portion of the chantry upon the altar of S. Peter in the *Dom*, who had also invested the proceeds of the sale of eight *morgen* of the land of his chantry in the *Achtersloot*, for which he recieved some 24 Holland florins.

The remaining investors included five further *Domvicarissen* who received sums varying between 10 and 2 Holland florins. As a separate corporation the *zielpriesters* of the *Dom* had two sums invested bringing in a total of some 27 Holland florins. Similarly the legacy of Dean Ludolf van Veen for the support of two succentors for the choir brought in 12 Holland florins. The *Domvicarissen* of the *Nova opera*, that is the twelve chantries situated in the east end of the cathedral had two blocks

invested rendering an income of 8 Holland florins 8 *schellingen*. The Collegium Willibrordi had further funds invested in two smaller blocks, rendering two totals of 12½ Holland florins each, to be added to its larger holding noted above at III - 7). Finally among those connected directly with the *Dom* we find Mr. Cornelis Martini, the *Rector scholarum* or head of the cathedral school the recipient of possibly his salary or part of it in the sum of 12 Holland florins and 10 *schellingen*. Alice Ben, above III - 2), was the further recipient of 15 Holland florins. Margaretha Beyer and Jan Beyer, *Domkannunik* received 10 Holland florins. For the rest a mixture of widows, professed nuns, and *Borghers* of Utrecht and Vianen were the recipients of sums under 15 Holland florins. Two members of the *Stichtse* gentry had sums invested with the cathedral: Gijsbert van Zuylen for 10 Holland Florins and Judith van Dompseleer for 18 Holland florins.

Further entries in the accounts refer to *Renten vercocht ten tijde als die Geusen regneerd*, and encompass some nine names.

- V 1) The largest investor in these *renten* was *joncheer* Aernt van Groenevelt, the son of the bailiff to the abbey of St. Amand, an important servant or man of business to the late George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht, who had in his youth held a canonry at the *Dom* before resigning it to his brother. He had clearly invested a considerable sum for he received 75 Holland florins of income.
- 2) Mr. Gijsbert Lap, doctor of medicine, for 40 Holland florins income. Whether this man can be identified with the Gijsbert Lap van Waveren, *Onderwijzer* of Zierickzee, and grand-father of another Gijsbert Lap van Waveren, the historian of Utrecht (1596 - 1647), is not certain. As we shall see he was a considerable investor in cathedral *losrenten*.
- 3) Dirk Claesz. *Borgher* of Utrecht, for two payments of 25 Holland florins. Nothing is known of this apparently substantial citizen.
- 4) Mr. Gerrit van Merenborch, who received 40 Holland florins.
- 5) Engelbrecht van Bruhezen, *Domkannunik* and brother of the dean, Johan van Bruhezen, and apparently on this occasion in partnership with the Clerk to the Chapter, Mr. Jan van Lamzweerd, received 15 Holland florins.
- 6) Cornelia Gerritsdochter received two payments, one of 12 Holland florins and 10 *schellingen* and a further payment of 15 Holland florins. Whether she was a widow or a quite handsomely dowered unmarried daughter is not clear.
- 7) Adriana van Rattigen, received 18 Holland florins 10 *schellingen*.
- 8) Adriaan van Schaijck received 12 Holland florins 10 *schellingen*. Although he is not mentioned as such, there was an Adriaan Schaijck, *vicaris* of the *Dom*, (1561 - 1583), one a family that had at least three other members of this family mentioned as *vicarissen* at the cathedral. As he is not designated as a cleric. he may be a kinsman, possibly a nephew of the same name as the *vicaris*.
- 9) Albert Hermanszn. *Domvicaris* who received the small sum of 3 Holland florins. He possessed the *vicarie* of St. Sebastiaan, which he had secured in 1569.

Finally in the accounts of the *Bona Divisa* comes a considerable list of *Losrenten*, whose recipients may conveniently be divided into four groups, those receiving 50 Holland florins and above (VIa), those receiving between 20 and 50 Holland florins (VIb), those receiving between 20 and 30 Holland florins, and those receiving below 20 Holland florins. (VIc)

VIa 1) Maximilian van Waelscapelle, *Domkannunik* received three payments of 25 Holland florins each, receiving a total of 75 Holland florins.

2) Arnold van Groenevelt received 50 Holland florins, see V - 1) above.

3) Sophie de Palleas, widow of Joris van Boetzelaer, received 50 Holland florins. She was the daughter of a member of the Utrecht *Ridderschap*.

4) Johan Andreeszn. Crap, citizen of Utrecht. He may perhaps be tentatively identified, with the *Domvicaris* Johan Andreeszn. Crap, canon of St. Jan, who secured his chantry in 1567, the *semi-prebenda imperialis* and hence may be registered in the *losrenten* at an earlier date without reference to his membership of the cathedral. But as he is noted as *civis Traj.* he is more probably a nephew of the canon who was probably the younger brother of one Andree Andreeszn. Crap, whose son this *rentier* most probably was.

VIb 1) Mr Gijsbert Lap, doctor of Medicine, V - 2) above, received payments of 31 and 19 Holland florins respectively.

2) Wouter Dirk Janszn. received 38 Holland florins.

3) The Abbess of the convent of Ten Dael received 31 florins for the use of nuns of her house: *domicella* Joanna van Runen, Hillegonde de Kark, a daughter, or grand-daughter perhaps of Rutger van der Kark, (ob. 1548) *Raad* in the *Hof van Utrecht*, and Magdalena van Groenevelt, presumably kin to Arnold van Groenevelt, V -1) above.

VIc 1) Johan van Drolshagen, *Scholaster* of St. Marie, received 25 Holland florins, see III - 4) above.

2) The executors of the will of the *Domkannunik* Joris Strijt, formerly chaplain to bishop George van Egmont, who left money for the celebration of a daily mass at the altar of SS. Peter & Paul in the *retrochori* of the *Dom*. The executors received two payments of 25 and 17 Holland florins respectively.

3) The *Domvicaris* Cornelis Valerio received 28 Holland florins.

4) *Domicella* Wandelmonde van Renesse, clearly a member of the important *Stichtse Ridderschap* family, but where precisely she comes in it is not known. She received 24 Holland florins.

VIc This group received small payments, but included the following:

1) Mr. Cornelis Martin, the *Rector scholarum* of the *Dom*. who received 12½ Holland florins.

2) The *Kerkmeesters* of the *Buurkerk* who had invested a legacy received from Elizabeth van Coddendoort, a member of a family with strong and lengthy connections with the chapter of St. Pieter, and several members of whose family were lawyers of the city. The legacy brought in 18 Holland florins 10 *schellingen*.

3) Joanna Beyer as heiress of D. Johan Beyer, *Domkannunik*, received

18 Holland florins.

4) Payments of 12 Holland florins made to the abbess of St. Servaas, Sibille Taets van Amerongen, for herself and for the use of perhaps novices Mathilde van Rynvelt and Elizabeth van Gutterswijk.

5) Elizabeth van Wael van Vronesteyn, nun of St. Servaas, received 3 holland florins.

6) Joanne van Leeuwenberch, nun of St. Servaas, received 6 Holland florins.

These two ladies were members of prominent families of the Utrecht *Ridderschap*

## APPENDIX 11 :

REVENUES OF THE ARCHDEACON OF UTRECHT, THE *DOMPROOST*,  
FOR THE YEARS 1529 - 1581.

Pt. I Totals for years 1529 - 1553.

These raw totals are based upon the accounts found in *AKD 2464*. These accounts are frequently unsatisfactory for the purposes of this table. It is, for example difficult to ascertain the worth of the benefice to the *Domproost* on an annual basis, because a) there do not always exist annual totals, b) remittances to the provost appear to be irregular, c) such sums as are mentioned often include arrears. Also under the heading 'expenses' sums are remitted to the provost. In addition note is made of payments relative to the two great law suits of 1530 - 40 with provost Slachek, and 1540 to 1545 with bishop Egmont. Totals are given in florins.

*AKD 2464* - 56. 1529, August - *Cantate*.

Total received: 2560 florins.  
Remitted to provost: 1455 florins.

*AKD 2464* - 57. 1530 - 31.

Total received: 872 florins.

*AKD 2464* - 58. 1531 - 32.

Total received: 1939 florins.

*AKD 2464* - 59. 1532 - 33.

Total received: 1598 florins.

*AKD 2464* - 60. 1533 - 34.

Total received: 464 florins.

*AKD 2464* - 61. 1534 - 35.

Total received: 1341 florins.  
Plus arrears of 43 florins.  
Giving total 1348 florins.  
Expenses: 289 florins.  
To provost: 1512 florins.

*AKD 2464* - 62. 1535 - 36.

Total received: 2234 florins.  
Expenses of receiver, the *Socius*: 1252 florins.  
To provost: 980 florins.

*AKD 2464* - 63. 1536 - 37.

Total received: 2488 florins.  
 Plus arrears of 56 florins.  
 Giving total of 2544 florins.  
 Expenses - from Cantate - May 1537,  
 2132 florins. but included in this total is  
 to provost: 1113 florins.

AKD 2464 - 64. 1537 -38.

Total received: 2424 florins.  
 Expenses: 2630 florins, made up as follows:  
 a. 1000 florins triecten. [c. 500 florins] to Adriaan  
 van Renesse, *Socius* to the provost.  
 b. 29 florins to provost for expenses at The Hague in  
 giving evidence before Philippe Negri.  
 c. 340 florins to provost from the rural dean of  
 Scaldia.  
 d. 270 florins to provost from the rural dean of  
 Zuidbeveland.  
 e. Payments of two totals to the provost's lawyers of  
 24 and 11 florins.  
 f. 70 florins remitted to provost.  
 g. 70 florins for the provosts wine.  
 Total expended directly or indirectly on behalf of  
 provost: 1474 florins.

AKD 2464 - 65. 1538 - 39.

Total received: 2365 florins.

AKD 2464 - 66. 1539 - 40.

Total received: 2280 florins.  
 To provost : 2145 florins.

AKD 2464 - 67. 1540 - 41.

Total received: 3619 florins.  
 This total includes three remittances to the  
 provost as follows:  
 1) By hands of his *familiar* 500 florins.  
 2) By hands of Dirk De Coninck 500 florins.  
 3) By hands of Johan Rudde, the provost's nephew,  
 500 florins.  
 Total to provost 2,000 florins.

AKD 2464 - 68. 1541 - 42.

Total received: 3,197 florins.  
 To provost : 1800 florins.

AKD 2464 - 69. 1542 - 43. [No totals]

AKD 2464 - 70. 1543 - 44.

Total received: 1,137 florins.

Expenses : 1,109 florins.

To vacant provostry 695 florins.

No totals survive for the years 1544 - 1550

AKD 2464 - 78. 1550 - 51.

Total received: 2,379 florins.

To provost : 2,101 florins.

AKD 2464 - 79. 1551 - 52. [No totals]

AKD 2464 - 80. 1552 - 53.

Total received: 2,278 florins

AKD 2464 - 81. 1553 - 54.

Total received: 2,725 florins.

Expenses : 225 florins,

including: 54 florins to Anthony Amstel van  
Mijnden for a visitation of the Gooiland.

To provost : 2,492 florins.

AKD 2464 - 82. 1554 -55.

Total received: 2,693 florins.

Expenses: 213 florins.

To provost : 2,693 florins.

AKD 2464 - 83. 1555 - 56. [No totals]

AKD 2464 - 84. 1556 - 57. [No totals]

AKD 2464 - 85. 1557 - 58 [No totals]

AKD 2464 - 86. 1558 - 59.

Total received: 3,332 florins.

To provost : 3,092 florins.

AKD 2464 - 87. 1559 - 60.

Total received: 3,044 florins.

Expenses included 165 florins for a lawsuit against the dean  
and chapter of Kortrijk.

To provost : 2,755 florins.

AKD 2464 - 88. 1560 - 61.

Total received: 2,362 florins.

To provost : 1,853 florins.

AKD 2462 - 89. 1561 - 62.

Total received: 2,581 florins.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* in Flanders rendered *hoc anno nihil* in the accounts.

To provost : 2,169 florins.

AKD 2462 - 90. 1562 - 63.

Total received: 2,476 florins.

Expenses: 1,126 florins.

- a. 158 florins for a law-suit with the bishop of Middelburg over the latter's new jurisdiction in Zeeland, created by the scheme of New Bishoprics.
- b. 246 florins paid by the provost as his share of the 492 florins expenses of the dean of Utrecht and Floris Thin during their mission to the Regent Margaret of Parma to try and settle the above dispute.
- c. 64 florins as Floris Thin's salary for 12 days in Brussels.
- d. 218 florins for the expenses of the provost's 16 day visit to Brussels for the same purpose.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* rendered 74 florins this year.

To provost : 1,397 florins.

AKD 2462 - 91. 1563 - 64.

Total received: 2,518 florins

Expenses: 586 florins.

- a. 156 florins expended upon the struggle with the bishop of Middelburg.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* rendered 7 *scuta 16 schellingen*, or 15 florins.

To provost : 1577 florins.

AKD 2462 - 92. 1564 - 65.

Total received: 2,615 florins.

Expenses: 295 florins.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* rendered nothing this year.

To provost : 2,018 florins.

AKD 2462 - 93. 1565 - 66.

Total received: 2,184 florins.

Expenses: 476 florins.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* paid 13 florins this year, but significantly the deaneries of Putten and Zuid Holland rendered nothing.

To provost : 1,080 florins.

AKD 2462 - 94. 1566 - 67.

Total received: 1,459 florins.

Expenses: 286 florins.

To provost : 635 florins.

AKD 2462 - 95. 1567 - 68.

Total receipts: 2,284 florins.

Expenses: 296 florins.

To provost : 1,683 florins.

AKD 2462 - 96. 1568 - 69.

Total receipts: 1,829 florins.

N.B. 484 florins of above total was arrears from previous accounts.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* rendered *nihil*

To provost : 1,399 florins.

AKD 2462 - 97. 1569 - 70.

Total receipts: 1,743 florins.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* paid 128 florins.

To provost : 1,097 florins.

AKD 2462 - 98. 1570 - 71.

Total receipts: 1,537 florins.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* paid 31 florins.

To provost : 1,097 florins.

AKD 2462 - 99. 1571 - 72.

Total receipts: 854 florins.

The deanery of the *Vierambachten* paid *nihil*. and the archidiaconal receivers noted for the deaneries of Wallacria, Scaldia, Zuidbeveland, Voorne, Putten, and Zuid Holland, *propter novas turbas - nihil*. Of the deanery of Amstelland it was observed *quia propter vim Episcopli Haarlemen vacavet - nihil*

To provost : 318 florins.

AKD 2462 - 100. 1572 - 73.

Total receipts: 188 florins.

Expenses: 229 florins.

The archidiaconal receivers had problems in securing the following:

- a. *Recepta a decanis - hoc anno nihil propter excitatus per Guesies turbat. [Sic].*
- b. *Recepta de incorporationis - nihil.*
- c. *Recepta a legibus - nihil.*

There was a deficit of 49 florins.

AKD 2462 - 101. 1573 - 74.

Total receipts: 376 florins.

The archidiaconal receivers noted of the deaneries of the *Vierambachten*, of Wallacria, Scaldia, Zuidbeveland and Voorn, *Hoc anno nihil*.

To provost 3 florins.

AKD 2462 - 102. 1574 - 75.

Total receipts: 473 florins.

Expenses: 317 florins.

The archidiaconal receivers noted for the deaneries of the *Vierambachten* and Wallacria, Scaldia, *Hoc anno nihil*.

To provost : 155 florins.

AKD 2462 - 103. 1575 - 76.

Total receipts: 414 florins.

Expenses: 343 florins.

To provost : 67 florins.

AKD 2462 - 104. 1576 - 77.

Total received: 128 florins.

Expenses: 197 florins.

There was a deficit of 68 florins.

AKD 2464 - 105. 1578 - 79.

Total received: 215 florins.

Expenses: 202 florins.

To provost : 13 florins.

AKD 2462 - 106. 1579 - 80.

Total received: 109 florins.

Expenses: 133 florins.

There was a deficit of 24 florins.

AKD 2462 - 107. 1579 - 80.

Total received: 174 florins.

Expenses: 237 florins.

There was a deficit of 63 florins.

AKD 2462 - 108. 1580 - 81.

The archidiaconal accounts are incomplete for this year and record the last Catholic canonical institution to a church in the diocese of Utrecht as administered by the *Domproost* that of Pieter de Lide to the parish church of Angeren. *Sic transit...*

## APPENDIX 12 :

RECEIPTS FROM INSTITUTIONS TO BENEFICES IN THE DEANERIES OF THE  
ARCHDEACONRY OF THE *DOMPROOST*: 1558/59 - 1571/72.

These figures represent the sums in Holland florins paid for institution to benefices to the archidiaconal collectors in the archdeaconry of the *Dom*

	58/59	/60	/61	/62	/63	/64	/65	/66	/67	/68	/69	/70	/71	/72
Vierambachten	92	17	13	-	74	15	-	13	-	84	-	128*	31	-
	* Sum paid for institution to four parish churches.													
Wallacria	291	238	82	76	21	106	112	38	20	12	14	132	24	5
Scaldia	157	98	38	22	79	109	23	45	22	119	36	4	18	15
Zuidbeveland	373	156	42	130	54	282	261	163	148	271	90	164	44	165*
	* Sum charged for institution to church of Wemeldingen.													
Voorne	99	41	66	36	52	3	40	33	48	91	38	30	8	10
Putten	1	8	24	16	-	-	4	-	11	-	-	2	-	5
Zuidholland	27	19	7	14	13	13	22	-	2	59	36	2	4	23
Schieland	61	46	10	67	40	14	76	28	41	12	52	40	16	23
Delfland	176	169	39	78	93	118	143	112	182	251	102	106	138	105
Rijnland	67	94	38	100	74	95	123	56	88	119	71	103	115	73*
	* Sum charged for institution to church of Voorschoten													
Kenemaria	90	87	122	77	215	148	219	142	57	194	88	211	151	1
Amstelland	52	97	41	15	30	31	61	2	36	155	56	29	78	28
Batua	44	35	3	66	13	-	37	36	-	53	32	47	28	24
Gooiland.	35	87	29	54	36	57	36	98	71	113	23	46	106	80

## APPENDIX 13 :

## COMPARATIVE FIGURES FOR PREBENDS IN THE UTRECHT CHAPTERS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE CHAPTERS OF ST PIETER, ST JAN AND ST MARIE.

These comparative figures are based upon the revenues of the *Minor camera* and *Major camera* of each chapter, as paid to a fully resident canon *capitulare*. The totals are given in Holland florins for the purposes of this table, and where computed from sub totals in the case of missing final totals, this is indicated by figures in square brackets.

## A. THE PREBEND OF JOHAN BOGART AT ST PIETER, 1550 - 1576.

Based upon the accounts of the *minor camera*, AKP - 167 - 4, and AKP 167 - 5. for the years 1550 - 1574, and for the *Maior camera* AKP 165 - 5 and AKP 165 - 6. for the years 1550 - 1580. The accounts of the *Minor camera* occasionally give *restanten* and these are noted when known. The accounts are in £Utrecht and Holland florins but the totals are given in Holland florins.

	<i>Minor camera.</i>		<i>Maior camera.</i>		TOTAL
	<i>Presentiegeld</i>	<i>Servitio.</i>	<i>Restanten.</i>		
1550	5 Holl. Flor.	52	27	339 £Ut.	220 Fl.
1551	3	59	6	281	180
1552	2	62	4	309	192
1553	10	77	15	378	253
1554	8	60	6	345	206
1555	7	64	10	320	212
1556	11	65	12	240	184
1557	8	69	5	445	260
1558	8	71	4	244	180
1559	11	73	2	254	186
1560	13	77	6	323	226
1561	10	85	-	?	?
1562	9	78	-	?	?
1563	11	81	-	379	243
1564	11	8	-	343	222
1565	13	84	-	308	220
1566	13	84	-	323	227
1567	10	81	-	275	201
1568	<i>Minor camera missing</i>			274	
1569	23	70	9	268	198
1570	9	70	-	Figures missing	
1571	12	50	-	Figures missing	
1572	12	41	-	122	102
1573	7	17	-	Figures missing	
1574	9	6	-	10	15
1575	10	-	4	239	109
1576	12			7	?
1577				184	?
1578				248	?
1579				296	?
1580				379	?

## B. THE PREBEND OF DIRK LIEVERJAN AT ST JAN, 1520 - 1529.

Based upon the accounts of the *Minor camera*, AKJ 155 - 11, the accounts of the *Maior camera* AKJ 149 - 5

In the accounts of the chapter of St. Jan the payments from the *Maior camera* were made in groups, the *Divisio excrescentur* and the *Divisio servicii* which last was made up of four totals, the first I below, was profits from the sale of grains, while the fourth, IV below was revenues from feudal dues. Figures have been given in Holland florins.

The figures reveal the disorder prevailing in the lordship of Utrecht on the eve of the *Overdracht* and in fact the figures for 1530 onwards show a distinct recovery showing the prebend to worth nearer the 200 Holland florins mark AKD 149 - 6.

	<i>Minor camera</i>		<i>Major camera.</i>				TOTAL	
	<i>Divisio crescentiarum</i>	<i>Premissis.</i>	<i>Divisio excrescentur</i>	<i>Divisio servicii.</i>				
				I	II	III	IV	
1520	71 Holl. Flor.	12	30	-	-	-	-	113
1521	81	15	?	25	-	4	30	164
1522	[79]	21	44	29		6	35	214
1523	83	15	35	30		5	35	203
1524	89	18	40	30		5	36	218
1525	[81]	14	[58]	figures missing				[153]
1526	[56]	14	[28]	34		4	39	[119]
1527	[49]	-	[28]	39		9	39	[174]
1528	[29]	-	[ 8]	14		5	39	[95]
1529	[80]	11	[71]	14		6	20	[202]

## C THE PREBEND OF KOENRAAD TEN DUYNEN AT ST. JAN, 1530 - 1539.

Based upon the accounts of the *Minor camera* for 1530 - 1549, AKJ 155 - 12, and AKJ 155 - 13., and for the *Major camera* for the years 1530 - 1539, AKJ 149 - 5. In this table the fifth total, V below, represents payments from the *Bonorum pactorum*, which prior to 1532 were accounted seperately. Figures given in Holland florins.

	<i>Minor camera</i>		<i>Major camera.</i>					TOTAL	
	<i>Divisio crescentiarum</i>	<i>Premissis.</i>	<i>Divisio excrescentur</i>	<i>Divisio servicii.</i>					
				I	II	III	IV	V	
1530	[85] Holl. Flor.	11	[51]	17	-	9	26		[199]
1531	[83]	8	[52]	17	-	8	25		[187]
1532	[89]	7	[77]	14	14	7	22	44	[266]
1533	[90]	6	[51]	15	7	7	22	64	[264]
1534	[90]	5	[60]	16	15	4	21	34	[245]
1535	[80]	5	[32]	17	16	2	20	42	[214]
1536	[79]	4	[32]	14	-	2	16	35	[182]
1537	[78]	5	[51]	15	-	2	18	47	[216]
1538	[78]	4	[40]	17	-	2	20	27	[188]
1539	[73]	6	[37]	14	-	2	16	43	[213]

D. THE PREBEND OF CORNELIS VAN MEIROP, *DOMPROOST* AS CANON OF ST. MARIE,  
FOR THE YEARS 1547 - 1573.

Based upon the accounts of the *Maior camera* AKM 318 - 5 for the years 1547 - 1560, AKM 318 - 6 for the years 1563 - 1570, and 1578 - 84, and the accounts of the *Minor camera* AKM 341 - 6 for the years 1548 - 1560, AKM 341 - 7 for the years 1561 - 1570, and AKM 341 - 8 for the years 1571 - 1580. In the accounts of the *Maior camera* the financial year is in two parts, the first term, St. Martini and a second term, St Petri, but the figures given are those of a total for the whole year. *Restanten* are rarely noted, but given when they occur. The accounts were kept in £Utrecht, but the totals are given in Holland florins.

	<i>Maior camera.</i>	<i>Minor camera.</i>		TOTAL
1547	230		£Ut	
1548	205	70	275	110
1549	232	70	302	120
1550	261	77	357	143
1551	243	83	326	130
1552	255	80	335	134
1553	310	90	400	160
1554	381	94	475	190
1555	405	107	512	205
1556	230	109	339	135
1557	427	114	541	216
1558	233	124	357	143
1559	263	127	390	156
1560	349	161	510	204
1561	?	169		?
1562	?	177		?
1563	553	180	733	293
1564	?	1??	Only first figure legible.	
1565	?	176		?
1566	537	1??	Only first figure legible.	
1567	312	166	478	191
1568	292	145	437	176
1569	245	158	403	161
1570	176	135	311	124
1571	-	?	Figures obliterated	
1572	-	75	?	
1573	-	71	?	
Death of provost Cornelis van Meirop, but totals for full resident capitularis continued to 1580				
1574	-	42		
1575	-	22 + 20 <i>restanten</i>	= 42	
1576	-	60 + 26 <i>restanten</i>	= 66	
1577	-	21		
1578	224	46	270	108
1579	169	61	230	92
1580	215	illegible	?	
1581	275	-	?	

## APPENDIX 14 :

COMPARISON OF PREBENDS OF *DOM*, ST. PIETER, ST. JAN AND ST. MARIE.

This table can give only the relative comparison between prebends as it is based upon the income of but two accounts, the *Minor camera* and the *Maior camera* respectively, in each chapter. Each chapter had other accounts but the income for the canons from these further chambers was not great in relation to the income of the two chambers. The *Dom* appears also to have had the advantage of a third relatively high paying account, the *Bona divisa*, which put its prebends even further ahead than those of the other Utrecht chapters. The figures are in Holland florins, and derived from Appendix 13.

	DOM	ST. PIETER	ST. JAN	ST. MARIE
1520			113	
1521			164	
1522			214	
1523			203	
1524			218	
1525			?	
1526			119	
1527			174	
1528			95	
1529			202	
1530			199	
1531			187	
1532			266	
1533			264	
1534			245	
1535			214	
1536			182	
1537			216	
1538	160		188	
1539	?		213	
1540	181			
1541	191			
1542	207			
1543	179			
1544	?			
1545	?			
1546	?			
1547	?			?
1548	?			110
1549	?			120
1550	?	220		143
1551	335	180		130
1552	?	192		134
1553	371	253		160

1554	428	206	190
1555	455	212	205
1556	373	184	135
1557	464	260	216
1558	396	180	143
1559	478	186	156
1560	447	226	204
1561	493	?	?
1562	?	?	?
1563	519	243	293
1564	?	222	?
1565	569	220	?
1566	483	227	?
1567	521	201	191
1568	551	?	176
1569	519	198	161
1570	408	?	124
1571	348	?	?
1572	329	102	?
1573	314	?	?
1574	?	15	?
1575	?	109	?
1576	50	?	?
1577	?	?	?
1578	188	?	108
1579	201	?	92
1580		?	
1581			

## APPENDIX 15 :

## ANNUAL TOTALS FROM THE MAIOR CAMER, 1538 - 1581.

AKD 626 - 13a, (1538 - 1544) AKD 626 - 5, (1550 - 1559); AKD 626 - 6, (1560 - 1569); AKD 626 - 7, (1570 - 1580)

These are raw totals as given by the *camerere*, after the first division by forty, and do not include subsequent divisions among the resident canons, or, save for the years 1561 - 1574, subsequent payments made in for arrears, (AKD 674. Accounts were kept in £ Utrecht, and occasionally this was converted to Holland florins: this is indicated by two columns under the payments to the *pleno*.

Total surplus in hands of receiver.		Sum paid to full resident canon or <i>pleno</i> .	
		£ Utrecht.	Fl. Holland.
1538	6,609 £Utrecht.	165	[66]
1539	[Accounts incomplete for this year]		
1540	7,778	194	[79]
1541	7,276	181	[72]
1542	6,036	173	[69]
1543	6,153	153	[51]
1544	8,233	205	[82]
1545	[Accounts missing for this year].		
1546	" "		
1547	" "		
1548	" "		
1549	" "		
1550	12,067	301	[120]
1551	13,375	334	[133]
1552	12,290	307	[122]
1553	13,634	340	136
1554	14,611	365	146
1555	15,574	389	155
1556	11,161	289	111
1557	17,951	448	179
1558	11,905	297	119
1559	14,249	331	144
1560	13,807	345	138
1561	14,539	363	145 + (15 = 150)
1562	[Accounts incomplete for this year: possibly due to accounting henceforth in Holland florins]		
1563	6,740 Fl. Holland.	*	167 + (9 = 176)
1564	[Accounts incomplete for this year]		+ (33)
1565	6,221	*	155 + (13 = 168)
1566	5,876	*	144 + (13 = 157)
1567	6,319	*	157 + (10 = 167)
1568	5,805	*	145 + (10 = 155)
1569	4,785	*	119 + (47 = 166)
1570	3,778	*	94 + (65 = 159)

1571	2,831	*	70 +(142 = 212)
1572	2,571	*	64 +(193 = 257)
1573	3,406	[No total in accounts: computed c.85]	+(166 = 251)
1574	3,241	[No total in accounts: computed c.85]	+(157 = 236)
1575	2,868	*	71
1576	1,638	*	40
1577	2,983	*	73
1578	2,517	[No total in accounts: computed c.63]	
1579	2,563	*	64
1580	3,260	*	81

## eAPPENDIX 16 :

THE CHAPTER OF OUDMUNSTER'S INCOME FROM THE LORDSHIP OF HAGESTEIN,  
1515 - 1581.

Based upon the accounts of the *Camer van Hagesteein*, AKO 512, AKO 512a, which are headed ...*de dominio ac bonis in Hagesteyn noviter emptis ... quoad medietate[m] spectant ad ecclia nostri martini et petrij.*

Rents and dues appear to have been paid over to the chamberlain of the Oudmunster for half the year and to the chamberlain of the cathedral for the other half.

The accounts are kept in £Utrecht, and occasional figures in Holland florins appear, but totals are converted in the accounts after 1526 to Holland florins for division among the resident, or *pleno* canons. From 1551 totals were in Holland florins. The residents at the Oudmunster were generally about half the number of residents at the cathedral throughout the century, hence the impact of this source of revenue for the canons of the cathedral would have been significantly less.

	Total Surplus in £ Ut.	Surplus per <i>pleno</i> in £ Ut	Surplus per <i>pleno</i> in Holl. flor.	No of Resident canons.
1515	286		7	13
1516	286	8 - 10 - 4		12
1517	286		7	12
1518	286		7	12
1519	276		6	12
1520	282	6 - 8 - 4		13
1521	282	6 - 2 - 0		14
1522	344	20 - 17 - 0		13
1523	549 + restanten of £Ut51	51 - 13 - 0		13
		31 - 19 - 0		13
1524	690	40 - 16 - 0		13
1525	567	36 - 2 - 0		13
1526	500	30 - 8 - 0	12	13
1527	?		27	13
1528	449		8	12
1529	502	33 - 0 - 0	13	14
1530	620	42 - 18 - 0	17	14
1531	652	?	?	13
1532	804 + restanten of £Ut59	59 - 0 - 0		13
		55 - 3 - 0	22	13
1533	780	68 - 0 - 0	27	11
1534	780	67 - 0 - 0	26 - 19 - 0	11
1535	1333	104 - 16 - 6	41	12
1536	1288	108 - 10 - 0	43	12
1537	1518	123 - 2 - 0	49	11
1538	1385	117 - 0 - 0	46	11
1539	1500	144 - 0 - 0	58	10
1540	1487	143 - 18 - 6	57	10

1541	1472	109 - 10 - 0	44	12
1542	1567	108 - 5 - 0	43	14
1543	1681	102 - 16 - 7	43	14
1544	1603	128 - 16 - 0	51	12
1545	1573	128 - 8 - 0	51	13
1546	2276	157 - 17 - 0	53	13
1547	2268	153 - 4 - 6	61	12
1548	1925	? ? ?	44	12
1549	2202	146 - 3 - 0	58	12
1550	2234	165 - 10 - 6	61	12

Total in  
Holl. Flor.

1551	853		65	11
1552	949		77	11
1553	923		75	11
1554	647		97	11
1555	922		61	12
1556	782		61	11
1557	1023		91	11
1558	770		68	11
1559	[Accounts missing]			
1560	1158		61	8
1561	1511		156	9
1562	[Accounts missing]			
1563	1518		106	12
1564	1516		65	13
1565	1435		78	13
1566	1634		88	13
1567	1611		102	13
1568	833		65	?
1569	[Accounts missing]			
1570	1552		95	8
1571	1757		96	14
1572	1613		62	14
1573	1605		44	14
1574	[Accounts missing]			
1575	1321		37	12
		NB This year expenses plus <i>restanten</i> and defalcations stood at 821 florins.		
1576	1166		41	11
		NB This year expenses plus <i>restanten</i> and defalcations stood at 710 florins.		
1577	1071		42	11
		NB This year ordinary expenses stood at 107 florins " " extraordinary expenses and defalcations stood at 170 florins		
1578	1159		49	11
1579	1224		46	10
1580	1156		90	8
1581	1483		154	7

## APPENDIX 17 :

PARISH CHURCHES HELD BY *DOMKANUNIKEN*.

The following list does not claim to be exhaustive, but is intended to give the flavour of pluralism as exercised by canons of the *Dom* in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. References are to works cited in the bibliography. [?] before a name indicates doubt over the attribution of the canon to the information cited concerning the parish.

## ALPHEN, Willem van.

Rector of Alphen-aan-den-Rijn, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Rijnland: living in the gift of the abbey of St. Paul, Utrecht.

*Geschiedkund. Atlas.*, vol. I, p. 281.

1466: Described as *rector parochialis in Alfijn* when *promotor substitutus* at the university of Bologna.

Knod, *Bologna*, p. 44.

## APPELTEREN, Jacob van.

*Domdeken*.

Rector of Wansum, diocese of Liège, deanery of Cuyck: living in the gift of the cathedral chapter of Liège.

*Geschiedkund. Atlas*, vol. I, p. 75.

1501: Pope Alexander VI permits Jacob van Appelteren, deacon, a two year delay in securing ordination, despite holding this church, 12 August 1501.

Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 501, p. 176

1509: Ordained 7 April 1509, some three months after his election as dean of Utrecht.

Brom, *Naamlijst, A.A.Ut.*, vol. XXIII, p. 423.

1510: Church served by D. Leonardum, 1510, in the absence of Appelteren, but Appelteren was no longer rector by 1524. The cure required three masses per week, and was worth 60 *mauld*.

Bannenbergh *et al.*, vol. II, p. 279.

## [?] AXEL, Johan van.

Rector of Nuenen, diocese of Liège, deanery of Woensel.

1553: Archidiaconal records note that one *mag. Iohannes Axilius*, paid as an absentee.

1555: The parish the subject of litigation.

1556: The parish still the subject of litigation, but served by a surrogate d. Antonium Michaelis. The parish revenues were said to be 200 Rhenish florins or less.

Bannenberg, *et al.*, vol. II, p. 217.

**BEKA**, Johan van.

Rector of Gilze, diocese of Liège, deanery of Hilvarenbeek: church in the gift of the chapter of noble canonesses of Thorn,

1510 - 1524: absentee rector, but parish served in 1510 by d. Ger. Oeghe, with three weekly masses, and on Sundays and feast-days. The parish valued at 200 French crowns.

Bannenberg *et al.*, vol. II, p. 358.

Rector of Koudekerke, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Wallacria.

1510 - 1511: proclaimed to one of the two portions of the cure, on the death of Hugo de Veere, but his possession was disputed, and one Macharii Willemszn. was instituted in 1512 - 1513.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Wallacria, p. 46.

He possessed in addition pensions secured on parishes in the Empire:

1513: a pension with right of *regressum* on the parish church of Teysendorf, diocese of Salzburg.

Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 1346, 19 March 1513, p. 74.

1513: a pension with right of *regressum* on the parish church of Malgersdorf, and on the *plebis* of the church of St. Marie in Reissing, diocese of Regensberg.

*Ibid.*, No. 1347, 19 March 1513, p. 74.

**BEUCKELAER**, Arnold.

Rector of portion of the *Buurkerk*, or St. Marie, Utrecht, deanery of Gooiland: church in the gift of the *Domproost*.

Nothing is known of the dating of his possession of this church save the mention in *AKD 3069*, where he is referred to as *pastor ecclesie civilis trajectensis*.

Rector of Graft, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Kennemaria: church in the gift of the count of Holland.

1489 - 1490: instituted to the church on the death of Johan Wijs, provost of St. Jan, Utrecht.

He would appear to have resigned by 1595 - 1596, when Johan van Oerkell, possibly to be identified with the canon of St. Marie, and papal *familiaris* of the same name, was instituted.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, Kennemaria, p. 50.

It is almost certain that he secured this wealthy church through the influence of his brother Mr. Thomas Beuckelaer, *Raad* in the *Hof van Holland*, and *Rentmeester-Generaal* of Holland, 1490 - 1499.

Blécourt & Meijers, pp. xliv, liv.

Rector of Sassenheim, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Rijnland: church nominally in gift of the abbey of Egmont.

*Geschiedkund. Atlas*, vol. I, p. 295; but incorporated to the cathedral of Utrecht to support the choir.

The date of his institution to this church is not known, but on 20 June 1519 he had resigned it to the *Domkannunik*, Frederik de Coninck, subject to a pension of 80 gold gulden.

Verhoofstad, *Kerken*, Reg. 355, p. 251.

#### CAMPINCK, Roeloff.

Rector of the Westcapelle, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Wallacria: church in the gift of the abbot of Middelburg.

*Geschiedkund. Atlas*, vol. I, p. 177.

On 27 March 1532 the abbot of Middelburg presented one of his monks, Nicolaas Baillot to the church but this was contested by Roeloff Campinck, canon of St. Pieter, Utrecht, and *cantor* of the chapel of the emperor Charles V. There followed an immensely long drawn out struggle over the church, with appeals before the *Hof van Holland* and the *Grote Raad* in Mechelen, and finally before a papal judge-delegate, Mr. Rover Stoops, dean of St. Gudule, Brussels, who finally awarded the church to Campinck on 11 August 1537. By this last date however, the abbot of Middelburg had had enough and presented Campinck to the wealthy *vicarie* of E.V. Mariae in the parish church of Oostsobourg, a benefice noted by the archidiaconal receiver as worth 8 £Flanders, or some 48 florins, p. a. *in absentia*.

Fruin, *O.L.V. Middelburg*, Nos. 1319, 1326, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1337, 1338, 1344, 1349, 1350, 1364;

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Wallacria, pp. 96 - 97.

#### CONINCK, Frederik de.

Rector of Sassenheim, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Rijnland.

[See Arnold Beuckelaer above].

#### DEDEL, Johan.

Rector of the Ouwkerk on Duiveland, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Scaldia.

1517: The cure was in two portions, and the date of Dedel's institution to one of them is not known, but by this date his portion was served by a *vice-curatus* Adriaan Kemponis.

Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 438.

1520: His successor was instituted to the church.  
Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Scaldia, p. 70.

**DENGLYS**, Gabriel.  
*Domscholaster.*

Rector of the church of Rijswijk by Wodrichem, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of *Dominium de Altena*.

1546: Secured this church by exchange for the *scholasterschap* of the collegiate church of Ste. Croix at Liège.  
Poncelet, *Ste. Croix*, vol. I, p. lxxxii.

**DONCK**, Gerlach van der.

*Personatus* of the church of Sevenum, diocese of Liège, deanery of Cuyk: church in the gift of the owners of the *Huis ten Donck*.  
*Geschiedkund. Atlas*, vol. III, p. 60.

1502: Rector d. Gerlacus de Donck, *personatus* of Donck, which was valued in 1520 at 100 *maldra silig. mesure loci*. There is no mention of a *vice-cureit*, or whether Donck was in fact an absentee.  
Bannenberg *et al.*, vol. I. p. 102.

**DOORNIK**, Winand van.

Rector of Ouderdingen, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Zuidbeveland.

1500 - 1501: instituted to the church, to which his successor was instituted in the course of 1506 - 1507. There is no mention of a *vice-cureit*.  
Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Zuidbevelandia, p. 109.

**DUYNEN**, Lambrecht ten.

Rector of the church of Akersloot, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Kennemaria: church in the gift of the chapter of St. Marie at Utrecht.  
*Geschiedkund. Atlas*, vol. I, p. 311.

1528 - 1529: instituted to the church.  
Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, Kennemaria, p. 14.

1529 - 1530: mention of a *vice-cureit* one Theodorus Bartholomei.  
Verhofstad, *Kerken*, p. 89.

**ENCKEVOIRT**, cardinal Willem van.  
Bishop of Utrecht

Rector of the church of Bakel, diocese of Liège, deanery of Woensel.

1510: absentee rector, still possessing the church in 1524. The church demanded the service of four masses per week, and was valued at 100 Rhenish florins p.a. In the absence of the rector the parish was served in 1510 by Godefried van Amstel, and in 1525 by d. Pieter Kawenberch, who served four masses per week, and received 25 *mod.*

Bannenberg, *et al.*, vol. II, p. 290.

Rector of the church of Leende, diocese of Liège, deanery of Woensel.

1510: absentee rector, still possessing the church in 1524. The church was valued at 14 *mod. et 6 Ren. vel circiter ex una parte decime.* In 1510 the church was served by d. Hendrik van der Meer, while by 1524 the *vice-cureit* was Jacob Boux, who served *cum missis dominicis et festivis et 3 hebd.*

Bannenberg *et al.* vol. II, pp. 304 - 04.

Rector of the church of Loon op Zand, diocese of Liège, deanery of Hilvarenbeek.

1510: absentee rector, still possessing it in 1524. The church was valued at 60 *mod.* In 1510 the church was served by Johan Zueutrix *cum missis dominic et fest ac 2 in hebd.*, while by 1524 d. Nicholaas Willemszn. served *cum missis dominic. et fest. quartis et sextis feriis annue*, and still valued at 60 *mod.*

Bannenberg, *et al.*, vol. II, pp. 421 - 422.

Rector of the church of Sambeek, diocese of Liège, deanery of Cuyck.

1520 - 1530: absentee rector, during which period the parish was served by d. Johan Crabbot, a service demanding one mass per week, the living being valued at 70 *mod silig.* The *vice-cureit* Crabbot also possessed at his death in around 1552 the *vicarie* of St. Johan Evangelist in the same church, demanding the service of three masses per week, the benefice being valued at 15 *maldera silig.* and also the benefice of the annexed chapel of St. Hubert in the neighbouring parish of Mill.

Bannenberg *et al.*, vol. I, pp. 105, 107.

*Personatus* of the church of Schindel, diocese of Liège, deanery of Woensel.

1510: noted as absentee, and still holding the benefice in 1524. The church was served by the incumbent of the *vicarie* of Schindel, who in 1524 was named as d. Amisius Tectoris de Bladel.

Bannenberg *et al.*, vol. II, p. 317.

**ENCKEVOIRT**, Michael Lombaertszn. van.

Rector of the church of Lithoyen, diocese of Liège, deanery of Cuyck.

1536 - 37: held as absentee until his death in 1551, and served initially by Johan Henrikszn. Valued in 1520 at 100 Rhenish florins p.a. with requirement of 4 masses a week.

Bannenberg, *et al* vol. I, p. 45.

Rector of the church of Loon op Zand, diocese of Liège, deanery of Hilvarenbeek.

1530 - 1541: held as absentee, noted as canon of Liège and archdeacon of the Kampenland, the parish being served by Pieter van Dongen. The requirement was masses on Sundays and feast days and two in the week, and valued in 1510 and 1566 at 60 *mod* of grain.

Bannenberg *et al*. vol. II, pp. 421 - 22.

**FLORISZN.**, Adriaan, later pope Adrian VI.

Rector of the church of Goeree, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Voorne, in the gift of the count of Holland.

Post, *Verhoudingen*, p. 87.

1493: instituted to the church, and resigned prior to 19 March 1515.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VII, Voorne, p. 70.

1515: 19 March, pope Leo X permits Floriszn. to resign the church with a pension charged upon its revenues.

Brom, *Archivalia*, Vol. I pt. 2, No. 1902.

Floriszn. apparently supplied a surrogate, and he himself took over the duties during the university vacations.

*NBW*. vol. I, col. 26.

Rector of the church of Ostvoorne, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Voorne.

1487: instituted to the church, and paying fees to the archdeacon on 11 April 1487. He resigned the church on 21 January 1490, presumably for a pension.

Grijpink, *Register*, vol. VII, Voorne, p. 83 -84.

Rector of the church of Westvoorne, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Voorne.

1489: instituted to the church, paying the fees to the archdeacon on 6 December 1489. The church was resigned 1493 - 94, presumably for a pension.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VII, Voorne, p. 87.

**GOBBERT**, Eggidi.

Rector of the church of Leiderdorp, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Rijnlandia.

1517: in possession of the church when it was served by oned. *Johannes*, vice-curatus.

Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 389 - 90.

[?] **GRUYTER**, Johan.

Rector of the church of Mierlo, diocese of Liège, deanery of Cuyck.

1485: noted as absentee rector, charged with three masses a week, when parish served by Hendrik van Meer. This last is noted 1510 - 1524 as holding as an absentee the vicarie on the altar of SS. Marie, Lucie & Andree in the same church. The church was valued at 30 *mod.* Johan De Gruyter is further noted as holding as an absentee the vicarie on the altar of SS. Georgi, Anthonii & Sebastiaan, combined with the chapelry of Broeck, both served by a surrogate, one Johan Horric, who performed the required four masses per week. The joint benefices were valued in 1510 at 22 *mod* and 20 Rhenish florins.

Bannenberg, *et al.*, vol. II, pp. 308.

**HAARLEM**, Bernhardt van.

Rector of one portion of the church of Baarland, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Zuidbeveland.

Secured the church at some stage between 1517 and 1528, at which last date one vicecuratus Mr. Cornelis Willemszn. appeared to serve both portions of the cure.

Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 521.

The portion was probably secured after the resignation or death of Herman Hendrikszn, Van Amerongen, who secured the portion in 1525 -26.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Zuidbevelandia, p. 5 - 6.

1526: The clerical subsidy of 1532 describes the values as follows: *De twee porties der pastorijen van Baarlandt de welcke houden heer cornelis gilleszn. ende N. --- lxii£.* [62 Flemish pounds or 372 florins].

R.A. Middelburg, *Rekenkamer 1 Bourg Oost. No. 450. f. V.v.*

**HAMSTEDE**, Cornelis van.

Rector of the church of Hillegom, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Rijnlandia, in the gift of the abbey of Egmont.

*Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. p. 314.

1528: Hamstede resided in Rome (initially as the agent of the abbot of Egmont perhaps ?) and the church was served in 1528 by one Pieter Janszn.

Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 568.

1535 the church served by Mr. Alewijn Dirkszn.

*Ibid.* p. 602.

HEDA, Willem.

Rector of the church of Alphen-aan-den-Rijn, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Rijnland.

1497: 14 February, church granted to Heda by expective of pope Alexander VI.

Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 2, No. 1817.

1507 - 08: on the death of the then incumbent Gijsbert Tydemanszn. was succeeded by the institution of Evert van der Berch after an agreement between himself and Heda. Whether this was after a protracted dispute is not clear, although it is worth noting that Heda was presenting to the vicarie of B. Maria Virg. in the church in 1500 - 01, but this may have ben a family benefice since Heda came from Alphen.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. IV, Rijnlandia, p. 4 - 6.

Rector of the church of Edam, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Amstellandia.

1502: 4 June presented to the church.

De Vocht, *Jerome de Buysleden*, p. 409, note b.

1503: This grant may have been by papal provision that heda was prepared tpo waive for the archidiaconal records show that one Johannes Pavonis was instituted in 1503 - 04, *ad scripta mri Wilhelmi Heda*.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. II, p. 44.

1517: Heda was definitely in possession, when the church was served by Mr. Meynard Folkertszn.

Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p 417.

1532: The church was a rich benefice assessed for half its revenues in 1532 clerical subsidy at *lxxxv pond Vlaams*, or 510 florins.

A.R.A *Graflijksheidsrekenkamer*, No. 3540, p. xiiii.v..

Rector of the church of Emelisse, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Wallacria.

1510 - 11: archidiaconal records note Heda resigning this church.

Grijpink, *Register*, vol. I, Wallacria, p. 104.

Rector of the church of Sabbinge, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Wallacria.

1510 -11: archidiaconal records note Heda resigning this church.  
Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Wallacria, p. 104.

Rector of one of the portions of the church of St. Jacob in the city of Utrecht, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of the Gooiland, in the gift of the *Domproost*, of Utrecht.

*Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, p. 372.

1510: 13 October secured this church.  
Heussen, *Kerklijke historie*, vol. I, p. 307.

**HOORN**, Cornelis Remboldszn. van.

Rector of the church of Spaarnwoude, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Kennemaria, in the gift of the count of Holland.

Post, *Verhoudingen*, p. 87

1535 - 36: instituted to the church, and the church was resigned in 1544 - 45.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, pp. 127 - 8.

**IJSBARANDSZN**, Jacob Johan.

Rector of the church of Bergen, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Kennemaria.

1480: 19 November instituted to the church.  
Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, p. 36.

1494: a *vicecurate* Jan Dierickszn. served the church.  
Fruin, *Enqueste*, p. 54.

**MIEROP**, Cornelis van.

*Domproost*.

Rector of the church of Haastrecht, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of *Magnus decanatus*, in the gift of the count of Holland.

Post, *Vehoudingen*, p. 87.

1542: noted as possessing this church.

Kölker, *Haastrecht*, p. 169.

Rector of the church of Ketel, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Schielandia, in the gift of the abbey of Egmont.

1553 - 54 noted as resigning the church.  
Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VI, Schielandia, p. 9.

1527: 30 November, Mierop's father bought the advowson from the abbey, presumably with a view to presenting his son.  
Meilink, *Arch. Egmont.*, Reg. 1435.

Rector of the church of Noordwijk, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Rijnlandia, in the gift of the abbey of Egmont.  
*Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, p. 294.

This church has a complicated history in the Meiroop family in that prior to 1517 - 18 the church was held by Jacob Ruysch, dean of the Hofkapel in The Hague, almost certainly Meiroop's grandfather, his mother being Maria Ruysch, wife of Vincent van Meiroop, *Tresorier-Generaal* of the Netherlands. At some stage prior to 1515 - 16 Ruysch may have sought to resign the church to Meiroop - dispute with the abbey of Egmont was in train at this stage with *dmn Cornelius vice curatus in Noirtwyc*. The outcome of all this was that Jacob Ruysch exchanged the church of Noortwyc for that of Middellie in 1518 - 19 with Laernart Janszn., who promptly resigned the church to Cornelis van Meiroop. What happened next is not clear but the church was in the possession of Urban Herdinck, brother to the royal *Rentmeester* of Zeeland, at the former's death in 1540 - 41.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. IV Rijnlandia, p. 84;  
De Riemer, *Beschrijving van den Haag*, vol. I pt. 1, p. 225;  
Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 500.

It is perhaps worth noting that according to one reckoning VanMierop was about eight years of age when his involvement with this church began.  
Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 418, p. 142.

**NIEUENMAHR**, Herman count of.  
*Domprobst* of Colgne.

Rector of the church of Alkmaar, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Kennemaria.

1528: noted as holding this church.  
Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 578.

Rector of the church of Oostsouburg, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Wallacria.

1529: noted as holding this church.  
Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 492.

1522 - 23 mention of *vice-curatus* Hendrik Grevel, licensed to make a will.

Grijpink, *Register*, vol. I, Wallacria, p. 95.

Rector of one of the portions of the church of St. Jacob in the city of Utrecht, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of the Gooiland, in the gift of the *Domproost* of Utrecht.

*Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, p. 372.

1529 - 30: exchanged with the *Domkannunik* and dean of St. Jan, Thomasde Nijkerken.

Muller, *Bewaarde Archieven*, vol. I, No. 589.

**NIJKERKEN**, Thomas de.  
Dean of St. Jan.

Rector of the church of Oostsouburg, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Wallacria.

1532: noted as possessing the church in the clerical subsidy of that year when the church was assessed for half its revenues at *li pond Vlaams* or 306 florins.

R.A. Middelburg, *Rekenkamer 1 : Bourg-Oost No. 450*, p. ii.v.

Rector of half-cure of St. Jacob, Utrecht. See Nieuwenahr above.

Rector of the church of Zwelo, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Drenthe.

1526: 1 December, given this church by bishop Henry of Bavaria, when Nijkerken was his vicar-general.

Muller, *Reg. Bisschoppen*, vol. III, No. 5563.

1526: Nijkerken appointed a *vice-cureit*.

*Navorscher*, vol. 66 (1917), p. 186.

**POTKEN**, Johan,  
Provost of Emmerich.

Rector of the church of Alkmaar, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Kennemaria.

1492: secured papal provision and duly presented them at the next vacancy in the Spring of 1500. No very clear title was established, but Potken was *de facto* incumbent by 1516.

C.V. Bruinvis 'Disparaije over de pastorie van Alkmaar', *B.B.H.*, vol. 23 (1898), pp. 153 - 60.

**PRAET VAN MOERKERKEN**, Joost van.  
*Domthesaurier*,

Rector of the church of Oudgiessen, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of *Infra Lekam*.

1524: 26 September presented to this church by the patron, Floris van Egmont, count of Buren, his maternal grandfather. The church was retained until at least 1551.

Van Rappard & Muller, *Verslagen*, p. 446.;  
Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 330.

**RENESE VAN WULVEN**, Adriaan van.  
*Damdeken*.

Rector of the half-cure of the church of Hoedekenskerke, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Zuidbevelandia.

1526 - 27: involved as proctor for one of the parties in the proposed exchange of the church. The exchange was terminated on the death of one of the parties, Nicholaas van de Poort, dean of Eindhoven, and Cornelis Hugeszn was instituted in 1528 - 28, possibly as a *locum tenens*. who held the church until 1535 - 36 when Renesse was instituted. He retained the church until his death in 1559.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Zuidbeveland, p. 61.

**TAETS VAN AMERONGEN**, Antoon.

Rector of the church of Zunderdorp, diocese of Utrecht, deanery of Amstellandia.

c. 1530: secured the church by exchange with Pieter van Gouda.  
 Maartens van Sevenhoven, *Archief*. No. 559, p. 165.

1531 - 32: resigned the church to the *domkannunik* Pierre Maiorot.  
 Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. II, Amstellandia, p. 65.

**TULMAN**, Herman.

Rector of the church of Ivychurch, diocese of canterbury, in the gift of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Hasted, *History & topographical Survey of Kent*, vol. VII, p. 400.

1504: 21 January presented *sede vacante* by Henry VII.  
*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VII 1494 - 1509*,  
 p. 348.

1511 archbishop Warham's visitation revealed that Tulman had a licence for absence.

'Churches in Romney Marsh', S. Robertson, *Archeologica Cantiana*, vol. XIII (1880), p. 454, note 1.

1514: 25 November request of Tulman's brother relayed to Henry VIII to succeed to the living on Herman's death.

*Leters and papars foreign & domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. I pt. 2, No. 3473, p. 1455.

**VORST**, Johan van der.  
*Domdeken.*

Rector of the church of St. Oedenrode, diocese of Liège, deanery of Woensel.

1510, 1524: noted as possessing the church which was incorporated to the deanery of of the collegiate church of St. Oedenrode in 1524, and which dean Van der Vorst held as dean of St. Oedenrode. The pastoral duties appear to have been carried out by the holder of the *vicaria perpetua* which although at this period also held by absentees, services were carried out by coadjutors or deputy.

Bannenberg *et al.* vol. II, p. 293.

**ZOUDENBALCH**, Hendrik.

Rector of the church of Assemansbroek, diocese of Utrrecht, deanery of Zuidbevelandia.

1478 -79: instituted to the church. The fees for institution due to the archidiaconal *Oficiaal* were waived as that functionary was his kinsman Everard Zoudenbalch.

Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Zuidbeveland, p. 19.

NOTES

## PROLOGUE: A PROVINCE, A CITY A CHURCH.

1) No foundation charter for the prince-bishopric as such exists, the temporal power of the bishops being gradually built by successive imperial grants, which last often recognised a *de facto* situation. Clearly of importance however, was the right to mint coin granted in 937 to bishop Balderick (918 - 976) by the emperor Otto I, who also gave quasi-regalian rights over the lands between the river Lek and the Zuider Zee, *Nederland in vroeger tijd*, vol. VIII, p. 25; for a text of the *Overdracht* of 1528, *Placaatboek* vol. I, pp. 12 - 16.

2) Deventer was the centre of an important annual market as the entrepôt of the western Netherlands and the north German hinterland. A period of prosperity dwindled during the sixteenth century with the silting up of the River IJssel. The town may have possessed a population of between 10,000 to 15,000 at the beginning of the sixteenth century, J.A. Van Houtte, *Economische en sociale geschiedenis van de Lage Landen*, pp. 118 - 19, 130; but cf. A.M. van de Woude in *Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland*, vol. V, p. 136 who suggests that the population total was between 5 - 10,000. In 1578 a figure of between 10,500 and 11,000 has been posited by A.C.F. Koch, "The Reformation at Deventer in 1579 - 1580: size and social structure of the Catholic section of the population during the Religious Peace", *Acta Historicae Neerlandicae*, vol. VI (1973), p. 29.

3) Kampen was rather smaller than Deventer, and it has been estimated that at the beginning of the sixteenth century its population may have been between 10,000 to 15,000, Van Houtte, *op. cit.*, p. 130, but cf. note 3) above; an interesting picture of this town in the late sixteenth century is gained from J. Nanningha Uiterdijk, *Een Kamper handelshuis te Lissabon, 1572 - 1594*.

4) Oldenzaal was an ancient religious centre, perhaps dating from at least 954, possessing an important collegiate church, that of St. Plechelmus, whose provost was archdeacon of Drenthe, *Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, p. 482 - 483; Zwolle has been estimated to be of a size roughly similar to Kampen, Van Houtte, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

5) The definitive study of the *Proosdijlanden* is the work of Frits Doeleman, *De Heerschappij van de proost van Sint Jan in de middeleeuwen 1085 - 1594*. I should like here to place on record my thanks for the kindness and generous sharing of his extensive knowledge of the chapter of St. Jan by the late author during my visits to the archives at Utrecht; Vianen has been the subject of an article by H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Le rôle d'Henri de Brederode et la situation juridique de Vianen pendant l'insurrection des Pays-Bas', in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Raymond Monier, Revue du Nord*, vol. 40 (1958), pp. 165 - 170; the same author's 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerij van Vianen', *Het Boek*, vol. XXX (1949 - 51) pp. 1 - 41; Culemborg under the Van Pallant family may be noted in O. J. De Jong, *De reformatie in Culemborg*.

6) For Rhenen's decline in the sixteenth century, due largely to its eclipse as a frontier fortress by the incorporation of Gelderland in to the Hapsburg lands in the 1540's see W. Van Iterson, *De stad Rhenen, de resultaten van een rechtshistorisch onderzoek*, pp. 135, 157; for the antipathies of Amersfoort see J.E.A.L. Struik, *Utrecht door de eeuwen heen*, p. 104.

7) M. P. Van den Linden, *De Burggraven van Montfoort in de geschiedenis van het Sticht en het grafschap van Holland*. On occasion the nobility or *ridderschap* of the province appeared to have used the town house of the count of Montfoort at Utrecht as a meeting place, J.C.J. Kleintjes & J.C.W. Van Kampen, 'Bescheiden betreffende den Beeldenstorm van 1566 in de stad Utrecht', *B.M.H.G.*, vol. 53 (1932), pp. 136 -137.

8) See note 1) above.

9) The guilds of Utrecht are the subject of an exhaustive documentary study by J.C. Overvoorde & J.G.Ch. Joosting, *De gilden van Utrecht*. The useful introduction, pp. xi - cccxii contains the comment upon the *Gildebrief* of 1304 that it was the recognition of the guilds as a political group, at p. xvi. The text of the *gildenbrief* of *Vrydags na Hemelvaart*, 1304 is printed in *Placaatboek*, vol. I, pp. 65 - 69.

10) A list of the bishops of Utrecht from 1451 gives something of the flavour of things: David of Burgundy, (1451 - 1496), bastard son of duke Philip 'The Good', appointed by his father; Frederick, margrave of Baden, (1517 - 1524), of a family allied to duke Charles 'The Bold'; Philip of Burgundy, bastard son of duke Philip 'The Good', appointed by Charles V; Henry of Bavaria, (1524 - 1529), the emperor Charles V did not oppose his election, nor support that of his rival, cardinal Everard de la Marck.

11) Van Houtte, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

12) F.A.L. Van Rappard & S. Muller, *Verslagen van kerkvisitatiën in het bisdom Utrecht uit de 16de eeuw*, pp. 57, 62

13) R.A.U. *Statenarchief 231 - 1*, sd. 23 May 1577.

14) J. de Vries, *The Dutch rural economy in the Golden Age, 1500 - 1700*, p. 97.

15) J.G. Van Dillen, *Van Rijkdom en Regenten: Handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek*. A small cloth industry, of the 'New Draperies', perhaps introduced in the late sixteenth century by exiled southern Netherlanders, existed in the city in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, p. 176; how small can be gauged by the fact that in the same period there were eighteen *lakendrapiers* in Utrecht, compared with the 217 in contemporary Leiden, *Ibid.*, p. 186.

16) *AKD 649 - 8*, Accounts of the *Bona choralium* for the years 1501, 1507, 1509, 1513, 1515, 1520 and 1521. show purchases of black, blue, green and red cloth for the twenty-four choristers.

17) The guilds of Utrecht were twenty-one in number. Clearly other trades were encompassed within the existing guild structure, as for instance within the Weavers guild there were the *volders*, *verwers*, *hoedenmakers*, *blauwlinnenverwers*, *garenmakers*, *mutsenmakers*, & *legwerkers*, J.C. Overvoorde & J.G.Ch. Joosting, *De Gilden van Utrecht.*, vol. I, p. xx.

18) '[The city of Utrecht] remained what it was, a provincial place *kleinburgerlijke plaats*... whose importance derived largely from the fact that it was the seat of government of the Stichtand that it served as a market and, to a more limited extent, as a manufacturing centre [*productiecentrum*] for the surrounding region. Moreover it attracted many persons of substance who, because they were friends of friends, came not only to enjoy its splendid situation but were also drawn by the handsome incomes at the disposal of her canons and magistracy', I. Vijlbrief, *Van anti-aristocracie tot democratie: een*

bijdrage tot de politieke en sociale geschiedenis der stad Utrecht. p. 108

- 19) Ed. Taverne, *In 't land van belofte: in de nieuwe stad*, pp. 238 - 39.
- 20) The decree of Charles V setting up the *Hof van Utrecht*, of 23 March 1529, *Placaatboek*, vol. II, pp. 955 - 959.
- 21) A list of the officials attached to the *Hof van Utrecht*, with in some instances, their salaries, may be found in *Placaatboek*, vol. II, pp. 1048 - 1062. Although the officials of the *Hof* were initially and understandably loyal adherents of the Habsburgs, the leaders of the new regime were not thereby unconnected with the province: the first *Procureur-Generaal* Willem van Alkmaer may well have been a kinsman of Mr. Hendrik van Alkmaer, advocate of the city of Utrecht, and a member of the prince-bishop's court of appeal, the *Schive* in 1477, *NNBW*, vol. VI, col. 24; the *Rentmeester* of the crown domain in the province, the Gelderland nobleman Gijsbert van Hardenbroek, *Heer van Hardenbroek*, also a *Stichtse* landowner, had entered the service of the prince bishop and held the office of constable of the episcopal residence at Wijk-bij-Duurstede, and was a member of the delegation of the *Ridderschap* that treated with the emperor Charles V in 1528. His mother was a member of the powerful and prolific *Stichtse* family of Van Zuylen van Nijveld, while his second wife was Mechtild van Raephorst, *Vrouw van Den Bosch*, by Maarsen in Utrecht. *Ibid.*, vol. VI cols. 698 - 700.
- 22) An impression of the officers of the *Rekenkamer* in The Hague in the late fifteenth century may be gained from A.S. Blécourt, & E.M. Meijers, *Memorialen van het Hof van Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland van de Secretaris Jan Roosa*, vol. I, pp. xxxii - lxvi.
- 23) For an attempt to create an aristocratic or patrician hereditary council, an *erf-raad*, in 1490 see *Placaatboek*, vol. I, pp. 90 - 91; for a attempt to create a genuinely democratic *raad* in the 1520's, see C.A. Kalveen, 'De Gildenbeweging van april 1525 en haar voorgeschiedenis', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*, (1972), pp. 93 - 114.
- 24) For the various *gildenbrieven* that ordered the election of the *Magistraat* at Utrecht, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, pp. 67 - 68 (1304); 72 - 75 (1449); pp. 75 - 80 (1450); pp. 90 - 91 (1491, the ill-fated *erf-raad*); pp. 91 - 92 (*Vrydags na Aegidii*, 1491 that swept the preceding aristocratic oligarchy away; pp. 163 - 174 (1528 onwards for the rest of the sixteenth century).
- 25) For this aspect see the town plan in *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*, vol. (1978), pp. 90 - 91; also the illustration by Steven van Lamsweerde reproduced in J.S. Theissen, *De regeering van Karel V in de noordelijk Nederlands*, p. 91.
- 26) For the emperor's immediate response, the decree of 31 October 1531, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, pp. 317 - 8; for the closer supervision of the guilds see the ordonnance of 30 September 1540, especially clauses I, II, and XXV, *Ibid.*, pp. 340, 342.
- 27) In practice there appears to have resided at Utrecht a deputy apparently recruited from the local *Ridderschap* but I have been unable to find much information about this official.
- 28) See note 20) above.
- 29) For a list of the *schouten* of Utrecht, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, pp. 216 - 17.
- 30) See note 26) above.
- 31) For a general study of these bodies in the northern Netherlands see J.C. Grayson, 'The civic militia in the county of Holland, 1560 - 1581:

- Politics and public order in the Dutch Revolt', *B.M.H.G.* vol. XCV (1980), pp. 35 - 63.
- 32) For Droogsloot, c. 1586 - ob. 1666, *NNBW*, vol. X, col. 245. I have found only one sixteenth century description of the city of Utrecht, that of the papal legate Fulvio Ruggieri who was in the city from 30 April until 1 March 1561. He describes it as *conveniente grandezza, et murata di buona muraglia*. He was much taken by the *Overdracht*, that all the canons of the collegiate churches were enabled to elect the bishop, that, presumably in contrast to his observation in the Empire, the bishop could be elected irrespective of his rank, *senza distintione de grade, ne de nobilitá* and that the chapter of St. Marie possessed three unicorn's horns. Of the buildings he has nothing to say. Cardaun *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, 1560 - 1872*, vol. II, *Nuntius Commendone, 1560 (Dezember) - 1562 (März)*, pp. 100 - 102. A gentleman travelling in the suite of prince Philip in the progress of 1549 gave copious descriptions of the lavish displays and decorations staged for the prince's state entry to the city, during which he was greeted with *vives démonstrations d'attachement*. but he says nothing of the city. The cathedral was indeed *une merveilleuse structure*, and he devotes some passages to its internal decoration. *Le Tres Heureux Voyage, etc.*, Juan Christoval Calvete de Estrella, vol. V, pp. 54 - 67.
- 33) For this deliberate cruciform oriented town planning in general see E. Herzog, *Die Ottonische Stad: die Anfang der mittelalterlichen Stadtbaukunst in Deutschland*, p. 241; for the application upon a comparative basis, D. Jansen, 'Utrecht & Paderborn, burchten in hun vroegsten ontwikkeling', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*, (1939), pp. 59 - 72.
- 34) W.H. Vroom, *De financiering van de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen, in het bijzonder van de dom van Utrecht*, pp. 236 - 239. This is an excellent book.
- 35) Johannes de Beka, *De Episcopis Ultrajectinis*, p. 9.
- 36) A Mattheus, *Veteris aevi analecta seu vetera monumenta hactenus nondum visa*, vol. 5, p. 11,
- 37) A good picture of episcopal *familiae* in the 7th. century can be gained from M. Deansley, 'The familia of Christ Church, Canterbury', *Essays on Medieval history presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, Ed. A.G. Little & F. M Powicke, pp. 2 - 4.
- 38) At the Council of Aschaimense it was decreed that clerks ... *ut aut in monasterio [vivere] ire debeant, ... regularita*. J. D. Mansi, vol. XII, 669, clause ix.
- 39) *The Old English Version of the enlarged rule of Chrodegang, together with the Latin Original*, Ed. A.S. Napier.
- 40) For an enlightening comment upon the rule in the European context, C. De Clercq, *La législation religieuse franque de Clovis à Charlemagne*, pp. 146 - 155.
- 41) Known as the *Regula Acquisgranensis*. Deansley, *op. cit.* pp. 9 - 10.; for its obligatory application to the Carolingian empire see the same author's *Pre-Conquest Church*, p. 273.
- 42) Muller, *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301.*, vol. I, No. 106, p. 111.
- 43) Heda, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
- 44) Muller, *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301* vol. I, No. 288, p. 266.
- 45) Heda, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

- 46) P. Bondam, *Charterboek der hertogen van Gelderland en graven van Zutphen*, vol. I, p. 307.
- 47) *Rechtsboek*, pp. 108 - 109.
- 48) For Paderborn see J. Von Ohlberger, 'Geschichte des Paderborner Domkapitels im Mittelalter', *Beiträge für die Geschichte Niedersachsen und Westfalens*, vol. 28 (1911), pp. 3 - 106 at p 32; for Mainz see T.C.W. Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz, 1743 - 1803*, p. 53 - 54.
- 49) J.G. Avis, *De directe belastingen in het Sticht Utrecht aan deze zijde van de IJssel tot 1528*, pp. 89 - 90.
- 50) S. Muller, *Frszn. 'Pyroen'*, *Oud Holland*, vol. 40 (1922), pp. 7 - 13.
- 51) These grids were designed to keep the pigs, cattle and sheep that apparently wandered the street out of the immunities of the collegiate churches, see S. Muller, *Oude Huizen te Utrecht*, p. 11; S. Muller, *Schetsen uit de middeleeuwen*, vol. I, p. 169.
- 52) See Map No. 2.
- 53) Mattheus, *Analecta*, vol. 5, p. 11.
- 54) R.R. Post, *Geschiedenis der Utrechtse bisschopsverkiezingen tot 1535*, pp. 28 - 99.
- 55) *Rechtsboek*, pp. 11 - 12.
- 56) The chapters of Coventry-Lichfield in England, the two collegiate churches in Dublin in Ireland, and the combined chapters of Hamburg and Bremen, also Halberstadt and Goslar in the Empire, and the collegiate churches of Bergamo in northern Italy spring to mind.
- 57) Post, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- 58) C.A. Van Kalveen, 'De gildenbeweging van april 1525 en haar voorgeschiedenis', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*, (1972), pp. 93 - 114.
- 59) A.G. Jongkees, *Staat en Kerk in Holland en Zeeland onder de Bourgondische hertogen 1425 - 1477*, chap. VI.
- 60) See note 10) above.
- 61) J. S. Theissen, *De regeering van Karel V in de Noordelijkje Nederlanden*, p. 97.
- 62) K. Heeringa, *Inventaris van het Kapittel ten Dom*, pp. v - vi.
- 63) *Rechtsboek*, p. 48.
- 64) *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- 65) *Nederland in vroeger tijd.*, vol. VIII, p. 176.
- 66) *Rechtsboek*, p. 5.
- 67) *Ibid.* p. 112. In the chapters of the Empire the eclipse of the role of the provost appears to have occurred in the fifteenth century. He had become a figurehead at Münster, at Worms *omni onere etiam residentia personalia est exempta*, and at Hildesheim *prepositus ... non comparet in Capitulo, nisi dum in causis arduis speciatum vocatur*. F. Keinemann, *Das Domkapitel zu Münster im 18 Jahrhundert*, p. 12, and note 3; at Magdeburg the provost *nullam amplius officium gerit*, A. Schmidt, *Thesaurus juris ecclesiastici potissimum germanici sive dissertationses selectae in ius ecclesiasticum*, vol. III, p. 246 - 47; in Cologne the situation was described thus: *Dignitatum prima est praepositura, sed vocem in capitulo non habet neque in capitulo, nisi ad natum, comparet.*, H. Hüffer, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Französischen und des rheinischen Kirchenrechts*, p. 287.
- 68) *Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, pp. 45 - 50.
- 69) *Rechtsboek*, pp. 12, 61.
- 70) F. Keinemann, *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

- 71) J. H. Hofman, 'Kerkelijke stukken uit het laatst der 15e en begin der 16e eeuw', *A.A.Ut.*, vol. XXII (1894), p. 22.
- 72) *Rechtsboek*, p. 13.
- 73) For a brief biographical outline see K. Heeringa, 'Jacob van Appellteren, de laatste middeleeuwschen domdeken van Utrecht', *Verslag van de Algemeene vergadering der leden van het Historische Genootschap gehouden op Woensdag 11 April, 1928*, pp. 4 - 23.
- 74) Dean Van Veen died on 16 December 1508, ...*hora secunda post merid. noctis ... in domo sua claustrali*, and according to the entry in the *domresoluties* of 20 December 1508 ...*electus fuit egregius Dns. Jacobus de Appelteren ... via scrutini per vice-decanum et capitulum in domo Capituli minoi*, AKD 1 - 11, f.178 r.
- 75) According to one account Van Zuylen Van Nijvelt became dean by *armis magis factionis quam sodalium suorum suffragiis suffectum*. Hoynck van Papendrecht, *Analecta belgica*, vol. III pt. 1, p. 178; Nijkerken appears to have been the candidate of bishop Henry of Bavaria, Heussen, *Kerkelijke historie*, vol. I, p. 70; he is mentioned as dean of Utrecht 30 September 1528 in a document whereby Elizabeth van Hardenbroek, a noble lady of the province, grants him an annuity of 15 gulden, Muller, *Register van de Kapittel van St. Pieter*, No. 1769, p. 293.
- 76) *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. XI (1985), cols. 810 - 818.
- 77) I have been unable to trace this edict, but it is referred to in Matheus, *Nobilitate*, p. 643.
- 78) For the texts of the various agreements made by interested parties 1528 - 1530, see Van de Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, pp. 1 - 29.
- 79) Matheus, *Nobilitate*, p. 643.
- 80) Briefly, in 1546 the officers of the *Hof* forbade an election and the Chapter did not hold one officially, but informed the Regent by letter that in the event of their doing so they would have elected Adriaan van Renesse, and besought her to confirm their choice, A. Van Lommell, S.J., 'Bewijsstukken van voordragen, benoemingen, enz., tot kerkelijke waardigheden te Utrecht, enz., 1546 - 1622', *A.A.Ut.* vol. VI (1878), pp. 335 -36; in 1559 the officers of the *Hof* apparently interrupted some form of conclave, and it appears that the canons thought better of it than to proceed to an election, or, of course, could not agree upon a majority candidate, Matheus, *Nobilitate*, pp. 645 - 46; in 1572 the Chapter after informing the officers of the *Hof* that no election would take place, actually proceeded to elect, in the dead of night, Johan van Bruhezen as dean, a choice that Philip II subsequently confirmed, A. Van Lommel, 'Over de verkiezing van Johannes van Bruhezen tot Domdeken van Utrecht,' *A.A.Ut.*, vol. 6 (1881), pp. 187 - 214.
- 81) Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven was nominated to the deanery on 18 April 1549, and Johan van Bruhesen was nominated by Philip II on 20 May 1573.
- 82) *Rechtsboek*, p. 81.
- 83) In 1118 bishop Godebaldi granted his prebend in the chapter to the office of dean, and thereafter the dean was to receive a double portion from the various accounts of the cathedral, *Rechtsboek*, pp. 78 - 79.
- 84) AKD 2505, and examples survive from the years 1498 - 99, 1504, c.1530, 1543, and 1571; for the duties as viewed by the Chapter see the instructions issued to the *Domthesaurier* by the Chapter on Christmas Eve, 1524, AKD 2504, a translation from the Latin to Dutch of which may be found in V. J. Blondeel, *Beschrijving der stad Utrecht*, pp. 246.

- 85) Albert Pigge nominated in 1543 to the church of Zaltbommel one Johan van Insula, *AKD 2528*, and this man may be identified with Johan van Bommel, *alias* Insula, a canon of St. Jan at Utrecht, of which chapter Pigge was provost, *AKJ 149 - 5*, Accounts of *Maior camera* of chapter of St. Jan, 1523 - 1526; one Johan de Insula was ordained 10 June 1514, *A.A.Ut.* vol. 24 (1899), p. 24.; for nominations to the prebends at Zaltbommel by the *Domthesaurier* in 1463 and 1568, *AKD 2527*, and *AKD 2521*; on the chapter of Zaltbommel generally see R. Maris, *De reformatie der geestelijke en kerkelijke goederen in Gelderland*, pp. 438 - 441.
- 86) For the endowments of Evert Zoudenbalch see *AKD 2531* and *AKD 2533*.
- 87) *AKD 2510*.
- 88) *AKD 2511*.
- 89) *AKD 2516*.
- 90) *Rechtsboek*, pp. 95 - 96.
- 91) *AKD 2546*.
- 92) *AKD 2545*.
- 93) *AKD 2544*.
- 94) Gabriel Denglys appointed *Domscholaster*, presented the Chapter with a certificate from the town council of Brugge stating that he was born on 9 December 1537, *AKD 115*.
- 95) *AKD 2546*, for the case of citing one Mr. Cornelis Lauwermann as unlicensed in 1559, *AKD 2547*, for the similar case of Johan Beukelaer in 1575.
- 96) For parcels of land at Odijk, *AKD 2557*, and *AKD 2558*, and at Bunnik, *AKD 2561*, the fourteenth century tithes, 1337, *AKD 2562*, for land at Bergambacht and Schoonhoven in 1334, *AKD 2563*, for the jointly owned tithes, 1495 and 1506, *AKD 2568*, and 1583 - 88 *AKD 2569*.
- 97) *AKD 255*.
- 98) For the chapter of Elst generally see R. Maris, *De reformatie der geestelijke en kerkelijke goederen in Gelderland*, p. 165- 67; for the chapter of Culemburg see the interesting visitation held in July 1570, Van Rappard en Muller, *Kerkvisitatiën*, pp. 111 - 229; for the wealth of the provostry secured on properties in some eight parishes amounting to more than 60 *morgen* of land, as well as a fine house on the St. Barbarakerkhof at Culemburg, see A.W.K. Voet van Oudheusden, *Beschrijving van Culemburg*, p. 458; that by the late sixteenth century the financial state of the provostry was perhaps not so good might be inferred from the union of the provostry with a prebend in the church granted to Gerard Gerardszn. on 29 July 1573, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 303.
- 99) Entries in the *Domresoluties* during the absence of the dean refer to the *vice-decanus*.

## CHAPTER I.

## RECRUITMENT TO THE CHAPTER.

- 1) *Rechtsbronnen*, p. 6.
- 2) *Rechtsboek*, p. xiii.
- 3) *Ibid* p. 48.
- 4) *Ibid* p. 18.
- 5) *Rechtsbronnen*, p. 84.
- 6) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 2, No. 1929, 10 Dec. 1518.
- 7) *Ibid*, vol. I pt. 2, No. 1861, 7 Dec. 1503. The dispensatory document had to be produced when registering a claim to a prebend, and that a canon was a minor is recorded in the *Domresoluties* at the time of admission.
- 8) Otto van Heuckelom secured the prebend of the deceased Gerlach van der Donck, who had died on 27 Aug. 1503, *AKD* 4399, p. 14.
- 9) R.A.U. *Genealogie van Booth: 1405*.
- 10) *Ibid*; In 1504 the town council of Vianen wrote to the Chapter over the behaviour of Willem van Broichusen van Weerdenborch who appeared to have been terrorising the inhabitants of the town, he being described as *int barnys als een ruterman en nyet als een geestelijk kanonik*. *Kronijk*. 2de. jaargang, p. 196.
- 11) Minors receiving prebends from their kinsfolk in the Chapter were Anthonis Amstel van Mijnden, Dirk van Drakenborch, Joris (George) van Groenevelt, Johan van Duvenvoorde, Antoine de Rubenpré, Judoch van der Vorst, Lodewijk van Heijenhoven, Steven van Zuylen van Nyevelt. The question of education at the university, as are the reasons for accepting fifteen years of age or thereabouts as the normal age for going up in the sixteenth century in the Netherlands are treated below, chapter II
- 12) *AKD* 1 - 14, 18 Apr. 1536.
- 13) Antoine de Hennin de Bossu, Johan van Duvenvoorde, Hendrik Huysselman, Gabriel Lenglys, Charles de Rubenpré, Johan Torck, Johan de Wael van Vronesteyn, Johan van Zuylen van Nyevelt I.
- 14) For the education of the canons see chapter II below.
- 15) For Denglys see *AKD* 1 - 14, 4 May 1538: for Huysselman see Hergonroether, *Regesta* No. 13323, p. 802, 20 Dec. 1514.
- 16) Charles de Rubenpré resigned his prebend to his brother Antoine, also a minor. *AKD* 1 - 14 8 Dec. 1538.
- 17) Gerard Beyer, Johan van Bruhezen, Johan van Duvenvoorde, Maurits Groeff van Erkelens, Joris van Groenevelt, Johan van der Haer, Bernhard van Haarlem, Liebrecht van Houthem, Otto van Arkel van Heuckelom, Adriaan van IJsendoorn, Gabriel Lenglys, Adriaan Ram II, Gerard van Renesse van Wulven, Dirk Taets van Lochorst, Amelis Uteneng, Hendrik van der Vecht, Gerard van Veen, Johan van Wael van Vronesteyn, Johan van Zuylen van Nyevelt I, Johan van Zuylen van Nyevelt II.
- 18) Joris van Groenevelt was the son of Arnold van Groenevelt Bailli of the abbey of St. Amand to bishop George van Egmont, *NNBW*, vol. I, col. 980; for his resignation from the Chapter, *AKD* 1 - 19, 31 August 1577.
- 19) *AKD* 4399 p. 55.
- 20) Wolter van IJsendoorn was apparently studying in Paris when he died at some stage in 1517, and the Chapter despatched its *onder-schout* Willem van Kessel to that city to discover the details, *Fabriekrek* vol.

II pt. 3, pp. 383, 423; Johan Torck also appeared to be studying at Paris at his death, *AKD 1 - 14*, 14 Feb. 1543.

21) Bernhard Uteneng was dead by 13 April. 1527, *AKD 1 - 13*; and a fellow canon Liebrecht van Houthem had already fled the city and sought the protection of the authorities, and also of the Chapter to be counted among the resident canons despite his predicament. The bishop-elect, Henry of Bavaria, had set up a committee of enquiry which reported in 1528 in favour of Van Houthem's innocence *AKD 151*.

22) Johan van der Vorst II, son of Engelbrecht van der Vorst, *Heer van Loenbeek*, resigned his prebend 12 and 13 Sept. 1556, to marry, *AKD 1 - 17*; his brother Joost van der Vorst resigned for the same reason on 5 Mar. 1562. *AKD 1 - 17*.

23) Arnold van Groenevelt followed his father as bailiff to the abbey of St. Amand in Hainault, and appears to have entered the service of don John of Austria as governor of Sluis in 1583, and of Nijmegen in 1596, *NNBW* vol. I, col. 980; of Lodewijk van Heijnhoven nothing is known of his career after his resignation of his prebend on 10 July 1564, *AKD 1 - 18*; Antoine de Rubenpré, brother-in-law to the influential Johan van St. Aldegonde, *Heer van Noircarmes*, subsequent to his membership of the Chapter appears to have become a courtier, and ended up with the quasi-decorative office of Grand Huntsman of Brabant by royal patent of 22 July 1581, Herckenrode, *Nobilière*, vol. II, pp. 1690 - 91.

24) Antoine de Hennin de Bossu secured a prebend on 20 July 1558, *AKD 1 - 17*; it is not clear what his precise age was then as one source claims he was born in 1548, Van Heussen, *Kerkelijke Oudheden*, vol. I, p. 43; while another suggests that he was but twelve in 1556 when received as a canon in the chapter of Liège, De Theux de Montjardin, *Chapitre*, vol. III, p. 121.

25) The admission of Hoefflant *bona fide* *AKD 1 - 12*, 12 April 1527; his resignation to Torck 30 April 1533, *AKD 3069 -1*, p. 27; Torck was emancipated on 20 Dec. 1542, *AKD 1- 14*;

26) *AKD 4399*, p. 53.

27) *Rechtsboek*, p. 52.

28) For the increasing role of the nobility in the German church see Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche in Mittelalter*;

29) Verdam, *op. cit.* p. 768; A *Wastinsig* person was obliged to render quantities of wax for the service of ecclesiastical foundations, and hence formed a servile tenure, while *keurmadige* is the status of one bound to render heriot on the death of a predecessor in order to enter into inheritance; the status of *keurmadig* and *wastinsig* in its German context is treated briefly in P. Johaneck *Die Früzeit der Siegelurkunde*, pp. 298 - 99.

30) *AKD 113*.

31) *Rechtsboek*, p. 52.

32) *Ibid*, p. 170.

33) *Ibid*, p. 50.

34) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 2, No. 1876, 1 Nov. 1505/6.

35) Van Heussen, *Aanhangsel*, vol. I, p. 90; A.M. Fobe, *De Spaanse natalanschap: De ontstaansredenen van de vroegste residerende gezantschappen vanuit de Nederlanden (1492 - 1506)* quoted in *Tijd. v Gesch.* vol. 85 (1972), pp. 171 - 179 at p. 179.

36) Van Heussen, *Kerkelijke historie*, vol. I, p. 259.

37) *Ibid*, vol. I, pp. 189 - 90; Post, *Verhoudingen* p. 10, for the lawsuit see *AKD 4312*.

- 38) AKD 4399, p. 16;
- 39) J. S. Theissen, *De regeering van Karel V in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, pp. 65 - 99.
- 40) AKM 100; AKM 143.
- 41) Muller, *Reg. St. Pieter*, No. 1739, 26 Aug. 1523; Nicholas of Burgundy died in 1522, *De Vocht, Coll. Trilingue* vol. I, p. 266, note 7.
- 42) A. H. Martens van Sevenhoven, *Archief van het kapittel van St. Marie op het Binnenhof te 's-Gravenhage*. No. 477, 31 Mar. 1508.
- 43) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 2, No. 1999, 26 May 1555.
- 44) At St. Jan Johan van Diepholt, natural son of Rudolph von Diepholt, bishop of Utrecht, (1432 - 1455), canon of St. Jan in 1509, Ridderikoff, *Orleans*, vol. II pt. 1, p. 54; at St. Marie Hendrik Zoudenbalch, son of Evert Zoudenbalch, *Domkannunik*, was admitted a capitular canon in 1490, AKD 66; Willem van Lockhorst, son of Herman van Lockhorst, *Domkannunik*, dean of the *Oudmunster* and vicar-general, secured a canonry in 1516, *ibid*; Adolf van Rutenburg, son of the provost of St. Marie, secured a prebend in 1515, *ibid*; and finally Johan van Nijkerken, *Domkannunik*, dean of St. Jan, and later vicar-general, secured a prebend in 1526, *ibid*.
- 45) AKD 1 - 19, 30 August 1572.
- 46) There were numerous members of the Beyer family in the Chapter of Utrecht throughout the sixteenth century, but it has not been possible to construct a coherent genealogical table revealing their relationship to each other. There is record of one Willem Beyer who had for wife Margaret Lijsters, R.A.U. *Genealogie Booth: Varia* No. 354, although there is no clear evidence that he is the same Willem Beyer, father of the *domkannunik* Johan Beyer II.
- 47) *Navorscher*, vol. 66 (1917), p. 294; Van Heussen, *Kerkelijke Historie*, vol. I, p. 218.
- 48) For his will see *Navorscher* vol. 66 (1917), pp. 292 - 96.
- 49) *A.A.Ut.*, vol. 5, p. 352. In this connection it is worth quoting Grotius, *Jurisprudence*, where on the question of the property of legitimated persons he notes, 'But persons legitimated by favour of the sovereign are held to be legitimate as regard the Count [of Holland], i.e. they may inherit. In practice one half of the estate in the case of bastards went to the count [of Holland], for as Grotius continues, 'the deceased is held to have no relatives on that side'. i.e. the father's side.
- 50) The phrase is used in Lockhorst's testimony before the episcopal *Officiaal*, AKD 4312.
- 51) AKD 114.
- 52) Berton, *Cardinaux*, cols. 293 - 294.
- 53) Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 1341, 19 March 1513, p. 73.
- 54) AKD 114, p. 2 - 2v.
- 55) *Ibid*, p. 5.
- 56) *Ibid*, p. 1 - 1v.; 3.
- 57) *Rechtsboek*, p. 85.
- 58) *Ibid*, p. 48.
- 59) AKD 1 - 14, 16 March 1535.
- 60) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 158; absolved from the order of sub-deacon, 12 Apr. 1564, AKD 1 - 18; resignation and subsequent career, AKD 1 - 18, 10 Jul. 1564.
- 61) AKD 1 - 12, p. 12.
- 62) AKD 1 - 12, 12 September 1497.

63) AKD 2854\*.

64) For the vicarie of S. Andreas, AKM 66; for the canonry at St. Marie, NNBW, vol. II, col. 141.

65) Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Zuidbevelandia, p. 23. The entry in the archidiaconal accounts suggests that Beyer had secured papal provision to the church. It is perhaps worth noting that Beyer's successful opponant was one Cornelis Rijk, canon of the *Oudmunster* in Utrecht.

66) Post. *Studiën*, p. 130, note 1.

67) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 501, 12 August 1501, p. 176.

68) J. Hofman, "De priesterbroederschap in de vijf Hoofdkerken te Utrecht", *A.A.Ut.* vol. VII (1879), p. 33; Van Heussen, *Kerklijke historie*, vol. I, p. 67.

69) Jacob van Appelteren, Arnold Boeckelair, Lambrecht van Duynen, Anthonis Grauwert, Gerard van Herenhove, Johan van der Huel, Frederick de Coninck, Johan ter Molen, Anthonis Taets van Amerongen, and Herman Tulman.

70) Bucho Aytta van Zwichem, Folcardt Aytta van Zwichem, Otto Bloys van Treslong, Johan van Bruhezen, Adriaan Floriszn, Cornelis van Haemstede, Judoch Hoetfilter, Gerard Hucker, Cornelis van Kampen van Son, Frans van Kampen van Son *alias* Sonnius, Thomas van Nijkerken, Joachim van Oprode, Adriaan Ram I, Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven, Lazerus de Rosetis, Joris Strijt van Tsessingen, Johan van der Vecht, Johan Waldorian, Maximilian van Waelscapelle, Anthonis van Zuylen van Nijvelt.

71) Willem van Alfijn, Johan van Beka, Claude de Bousset, Gerlach van der Donck, Wijnand van Doornik, Paul van Drongelen, Michael van Enckevoirt, Willem van Enckevoirt, Eggidi Gobbert, Arnold van 's Gravenzande, Bernhard van Haarlem, Willem Heda, Cornelis van Hoorn, Jacob Johanszn. IJsbrandszn., Johan Hubertszn. van Loemel, Engelbert Leussinck, Hendrik Maddert van der Gracht, Pierre de Maiorot, Cornelis van Meirop, Herman, count of Neuenahr, Johan Potken, Johan Pott, Judoch van Praet van Moerkerken, Gaspar van Rennenberg, Steven van Rumelaer I, Johan Tussenbroeck.

72) Herman van Lockhorst, dean of the Oudmunster, Johan Mom, dean of St. Ludger in Münster, Steven van Rumelaer I, dean of St. Jan, and three deans of Utrecht, Ludolph van Veen, Johan van der Vecht, and Johan van der Vorst van Loenbeek.

73) Nicolaas Lavennis, Frans van Eyck *alias* de Quercu, Jorris Strijt.

74) The brothers Bucho and Folcardt Aytta van Zwichem were from Friesland. Bloys van Treslong was a Holland noble while Arnold Boeckelaer was from Dordrecht, with Lambrecht van Duynen and Johan van der Vecht of Kampen were from Overijssel, all areas in the diocese of Utrecht. It is possible that Cornelis van Haemstede was also from Holland, while Johan van der Huel may have been from Gelderland. Johan van Bruhesen, Gerard van Herenhoven, Judoch Hoetfilter, Hendrik Hucker, the two Van Kampen van Son, Thomas van Nijkerken, Joachim van Oprode, Lazerus de Rosetis, Joris Strijt, Herman Tulman, and Johan Waldorian came from other dioceses.

75) T.E. Toews, 'Pope Eugenius IV and the Concordat of Vienna (1448) - an interpretation', *Church History*, vol. 34, (1965), pp. 178 - 194, at p. 186.

76) *Ibid.* p. 178; see also L. Von Pastor, *History of the popes*, vol. I, pp. 298 - 99; and M. Creighton, *A history of the papacy*, vol. III, pp. 106 - 109.

77) Toews, *op. cit.*, pp. 188; 186 - 187.

- 78) *Ibid.*, p. 188. *Ibid.* p. 188.
- 79) *Ibid.* p. 190.
- 80) Koch, *Sancta pragmatica*, p. 216.
- 81) *Ibid.*, p. 222.
- 82) For the position *primus post episcopum*, see *Rechtsboek*, p. 61;
- 83) Koch, *Op. cit.* p. 229.
- 84) Koch, *Op. cit.* p. 231.
- 85) *Ibid.*, p. 232, note 81; A. Clergeac, *La curie et les bénéficiaires consistoriaux: étude sur les communs et menus services*, prints as appendix XXV, p. 278 - 279 an undated conversion table of European currencies as measured in ducats of the Curia.
- 86) AKD 3366.
- 87) *Rechtsboek*, p. 18.
- 88) Nolet & Boeren, *op. cit.* p. 356.
- 89) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 134, note 2.
- 90) *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 71 - 308.
- 91) Taking for example the accounts covering the year 1554 - 55 we learn that some eleven parish churches changed hands by exchange, sixteen chantries or vicarieën, and two canonries, one at Deventer and one at Oldenzaal. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 233 - 236. In the accounts for 1573 - 74, the brothers Johan and Engelbert van Bruhezen exchange between them the *Domthesaurierschap*, or Treasurership of the cathedral at Utrecht, *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 303.
- 92) In the northern Netherlands the *titulo patrimonii*, was generally reckoned at between 20 to 24 gulden *per annum*, in the sixteenth century, Post, *Verhoudingen*, pp. 80 - 81; for the problem on the borders of the Netherlands see the complaint of the *Hauptgericht* to the duke of Jülich 21 May 1522, where it seems that many candidates for the priesthood obtained an annuity of 25 golden gulden from their families, but after ordination the newly priested then returned this to their parents so that they had neither benefice nor annuity to support them, with the result, in the words of the complaint, the duchy was *voll armer priester*. The source of the problem lay in the increasing number of parents that desired their sons in orders. The *Hauptgericht* went on to recommend to the duke that no-one henceforth should be ordained without possessing a benefice. *Jülich-Bergische Kirchenpolitik am Ausgang des Mittelalters und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. O.R. Redlich, I Bd., *Urkunden und Akten 1400 - 1553*, pp. 226 - 27. For the problem in England see P. Heath, *English parish clergy on the eve of the Reformation*, pp. 16 - 18.
- 93) Episcopal permission was in fact couched as a request addressed to the dean and chapter of Utrecht to permit the exchange to take place. See for example those in favour of Johan van der Vorst, Frans van Kampen van Son *alias* Sonnius and Willem Beyer in AKD 99.
- 94) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, pp. 134, 158, 185, 209.
- 95) It is an ill-wind that blows nobody any good as is exemplified by the case in 1526 - 27 when the dean of Eindhoven, Nicolaas De Poort embarked upon an exchange with Willem van Zuylen for a portion of the parish church of Hoedekenskerk, but died before the twenty days had elapsed. Willem van Zuylen's proctor in the transaction, Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven, now took over the exchange, presumably being by now well acquainted with the value of the revenues of the church, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 84.

96) The directly related canons, several of whom were minors, were as follows:

- Judoch Amstel van Mijnden resigned to Anthonis Amstel van Mijnden, a minor,  
- brothers.
- Margrave Christopher of Baden to margrave Rudolph of Baden,  
- brothers.
- Willem Beyer to Johan Beyer III - father to son.
- Johan van Drakenborch to Dirk van Drakenborch, a minor,  
- brothers.
- Gijsbert Groeff van Erkelens to Maurits Groeff van Erkelens,  
- brothers.
- Arnold van Groenevelt to Joris van Groenevelt, a minor,  
- brothers.
- Wouter van Mathenesse to Johan van Duvendoorde, a minor,  
- first cousins.
- Johan van Renesse IV to Joris van Renesse,  
- brothers.
- Charles de Rubenpré to Antoine de Rubenpré, a minor.  
- paternal uncle to nephew.
- Judoch van der Vorst to Engelbert van Bruhezen.  
- first cousins.
- Pieter van der Vorst to Albert van der Vorst.  
- paternal uncle to nephew.
- Johan van der Vorst II to Judoch van der Vorst, a minor.  
- brothers.
- Jean de Warisoulx to Lodewijk van Heijenhoven, a minor.  
- maternal uncle to nephew.
- Johan van Zuylen to Steven van Zuylen, a minor. brothers.

97) Nolet & Boeren, *op. cit.* p. 356.

98) *Ibid.*

99) AKD 4399 p. 36.

100) Brouette, *Libri annatorum*, No. 399, 7 July, 1494, pp. 125 - 26.

101) The father of Judoch van Praet van Moerkerken was Lodewijk van Praet van Moerkerken had been appointed *stadhouder* of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht on 4 October 1544, by which time he was already a knight of the Golden Fleece and president of the *Raad van Financieën*. His colleagues in the Order of the Golden Fleece charged him with being "...arrogant, ambitious, bullying, irreligious, avaricious, and a womaniser", yet none of this appears to have prevented Charles V placing the utmost confidence in him. Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 327. Judoch van Praet van Moerkerken secured his prebend 15 April 1529, AKD 1 - 13.

102) Mr. Augustine de Taxis, born around 1505, was the illegitimate son of François de Taxis, Postmaster of the Empire, and one Elizabeth Waghemans, and who in 1516 secured a prebend in the chapter of St. Gommaerus at Lier. He matriculated at Leuven in 1531, and at Orléans in 1531. He was legitimised by the emperor Charles V in January, 1536, and died on the 5 September 1556. Ridderikhof, *Orléans*, vol. II, No. 889, p. 214.

103) AKD 4168.

- 104) *Geschiedkundige Atlas* vol. I, p. 325;
- 105) *Brom. Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 309, 14 June 1540, p. 109.
- 106) *Ibid.*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 327, 19 November 1546, p. 115.
- 107) *Ibid.*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 418, 10 February 1562, p. 142.
- 108) Koch, *op. cit.* p. 230; and for instance at Liège see Dubois, *Chapitre* p. 23.
- 109) Nolet & Boeren, *op. cit.* p. 200 - 201.
- 110) *Rechtsboeck*, pp. 29 - 31.
- 111) *AKD 1 - 9*, 27 June 1482; for admission to prebend on 15 June 1486, *AKD 1 - 9*.
- 112) In the chapter of St. Marie there had been *multa discordiae, turbationes, emulationes, inquietates et inconvenientie non modice*, on the occasion of vacancies in the capitular gift, due to the *importunas magnatum preces*, and the chapter proceeded on 9 January 1527, to institute the office of *turnarius*. *AKM 15*.
- 113) *AKD 1 - 10* 27 October 1500; for the admission of Johan van Uterwijk, to a prebend, 5 November, 1500, *AKD 1 - 10*.
- 114) Johan van Veen nominated Gerard van Veen, his nephew, on 26 April 1553, *AKD 1 - 16*; Hendrik van Compostell nominated Johan van Wee, his nephew, on 28 June 1558, *AKD 1 - 17*;
- 115) *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. VI (1976), cols. 664 - 666.
- 116) Adriaan van Renesse held a canonry at the *Dom*.
- 117) *NNEW* vol. III, cols. 1061.
- 118) *AKD 4399*, p. 9.
- 119) An accessible biography is that of Van Durme.
- 120) On the other hand one cannot be sure. There was a family of Torck in sixteenth century Münster, but whether it was closely related, or a branch of the Gelderland family is unknown, K. H. Kirchhoff, *Die Täufer in Münster 1534 - 35*, p. 207.
- 121) See above note 25).
- 122) G. Barraclough, *Provisions*, pp. 145 - 146.
- 123) *Ibid.*, p. 165.
- 124) *Ibid.*, pp. 161 - 162.
- 125) See for example the anonymous diatribe occasioned perhaps by the visit of Nicholas of Cusa to Germany in 1451 - 52 complaining of the provisions under pope Nicholas IV, in G. Strauss, *Manifestations of discontent in Germany on the eve of the Reformation*, p. 50; more specifically enumerated in the grievances presented at the Diet of Worms of 1521, *Ibid.*, pp. 54 - 56. These complaints were of long standing and had been collated for presentation at the Council of Constance, 1417, and were known subsequently as the *Gravamina nationis germanicae*.
- 126) Barraclough, *Provisions*, p. 166.
- 127) Barraclough's defence is that the system was '... not created by the popes, though it may have been created through the papacy', Barraclough, *Provisions*, pp. 165 - 166, Barraclough also observes that papal provisions were '... as impartial and well-balanced as human ingenuity could contrive... a great achievement which only a jurisprudence exercised with a consciousness of the nearness of God and of eternity could have produced', *ibid.*, p. 81. Professor Barraclough appears endowed with a rich sense of irony, I think. Mollat observes that the whole policy of the Avignon popes was aimed at bringing peace to Europe, to conquer the Holy Land and to recapture the Papal States, *The popes at Avignon, 1305 - 1378*, p. 343.

- 128) Mollat, *Ibid.* p. 341; see also the text of Martin Mair's letter to Aeneas Piccolomini of 31 August, 1457, in Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 - 38.
- 129) Aloys Schulte *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter*, is the fundamental and comprehensive commentary on the subject.
- 130) This is a large subject and is treated exhaustively in the work cited in the above footnote by Schulte. The concept of membership of chapters being *edelfrei* had a long tradition in the Empire, where in some chapters a distinction was drawn between noble and non-noble canonries, the latter often being reserved exclusively for those in priest's orders, as for example was the case in the cathedral chapter of Cologne, H. Hüffer, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des französischen und des rheinischen Kirchenrechts*, p. 269, note 2; when dean Johan van Bruhezen of Utrecht fled to Cologne in 1577, it was one of these *priesterkanonikaten* that he secured, *Kölner Nuntiaturreport*, vol. I, pp. 34, 119; similarly at the chapter of St. Gereon in the same city this division existed. At that chapter the nobiliary qualifications demanded were very strict, some thirty-two quarters of proven nobility, Kisky, *St. Gereon*, p.9; for an example of attested proofs of nobility see the document concerning Engelbert of Nassau-Wiesbaden, aspirant canon of St. Gereon, 17 June 1479, *Ned. Leeuw*, (1959), col. 181; the social exclusiveness appears to have started, as one might have expected in cathedral chapters, an early example being that of Paderborn, which chapter informed the Council of Basel in 1346 that for a hundred years none but *fuerit aut sit de de baronum, aut nobili, aut saltem de militari genere procreatus ex utroque parente, aut alias vir matorus, doctor vel licentiatus in iure canonico vel civili seu magister in sacra theologia*, which state was confirmed by Sixtus VI in 1480, J. von Ohlberger, *Beiträge für die Geschichte Nieder- sachsens und Westfalens*, vol. 28, (1911), p. 14; but other types of chapters followed suit, as at St. Johan in Osnabrück, which had since 1346 restricted membership to those who could prove sixteen quarters of nobility, J. Vincke, *Der Klerus des Bistums Osnabrück in spätem Mittelalter*, p. 7; as late as 1560 the cathedral chapter of Liège sought to limit entrance to its prebends only to nobles, but this attempt was not pursued, and the chapter continued to receive canons either as nobles or graduates, 'A propos des statuts de la cathédrale de Liège de 1560 - 1563', *Bulletin de l'institute archéologique de Liège*, vol. LXXVII (1964) pp 5 - 18.
- 131) Kisky, *Domkapitel*, p. 16.
- 132) The Concordat of Vienna has been described in round terms as "a useful compromise [that] did not solve current difficulties. Though pacifying the Empire by allowing it to share in the administration of the territorial Church, it did not terminate the payment of annates, nor did it bring religious reform". Toews, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- 133) See for example Ranke, *History of the popes*, vol. I, p. 29; Hajo Holborn, *A history of modern Germany*, vol. I, p. 91.
- 134) R.G.D. Laffan, 'The Empire under Maximilian', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. I, p. 196.
- 135) Mollat, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
- 136) M. Dierickx, *Erection*, p. 31.
- 137) A. H. Bredero, 'De Temporaliteitsoverdracht van het bisdom Utrecht en de hoge heerlijkheid van het kapittel van Sint Jan', in *Postillen over kerk en maatschappij in de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw*, Ed. W. Jappe Alberts et al. pp. 127 - 136.

138) Hendrik van Berghen, ob. 1502, Jacob de Croy, resigned 1519, Eubel, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 115; Robert de Croy, brother to the foregoing, ob. 1556; Maximillian van Berghen, ob. 1570; Louis de Berlaymont, ob. 1596, Eubel, *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 148 - 149.

139) Steven van Rumelaer, ob. 1505, Johan Inghenwinkel, ob. 1534, and Albert Pigge, ob. 1542, were either serving the papal Curia directly, or had close connection with it. Pigge's successor, Charles Perronet de Granvelle, brother to cardinal Granvelle, but at this time (1542) more importantly, the son of the Grand Chancellor of Burgundy, Nicholas Perronet de Granvelle, was provided to the provostry of St. Jan by pope Paul III. Charles Perronet de Granvelle was succeeded by Bucho van Montzima the nephew of another prominent Habsburg official, Viglius, president of the *Geheime Raad*.

140) Mollat, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

141) P. Gorissen, 'De invoering van het vorstelijk benoemingsrecht in de Nederlandse abdijen onder Karel V', *B.G.N.*, vol. IX (1954 - 55), p. 195.

142) G. Barraclough, 'The Constitution *Execrabilis* of Alexander IV', *E.H.R.* Vol. XLIX (1949), pp. 193 - 218.

143) *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 215.

144) Dierickx, *Erection des nouveaux diocèses aux Pays-Bas*, p. 105.

145) A request for a reservation or an expective was presented initially to the office of the Datary, which in effect took over the role of granting the pope's personal consent or refusal to such requests or petitions. If approved, the request, be it for prebend, parish church, abbey or great see, was entered in the register of supplications. Thereafter it was subjected to a series of checks and procedures, which could take anything up to six months, or even a year, a course that was known as the expedition of the supplication. Passing first to the office of the *Minuta*, then on to the *Abbreviatores*, thence to the *Correctores*, and finally to the office of the *Scriptores* after which the supplication was ready to receive the *bull*, or seal at the hands of the *Bullatores*. By this stage the bull of provision or expective was girt about by mandates addressed to specific persons, usually three in number, charged with the task of ensuring that the bull was duly received by the addressee and executed either in person or by proctors. Naz, *op. cit.*, vol. II, cols. 421 - 22; all these stages required fees payable to the officials concerned, and while in many instances the sums, graded for the value of the benefice, appear quite small for each stage, the cumulative effect was considerable, and a source of constant comment and complaint. For the financial aspects see Clergeac, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 - 207.

146) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 260, 27 November 1528.

147) Van Asch van Wijk, *Archief Ut.*, vol. III, No. 358, 15 August 1522, p. 52; No. 378, 1 November 1522, pp. 59 - 60; *Ibid.* vol. III, No. 358, 15 August 1522, p. 52; No. 359, 16 August 1522; No. 378, 1 November 1522, pp. 59 - 60; No. 381, 30 November 1522, pp. 60 - 61; for the admission of Frederik Schenck van Toutenburg to a prebend, *AKD 2 - 2*, 17 August 1522.

148) For the *prima precum* of Mairot, 12 July 1522, *AKD 1 - 12*.

149) See for example the four year delay following the death of the *domkannunik* Johan Krijs, during which Lazerus de Rosetis appears to have had to sustain a battle at the Curia, which he eventually won, to secure his prebend, *AKD 3069 - 1*, under Rosetis; also the three year struggle

between Johan van Beka and the count of Manderscheid over a prebend at Utrecht, which the former won, *Ibid.*, under Beka.

150) For a late fifteenth century example of this in the family of Driebergen, when a canonry in the chapter of St. Jan was purchased for the eighteen year old Jacob van Lievendal from his parental inheritance, see S. Muller Fszn, 'De Lievendalers', in *Schetsen uit de middeleeuwen*, Nieuwe bundel, pp. 197 - 198.

151) Ridderikoff, *Orléans*, vol. II, p. 475.

152) For the provision to the *Dom* see Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. 1 pt. 1, No. 389, 21 November 1561, p. 135; for the stall at Maastricht *Ibid.*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 389, 23 April 1560, p. 134; for the vicarie at St. Pieter, Utrecht, *Ibid.*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 356, 13 December 1552, p. 124.

153) Provost of Leyden on the death of Dirk Mulert, *AKD 1 - 19*, 20 July, 1569, he took possession in July, 1570, *AKD 1 - 19*.

154) De Theux de Montjardin, *Chapitre*, vol. III, p. 120 -21.

155) For the papal provision in his favour at the *Dom* see *AKD 79 - 1*; he was granted his prebend on 28 April 1545, *AKD 1 - 15*; for the coadjutory *de jure successionis*, see Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 327, 19 November 1546.

156) Jan van Beka, Hendrik Ben, Ulrich Biel, Michael van Enckevoirt, Arnold van Groenevelt, Willem Heda, Hendrik Huysselman, Andeas van Maes alias Masius, Christoffel van Millingen, Theodore, marquis of Montferrat, Lazerus de Rosetis, Charles de Rubenpré, Johan Ruysch, Dirk van Schoenrode, Johan van Schoenrode, Dirk Taets van Lockhorst, Pieter van der Vorst, Johan Vos van Averzaet, Maximillian van Waelscapelle and Dirk van Wittenhorst.

157) Theodore, marquis of Montferrat, a cardinal, and agent of duke Charles 'the Bold' of Burgundy; Pieter van der Vorst, bishop and a papal legate; Johan van Beka and Willem Heda, *orators* or diplomatic agents of the duke of Burgundy and the Habsburgs at Rome; Johan Ruysch and Johan Vos van Averzaet, papal *familiars*; Lazerus de Rosetis was *familiar* to a cardinal. Hendrik Ben and Hendrik Huysselman were nephews of the influential curialist Johan Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten, while Michael van Enckevoirt was the nephew of the influential agent of the emperor Charles V at Rome, the Datary, cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt.

158) Arnold van Groenevelt was the son of the bailiff of the abbey of St. Amand-en-Pavéle held in *commendam* by George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht; Dirk Taets van Lockhorst was the son of a prominent Utrecht noble family, Charles de Rubenpré was son of the Namurois count of Rubenpré; Dirk van Wittenhorst was the son of the *Heer van Horst*, who was also *Drossard* of Keppel in the duchy of Gelderland; of Christoffel van Millingen absolutely nothing is known.

159) The adult was Maximillian van Waelscapelle, son of the *Reentmeester* of the *Heer van Beveren*.

160) For his papal provision *AKD 79 - 1*; Andreas Maes resigned his prebend on 20 July 1558, *AKD 1 - 17*; he is noted as marrying in the summer of 1558, De Vocht, *Coll. Trilingue*, vol. III, p. 289.

161) For his papal provision mentioned at the reception of his application for a prebend, 15 June 1498, *AKD 1 - 10*.

162) Hinschius, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 639, note L.

163) *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 639 - 41.

164) H. Wolfram & C. Thomas, *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I*, vol. III, p. 682, dated *ende 1532*.

- 165) Gemeente Archiv Deventer, *Charterlijst No. 583*, 17 June 1517.
- 166) Lossen, *Briefe*, No. 146, 17 september 1554, p. 180.
- 167) Santifeller, *Preces*, No. 1020, 14 January 1490, p. 616.
- 168) *Ibid.*, Nos. 1348, 1349, p. 625.
- 169) *Ibid.*, Nos. 1350, 1351, p. 626.
- 170) *Ibid.*, Nos. 547, 548, and 549, p. 646.
- 171) AKD 3069 - 1.
- 172) See note 149 above.
- 173) William of Orange's sister Maria van Nassau was married to Willem van Bergh, son of Oswald, brother of our canon Frederick, W.E. Dek, *Geneologie van het vorstenhuis Nassau*, p. 74, No. 7.
- 172) The precise kinship of Van Urk is not known, but the family of Van Urk provided several *schepenen* and *Raden* at Kampen in the sixteenth century.
- 174) *Stadarchief Kampen*, No. 282, *Stadsboek*, list of *Burgemeests*, *Schepenen* and *Raaden*, 1520 - 1565, *passim*.
- 175) The notarial act 6 August 1535, AKD 1 - 14; he was admitted to a prebend on 17 september 1537.
- 176) A Lubbert van Hattum served as *schepenen* of Kampen in 1508 - 24, and 1527, *Stadarchief Kampen*, No. 282, *Stadsboek*, s.d.
- 177) Resigned his prebend on 27 July 1538, AKD 1 - 14.
- 178) See above note 148)
- 179) Muller, *Reg. Bisschoppen*, vol. III,
- 180) The chaplain was Joris Strijt, who secured a prebend on the resignation of Philippe de Mera, 27 August 1548, AKD 1 - 16. That De Mera was prevailed upon to resign by bishop George van Egmont would appear from the fact that Egmont resigned his prebend at Liège on 30 August 1548, in exchange for the *matricularia* of the church of Morbeeck in the diocese of Tournai, that apparently belonged to Strijt at this date, De Theux de Montjardin, *Chapitre*, vol. III, p. 107. For the reception of Arnold van Groenevelt, son of the constable of Wijk, 13 October 1561, AKD 1 - 17.
- 181) For the expective from Philip II copied in to the *Domresolutie* under the heading *Quinque ecclesiae In facto expectative pro principe Hispanis*, see AKD 1 - 16, 29 October 1550; Van Malsen was admitted to a prebend on the death of Antoon Taets van Amerongen, 31 October 1555, AKD 1 - 17.
- 182) Gerard Lister, rector of the Latin school at Zwolle, to Erasmus, 28 December, 1516, Allen, vol. II, *Epistolae*, No. 504, p. 423.
- 183) Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, vol. I, p. 199.
- 184) R. A. Utrecht, *O.B.C.* 112 - c. Contract between Mr Jacob Ram, canon of St. Marie, and Hubert Foeck, *Burgemeester* of Utrecht, on behalf of his son. 14 June 1572.
- 185) AKD 4329, The *protocoll* of the notary Johan Meersman, Second quire, 9 December 1521. pp. 13v. - 15v.
- 186) *Ibid.* fourth quire, 1529, pp. 8r. - 8v.
- 187) *Ordonnantien en plaacaaten... van Vlanderen*, vol. I, pp. 207 - 08.
- 188) De Theux de Montjardin, *Chapitre*, vol. I, p. xliii.
- 189) For the archdeacons of the diocese of Cambrai see Laenen, *Histoire* vol. II, pp. 34 -35.
- 190) Jongkees, *Staat en kerk*, chap. XVI, pp. 298 - 315.
- 191) *Ibid.*, p. 311
- 192) *Ibid.*, p. 315.

- 193) For this issue see Marsin, *Etudes critiques*, vol. III, pt. 2, chap. IV, pp. 222 - 296.
- 194) E. De Marneffe, *La principauté de Liège et les Pays-Bas au XVI siècle*, vol. II, pp. 83 -84.
- 195) A. F. Mellink, 'Territoriale afronding der Nederlanden', *Algemeene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. V, p. 502.
- 196) 12 September 1485, Mechelen, *Ordonnantien ende placacten... van Flanderen*, vol. I, p. 205 - 208; 28 October 1493, Mechelen, *Ibid.* vol. I, 69; 20 May 1498 Brugge, *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 210 - 11; 20 October 1541, Brugge, vol. I, pp. 777 et seq.; 28 November 1541. [?] Mechelen, *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 20; 19 May 1544, Brussels, *Ibid.*, p. 276; 20 July 1545, Utrecht, V. D. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. II, p 1130; 9 March 1553, [?] Mechelen, *Placacten ... van Brabant*, vol. I, pp. 24 - 25.
- 197) *plus qu'en quelques autres pays chrétiens*, further in the event of such bulls being obtained comital consent had to be attested by a *vidimus* attached to the bull with an authentic seal, 12 September 1485, *Ordonnantien ende placacten... van Flanderen*, vol. I, p. 207 - 208..
- 198) 28 October 1493, *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 69.
- 199) Bishop George van Egmont secured the abbey of St. Amand-en -Pavéle and discovered it burdened with the pensions of two predecessors, see Appendix 1.; there is some likelihood that *Domproost* Claude de Boisset resigned the provostry of Utrecht to Johan Slachek in 1530 he did so for a pension, and lived on into the possession of the provostry by Slachek's successor Cornelis van Meirop, see chapter IV.
- 198) 28 October 1493, *Ordonnantien ende placacten... van Flanderen*, vol. I, p. 69.
- 200) 28 October 1496, *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 210 - 11.
- 201) 20 October 1541, *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 779. It may be worth noting that this decree followed one of the previous year, of 1 October 1540, whereby the emperor annuls all letters of *placet* on reservations, and expectives that present an obstacle to his enjoying the patronage of those benefices as granted by the indult of pope Paul III of the *Kalends* of June, 1539, *Edicts et ordonnances*, vol. I, p. 244.
- 202) *Ordonnantien ende placacten... van Flanderen*, vol. I, p. 780.
- 203) Pope Paul II accedes to the request of Van Weze for Van Wittenhorst to act as his co-adjutor, due to the former's suffering from gout, 19 November, 1546, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 327, p. 115. Van Wittenhorst was the son of Van Weze's sister. what appears to have been at stake in this instance was Van Weze's rich provostry of Elst, which was passed to Van Wittenhorst by resignation in 1548 *AKD 3609 - 1*. - the co-adjutory was probably a safeguard against other claimants; on 14 June 1540 pope Paul III named Johan van Bruhezen as co-adjutor to Liebrecht van Houthem, on the grounds of the latter's failing eyesight and other sufferings, *Ibid.*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 309, p. 109.
- 204) Van Wittenhorst secured a prebend 28 April 1545, on death of Gerard Beyer, *AKD 1 - 15*.; Johan van Bruhezen secured a prebend 3 April 1542 on the death of Henrik Ben, *AKD 1 - 14*.
- 205) 9 March 1553, Mechelen, *Placacten... van Brabant*, vol. I, pp. 24 - 25.
- 206) *AKD 79*.
- 207) Applications from those not subsequently received were from cardinal Julius Cesarini in 1495, who had unsuccessfully sought the provostry of the cathedral in 1499, and Goivanni Sacchis, archbishop of Ragusa, 1494

- 208) Those identified as subsequently received at the cathedral are Johan Schoenrode, 1504, a client of the ubiquitous Johan Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten; Dirk Taets van Lockhorst, 1506; Michael Lombaertszn. van Enkevoirt, 1525, nephew to cardinal Willem van Enkevoirt, bishop of Utrecht; Johan van der Vorst for the deanery of Utrecht, 1528; Arnold van Groenevelt, 1556.
- 209) 10 September 1558, Rome, Sonnius to Viglius, *B.C.R.H.*, ser. 1, vol. XVI, Supp. 42; 30 October 1558, Rome, Sonnius to Viglius, *Loc. cit.*, Supp. 51.
- 210) Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. I, p. 388.
- 211) Dierickx, *Erection des nouveaux diocèses aux Pays-Bas*, p. 105.
- 212) Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. I, p. 387 - 88. The unsuccessful claims of Ruprecht van Brederode, younger brother to Hendrik van Brederode, *Heer van Vianen*, to the bishopric of Cambrai may be traced in all their tortuousness in the correspondence of Andreas Maes and the successful claimant, Maximilian van Bergen, *Lossen Briefe*, No. 204, p. 282, No. 215, p. 294, No. 223, p. 308.
- 213) Van Urk's *precum* was registered in the *Hof van Utrecht* 5 August 1535, *R.A.U. Recht. Arch.*, 9 - 2, *Memoriaalboek*, vol. I, pp. 102v. - 103v.; admitted to a prebend on 27 September 1537, *AKD 1 - 14*.
- 214) The *precum* was registered in the *Hof van Utrecht* on 31 October 1535, *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 134v. - 135v.; admitted to a prebend, 24 November 1535, which he subsequently resigned on 27 April 1537, almost certainly reserving a pension thereon. He secured a further prebend by papal provision on 8 February 1538, *AKD 1 - 14*, so it is not quite clear for which of these canonries the *placet* was secured.
- 215) Lazerus de Rosetis died on the 4 July 1535, and was buried in the *Dom*, *AKD 1 - 14*. [Indeed his gravestone can still be seen there]. The delay in the prebend going to Van der Vorst may have been due to other claimants possessing papal provisions, for Rosetis had served at the Curia, and may yet have held an office there, or alternatively Van der Vorst may have been in possession of two prebends, which the statutes of the cathedral did not permit.
- 216) The pension of 100 golden gulden and the previous beneficiary Johan Inghenwinkel, provost of Xanten, is referred to in the registration of the *placet* in the *Hof van Utrecht*, 17 December 1535, *R. A. U. Recht. Arch.*, 9 - 2, *Memoriaalboek*, vol. I, pp. 138v. - 139v..
- 217) On 2 May 1567 Johan Schetter acted as proctor for Frederick count of Berg, on the occasion of his application for a prebend, *AKD 1 - 18*; he was the possessor, by 30 March 1569, of a portion of a *vicarie* in the *Groote Kerk* at Vianen, granted to him by the *Heer van Vianen*, (almost certainly Hendrik van Brederode). Juten, *Beneficiën*, in *B.B.H.*, vol. LII (1835), p. 23.

## CHAPTER II.

## SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF MEN.

- 1) *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 832.
- 2) Alfijn's service under the archduke Philip is noted in *K.H.G.*, vol. II, p. 101; for his journey to Ravenna from Rome in 1494, on which he died, see *AKD* 3069-1, p. 20.
- 3) Kisky, *Domkapitel*, p. 98.
- 4) Jaenig, *Liber confraternitatis*, p. 114.
- 5) Schmid, *U.L. Frau Regensberg*, p. 91.
- 6) For a brief outline of the career of Adriaan Florisz. later pope Adrian VI, see the biography by J. Bijloos.
- 7) As one such aspirant wrote home, *Habet curiam Hispanis ac Germanis refertam ita ut Germani orbi, quam Romam vocant, olim dominam, totique Italiae imperent*, Prinsen, *Collectanea Geldenhauer*, pp. 68 - 69. It is perhaps salutary to learn that the writer, Willem van Lockhorst, an illegitimate son of the Herman van Lockhorst mentioned in note 1) above, was one whose hopes were disappointed by the pope's early death.
- 8) Willem van Enckevoirt has not been the subject of a recent biography, but a general outline of his career is provided by standard Dutch reference books, but see especially *NNWB*, vol. II, cols. 435 - 437, and the more recent entry in *Winkler Prins*, (7th. Ed.), vol. 7, pp. 127 - 128. Individual aspects of his career have been dealt with in articles, especially, B. Munier, "De curiale loopbaan van Willem van Enckevoirt voor het pontificaat van Adriaan VI", *A.G.K.K.N.*, vol. I (1959), pp. 128 - 168; "Uit de correspondentie van Kardinal Willem van Enckevoirt", *A.A.Ut.*, vol. 73 (1955), pp. 161 - 209; "Kardinal Willem van Enckevoirt (1464 - 1534) en de overdracht der temporaliteit van het bisdom Utrecht", *M.N.H.I.R.*, 3de. reeks, vol. 7 (1953), pp. 122 - 168
- 9) The definitive treatment of this topic is B. Munier's dense and scholarly article "Nederlandse curialen en hofbeambten onder het pontificaat van Adriaan VI", *M.N.H.I.R.*, 3de. Reeks, vol. 10 (1959), pp. 199 - 226.
- 10) *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 436.
- 11) *Ibid.*, col. 435.
- 12) He appears at Rome during July and August, 1489, as a procurator in a case concerning the parish churches of Flushing, Fruin, *O.L.V. Middelburg*, Reg. Nos. 1005 - 1006.
- 13) For this generally see the first article cited in note 8) above. Enckevoirt was presented in 1498 to a stall at St. Jan at Utrecht by pope Alexander VI, when he was described as *familiaris*, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I, pt. 2, No. 1829.
- 14) By 1502 Enckevoirt was acting for the archduke Philip at Rome, *Ibid.*, No. 1856.
- 15) The office of *Dataria Apostolica* was the department of the papal Curia through which supplications or requests for benefices passed, by being dated and authenticated, its officers charging fees for this service, which passed the chancery dues to the papal treasury, But in addition, the officers of the Datary added, as a salary for their pains, 'compositions' which thereby increased the cost of securing authentication of papal grants. For all this see Janelle, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 62. It seems that Enckevoirt's appointment was meant as

the first step in an attempt by Adriaan VI to reform this department of the Curia, but the exigencies of the time prevented this, *ibid.*, p. 42.

16) Instructive in this respect is the career of Cornelis Bartholdszn. van Heemstede, a representative of the curial proletariat, rather than the magnates with which such a subject tends to dwell. Evidently from Holland, he first appears in 1514 in Rome in the service of Giovanni Pallavicini, bishop of Cavallon. Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 13148; Pallavicini died in 1524. Berton, *Cardinaux*, col. 1344; it may be then that Heemstede entered the service of Enckevoirt, although this is not documented before 1530, Munier, *Curialen*, p. 214, note 2; dying in 1549, some fifteen years after Enckevoirt, he became chaplain to Pieter van der Vorst, bishop of Acqui, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I, pt. 1, No. 337.

17) For service under Adriaan VI, Munier, *Curialen*, p. 209, note 4; for residence in 1509 in Rome, Jaenig, *Liber Confraternitatis*, p. 119; acting before the Curia in 1514 as *scriptor* and *cubicularius* to Leo X, together with Enckevoirt, when both are described as canons of Antwerp, Hergonroether, *Regesta*, Nos. 11622, 11623.

18) Philibert Naturelli was the resident agent in Rome for the archduke Philip of Austria, 'the Fair', from the Christmas of 1505 till the spring of 1507, and would have had dealings with Enckevoirt who was also resident in the city at this time, A. M. Foba, 'De Spaanse natalanschap. De ontstaansredenen van de vroegste resideerende gezantschappen vanuit de Nederlanden', *Tijd. v. Gesch.*, vol. 85 (1972), p. 179.

19) In the service of the archduke Philip as a secretary, Foppens, *Bio. Belg.*, vol. I, pp. 405 - 406; he is so described in 1506, in the service of the emperor Maximilian I, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I, pt. 2, No. 1876; The connection is perhaps more circumstantial than clear: Alexander VI provided Heda to the deanery of St. Geertruiden at Bergen-op-Zoom, from which Willem van Enckevoirt had just resigned, 2 April 1500, Brom, *loc. cit.*, No. 1842. It looks like a collusive resignation bearing in mind Heda's employers.

20) On 3 September 1516 Van Loemel acted as a deputy commissioner to Adriaan Floriszn. for an indulgence levied to repair dikes destroyed by floods, on the latter's despatch to Spain, Schulte, *Fugger*, vol. I, p. 91; in the capitular records of St. Rombout's at Mechelen he is described as *vicarius atque economus cardinalis Enckenvort* in June, 1515, Munier, *Curiale loopbaan*, p. 148, note 2; a post implying some trust and intimacy. Van Loemel had a career in the *Hof van Brabant*, being a *raad* there since 1500, Gaillard, *Brabant*, vol. III, p. 350, and in 1504 was one of five legal experts called upon to advise the government in Brussels as to whether the marriage of Claude of France to Francis of Angouleme, later Francis I of France, contravened the agreement between France and Burgundy that the lady should marry the archduke Charles, later the emperor Charles V, Le Glay, *Negotiations*, vol. I, pp. 145 - 199.

21) Possibly to be identified as a son of the *rentmeester* to the *Heer van IJsselstein's* lordships of St. Maartensdijk and Scherpenisse, Drossaers, *Domeinraad*, vol. II, Reg. No. 1260; for De Vos in the service of pope Leo X, involved in the reversion of benefices at Utrecht, Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 4123; the connection with the Enckevoirt circle is tentative, but he did succeed, by papal provision, to the stall of the late Johan Dedel, Adriaan Floriszn.'s agent at Utrecht in 1519, *AKD 3069-1*.

22) Willem van Enckevoirt's sister married one N. Lombaerts, from which marriage there were four sons, two of whom, Michael and Johan, in addition to numerous other benefices secured the following at Utrecht: Michael became a canon of the *Dom*, before his uncle's death, in 1528, *A.v.d.R.* 253 - 168; he succeeded his uncle as provost of the Oudmunster in 1526, *A.v.d.R.* 254, Enckevoirt; at some time he acquired a prebend at St. Pieter which he resigned to his brother Johan in the course of 1548 - 49, *Heeringa, Rek.* vol. II, p. 134; it is not known when Johan Lombaerts van Enckevoirt vacated his prebend at St. Pieters, to which appears to have been attached the treasurership of the chapter, *AKP* 50 - 1.

23) From the *Fabriekrekening* for 1521 - 22 we learn that the Chapter expended the not inconsiderable sum of 294 florins on, as the entry itself expressed it *...triumphi habiti tempore iucundissimi nuntii de electione reverendissimi domini Adriani Florentii de Traicto cardinalis episcopi Derthusiensis in papam et caput orbis christiane*, amongst which sum was the Chapter's share of a life pension granted by the five *Hoofdkerken* of 100  $\text{fl}$ Utrecht, to Willem in den Anker who first brought the good news from Rome; a payment to Johan Bartszn. *opten torn van arbeidsloen hij gegeven heeft om te luiden 8 daghe lang mit Salvator*, the greatest bell in the *Dom*tor; it is heartening to observe that the largest single item, of 120 florins, was expended on bread distributed to *omnibus pauperibus Christi largissime*, *Fabriekrek.* vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 549 - 550.

24) Adriaan Floriszn. secured a prebend at the *Dom*, his first, on 16 October 1505, by collation of the Chapter. This action was in response to a series of letters emanating in essence from the archduke Philip, but addressed to the Chapter and the bishop of Utrecht, all dated between the 15 and 28 January 1505, *K.H.G.*, Vol. II, pp. 183 - 184; Enckevoirt received his prebend by papal provision on 6 February 1505, on the death of Johan van Renesse, which suggests that Enckevoirt's application for a prebend was in the 'pipe-line' awaiting a suitable vacancy. *A.v.d.R.* 253 - 169.

25) *NNBW*, Vol. I, col. 25.

26) Matriculated *ex Porco* 27 February 1484, *Mat. Leuven* vol. II, 480 - 128; receiving payments on behalf of Adriaan Floriszn. from his prebend from 1506 onwards, *Fabriekrek.* vol. II pt. 2, p 671; *ibid.*, vol. II, pt. 3, p. 37; for the annual pension of 40 gold *philipsgulden*, *ibid.*, pp. 306, 343, 383, 423; Dedel secured his prebend at the *Dom* by resignation of Adriaan Floriszn. on 22 September 1517, *AKD* 4399, p. 16.

27) Gerard Dedel was *raad* of Utrecht in 1426, *V.d. Water, Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 110; Godert Dedel, father to the canon Johan Dedel, was *raad* in 1449, and *schepen* in 1469, *Booth*, 241; a connection of a later generation would seem to be Jacob Dedel, *Heer van Emilcar*, son of Goert van Dedel, *schepen* of Utrecht, *Wittert van Hoogland*, vol. I, p. 594; Johan Dedel had a brother Jacob Dedel, canon of St. Marie, since 1506, *AKM* 66, who acted as receiver of the *morgengeld* in the Overkwartier and Eemland in 1501, *Avis, Belastingen*, p. 123, note 1; receiver of the *huisgeld* in the Nederkwartier, 1509, *ibid.* p. 37; receiver of the *turfaccijns*, in 1515, and of the *stuivergeld*, in 1516, *ibid.* Another brother was abbot of Oostbroek, *Booth*, 179; his sister Gertruidis became abbess of the noble convent of St. Servaas in Utrecht in 1506, till her death in 1517, *Heussen, Kerkelijke historie*, vol I, p. 359

28) The family of Taets van Amerongen was accounted among the nobility of the *Sticht*, and Anthonis Taet's grandfather was so listed in 1477 and 1500. Gouthoeven, *Chroniijke*, vol. I, p. 358; at neither Cologne or Leuven does Taets appear to have matriculated, but that is no evidence of lack of attending a university course; for his career as a pilgrim see B.J.M. Bont, 'De portretten van Meester Cornelis van Thorn en Heer Anthonius Taets van Amerongen', *A.A.Ut.*, vol. 25 (1878), pp. 250 - 251, which quotes the following painted inscription below the portrait of Taets, *Heer Anthonis Taets van Amerongen wel becant./ Gheboren van Utrecht canonick in den Dom/ Is gheweest the Jerusalem in dat heylich lant/ The Roman SintJacobs ende al om ende om/*; for service under pope Adriaan VI, Munier, *Curialen* p. 208, note 2, p. 218.

29) Two examples of such are the Willem van Lockhorst mentioned above in note 2). The natural son of Herman van Lockhorst, dean of the Oudmunster, he appears to have been sent to Rome by his father, but any hope of a glittering career there was ended by the death of Adriaan VI. As he later observed, *Habitavit Traiecti et fuit canonicus quinquaginta duobus annis in diversis attamen respective et vicissim ecclesiis*, *NNBW*, Vol. II, col. 833. It sounds a bit dull; another example of one who settled at Utrecht on the death of Adriaan VI was Gerardus Coemans, canon of St. Jan, Munier, *Curialen*, p. 208, note 6.

30) Taets was present at the election of Henry of Bavaria as bishop of Utrecht, on 6 May 1524, when noted as *canonicus non capitularibus* of St. Marie, Post, *Verkiezingen*, *A.A.Ut.* vol. 55 (1931), p. 256; from 1531 to his death in 1555, he was noted as a member of the Utrecht *Priesterbroederschap*, J.H. Hofman, 'De priesterbroederschap in de vijf hoofkerken te Utrecht', *A.A.Ut.*, vol. VII (1879), p. 34 *et. seq.*; he secured a stall at St. Marie on 23 August 1523, by *preces royal*, which suggests strong local demarches with the government in Brussels, *AKM* 66; he further secured a stall at the *Dom* by resignation of Pierre Maiorot, 5 September 1523, *AKD* 3069-1, *Fabriekrek*, vol. II pt. 3, p. 596; Taets seems to have retained connections with Maiorot, if the latter can be identified with a certain Petrus Majori, cleric of the diocese of Besançon, who secured the church of Zunderdorp in Amstelland, by the resignation of Anthonii de Amerongen, 1531/1532, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VII, p. 65; finally Taets appears to have held a *vicarie* in the church of Wijk-bij-Duurstede, 1526/1527, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 91.

31) For Maiorot see *AKD* 3069-1; for his resignation to Taets, *A.v.d.R.* 253-382.

32) Brief biographical details, *NNBW*, vol. X, col. 753; he secured a prebend at the *Dom* in June, 1524, *A.v.d.R.* 253-488; Clement VII requested the Chapter on 24 November 1514, that though absent, Pigge be granted his emoluments because *huic sanctae sedi in hac communi patria deserviens*, Brom. *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 519; because *Domthesaurier* 13 June 1529, *AKD* 3069-1; Dean of St. Jan, and later provost, Heussen, *Oudheden*, vol. I, p. 261, Joosting & Muller, vol. IV, p. 458; for his litigation see for instance his dispute with Johan Slachek, no novice in such matters, over the provostry of St. Marie, the deanery of St. Lebuinus at Deventer, and the parish churches of Kampen and Oldmarkt, 1527, *AKD* 417\*; he was also involved in a dispute over the church of Alphen-aan-der-Rijn in 1533, Jaeger, *Handschriften*, No. 247-5, p. 56; over his prebend at the *Dom*, before the *Hof van Utrecht* in 1540, *AKD* 180; and before the same court, over the

Treasurership of the *Dom* in the years 1534 - 1539, *AKD 2511*. A difficult colleague one imagines.

33) *AKD. 4399*, p. 16.

34) Schulte, *Fugger*, vol. I, pp. 289 et seq.; between pages 292 and 306 there are some 105 references from the registers of supplications largely covering benefices scattered across the north European dioceses of Arras, Cambrai, Cologne, Constance, Liège, Lübeck, Münster, Mainz, Paderborn, Thérouanne, and Trier, while in Italy Inghenwinkel held benefices in the sees of Anagnini, Spoleto, Todi and Veroli, and a parish church within Rome itself, *ibid.* pp. 289 - 291. While all this is largely a matter of revenues and pensions, one personal detail emerges: the resignation in January, 1520, from a prebend in the chapter of St. Andrew at Cologne is attendant upon an annual charge of two waggon-loads of wine from Bacharach, *ibid.* p. 304; the exile in his house in the Borgo St. Pietro still liked his Rhenish, Jaenig, *Liber Confraternitatis*, p. 255.

35) Everard de la Marck, bishop of Liège, in 1516 warned Jérôme Aleander, his agent in Rome, to be on his guard against one 'Winkel', J. Paquier, 'Jérôme Aleander et la principauté de Liège', p. 132.

36) Schulte, *Fugger*, p. 290.

37) Hendrik Ben secured a prebend by papal provision on 12 December 1506, *A.v.d.R. 252-40*; he was also a canon of the Oudmunster, *A.v.d.R. Ben*; and at Xanten, Claessens, *Xanten*, p. 143; apparently matriculated at Rostock in September, 1506, Hofmeister, *Mat. Rostock*, vol. II, p. 26b; Hendrik Huysselmans also secured a prebend by papal provision on 17 June 1515, and on 31 May 1518, secured the *Domscholasterij*, *A.v.d.R. 254-283*; and a prebend at the *Oudmunster*, *A.v.d.R. 253 Huysselmans*; and at Xanten, Claessens, *Xanten*, p. 143; matriculated at Leuven in 1522, *Mat. Leuven*, vol. III, 652-132, and at Cologne in 1522, *Mat. Köln*, vol. II, 535-28; One of Johan Inghenwinkel's clients, Johan Schoenrode, secured a prebend at the *Dom* by papal provision, *AKD 79-1*. For his service under Inghenwinkel see Munier, *Curialen*, p. 215; from 120 to 1541 he was dean of the *Munsterstift*, at Aachen, A. Brechner, 'Kirchliche Reform in Stadt und Reich Aachen', p. 325, note 2.

38) For the post of *Auditor Rotae* see *AKD 4399*, p. 2; Bishop of Acqui, 20 February 1534, Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 809; for the nunciature to the Empire see P. F-X. De Ram, "Documents relatifs a la nonciature de Pierre Vorstius", *B.C.R.H.*, Série 3, vol. VI (1864), pp. 223 -422, and the same author's "Nonciature de Pierre van der Vorst d'Anvers, évêque d'Acqui en Allemagne et dans les Pays-Bas en 1536 et 1537", *Nouveaux mémoires de l'acadamie royale de Belgique*, vol. XII (1839), pp. 1 - 81; for relationship with Enckevoirt, see De Vocht, *Coll. Trilingue*, vol. II, p. 373; for benefices held by Enckevoirt, and Johan Inghenwinkel, see Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, Nos. 289 and 298.

39) The numerous benefices of *Damproost* Van Mierop have been outlined in Appendix 17; beyond the cathedral the case of Herman, count of Rennenberg, is instructive: provost of the Oudmunster at Utrecht, of St. Walburga's at Zutphen and of St. Cross at Liège, Knod, *Bologna*, No. 3010; canon and archdeacon of the Kampenland in the church of Liège, De Theux, *Chapitre*, vol. III, p.65. It is worth noting that he had succeeded his nephew in the *heerlijkheden* of Zuilen and Westbroek in 1561, making him an important figure in the Sticht in his own right, Wittert van Hoogland, vol. I, p. 444. A list of the benefices of Johan

Fonck, provost of St. Marie may be found in *De Vocht, Coll. Trilingue*, vol. IV, pp. 169 - 70.

40) For *placaaten* concerning the royal *placet* for papal provisions in the Netherlands see chapter I, and Nolet & Boeren, p. 363, note 1.

41) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. no. 289, 16 June 1536.

42) A stall at the Oudmunster, in 1537, *ibid.*, No. 298; another at St. Servaas at Maastricht, in 1541, *ibid.* No. 300; another canonry at Maastricht in the chapter of St. Marie, 1541, *Ibid.*, No. 311; the *commende* of a stall at St. Martie at Utrecht, 1548, *Ibid.*, No. 337; a further stall at St. Servaas, in 1542, *Ibid.*, No. 316; and a similar grant over a stall at the *Dom* in 1545, *Ibid.*, No. 323.

43) He had seen service in the entourage of Pieter van der Vorst on the latter's legation to the Empire, Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent*, vol. I, p. 316; was one of the Catholic divines at the Colloquy of Worms from November, 1540, *Ibid.*, p. 376.

44) An account of his election, in the house of the vice-dean of Lübeck by means of *viam scrutinii et compromissi mixtim procedentes* and the votes *pro majori et illorum saniori parte* can be found in W. Friedenburg, 'Informativprozesse über deutsche Kirchen in vortridentinische Zeit', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italien*, vol. I (1898), pp. 199 - 201.

45) Acted as proctor at the Council of Trent for cardinal Albert of Brandenburg for the latter's sees of Mainz, Magdeburg and Halberstadt, *Ibid.*, p. 473; acting as proctor of the bishop of Münster at the papal Curia in 1548, J.E. Schwarz "Die Akten der Visitation des Bistums Münster an Zeit Johannis von Hoya", p. xii; the benefices at Utrecht were a prebend and the archdeaconry of the *choriepiscopus*, A.v.d.R. 307- 263, a prebend at the Oudmunster, *ibid.*, 308-Hoetfilter; for other benefices see for instance the provostry of Lübeck and of St. Marie *ad Gradus* at Cologne, canonries at the cathedrals of Cologne, Hildesheim, Minden, and in the chapter of St. Viktor *extra moenia*, also at Mainz, Knod, *Bologna*, pp. 700 - 01.

46) Knod, *Bologna*, pp. 700 - 01.

47) Eubel, *Hierachia*, vol. III, p.245.

48) The province of Utrecht awaits the historian of the Habsburg period. Glimpses of the administration may be gained for the earlier period under the rule of the bishops in Enklaar, *Bestuur*, especially chapters II and III, and Kalveen, *Bestuur*, especially chapter X on the reign of bishop Philip of Burgundy to 1520. The creation of the *Hof van Utrecht* was clearly an event of major importance, but as yet lacks an historian.

49) On 5 November 1524, Evert Zoudenbalch wrote to the bishop of Utrecht that his brother Gerard Zoudenbalch I, the *Domthesaurier*, was *in lijfs noet...ende ingeval zijn liefde offlivich worden... soe soude die collatievan de Thesaurijn staen an uwen f.g.*, and naturally proceeds to request the bishop to nominate a further brother, Hendrik Zoudenbalch, Van Asch van Wijck, *Archief Ut.*, vol. III, No. 78; the bishop did not in fact collate any one until 13 July 1525, when the post was given to Albert Pigge, *AKD 4399*, p. 39; his successor was collated by bishop Egmont, and on his death bestowed upon Bucho de Montzima by papal provision. The next two Treasurers secured the office by resignation and exchange. All the Treasurers after Pigge were linked to those powerful in the administration at Brussels: Montzima was a nephew of Viglius, the president of the *Geheime Raad*, Praet de Moerkerken was the son of the *Stadhouder* of Utrecht, Charles de Granvelle was brother to the bishop of

Arras, the brothers Johan and Englebert van Bruhezen were cousins to *Garde des Sceux* Charles Tisnacq. A not dissimilar picture emerges over the provostry of Leyden, in the gift of the bishop, and for long held by the Utrecht nobleman Amelis van Zuylen van Nyvelt, on whose death it passed by papal provision to the already mentioned well-connected Bucho van Montzima, who in due course resigned the office to Roeloff Mulert, son of a royal councillor, on whose death it was secured by papal provision for Maximillian van Waelscapelle. *Ibid.*, p. 36

50) Johan van Eynatten, Master of Requests, provost of St. Servaas at Maastricht, held a prebend at the *Dam* by collation of the Chapter, 1475, resigning it by exchange in 1487, Heussen, *Aanhangsel*, vol. I, p. 39; Claude Carondelet, probably a son Jean Carondelet, president of the *parlement* of Dôle in Franche Comté, and apparently a kinsman of the influential Jean Carondelet, archbishop of Palermo and Treasurer of the Netherlands. He secured a prebend in 1483, but died in 1486, *AKD 3069-1*, p. 19; Arnold Crusinck, son of Jacob Crusinck, *rentmeester* in The Hague and later at Mechelen. Goethoeven. *Chronijke*, vol. I, p. 164. secured a prebend in 1472, and died in 1513, *AKD 4399*, p. 14.

51) In order of entry to the Chapter: Etienne de Plaine, 1503, nephew of Thomas de Plaine, chancellor of Burgundy, *A.v.d.R.*, 253-492; Judoch de Praet de Moerkerken, in 1529, son of Louis de Praet de Moerkerken, constable of Schoonhoven, and later *stadhouder* of Holland. *Ibid.*, 252-504; Roeloff Campinck, chorister of the Chapel Royal, in 1541, *AKD 3069-1*, p. 28; Roeloff Mulert, in 1540, son of Gerard Mulert, *raad* in the *Hof van Holland*, *AKD 97*, *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 956; Charles de Perronet de Granvelle, in 1550, son of Nicholas de Perronet de Granvelle, *Zegelbewaarder* to the emperor Charles V, Van Durme, *Antoon Perronet*, p. 193, *AKD 4399*, p. 35; Dirk Mulert, in 1552, cousin to Roeloff above, see biography. He secured his prebend by resignation of Morillon, *A.v.d.R.* 253-443, who in turn was the close confidant of Granvelle; Bucho van Montzima, 1553, nephew of the powerful Viglius, president of the *Geheim Raad*, *AKD 4399*, p. 6, Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 324; Louis Micault, in 1572, son of Nicholas Micault, member of the *Geheime Raad*, Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 284 - 85. Secured his prebend on the collation of his rather distant cousin, Johan van Bruhezen, newly elected dean of Utrecht, *AKD 4399*, p. 1; Henri de Cotereau, in 1577, son of Gerard de Cotereau, *AKD 4399*, p. 15, *Gentilhomme de la Bouche*, to the emperor Charles V, and his wife Marie de Renesse, Herckenrode, *Nobilière*, vol. I, p. 531. With his mother coming from a leading family of the Stichtse nobility, clearly his prebend was secured on perhaps a different footing from the others in this list.

52) Maximillian Morillon, although known as the 'man of business' and correspondent of cardinal Granvelle, was also archdeacon and vicar-general of the arch-diocese of Mechelen, and was later to be bishop of Tournai, *BNB*, vol. 15 - 16, pp. 268, 272. Secured a prebend in 1551, resigning it to Dirk Mulert, *A.v.d.R.* 253-432.

53) For the request of the Regent, and admission to a prebend, *AKD 3069-1*, p. 30; for the family of IJsendoorn and the *Hof van Utrecht*, Booth, 1436.

54) *R.A.U. Rechterlijke Archief, No. 301b*. Granvelle to president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, Rome, 13 June 1567.

55) L.A.P. Gompertz, "Brief van G. Rataller", *A.A.Ut.* vol. 9 (1881), pp. 297 -98; for Oprode's prebend to which he was admitted on 30 September 1570, *AKD 4399*, p. 17.

- 56) Philip II requested Oprode to translate in to Dutch Canisius' *Summa Doctrina christiana per questiones tradita et in usum pueritiae edita*, *NNBW*, vol. II, p. 1028; in a visitation of the *Buurkerk* in 1568 it was observed that Oprode *preekte vaker dan hij verplicht was*. Van Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitatiën*, p. 58; although Van Oprode himself declared that *se multo frequentius concionari, quam statutis in eorem ecclesia diebus*, *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 57) Jacob van Oprode, brother to Joachim, Dodt van Flensburg, *Utrecht*, vol. II, pp. 54 - 57; was *rentmeester van exploiten*, or receiver of fees for writs, for the city of Utrecht, and in addition was made *rentmeester* or receiver of confiscated goods. 16 December 1567, *R.A.U. Rechterlijke Archief*, No. 365.
- 58) Mr. G. Schryvers wrote to Viglius on 11 March 1567, requesting the office of receiver of fees for writs, [*rentmeester van exploiten*] for the city of Utrecht for his son-in-law, Jacob van Oprode, *R.A.U. Rechterlijke Archief* No. 302b; that Mr. G. Schryvers was also father-in-law to a nephew of Viglius, Tako van Montzima, brother to Bucho van Montzima, provost of St. Jan, appears in *Analecta Belgica*, vol. I pt. 2, p. 363, note 29.
- 59) Lambrecht van der Berch, dean of St. Marie, came of a family well entrenched in the administrative elite of the Netherlands in that his father Adriaan van der Berch was president of the *Hof van Utrecht* from 1547 to 1556, when he transferred to the presidency of the *Raad van Vlaanderen* before becoming a member of the *Raad van Staat*. His brother Johan van der Berch was to become president of the *Geheime Raad*, while a further brother, yet another Adriaan van der Berch, somewhat more modestly remained at Utrecht as *Greffier* of the *Hof van Utrecht*, *Baelde, Collaterale raden*, pp. 244 - 245. Johan Van Hoogland, dean of St. Marie, 1562 - 1578, was the son of Gaspar van Hoogland, president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, 1520 - 1538, v.d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, p. 261, *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 1049; other canons having links with other provincial courts are Bernhard Bucho van Aytta van Zwichem, uncle to Viglius, and *raad* in the *Hof van Holland*, *NNBW*, vol. III, col. 47 - 48; canon of St. Pieter in 1524, *AKP 167-4*, accounts of the *Kleine Kamer*. Albrecht van Egmont van der Nyenberch, canon of the Oudmunster, was the son of Cornelis van Egmont van der Nyenberch, *raad*, in the *Hof van Holland*, *NNBW*, vol. III, col. 345.
- 60) The case already referred to of Adriaan van IJsendoorn, see above note 53). Arnold van der Kark, in 1580, son of Rutger van der Kark, *raad* in the *Hof van Utrecht*, *AKD 4399*, p. 49, secured his prebend by collation of the *turnarius*, his uncle Gerard Ram, *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 61) This whole question is very difficult to document. At one extreme we can trace the direct links of members of the Chapter or their relatives in their own minor concerns as when, for instance Frederick van Schenck van Toutenburg's father, Joris, or George, was able to make direct contact with the Regent when his son's tenure of his prebend looked in danger, Asch van Wijk, *Archief Ut.* vol III, p. 52, No. 359, Margaret of Austria to the Dean and Chapter of Utrecht, Den Haag, 16 August 1522, pp. 52 - 53. For the rest we can but surmise on the links.
- 62) Steven Pieterszn. van Haarlem, *advocatus curie* in 1477, *AKD 3069-1*; vicar-general, 1483, to bishop David of Burgundy, secured his prebend in 1498, *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 538; Ulrich Biel, a councillor in 1497 to bishop Frederick of Baden, Kalveen, *Bestuur*, p. 61, receiver of the *morgengeld*, 1511, *Ibid.*, p. 184, and episcopal *zegelbewaarder* in 1496,

*Ibid.* p. 289, secured his prebend in 1498, *A. v. d. R.* 253-50; Bernhard van Haarlem, collector of the *morgengeld*, 1511, in the Overkwartier, *Avis, Belastingen*, p. 136, note 6, canon when he was a child, 1487, *AKD 3069-1*, p. 20, so apparently subsequently entered episcopal service. His possession of a prebend as a child suggests some considerable influence, but nothing is known of this man's family, although a relationship with the vicar-general of the same name is not impossible; Adriaan Ram I secured a prebend from his uncle in 1485, and at the very end of his life he was appointed episcopal vicar-general, *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 1159.

63) Nicolas de Lavennis could well have been classed with those mentioned in the note above, as he too is noted as a collector of the *morgengeld* in 1478, *Avis, Belastingen*, p. 65, but his principal role seems to have been as chaplain to bishop David of Burgundy, in whose service he was as early as 1458, when noted as a cleric of the diocese of Théroutanne, Joosting & Muller, vol. VI, No. 47, (although as one Nicolas de Lavenne of the diocese of Arras is noted as matriculating at Leuven in 1463, *Mat. Leuven*, vol. II, 109-92, the first document may refer to the father or uncle of our man), secured his prebend in 1473, *AKD 4399*, p. 4, and the provostry of Leyden in 1474, Muller, *Reg. Bischoppen*, vol. II, No. 4891, it may also be worth noting that one Marck van Lavannis is mentioned as a chamberlain to bishop David of Burgundy in 1475, Muller, *Reg. Bisschopen*, vol. III, No. 4210, and again in 1490, *loc. cit.* No. 4719; George van Strijt, chaplain to bishop George van Egmont in 1547, *AKD 321*, *sacellarius* to vicar-general Willem van Lockhorst in 1539, *AKD 320*, and apparently a person for whom Egmont was prepared to go to much trouble to secure him a prebend, as witness the complicated tripartite exchange with Philip de Mera, canon of Liège, Egmont, and Strijt in 1548, *AKD 330*, *AKD 99-2*, *AKD 99-3*. De Theux, *Chapitre*, vol. III, p. 107; Johan van Berge, chaplain to archbishop Schenck van Toutenberg, and secured his prebend in 1565 under the terms of the bull *Super universas*, *AKD 4399*, p. 52. One Frans van Eyck, but referred to in the documentation by his latinized name as de Quercu, was chaplain to bishop George van Egmont by 1532, and canon of Nivelles and of St. Aubain at Namur, *Grote Raad*, vol. III, pp. 43 - 44, secured a prebend in 1543 and was dead by 24 October 1544, *AKD 4399*, p. 15, and was the brother of Nicolaas van Eyck *alias* de Quercu, *Grote Raad*, vol. III, pp. 371 - 2, secretary to Egmont by 1549, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 156.

64) Joachim van Oprode, auxiliary bishop of Utrecht became a canon in 1572; among the vicars-general of the diocese who possessed canonries at the *Dom* may be placed Herman van Lockhorst, and Thomas van Nykerken.

65) The six canons that entered the Chapter post 1559 by means of the bull *Super universas* were as follows:

I.	Johan van der Berch:	prebend 2 May 1567.
II.	Johan Schade:	" 27 August 1568.
III.	Folcardt van Aytta van Zwichem :	" 23 May 1570
IV.	Bucho Aytta van Zwichem:	" 30 September 1572.
V.	Joachim van Oprode:	" 30 September 1570.
VI.	Dirk Tielemans:	" 11 September 1576.

66) Johan Beyer, son of Willem Beyer secured the prebend of his father by resignation on 30 August, 1572, *AKD. 4399*, p. 19.

- 67) Lodolph van Veen, dean of Utrecht, (1471 - 1508), Heussen, *Kerkelijke historie*, vol. I, p. 66, his nephew, Johan Anthoniszn. van Veen secured a prebend in 1524, *AKD 2 - 2*, a date to be noted as after the death of the dean, so the evidence for a deliberate policy of introducing relatives is not conclusive, but the prebend was granted at the instance of Thomas van Nyekerken as *turnarius*, *AKD 3069-1*, p. 25, who may well have been acting upon the behalf of, or perhaps had even sold the reversion of his turn, to another nephew of the dean's, Johan van Uterwijk, currently a member of the Chapter, who entered the Chapter on the nomination of the dean as *turnarius*, in 1500, *Ibid.*, p. 21, while in the next generation Johan Anthoniszn. collated his nephew, (or possibly grand nephew) Gerard van Veen in 1553, *AKD 4399*, p. 55.
- 68) Adriaan Ram I succeeded to the prebend of his uncle in 1489, *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 1159, collating his nephew Adriaan Ram II in 1517, *AKD 4399*, p. 19, and for the collation of Gerard Ram see *A.v.d.R. 253-518*.
- 69) Johan van Renese II, September, 1527 - September 1528; Gerard van Renesse, November 1523 - June 1526.
- 70) Johan van Renesse I, *Domscholaster*, secured a prebend in 1469, and died in 1503, *Mat Köln*, vol. I, pt. 2, 322 - 49; Johan van Renesse II held a prebend between September, 1527, and resigned it on 10 September 1528, *AKD 1 - 13*; the tenure of Gerard van Renesse was from 13 November 1523, *AKD 2 - 2*; until 23 July 1536, when he also resigned, *AKD 1 - 14*; Adrian van Renesse, secured a prebend on 7 December 1521, *AKD 2 - 2*; for reference to his unfitness and general unwillingness to embrace the clerical state, as well as his subsequent career and promotions see *NNBW*, vol. III, col. 1061; Johan van Renesse III secured a prebend on 9 October 1547, *AKD 1 - 15*, and resigned it to his brother Joris van Renesse on 15 June 1565, *AKD 1 - 18*, who was a canon of the *Dom* until his death on 4 April 1580, *AKD 1 - 20*; Henri de Cotereau secured a prebend on 31 August 1577 and resigned it in February, 1586, (incidentally to a remote cousin, Johan van Renesse IV), *AKD* Johan van Duvendoorde secured a prebend on 10 September 1540, *AKD 1 - 14*, and retained it until his death on 26 March 1600 *AKD 1 - 24*; Frederick Reede van Amerongen secured a prebend on 28 September 1564, and resigned it on 21 October 1594, *AKD 1 - 23*; his brother Gerard Reede van Amerongen secured a prebend on 5 October 1575, *AKD 1 - 20*, and resigned it, having inherited the *heerlijkheid* of Nederhorst, in order to marry, for which last he had a dispensation as being in the subdiaconate, *NNBW* vol. III, col. 1006.
- 71) For Gerard Beyer, see *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 141, and for Johan Beyer see *loc. cit.* col. 142.
- 72) *AKD 1 - 19*, 30 August 1572.
- 73) Difficult, but not impossible. On 27 October 1515, Johan Knijff pledged the income of his stall in the chapter of St. Pieter to a fellow canon, the *domkannunik* Thomas van Nyekerken, for nine years, Muller, *Reg. St. Pieter*, No. 1664.
- 74) In the chapter of St. Pieter the prominent city family of Coninck provided several canons: Ernst Coninck in 1492, *Booth*, 1126, his brother, the *domkannunik* and canon of St. Jan, Frederick Coninck, 1489, *Ibid.*, 1176, Godert Coninck, ob. c. 1567, *Ibid.*, and finally their nephew Alphard Coninck, canon and *scholaster*, of St. Pieter, ob. 1597, *Ibid.*
- 75) An *erfraad*, or hereditary membership council, had been created in 1491, comprising a *raad* and *schepenbank*, the last of whose members, in succeeding pairs of oldest and youngest members, were to act as

*Burgemeesters* for a period of two months each throughout the year, but this attempt to close the council was abandoned by *Vrydags om Aegidi*, 1493, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, pp. 89 - 90, Nos. XXXIII. XXXVII. For the democratic experiment in 1525, C.A. Kalveen, 'De Gild Beweging te Utrecht, 1525', *Jaarboek van Oud Utrecht*, vol. 1972, pp. 93 - 114.

76) The whole question of citizenship at Utrecht is obscure, but by 1490 the city council was ruling that none could be a *borger* who was not first a guild member, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 276

77) For the lists of elections to the *schepenbank* and the *raad* during the sixteenth century, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, pp. 129 - 175, for the appointment of the *schout*. Although the office of *schout* is often equated in works in English with the English sheriff, this writer wonders if perhaps the analogy with the Spanish *corregidor* is not more apt, i.e. an official appointed by the prince to the municipal council.

78) Of those particularly noted as *ridders* may be mentioned *Heer Dierick van Zuylen*, 1482, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 131, in 1495, *Ibid.*, p. 136, *Heer Ernst van Nijenrode*, in 1548, 1549, and in 1551, 1552, *Ibid.*, p. 169 - 70, *Heer Reynier van Aeswyn*, *Heer van Brakel*, 1580, *Ibid.*, p. 175. Throughout the century the names of Groenevelt, Zoudenbalch, Van Voide, Proeys, Van Zuylen, Taets van Amerongen, Van Renesse, and Van Raephorst also occur in the lists, *Ibid.*, pp. 129 - 175.

79) In 1493 the prince-bishop requested the city council that Beernt van Groenevelt be elected *Burgemeester*, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 137, but it is unlikely that this was quite the isolated instance that it appears.

80) For this topic generally see, *Nederland in Vroeger Tijd*, vol. IX, pp. 224 - 230.

81) From an ordinance of the city council of 6 October 1541 ... dat

*die van de Ridderschap nu totte Wet gestelt wesende, den tyt van hoeren eed gedurende, alleen hen onderwynden souden in der Stad affairen en saicken, ende niet mit dien van den anderen ridderschap, te vergaderen in der Staten saicken aengaende*, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 167, from which it would appear that the city council sought to keep its affairs separate from those of the nobility.

82) The major, and outstandingly the best work treating of this topic, is H.F.K. van Nierop, *Van Ridders tot Regenten*, and while it deals mainly with the nobility of the county of Holland, the comments between pp. 31 - 38 concerning a definition of the nobility could in many respects be applied to the nobility of the *Sticht*. The nobility is treated in article literature. For the higher nobility: C.A.J. Armstrong, 'Had the Burgundian government a policy for the nobility'?, *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. II, pp. 9 - 32, P. Rosenfield, 'The provincial governors of the Netherlands from the minority of Charles V until the Revolt', *Standen en Landen*, vol. XVII, (1959), pp 1 - 63. An interesting regional study is P. de Win 'De adel in het hertogdom Brabant van de XVe eeuw . Een terrein verkenning', *Tijd. v. Gesch.* vol. 93 (1980), 357 - 465, and for a more general treatment at an earlier period see J.M. van Winter, 'Adel, ministerialiteit en ridderschap 11de - 14de eeuw', *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. II (1982), pp. 123 - 147; recently to hand is Sherrin Marshall, *The Dutch gentry, 1500 - 1650, Family, faith and fortune*, which despite its title actually deals largely with the *ridderschap* of Utrecht.

83) For this see the *Geschiedkunde Atlas*, plate

84) The prince of Orange held the *heerlijkheden* of IJsselstein, Benschop, Jaarsveld, Leerdam, 't land van der Leede, Schonrewaard and Acquoy, Polanen and De Lek, the count of Egmont held the lordships of Egmont-Binnen and Egmont-op-Zee, the count of Hoorn was lord of Altena, Van Nierop, *op. cit.* pp. 255 - 256.

85) Van Nierop, *op. cit.* pp. 31 - 53.

86) The first list of *hofsteden* was agreed to by the Staten of Utrecht on 27 October 1536, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, pp. 278 - 279, to this list additions were made in the years 1537 to 1538, *Ibid.* pp. 281 - 282.

87) See for instance the transfer of the *hofstede* of Zuylensteyn by Dirk van Beverweerden to Frederick von Seldeneck, *erfkokmeester* to the Holy Roman Empire, on 14 August 1516, v.d.Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, p. 278.

88) For the canons bearing the Renesse name see note 70) above; Herberen van Amstel van Mijnden secured a prebend in 1452, *AKD* 4399, p. 10; Jodocus van Amstel van Mijnden secured a prebend on 2 January 1543, *AKD* 1 - 14, and held it until his resignation to his brother Anthonis on 23 April 1545, *AKD* 1 - 15; this brother Anthonis van Amstel van Mijnden died shortly before 21 June 1556, *AKD*, 1 - 17;

89) This is a phrase of Th. Enklaar's, *Bestuur*, p. 79.

90) A computation of the origins of the *domkannuniken* on a geographical basis produces the following pattern:

I. The Habsburg Netherlands:-

Sticht.	Brabant.	Flanders.	Friesland.	Gelderland.	Groningen.
73.	23.	1.	5.	15.	1.

Hainault.	Holland.	Limburg.	Luxemburg.	Namur.	Overijssel.	Zeeland.
3.	27.	1.	1.	4.	14.	1.

II. Burgundy & Franche-Comté:- 6.

III. The Empire:- 35.

IV. Italian states:- 4.

V. Unknown:- 29.

91) Frederick of Baden became bishop of Utrecht on, 13 May 1496, and secured a prebend in his cathedral chapter on 22 November 1494, on the death of Willem van Alphen, *A.v.d.R.* 307-28; the bishop's nephew Christopher of Baden secured a prebend in August, 1500, having already been nominated to the *choriepiscopaat* of the *Dom* in May, 1498, *A.v.d.R.*, 307-27; in due course this nephew was succeeded by his brother Rudolph of Baden in his canonry at Utrecht, in 1504, *A.v.d.R.*, 307-29. All these margraves of Baden were members of the chapters of Cologne and Strassburg, Kisky, *Domkapitel*, pp. 38 - 39.

92) The two Wittelsbach princes, both called Steven of Bavaria, the first being a count of Zimmern-Zweibrücken, who secured his prebend in January, 1470, *AKD* 4399 p. 19, and the second Steven of Bavaria, count of Zimmern-Sponheim, who gained his stall in May, 1484, *Ibid*, p. 17, were both canons of Cologne and Mainz, Kisky, *Domkapitel*, pp. 14, 41.

- 93) Philip of Cleves secured a prebend in October, 1489, and had resigned it by 1498, *AKD 4399*, p.17, also had a canony at Cologne, where by 1489 he was acting dean, and was in 1500 to be bishop of Nevers, Kisky, *Domkapitel*, p. 47; Bernard of Saxony, duke of Lauenberg, held a prebend at the *Dom* from November, 1513 until his death in 1524, *AKD 4399*, p. 14, during which time he was provost of Cologne, Kisky, *Domkapitel*, p. 76.
- 94) Theodore of Monferrat, son of the marquis William IV of Montferrat, was created a cardinal by Pius II in 1464, Berton, *Cardinaux*, col. 1342, and appears to have been in the service of Charles 'The Bold', duke of Burgundy, by c. 1474, R.J. Walsh, 'Diplomatic aspects of Charles The Bold's relations with the Holy See', *E.M.G.N.*, vol. 95 (1980), pp. 265 - 278, at pp. 271 - 272.
- 95) In the case of Bernard of Saxe-Lauenburg, provost of Cologne, we have the hard evidence of an extract from the records of Utrecht city council for 1522, by which it appears that ... *den vorst van Sassen, domproest van Kolen, canonick ten Dom tUtrecht. etc. een gesceenk van een peert bij den oversten doen sell voir alsucke diensten. syn genade der stadt eertyts gedaen hebben ende noch doen mogen. Dodt van Flensburg, Archief Ut.*, vol. VII, p. 108.
- 96) See for instance the case of the *Dom* and Oudmunster as joint appellants before Johan Cotman, dean of Mescheden, a cleric of the diocese of Cologne, in a case concerning a tithe dispute in 1521 - 22 at Heycoop with the *Heer van Brederode*, *Fabriekrek.* vol. II pt. 3, pp.507, 510, 539, 542, 551, 579 -80, 585, 586 - 87, 591.
- 97) For membership of the chapters of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, see Kisky, *Domkapitel*, *passim*; a similar pattern emerges at Breslau, for which see Zimmerman, *Breslauer Domkapitel*, *passim*; and for the case at Bamberg, see Kist, *Bamberger Domkapitel*, *passim*.
- 98) See notes 91 to 93 above.
- 99) Johan Tussenbroek appears to have come from Aachen, H. Schäfer, *Inventäre und Regesten II, Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein.*, vol. 76, p. 69; secured the provostry of the collegiate church of Unser Liebe Frau zur Alten Kapelle in Regensburg in 1478 from pope Sixtus V, Schmid, *U.L. Frau Regensburg*, p. 91.
- 100) Philip of Cleves had resigned by 1499, *AKD 3069-1*; the margraves of Baden had left by 1522, *Ibid*, Bernard of Saxe-Lauenberg was dead by January, 1524, *Ibid* and Herman van Neuenahr had resigned his prebend by 1526, *A.v.d.R. 207-457*.
- 101) The *domkannunik* Frederick Schenk van Toutenburg was dean of the collegiate church at Steenwijk by June, 1544, *A.A.Ut.* vol. 42 (1916), p. 307 - 08; Johan de Ruyter *alias* Militis, secretary to duke Philip 'The Good' of Burgundy, *domkannunuk*, *AKD 4399* pp. 11 - 12, was provost of Arnhem in 1461, and in 1480, Van Veen, *R-K Geestelijken*, pt. III, *A.A.Ut* vol. 57 (1933), pp. 37 - 38; Johan Slachek, *domproost*, was also dean of the chapter of Deventer, Dumbar, *Deventer*, p. 339; Johan Voorthusen, was provost of Deventer 1560 until his death in 1565, *AKD 4399*, p. 17, and also was the one *domkannunik* who held a prebend in other than the five *Hoofdkerken* or that of Deventer, for he had one of the so-called *doctorale prebende* in the chapter of Zutphen while studying at Paris, Smelt, *Archief Zutphen*, vol. III pt. 2, No. 4511. 16/17 February, 1549; Johan Schetter, *domkannunik* was dean of Zutphen, when admitted to his prebend in the *Dom*, *AKD 1-18*, 2 May 1567.

- 102) In the fifteenth century at least two members of the *Dom* held canonries at some stage in the chapter of the *Hofkapel* in The Hague, viz. Arnold van 's-Gravenzandt, Jongkees, *Kerk en staat*, p. 281, n.2., and Albrecht van Holland, Bleecourt, *op. cit.*, p. XLI. There survives an act of collation of 9 June 1545 by the emperor Charles V in favour of one A. Ram to a canonry at Geervliet, and a notarial record of the taking of possession of the stall by proctors on 10 April 1547. It is an open question as to whether this can be identified with the *domkannunik* Adriaan Ram II (1517 - 1550). *Inventaris van het archief van het kapittel van Geervliet*, No. 3, Typescript in the A.R.A. The Hague.
- 103) Foppens *Bibliotheca belgica.*, vol. XI, pp. 810 - 08; Gaillard, *Brabant*, vol. III, p. 338.
- 104) The full details of Van der Vorst's benefices in the Netherlands are given in De Vocht, *Literae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium, 1522 - 1528*, pp. 628 - 29. For his nunciature to the Empire see the articles by P. F-X De Ram, 'Documents relatifs a la nonciature de Pierre Vorstius' in *B.C.H.R.*, Ser. 3, vol. VI (1864), pp. 223 - 422, and 'Nonciature de Pierre Vander Vorst d'Anvers, eveque d'Acqui, en Allemagne et dans les Pays-Bas en 1536 et 1537', *Nouveaux memoires del'academie royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles*, vol. XII (1839), pp. 1 - 81.
- 105) *A. A. Ut.*, vol. 73, pp. 184 - 185.
- 106) The original correspondence, beginning with a letter from Viglius of 11 June 1565, at Utrecht is in *OBC - 75*.
- 107) For the family of Micault see Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, pp. 284 - 85.
- 108) For Adriaan VI's role of potential reformer of the Roman catholic church see, Ranke, *History of the popes*, vol. I, pp. 72 - 73.
- 109) Nijenrode had in fact resigned his canonry by the time of his iconoclasm. For the description of him entering the principal parish church of the city clad in a *mantel met schulpkens ofte dopkens*, [clause 171 of the *defensie* of Adriaan de Wael van Vronesteyn] Kleintjens & Van Campen, *Bescheiden*, p. 125.
- 110) *Fabriekrek.*, vol. II pt. 3, p. 684
- 111) K. Kölker, *Haastrecht*, p. 169.
- 112) On 21 May 1558 a Jesuit instructor at that order's house in Cologne observed in his diary *Inscripti sunt d. Antonius a Bossu comitatus Hanoniae et d. Wilhelmus a Vadaus, alia de Pictavia, Burgundus. Hi missi ad nos fuerunt a domino Pictavia* [Guillaume de Poitiers], *Scholaster* of Liège, and archdeacon of Famenne in the same church, chancellor of the principality since 1548 and a devoted servant of the Habsburgs] *facti inferioris scholae grammaticorum, sed peculiare habuerunt sedes ubi d. Antonio tanquam canonico residendum fuit*. This pair of sluggards in Latin departed for Utrecht on 18 September 1558 presumably better schooled. Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens, 1542 - 1582*, p. 306, note 4.
- 113) *Fabriekrek.*, vol. II pt. 3, p. 165; the beast had apparently be captured by *Eduardo piscatori* and purchased by the Chapter. *Ibid.*
- 114) The accusation lies in the blood-curdling deposition, dated *donresdaiges opten Petri ad vincula, anno Domini etc. XCVIIJ*, of the brothers Roelof and Jan de Ruyter made concerning the death of their father Jan van Ruyter, that amid much else claimed that *Appelteren gecomen is jnden wynter jnder nacht ... [Jan van Ruyter] vanden bedde gehailt, naickt ind beruitz doir dijk ind dun geleijt ind gesloipt...*

dair syn vleyss ind bloit iss aen blijuen hangen... hint he doot gewiest is, jnd hebben hem soe jnden velde onder eyndelboem gegraven. Asch van Wijck, *Archief Ut.* vol. I, No. LXXXVI, pp. 57 - 58.

115) AKD 151.

116) The town council of Vianen wrote to the *Domkapittel* which had sent it a request for a report on the activities of Willem van Broichuisen van Weerdenborch, over whom it would appear to have had justified misgivings, for in its reply the council of Vianen noted that the said Willem van Broichuisen had been terrorising the inhabitants, and was described as *int barnys als een ruterman en nyet als en geestelijke kanonik.* *Kronijk*, Vol. II, p. 196. 117) On the other hand, by his will he left money for ornaments for the cathedral, see note 118) below.

117) He is known to have had bastards by at least three women, and on his death intestate in 1580 there appeared before the executors of the estate several *schamele vrouwspersonen* with their claims that they had been *door Zijne Genade van haar eer beroofd.* Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, vol. I, p. 179; Maximilian Morillon commented to Granvelle in an unidentified letter *Trajectensis ne fait choses que vaille, et ne soucie que d'amasser.* Weiss, *Papiers d'Etat*, vol. VI, p 21, note 1.

118) The subject of piety is a complicated one if only because there is not always evidence of a connection between motives and acts. Testamentary bequests might indicate anything from a fear of the hereafter, or a deep and lasting faith, to a determination to spite one's natural heirs. The sixteenth century was not a great age of gifts to the cathedral at Utrecht, and least of all after the first three decades, and the whole subject is worthy of further study. These same decades did see gifts by canons to the cathedral. Willem van Broichuisen (ob. 1511) left money *pro novis ornamentis*, *Fabriekrek.* vol. II pt. 3, pp. 146, 173, and 210; and the proceeds of the sale of his claustral house, *AKD 1- 12*, pp. 10 -11; those canons who had held the onerous office of *Fabriekmeester* and knew the endless problems of looking after the cathedral were inclined to leave legacies to support the cathedral. Gerlach van der Donck left half the proceeds of the sale of his claustral house and the revenue of his years of grace *ad structuram et reparationem ornamentorum*, *Fabriekrek.* vol. II pt. 2, pp. 641, 650, and 672; *AKD 264*; Nicolaas van Lavennis (ob. 1517) left the income of his years of grace also *ad usus ornamentum.* *Fabriekrek.* vol. II pt. 3, pp. 394 and 436, *AKD 2 - 1*, 27 June 1517. Rather more substantial was the foundation by dean Ludolf van der Veen, (ob. 1508) of a succentorship and income to support four choristers to augment the existing cathedral choir, *Fabriekrek.* vol. II pt. 3, p. 146; *AKD 1 - 12*, p. 71.

119) These usually took the form of legacies for obits, or donations to other religious institution for the same purpose. The *domkannunik* Adriaan Ram I, provost of Leyden, perhaps wealthier than most, left the income of his years of grace to the cathedral, a small sum for his obit to be celebrated in the cathedral, twenty-three separate legacies of between 100 and 25 Rhenish florins to twenty-one religious foundations of the city of Utrecht, one to the *fabriekmeesters* of the parish church of St. Nicholaas in the city, and one to the Collegium Willibrodi. The residue was distributed amongst his family, including his house *juxta turrim* to his nephew and fellow canon Adriaan Ram II. A sum of 100 Rhenish florins went to Godefrido *meo*, and to Johan his brother 25 florins, while to Johan *seniori famulari meo* was left 50 Rhenish florins and to Agnieti *ancilla meae* was left 25 Rhenish florins, while the rest

of the servants were to be provided with *vestes lugubres decentes*. Mattheus, *Analecta*, vol. II, pp. 342 - 348.

120) For example in 1480 - 81 the accounts of the fabric record small gifts to *pauperi viro cum uxore sua*. *Fabriekrek*, vol. II pt. 2, p. 50, the following year the Chapter paid out a small sum to *duobus pauperibus captivis*. *Ibid.* p. 72.

121) The accounts for the tolling of bells present a cameo of the hierarchy of campanological salutes to the dead as practised at the cathedral at the end of the sixteenth century. The demise of canons of the *Dom* was signified by the tolling of the great bell *Salvator* such that all the city knew of their passing. 'Outsiders' had to pay to have the bells rung, and the tariff appears as follows. The good and the great could have the greatest bell in the cathedral tower, *Salvator*, weighing 16454 lbs, with a clapper weighing 184½lbs) rung or tolled for an hour for xviiij florins, as was the case for instance for the president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, Hippolytus Persijn, in 1568, at the behest of Tymann Knijf, canon of St. Pieter, and again for the dean of St. Pieters in 1569. Canons of the five chapters seem to have had the bell *Maria* (weighing 11830lbs) tolled for them for four florins. Members of the cathedral's *familia* were tolled to their interments to the sound of *Martinus* (weighing 8545lbs), as was the case on the death and funeral of the Clerk to the Chapter, Sander van Bommel in 1569 when *Martinus* tolled for one hour. The same bell was used for the *vicarissen* of the cathedral as when for instance the *vicaris* Johan Schaijck died in 1563. Occasionally the bell *Baptista* (of 4795lbs) was used for members of the *familia* as when *Magister* Gijsberti, the cathedral organist, and Hendrik Verbeek, *vicaris*, died in 1571. It was for the subaltern employees of the *Dom* that the slightly more sonorous *Michael* was rung or tolled. It was this bell that marked the funeral of Aleidis *matris uxoris nostri piscatoris*, in 1572, and the passing of the *schobatori* in 1576. *Overluidingen van den Dom*, 1562 - 1614, Typscript in the *Leeszaal* of the *Rijksarchief*, Utrecht. For the details of the weight of the bells, *Fabriekrek*, vol. II pt. 2, p. 689.

122) I have lost this reference, but it is buried in the three volumes of the *Fabriekrekening* of the *Dom*.

123) The unfriendly but well-informed critic was Hendrik Cuyck, bishop of Roermond, from a family well established in both the *Magistraat* and *Kapittelwereld* of Utrecht. Writing in 1605, of that same *Kapittelwereld* he did not mince words: 'veertig jaren geleden heb ik zelf gezien, hoe losbandig de kannuniken der vijf kapittels daar leefden. Niet weinigen hadden hun prebenden door simonie verworpen; bijna allen, overgegeven aan Bacchus en Venus, leidden een onpriesterlijk leven en bezoedelden dagelijks de kerk van Christus met hun schanddaden; nauwelijks twee of drie van hen leidden een onbesproken leven, niet verdacht van ontucht'. Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, vol. I, p. 199.

124) During the course of an archiepiscopal visitation in September 1571 of the church of Abbenbroek, in the deanery of Voorne, South Holland, in which church was constituted a proprietorial chapter in the gift of the *Heer van Montfoort*, who declined initially to let the visitation proceed. During the course of the argument on this issue he advised the Visitor, who was the archbishop's *officiaal*, that he would be better employed ... *ecclesias Traiectensis visitaverit, meretrices abegerit, ac inhibi et in aliis locis decreta Concilii a principio usque ad finem*

*observentur; se tunc visitationem hic admissurum.* Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitiën*, p. 356.

125) Hoynck van Papendrecht, *Analecta belgica*, vol. III pt. 1, p. 181.

126) This was a phrase of archbishop Schenck van Toutenburg, Rogier, *Geschiedenis*, vol. I, p. 267.

127) This picture may be deduced from the evidence given in the aftermath of the iconoclastic riots at Utrecht in 1566, articles 60 - 64, Kleintjes & Van Kampen, *Bescheiden*, pp. 101 - 103.

#### THE CANON AS PLURALIST.

##### 1) PARISH CHURCHES.

128) For this subject generally see Post, *Verhoudingen*, pp. 83 - 91, and especially p. 87 for list of benefices in the gift of the *Landsheer* as count of Holland. For the late fifteenth century the topic is exhaustively treated in Jongkees, *Staat en kerk*, ch. IV. Approximate valuations of church revenues in the year 1532 are taken from the records of a clerical subsidy accorded to Charles V by Clement VII, A.R.A., The Hague, *Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer 3540*.

129) For Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom see *Geschiedkundige Atlas* vol. III, pp. 31 - 32, for Montfoort, *ibid.* vol. I, p. 391.

130) On the increasing role of town councils in the choice of incumbents see particularly the case of Kampen in *A.A.Ut.* vol. 16 (1888), pp. 271 - 280, and further the case of Enkhuizen, M.S. Pols, "Westfriesche Stadsrechten", *Oude Vaderlandsche Rechtsbronnen*, 2e. reeks, vol. VII (1885), p. 224.

131) The bishop collated to some sixteen livings in the diocese, all save those of Bunnick and Zeist in the *Nedersticht* and Vollenhoven in the *Oversticht* being places of no great importance. *O.B.C.* 21

132) See for example the situation at Groningen where the *persona personatus* of one of the portions of the cure of Groningen collated to the parishes of Engelbert, Noordlaren and Kropswolde, *Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, p. 497.

133) Gerlach van der Donck held the church of Sevenhem in the deanery of Cuyck in the diocese of Liège in 1502, Bannenberg *et al.*, vol. I, p. 102; the patronage of the church lay in the gift of the owners of the *Huis Donck*, *Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. III, p. 60. Cornelis van Meiroop resigned the church of Ketel in 1553 - 1554, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VI, p. 9; the advowson had been purchased by his father, Vincent van Meiroop, *Rekenmeester* of Holland, from the abbey of Egmont in 1527, although the sale was disguised as an exchange, Meilink, *Egmond.*, vol. III, Reg. No. 1435.

134) Moerkerken's mother, Catherine van Egmont, was an illegitimate daughter of the count of Buren, Goutehoeven, *Chronijcke*, pp. 189 - 190; Moerkerken was presented to the church of Giessen-Oudkerk on 6 September 1524, by Florens van Egmont, count of Buren, which church he held until his death in 1553, Van Rappard en Muller, *Kerkvisitatiën*, p. 446.

135) A Coenraedt Strick is noted as holding the church of Homoet in Gelderland in 1579, J.S. Van Veen, *Rooms-Katholieke Geestelijken*, pt. III, p. 20. A Coenraedt Strick received a legacy of 50 gulden from the will of the late Anna, sister of Frederick, count of Bergh, in 1579, Schilfgaarde, *Huis Bergh*, vol. III, Reg. No. 3539, while the same

- person was named by Frederick van Bergh, *Vrijheer van Hedel*, as *stadhouder* of the *fief* or *leen* of Hedel in 1581, *ibid* Reg. No. 3665. It is an open question as to whether this is the canon of the *Dom* of the same name who secured a prebend in 1579, or an kinsman. A certain Johannes Anthonii, cleric of the diocese of Utrecht, *pastoor* of Montfoort, witnesses an agreement between Charlotte van Brederode, countess dowager of Montfoort, and Mr. Adrian Amerot of Soissons, to act as tutor to her sons, in 1523, S. Muller, Fzn., 'De Opvoeding van een edelman omstreeks 1500', *Oud-Holland*, vol. 38 (1920), pp. 79. It is again an open question as to whether this may be identified with the canon Johannes Anthonii who secured the prebend of the newly elected pope, Adriaan VI, in 1523, AKD 4399, p. 16.
- 136) Adriaan Florenszn. secured the church of Oostvoorne in 1487 - 88, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VII, pp. 83 - 84; the church of Westvoorne, *ibid.*, p. 87; and finally in 1493 - 94 the church of Goederee, *ibid.*, p. 70.
- 137) Bousset held the church of Graft, in the gift of the count of Holland, from at least 1528, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 587; his successor was instituted in 1551- 1552, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, p. 50. The church was assessed for half its revenues in the clerical subsidy of 1532 at 60 $\frac{1}{2}$  Flemish, A.R.A. The Hague, *Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer 3540, f. xiii.*
- 138) Willem Heda is noted as holding the church of Edam in 1517, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 417; the church was assessed for half its revenues in the clerical subsidy of 1532 at 86 $\frac{1}{2}$  15sc. Flemish, or in the region of 519 Holland florins p.a., A.R.A. The Hague, *Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer 3540, f. xiiiij. r.*
- 139) For Moerkerken's possession of the church see Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VI, Schielandia, p. 17. For Venrode, who was also provost of Deventer, see G. Dumbar, *Deventer*, p. 328 - 329, where he is stated to have died in 1520. His successor is noted as Johan Inghenwinkel, an influential curialist, who died in July, 1535, and it may well be that it was this latter that Moerkerken actually succeeded. Although the Church of Rotterdam was actually in the gift of the abbey of St. Paul at Utrecht, *Gescheidkundige Atlas* vol. I, p. 257, it had in the early sixteenth century been the subject of papal indults, especially that of 22 September 1515, whereby the church was detached from the provostry of St. Cunibert at Cologne and united to Inghenwinkel's provostry of St. Jan at Utrecht, Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 17737.
- 140) A.J. Kolker, *Haastrecht*, p. 169.
- 141) For the Bokelair's as *regenten* of Dordrecht see H.F.K. van Nierop, *Van Ridders to Regenten*, p. 170; Arnold Boekelair was instituted to the church of Graft in 1489 - 90, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, p. 50, and had vacated the living by 1495 - 96, *loc. cit.*; for Mr. Thomas Bokelair *Rentmeester-Generaal* see Blecourt & Meijers, pp. xliv, liv.
- 142) Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, pp. 127 - 128. On 23 October 1534, the Chapter recorded in the *Domresoluties* the payment of 50 florins to Cornelis Remboldszn. van Hoorn ... *ob fidelia servitia apud comitiij de Hoochstraten*. AKD 1 - 14, f. x, v., although this is not further enlarged upon. Perhaps he was the channel through which dealings between the *stadhouder* and the Chapter were carried out in these years.
- 143) On 31 March 1468, Cornelis Aken, papal *comensualis* claimed the church of Sinoutskerk by virtue of a papal provision, Fruin, *O.L.V. Middelburg*, Reg. No. 835; on the 24 May 1468, the papal legate requested

- three named ecclesiastics to place 's Gravenzande in possession of the church, *ibid.*, Reg. No. 838; which last abbot 's Gravenzande confirmed by notarial declaration of 18 February 1468, *ibid.*, Reg. No. 845; on 18 January 1470 Aken resigns all claims on the parish in return for a pension of 20 French crowns per annum, *ibid.*, Reg. No. 854.
- 144) 28 February 1473, *ibid.*, Reg. No. 877.
- 145) On 2 September 1543, Frederick Schenck van Toutenburg promised the abbess of Rijsenburg, Maria van Toutenberg, not to resign the church without her consent, and in addition promised to secure the services of a *vice-cureit* whose salary would be found from the income of the parish church. M. Huffer, *Bronnen Rijsenberg*, vol. I, pt. 1, Reg. No. 1216.
- 146) Two churches in the gift of the chapter of St. Jan, Noordscharwoude and Waardenburg, *Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, pp. 317, 420, were held by canons of the chapter, Steven van Rumelaer II, held the first in 1528, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II. p. 586, and again c. 1535, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 613; while the second church was held by Gerlach Taets van Amerongen in 1526, J.S. van Veen, *Rooms-Katholieke Geestelijken*, pt. III A.A.Ut, vol. 57, (1933) p. 19.
- 147) The church of Tricht in the deanery of the provostry of Tielt was incorporated to the chapter of St. Pieter in 1507, S. Muller, *Reg. St. Pieter*, No. 1622. 24 October 1507, p. 271; and thereafter appears to have been held by canons of the chapter, *ibid.*, No. 1627, No. 1644.
- 148) The chapter of Utrecht collated to thirty-six churches, and shared the collation of two others within the diocese of Utrecht, and to five beyond the diocese, *Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, pp. 269 - 370.
- 149) P. Noordeloos, "Bijdrage voor de geschiedenis van de parochiën Bovenskarpsel, Grootebroek, Lutjebroek en Hoogkarspel", *B.B.H.*, Vol. 64, (1957), pp. 322 - 326.
- 150) AKD 1 - 14, 9 October 1540.
- 151) P. Noordeloos, *op. cit.* p.326; for the resignation see AKD 1 - 14, 12 October 1543.
- 152) P. Noordeloos, *op. cit.* p. 322; AKD 1 - 14, 18 April 1536.
- 153) The long drawn-out process of incorporating the church of Sassenheim to the *Dom* for the support of four choristers in the cathedral choir can be followed in numerous entries in the *Fabriekrekening* of the *Dom*, vol. II, pt. 3, between pp. 430 - 680; for two documents stating the case between the abbot of Egmond, to whom the church originally belonged, and the *Domproost* of c. 1521, see A.R.A. The Hague, *Ambtenaren van het centraal bestuur* 171; for the continued dispute in the year 1531, see Joosting & Muller, vol. III, p. 583.
- 154) For the payments to the *vice-cureit* Johan Willemszn at Sassenheim, see *Fabriekrekening* vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 660, 717, 736, 739 and 777; for the proclamation of Gijsbert Brunt see Grijspink, *Registers*, vol. IV, p. 104.
- 155) For the church of Hausay, see AKD 319; for the church of Oestende, see AKD 322.
- 156) Gachard, *Voyages*, vol. III, p. 306.
- 157) Fruin, *O.L.V. Middelburg*, Reg. Nos. 1319, 27 March 1532; 1326, 29 July, 1533; 1331, 21 August 1535; 1332, 10 September 1535; 1334, 7 January 1536; 1337, 15 July 1536; 1338, 26 July 1536; 1344, 17 February 1537; 1349, 10 July 1537; 1350, 11 August 1537; 1364, 19 May 1539; for the *vicarie* in the church of Oostsouburg, see Grijspink, *Register*, vol. I, Wallacria, pp. 96 - 97.
- 158) A.R.A. The Hague, *Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer 3540*, f. xv.v.

- 159) *Geschiedkundige Atlas* vol. I, p. 312.
- 160) For the papal providee in possession by April, 1478, Anthonis Vekemans, *palfrancier* to pope Sixtus IV, see U. Berliere, *Diversa cameraria.*, No. 734, p. 159, No. 748, pp. 162 - 163; for the papal bull see J. Hof, *Egmond* p. 353. 161) This complicated affair is covered in C.W. Bruinvis, "Disparye over de pastorie van Alkmaar, *B.E.H.* Vol. 23 (1898), pp. 153 - 160.
- 162) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 400; for the litigation following see Bruinvis *supra*, and Joosting & Muller, vol. IV, p. 220.
- 163) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 578.
- 164) In the course of 1529 - 30 Neuenahr exchanged the church of Oostsouburg in Zeeland, and a half portion of the Jacobskerk at Utrecht with Thomas van Nyekerken, which is suggestive, if nothing more, Muller, *Bewaarde Archieven*, vol. I, Reg. No. 589.
- 165) Dodt van Flensburg, *Utrecht*, vol. V, pp. 304 - 05.
- 166) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 323.
- 167) Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 2641, 12 May 1513.
- 168) J. Hof, *Egmond*, p. 353.
- 169) Samaran & Van Moe, *Lib. Procuratorum Nat. Anglicanae.* vol. III, col. 17, note 4; in addition at the same place there is a reference to a missing register referred to in an existing index of the pontificate of Alexander VI in which Rumelaer is indicated as securing a pension upon an unknown parish church.
- 170) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 639, No. 1817, 14 February 1497.
- 171) For the details of these churches see Appendix 17.
- 172) Briefly Pigge, an inveterate hunter of benefices and pensions, *Nuntiatieberichte*, vol. VI, p. 294; was involved in a dispute over the church of Alphen-aan-der-Rijn in 1533 involving a papal provision, Jaeger, *Handschriften*, No. 247-5, p. 56; a papal provision to the church of Overschie near Rotterdam in 1525, Dodt van Flensburg, *Archief*, vol. III, p. 183, appears to have resulted in litigation before the *Hof van Holland*, A.R.A. The Hague, *Hof van Holland*, 5654, f. 23, 12 August 1539. Pigge was also involved in a lengthy dispute with Johan Slachek around 1527, over several benefices, including the church of Kampen. AKD 4157.
- 173) Haemstede was ordained in March, 1523, when noted as rector of the church of Hillegom, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. III, No. 498, p. 613; he was in the service of Giovanni-Baptista Pallavinci, bishop of Cavallon in 1514, Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 13148, 9 December 1514; but the latter died when a cardinal in 1524, Berton, *Cardinaux*, col. 1344; and Haemstede next appears witnessing a document for cardinal van Enckevoirt on 10 November, 1530, when noted as a *familiaris*, Dodt van Flensburg, *Archief*, vol. V, p. 305.
- 174) Slachek had links with cardinal Pucci by at least 30 April 1513, Von den Brincken, *Haupturkundenarchiv Koln*, No. 376; and was in his service as *familiaris* by 28 January 1520, when given a papal provision to a stall at St. Marie at Utrecht, by Leo X, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I, pt. 1, No. 249.
- 175) For the fictitious chantry see Heeringa, *Rek.* Introduction and Index volume, p. lxxv, note 1; and for examples of its application see *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 259 - 261. For the requirement of private means for canons of the *Dom* see *Rechtsboek* p. 241 - 42.
- 176) For the service with Adriaan VI see Munier, *Curialen*, p. 208, note 2; p. 218; for the exchange of the prebend see AKD 4399; for residence

- in Utrecht in May, 1524, at the election of bishop Henry of Bavaria, see Post, *Verkiezingen* p. 256; for the resignation of the parish of Zunderdorp see Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. VII, *Amstellandia*, p. 65.
- 177) Muller, *Bewaarde Archieven*, vol. I, No. 589.
- 178) For the dispensation see Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I, pt. 1, No. 501; for the ordination see Brom, *Naamlijst*, in *A.A.Ut.* vol. 23 (1896), p. 423, 7 April 1509.
- 179) Muller, *Bewaarde Archieven*, vol. I, No. 578.
- 180) Hergonroether, *Regesta*, No. 13212, 16 December 1514.
- 181) *Ibid.*, Nos. 5095 - 5096, 26 October 1513.
- 182) Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I, pt. 2, No. 1902, March, 1515.
- 183) From a document whereby Walraven II *Heer van Brederode* nominated Anthonis Anthonisz. *alias* Viseler to the church of 't Oog, 8 April 1505, H. Schoorl, 't *Oge* No. 60, p. 182.
- 184) Van Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitatie*, p. 200.
- 185) *Ibid.* p. 39.
- 186) Post, *Verhoudingen*, p. 40.
- 187) M. Huffer, *Bronnen Rijnsberg*, vol. I, pt. 1, Nos. 1274; 22 July 1554; 1254, 1 August 1554; 1278, after 6 August 1554; 1281, 6 November, 1554; and 1230, 3 December 1564.
- 188) *Mat. Leuven*, vol. III, p. 259, No. 148.
- 189) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 587.
- 190) *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 602.
- 191) *Mat. Leuven*, vol. III, p. 226, No. 4.
- 192) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 415.
- 193) *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 615.
- 194) Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. III, *Kennemaria*, p. 50.
- 195) In the clerical subsidy of 1532 the church of Graft was assessed for half its income at 60 $\frac{1}{2}$  Flemish, that is 360 Holland florins, giving it an assessed value of some 720 Holland florins a year, A.R.A. The Hague, *Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer 3540, f. xiiiij*; the church of Hillegom was assessed in the same subsidy at 12  $\frac{1}{2}$  Flemish.
- 196) Bannenberg *et al.*, vol. II, pp. 290, 304 - 05, 317, 421 - 22.
- 197) *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 290 - 91.
- 198) *Loc. cit.*, pp. 304 - 05.
- 199) *Loc. cit.*, pp. 308 - 09.
- 200) *Loc. cit.*, p. 360.
- 201) *Loc. cit.*, p. 301.
- 202) *Loc. cit.*, p. 317.
- 203) *Loc. cit.*, p. 421 - 22.
- 204) For an interesting survey of clerical absenteeism in the diocese of Liège see J. Absil, "L'absentisme du clergé provincial au diocèse de Liège". *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. 57 (1962)
- 205) Note the cautious wording in the archidiaconal records for 1573 concerning the exchange of the parish church of Bunnik, from which it appears that the incoming *pastoor* Johan Gijsbertsz. had been examined by the auxiliary bishop, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 303.
- 206) Van Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitatie*, p. 26.
- 207) *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 208) For Hendrik Piek, see *AKM 66a*.

## 2) CHANTRIES.

- 209) K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual chantries in Britain*, pp. 1 - 5, the whole book is the fundamental study for the subject of chantries; useful for German practice has been E. Katz, *Mittelalterliche Altarspfrunden der Diözese Bremen im Gebiet westliche der Elbe*, G. Mathei, *Die Vikariestiftungen der Luneburger Stadtkirchen im Mittelalter und im Zeitalter der Reformation*.
- 210) For this subject generally see R. R. Post, *Kerkgeschiedenis van Nederland in de Middeleeuwen*, vol. I, pp. 321 - 323; for the totals of altaristensee Heeringa *Rek.*, vol. II, pp. 397 - 401, 411, 413, 417; for the *Zeven Getijden* in North Holland see B. Voete, 'De Zeven Getijden in Holland's Noorderkwartier'. *Haarlemse Bijdragen*, vol. 61 (1946), pp. 61 - 80.
- 211) Haslinghuis & Peeters, *op. cit.* p. 395.
- 212) AKD 2683. The disparity in numbers between altars and vicarissen lies in the fact that some sixteen altars were divided into two portions, and the vicarie of St. Peter was divided into three portions.
- 213) The vast majority of nominations to vicarieën in the *Dom* lay with the Chapter, and were exercised by the *turnarius*. The *Domdeken* possessed the patronage of three chantries, and shared in the presentation of a further three, the *Domthesaurier* collated to two, the *Domscholaster* to one jointly with the *cameraer* of the *Minor camera*, and for the vicarie of St. Maarten, the three most senior canons nominated jointly. AKD 2683.
- 214) *Rechtsboek*, p. 50, the prohibition of bishop Willem van Mechelen, 1297, *ne aliquis in aliqua una ecclesiarum nostre civitatis et dyocesis duo beneficia habeat*; p. 95, a statute of Theoderici de Are, *Nullus in una ecclesia duo vel plura habeat beneficia*. This is not quite the whole story: in 1118 bishop Godebald enacted, in his own name and that of his successors, that his prebend permanently thereafter be annexed to that of the dean, who henceforth had a double share in the capitular revenues, *Rechtsboek*, p. 78 - 79; in a not dissimilar manner in time the offices of *Custos* and *Cantor* became annexed to the posts of *Domthesaurier* and *Domscholaster* respectively, *Ibid.*, pp. 95 - 96.
- 215) Van Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitatiën*, pp. 108 - 09.
- 216) *Ibid.* pp. 104 - 06.
- 217) J. Hofman, 'De priesterbroederschap in de Vijf Hoofdkerken te Utrecht', *A.A.Ut.* vol. IV (1876), pp. 391 - 435.
- 218) Bannenberg et al. vol. II, p. 348.
- 219) Van Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitatiën*, p. 106.
- 220) *Ibid.* pp. 106 - 07.
- 221) *Ibid.* p. 101.
- 222) AKD 1 - 14, 15 October 1537.
- 223) Van Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitatiën*. p. 83.
- 224) *Ibid.* p. 103.
- 225) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 89.
- 226) Van Rappard & Muller, *Kerkvisitatiën*, pp. 74, 83, 68, 95, 103.
- 227) *Ibid.* pp. 166, 168.
- 228) *Ibid.* p. 436. This right of presentation was confiscated from Hendrik van Brederode and exercised by the duke of Alba in favour of the tutor of the children of Juan de Vargas.

- 229) *Ibid.* p. 101.  
 230) *Ibid.* p. 107.  
 231) AKD 639 - 7, Accounts of the *Bona divisa* 1572 - 73, the case of Dirk Cornelisz., vicaris of the altar of SS. Catherine & Appolinaris. See Appendix 11.  
 232) AKD 1 - 14, 20 August 1540; *Genealogie van Booth*, 387.  
 233) *Mat. Leuven*, vol. IV, 290 - 79.  
 234) AKD 1 - 17, 26 April 1559.  
 235) AKD 2721.  
 236) AKD 2464 - 53, Archidiaconal records for the Gooiland, 1525 - 26.  
 237) AKD 1 - 10, 18 August 1506.  
 238) AKD 2464 - 47, Archidiaconal accounts for 1518 - 19.  
 239) AKD 2464 - 53, Archidiaconal accounts for 1525 - 26.

### 3) EDUCATION.

- 240) On 27 March 1510 the Chapter granted 2 florins *Hornenses* to Herman, son of Herman van Uterwijk, *quandam chorali*, to study at Deventer. *Fabriekrek.* vol. II pt. 3, p. 341; This Herman may well have been a nephew of *Domdeken* Van Veen, and hence a brother to the *Domkannunik* Johan van Uterwijk. Two further choristers, then currently in the choir, were also provided with funds to study at Den Bosch, *Loc. cit.*  
 241) AKD 1 - 10, 20 August 1505, *De sallario rectoris scholarium*.  
 242) AKD 1 - 17, 28 September 1558.  
 243) G. W. Kernkamp, *De Utrechtsche Academie*, vol. I, p. 16.  
 244) As in so much in the early life of Adrian VI, his place of schooling is disputed, but whether it was at Deventer, as some aver, or at Zwolle as others would have it, it seems clear it was not at Utrecht. *NNBW*, vol. I, col. 25.  
 245) For a general survey of this institution, see A. Ekker, *De Hieronymusschool te Utrecht*, vol. I; C. D. J. Brandt, 'De Hieronymusschool en het Utrechtsche cultuurleven', *Jaarboekje Oud-Utrecht*, (1940), pp 24 - 47.  
 246) Ekker, *op. cit.* pp. 57 - 58.  
 247) Ekker, *op. cit.* p. 125; R.R. Post in a more recent study of the Brothers of the Common Life, *The Modern devotion*, pp. 568 - 575 has modified Ekker's views somewhat, stressing that the Brothers were less in the vanguard of education than had earlier been thought.  
 248) R.R. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, p. 571.  
 249) Steven Winandszn. Pigge, nephew of Albert Pigge, provost of St. Jan and *Domkannunik*, apparently attended the school, J. H. Jongkees, 'Stephanus Winandus Pighius, Campensis', *M.N.H.I.R.*, 3e reeks, vol. VIII, (1954) p. 126; Joris Rataller, later president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, (1568 - 1581), was also a pupil under Macropedius, Ekker, *op. cit.* p. 26.  
 250) Quirijn Claeszn. aged about fourteen years received the *vicarie* on the altar of O.L.V. in the parish church of Oestgeest, Holland, in the gift of the abbess of Rijnsberg, 1574, and had been despatched to Utrecht ...*tot Sint Hieronymus ter scolelen gaet ende in quinta classe sidt*, having already received the tonsure, that is the minor orders, from the auxilary bishop of Utrecht, Joachim van Oprode, M. Hüffer, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der Abdij Rijnsberg*, vol. I, pp. 681 - 82.

- 251) Johan Willemszn. is noted as *Rector scholarium prolium magistri Vincentii, consiliari*, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 544, holding a vicarie on the altar of S. Spiritus in the St. Jacobskerk in The Hague, to which he was instituted in 1523 - 24, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. V, Delflandia, p. 152, and which he held at his death in 1567 - 68, *Ibid.* p. 153. It would seem that this tutor remained in the service of his pupils, for in 1555 - 56 he made a will and was said to be in the service of the *Domproost's* brother as his *sacellanus*, *Ibid.* p. 125.
- 252) For the prebend at Liège see De Theux *Chapitre*, vol. III, p. 21; for his matriculation on 21 May 1558 in art, see *Mat Köln*, vol. II, 676-102; for the Jesuit crammer, J. Hensen, *Rheinischen Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens, 1542 - 1582*, p. 306, note 4.
- 253) L.W.B. Brockliss, 'Patterns of attendance at the university of Paris, 1400 - 1800', *Hist. Jnl.*, vol. 21 (1978) p. 511.
- 254) D. Hay, 'Schools and universities', *New Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. II, p. 422.
- 255) See the important article by H. De Ridder-Symoens, 'Adel en universiteiten in de zestiende eeuw. Humanistisch ideaal of bittere noodzaak?', *Tijd. v. Gesch.*, vol. 93 (1980), pp. 410 - 432.
- 256) J. H. Hexter, 'The education of the aristocracy in the Renaissance', *Jnl. Mod. Hist.*, vol. XXIII (1950), pp. 1 - 20.
- 257) Hexter, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 - 14.
- 258) Jean de Lannoy appears initially to have been a favoured ornament of the court of duke Philip of Burgundy, securing the office of *stadhouder* of Holland, who apparently suffered something of an eclipse under the rule of duke Charles of Burgundy, 'The Bold'. *Biog. Nat. de Belge.*, vol. XI, cols. 325 - 29.
- 259) That a feeling against *novi homines* seems common to the proud possessors of most ages is perhaps indicated by the literary activities of another member of the house of Lannoy, Guillebert de Lannoy, who c. 1435 - 1442, penned a piece in the tradition of the 'mirror of princes', in a pamphlet or book entitled *L'instruction d'une jeune prince*, apparently for the delectation of duke Philip 'the Good' of Burgundy, and he may well have been the author of the anonymous tract *L'enseignement de la vraye noblesse*. Certainly on the issue of the desirability of the prince employing about him members of the nobility Lannoy is quite firm. The prince is admonished to employ only *ceulx des anciens lignages* in marked preference to *ung homme vicieux de basse condition*. C. G. Van Leeuwen, *Denkbeelden van een Vliesridder*, pp. 96 - 97; on the sense of *chagrin* in the Netherlands nobility, aimed particularly at the *legistes* see M. Baelde, 'Edellieden en juristen in het centrale bestuur der zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden (1531 - 1578)', *Tijd. v. Gesch.*, vol. 80 (1967), pp. 39 - 51.
- 260) S. Muller Fz., 'De opvoeding van een jongen edelman omstreeks 1500', *Oud-Holland*, vol. 38 (1920), pp. 74 - 79.
- 261) Study, implied from matriculation at a university, did not always lead to a degree for nobles. When depositions were made in 1564 in favour of Gérard de Groesbeek, bishop-elect of Liège, one witness casually noted that the future bishop did not graduate as this was not required of nobles despite their having pursued the requisite courses. L. Jadin 'Les procès d'information pour le nomination des évêques et abbés des Pay-Bas, de Liège, et de Franche Comté d'après les archives de la Congregation consistatoriale', *B.I.H.B.R.* fasc. VIII (1928), p. 69.
- 262) L. J. Daly, *The medieval university, 1200 - 1400*, p. 122.

- 263) The tradition of the graduate teacher was not entirely lost among the canons of St. Maarten: Adriaan Florisz. taught at Leuven, as did Frans van Kampen alias Sonnius.
- 264) For this point generally see Hay, *op. cit.*, *passim*; H. Kamen, *The Iron Century*, pp. 289, 293.
- 265) Between 1536 and 1538 the *Staten van Utrecht* took good care to designate the holders of *Hofsteden* having seats in the *Staten* and hence defining the tax exempt nobility. V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. II, pp. 278 - 79, 281 - 82; for the creation of the *Hof van Utrecht* see *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1046 - 48.
- 266) For these points generally see Kamen *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.; for a specific study in a Netherlands context see H. G. Koenigsberger, 'Property and the price revolution (Hainault 1474 - 1573)', *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd. Ser., vol. 9 (1956); for the Holland nobility, H. Van Nierop, *Van Ridders tot Regenten*, pp. 107 - 153; for a less satisfying study of the economic position of the Utrecht *ridderschap*, Sherrin Marshall, *The Dutch Gentry, 1500 - 1650, Family, faith and fortune*, pp. 31 - 53.
- 267) Castiglione's *The Courtier*, 1528; Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Gouvenour*, 1531; Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, (1511); Juan Luis Vives, *De tradendis disciplinis*, (1531); Giacomo Sadoletto, *De libris recte institutendis*, (1533).
- 268) Herman van Lockhorst and Willem Taets van Amerongen, vicars general; Michael Beck van Helmont, papal judge-delegate in a case of 1556; *Domproost* Simon van der Sluys, medical doctor to Charles 'The Bold' of Burgundy, and lecturer in medicine at Cologne; Lazerus de Rosetis, frequently employed by the Chapter in legal matters.
- 269) Those canons matriculating at two universities:  
 Jacob van Appelteren, *Domdeken*, Cologne, 1473, Leuven, 1487.  
 Gabriel Denglys, *Domscholaster*, Leuven, 1542 - 45,  
 Cologne, 1546.  
 Johan van Drolshagen, Rostock, 1492, Leuven, 1499.  
 Gijsbert Groeff van Erkelens, Paris, 1525, Orleans, 1526.  
 Arnold van Groenevelt, Leuven, 1560 - 62, Orleans, 1564 - 65.  
 Joris van Groenevelt, Leuven 1568, Douai, 1571.  
 Joost Hoetfilter, Cologne, 1516, Bologne, 1532.  
 Adriaan van IJsendoorn, Orleans, 1550, Leuven, 1551.  
 Arnold van der Kark, Leuven, 1548, Dôle, 1552.  
 Buch van Montzima, Leuven, 1557, Paris, 1561.  
 Dirk Muylert, Leuven, 1557, Paris, 1560.  
 Albert Pigge, Leuven, 1507, Cologne, 1517.  
 Frederick van Renesse van Wulven, Orleans, 1546, Leuven, 1554.  
 Steven van Rumelaer, Paris, 1465 - 66, Bologna, 1477.  
 Johan Ruysch, Cologne, 1523, Orleans, 1532.  
 Bernhard Uteneng, Leuven, 1522, Cologne, 1524.  
 Johan Voorthuisen, Cologne, 1543, Leuven, 1547.  
 Johan van der Vorst II, Leuven, 1547, Dôle, 1554.  
 Johan van Wee, Leuven, 1544, Dôle, 1552.
- Those canons matriculating at three universities:  
 Johan van Bruhesen, *Domdeken*, Cologne, 1542, Leuven, 1543,  
 Orleans, 1547.  
 Bernhard van Haarlem, Leuven, 1498, Paris, 1498, Bologna, 1501.  
 Hendrik Huysselman, Paris, 1520, Leuven, 1521, Cologne, 1522.  
 Philippe de Mera, Bologne, 1538 - 41, Leuven, 1544,  
 Cologne, 15476.

Dirk van Wittenhorst, Leuven, 1551, Cologne, 1553, Paris, 1556.

Johan van Zuylen van Drakenborch, Leuven, 1555, Paris, 1557,  
Cologne, 1558,

Those canons matriculating at four universities:

Antoine Hennin de Bossu, *Domproost*, Cologne, 1558, Leuven, 1559,  
Paris, 1567, unnamed Italian university, 1568.

Johan van Duvendoorde, Leuven, May 1547, Orleans, September, 1547,  
Paris, June 1548, Dôle 1548.

270) Canons matriculating present at election of 1524:

*Domdeken* Jacob van Appelteren, Cologne 1473, Leuven, 1487; Willem Heda,  
Leuven, 1457; Johan Tulman, Erfurt, 1462; Gerard Zoudenbalch, Leuven,  
1481; Bernhard van Haarlem, Paris, 1495, Leuven, 1495, Bologna, 1501;  
Johan van Uterwijk, Leuven, 1489; Albert van Leeuwenberch, Leuven, 1503;  
Henrik Ben, Rostock, 1508; Johan van Drolshagen, Rostock, 1492, Leuven,  
1499; Henrik Zoudenbalch, Cologne, 1492; Marcus van Weze, Paris, 1509 -  
1514; Gerard Beyer, Cologne, 1509; Johan Waldarian, Leuven, 1502;  
Adriaan Ram I, Leuven, 1516; Liebrecht van Houthem, Leuven, 1510.

Canons matriculating present at election of 1572:

*Domproost* Cornelis van Meirop, not present but voting by proxy,  
possessed title of doctor *Utriusque juris*; Johan van Bruhesen, Cologne  
1542, Leuven, 1543, Orleans, 1547; Auson Galama, Cologne, 1547, and note  
276) below; Johan van Duvendoorde, Leuven, May 1547, Orleans, September,  
1547, Paris, June, 1548, Dôle, 1548; Gerard van Veen, Leuven, 1555;  
Johan van Zuylen van Nyvelt, Leuven, 1544; Dirk Muylert, Leuven, 1557,  
Paris, 1560; Engelbert van Bruhesen, Leuven, 1547; Wilger van Cuyck,  
Leuven, 1551; Gerard Beyer II, Leuven, 1563; Johan van der Berghe,  
licentiate in Decretals, (possibly from Leuven?).

271) Founded in the early fifteenth century as part of a scheme to  
revive the declining fortunes of the town, it secured formal  
papal approval for a faculty of theology in 1432. Something of its  
reputation would seem to derive from the fact that from the start it  
possessed a species of competitive honours system: first class  
graduating students were known as *rigorosi*, followed by *transibiles*, and  
*gratiosi*. Rashdall, vol. II, pp. 264 - 267; in a list of *illustres  
theologi* appears the name of Adriaan Floriszn. *Davantriae humanioribus  
litteris imbutus*, under the title *Episcopi theologi illustres* is the  
name of Franciscus Sonnius, while, rather surprisingly, under the  
heading *Illustres philosophi & philologi* appears that of Frederick  
Schenk van Toutenberg, Nicolaas Vernulæi, *Academia Lovaniensis*, pp.  
147, 154, 178.

272) R. Scribner, 'Why was there no Reformation at Cologne?', *Bulletin  
of Historical Research*, vol. 48 (1975), pp. 217 - 41.

273) Matriculations at Orleans:

Johan van Bruhesen, May 1547. Brabant nobleman, not especially rich,  
but well-connected.

Johan van Duvendoorde, September 1547, Holland nobleman.

Gijsbert Groeff van Erkelens, 1526. Gelderland nobleman.

Adriaan van IJsendoorn, 1550, Stichtse nobleman.

Henrik van Mondwijk, 1516, son of Utrecht city *Ouderman*.

Frederik van Renesse van Wulwen, 1546, Stichtse nobleman.

Jasper, count of Rennenberg, 1530, younger son of magnatefamily.

Johan Ruysch, licentiate in law, 1532, of family represented in Stichtse  
gentry and Utrecht city magistracy.

## 274) Matriculations at Bologna:

Bernhard van Haarlem, Lodewijk van Heijenhoven, Philippe de Mera, Steven van Rumelaer, Johan van der Vorst I, Pieter van der Vorst.

## 275) Matriculations at Dôle:

Jan van Duvenvoorde, 1548; Arnold van der Kark, 1552; Johan van der Vorst II, 1554; Johan van Wee, 1552.

276) Auson Galama matriculated in law at Cologne on 20 June 1547, *Mat. Köln*, vol. II, 631 - 240; received permission of the Chapter to discontinue his *studio rigeroso* 13 August 1548, *AKD 1 - 16*, pp. lxxij - lxxij. v.; According to P. Muller he was of *zeer gematigde denkwijze*, 'De partijstrijd te Utrecht over de Nadere Unie', *Bijd. v. Vad. Gesch. & Oudk.*, 3de. reek, vol. III (1886), p. 220.

277) Philippe de Mera matriculated at Bologna, 1538 - 41, Leuven 1544, and Cologne 1547.

278) In a letter to Ann van Borsselen, admittedly seeking her financial patronage, Erasmus was to write, from Paris, on 27 January 1501, amid much florid material ...ut Italianam adeam, quo scilicet ex loci celebritate doctrinulae nostrae nonnihil autoritatis acquiratur, alteram ut Doctoris nomen utrunque... Quare leoninam pellem induamur oportet...; Allen, *Erasmi epistolae.*, vol. I, No. 145, pp. 344 - 45; however, some years later he casually slips into the last paragraph of a letter of 4 November 1506 to Servatius Rogerus that he had accepted a doctorate from the university of Turin, (4 September 1506) *Ibid.*, No. 200, p. 432.

279) Canons of St. Maarten possessing doctor's title: Roeloff Campinck, doctor of Laws; Adriaan Florentii, doctor of Theology, Leuven; Joost Hoetfilter, doctor of Decretals; Frans van Kampen, *alias* Sonnius, doctor of Theology, Leuven; Arnold van der Kark, doctor *Utriusque juris*; Cornelis van Meiroop, doctor *Utriusque juris*; Johan ter Molen, doctor of Medicine; Joachim van Oprode, doctor of Theology, Leuven; Karel Perronet de Granvelle, doctor *Utriusque juris*; Albert Pigge, doctor of Theology, Cologne; Johan Potken, doctor of Decretals; Adriaan Ram I, doctor *Utriusque juris*; Steven van Rumelaer, doctor of Laws, Bologna; Frans; Sonck, doctor *Utriusque juris*; Herman Tulman, doctor of Decretals; Johan van der Vorst, doctor *Utriusque juris*; Pieter van der Vorst, doctor *Utriusque juris*.; Johan Vos van Averzaet, doctor of Medicine.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE WEALTH OF THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER AND THE REVENUES OF THE CANONS.

- 1) *Rechtsbronnen*, pp. 37 - 50.
- 2) *Rechtsboek*, pp 300 - 324.
- 3) *Rechtsbronnen*, pp. 51 - 57.
- 4) Heda, *Op. cit.*, p. 160; Bondam, *Charterboek*, vol. I, p. 307.
- 5) *Rechtsboek*, pp. 108 - 09.
- 6) Oostveen; Nedereind van Jutphaas; Galecoop; Lange; Ruigeweide, Vreeswijk; Tul and Honswijk; ' Waal; Schalkwijk; Overeind van Jutphaas; Nijendijk; Langbroeck; Amerongen; Maarsbergen; Maarn; Darthuizen and Doorn; Driebergen; Zeist; Leusden; Soest and Eemenes. *Heeringa, Inventaris*, pp. 136 - 142.
- 7) IJsselstein; Jaarsveld; Putten; Schobbeinde; Hardingsveld; Oosterwijk and Heukelom. *Ibid.*, p.143 - 44.
- 8) Heerewaarden; Wadenooien; Andelst; Herveld; Zeddum; Weel; Brummen; Epe and annexes; Hattum. *Ibid.* pp. 148 - 54.
- 9) Hagestein; Vianen; Lexmond, *Ibid.* p. 144 - 48.
- 10) Goberdingen; Everdingen, *Ibid.* p. 148.
- 11) Dalfsen; Dalen; Helpman. p. 154 - 55; see also *AKD 1050, AKD 1051*.
- 12) In the deanery of Zuidholland the church of Schobbeinde; in the deanery of Kennemaria the churches of Wieringen; in the deanery of the Gooiland, the four churches of the city of Utrecht; and those of Maarsen; Doorn; Over- and Neder- langenbroeck and Cothen; in the deanery *Magnus Decanatus*, the church of Lexmond; in the deanery of *Infra Yslam et Leccam*, Lekkerkerk and half the portion of Oudekerk op de IJssel; in the archdeaconry of the provost of Tiel, the churches of Herwijnen, Wadenooien, Heerewaarden, Kedichem and Heukelom; in the deanery of Batua the churches of Herveld and Andelst, in the archdeaconry of the provost of Emmerich, the churches of Weel and Zedem; in the deanery of Velua, the churches of Epe, Heerde, Vasen and Hattum; in the archdeaconry of the provost of Deventer the church of Dalfsen, *Geschiedkundige Atlas*, vol. I, pp. 369 - 70. By the sixteenth century the collations to these churches do not appear to be recorded in the *Domresoluties*, where they fell to the Chapter. Other churches in the list were in the nomination of various officers of the Chapter, such as the *Domproost*, who collated to churches of the city of Utrecht, as well as those of the Langenbroeck villages, Doorn and Cothen which lay on his estates around Doorn, *Ibid.*, p.382 - 383, *Rechtsboek*, p. 382, 265 - 66; the churches of Westfriesland, where the Chapter was itself archdeacon, and ordinary in all but name, were those of Winkel, Medemblik, Bovenskarspel, and Schellinghout, and scattered reference to collations to these appear in the *Domresoluties*.
- 13) 't Waal; Honswijk; Everdingen; Hagestein; and Ouderkerk op de IJssel, *Ibid.* pp. 370 - 71.
- 14) *AKD 971; AKD 972*.
- 15) *AKD 987; AKD 988*.
- 16) *AKD 990*.
- 17) Oostveen; Achtienhoven; Westbroek; Breukelen; Vreeland; Kortenhof; Nederhorst; Mijdrecht; De Haar; Harmelen; and Kamerik in the Nederkwartier; Hagestein; De Wiers; Schalkwijk; Vuilkoop; Houten and the

- Gooi; Koppel; Wijk-bij-Duurstede; Marschaalkerwaard; Bunnik and Vechten; Odijk; Nijendijk; Cothen; Langbroeck; Rhenen; Leersum; Doorn and Zeist in the Overkwartier; Nedereind van Jutphaas; Heijkoop; Reierskop; Linschoten with Kattenbroek and Wulverhorst; Heeswijk; Montfoort; Lopik; Langerak; Hoenkoop and Papekop in the *Land van Montfoort*; and Stoutenburg in Eemland. Heeringa, *Inventaris*, p. 165 - 75.
- 18) Leiderdorp; Voorschoten; Rijswijk; Wateringen; Schipluiden; Hillegersberg; Lekkerkerk; Haastrecht; Vlist; Schoonhoven; Lekkerland and Ammers. *Ibid.*, pp. 175 - 81, 184.
- 19) Polsbroek; Benschop and IJsselstein. *Ibid.*, 181 - 84.
- 20) Beusichem; Zoelmond; Asch and Tricht. *Ibid.*, p. 184 - 86.
- 21) Wadenooien; Zoelen; Echteld; Lienden; Andelst and Herveld; Scherpenzeel; Epe and Brummen. *Ibid.*, p. 186 - 88.
- 22) Knijfheze and appurtenances, *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- 23) Brienen, *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 24) Borch and Westerloo, *Ibid.*, 189 - 91.
- 25) Brugge and Sesle, *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- 26) AKD 696 - 6. Accounts of the *Proosdijkamer*, 1551.
- 27) *Ibid.*
- 28) *Ibid. for the erfpacht*; AKD 1406, for the purchase; AKD 1323, 1324, and AKD 1327, for the dispute at IJsselstein, 1561 - 1569; AKD 1326, 1329, for the dispute with William of Orange as guardian of his son Phillip William of Nassau, count of Buren in right of his mother, Heer van IJsselstein, 1565 - 1566; AKD 1328, for the case at Mechelen, 1571 - 1575, with the count of Berlaymont as guardian of Phillip William of Nassau.
- 29) AKD 1209.
- 30) Oostveen; Achtienhoven; Westbroek; Maarsen and Maarsenbroek; Breukelen and Breuklerveen; Kortenhoef; Nederhorst; Abcoude; Temaats; Harmelen; Kamerijk; Nedereind van Jutphaas; Galekoop; Heijkoop; Ouderijn; Reierskop; Linschoten with Kattenbroek and Vlooswijk; Snellerwaard; Willeskop; Hoenkop, Papenkop; Lange-Ruige-Weide; Hagestein; Vreeswijk; Honswijk; Tul en 't Waal; Schalkwijk; Vuilkoop; Houten and the Gooi; Oud-Wulven and Weyen; Overeind van Jutphaas; Westraven; Koppel; Maarschkerwaard; Bunnik and Vechten; Odijk; Rhenen; Leersum; Darthuizen; Doorn; Sterkenberg; Driebergen; Zeist and De Bilt; Zeldert; Slaag; Stoutenberg and Woudenburg, Heeringa, *Inventaris*, p. 199 - 240.
- 31) Woerden; Bernoutswaard; Bodegraven; Haastrecht; Vlist; Ammerstol and Bergambacht in the county of Holland; Polsbroeck; Benschop and IJsselstein, in the Barony of IJsselstein; Streefkerk; Ammers-Graveland; and Babilionenbroeck in the *Land van Altena*; Heijkoop and Boeikop in the Vijf Heerenland. *Ibid.*, pp. 241 - 51.
- 32) Everdingen; Culemborg; Beusichem; Zoelmond; Asch and Tricht, *Ibid.*, pp. 251 - 56.
- 33) Wadenooien; Ravenswaay; Maurik; Lienden; Angeren; Angerenoyen; 't Loo and Gent, *Ibid.*, pp. 256 - 60; details for Knijfhage survive only until the late fifteenth century, AKD 2107.
- 34) This stems from the view held by lawyers that the church and its members were viewed as a child, and hence its property was to be held in trust, for which trustees had to act.
- 35) AKD 2041, 2042, 2043.
- 36) AKD 3101. Frederik Jacobszn., 1502 - 1505.
- 37) AKD 2059.

- 38) AKD 1618.
- 39) AKD 1966, 1967.
- 40) AKD 601.
- 41) AKD 2041, 2042, 2043.
- 42) Muller, *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht*, vol. I, No. 40, p. 46.
- 43) AKD 1921, 1924.
- 44) AKD 1922.
- 45) AKD 1923.
- 46) AKD 791.
- 47) Enklaar, *Bestuur*, pp. 84 - 85.
- 48) AKD 795, 796, 798, and AKD 3418.
- 49) AKD 802.
- 50) V.d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, p. 268.
- 51)
- 52) AKD 801.
- 53) Johan van Renesse, questioned as to his role with Hendrik van Brederode in 1567 deposed that the church of Hagestein was plundered by Walloon troops, that the bells from the church tower were taken to Vianen, and that a chalice was also alleged to have been removed from the church and used as a candlestick. *Kronijk v. het historisch genootschap*, 3e serie, jg. 14, vol. IV (1858), p. 258.
- 54) AKD 1- 19, 8 January 1569 the Chapter decides to rebuild these buildings.
- 55) AKD 1 - 20, the Chapter on 20 November 1578 and again on 7 August 1579 discussed the possibility of selling Hagestein.
- 56) AKD 805, for the sale in 1675 to the count of Waldek-Pyrmont.
- 57) *Rechtsboek*, p. 8.
- 58) The statute of 1257 concerning the years of grace, *Rechtsboek*, p. 194 - 95; a further statute of 1344 extended the years of grace for initially the purchase of ornaments, later the support of the fabric, *Ibid.*, p. 196 - 97.
- 59) Dubois, *Chapitre*, p. 112.
- 60) For Speyer, Duggan, *Bishop and Chapter*, p. 189; for Constance, Manfred Krebs, 'Die Protokolle des Konstanzer Domkapitels', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. vol.100 (1952), p. 129; for Cologne, H. Hüffer, *Forschungen*, p. 299.
- 61) For a description of the system as it existed from the late fifteenth century onward see the so-called 'Talmud' of the *Domkannunik* the Gelderland nobleman Gerlach van der Donck of c. 1460, see *Rechtsbronnen*, pp. 75 - 83, and for the working of the system on the eve of secularisation see the annotations of the *Domvicaris* Wouter Brock, of 1575, *Ibid.*, pp. 125 - 32.
- 62) For this subject see the good studies in S.G. Hamilton, (Ed.) *Compotus Rolls of the Priory of Worcester of the 14th and 15th Centuries*, Worcester Historical Society, vol. 26 (1910); H.W. Saunders, *An Introduction to the Obedientary and Manor Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory*; G.W. Kitchin, *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, Hants.* Record Society, vol. 7 (1892); and finally J. Greatorex, *Account Rolls of the Obedientaries of Peterborough*, Northamptonshire Record Society, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, 1984.
- 63) See for instance the entries for Abcoude in the the accounts of the *Maior camera*, AKD 626 - 5 for 1555, and the accounts of the *minor*

camera, AKD 633 - 16, for the same year, whereby payments from what appears to be the same person to two separate receivers.

64) AKO 512, 1516 - 1558 and AKO 512a, 1560 onwards for the Kamer van Hagesteyn. The first set of accounts, beginning 1516 is headed ...*de domino ac bonis in Hagesteyn noviter emptis... quoad medietate[m] spectant ad ecclesia nostri martinii et petrii...*

65) AKD 633 - 14, Accounts for 1530.

66) AKD 633 - 14, Accounts for the year 1530, *Remigii to Remigii*.

67) AKD 633 - 14, Accounts for the year 1533, *Remigii to Remigii*.

68) AKD 649 - 5, for the years 1546 - 1561, *Remigii to Remigii*; and AKD 649 - 6, for the years 1562 - 1571, *Remigii to Remigii*.

69) The accounts of the *Bona choralium* and the *Bona succentorum* are bound with the foregoing *Bona cerevisie* accounts.

70) AKD 639 - 7, Account of *Bona Divisa* for year 1570 - 71.

71) AKD 639 - 6, Accounts of *Bona Divisa* for 1551 -52 and 1552 - 53, *Remigii to Remigii*. For Bruhezen's benefaction see AKD 639 - 6, Account for 1567 - 68, *Remigii to Remigii*.

72) See Appendix 5.

73) AKD 626 - 5, Accounts for 1550.

74) AKD 775.; George van Egmont's mass, *Post, Verhoudingen*, p. 404.

75) AKD 773. Loose sheet entitled *Summa presenam*.

76) AKD 733.

77) E. Suir, 'Evert Zoudenbalch', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*, (1977), pp. 7 - 55.

78) *Fabriekrek.*, vol. II pt. 3, reveals that he was one of those useful men with an interest in the well-being of the library, the vestments and ornaments of the church, and was prepared to busy himself over such matters. He was *magister fabrice*, 1485 - 86, 1487 - 88 pp. 206, 237; for the bell hanger, p. 269; illuminated a processional book that was sold to a religious house of the city, p. 394; work in the library, p. 505; purchases six red copes pp. 508, 533; repair of service books, p. 534; work on the altar *nostre domini* p. 580; more work on the vestments, p. 613; For a general discussion of obits see J. T. Rosenthal, *Purchase of paradise*, pp. 12 - 15.

79) M. Baelde, 'De kerkelijke subsidies in de Nederlanden', *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire*, vol. XLII (1965), pp. 1244, 1257 -58.

80) The matter of the subsidy was the subject of considerable debate at Utrecht. On 3 May 1543 a meeting was held in the *Groot Kapittelhuis* of the *Dom*, attended by the *prelatis et aliquot canonici* of the five chapters, and *cum militaribus et rectoribus sive burgimagis*. It is not clear if this was a full meeting of the *Staten van Utrecht*, or simply an extended meeting of the clergy with lay support. It would seem that initially the clergy of the chapters accepted the royal demands, for the *Domresoluties* record *in supplicando prestare voluit. In quod idem Decanus intuitu prelatorum predictorum acceptavit* and this is followed by the words *Decanus, St. Salvatoris, St. Petri, St Johis & beat Maria, F Sonck [Dom] Buser Scholastico [Oudmunster] Uteneng Scholastico [St. Pieter] Lichtenburg [St. Jan] Rijnsteyn & Lockhorst [St. Marie]* Some sort of resistance however was in the air, for at a meeting four days later on 7 May 1543 in addition to representatives of the five chapters there were delegations of some of the leading monastic houses of the *Nedersticht*, the Bethlehem convent, the Jerusalem convent, the Brandoli convent, St. Ceciilien, the Carthusians and the nunnery of Ten Dael. These representatives secured agreement for a delegation to the Court,

and this was duly constituted and comprised the dean of St. Pieter, Frans Sonck of the *Dom*, and Adriaan Buyser, *Scholaster* of the Oudmunster, for which the sum of 80 florins was agreed to be paid by the Five Chapters. Instructions were drawn up on the 10 May, and the delegation duly departed. By 14 July 1543 all seems to have been agreed, the *Domresoluties* noting on that date that all parties had come to an accord over the subsidy AKD 1- 14

81) AKD 3351, fol. ix. v.

82) OBC 21. An undated document headed *Benefices in Holland ende Friesland staende ter collatie vande Coninck als Graf van Holland ende Heer van Vriesland. Voirne, Putten ende den Brielle*. The reference to the king must place the document after 1555, and indeed may be surmised to date from early in the reign, as a species of *aide memoire* for the officers of the *Hof van Utrecht* perhaps, who might have candidates in their area for preferment to Crown benefices, as when, for example, the *domkannunik* Johan Bruhezen sought a canonry at the Hofkapel in The Hague in 1568. OBC 75. 12 May 1568.

83) For Leyden see B. N. Leverland, 'Het Kapittel van St. Pancras te Leiden', *Leidse Jaarboekje*, (1966), pp. 72 - 75.

84) G.A. Deventer, *Ingekomen Archief No. 388 - Stukken betr. Kapittel, 1404 - 1592*. Omslag 2, folder No. 1, 15 February 1561.

85) A canonry at Notre Dame at Kortrijk in 1436 was worth 100 *livres*, at the chapter of Sclayn, 40 *livres*, at the chapter of Veurne, 80 *livres*. A prebend at S. Donaat, Bruges, in 1438, was worth 100 *livres* at St. Pharaïld, Ghent, 50 *livres*. Unfortunately the type of *livre* is not specified, but the figures hardly suggest the *Groot pond Vlaams*, of six florins). A. Fayen, 'Note sur un registre des annates de la province de Reims sous Eugène IV, (1431 - 1441)', *Analectes de l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique*, vol. XXXV (1909), pp. 270, 273, 275.

86) W. Friedenborg, 'Informativprozesse über deutsche Kirchen in vortridentinische Zeit', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italien vol. I* (1898), pp. 189, 193, 195, 196, 198,

## CHAPTER IV.

## ASSAULTS FROM THE CLERGY.

1) While not directly germane to this study, the situation of English religious corporations of the period taken at random are instructive:

1491 the abbey of Welbeck had several law-suits going to defend its rights.

A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck*, p.94.

1501 Quarr Abbey was appealing to the Privy Council to prevent the depredations of a local gentry family.

S. F. Hockey, *Quarr Abbey and its lands, 1132 - 1631*, p. 207.

1488 the abbot of Chester was bound over in the considerable sum of 100 marks to keep the peace in a dispute with the lord of the manor of Thurstaston.

R.V.H. Burne, *The monks of Chester*, p. 133 - 34.

2) Taken at random from the *Domresoluties* between 21 April 1535 and 26 July 1536, we find the following disputes between canons:

21 July 1536. Rubenpré v. Jasper van Rennenburg.

16 June 1535. Adriaan Ram v. Johannes van Dam, *Domvicaris*.

30 June 1535. Frans Sonck v. Adriaan Ram.

1 July 1535. Adriaan Ram v. Jacob van Gent, *Domvicaris*.

29 May 1536. The Chapter v. canons Sonck and Renesse.

26 June 1536. Liebrecht van Houtem and Joost Praet van Moerkerken suspended from voting in capitular meetings.

26 July 1536 Albert Pigge v. Johan van Bool, *Domvicaris*.

and so on.....

3) This is a subject demanding far more detailed study, but early in the sixteenth century there was a curious case impugning the legitimacy of canon Taets van Lochorst, and the election of Jacob van Appelteren in the same period was clearly a political pro-Gelderland move as opposed to the papal provision of Van Enckevoirt, clearly a pro-Hapsburg appointment.

4) The full documentation is contained in *AKD 2259 - 1 to to AKD 2261 1 - 9, AKD 2264 - AKD 2270*.

5) The kernel of provost Slacheck's case is outlined in *AKD 2270*, in the *sententie provisionale* pp. ix. v - xxi. v.; the dictum may be found in *Nederland in vroeger tijd*, vol. VIII, p. 176.

6) *AKD 2251*

7) *AKD 2254*

8) *AKD 2257 -17* is a charter confirming his oath, with Slacheck's nearly perfectly preserved seal still affixed; for Slacheck's oath, *AKD 2265*, with his oath of 1 June 1530, transcribed at pp. cclxxv - cclxxvi v.

9) *AKD 2270*. contains the *sentencie provisionale*, of the *Hof van Utrecht*; *AKD 2261 - 1* contains the dossier concerning the sequestration of the provostal lands; *AKD 2264* contains extracts from the *Domresoluties* and from the accounts of the *Socius* of the late fifteenth century provost Van Montfoort, and in addition extracts from those accounts covering the period 1439 - 1531; the enormous dossier concerning the royal commission, *AKD 2265*.

- 10) *AKD 1 - 13* 1525 - 1529; *AKD 1 - 14* 1534 - 1544.
- 11) *AKD 2 - 2* 1518 - 1525; *AKD 2 -3* 1531 - 1532.
- 12) *AKD 2359* The twenty-six canons signed in order of seniority, in a single column, as follows: Johan van der Vorst, dean, Bernhard van Haarlem, Johan van Uterwijk, Abraham van Leeuwenberch, Johan van Drolshagen, Hendrik Zoudenbalch, Amelis van Zuylen van Nijvelt, Adriaan Zael, Frederik de Coninck, Marcus van Weeze, Hendrik Ben, Johan Reale, Gerard Beyer I, Johan Waldorian, Lazerus de Rosetis, Adriaan Ram I, Liebrecht van Houthem, Frans Sonck, Adriaan van Renesse, Hendrik Huysseleman, Johan Anthoniszn., Johan van Veen, Anthonis van Amerongen, Maarten van Leeuwenberch, Hendrik Godfriedszn. *alias* Compostell, and Lambrecht van Duynen.
- 13) For his involvement in a long running suit concerning the church of Kampen, and Albert Pigge, B. P. Velthuysen, 'Vicecureiten van Kampen', *A.A.Ut.* vol. XXIV (1897), pp. 337 - 44.
- 14) See the mission to put down unrest in Cassia in the Papal State in the late winter of 1523, for which he received a papal commission on 28 February 1533, Munier, *Curialen*, p. 220; apparently his action was successful, and his expenses were paid by pope Clement VII, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 1247, p. 446.
- 15) In May. 1529, he was perturbed by the activities of one Johan Oostendorp at Deventer, *in quam est fama publica quod sit Lutheranus*, Munier, *Corr. Slacheck*, pp. 18, 22; on 18 October 1539, as provost-archdeacon of Utrecht he issued an open letter to all the religious, and public officials of his archidiaconal jurisdiction, covering as it did most of Holland and Zeeland, warning them to do all in their power to seek out and suppress the *pestiferous doctrinis* infecting the land, Asch van Wijk, *Beschieden*, vol. IV pt. 1, pp. 113 - 15.
- 16) Munier, *Corr. Slacheck*, pp. 3 - 4, 33 - 34, and 39 - 45.
- 17) *AKO 194*. The man was able, ambitious and ruthless, and one senses also, dishonest.
- 18) Charles de Boisot, originally from Burgundy, had long served the Habsburgs, and in the new arrangements of government made in 1531, became at once a member of the Privy Council and of the *Raad van State*. He was to die in 1546. Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 236.
- 19) That a pension was granted to de Boisot appears likely. In 1544, on the final abandonment of the scheme to incorporate the provostry to the episcopal revenues, it was mentioned that one agreeing to the arrangements that the new provost of Utrecht should be Cornelis van Meirop was de Boissot, an unlikely presence in the affair at that date, unless he had some direct interest such as payment of a pension to protect, *AKD 2272*, letter of dean Johan van der Vorst to Chapter, Speyer, 22 June 1544.
- 20) For the dispute over the benefices, see note 13) above; for Piggus as the potential author of a violent diatribe against the *Overdracht* of the temporalities of the see of Utrecht, G. Brom, 'Een protest tegen de overdracht van het wereldlijk gebied der Utrechtsche bisschoppen', *Bijd. Vad. Gesch. Oudh.* 3e. R., vol. X (1907), pp. 125 - 155 at p. 132.
- 21) This is the sense of a letter from the count of Hoogstraaten, to Slachek, Brussels, 13 March 1529, Munier, *Corr. Slachek*, p. 8.
- 22) Lalaing was acting as ambassador and commissioner for the negotiations at Utrecht for the *Overdracht* and is described as *stadhouder* when he took the oaths of allegiance of the various orders of the *Staten* at Utrecht on 21 October 1528, *Placcatboeck*, vol. I, p. 16,

but the use of the title is ambiguous in those documents, for he was then also *stadhouder* of Holland, Zeeland, and West Friesland. He was certainly *stadhouder* of Utrecht when the emperor Charles V united in perpetuity the *stadhouderschap* of Utrecht with those of Holland and Zeeland, at the *Cortes* of Toledo, April, 1534, *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 28 - 30. He had been *stadhouder* of Holland, Zeeland and West Friesland, since 1522, Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 271.

23) The fundamental work is Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, especially pp. 1 - 8, and 16 - 25.

24) The Belgian historian Henne observed of Hoogstraaten that ...*bien longe est la liste des bâtards de ce volage amant*, quoted by Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 271, although the libidinous count seems to have made most efforts to secure for his son Antoine de Lalaing a career in the church. His father was seeking the coadjutory to Willem van Enckevoirt as bishop of Utrecht in 1529, Munier, *Overdracht*, p. 148. His father certainly seems to have used his position as *stadhouder* in securing benefices in the diocese of Utrecht, for Antoine held the wealthy parish of Noordwijk in Holland in 1528, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 567; he was perhaps *custos* of the church of Monster by Borselen (Zuidbeveland) at the same date, *ibid.* p. 502; and he was to secure the provostry of Deventer on the death of the wealthy curialist pluralist Johan Ingenwinkel, in August, 1535, Dumber, *Deventer*, p. 329.

25) For Hoogstraaten's career in the central government, Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 271.

26) Van der Aa, *Biog. Woordenboek*, vol. I - M, p. 264.

27) Lodewijk van Vlaanderen, or de Praet van Moerkerken, was an Imperial agent in Rome in 1529, and certainly wrote on Slachek's behalf concerning his nomination to the provostry of Utrecht to the Regent Margaret of Austria, on 15 September 1529, Munier, *Corres. Slachek*, p. 42; for a brief biography of De Praet, see Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, pp. 327 - 28.

28) For a brief biography, Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 235.

29) For the notarial act constituting the proctors, *AKD 2259*, unpaginated dossier, under the date of 4 July 1531;

30) The careerer of Lazerus de Rosetis was curious for a canon of Utrecht. Of unknown Italian origin, he had seen service with the cardinal archbishop of Estragom, chancellor of Hungary. The latter was on visit to Rome during the course of which the election of Leo X took place and the new pope was apparently favourable to the Hungarian cardinal, and some of the papal largesse filtered down to Rosetis. He secured the reversion on the benefices of the recently deceased pluralist *domkannunik* Johan Krijs, amongst which benefices were the parish church of Erkelens in the diocese of Liège, the provostry of St. Severin at Cologne, and the canonry at Utrecht. Rosetis came to reside at Cologne, and acted frequently for the Chapter in legal disputes.

31) For a sense of his activities as the Chapter's 'man of business' in the arch-diocese of Cologne, see *Fabriekrek.* vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 617, 619, 623, 624, for a case against the *Heer van Brederode*; pp 625, 651, 680 - 81, for a case against the *Schultetum et scabinos* of Heycoop.

32) As far as the published records of the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen are concerned for the period c. 1500 to 1531 it is clear that a total of some ten cases involving the Chapter of Utrecht or its personnel falls into three types of case. Four cases concern disputes between the lay and spiritual power in Habsburg lands within the diocese of Utrecht,

*Groote Raad*, vol. I, pp. 91 (1474), 355 (1500), and 462 (1500), *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 6 (1504), 393 (1526); two cases of an appeal from a spiritual judge to the *Hooge Raad*, the first a case a disputed presentation to a living in Zeeland, *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 90 (1509), and a case of a disputed will, *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 371 (1526), while finally the remaining cases concern two of the *Domproosten*, Simon van der Sluys and Philibert Naturelli, in their private capacities. The *Hof van Utrecht* lacks as yet a historian, so no real statement can be made of the personnel in, say, its first decade, but of its principal officers, appointed at the time of the *Overdracht* the president Mr. Caspar van Hoogland had been *raad* in the *Hof van Holland*, *Placaatboek*, vol. II, p. 1051 - 2; the procurator-general Mr. Willem van Alkmaar had also been a *raad* in the *Hof van Holland*, *Loc. cit.*, pp. 1052, 1058; the *Rentmeester* for the royal, formerly episcopal, demesne was Gysbert van Hardenbroek, a Gelderland nobleman, *Loc. cit.*, p. 1058; the *Griffier* Mr. Jacob van Broeckhoven, *Loc. cit.*, p. 1068, may well have been a local man.

33) For the notarial act copied from a missing volume of the *Domresoluties* nominating the despatch of dean Johan Van der Vecht and the *Domthesaurier* Albert Pigge, AKD 2261 - 7; and Albert Pigge's bill of expenses for the journey to Brussels for which the Chapter paid a sum of 100 florins, AKD 2262

34) "... jay donne ma parole au seigneur de Loenbecque Maistre Jehan vander Vorst comme personne ydoine et souffissant a cest estat considerant ces vertuelx et sa doctrine, oultre ce quil est subistz de sadite Majeste et a eu son pere chancellier de Brabant, cardinal van Enckevoirt to the Regent Margaret of Austria, Rome, 27 January 1529 A.A.Ut., vol. 73, (1948), pp. 184 - 185.

35) See Genealogical Table Bruhezen -Van der Vorst, facing p. 95.

36) When received as a *chanoine-gradué* at the chapter of St. Lambert at Liège on 9 December 1538, he produced documentary evidence of his studies at the universities of Angers, Poitiers, Toulouse and Bologna, De Theux de Montjardin, *Chapitre*, vol. III, p. 83.

37) B. Munier, 'Kardinal van Enckevoirt... en het overdracht van het temporaliteit van het bisdom van Utrecht', M.N.H.I.R., 3e serie, vol. 7 (1953), p. 138.

38) *NNBW*, vol. X, col. 733.

39) Slachek was to complain in a letter to *Audiencier* Du Blioul of 11 February 1529 of the *emulationes illius Alberti Piggii*, Munier, *Corres. Slachek*, p. 6; Piggius was thought to be responsible for a letter of complaint from the town council of Kampen in which the absentee *pastoor*, Slachek, was described as *idiotus*, B. P. Velthuysen, *op. cit.* p. 339.

40) See note 4) above.

41) One Gobel Volquini appears to have been *pastoor* of Zwolle c. 1532, apparently much beloved by the townsfolk. He was suddenly dismissed by the patron of the living, the chapter of Deventer, and in his place was installed an unnamed *vice-cureit* of Kampen, whose *pastoor* at this period was the avid Catholic polemicist Albert Pigge, which *intrusus* soon became embroiled in disputes with the other clergy of the church of Zwolle. The reason for the dismissal of Volquini appears to have been suspicion of heresy, De Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der Kerkhervorming in Nederland*, vol. II, p. 466 - 67; for the canonry at St. Jan which he secured by exchange with Lambrecht van Duynen, *domkannunik*, in 1526 - 27, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, pp. 85 - 86; how he came to be chosen by the *Hof van Utrecht* to act as a receiver is not known, but if he can be

identified with the Gobelinus Volqwyn acting as a notary at Zutphen on 15 March 1519, W. Smelt, *Het Oud Archief van de gemeente Zutphen*, Reg. No. 1737, p. 382, then some legal background might be assumed to explain the choice.

42) AKD 2042, AKD 2043 and AKD 2261 - 4.

43) AKD 2261 - 3, *Requeste* of the Chapter, 4 December 1531, with attached undated minute of delegation headed by dean Johan van der Vorst at the *Hof van Utrecht*. The words to which the officers of the *Hof van Utrecht* took exception were: ... *plurium omnis ordinis serendent ac indigno foruit commoti suorum sciliorum coquatorum et affinium tam evidenti injuria insanorum talis qualis ignoti et exteri advo parum respectum haberi iustae sit preterae in gravissimum damnum dictorum conqueren ac possetz ex hac occasione gravias oviri scandalam quod cederet in detrimentum majestatae cesarae.*

44) The verdict of the *Hof van Utrecht* was handed down in the presence of the dean and the canons Amelis van Nyevelt, provost of Leyden, Albrecht van Leeuwenberch, Gerard Beyer, vicar-general to the bishop, Johan Reale, Lazerus de Rosetis, dean of St. Severin, and Mr. Frans Sonck. The legal representatives of the Chapter were Mr. Evert van Coddenoort, advocate, and Mr. Marcelys van Alendorp, procurator, while provost Slacheck's representatives were Mr. Jacob van Milde and Mr. Jacob Scoop. A fair copy of the sentence of the *Hof van Utrecht* may be found in AKD 2265, at pp. cxxiii - cxxxxvii.

45) AKD 2261 - 7, g2, a dossier concerning the dispute between the canons of Deventer and Slachek over the patronage of a vicarie in the collegiate church of Deventer, 17 April 1537.

46) AKD 2261 - 7, g3 in which the Chapter implores the emperor to intervene in a lengthy matter made even more troublesome by the *étranges moyens* employed by Johan Slachek. By virtue of the royal patent, the commissioners are empowered to give judgement as to where right in the matter lies. In the same bundle at g1 is a commission by the emperor to Phillipe Negri, archdeacon of Terwaan (Thérouanne), chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to hear the cause of the Chapter v. Johan Slachek.

47) AKD 2265

48) AKD 2264 This dossier runs to some 75 sheets of paper, and has been attacked by damp. The main work appears to be the efforts of Petro Amico, doctor of laws, Guillelmo De Angelis and Adriano Lyetwij de Cleutinge. The general drift of this lengthy legal opinion appears to be that Slachek could not get round the fact that he had sworn to accept the *status quo*.

49) AKD 2268.

50) According to a minute dated 7 August 1531 the *Domproost*, accompanied by *Hellewaerdiens ende Cluyvers*, in the house of the *Domdeken*, delivered a list of complaints to the *stadhouder* about the perennial problem of overlapping jurisdictions of lay and spiritual powers, *Asch van Wijk, Archief Ut.* vol. I, pp. 47 - 48; a long list of complaints drawn up by dean van der Vecht may be found in AKD 3207.

51) It is unfortunate that it is not possible to date precisely when the capitular deputation was active in Brussels in the course of 1531. There exists in the archives of the chapter at Utrecht, AKD 2261 - 7, an undated document entitled on one side *Qui ont estez presens quant avons eu nos appointemens a Bruxelles*, whilst on the reverse there is a list of the councillors high in the service of the emperor Charles V and his

Regent, Mary of Hungary. Those present were Jean Carondolet, Archbishop of Palermo, Antoine de Lalaing, *Stadhouder* of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, an unidentifiable name, (possibly one 'Mons. Truyt', - it *could* conceivably be *Mons. d'Utrecht* : would the bishop be present in a hearing of his own cause ? - but it is very difficult to decipher), Gerard Mulert, a *Maitre de Requêtes*, in the *Grote Raad* at Mechelen, (whose departure upon a diplomatic mission from March to 9 May 1532 to Hamburg, R. Hapke, *Niederlandische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und zur Deutschen Seegeschichte*, vol I, p. 22, note. 1; allows a rough dating of the period for this document, that is from 6 August 1531, to February and March, 1532). Mr. Josse Sasbout, the *Procureur-Generaal* of Holland, the president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, Mr. Caspar Lievinszn. van Hooglande, the *Audiencier*, Laurent de Blioul, (who was to resign his post on 14 February 1532, Baelde, *Collaterale Rade*. p. 235), and Adolf Herdinck, *Rentmeester van Bewesterscheldt*, the senior finance officer of the county of Zeeland. The full significance of this list is not known: it may at least be presumed that it was an *aide memoire* for the Brussels deputation in reporting back to the Chapter. The presence of Carondolet, archbishop of Palermo, but at this date (1531) the president of the *Raad van State*, Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*. p. 220, might be indicative of the seriousness that the case merited in the eyes of the *Centraal Bestuur* in Brussels, while the presence of the *Stadhouder* de Lalaing is no more than one might expect in a case concerning his governorship. The array of legal and financial talent might suggest no more than the complexity of the matter, although it is striking at this stage how well represented are the officers of the county of Holland. The Chapter was to be connected in various ways with some entioned in this list: Roeloff Mulert, the son of Gerard Mulart mentioned above was to have a *prima precum* in his favour issued in 1532 *AKD* 97 and honoured by his admission to a prebend in the Spring 1540, *AKD* 1 - 14, 30 April 1540; the brother of Reynier Brunt, Gijsbert Brunt, had been given the church of Sassenheim, in the gift of the Chapter, in 1528, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. IV, p. 104, and had been a canon of St. Marie at Utrecht since August, 1526, *AKM* 66,, but the nomination to Sassenheim surely had more to do with the *Overdracht* than the Chapter's immediate problems in 1532, but perhaps the Chapter could rely on at least a friendly view of their interests in that quarter; the figure of Adolf Herdinck is more Utrecht oriented than at first appears, for early in his career he was a secretary to Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht until 1524, Kalveen, *Bestuur*, p. 324, while his brother Mr. Leonhard Herdinck, also a secretary to bishop Philip of Burgundy, in 1522-23, and was by 1531 secretary to Antoine de Lalaing, *stadhouder* of Utrecht, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, pp. 78, 114. A further brother, Urban Herdinck, a considerable pluralist in parish churches in Holland and Zeeland, Grijpink, *Registers*, vol. I, Wallacria, pp.5, 27, 111 - 12, vol. IV, p. 84; Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 500 was to become a canon of the Oudmunster in Utrecht during the course of the suit, in October, 1538. *A.v.d.R* 308, Herdinck. It must be an open question as to how far, if at all, these contacts and connections, and indeed others, were utilised by the Chapter.

52) L. G. Duggan, *Bishop and Chapter: the governance of the bishopric of Speyer, to 1552*, p. 192

53) At least that was the excuse given by Johan Axel to the royal commissioners Van Grijspere and Van Lent on 26 December 1567, sent to

enquire into the disturbances in Utrecht incident upon the *beeldenstorm* of the previous year. Axel was being questioned concerning the clandestine and illegal sale of a capitular house by the banished image-breaker and former *domkannunik* Cornelis van Nijenrode, and declined to be further questioned about matters concerning the Chapter until he had secured the consent of the *Domdeken* Johan van der Vecht. Van Vloten, *K.H.G.*, p.

54) Two sums are mentioned. In the first place agreed costs are noted for each side as *xix<sup>c</sup>xv gulden iiij st. brab.*, while a second sum, described as the *summa totalibus*, for *iiij<sup>m</sup>vij<sup>c</sup> gl. xvj st. brab.* is mentioned. Both these totals appear upon an un-paginated sheet in *AKD 2261 - 8*.

55) Sums remitted to the provost in this period vary enormously from year to year, and include in the annual totals arrears from previous years:

in 1529	the provost recd:	1455 florins,	<i>AKD 2464 - 56.</i>
1530	" "	" : 872 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 57.</i>
1531	" "	" : 1939 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 58.</i>
1532	" "	" : 1598 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 59.</i>
1533	" "	" : 464 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 60.</i>
1534	" "	" : 1512 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 61.</i>
1535	" "	" : 980 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 62.</i>
1536	" "	" : 1113 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 63.</i>
1537	" "	" : 1474 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 64.</i>
1538	" "	" : 2365 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 65.</i>
1539	" "	" : 2280 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 66.</i>
1540	" "	" : 2145 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 67.</i>
1541	" "	" : 2000 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 68.</i>
1542	" "	" : 1800 "	<i>AKD 2464 - 69.</i>

56) Hillebrand Wijnen, or Wijney, or in Utrecht documents *alias* Slacheck was a nephew to the provost, and a brief biography may be found in *NNBW* vol. III, cols. 1371 - 72; he was clearly his uncle's heir, for by 4 January 1533, when canon and *scholaster* of the chapter of Deventer he had secured papal consent to a coadjutory to the deanery of Deventer, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. I pt.1, No. 266, p. 95; In November the following year he was in dispute before the Curia over a canonry at St. Marie at Utrecht, and the documents concerning this mention also a papal confirmation to a pension of 30 Rhenish gold gulden secured upon the parish church of Ansart in Gelderland, *Ibid.*, vol. I pt. 1, No. 270, p. 97; on the death of his uncle he appears to have had to face a struggle to secure the deanery of Deventer, for on 8 April 1545 representatives of the towns of Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle request Maximillian van Egmont for aid in their suit before the *Geheime Raad* against Wijnen concerning the deanery of St. Lebuinus at Deventer, Drossaers, *Domeinraad*, vol. II, B. 1296; he would appear to have been succesful for he is mentioned in the list of deans of Deventer, following Slacheck in 1543, and himself noted as dying on 3 December 1548, Dumbbar, *Deventer*, p. 339, (although this lastdate is not correct as he certainly long outlived his uncle); as part of an earlier agreement with the Utrecht Chapter was that the first vacant *vicarie* in its gift be given to Hillebrand Slacheck, *AKD 2815*, and with this the Chapter complied on 25 March 1537, bestowing the *vicarie* of St. John Evangelist I, *AKD 84*; in addition to the capitular agreement to the life

- a. 8 £Fl. for the heirs of Slachek secured on the revenues of the *Landdekeneren* of Walcheren and Amstellend.
- b. 54 gold gulden due from one Heinrich Hoezenburg.
- c. 60 gold gulden due from one Snort Heirichesz.
- d. the Chapter agrees to purchase the late provost's wine for 38 gold gulden. *AKD 2269.*
- 57) A notarised copy of an extract from a papal bull dated 23 August 1541 refers to a coadjutory in favour of Cornelis van Meirop, but it is not clear if it is *de jure successionis*, although it is hard to conceive that the Van Meirop family would be involved for anything less. The dean and Chapter refer to the coadjutory in favour of Cornelis van Meirop in a letter to Antoine Perronet de Granvelle, bishop of Arras, of 17 June 1543, but do not give the date. Both documents are contained in *AKD 2271.*
- 58) The submission of the comprehensive evidence to the royal commission, *AKD 2265*, and the opinion of the learned lawyers of Leuven, *AKD 2264.*
- 59) Single sheet from Lodewijk Schore, Brussels, 14 November, 1539, *AKD 15 - 4*, Letters to the Dean and Chapter, 1539 - 1585.
- 60) 20 March 1540, *AKD 1 - 14.*
- 61) 'Plegtige intrede van Karel V in Utrecht, 1540, V.d. Monde, *Tijdschrift*, vol. 5 (1840), pp. 293 - 305.
- 62) The dossier of loose sheets concerning the incorporation, and largely identifiable only by their dating, is contained in *AKD 2271* and *AKD 2272*. The imperial mandate of 30 September 1540 is contained in a smaller dossier in French.
- 63) The date of issue of this coadjutory is unknown. A much damaged document refers to a coadjutory in favour of Cornelis van Meirop dated 23 August 1541, and is presumably a notarial copy. *AKD 2271.*
- 64) R.A.U. *Statenarchief 589.* 1541.
- 65) *AKD 2271.* The dossier in French noted above.
- 66) *AKD 2271.* Extract of resolution of Chapter, 16 September 1541. with list of signatures and additional names of three absent canons.
- 67) *AKD 2271.* Latin letter, 16 October 1541.
- 68) K. Heeringa, *Rek., Inleiding en indices*, p. lxix.
- 69) *AKD 2271.* Mary of Hungary to Chapter, 16 February 1542, in which she deplored *die oppositie... gedaen tegen die unije vand domproofstie een tbijsdom van Utrecht*, especially as *Die inden hove van Rome gesolliciteert wordt van wegen de Key. Maj. onsen heere end broer...*
- 70) *AKD 2272.* Undated remonstrance of the Chapter in 48 clauses.
- 71) *AKD 2272.* Mary of Hungary to Chapter, 9 November 1542, in which she states ... *aenden hove van Rome versouckende aenden vorsz. paus de zelve unie & (sic) incorporatie te willen toelaten ende oorderen.*
- 72) *AKD 2271.* Instruction to the delegation *aulem reginales Ma<sup>st</sup>* is in Dutch in 17 clauses, 13 December 1542; *AKD 2272.* Report to the Chapter by Sonck and Van Praet van Moerkerken dealing with replies secured in an interview with Lodewijk Schore and Phillipe Negri, Brussels, 23 December 1542
- 73) Baelde, *op. cit.* pp. 327 - 28. It may be going beyond the evidence, but one wonders if there might not in these years have been a connection between the families of Praet van Moerkerken and Egmont: George van Egmont was to present Lodewijk Praet van Moerkerken's son, Joost, to the *Domthesaurierschaap* in 1543, possibly a rather odd thing to do if the

same son was the agent working against the financial interests of the bishop, or conversely, the ideal agent to blunten any offense. It would be interesting to know, for instance, if Joost Praet van Moerkerken was a godson to bishop George van Egmont.

74) AKD 2271. Instruction to the delegation, 13 December 1542, clauses 1 - 2, 3 - 7, 14.

75) AKD 2272. Mary of Hungary to Chapter, 8 January 1543.

76) AKD 2271. Letter to cardinal of S. Crucis, 27 January 1543; letter to the cardinal *Dartharium*, 27 January 1543.

77) Berton, *Cardinaux*, cols. 1185 - 86. For the correspondence between Cervini and Rome during his nunciature see L. Cardaun, (Ed.) *Nuntiatureberichte*, vol. 5, (1539 - 41), pp. XXII - XXIX. Cervin was in Utrecht with the emperor from 14 August to 19 August, 1540.

78) AKD 2271. Letter to Nicholas Perronet de Granvelle, 27 January 1543.

79) AKD 2271. Letter to *Episcopus Atrebaten.*, 31 March 1543.

80) AKD 2271. Letter to cardinal of S. Crucis, 17 June 1543; letter to bishop of Arras, 17 June 1543.

81) Heeringa, *Rek. Inleiding en indices*, p. lxix.

82) A.R.A. The Hague, *Handschriften II Afdeling, No. 216*, a register of collations to *vicarieën* made by Mr. Vincent Cornelisz. van Meirop in the parishes of Leyden, Voorschoten, Voorburg, Geervliet and Delft, 1514 - 1538. The entries for Leyden clearly reveal what amount to simoniacal payments for his son's entry into possession of the *vicarie* of S. Andreas in the church of St. Pancras at Leyden in the autumn of 1522. The transaction was given cover by episcopal nomination of Philip of Burgundy on 13 December 1522, Overvoorde, *Archieven*, vol. II, No. 432, 13 December 1522. In the previously mentioned register of Van Meirop's there are documents of a similar import concerning the advowson of the church of Ketel in 1527.

83) AKD 2271.; Andreas del Castillo was a *Scriptor apostolicus* resident and practising in Rome from 1509 - 1542, Frenz, *Kanzelei*, No. 137, p. 279.

84) AKD 2272 Dean van der Vecht, accompanied by Frans Sonck, travelled to Speyer to treat with the emperor in the course of May and June 1544. Dean van der Vorst penned a series of exceedingly ill-written letters to his Chapter which was presumably better able than I to make sense of them. Apart from the dates and some names, the contents have remained largely a mystery to me. The dates of writing and reception in Utrecht are as follows:

Sonck and Van der Vorst to Chapter, Speyer, *Sabbati* 3 May 1544.

Sonck and Van der Vorst to Chapter, Speyer, *tertio non Maii* 1544.

Recd. in Utrecht 14 May 1544.

Sonck and Van der Vorst to Chapter, Speyer, 15 May 1544.

Recd. in Utrecht 26 May 1544.

Sonck and Van der Vorst to Chapter, Speyer, 30 May 1544.

Recd. in Utrecht 11 June 1544.

Dean van der Vorst to Chapter, Speyer, 13 June 1544.

Recd. in Utrecht 21 June 1544.

Dean van der Vorst to Chapter, Speyer, 23 June 1544.

Recd. in Utrecht 1 July 1544.

85) Giovanni Poggio came of a family of Bologna, married and widowed early, he entered the church, Berton, *Cardinaux*, col. 1405 - 06; he appears to have functioned as *prothonotarius participans*, (that is, functioning, rather than honorary), at the papal Curia from August 1536,

Frenz, *Kanzlei*, No. 64, p. 273; secured the favour of Paul II by whom he was sent as legate to Spain and the Empire, Berton, *Loc. cit.*; his nunciature to the Empire is covered by L. Cardaun, (Ed) *Nuntiatureberichte*, vol. 7, pp 433 - 480; he was made a cardinal in 1551 by Julius III, *Berton Loc. cit.*

86) AKD 2271. Copy of imperial mandate, 16 June 1544.

87) Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. I, pp. 778, 847.

88) M. Baelde, 'Edellieden en juristen in het centrale bestuur der zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden (1531 - 1578)'. *Tijd. v. Gesch.* vol. 80 (1967) pp. 39 -51.

89) *Het gulden Vlies*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Stedelijke museum voor schone kunst, Brugge, 14 juli - 30 september, 1962, p. 40.

90) Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, pp. 257 - 58.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE NEW BISHOPRICS SCHEME OF PHILIP II AND THE DIOCESE OF UTRECHT.

- 1) M.F. Alvarez, *Charles V: elected emperor and hereditary ruler*, p. 43; The emperor Charles' words uttered on 19 April 1521, to defend the Catholic Faith were that he was 'determined to set my kingdoms and dominions, my friends, my body, my blood, my life, my soul upon it', Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V*, p.131; for a most impressive regional study of the rise of protestantism in the southern Netherlands see the magisterial work of J. Decavele, *De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen, (1520 - 1565)*, pp. 235 - 298.
- 2) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 1, pp. 76 - 77, Don Juan Manuel to emperor, Rome, 15 August 1521.
- 3) See for instance Fredericq, *Corpus*, vol. IV, No. 221, Margaret of Austria to Charles V, [Mechelen ?] 19 June 1524, wherein she proposed that two sees, the towns not designated, be constituted from the Habsburg section of the former diocese of Terwaan (Thérouanne), and two further sees be constituted from the diocese of Cambrai at Bergen (Mons) and Brussels respectively, pp. 279 - 80.
- 4) Decavele, *op. cit.* p. 291, when discussing the Augustinians.
- 5) J. Bijloos, *Adrianus VI de Nederlandse paus*, pp. 35 - 37; elected on 9 January 1522, Francis I of France observing that the cardinals had elected the emperor Charles V's schoolmaster, *ibid.*, p. 41; while the emperor recorded laconically *Maître Adrien est devenu Pape*, *ibid.*, p. 40.
- 6) Gachard, *Corr. Philippe II*, vol. I, p. xcvi, note 1, 15 August 1522. The text is given in note 1.
- 7) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 2, duke of Sessa to emperor, Rome, 25 August 1525, pp. 77 - 78.
- 8) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 3, October 1525, pp. 83 - 85; for the proposal that nomination to dioceses lie with the emperor *et son heritiers et successeurs*, p. 84.
- 9) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 4, Margaret of Austria to emperor, Mechelen, 22 April 1526, pp. 85; *ibid.*, No. 6, 28 July 1527, pp. 86 - 87.
- 10) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 7, 9 March 1528 - November 1529, p. 92 - 93.
- 11) He had resigned by 1 October 1529, Eubel, vol. III, p. 336.
- 12) *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 436.
- 13) Heussen, *Kerkelijke historie*, vol. I, p. 189.
- 14) Drossaers, *Domeinraad*, vol. I pt. 4, *Regestenlijst*, No. 3444, 26 January 1566, pp. 288 - 89, whereby William of Nassau, prince of Orange on the one part, and Herman, count of Rennenberg, provost of the Oudmunster at Utrecht on the other, agree that the latter shall pay to Henry of Nassau, brother of the former, the sum of 600 florins p.a. from the revenues of the provostry of the Oudmunster. This agreement followed the Solomaic decision of Philip II, who when requested by Orange and Rennenberg's nephew, the count of Hoogstraten, for the provostry of the Oudmunster for their kinsmen, effectively gave them half each.
- 15) Fruin, *O.L.V. Middelburg*, No. 1259, 12 November 1518, p. 462.
- 16) For this generally see U. Berlière, 'Le commende aux Pays-Bas' in *Mélanges Godfried Kurth*, pp. 185 - 201.
- 17) Robert de Croy, bishop of Cambrai, Eubel, vol. III, p. 148, and note 4; Guillaume de Croy, bishop coadjutor of Cambrai, Eubel, vol. II, p.

- 148; Charles de Croy, bishop of Tournai, Eubel, vol. III, p. 316; George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht, Eubel, vol. III, p. 336; for Granvelle's attempts to secure the abbey of St. Amand on the death of George van Egmont, Gachard, *Corr. Philippe II*, vol. I, Brussels, 2 October 1559, p. 186; Weiss, *Papiers d'état de cardinal Granvelle*, vol. V, Brussels, 4 October 1559, pp. 650, 655.
- 18) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 8, 3 January 1530, p. 94.
- 19) *Ibid.*, vol. I, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12, pp. 95 - 106.
- 20) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 36.
- 21) A. C. Duke, 'Salvation by coercion: the controversy surrounding the "Inquisition" in the Low Countries on the eve of the Revolt', in P. N. Brooks (ed.), *Reformation in principle and practice*, pp. 137 - 56.
- 22) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 13, ? 1 May 1551 - ? 28 April 1552, pp. 107 - 150.
- 23) *NNBW*, vol. II, cols. 1346 - 48.
- 24) *NNBW*, vol. V, cols. 877 - 79.
- 25) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 13, p. 111, where the author likens the city of Utrecht in size to that of Augsburg, and mistakenly gives Utrecht five parish churches when it had but four.
- 26) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 13, pp. 111, 117 - 18, 126 - 27.
- 27) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 3, October 1525, p. 84.
- 28) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 13, within the diocese of Utrecht for Groningen it was proposed to endow the see with the abbacy of Aduard, p. 123; for Haarlem the abbacy of Heiloo, p. 125, to which was also to be added the collegiate church at Geervliet, p. 98; and at Middelburg the great abbey within the city, p. 126.
- 29) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 39.
- 30) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 13, p. 121.
- 31) *Loc. cit.*, p. 125.
- 32) See note 28) above.
- 33) For this subject generally see the interesting study by W.H. Vroom, *De financiering van de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen in het bijzonder van de dom van Utrecht*, especially chapter VII, pp. 344 - 352, where the author writes of the different roles played by the cathedral and the *Buurkerk* of Utrecht, of the latter noting 'De Buurkerk was een stadskerk, zij was gelegen in de kern van het economische en politieke centrum van de stad en met stedelijke functies van allerlei aard ... De impuls tot bouwen ging uit van de kerkmeesters, die tot hetzelfde burgerlijk patriciaat behoorden, dat er zorg voor droeg, dat her vermogen van de Heilige Geesttafel steeds groeide en dat memoriediensten stichtte voor de tot het patriciaat behorende families'. p. 352.
- 34) G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 61 - 62.
- 35) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 7, March 1528 - November 1529 p. 93
- 36) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 13, p. 125.
- 37) *Loc. cit.* p. 115.
- 38) For a brief development of the chapter of Leyden see B. N. Leverland, 'Het kapittel van St. Pancras te Leiden', *Leidse Jaarboekje*, (1966), pp. 69 - 86.
- 39) A. H. Martens van Sevenhoven, *Archief van het kapittel St. Marie op het Binnenhof te 's-Gravenhage*, pp. i - iii.
- 40) J.C. Overvoorde, 'Het kapittel van Onze Lieve Vrouw in de Grootte Kerk of O.L.V Kerk te Dordrecht', *B.B.H.*, vol. 28 (1904), p. 331, where of the sixteen prebends seven were in the gift of the count of Holland, or by the sixteenth century, the king, two in the gift of the

*Burgemeesters en schepenen* of the city, one in the gift of the abbot of Middelburg, and the remainder in the gift of private individuals.

- 41) Not much is known about this chapter, but in the accounts of the clerical subsidy granted to Charles V in 1532 nineteen canons are noted as paying various sums ranging from 105 Holland fl. to 6 Holland florins, which certainly indicates the absence of a common fund, R.A. Middelburg, *Rekenkamer 1 Bourg-Oost*, No. 450, f. v, v., - f. vi, v.; at least one of the prebends was in private hands, in those of the Cats family, S. Van Leeuwen, *Batavia illustrata*, vol. I, pp. 901, 910.
- 42) P.J. Hallu & S.A. Waller Zeper, *Catalogus van de archieven van de kleine kapittels en kloosters*, p. 9, No. 1 - b, whereby the four prebends founded in the chapel of the fortress of Ter Horst, due to the destruction of the fortress, are transferred to provide chaplaincies in the Vredenburg at Utrecht, at Ter Eem, at Abcoude and Rhenen, 1534; in the clerical subsidy of 1532 the revenues of the four canons of Ter Horst were assessed for half their revenues at but 16 gulden, AKD 3351. f. ix, r.
- 43) OBC 21, Document entitled *Beneficien staende tot der collatie der coninck*.
- 44) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 13, p. 124.
- 45) See revenues of *Domproost* in appendix.
- 46) See note 14) above.
- 47) Morillon writing to cardinal Granvelle on 20 June 1569 about Johan Fonck to whom the former had just resigned the provostry of St. Marie at Utrecht observed '... he will be happy with things at Utrecht, living on his canonry (sic) which is worth 1000 or 1200 florins p.a.', Gachard, *Corr. Granvelle*, vol. III, p. 603.
- 48) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, Nos. 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 18b, pp. 98 - 165.
- 49) Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, 18 March 1561, p. 137.
- 50) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 19, Richebé to Phillip II, Rome, 12 May 1556, pp. 166 - 67.
- 51) Parker, *Phillip II*, p. 30.
- 52) Gachard, *Corr. Philippe II*, vol. I, Perez to Armenteros, 30 June 1565, p. 358.
- 53) W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England*, Chapter IV, pp. 44 -60, deals specifically with Philip's reputation and the Revolt of the Netherlands in which, after quoting some lurid epitaphs upon Philip II and his countrymen by Dutch and English sources, the following comment is notable '...was there no other picture available to the sixteenth-and seventeenth-century Englishmen? Unfortunately the answer must be no. ...[two English contemporary writers] as experienced soldiers, defended Spanish valour, but no one defended Philip,...' ' *Ibid.* p. 59. Alas, the junketings of 1988 have done little to redress this view in this kingdom.
- 54) Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 55.
- 55) *Ibid.*, pp. 64 - 65.
- 56) For his views by 1559 see the comments, Weiss, *Papiers d'état de cardinal Granvelle*, vol. V, pp. 628 - 30, 631 - 32.
- 57) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, pp. 119 - 120.
- 58) I am grateful to Dr. M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado for her comments on this point, stemming from her study of Philip's reactions to the decrees of the Council of Trent, to be explored in a forthcoming book on Philip's reign in the years after 1559.

- 59) Parker, *Philip II*, p. 35.
- 60) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 38.
- 61) Archbishop Juan Siliceo of Toledo, former tutor to Philip II, writing to the latter on 18 September 1556, (Ed.) R. Brown, *Cal. St. P. Venetian*, vol. XIII, No. 282, p. 278, possibly points to some major initiative in the field of religion, but the wording is so ambivalent that it could refer to anything.
- 62) Federico Badoer Venetian ambassador to Brussels, to the doge and senate of Venice, Ghent, 18 October 1556, *Ibid.*, vol. VI pt. 1, No. 667, pp. 717 - 718.
- 63) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 73; see also the rather special pleading years later of cardinal Granvelle, in writing to Johan Fonck from Rome on 1 June 1576, 'Sonnius ... C'est luy qui mict en avons les unions et traicta l'erection des nouvelles eveschiez, sans moy...', Gachard, *Corr. Granvelle*, vol. VI, p. 96; this might seem to be confirmed by Margaret of Parma's comments to Philip II that she could not place Sonnius in charge of the negotiations with the recalcitrant Brabantine abbeys as they held him responsible for the schemes of incorporation, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, 6 October 1564, p. 184, but it should be borne in mind that the Regent was probably by that date only too happy to find scapegoats for the trials and tribulations with which the government in Brussels was beset by the ramifications of the scheme of new bishoprics.
- 64) *NNBW*, vol. V, col. 877.
- 65) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 21, Philip II to cardinal Caraffa, Brussels, 5 March 1558, pp. 171 - 72.
- 66) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 46.
- 67) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 71.
- 68) Eubel, vol. III, p. 149, 31 August, 1556.
- 69) *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 316, 26 September 1559.
- 70) *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 316, 13 December 1564.
- 71) For the career of this unhappy man, rather dominated by his more ruthless brother, the marquis Johan van Glymes, see P. Harsin, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de la principauté de Liège 1477 - 1795*, vol. III, chapter VI, pp. 136 - 151.
- 72) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 36, Sonnius to dean and chapter of Utrecht, Rome, 15 May, 1559, pp. 199 - 200.
- 73) This proposal first appears in the advice of the Commission of Five on or before August 1561, Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 193, p. 508.
- 74) The diocese of Middelburg was to comprise the deaneries of the county of Zeeland with in addition the deanery of the Vierambachten, an isolated enclave of Utrecht jurisdiction in Flanders on the southern shore and banks of the river Scheldt. The diocese of Haarlem was originally to include what is the present-day province of North Holland, but more importantly for our study, what then included the jurisdiction of the Chapter in Westfriesland.
- 75) The government chose initially the incumbent dean of Utrecht, Adriaan van Renesse van Zuylen, a nobleman described as possessing an *enormis libido*, and who appears in addition to have been a married man, with several children *NNBW*, vol. III, cols. 1061; he died within ten days of the nomination and it might be argued that the government was spared the embarrassment of having appointed so unsuitable a man, although as the government rapidly nominated another libidinous, bastard-encumbered nobleman in the person of Frederik Schenck van

Toutenburg it was rather curious. Just how curious the choice was may be guessed at by the following suggestive elements. In the 1560's William of Orange was much exercised by the provision of a career in the Church for his younger brother Henry of Nassau. To some degree this was thwarted by the considerable reserve felt in Catholic circles, particularly the conservative cathedral chapters to whom William of Orange addressed his requests, over the young man's religious orthodoxy. In 1565 William of Orange was to request the provostry of Oudmunster for Henry, and while he did not secure the benefice itself, he did secure a pension of 600 florins, see note 14) above; there was a further request for a prebend at Liège in 1565, but this was refused by the wary canons of the cathedral, J. Daris, *Histoire du diocèse et de la principauté de Liège pendant le XVIIe siècle*, p. 378; but a start had to be made somewhere, and a beginning was made with young Henry's education, at the university of Leuven where he matriculated in 1562, and part of his expenses there were paid by the archbishop of Utrecht, at this date Frederick Schenck van Toutenberg, Rachfahl, *Wilhelm van Oranien*, vol. II, pp. 358 - 59; that Schenck van Toutenberg was Orange's nominee at Utrecht is suggested by Morillon's story of 1564 to cardinal Granvelle of how Joachim Hopperus was discussing the quality of the Netherlands bishops with the Regent Margaret of Parma, and the latter had blamed cardinal Granvelle, to which Hopperus replied that he had frequently asked both cardinal Granvelle and Viglius whom he understood had both advanced the archbishop of Utrecht, who was so useless, but at this the Regent fell silent, according to Morillon because '... pour ce qu'elle sçait que le prince d'Orange l' a fait', Morillon to cardinal Granvelle, Brussels, 26 July 1564, Weiss, *Papiers d'etat de cardinal Granvelle*, vol. VII, p. 168; this is largely confirmed by the letter of Margaret of Parma to William of Orange, Brussels, 22 October 1561, '... pour la provision de l'eglise d'Utrecht, je vous avoie jointement adverti du mesme, pour, si vostre commodité l'eust comporté, y voulloir aussi donner l'assistance, [to the royal commissioners sent to install the new archbishop] et tenir main au bon effect de l'intention de Sa Majesté, comme aussi, par ses lettres, vous l'avez entendu, et par ce que par sa charge je vous en ay dit. Et, estant souvenant que avez vous-mesme recommandé le personnaige à ce choisy par Leurs Saintcteté et Majesté, assavoir: messire Frédrich Schenck de Tautenburg, je ne doute que , si besoning est, vous vous y emploierez très volontiers...' Gachard, *Corr. de Guill. le Taciturne*, vol. II, No, 333, pp. 30 - 31. The *quid pro quo* seems obvious.

76) Rogier, *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 236

77) Rogier, *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 267

78) The sees of Arras and Cambrai had a long tradition by the sixteenth century of papal nomination, and in the bargaining for such rights, it was finally agreed that the pope would retain rights of nomination at Cambrai, while the king was to have the nomination to the remaining sees of the newly created Netherlands province, Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 64 - 67.

79) The Chapter began its campaign of delaying the formal election of Schenck van Toutenberg by despatching a delegation to Brussels for which instructions were drawn up on 19 October 1561, which began by claiming unconvincingly to know nothing of plans depriving it of its revenues and jurisdiction, Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. II, No. 223, pp. 70 - 76; by the 26 October 1561 the delegation, comprising from Utrecht, *Domdeken Johan*

Van der Vecht, Willem van Amerongen, dean of the Oudmunster and *domkannunik*. Johan van Bruhezen, *Officiaal* of the *Domproost*, and to be joined there by Maximilian Morillon, provost of St. Marie at Utrecht, AKD 1 - 17, 19 October 1561; the delegation saw the Regent Margaret of Parma on the 19 October and secured from her the declaration that the revenues of the chapters of Utrecht were not to be touched for support of the archbishop, indeed these latter were to be secured by *andere middelen*, after which the Regent pressed the delegation to secure the election of Schenck van Toutenberg, *Carr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, p. 69, letter to Chapter of 28 October 1561; if the Regent thought all would now be well she was in for a unpleasant surprise, for her two commissioners despatched to oversee, as they expected, the formal election of Schenck van Toutenberg, arriving at the cathedral some days before 7 November 1561, were faced by what amounted to a charade put on by the canons of the five chapters in that they insisted on putting frivolous reasons forward for not discussing the election, among others, that they could not proceed without having replies from the provost of the Oudmunster, who was the bishop of Liège, (and known at that date to be mentally unstable) and when that was brushed aside by the commissioners, beginning again with the same excuse for the absentee provost of Arnhem, the count of Rennenberg, and all this carried out by an elaborate means of delegations from the commissioners to the delegations of the various chapters gathered at the cathedral. Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. II, No. 232, 7 November 1561, pp. 96 - 102; this farce went on for some days, and the ire of the commissioners increased along with, as they described it 'ceste longurie' combined, they alleged, with the murmurings of the people gathered in the cathedral, and their account to the Regent waxed indignant: 'Madame, puisque voyons les dicts seigneurs d'eglise non chercher autre que de gagner temps et nous facher de remises, dont le peuple d'icy se schandalize...', *loc. cit.* p. 99; the canons clearly could not play this game indefinitely and finally produced a document in which they promised to elect Schenck van Toutenberg on the following three conditions, that first, the Regent must promise that no capitular revenues would be touched for the income of the new archbishop, that second, the existing archdeacons of the church of Utrecht retain their powers and jurisdictions for life, and finally that the king confirm all the foregoing, *ibid.*, vol. II, No. 233, 7 November 1561, p. 105; the commissioners were clearly rather taken aback by all this, but agreed to transmit these extraordinary demands back to the Regent, the canons '...zeer ernstelick versocht ende daerinne gepersisteert hebben', *ibid.*, vol. II, No. 235, p. 107; what the canons did not put on paper, but which emerged when Margaret of Parma reported events to Philip II, was that they had made very specific threats which the Regent felt she simply could not risk the canons putting even remotely into practice, or as she wrote to the king on 19 December 1561, indeed Schenck van Toutenberg had been '...receu en la [the archbishopric] possession; mais ce n'a esté sans mistère, ayant esté là le secretaire maistre Jehan de Langhe six semaines entières, [with as well] le président d'Utrecht [Hippolytus Persijn]... ils [the canons] commencerent à assembler leurs chapitres a diverses consultations pour s'y opposer, [in addition to despatching delegations to us here in Brussels] ...donnans assez à entendre que qui ne leur satiferoit, ilz procureroient l'adjunction des estaz, qui fût esté ung tres-mauvais comencement... et mesmes les faire joindre avec les estatz

de Brabant; et pour l'empescher... il a esté besoing de m'obliger à ce que 'ilz pourroient avoir, je procureroire que Votre Majesté en print pour remédier, tant que faire se pouroit, à leur dommaige, Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, pp. 24 - 25. From the Regent's point of view the possibility of a conjunction of opposition in two of her provinces was a major concern: on the other hand, there is always the possibility that the Regent felt that she had some explaining to do to the king for her actions in what was in essence sabotaging the effectiveness of the scheme of new bishoprics in the Northern Netherlands. As will be seen in note 81) below, the king agreed promptly and without fuss.

80) 31 January 1562, Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme.*, vol. II, p. 70.

81) The details of the agreements will be found in the large dossier AKD 3323, for the agreements over the prebends in papal months, ff. 1118 - 19; for the pension at ff. 1120 - 21; the concession over the archdeacons '...die welke archidiakenen inde limiten vande nyeuwen bisdommen al evenwel sullen blijven haer leven lanck by haere digniteyten', Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, 28 October 1561, p. 70, with Philip's agreement 31 January 1562.

82) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. II, No. 240, Hippolytus Persijn and Johan De Lange to Regent Margaret of Parma, Utrecht, 13 November, 1561, p. 117. It was in this letter also that the two clearly highly embarrassed and indeed affronted royal commissioners, one of whom was the president of the *Hof van Utrecht*, made the interesting observation that when the delegation from the *Domkapittel* sought to make excuses for the quite extraordinary proceedings, it sought to put the blame upon 'les jeunes espritz reluctans', among the canons, *loc. cit.* p. 116. It is hard to believe that these reluctant young spirits had not considerable backing from the *pars maior et sanior* within the chapters. That this question of age is perhaps of some significance may be worth considering in the light of events in the neighbouring prince-bishopric of Münster, where some twenty years later a division on the grounds of age is cited as the cause of revolutionary actions. In his recent study *Society and Religion in Münster 1535 - 1618*, p. 33, R. Po-chia Hsia writes as follows: 'The death of bishop Johann von Hoya in 1574 brought to a head the underlying conflict among the canons. Led by Johann von Westerholt, *scholasticus* of the chapter, the younger canons championed the candidacy of the duke of Brunswick, a Protestant; the senior canons, under the leadership of dean Gottfried von Raesfeld, opposed the protestant candidate, offered the see to Johan-Wilhelm, son of the duke of Jülich-Cleve (*sic*), who administered the bishopric as *interimstatthalter*... The exercise of power was in the hands of a few senior canons, thanks to the general indifference and the high dropout rate below the senior ranks of the chapter'. At Utrecht it seems clear that while the Chapter was untouched by heresy, it was clearly united, 'young and old', in defence of its privileges.

83) Weiss, *Papiers d'etat du cardinal de Granvelle*, vol. VII, p. 168, and note 75) above generally.

84) The reason for this surmise is that it seems improbable that the prince of Orange would not have sought to have made, as far as was possible, such nominations within his governorships of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht.

85) There are grounds for thinking that perhaps cardinal Granvelle was responsible for the appointment of Van Nieuwland, A. H. L. Hensen, *De*

- twee eerste bisschoppen van Haarlem, p. 28. Was this a *quid pro quo* between the prince of Orange and cardinal Granvelle for Orange securing his candidate at Utrecht? Viglius is mentioned because it was he who subsequently sought to find out what progress the bishop of Haarlem had made in his pastoral oversight of the diocese, but this may simply have been part of his duties as president of the *Geheime Raad*.
- 86) See note 75) above.
- 87) Schenck van Toutenburg was a considerable pluralist: He was provost of St. Pieter in Utrecht and of St. Plechelmus in Oldenzaal; his father George Schenck van Toutenburg, *Stadhouder* of Friesland had secured for him the deanery of Steenwijk and the parish church of Vollenhoven; his sister Maria van Toutenburg, abbess of Rijnsburg had given him the church of Rijnsburg. In addition to all this he had a stall in the cathedral of Utrecht. He exploited these benefices ruthlessly.
- 88) Philip II wrote to Margaret of Parma from Toledo on 31 May 1561 that '... qu' il seroit bien que j' escripvisse à messire Frederique Schenck, que j' avois a l'archevesché d'Utrecht, afin de vouloir délaissier sa prevosté de Oldenzeele a celluy que j'ay denommé à l'eveschie de Deventher...' Gachard, *Corr. de Marg. de Parme*, vol. I, p. 486.; and the same day despatched a similar letter to Schenck van Toutenburg, Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 169, p. 469.
- 89) Morillon wrote dismissively to Granvelle on several occasions about Schenck, and in an undated letter notes that the archbishop of Utrecht *ne fait choses que vaillé, et ne soucie que d'amasser*, Weiss, *Papiers d'etat du cardinal de Granvelle*, vol. VI, p. 21 note 1.
- 90) AKD 3323, ff. 1120 - 21.
- 91) Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, Regent to Chapter, 28 October 1561, p. 69.
- 92) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 193, prior August 1561, pp. 507 - 508.
- 93) *Ibid.*, vol. I, No. 131, 10 March 1561, p. 387 for Van Nieuwland's nomination to Haarlem and the abbacy of Egmont.
- 94) Van Nieuwland was consecrated bishop of Hebron *in partibus infidelium* on 11 September 1541. He was subsequently, in 1546, to secure the richest parish church in all Holland, that of Haarlem, A. Hensen, *De twee eersten bisschoppen van Haarlem*, pp. 8 - 9.
- 95) A. Hensen, *Ibid.*, pp. 23 - 26.
- 96) *Ebrius Nicolaiculus*, A. Hensen, *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 97) The text of Viglius' letter to Van Nieuwland expressing his surprise is printed in J. F. Vrege, 'Oorkonden' *Haarlemse Bijdragen*, vol. XII (1884), pp. 151 -52; for even more depressing evidence of Van Nieuwland's conduct see the interrogation he underwent concerning his charge on 1 September 1564, in A. Hensen 'Nicholas van Nieuwland, bisschop van Haarlem, 1561 - 1580', *B.B.H.* vol. XXVI (1901), pp. 252 - 54.
- 98) The forward in Joosting & Muller, vol. VII, *De proosdij van Westfriesland*, covers the topic succinctly; in addition see *Ibid.*, No. 5, pp 24 - 27.
- 99) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 61, 15 March 1560, pp. 237 - 41.
- 100) The Chapter had sought to preserve its jurisdiction in Westfriesland from the diocese of Haarlem, or if that was not agreeable, then to preserve it within the diocese, claiming that unless this was granted '...ex quo Ecclesiae nostrae enormi detrimento cum magno doloris motu peturbaremur', failing which they revealed themselves open to

compensation, Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 115, 1 February 1561, pp. 360 - 62; the government agreed to compensation, and it was left to the egregius Sonnius to inform it that while the provostry was really only worth from 500 to 550 florins p.a., the king had graciously consented to set the figure of compensation at 600 florins p.a., (which suggests that the revenues were probably in reality greater, and not a great difficulty for the king as he was not paying, for this pension was to be paid out of the revenues of the bishopric of Haarlem), but unctuous as ever, Sonnius took it upon himself to add that the king 'Non fecit taliter omni nationi', *ibid.*, vol. I, No. 119, 8 February 1561, pp. 365 - 67.

101) AKD 1 - 17, 5 July 1560.

102) De Castro was installed as bishop of Middelburg in January 1562, Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. II, p. 17 January, 1560, pp. 189 - 193; but by July problems between the bishop and the *Damproost*, had arisen such that the regent had issued to the former a mandate asking him to administer his diocese with respect for the rights of the latter as archdeacon, *ibid.*, vol. II, No. 322, 14 July 1562, pp. 318 - 320; but this attempted intervention appears to have been useless for by September the Regent had requested delegates from all concerned to come to Brussels by the first of October '...int vriendelick te handelen ende accorderen', for its part the Chapter chose to send Cornelis van Nijenrode, *ibid.*, vol. II, No. 344, post 1 September 1562, pp. 354 - 56; some sort of agreement was hammered out by January 1563, but because of the destruction of the documents in wartime we know only of its existence rather than its terms, Fruin, *O.L.V. Middelburg*, No. 1524, 11 January 1563, p. 526; not surprisingly, bearing in mind the financial stakes involved, the peace this allegedly secured did not last, and the Regent made a last attempt to secure peace, and a further agreement was reached in July 1563 whereby the spiritual matters were the joint affair of the bishop and *Damproost*, especially marriage causes, while appeals were to go to the bishop, while jurisdiction over benefices, and the installation to benefices was the province of the *Damproost*, Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 206; but this was quite an unsatisfactory state of affairs and led to endless disputes which created havoc with the diocesan administration, such that by 1566 it was a matter of such public scandal that Viglius in Brussels could write to Johan van Bruhezen in Utrecht that '...cum haec tempora ecclesiasticos (si quando antea) nunc certe conjugere animos consiliaque suadeant', Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. III, No. 625, Brussels, 12 May 1566, pp. 294 - 95; the matter seems never to have been resolved, and there is a hint that bishop de Castro lost heart, for in the course of 1568 Philip II thought it necessary to write urging him to further zeal, *ibid.*, vol. III, Madrid, 12 April 1568, pp. 388 - 89; and this impression that all was not well is perhaps reflected by doubts over his administration of the diocese and abbey of Middelburg expressed by Morillon, (who, of course, had never experienced the problems of the northern Netherlands), *ibid.*, vol. III, No. 723, 6 February 1569, p. 526.

103) AKD 1 - 17, 29 October 1561.

104) AKD 1 - 18, 24 August 1564.

105) AKD 1 - 18, 28 September 1564.

106) See note 102) above, and Appendix 11.

107) Dierickx, *Nieuwe bisdommen*, p. 206.

108) AKD 3323, ff. 1118 - 1119.

- 109) Archbishop Schenck appointed two clerics Johan van Bergh and Johan van Schade, of whom very little is known. Also appointed by this means were the brothers Bucho and Folcardt van Montzima, nephews of Viglius. Auxilliary bishop Van Oprode's nephew was married to a daughter of the Griffier of the *Hof van Utrecht*, Gijsleni Schrijvers, who in turn was the father-in-law to one of Viglius' nephews: See Table 4. The sixth appointee was Dirk Tielemans.
- 110) See chapter II, note 278.
- 111) Rogier, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 264.
- 112) '...die welcke archidiakenen inde limiten vande nyeuwen bisdommen evenwel sullen blijven haer leven lanck by haere digniteyten'. Regent to five chapters of Utrecht, 28 October 1561, Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, p. 70.
- 113) *NNBW*, cols 208 - 211.
- 114) See Appendix 11.
- 115) Morillon to cardinal Granvelle, 10 February 1566. Gachard, *Corr. Granvelle*, vol. I, p. 121; for a more specific portrait at the hand of an anonymous writer, destined probably for officials at the Vatican, that can be dated to before 10 August 1566, '... Verum D. archiepiscopus Trajectensis non satisfacit vocationi suae, nam interdum totos sex menses desidet in castro, se oblectans aut studiis aut aliis rebus, neque ullum admittit ad colloquium suum, ut non vigilet super grege sibi commisso, prout vocatio ipsius postulat...', Brom, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, No. 150, p. 183.
- 116) This is an aspect of the history of Utrecht that deserves further study. It is too easy to see the Revolt in the North as a victory of Reformed protestantism under the leadership of Orange, and while that is a simplistic view of events in Holland, the situation at Utrecht was even more opaque. That Utrecht was a city Catholic at heart may not be doubted, but crisis brought to the fore radical Protestant elements, but equally there were those who, such as Duifhus sought what may be described as an 'Anglican' solution in matters of religion, and there were those in addition who may have sought a church order close to that of the former Catholic Church. Equally there would have been no 'revolution' in Utrecht, no adhesion to the Union of 1579, without support, guarded and beset by reservations though it might be, of Catholics.
- 117) See Appendix 12, for institutions made in the deaneries of North Holland, technically in the diocese of Haarlem.
- 118) See Appendix 11.
- 119) Dierickx, *Documents*, vol. I, No. 53, Granvelle to Pacheco, Antwerp, 31 August, 1559, p. 222, '... No faltaran dificultades en la execucion y passaran años antes que la cose se pueda poner por obra...'
- 120) In his study of the period 1555 - c. 1584 in Netherlands history, entitled *The Dutch Revolt*, G. Parker addresses himself to the question as to whether the central government intended to 'pack' the *Staten van Brabant* with royal nominees through the proposal to incorporate the new bishoprics to abbacies having seats in the Estates. To the end that it was indeed the intention of Phillip II to do this he quotes a letter of Granvelle to Philip II of 12 May 1576, apparently reminding the king that *the* [my italics] principal reason for the incorporation '... was because the abbots of Brabant are the men who cause the most trouble in the deliberations of the States of Brabant, and if three experienced bishops, zealous in Your Majesty's service, were to intervene in the

discussions with the authority of their rank ...they would command greater respect' Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, p. 283, note 24. Certainly those who had to deal with *Staten van Brabant* may well have hoped for such an outcome: Margaret of Parma writing to Philip II on 14 June 1562, Gachard, *Corr. Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, pp. 247 - 49, and indeed cardinal Granvelle on the same date. Weiss, *Papiers d'etat de cardinal Granvelle*, vol. VI, pp. 567 - 73, and also suggested it, *loc. cit.*, pp. 551 - 562. Rather more specifically, right at the beginning of the introduction of plans for the whole scheme in the Netherlands, cardinal Granvelle wrote to the king, on 15 March 1560 urging this policy upon the king, arguing '...par la les evésques auront des revenues tres convenables. V.M. et la republique pourront recevoir d'eux, dans les affaires des états et autres plus de service que des abbés...', adding that while ordinary abbots are all very well, they tend to show a tendency to make difficulties '...dans les affaires qui concernent son service et le bien commun du pays, et aussi peu accessibles à la raison....', Gachard, *Corr. Philippe II*, vol. I, pp. 188 - 89. None of the foregoing, or Granvelle's later letter, are evidence that the king advocated this policy, although he clearly would have been desirous of its results; nor is there evidence that the issue as it applied to the *Staten van Brabant* was any more than the accidental outcome of a solution to the problem of endowment addressed by the anonymous author of 1551 - 52.

121) Provost of the Oudmunster since 1550 till his death in January 1565, Heussen, *Kerkelijke historie*, vol. I, p. 189. For him as prince-bishop of Liège, see note 71) above.

122) Charles Peronet de Granvelle was a brother of cardinal Granvelle, and seems to have qualified for an ecclesiastical career without actually embracing it. In 1540 he unsuccessfully sought the wealthy deanery of St. Donatien at Bruges, and an equally unsuccessful attempt again in 1555. He secured a prebend at the *Dom* in 1550, possibly at the request of the papal legate. He secured the Treasurership of the *Dom* at Utrecht but resigned it to one of Viglius's nephews, Bucho van Montzima in 1562. In the same year he resigned the provostry of St. Jan at Utrecht, secured for him by papal provision in 1543 at the request of the Regent Mary of Hungary. He secured an abbey in Franche-Comté, Favernay, *in commendam*, and also was a canon of Liège. Van Durme notes in his biography of the cardinal, *Antoon Ferronet*, p. 193, that Charles was *Hotelmeester* to the prince of Orange. On the subject of the patronage of the prince of Orange and cardinal Granvelle see the article of first, H.F.K. Van Neiroop, 'Willem als hooge edelman: patronage in de Habsburg Nederlanden', *B.M.G.* (1984), pp. 651 - 76, and in the same issue, the article by H. Koenigsberger, 'Orange, Granvelle and Philip II', pp. 573 - 95.

123) Morillon is well known as cardinal Granvelle's 'man of business' and his vicar-general in the archdiocese of Mechelen, administrator of Granvelle's wealthy abbey of Afflighem, and later bishop in his own right of Doornik (Tournai). His links with Utrecht are suggestive. He was presented to a stall at the *Dom* in 1551 by the *turnarius*, Adriaan van Renesse, who had despite many qualifications to the contrary, just been appointed dean of Utrecht, and it might be hypothesised that there was some connection between this appointment, and a man closely linked to the Granvelle circle and that the gift of the canonry was a species of *quid pro quo*. Granvelle was to resign the provostry of St. Marie at

Utrecht to Morillon in 1562, and one can only speculate as to why this might be. One explanation might be that as provost he might have to accept concollegiate petitions from the other clergy of the city at a time embarrassing to the government, although presumably the same argument applies to Morillon to some extent. 124) For Schenck van Toutenburg see note 87) above.

125) There is a brief biographical notice of Cornelis van Mierop in Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, p. 285.

126) The full force of this delicious sarcasm is best appreciated in the French: '...estans seigneurs de telle qualité, il me semble, Monseigneur, qu'ilz méritent bien avoir regard en l'endroit de ceulx qu'ilz recommandent,...' Theissen, *Correspondance Francaise de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II*, vol. I, No. CCCLXXXVII, 22 July 1565, p. 70.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE CHAPTER, THE ESTATES OF UTRECHT AND THE FIRST BEDE OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II.

- 1) A good coverage can be found in E. Lousse *L'état corporatif au Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne : Notes pour le cours d'histoire du droit à l'usage des étudiants en droit et en histoire*, Leuven, 1938;
- 2) C.R. Rutgers, 'De Stichtse Landbrief van 1375', in *Van Standen tot Staten*, Stichtse Historische Reeks, vol. I, p. 24.
- 3) In 1530 the *Hof van Utrecht* possessed the following formula for summoning the Estates: in the first place *die prelaet met twee van den oudsten capitullaren*; secondly a list of nobles to be summoned to the Estates, and finally representatives of the city of Utrecht and the smaller towns of Amersfoort, Wijk-bij-Duurstede, Rhenen and Amersfoort. R.A.U., *Rechterlijke Archieven*, 9 - 1, *Memoriaalboek I*, f.3, May 1530.
- 4) For the year 1556 there were thirty-two session days of the Estates, for which *presentibus* records survive for all but one day. On sixteen days three canons of the cathedral attended, on nine days two canons attended, on five days but one canon attended, and on one day four canons attended. The *Domdeken* who attended all sessions as *ex-officio* president is included in the foregoing figures, and was the sole representative on the days when but one canon of the cathedral was present: these occasions were mainly the auditing of the accounts of the Lekdijk. R.A.U., *Statenarchief 118 - 3*, pp. 279.v. - 325.v.
- 5) Van de Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, p. 263.
- 6) The representatives of the four small towns were present on 4 April 1558, all but Montfoort represented by a *burgemeester* and Town Clerk, Montfoort sent her Town Clerk. R.A.U. *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, p. 362.v.
- 7) In an admittedly brief treatment of the ecclesiastical principalities, Hajo Holborn in his *History of Modern Germany*, pp. 48 - 49, does not even mention estates, although he refers to the development of the absolutism of the prince-bishops.
- 8) R. Folz, 'Les assemblées d'états dans les principautés allemandes (fin XIII - début XVI siècles)', *Anciens pays et assemblées d'état*, vol. 36 (1965), pp. 163 - 191.
- 9) R. Von Oer, 'Estates and Diets in Ecclesiastical Principalities of the Holy Roman Empire (18th. Century)', in *Liber memorialis Georges de Lagarde*, in *études présentées à la commission internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états*, vol. 38 (1970), pp. 259 - 281.
- 10) For Basel see R. Ballmer, 'Les assemblées d'états dans l'ancien évêché de Bâle', in *Schweizer Beitrage zur Allgemeinen Geschichte*, vol. 20 (1962), pp. 54 - 140; and for Liège see P. Harsin, 'Gouverneés et gouvernants dans la principauté de Liège du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle', in *Anciens pays et assemblées d'état*, vol. 33 (1951), pp. 79 - 86.
- 11) Lawrence G. Duggan, *Bishop and Chapter. The Governance of the bishopric of Speyer to 1522*.
- 12) Duggan, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- 13) F. L. Carsten, *Princes and Parliaments in Germany from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth century*, p. 423.
- 14) Duggan, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

- 15) C. A. Van Kalveen, *Het bestuur van bisschop en staten in het Nedersticht, Oversticht en Drenthe, 1483 - 1520*, for this particular development in the years 1503 and 1510, especially pp. 119 - 167; for later developments in this struggle see J.S. Theissen, *De regeering van Karel V in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, pp. 65 - 68.
- 16) See above Chapter IV.
- 17) The Chapter exercised archidiaconal powers in Westfriesland as follows:
- i. Institution to benefices. See Joosting & Muller, vol. VII, No. 1, c. 1500, pp. 1 - 5.
  - ii. The holding of synods. *Loc. cit.*, No. 162, 18 June 1510, pp. 501 - 506.
  - iii. Discipline over the laity. *Loc. cit.*, Nos. 165 - 167, examples from the turn of the sixteenth century, pp. 509 - 516.
- 18) V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. II, pp. 1048 - 1061.
- 19) *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 1027.
- 20) R.A.U., *Rechterlijke Archieven, 9 - 1, Memoriaalboek I*, f. 53, 27 April 1531.
- 21) Rutgers, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Article XIII is cited on p. 13.
- 22) R.A.U., *Rechterlijke Archieven, 9 - 1, Memoriaalboek I*, f. 3, May 1530.
- 23) V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. II, 986.
- 24) See for example the session of 26 February 1558 when the delegation from the cathedral comprised the *Domdeken*, and canons Mulert, Galama, Van Zuylen van Nijvelt and Van Veen, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3; also the session of 29 December 1563, at which were present the *Domdeken* and canons Mulart, Johan van Bruhesen, Van Zuylen van Nijvelt and Axel, R.A.U. *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated.
- 25) The session of the Estates at which provost the count of Rennenberg appeared, held on 30 October 1566, was concerned with the raising of troops to protect the city, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated.
- 26) S. Muller, *Vergaderplaatsen der Staten van Utrecht*, p. 4.
- 27) V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, p. 972.
- 28) S. Muller, *Vergaderplaatsen*, p. 5.
- 29) R.A.U., *Recht. Arch.*, 9 - 1, *Memoriaalboek III*, f. 424, 8 January 1556.
- 30) *Mijn Heer die President*, attended the afternoon session of 3 May 1560, a session dedicated to the accounts of the Lekdijk, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 119 - 2, unpaginated.
- 31) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, 26 May 1555.
- 32) This was the visit of the *stadhouder* Maximilian van Bourgondie, *Heer van Beveren*, who wrote to the Estates on a date prior to 2 June 1556, when his letter was read to the assembled Estates, and he subsequently arrived in the city to be present at the session held on 13 June 1556, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, but at dates cited.
- 33) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, sessions of 4 and 5 April 1558.
- 34) P. L. Muller, 'Stukken betreffende de onderhandelingen tusschen de staten van Utrecht en de hooge regeering...' *B.M.H.G.* vol. X (1887), p. 136.
- 35) R.A.U., *Rechterlijke Archieven, 9 - 1, Memoriaalboek, I*, f. 53, 27 April 1531.

36) The following table, based upon entries from R.A.U., *Statenarchief* 118 - 3, 118 - 4, and 119 - 2, gives the number of sessions from October 1555 to May 1567.

	1555	1556	1557	1558	1559	1560	1561	1562	1563	1564	1565	1566	1567
Jan.	-	2	0	2	1	2	1	0	3	4	1	1	4
Feb.	-	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	0	1	4
Mar.	-	2	2	5	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2
Apr.	-	2	1	5	1	0	1	1	1	2	4	0	0
May.	-	2	2	3	1	6	0	1	1	1	2	3	2
Jun.	-	6	3	5	1	0	3	2	0	0	1	1	-
Jul.	-	3	1	3	5	3	5	5	2	1	1	2	-
Aug.	-	1	4	2	1	4	1	1	0	2	2	1	-
Sep.	-	3	2	3	6	3	1	1	0	1	3	3	-
Oct.	1	4	2	8	3	3	0	1	0	2	0	10	-
Nov.	5	2	2	0	7	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	-
Dec.	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	2	2	1	-

37) M. Van Vliet, *Hooghheemraadschap van de Lekdijk Bovendams*, is the key work for an understanding of the working of this important institution in the Sticht. By a decree of Charles V in 1537 a college was created under a *dijkgraaf*, comprising eleven *heemraden*. It was this body that was charged with the repair and maintenance of dykes between Amerongen and Vreeswijk, the triennial musters, and auditing by the Estates of Utrecht before officers of the *Rekenkamer van Holland*, pp. 18 - 21, 105, 109.

38) Accounting sessions took place *post prandio*, and attendance dropped markedly on such occasions, such that on one occasion only the *Domdeken* and the officers of the *Rekenkamer van Holland* remained to finish the presumably rather dull work of the session.

39) For a study of this topic in relation to the county of Holland, see the important work of James D. Tracy, *A financial revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands*, especially chapter III.

40) P. Verhofstad, *De regering der Nederlanden in de jaren 1555 - 1559*, pp. 81 - 82.

41) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, 9 October 1555.

42) *Ibid.*, 7 December 1555.

43) AKD 1 - 17, 6 December 1555, ...*heeren Domdeken en capl. ten Doom declaert en zijn eendrachelijk* [indecipherable word - possibly *besloten*] *dat zij persisteren bijde conclusie opte zelve petitie lastmael byde drijen Staten 'slands van Utrecht.*

44) AKD 1 - 17, 17 December 1555, *Quinque Eccl. ...Prelaten & kapittels eendrachlicheit gesloten dat dye geestlicheit van ses jaeren consent XX<sup>m</sup> gulden lastgegeven veranderen...*

45) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, 23 December 1555.

46) *Ibid.*, 23 January 1556.

47) Van Heussen, *Kerkelijke historie*, vol. I, p. 359.

48) Goert Reede, son and heir of Adriaan van Reede, *Heer van Saasfeld* and Brandlecht, privy councillor to Henry of Bavaria, bishop of Utrecht, married Gertruid van Nijenrode, daughter and heiress of Ernst van Nijenrode, *Heer van Zuilenstein*, Fahne, *Westphälische Geschichte*, p. 327; appointed *schout* of Utrecht, 23 October 1555, holding the post until 1564, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 217.

- 49) For the government's attempts to widen the tax base in the year 1542 see Tracy, *op. cit.*, chapter III, pp. 71 - 107.
- 50) *Ibid.*, p. 76.
- 51) Verhofstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 - 90.
- 52) *Ibid.*, pp. 91 - 93.
- 53) AKD 1 - 17, Chapter nominates the *Domdeken*, Cornelis van Nijenrode and Johan van der Vecht to treat with the Estates on the matter of the *subsidie*, 20 March 1556.
- 54) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, first meeting on 23 March 1556, second meeting, 31 March 1556.
- 55) AKD 1 - 17, 10 April 1556, *Quinque ecclesiarum*, all deans present and unanimous decision to petition the king.
- 56) For Estates meeting at which the subsidy was described as neither practicable or possible, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, 10 April 1556; for the decision to despatch a delegation to *den Hogen Hove*, i.e. Brussels, *Ibid.*, 18 April 1556.
- 57) *Ibid.*, 2 June 1556.
- 58) Verhofstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 - 91.
- 59) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, 13 June 1556.
- 60) *Ibid.*, 16 June 1556.
- 61) A further delay must have been requested, and granted, for the Estates did not meet till the 23 June, and then to request a further delay, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 4, unpaginated, 23 June 1556.
- 62) *Ibid.*, unpaginated, 26 June 1556.
- 63) This phrase was used in the *Resolutieboek* of the Oudmunster when recording the death of the canon Philip Mor, the portrait painter, who was killed on the ill-fated expedition of king Sebastian of Portugal at the battle of Al Kasr el Kebir 4 August 1578. In fairness to the Clerk to the Chapter it should be observed that military departures for the south were down the so-called Spanish Road, which might well give rise to the notion.
- 64) V. d. Water, *Flacaatboek*, vol. III, p. 171.
- 65) *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 130 *et seq.*
- 66) In the *Domresoluties* under the heading *Quinque ecclesiarum* are noted what appear to be separate gatherings of the senior clergy of the five chapters of the city of Utrecht, meeting usually, but not exclusively, to discuss Estates business. In such entries those present are not very frequently noted: if noted at all it is under the formula either of the deans present or *die van such and such a church*.
- 67) The dean of Utrecht at this date was Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven, and his two assiduous companions from the Chapter of St. Maarten were Cornelis van Nijenrode and Johan van der Vecht, the two canons of St. Marie were Willem van Lockhorst and Lebuin ter Spille, with Lodewijk Score of the Oudmunster, Cornelis Uteneng of St. Pieter and Scipio van Tielt from St. Jan.
- 68) For Willem van Lockhorst see *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 833.
- 69) Lebuin ter Spille, probably a son of Hendrik ter Spillen, town secretary of Deventer c. 1511 to c. 1516, C.A. Kalveen, *Bestuur*, pp. 301 - 303; matriculated at the university of Cologne in June 1526, described as of Deventer, *Mat. Köln*, vol. II, p. 550 -66; secured a prebend at St. Marie by virtue of *prima precum* in 1533, *AKM* 66.
- 70) Practically nothing is known of this canon: he seems to have died in 1558, Brom, *Archivalia*, vol. II pt. 1, No. 2000, 27 December 1558, p.

694; but he is mentioned in the various accounts of the chapter of St. Jan for at least a decade prior to that date.

71) For Cornelis Uteneng see *NNBW*, vol. II, col. 438; for the *Hofstede Den Eng*, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, p. 280.

72) Jacob Uteneng had been vicar-general since at least 1548, Post, *Verhoudingen*, p. 10, he was fairly typical of the senior clergy of the diocese at the time in his pluralism, holding a stall at Deventer, which he resigned in 1567, Heeringa, *Rek.* vol. II, p. 260; and also holding from around the year 1544 the wealthy church of Alkmaar, C.W. Bruinvis, 'Disparaje over de pastorie te Alkmaar', *B.B.H.*, vol. 23 (1898), p. 158; for his nomination to the delegation to Brussels, and his disclaimer due to prior commitment to chair the synod, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, 29 August 1557, p. 342.r.

73) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, 10 April 1556, p. 283; *Ibid.* 13 June 1556, p. 290.v.; *Ibid.*, 27 June 1556, p. 297.

74) For his father Lodewijk Schore, see Baelde, *Collaterale Raden*, pp. 309 - 310, where he is described as perhaps the ablest domestic statesman to serve Charles V or Philip, II in the Netherlands; as the son did not secure his stall at the Oudmunster till 1550, after the death of his father, its acquisition may represent the investment of a paternal legacy, after which he would probably be expected to fend for himself.

75) That must be the explanation of the Clerk's handwriting and the resolutions kept in the *Statenarchief*.

76) Son of Johan van der Vecht, *Burgemeester* of Kampen, born 1 May 1526, and at the age of about twelve years of age, secured a stall at the cathedral, probably by a sale, from fellow Kampenaar Dubbold van Ork, or Van Urk, *AKD* 4339; matriculated at the university of Leuven in 1542, *Mat. Leuven*, vol. IV, 247 - 135; the *Domresoluties* for 18 May 1547 note the Chapter's consent for him to change his place of study, *AKD* 1 - 16, sd.; admitted dean of Utrecht on the nomination of Philip II on 29 December 1560, Hoyneck van Papendrecht, *Analecta belgica*, vol. III pt. 1, p. 181; That the family of Van der Vecht was secure in someone's high favour seems certain, but it is not known to whom it looked for its success. The dean's brother Herman van der Vecht was a member of the *Magistraat*, of Utrecht, (nominated directly to the *schepenbank*), since 1563, and was nominated *Burgemeester* only three years later, although he was to hold office in the difficult years of 1566 - 1567, the years of iconoclastic riots in the city and their aftermath, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, pp 172 - 73. One wonders if it is no more than chance that the Utrecht nobleman Adriaan van Renesse van Wulven was succeeded by a Kampenaar, or that the important post of *Burgemeester* should also go to a 'foreigner' in these years, or for that matter that as early as 1555 the post of *schout* of the city, possibly purchased, went to the Westphalian nobleman Goert van Reede, (although we have seen the close family relations that might explain that).

77) According to the seventeenth-century genealogist Booth, whose immense collection of genealogical data is of immeasurable aid to a study such as this, Herman van der Vecht married Sophia van Wael van Vianen, widow of Floris van Pallandt, *Booth*, 1324; but in the genealogical table of Van Wael van Vronesteyn, Sophia is said to have married first Floris van Palleas, *Heer van Sandenburg*, *Booth*, 1319; this Floris van Sandenburg was very well-connected in that his mother was a Taets van Amerongen, and a niece to Herman van Lockhorst, a late fifteenth century dean of the Oudmunster, *Booth*, 104. That Herman van

der Vecht married well, and into the heart of prominent Stichtse nobility seems clear, although the links with the comital Van Pallandt family might seem a misreading upon the part of Booth... but such a little thing in so great a work.

- 78) Cornelis van Nijenrode is worth a study in his own right, as *domkannunik* and *Beeldenstormer*, but suffice to note here that he was the third son of Gijsbert van Nijenrode, *Heer van Gunterstein, Maarschalck*, or police commissioner, of Eemland, one of the three administrative divisions of the Sticht, and his wife Cornelia Lap van Waveren, *Vrouw van Hillegom* in Holland. Cornelis van Nijenrode's grandfather, Hendrik van Nijenrode, *baljuw* of Loosdrecht, 1464, was the illegitimate son of another Gijsbrecht van Nijenrode, *Heer van Nijenrode*, and ancestor of Ernst van Nijenrode, *Burgemeester* of Utrecht of our study, J. J. De Geer, 'Proeve eener geschiedenis van het geslacht van Nijenrode *Berigten Historische Genootschap te Utrecht*, vol. IV, pp. 46 - 48; Cornelis van Nijenrode was admitted to a prebend at the cathedral in 1543, *AKD*, 4399, p. 13; and admitted to the Chapter on 12 July 1547, *AKD* 3609 - 1, he matriculated at the university of Leuven in July 1544, *Mat. Leuven*, vol. IV, 281 - 138.
- 79) For Nicholaas van Bergh see *NNBW*, vol. III, col. 208 - 211.
- 80) R.A.U., *Statenarchief* 118 - 3, 23 March 1556, p.281.v.; *Ibid.*, 2 June 1556, p. 287; *Ibid.*, 26 June 1556, p. 296.
- 81) This total of nine seems, apart from occasions such as acceding to the *Overdracht* or oath taking to the *Landsheer* to be the highest recorded attendance in the reign of Charles V, on 20 and 28 October 1536. *B.M.H.G.*, vol. X (1887), pp. 161 - 165.
- 82) Ernst van Nijenrode was *schepen* in the *Magistraat* of Utrecht on 1 October 1530, 1531, 1533, 1534, 1535 to 1 October 1536, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, pp. 164 - 65.
- 83) For the subject of the count of Hoogstraaten's regalian airs in his governorships see Rosenfield, *Provincial governors*, pp. 30 n. 118, 31, 45; for his mein at Utrecht see Van Asch van Wijk, *Archief Ut.*, vol. III, p. 273.
- 84) Ernst van Nijenrode was nominated to be one of the *pantvercopers* or collector of the revenues from the sale of unredeemed pawns or pledges, in 1541, an administrative post rather than strictly membership of the executive *Magistraat*, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 167 - 68.
- 85) Nijenrode held the post of *Burgemeester* in the years 1548, 1549, 1551, 1552, the position of *schepen* in the years 1550, 1553, 1554, to November 1555, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, pp. 168 - 71.
- 86) For Gerrit van Assendelf see *NNBW*, vol. VII, col. 35.
- 87) Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 65, 126; *NNBW*, Vol. VII, col. 35.
- 88) V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, pp. 30 - 32.
- 89) I have found no decree to this effect, but when the government of the province was rearranged in 1530 along lines similar to those prevailing in the county of Holland, the new *Stadhouder* the count of Hoogstraten, was assisted by three members of the Holland *Rekenkamer*, J.S. Theissen, *De regering van Karel V in de noordelijke Nederlanden*, p. 205 - 6. It is quite clear from the references to sessions of the Estates held at Utrecht that major financial matters were administered by the officers of the *Rekenkamer*, e.g. 7 May 1560, when in the session *post prandio* attention was turned upon the accounts of the Lekdijk, those few present included *die President* [of the *Hof van Utrecht*], *die Dijkgraef* and one Numan of the *Rekenkamer* in The Hague, R.A.U.,

*statenarchief 119 - 2*, unpaginated. Friesland was administered in a similar manner by the *Rekenkamer* in The Hague. R. Fruin, *Staatsinstellingen*, p. 57.

90) Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

91) Van der Aa, *Biog. Woordenboek*, 'N', p. 115.

92) Van Heussen, *Kerkelijke historie*, vol. I, p. 359. Beatrix van Nijenrode succeeded Alfarda van Rodenburgh, and herself died in 1564.

93) Johan van Culemborg, *Heer van Veursche*, resigned the office of *schout* of Utrecht shortly before 23 October 1555, the date on which Goert van Reede presented his sealed commission of appointment as *schout* to the *Magistraat*, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, p. 217. One wonders if this resignation perhaps represented a purchase?; Goert van Reede may himself have had friends at court for between at least 1551 and 1559 he was in receipt of a pension of 100 florins secured upon the royal demesne in the province of Utrecht, M. Baelde, *De Domeingoes van de vorst in de Nederlanden, (1551 - 1559)*, p. 401.

94) R.A.U. *Statenarchief 118 - 4*, 31 June 1555.

95) Gijsbert van Zuylen, *Heer van De Haer*, with which *Hofstede* he was enfeofed on 23 December 1535, V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. I, p. 279.

96) Gijsbert van Zuylen, *Heer van Zevender*, was noted as among the *Ridderschap* of the county of Holland in 1555, but *buiten de schiltalen tot Utrecht wonende*, H. Van Nierop, *Van Ridders tot Regenten*, p. 258.

97) Meilink, 'Notulen en generaal advies' van de Staaten-Generaal, 1427 - 1477, *B.M.H.G.*, vol. 55 (1934), p. 274.

98) It has not been possible to identify this gentleman.

99) *AKD 1 - 17*, 9 July 1556.

100) *AKD 1 - 17*, 23 June 1556, *Quinque ecclesiarum*, whereby the representatives of the five chapters *noch persisteren* in their resistance to granting consent to the *bede*, and resolve to send a deputation to the king. For the *Stadhouders* letter see *AKD 1 - 17*, on what looks like 9 July 1556, or conceivably 4 July, the *Quinque ecclesiarum* considered *zekere besloten brieven van de heer den stadhouder bij de heer den Domdeken*. The *Domdeken* would appear to have tried to head off the determination of the clergy by nominating the apparently innocuous Willem van Lockhorst, canon of St. Marie, as the deputy to be sent to Brussels. The *Domresoluties* are confused at this point for following the entry for 9 July 1556 there is an entry clearly dated 7 July 1556, in which the *Domdekan* proposed a delegation to the king, and perhaps at this stage sought to soften its impression by sending Willem van Lockhorst, but to this the other chapters would not agree.

101) For the meeting of the Estates on 15 July, 1556, at which were present from the *Dom* the *Domdeken* and Cornelis van Nijenrode, canons Van Moerendael and Van Schore of the Oudmunster, the *Scholaster* Uteneng of St. Pieter, and the luckless Willem van Lockhorst of St. Marie, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, p. 300; *AKD 1 - 17*, 16 July 1556, *Quinque ecclesiarum*, the chapters agree upon Nicholaas de Castro, canon of St. Marie, to go to Brussels.

102) M. Dierickx, *De Oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Felips II 1559 - 1570*, pp. 135 - 37.

103) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, 4 September 1556, p. 306.

104) *Ibid.*, 31 August 1556, p. 305.v; and 4 September 1556, where the Estates require the repetition of the oath *bij zegel ende brieff*, p. 306.

- 105) *Ibid.*, 30 September 1556.
- 106) The king agreed on the 12 November 1556 and the required documentation was conveyed to Utrecht by Johan van Lamsweerd, the Clerk of the Chapter, *Ibid.*, 27 November 1556, p. 328.v.
- 107) *Loc. cit.*, where the words of the oath *zoe int generaal als particulier* are underlined and beside this in the margin has been written *Nō bene*.
- 108) Cited by J. Parker, *The Dutch revolt*, p. 34.
- 109) The Clerk of the Chapter returned from Brussels with two letters, one from Viglius and one from the king personally, both strongly urging the Estates to send a delegation to Brussels, which two letters were read to the assembled Estates, at which particular meeting there was the unusually large delegation from the cathedral of the *Domdeken* with canons Mulert, Nijenrode and Van Zuylen van Nijvelt, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, 10 November 1557, p. 345.v.
- 110) The clergy met to discuss the issue of complying with the king's order on 12 November 1557, AKD 1 - 17, *Quinque ecclesiarum*; The Estates duly sent a delegation to the *Staten-Generaal* comprising the lawyer Wouter van Coddenoirt, a canon of St. Pieter, representing the clergy, Frederick Uteneng, *Heer van Den Eng*, representing the *Ridderschap*, and Steven van Brakenburch representing the city of Utrecht. This delegation went with strict instructions that it must not *enye accordt ofte consent doen noch geven, noch enye conclusie ....nemen, noch in geenem petitie consenteren*. R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, 13 November 1557, p. 346.v.
- 111) The Estates were addressed by the *Heer van Beveren* between 16 June 1556 and 29 July 1556, R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 3, pp.293.v, and 300; The count of Egmont addressed the Estates on 4 and 5 April 1558, *Ibid.*, pp. 362.v - 366.
- 112) The prince of Orange addressed the Estates on 11 September 1559, *Ibid.*, pp. 411.v, - 412.r.
- 113) *Ibid.* 5 April 1558, pp. 363 - 366.
- 114) Johan van Lamsweerd was despatched to Brussels for the opening of the *Staten-Generaal* on 3 November 1557, the date of Nijenrode's death is not known exactly.
- 115) Johan van Bruhesen who had as good claims as any other Utrecht canon for government patronage sought the aid of Viglius for a canonry at the Hofkapel in The Hague in the course of 1564 but it went elsewhere, and again in 1565 he sought the aid of Viglius, and almost certainly that of Charles de Tisnacq, 'Netherlands secretary' to Philip II in Spain at the time, for the rather richer prize of the provostry of the Oudmunster but it went to the count of Rennenburg, charged with a pension for the brother of the prince of Orange.
- 116) This dispute is treated briefly by Hensen, *De twee eersten bisschoppen van Haarlem*, pp. 23 - 26;
- 117) On 23 January 1555 the cathedral held a meeting to consider a request to come to the aid of the chapter of St. Marie over the decanal election, clearly a matter of import to all the chapters of the city, and thereafter had sent a delegation to comprise a meeting of the *Quinque ecclesiarum*, that is a meeting of the five deans of the churches of Utrecht, AKD 1 - 17; a further meeting on the same subject, without the presence of the dean of St. Pieter, (whom it will be recalled was the episcopal vicar-genera) decided upon petitioning the king for permission to hold a free election, and the delegation for that

purpose comprised Jacob Uteneng dean of St. Pieter, Wouter van Coddenoirt, canon of St. Pieter, and Nicholaas van den Bergh *alias* de Castro, canon of St. Marie, *AKD 1 - 17*, 23 January 1556, *Quinque ecclesiarum*.

118) The king's reply of 18 March 1556 was considered at a meeting of the Five Churches on 24 April 1556, in which the government's semi-concession that the next dean of St. Marie would be chosen from among existing canons of that chapter, Hensen, *De twee eersten bisschoppen van Haarlem*, p. 25, appears to have preempted further immediate action, although the implication of the royal concession appears to have been acted upon by the cathedral chapter in 1572 when it proceeded to an election without the permission of either Crown or *Hof van Utrecht*.

119) For the period 1500 to the *Overdracht* the following *riddermatig* men served as *Burgemeester*:

- 1499 Heer Jan van Zuylen, *ridder*.  
Antoon Taets van Amerongen.
  - 1501 Evert Zoudenbalch. (who also served in 1505, 1509, 1518,  
and 1522).  
Hendrik van Gent.
  - 1507 Dirk van Zuylen.
  - 1515 Beernt Proeys.
  - 1519 Jan Ruysch, (Served again in 1523)
  - 1524 Eerst Taets van Amerongen.
  - 1526 Tyman die Wael. (by episcopal order in place of the elected  
*Burgemeester*).
  - 1527 Gijsbert van Huchtenbroek.
- From 1530 - 1577 the following served:
- 1530 Pieter van Merenborch.
  - 1533 Willem Bor van Amerongen. (served again 1534).
  - 1542 Willem van Zuylen van Nyvelt.
  - 1546 Amelis Uteneng.  
Saris de Coninck.
  - 1552 Ernst van Nijenrode. (served again in 1546 and  
subsequently).
  - 1551 Willem Bor van Amerongen. (Again in 1552, 1555).
  - 1560 Jan Taets van Amerongen. (Again in 1568, 1576).  
Jan Botter van Snellenborch.

V. d. Water, *Placaatboek*, vol. III, pp. 137 - 174.

120) R.A.U., *Statenarchief*, 118 - 5, 23 October 1560.

## CONCLUSION.

- 1) Utrecht paid up in all Philip's demands. 1555 - 1560. R.A.U., *Statenarchief* 118- 4, 4 September 1556; *Ibid.*, 21 June 1558; the three demands of August 1558, April 1559, June 1559 were agreed to by the Estates on 4 May 1560, *Ibid.*, 118 - 5,
- 2) Meilink, *Notulen en advies*, p. 274: for the request in 1562 to the Regent for recognition as *Nieuwe aangekomen land*, R.A.U. *Statenarchief* 193.
- 3) Fruin, 'De zeventien provinciën en haar vertegenwoordiging in de Staten-Generaal'. *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. IX, p. 17.
- 4) Gachard, *Corr. de Marg. de Parme*, vol. II, pp. 257, 478 - 89..
- 5) For the Regent's view of this claim in 1567 see *Corr. de Marg. de Parme*, vol. IV, pp. 164 - 165.
- 6) R.A.U. *Statenarchief* 193.
- 7) See chapter VI above.
- 8) For general terms of these subsidies see M. Baelde, 'De kerkelijke subsidies in de Nederlanden', pp. 1244, 1255, 1261.
- 9) AKD 3363, f. 1v.
- 10) AKD 3351, f. 5v.
- 11) AKD 3374, f. 1r.
- 12) AKD 3348.
- 13) AKD 3374.
- 14) M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado, *The changing face of Empire*, pp. 188 - 94, but especially p. 192: 'The blow to the sovereign's authority cannot be sufficiently stressed. Royal power over taxation was being eroded dramatically'.
- 15) W. Van Iterson, 'De stedelijke privileges van Utrecht op last van Alva overgebracht naar het kasteel Vredenburg aldaar', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht*', (1965), pp. 43 - 56.
- 16) For text of clause XIII see S. Groeneveld & H.L.P. Leeuwenberg, 'De originele unie metten acten daernaer gevolcht', in the same authors' *De Unie van Utrecht*, p. 34 - 35, and for a *Verclaringhe*, pp. 41 - 42.
- 17) Asch van Wijck, *Plegtige intrede van Karel V*, p. 296.
- 18) Kleintjes & Van Campen. *Bescheiden*, pp. 108 - 110, quotation at p. 109.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.



## D. Correspondence received by the Chapter.

15 - 4, Letters received 1539 - 1585.

In addition to the above certain principal dossiers of documents form the major part of several of the chapters of this study as follows:

## i. Members of the Chapter.

3069 - 1. List of canons of the *Dom* compiled by the *Domvicaris* Wouter Brock, with annotations concerning prebends, relatives, *et al.*, compiled in the late sixteenth century.

4399. List of canons compiled in first half of seventeenth century, with brief biographical details.

ii. *Damproost* Slacheck v. the Chapter, 1530 - 1542.

2259, 2260, 2259 - 1, 2261 - 1, to 2261 - 9, 2265, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270.

## iii. George van Egmont, bishop of Utrecht v. the Chapter, 1540 - 1545.

2271, 2272.

## iv. The scheme of New Bishoprics, 1559 - 1574.

3323, 3324, 3326.

## v. Clerical Subsidies.

3351, (1543), 3348, (1537); 3374, (1553).

## 2. Archief van het kapittel van Oudmunster.

B. M. De Jonge van Ellemeet,  
*Inventaris van het kapittel van Oudmunster.*  
Typescript, Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1934.

512, 512a. Accounts of the *Kamer van Hagestein*, 1515 - 1581.

## 3. Archief van het kapittel van St. Pieter.

S. Muller, Fszn.,  
*Catalogus van het archief van het kapittel van St. Pieter.*  
Den Haag, 1886.

50 - 1, *Resolutieboek*, 150 - 1583.

165 - 5, Accounts of the *Minor camera*, 1555 - 1564.

165 - 6, Accounts of the *Minor camera*, 1565 - 1580.

167 - 5, Accounts of the *Maior camera*, 1550 - 1574.

## 4. Archief van het kapittel van St. Jan.

B. M. De Jong van Ellemeet,  
*Inventaris van het kapittel van St. Jan de Doper.*  
 Typescript, Rijksdarchief Utrecht, 1934.

- 149 - 5, Accounts of the *Maior camera*, 1520 - 1549.  
 155 - 11, Accounts of the *Minor camera*, 1520 - 1529.  
 155 - 12, Accounts of the *Minor camera*, 1530 - 1549.

## 5. Archief van het kapittel van St. Marie.

B. M. De Jonge van Ellemeet,  
*Inventaris van het kapittel van St. Marie.*  
 Typsecript, Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1937.

- 40 - c. Resolutions book, 1527.  
 66, and 66a, 17th. Cent. list of canons of  
 the chapter of St. Marie.  
 318 - 5, Accounts of the *Maior camera*, 1547 - 1560.  
 318 - 6, Accounts of the *Maior camera*, 1563 - 1570,  
 and 1578 - 1584.  
 341 - 8, Accounts of the *Minor camera*, 1548 - 1560.  
 341 - 9, Accounts of the *Minor camera*, 1561 - 1570.  
 341 - 10, Accounts of the *Minor camera*, 1571 - 1580.

## 6. Archief van het Rijksarchivaris.

208/254, List of the canons of the *Dom*.  
 207/253, List of the canons of the Oudmunster.

## 7. Collectie Booth.

Genealogical tables of prominent Utrecht families in 13  
 volumes.

## 8. Collectie Rijsenburg.

G. C. De Gloppe-Zunderland & L. P. W. De Graeff.  
*Inventaris van de collectie Rijsenburg: verzameling  
 archivalia en documentalia toebehorend aan het aartsbisdom  
 Utrecht.* Utrecht, 1983.

101. Accounts of the chapter of Deventer, 1573.

## 9. Rechterlijke Archief.

- 9 *Memoriaalboek* of the *Hof van Utrecht*,  
 vols I - IV, 1530 - 1612.  
 3-1b Letter of cardinal Granvelle to president of the  
*Hof van Utrecht*, 13 June 1567.  
 302b, Letter of Viglius to Ghislain Schrijvers, *Griffier*  
 of the *Hof van Utrecht*, 18 March 1567.  
 365. Appointment of Jacob van Oprode to be *Rentmeester*

of fines.

10. Archief van het Staten van Utrecht.

S. Muller,

*Catalogus van het archief der Staten van Utrecht,*  
1375 - 1813.

Utrecht, 1915.

N.B. The inventory of this archive is undergoing revision at the present time [1988] and the numbering by Muller has been retained in this study.

A : Sessions of the Estates.

118 - 4.

Resolutions of the *Staten van Utrecht*, 1547 - 1559.

118 - 5.

Resolutions of the *Staten van Utrecht*, 1560 - 1567.

119 - 2.

Resolutions of the *Staten van Utrecht*, Jan. 1560  
- Oct. 1564.

B : Grants to the central government.

138. Agreement of the Estates that in future decisions will be reached by majority of orders in the estates, 1560.
193. Refusal of the Regent to treat the province as a *Nieuwe aangekom land*, and hence free of general contributions, 1562.
233. *Bede* of 3,000 Carolus gulden for the state entry of Charles V, 1540.
232. Further *Bede* of 80,000 Carolus gulden for the state entry of Charles V, 1540.
235. Grant of a *Bede* for war against the Turks, 1544.
236. Grant of 20,000 gulden secured upon one year's revenue of the *Oudschildtgelt*, 1545.
237. Grant of 24,000 gulden for war in germany, 1548.
239. *Bede* of 30,000 collected 1550 - 53.
240. *Bede* of 20,000 collected 1551 - 53 for war with France.
242. *Bede* of 40,000 for the defence of the realm, 1554 - 53.
243. Grant of 33,000 gulden to be raised by a levy of 100 *penningen* on immovable goods, and 50 *penningen* on immovable goods, 1553.
244. *Bede* of 20,000 to be collected over the years 1557 - 58.
245. Grants of several *Beden* for a total of 20,000 gulden, 1560.
246. *Bede* of 9,000 *ponden* to be collected over three years, 1564.
247. *Bede* of 12,000 *ponden* granated 1568.

248. Refusal of the clergy to grant a subsidy to the duke of Alva, 1573.

C : Miscellaneous.

264. Memorandum of the clergy on the debts of 105,000 gulden sustained by the province during the IJsselsteyn War of 1511.
284. Bond of 8,000 gulden granted to duke of Gelderland, 1525.
285. Further agreements to pay expenses of the duke of Gelderland, 1527 - 28.
289. Markus van Weze, *Domkannunik*, leases Utrecht lands in Gelderland, 1528.
300. 32,000 gulden raised from the clergy of Utrecht for the discharge of debts on the Utrecht lands in the duchy of Gelderland, 1544 - 45.
448. Freedom from *Huisgeld* accorded by central government to owners of registered *Hofsteden*, 1536.
589. Act of the emperor Charles V transferring the *bischoppstienden* to George van Egmont in lieu of a pension of 2,000 gulden, 1541.

11. *Archief van het Oude Bisschopelijke Cleresie.*

J. Bruggeman,

*Inventaris van de archieven bij het metropolitaan kapittel van Utrecht van de Roomsche Katholieke kerk der Oude Bisschopelijke Clerzie.*

Den Haag, 1928.

- 21 List of benefices in Holland and Friesland, and including Utrecht, in the gift of the king, c. 1555.
- 75 Correspondence of Viglius with Johan van Bruhezen.
- 112 - c. Contract between Mr. Jacob Ram, canon of St. Marie, and Hubert Foeck, 14 June 1572.

II : *ALGEMEEN RIJKSARCHIEF IN THE HAGUE.*

1. *Archief Centraal bestuur.*

J. L. Van der Gouw,

*Stukken afkomstig van ambtenaren van het centraal bestuur tijdens de regeering van Karel V gedeponneerd ter charterkamer van Holland.*

's-Gravenhage, 1952.

171. Claims of the *Domkapittel* and the abbey of Egmont to the parish of Sassenheim in the county of Holland.

2. **Graaflijkheidsrekenkamer.**

3540. Clerical subsidy collected in the county of Holland, 1532.
3538. Clerical subsidy collected in the deaneries of North Holland in the county of Holland, 1532.
3539. Clerical subsidy collected in the deaneries of South Holland the county of Holland, 1532.
3540. Clerical subsidy collected in the deaneries of Kennemaria and Westfriesland in the county of Holland, 1532.
3541. Clerical subsidy collected in South Holland, 1532.
3542. Clerical subsidy from the deaneries of Holland, Friesland and Voorne, 1537.

3. **III Afdeling - Handschriften.**

216. Register of collations to various benefices in county of Holland made by Mr. Vincent van Meirop, 1514 - 1538.

**III : RIJKSARCHIEF IN DE PROVINCIE MIDDELBURG.**1. **Rekenkamer 1**

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Accounts of the *Rentmeester* Adolf Herdinck for the clerical subsidy of 11 September 1532 granted by the pope.

**IV : ALGEMEEN RIJKSARCHIEF BRUSSELS.**1. **Rekenkamer.**

Nos. 615, 616, 617 and 618.

Clerical subsidy collected in the Hapsburg lands within the diocese of Liège, 1532.

**V : STADSARCHIEF DEVENTER.**1. **Ingekomen Archief**

388

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- 1592, Omslag, folder 1.

**VI : STADSARCHIEF KAMPEN.**1. **Stadsboek.**

List of Burgemeester, Schepenen and Raaden, 1520  
- 1565.

**VII : STADTARCHIV KÖLN.**1. **Karthuziers.**

990. The will of *Domdeken* Johan van Bruhesen, 1600.

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