

The Catholic Nobility in Utrecht and Guelders, c. 1580-1702

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I, Jaap Geraerts, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis examines the Catholic nobility in the provinces of Utrecht and Guelders in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, focusing on topics including the religious diversity within noble families, interconfessional interaction, religious tolerance and intolerance, the religiosity of the Catholic nobility and their support of the Holland Mission. The Catholic nobility as a socio-religious group is studied against the backdrops of Dutch society and of the Holland Mission, and their behaviour is understood in the context of the changing political, social and religious circumstances in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

Most of the noble lineages studied in this thesis were divided by faith, but because of the limited number of mixed marriages, most nuclear families of which the lineages consisted were religiously homogeneous. Because of their religious endogamy, and because of the need to safeguard their confessional identity, Catholic nobles did not interact much with Protestants in the sphere of the family, whereas in other areas of life, including charity, this was more common. The religiosity of the Catholic nobility was profoundly influenced by the Counter-Reformation, and underpinned their confessional identity. Because of their confessional identity, religious endogamy and religiosity, a distinctive subculture emerged among the Catholic nobility. The Catholic nobles' commitment to their faith was visible in their support of the Holland Mission, which consisted of the protection of priests and the provision of places of worship, among other things. Catholic nobles were not passive tools in the hands of the missionaries, however, for entrenched ideas about leadership and ownership influenced the way in which they supported and shaped the Mission. Although the influence of the Catholic nobility was sometimes resented by clergymen and lead to conflicts, the success of the Mission largely depended on the efforts and support of Catholic nobles.

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Abbreviations

<i>AAU</i>	<i>Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht</i>
<i>AGKKN</i>	<i>Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke kerk in Nederland</i>
<i>BGBH</i>	<i>Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom van Haarlem</i>
<i>BMGN</i>	<i>Bijdragen en mededelingen van de geschiedenis van Nederland</i>
<i>BMG</i>	<i>Bijdragen en mededelingen Gelre</i>
<i>CAN</i>	Hendrik Cannegieter, <i>Groot Gelders placet-boeck...</i> (3 vols, Nijmegen, 1701–40)
<i>DNL</i>	<i>Maandblad genealogisch-heraldiek genootschap de Nederlandsche Leeuw</i>
<i>DNV</i>	<i>De Navorscher</i>
<i>DLT</i>	‘Relatio seu descriptio status religionis Catholicae in Hollandia...Jacobus de la Torre, 1656’
<i>DTB</i>	Doop, Trouw en Begraafregisters (Baptism, Marriage, and Wedding registers)
<i>DZE</i>	<i>De Zeventiende Eeuw</i>
<i>GA</i>	Gelders Archief
<i>GDH</i>	Gemeentearchief Den Haag
<i>HRA</i>	Hoge Raad van Adel
<i>HUA</i>	Het Utrechts Archief
<i>HVZ</i>	Archief Heereman van Zuydtwijck
<i>JBG</i>	<i>Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie</i>
<i>JOU</i>	<i>Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht</i>
<i>MSB</i>	Maurits Sabbebibliotheek (Louvain)
<i>NA</i>	Nationaal Archief
<i>NOT</i>	Notarieel Archief
<i>NAK</i>	<i>Nederlands archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis</i>
<i>NNBW</i>	<i>Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek</i>
<i>OBC</i>	Archief Oud Bisschoppelijke Clerezij
<i>OGE</i>	<i>Ons geestelijk erf</i>

<i>RB</i>	<i>Romeinsche bronnen voor den kerkelijken toestand der Nederlanden onder de apostolisch vicarissen</i>
<i>ROG</i>	L. J. Rogier, <i>Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en de 17e eeuw</i> (3 vols, Amsterdam, 1947)
RBS	Retroacta Burgerlijke stand, Doop-, Trouw- en Begraafboeken
RG	Rijksarchief Gent
SA II	Stadsarchief II
UBU	Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht
VBB	Verzameling Buchel-Booth
<i>VdAA</i>	A. J. van der Aa, <i>Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden</i> (26 vols, Haarlem, 1852–78)
<i>VdW</i>	Johan vande Water, <i>Groot placaatboek...</i> (3 vols, Utrecht, 1729)

Introduction

It is unavoidable to acknowledge that the actions of illustrious or noble persons are of greater splendour than those of vulgar men. For nobles are constituted in the sight of all, as if the greatest of the planet [superiores planetae], who illuminate the world with their light. Indeed, the people, as if the lesser sphere, follow the movement of nobles and imitate their examples.

Thus wrote Petrus a Matre Dei, a Carmelite missionary in Leiden, who penned these lofty words ‘in gratitude to the Catholic nobles of these provinces, whom no persecution was able to upset, nor any innovation to alienate from apostolic doctrine’. Indeed, in the provinces which together made up the Dutch Republic, there were many Catholic nobles ‘who protect the church with their authority, encourage the poor, and support the burdened Catholic community’.¹ Two years before the Carmelite missionary wrote this, apostolic vicar Jacobus de la Torre included a list of Catholic nobles living in Holland and Utrecht in his extensive mission report of 1656. According to De la Torre, himself a nobleman, these nobles ‘both help to increase the Catholic religion and maintain its workers [priests] with zeal’.² In the same document the apostolic vicar mentioned the Catholic nobility in Frisia, who outnumbered their Protestant peers and sustained Catholic priests at their castles in the countryside; he also stated that in Guelders, and more specifically in the area known as the Veluwe, there were many Catholic noble ‘governors’ (toparchas) who ‘open their houses for the exercise of our religion’.³ Apostolic vicars were keen to stress that the majority of the social elite remained loyal to the Catholic faith, but this was also acknowledged at the other end of the religious spectrum: in 1587 Wernerus Helmichius, a Reformed minister at Utrecht, stated that ‘not one out of all the nobility properly professed the religion and the greater part are enemies of the same.’⁴

The comments by Petrus a Matre Dei and De la Torre reveal why Catholic nobles figured so prominently in their writings: Catholic nobles offered important support to Catholicism and the Catholic community in the Dutch Republic, officially a Reformed Protestant country. Both the Reformation and the Revolt had had grave consequences for the Catholic Church in the northern Netherlands, for within a couple of decades after Reformed Protestantism had forcefully asserted its

¹ C. Deelder (ed.), *Clara relatio missionis Hollandicae et provinciarum confoederatum... anno 1658* (Rotterdam, 1891), 51–2.

² ‘Katholieke adel van Holland en Utrecht in de helft der zeventiende eeuw’, *De Katholiek* 42 (1862), 350.

³ DLT, AAU 11, 199, 375.

⁴ A. van Lommel (ed.), ‘Relatio visitationis missionis S. J. in Hollandia a Patre Guilielmo Bauters 1628’, AAU 6 (1879), 247. G. Brom (ed.), ‘Verslag over de Hollandsche Missie ten jare 1617’, AAU 17 (1889), 462. DLT, AAU 11, 199. Cited in: A. C. Duke, ‘The reformation of the backwoods: the struggle for a Calvinist and Presbyterian church order in the countryside of South Holland and Utrecht before 1620’, in his *Reformation and revolt in the Low Countries* (London, 1990), 237.

presence by means of the ‘hedge-preachings’ and the waves of iconoclasm that took place in the ‘wonder year’ of 1566, the Catholic Church had experienced a number of setbacks and lost much of its former glory. After the States of Holland and Zeeland outlawed Catholicism in 1573, the States General and the other provinces of the Dutch Republic followed in the early 1580s.⁵ In the closing decades of the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church witnessed the sequestration of its possessions by the secular authorities and subsequent legislation which prohibited the Church and its priests from having any property registered in their name. Formally, the Catholic Church ceased to exist. Furthermore, the number of Catholic priests dwindled as priests fled, converted to Protestantism, or if they refused to do so were offered an allowance in exchange for their withdrawal from all religious activities.

Because of this almost complete breakdown of the ecclesiastical structure, Rome decided in 1583 to appoint Sasbout Vosmeer as vicar general, and in 1592 he became the first apostolic vicar of what came to be known as the *Missio Hollandica* or Holland Mission, as Rome deemed the Dutch Republic to be mission territory. Vosmeer and his successors were granted the authority of delegated bishops in *partibus infidelium*, and their main task was to organise the Mission and resume pastoral care as quickly as possible, in order to prevent people from falling victim to Protestant heresy and to bring people back to the bosom of the Old Church (since even though some Catholic priests offered spiritual solace to the Catholic laity, large parts of the country were not visited by priests).⁶ As the Catholic Church had been deprived of its buildings and most of its personnel, and found itself in a hostile political and religious environment, the apostolic vicars realised that the Mission was to a large extent dependent on lay support in the form of money, places of worship, and protection from persecution. Because of their financial means and social status, lay elites were best able to provide this kind of support, and missionaries, especially Jesuits, were keen to establish contact with local Catholic elites – Catholic nobles in particular – as soon as they arrived in the Republic.⁷

Even though the Holland Mission heavily depended on the support of lay elites, and despite the fact that clergymen such as De la Torre and Petrus a Matre Dei considered the Catholic nobility to be immensely important for upholding Catholicism, the Catholic nobility in the Dutch Republic has never been the subject of a full-length study. This omission is surprising, especially when one takes into account the research that has been done on the Catholic nobility of other European countries,

⁵ W. P. C. Knuttel, *De toestand der Nederlandsche katholieken ten tijde der Republiek* (2 vols, The Hague, 1892), 1: 1–13, 28–45.

⁶ For an overview, see: ROG; P. W. F. M. Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland* (Brugge, 1992), 241–306; Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (London, 2008).

⁷ Joep van Gennip, ‘Franciscus Mijleman (1610–1667). Een jezuïetenmissionaris werkzaam in de Ommelanden in de zeventiende eeuw’, *Trajecta* 1 (2009), 35.

such as England.⁸ The limited amount of research dedicated to the Catholic nobility in the Dutch Republic can be explained partly by the existence of entrenched ideas about the Dutch nobility, because for a long time it has been generally accepted among historians that from the late sixteenth century onwards the Dutch nobility increasingly lost (political) ground as the Republic became a bourgeois society dominated by non-noble regent families. This image of Dutch society – which is even used to characterise seventeenth-century Dutch Catholicism – still stands, although research on the Dutch nobility has increased over the last decades, with historians such as Henk van Nierop stressing the influence of this group.⁹

The Dutch Catholic nobility has not been entirely neglected. The Catholic historian L. J. Rogier has argued in his magnum opus on the history of Dutch Catholicism that the existence of Catholic enclaves in the nineteenth century was the result of the presence of Catholic nobles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a claim which has been endorsed by other historians.¹⁰ According to Rogier, the support of Catholic nobles was essential to the existence of a Catholic Mission in parts of the Netherlands, and more recently Charles Parker has emphasised the important role of Catholic elites in protecting priests, who ‘could not serve in areas without the protection and patronage of patricians and nobles’.¹¹ The majority of these studies, like most of the existing parish histories, tend to focus on the way in which the Catholic nobility supported the Mission.¹² Unquestionably this is an important topic – which will be addressed in the fourth chapter of this dissertation – but many other aspects of the Catholic nobility still need to be scrutinised in order to deepen our understanding of this group. The relationships between the Catholic nobility and the rest of Dutch society, for instance, are an important topic, especially when one takes into account that historiography has gradually moved away from emphasising the hostilities between antithetical confessional blocks towards confessional coexistence, the daily practice of tolerance, and interconfessional interaction.¹³ How does this square

⁸ For some recent studies, see: Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and community in early modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c. 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 2006). Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott (eds), *Catholic gentry in English society: the Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham, 2009).

⁹ Conrad Gietman, *Republiek van adel: eer in de Oost-Nederlandse adelscultuur (1555–1702)* (Utrecht, 2010), 10. P. Polman, *Godsdienst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Utrecht, 1947), 86–7. Maarten Prak, ‘The Dutch Republic as a bourgeois society’, *BMGN* 125:2–3 (2010), 107–40. Henk van Nierop, *Van ridders tot regenten: de Hollandse adel in de zestiende en de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1990).

¹⁰ *ROG*, 2: 165, 409–11 and passim. Willem Frijhoff, ‘De protestantse Reformatie in de Nederkwartieren’, in: I. D. Jacobs and M. Evers (eds), *Het hertogdom Gelre: geschiedenis, kunst en cultuur tussen Maas, Rijn en IJssel* (Utrecht, 2003), 372. Hans Knippenberg, *De religieuze kaart van Nederland: omvang en geografische spreiding van de godsdienstige gezindten vanaf de Reformatie tot heden* (Assen, 1992), 30.

¹¹ *ROG*, 2: 481. Parker, *Faith*, 155.

¹² The article by Jean Streng is a notable exception, as he covers other topics as well. J. C. Streng, ‘“Uyt liefde van de catholyke religie”: de rooms-katholieke elite in Overijssel tijdens de zeventiende eeuw’, *Overijsselse Historische Bijdragen* 119 (2004), 105–32.

¹³ For this historiographical shift, see for instance the introductions in Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and community in seventeenth-century France: Catholic and Protestant coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia,

with the secondary literature, which suggests that the Catholic nobility in the Dutch Republic became a rather enclosed and inward-looking group?¹⁴ Moreover, the spirituality of the Catholic nobility is a topic that is virtually unexplored. The aim of this dissertation, then, is threefold. It seeks to increase our knowledge about the Catholic nobles as a social and religious group – their thoughts and beliefs, the offices held by them, and the difficulties they experienced as Catholics in a formally Protestant country. The second objective is to study the Catholic nobility against the backdrop of Dutch society, and to examine the relations between them and people belonging to other confessions. Lastly, this thesis intends to understand the Catholic nobility within the context of the Holland Mission.

This thesis studies the Catholic nobility in the provinces of Utrecht and Guelders in the period which starts in 1580, when Catholicism was outlawed throughout the seven provinces of the Dutch Republic, and ends in 1702, the year in which apostolic vicar Petrus Codde was suspended by the Holy See. The omission of Holland might be surprising, but we should take into account that the majority of the scholarly work done on the Republic has focused on this province, which in itself is not lamentable, but which can distort the image of the Republic as a whole (because Holland was the most tolerant of all provinces, among other things). The focus will be on the province of Utrecht: a substantial number of Catholic nobles lived in this province – which was, after Holland, the most religiously diverse province of the Dutch Republic – while its main city, Utrecht, was an import centre of the Holland Mission.¹⁵ The province of Guelders is included, as links existed between these provinces because many Catholic nobles had possessions in both Utrecht and Guelders, and because marriages and friendships connected noble families living in the two provinces. Besides the similarities between the provinces, including the fact that both provinces had one or more knighthoods (the provincial political body or estate of the nobility) in which nobles were accustomed to have a seat, the differences between Utrecht and Guelders, such as the placards issued against Catholicism, the availability of priests, and the political and legal structures, enable us to discern how the Catholic nobility in these provinces dealt with the various obstacles they faced, making visible general trends and differences in the behaviour of Catholic nobles. Although the focus is on these two provinces, examples from other provinces are used to highlight general developments or to signify geographical differences.

1993), 1–16. Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester, 2006), 1–13. Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by faith: religious conflict and the practice of toleration in early modern Europe* (London, 2007), 1–14.

¹⁴ J. C. Alberdingk Thijm, ‘Het Amsterdamsch geslacht der Dommers’, *Dietsche Warande* 7 (1867), 202. Conrad Gietman, ‘Katholieke adel in een protestants gewest, 1621–1795’, in: Coen O. A. Schimmelpenninck van der Oije et al. (eds), *Adel en ridderschap in Gelderland. Tien eeuwen geschiedenis* (Zwolle, 2013), 177–209.

¹⁵ E.g. see the remark about the city of Utrecht in a mission report from 1616. A. van Lommel (ed.), ‘Verslag van den toestand der Hollandsche Missie ten jare 1616’, *AAU* 1 (1875), 214. On Utrecht, see: Bertrand Forclaz, *Catholiques au défi de la Réforme. La coexistence confessionnelle à Utrecht au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 2014).

I will argue that the support of the Catholic nobility was of crucial importance for maintaining Catholicism in Guelders and Utrecht, but that even though Catholic nobles were a valuable asset of the Holland Mission, they supported Catholicism on their own terms, and were not simply a tool in the hands of the clergy. Because of their contacts with priests trained in a Tridentine framework and their possession of devotional literature which propagated the doctrines and spirituality of the Tridentine Church, the religiosity of the Catholic nobility was heavily influenced by the Counter-Reformation. Their religiosity underpinned their confessional identity, which, in combination with the religious endogamy of the Catholic nobles, led to the emergence of a noble subculture. However, as confessional identity did not necessarily take precedence over the other identities of the Catholic nobility, and life was not entirely guided by confessional norms, interaction with members of other confessions never completely ceased. As different criteria influenced the behaviour of the Catholic nobility in various spheres of life, Catholic nobles continued to interact with Protestants throughout the Dutch Golden Age. In this sense, as much as Catholic nobles became pillars of the Dutch Catholic community, they remained part of Dutch society at large as well.

Religious tolerance and intolerance

The Dutch Republic emerged, somewhat unintentionally, out of the Dutch Revolt and the ensuing war with Spain, a conflict that started because the Dutch were anything but pleased with the centralising policies of the Spanish overlord, King Philip II, and the harsh way in which he dealt with heretics.¹⁶ The ruthless persecution of heretics in the northern Netherlands, unmatched in severity compared to other European countries, caused such revulsion that the majority of the Republic's ruling elite steered clear of the Habsburg policy against religious dissidents.¹⁷ But although the Dutch Republic has long been regarded as a safe haven for religious minorities, who enjoyed unparalleled freedoms by comparison with other countries at the time, recently historians have become more critical of the prevailing form of religious tolerance in the Dutch Republic. The only freedom for religious minorities that was grounded in law was freedom of conscience, enshrined in the Union of Utrecht (1579); in all other respects it was only because the authorities turned a blind eye that religious dissidents were able to practise their faith. The fate of religious minorities was thus highly uncertain and the extent of the freedoms that were actually granted to them varied from place to place, and periods of peaceful coexistence could easily be replaced by episodes of persecution.

¹⁶ See e.g. Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its rise, greatness, and fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1998), 129–233.

¹⁷ William Monter, 'Heresy execution in Reformation Europe', in: Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002), 48–64.

Catholics, the largest religious minority living on Dutch soil, constantly had to fear the disruption of their gatherings, since even though the authorities normally turned a blind eye to the religious worship of Catholics as long as it took place within the private sphere of a house, such gatherings were prohibited in the decrees issued by the government.¹⁸ Magistrates who were zealous to root out Catholicism or ready to make some quick money could therefore always use the force of the law against the Catholic laity and priests, the latter being incarcerated, ransomed or banished. Apostolic vicars complained in the mission reports they sent to Rome that only Catholics were not allowed to worship, whereas ‘Jews, Muslims and whatever heretics’ were permitted to practise their faith.¹⁹ Because Catholic religious worship was disturbed and priests were arrested, the Catholic laity was cut off from access to the sacraments, and as a result Catholics did not perceive that they enjoyed freedom of conscience. According to a Catholic treatise, ‘freedom of conscience meant little for Catholics, since true freedom of conscience entailed the liberation from sin,’ which was impossible to attain without priests being present to administer the sacraments and absolve the laity of their sins.²⁰ Most Protestants, however, shuddered at the freedom granted to Catholics (which they considered to be too extensive) and the connivance practised by the authorities. The stance of the Reformed Church is neatly summed up in a document sent by the representatives of the Synod of Utrecht to the States of Utrecht, in which the former requested the removal of all priests from Dutch soil. The representatives argued that Catholics enjoyed freedom of conscience, since they ‘could freely be Catholic and profess they were Catholic, and feel in their hearts and read in their houses what they want’. Catholics, however, should not be allowed to enjoy more freedoms, and the sentence continued: ‘but freedom of gatherings [*conventiculen*] and the exercise of religion is refused to them for good and weighty reasons.’²¹

The Reformed Church lamented the activities and continuous existence of a sizeable group of Catholics (who in some places continued to outnumber Reformed Protestants throughout the seventeenth century), not only because this hindered the advance of the Reformation, but also because their sheer existence endangered the nation. Making their case for the removal of Catholic priests, the synodal representatives wrote that ‘one should not give the righteous God, who is so jealous of His

¹⁸ Historians have repeatedly pointed out the discrepancy between the punishments stipulated in government decrees and their actual enforcement. E.g. H. A. Enno van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid: een verhandeling over de verhouding van kerk en staat in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden...* (Groningen, 1972), 111–51.

¹⁹ G. Brom, ‘Vier Missie-verslagen, van 1635 tot 1649 door Rovenius te Rome ingediend’, *AAU* 18 (1890), 51. A. A. J. Hoogland (ed.), ‘Descriptio status, in quo anno 1638 erat religio Catholica...’, *AAU* 12 (1884), 190. As Charles Parker asserts, these reports were not endless litanies of complaints, but provided reasonably fair accounts of the circumstances Catholics experienced on the ground. Parker, *Faith*, 54.

²⁰ Charles H. Parker, ‘In partibus infidelium: Calvinism and Catholic Identity in the Dutch Republic’, in: Randall C. Zachmann (ed.), *Johan Calvin and Roman Catholicism: critique and engagement, then and now* (Grand Rapids, 2008), 141. Also: Deelder, *Clara relatio*, 111–4.

²¹ HUA, VBB, inv. 139, ‘Vertooch van redenen...’ (undated, but judging from the dates mentioned in its text the document originated around the middle of the seventeenth century).

honour... a reasonable motive to unleash His wrath over our lands.’²² Indeed, the communities which allowed heretics in their midst put themselves in jeopardy; hence religious tolerance in the early modern era was, as Ben Kaplan and Alexandra Walsham have shown, a grudging acceptance of religious differences everyone considered to be evil and dangerous.²³

Tied to a Church which propounded false and dangerous doctrines, Catholics not only posed a religious danger, but constituted a political threat too, since their religious allegiance connected them to Catholic rulers such as the king of Spain. This had negative ramifications for Dutch Catholics. It was rumoured that Catholic priests only answered to the Pope and spread rebellious doctrines such as the supreme authority of the Pope in worldly and spiritual matters, which, together with actual or imagined acts of treason committed by Catholics, meant that Catholics could not be trusted to be the loyal subjects they professed to be.²⁴ As a result, means such as specific oaths were used to prevent Catholics from holding public offices and benefices, which was especially worrisome for Catholics who had formerly been part of the traditional elite and were accustomed to exerting political influence. Catholics thus had to face a range of political, social and economic consequences because of their adherence to Catholicism. This dissertation will examine how the Catholic nobility coped with the particular form of religious tolerance that prevailed in the Dutch Republic, and what impact their religious affiliation had on their lives. Although all Catholics shared a number of experiences as a result of being part of the same religious minority, the distinctive economic, social and cultural characteristics of the Catholic nobility influenced the particular way in which they experienced living in an officially Protestant country.

The nobility in the Dutch Republic

In order to explain who qualified as a Catholic noble, we should investigate which individuals we can say with a fair amount of certainty were members of noble families and Catholics. To start with the social status of this group, determining whether someone was a noble is not as straightforward as one might expect. Because noble status was often accompanied by certain privileges, discussions about whether someone really was a noble took place in early modern Dutch society.²⁵ In the Middle Ages it was possible for non-noble families to become part of the nobility through the acquisition of seigneuries and noble estates and by marrying into noble families (which

²² Ibid.

²³ Kaplan, *Divided by faith*. Walsham, *Charitable hatred*. Id., ‘Cultures of coexistence in early modern England’, *The Seventeenth Century* 28:2 (2013), 115–6.

²⁴ HUA, VBB, inv. 139, ‘Vertooch van redenen...’.

²⁵ N. Plomp, ‘Een boer is geen edelman: zestiende-eeuwse conflicten over ridderschap in de Neder-Betuwe’, *JBG* 47 (1993), 87–132.

was both a sign and a confirmation of the rising status of a formerly non-noble family). In Utrecht the provincial nobility frequently intermarried with local and regional patrician families, as a result of which a number of families became part of the nobility in Utrecht in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁶ According to some historians, this process of noble renewal eventually came to an end in the course of the sixteenth century as the Dutch nobility closed ranks and became a class based on noble birth and lineage.²⁷

The desire of many noble families to distinguish themselves from the rest of society led to an inflation of the use of titles and honorifics. *Riddermatige* nobles (male nobles who were eligible to attend the meetings of the knighthood or *ridderschap* and their families) in the provinces Guelders and Overijssel began to use the title ‘baron’ without actually possessing a barony. Untitled nobles – the vast majority of the Dutch nobility – started to use the honorific *jonker* or *jonkheer* in the late sixteenth century. Non-noble owners of seigneuries swiftly followed suit, however, and in the seventeenth century many of them were calling themselves *jonker* as well.²⁸ Even so, claiming to be a noble was not the same as being recognised as one. Well-to-do patrician or merchant families who aspired to belong to the nobility bought noble estates and seigneuries and tried to mimic their lifestyle, but this was often in vain, as the rest of society would not recognise them as nobles.²⁹

Because of the idea that the nobility closed ranks, some historians deem the nobles who were eligible to attend meetings of the knighthood to be the core of the Dutch nobility, and pay less attention to the nobles who existed outside this group of *riddermatige* nobles.³⁰ This distorts the actual number of Dutch nobles, because increasingly few families attended the meetings of the knighthoods, mostly because families died out, were no longer allowed to appear by the stricter rules of admittance,

²⁶ Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, *Het kapittel-generaal en de staten van het Nedersticht in de 15e eeuw* (Zutphen, 1987), 43–8. Johannes A. Mol, ‘Trying to survive. The military orders in Utrecht, 1580–1620’, in: Johannes A. Mol et al. (eds), *The military orders and the Reformation: choices, state building, and the weight of tradition* (Hilversum, 2006), 187.

²⁷ Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 36. Sherrin Marshall, *The Dutch gentry, 1500–1650: family, faith, and fortune* (London, 1987), 3. This was something of a European trend among the nobility. Ronald G. Asch, *Nobilities in transition, 1550–1700: courtiers and rebels in Britain and Europe* (London, 2003), 14.

²⁸ J. Aalbers, ‘Geboorte en geld’, in: J. Aalbers and Maarten Prak (eds), *De bloem der natie: adel en patriciaat in de noordelijke Nederlanden* (Meppel, 1987), 61. In 1633 the States of Utrecht ‘promulgated a decree prohibiting the use of the title “jonkheer” by any persons other than noblemen.’ Marten Jan Bok, ‘Laying claims to nobility in the Dutch Republic: epitaphs, true and false’, *Simiolus* 24 (1996), 219. Also: VdW, 2: 1119.

²⁹ De la Torre recorded this as well. For instance, of the wife of Eduart ‘Jacot’ van Axele, Lord of Drussen, he wrote: ‘uxor est parvae conditionis.’ DLT, AAU 11, 182. Bok, ‘Laying claims’, 209–26. Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 58–9. J. W. C. van Campen (ed.), *De notae quotidianae van Aernout van Buchell* (Utrecht, 1940), xii. HUA [Bibliotheek]: XXVII L 1: Arnoldus Buchelius, *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae urbis atque agri inventa*, f. 60v.

³⁰ J. de Jong, ‘De regenten, de Republiek en het artistocratiseringsproces: een terugblik’, in: Guido Marnef and René Vermeir (eds), *Adel en macht: politiek, cultuur, economie* (Maastricht, 2004), 7.

or simply did not wish to attend the meetings any longer.³¹ Moreover, some families belonged to the nobility but were not eligible to have a seat in the knighthood.³² Within the nobility a process of oligarchisation was going on, and in the province of Utrecht it ‘had reached the state that of the hundreds of adult male nobles resident in this province at the beginning of 1640 only seven were members of the *ridderschap*’.³³ It was in the interests of the families whose members appeared in the *ridderschap* to restrict access to this political body, which they tried to do.³⁴

We should therefore not restrict the Dutch nobility to those who appeared at meetings of the knighthood, or even to those who were eligible to attend its meetings. On the other hand, including all the families that pretended to be of noble descent but whose claim was not generally accepted runs the risk of doing away with contemporary concepts and definitions of nobility too easily. In order to make a distinction between noble and non-noble families, I have followed the more restrictive view of contemporary *riddermatige* nobles, since their ideas about who did and did not belong to the nobility determined their choice of marriage partner. Families with a non-noble background that bought castles, noble estates or seigneuries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are thus not counted as part of the nobility. The same applies to non-noble families that were ennobled abroad, as in general their noble status was not acknowledged by Dutch society.³⁵ In other chapters, however, for instance when addressing the role of the Catholic nobility as owners of seigneuries, Catholic families who possessed seigneuries and belonged to the ‘new’ nobility will be included in our analysis as well, since their lesser social status did not limit the rights that were attached to the possession of a seignury in any way. Rather than strictly focusing on the Catholic nobility, the focus will then be on Catholic seigniorial lords (*ambachtsheren*) in general.³⁶

³¹ Js. Mooijweer, “‘In Overijssel hatt die Ritterschaft grosse Prominenz’: de ridderschap(pen) van Overijssel van 1424 tot 1622”, in: A. J. Mensema et al. (eds), *De ridderschap von Overijssel: le métier du noble* (Zwolle, 2000), 38–9. Aalbers, ‘Veluwe riddermatige adel’, 34. Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 172–3. Bok, ‘Laying claims’, 216. In some cases the number of noble quarters needed for admission was raised. J. Westra van Holthe, *De ridderschap van Drenthe* (Assen, 1950), xvi.

³² R. J. F. van Drie, ‘Inhoud en gebruik van de begrippen ridderschap en ridderhofstad in het Nedersticht in de 16e eeuw’, *JBG* 40 (1986), 68. E.g. the Uytenhove family was counted among the nobility of Utrecht, but its members only appeared in the ridderschap after Carel Uytenhove acquired the knight’s manor (ridderhofstad) Rynestein in 1626. Buchelius, *Monumenta*, f. 23r–v. *VdW*, 1: 309.

³³ Bok, ‘Laying claims’, 217. Also: J. L. Price, ‘The Dutch nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, in: H. M. Scott (ed.), *The European nobilities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Volume 1: western and southern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2007), 98.

³⁴ Bok, ‘Laying claims’, 217.

³⁵ Aalbers, ‘Geboorte en geld’, 61–3.

³⁶ On his list of Catholic nobles, De la Torre included members of both the old and the ‘new’ nobility, such as the Van der Werve, Quarebbe, Nobelaer and Van der Burch families.

Confessional affiliation in the Dutch Republic

Determining someone's religious affiliation is not straightforward either, which is partly the result of the specific religious arrangements in the Dutch Republic. One way to discern the religious preferences and confessional affiliation of a person is by looking at whether he or she went to Catholic priests to receive the sacraments or owned particular religious objects, among other things. The question is which of these and other actions constitutes a clear marker of confessional affiliation and hence can be used to determine someone's faith. As is the case nowadays for many early modern European countries, confessional affiliation in the Dutch Republic is mainly studied through the prism of 'confessionalisation'. Originally developed as a perspective through which processes of great social change, such as the transformation to a 'modern' society in the various territories of the Holy Roman Empire, could be studied and explained, this paradigm has been applied, with different levels of success, to other parts of Europe as well.³⁷ In its early days this theory stressed the rise of denominational churches, the expansion of the state and its institutions (state-building), and the cooperation between Church and state in an attempt to turn the people into obedient subjects and believers by means of social discipline.³⁸ Over the years this theory has been tested, challenged and refined, and it has even been applied to cases where the early modern state was absent.³⁹ The confessionalisation paradigm has also been put to the test in studies of religious life in the Dutch Republic, although at first glance it seems difficult to study Dutch Reformation and post-Reformation culture through this lens, since the Dutch state was far less centralised than its French or Spanish counterparts.⁴⁰

However, a process of confessionalisation could take place without the support of a strong, centralised state, because it went hand in hand with confessionalism, a 'new type of Christianity'.⁴¹ Confessionalism as a mode of piety stressed adherence to orthodoxy (defined in confessions of faith),

³⁷ Thomas A. Brady Jr, 'Confessionalization: the career of a concept', in: John M. Headley et al. (eds), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in honor and memory of Bodo Nischan* (Farnham, 2004), 5. Philip Benedict, 'Confessionalization in France? Critical reflections and new evidence', in: Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Society and culture in the Huguenot world, 1559–1685* (Cambridge, 2002), 44–61. Peter Marshall, 'Confessionalization, confessionalism and confusion in the English Reformation', in: Thomas F. Meyer (ed.), *Reforming Reformation* (Farnham, 2012), 43–64.

³⁸ For a recent overview, see: Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'Confessionalization', in: Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (eds), *The Ashgate research companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham-Burlington, 2013), 33–54.

³⁹ Frauke Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis: reformierte Rituale in der gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt Bischofszell im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2005). Randolph C. Head, 'Catholics and Protestants in Graubünden: confessional discipline and confessional identities without an early modern state?', *German History* 17:3 (1999), 321–45.

⁴⁰ Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and libertines: confession and community in Utrecht, 1578–1620* (Oxford, 1995). Bertrand Forclaz, 'The emergence of confessional identities: family relationships and religious coexistence in seventeenth-century Utrecht', in: C. Scott Dixon et al. (eds), *Living with religious diversity in early modern Europe* (Farnham, 2009), 249–66.

⁴¹ Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, 29.

the internalisation of the teachings of the Church, and the repudiation of the doctrines of rival churches.⁴² In order to instil this piety, the proponents of confessionalism advocated greater uniformity in religious practice, increased control of the clergy over the laity, and large-scale programmes to school the laity and the clergy. Naturally, this mode of piety, with its resolute denunciation of the beliefs and practices of other confessions, had consequences for the daily lives of believers and their relationships with members of rival churches. In the Dutch Republic, as elsewhere, this mode of piety created boundaries between the various confessions, for instance in the condemnation of ‘mixed’ or interfaith marriages. Social practice was influenced because of the internalisation of the teachings of the various churches and the emergence of confessional identities, which could take precedence over other identities that united people, such as being members of a local community.⁴³ Confessionalisation in the Dutch context means the gradual solidification of the boundaries which divided the various confessions, a process which was mainly fuelled by the internal dynamic of confessionalism, and to a lesser extent by occasional cooperation between the public church and the secular authorities.⁴⁴

Initially, the gradual development of various clear-cut denominations was partly the result of the fact that not everyone belonged to a confession. Arie van Deursen was the first to make clear that there existed a substantial number of people who had not become a member of any church.⁴⁵ Joke Spaans, in her monograph on the Reformation in the city of Haarlem, has shown that in 1620 this held true for almost 50% of its population.⁴⁶ People known as sympathisers (*liefhebbers*), for example, were baptised in the Reformed Church and attended its religious services on a regular basis, but refused to submit to consistorial discipline and to become full members (*lidmaten*).⁴⁷ The existence of this group of non-members can be explained partly by the Reformation and the Dutch Revolt. In many ways, as Peter van Rooden has argued, we should see the changed political and religious situation in the early Dutch Republic as a new beginning, since the various confessions had to organise themselves in order to expand and increase the number of their members.⁴⁸ It took a while for both of the major confessions, Catholic and Calvinist, to establish a new organisation, and in

⁴² Kaplan, *Calvinists*, 5–6, 13. Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, 28–47.

⁴³ Head, ‘Catholics and Protestants’, 338–41.

⁴⁴ According to Randolph Head, confessionalisation denotes ‘the process that leads to a confessionally ordered society’. Head, ‘Catholics and Protestants’, 324. For an example of limited cooperation between church and state regarding mixed marriages, see: Bertrand Forclaz, ‘Le foyer de la discorde? Les mariages mixtes à Utrecht au XVIIe siècle,’ *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 65:5 (2008), 1101–23.

⁴⁵ A. T. van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen: kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Ordenbarnevelt* (Assen, 1974), 128.

⁴⁶ Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577–1620* (Den Haag, 1989), 104.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 192. Deursen, *Bavianen*, 128–34.

⁴⁸ Peter T. van Rooden, *Religieuze regimes: over godsdienst en maatschappij in Nederland, 1570–1990* (Amsterdam, 1996), 22.

various places the laity was bereft of pastoral care. Moreover, Dutch people were not forced to make a choice, as all churches in the Dutch Republic were voluntary churches, and people had the freedom to choose their own religion – or not to choose any at all.⁴⁹ There were people who did not want to be affiliated to any church, as they rejected the confessional mode of piety. Some of these libertines, as they were called, had the idea that they could serve God according to their own understanding, without having to be a member of any church.⁵⁰

A number of historians have argued that this group of unaffiliated people disappeared, and that around 1650 almost all the Dutch were aligned to a particular church.⁵¹ Not everyone agrees, though, and some historians have stressed the fact that even in the early eighteenth century there still were people who had not joined a church.⁵² Historians have found a middle ground, most of them agreeing that an increasing number of people became affiliated to a particular church because of an ongoing process of confessionalisation.⁵³ But the extent to which the lives and behaviour of Dutch people were guided by confessional norms is an ongoing debate. Opinions vary strongly, from historians such as Simon Groenvelde, who argues that interconfessional interaction was largely absent, to scholars including Benjamin Kaplan, Judith Pollmann and Christine Kooi, who argue that people kept transgressing religious boundaries, and that interaction between the members of different confessions was very much a daily practice.⁵⁴ Both the level of interaction and the areas of life in which Catholic nobility interacted with members of different confessions will be studied, since this tells us something about what confessional affiliation meant to Catholic nobles living in the seventeenth century and how that was replicated in their behaviour. We should also take into account that interaction with Protestants could be involuntary or more or less inevitable – for instance in Overijssel, where couples were obliged to marry in the public church in order for their potential

⁴⁹ Judith Pollmann, *Religious choice in the Dutch Republic: the reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius, 1565–1641* (Manchester, 1999), and her ‘From freedom of conscience to confessional segregation? Religious choice and toleration in the Dutch Republic’, in: Richard Bonney and D. J. B. Trim (eds), *Persecution and pluralism: Calvinist and religious minorities in early modern Europe, 1550–1700* (Oxford, 2006), 123–48.

⁵⁰ Kaplan, *Calvinists*, 80.

⁵¹ Forclaz, ‘Emergence’. J. A. de Kok, *Nederland op de breuklijn Rome-Reformatie. Numerieke aspecten van protestantisering en katholieke herleving in de noordelijke Nederlanden 1580–1880* (Assen, 1964). Simon Groenvelde, *Huisgenoten des geloofs: was de samenleving in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden verzuimd?* (Hilversum, 1995), 19.

⁵² Wiebe Bergsma, *Tussen gideonsbende en publieke Kerk: een studie over het gereformeerd protestantisme in Friesland, 1580–1650* (Hilversum, 1999), 148. Pollmann, ‘From freedom of conscience’, 141–2.

⁵³ The speed with which this happened remains an open question. Ibid.

⁵⁴ Groenvelde, *Huisgenoten*. Benjamin J. Kaplan, ‘Confessionalism and its limits: religion in Utrecht, 1600–50’, in: Joaneath A. Spicer et al. (eds), *Masters of light: Dutch painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (Baltimore, 1997), 60–71. Pollmann, ‘From freedom’. Christine Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland’s Golden Age: heretics and idolaters* (Cambridge, 2012).

offspring to be legitimate in the eyes of the law – or could be deliberate and voluntary, as was the case for people who married partners of a different faith.⁵⁵

Religious rites and confessionalisation

The gradual formation of distinct confessions with clear markers of confessional affiliation in the Republic makes it difficult to relate an individual's behaviour to the patterns of behaviour customary for members of a particular confession. This difficulty is complicated further by the fact that the Reformed Church became the Republic's public church and had to cater for all believers in terms of the administration of baptism and marriage. The religious services held in the public church were freely accessible to all believers, and everyone was buried either in the church or in the graveyard near the church, as cemeteries for specific confessions did not exist. Because of a number of incentives, religious dissidents went to the public church for some of the traditional rites of passage, thereby decreasing the speed with which rituals were turned into markers of confessional allegiance. Catholics, for instance, had their children baptised in the Reformed Church in order to prevent them from dying without being baptised or to avoid being fined (in the province of Overijssel a couple risked a fine if they did not have their children baptised by a Reformed minister).⁵⁶ On the other hand, even though the Reformed ritual of baptism was acknowledged as valid by the Catholic Church, some Catholics preferred to go to a Catholic priest, because the ritual had to take place before the whole (Reformed) congregation, and the parents had to acknowledge the doctrine of the Reformed Church and vow to raise the child in the faith of the church in which it was baptised.⁵⁷ Another motive for Catholics to opt for Catholic baptism was the fear of possible repercussions – apostolic vicar Johannes van Neercassel wanted to punish parents who had their children baptised in the Reformed Church.⁵⁸ At any rate, baptism in the public church was neither altogether accepted nor rejected by Dutch Catholics, and scholars have argued that Catholics continued to go to the public

⁵⁵ M. G. Spiertz, 'Priest and layman in a minority church. The Roman Catholic church in the northern Netherlands, 1592–1686', in: W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), *The ministry: clerical and lay* (Oxford, 1989), 295. Benjamin J. Kaplan, 'Intimate negotiations: husbands and wives of opposing faiths in eighteenth-century Holland,' in: *Living with religious diversity*, 233–4.

⁵⁶ Van Deursen, *Bavianen*, 140. M. G. Spiertz, 'De ontwikkelingsgang van de katholieke missie in Friesland', *AGKKN* 21 (1979), 285.

⁵⁷ Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur. De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578–1700* (Hilversum, 1990), 86. Charles C. M. de Mooij, *Geloof kan bergen verzetten: Reformatie en katholieke herleving te Bergen op Zoom, 1577–1795* (Hilversum, 1998), 315. J. A. Faber et al., 'Numerieke aspecten van de protestantisering in Noord-Nederland tussen 1656 en 1726', *AAG-Bijdragen* 13 (1965), 171. Kaplan, *Calvinists*, 268.

⁵⁸ Spiertz, 'Ontwikkelingsgang', 286.

church throughout seventeenth century because baptism only gradually turned into a marker of confessional difference.⁵⁹

The practice regarding marriage is equally complicated: although in the provinces Friesland, Guelders, Holland and Utrecht it was possible to marry in the town hall – an opportunity for Catholics to conclude a marriage that was legal in the eyes of the secular authorities (a marriage solemnised by a Catholic priest was not) – this did not necessarily mean that all Catholics refrained from going to the public church.⁶⁰ Even in the provinces where marrying in the town hall was an option, there were still Catholics who decided to marry in the Reformed Church, possibly because this was cheaper in some cases.⁶¹ Furthermore, even though clergymen regarded the wording of the marriage ceremony in the Reformed church as heretical, the rite itself was ‘confessionally neutral’, which must have made it easier for Catholics to marry in the public church; and Catholics could go to a priest to solemnise their marriage according to the rites of the Catholic Church after having been married in the public church or town hall.⁶²

A number of Catholics thus violated the decrees of the Council of Trent, which stipulated that Catholics had to be married by a Catholic priest accompanied by two witnesses, rules which were based on a system of parishes staffed by priests, a situation that was far removed from the reality in the Dutch Republic. For a long time the apostolic vicars clung to this ideal and denounced marriages concluded before ‘heretical ministers’, although in specific circumstances they ‘did allow for reconciliation with the church’ when a Catholic couple married in the public church.⁶³ It was Van Neercassel who convinced Rome that striving to uphold the decrees of Trent was harmful to the Catholic faith in the Republic, and from 1671 marriages solemnised in the public church or town hall

⁵⁹ According to Willem Frijhoff, baptism became a confessionalised rite after 1648. Willem Frijhoff, ‘Vraagtekens bij het vroegmodern kersteningsoffensief’, in: G. Rooyakkers and Th. van der Zee (eds), *Religieuze volkscultuur. De spanning tussen de voorgeschreven orde en de geleefde praktijk* (Nijmegen, 1986), 93–4. De Mooij concluded that in the city of Bergen op Zoom, baptism was ‘partially confessionalised’ around the middle of the seventeenth century. De Mooij, *Geloof*, 316.

⁶⁰ Parker, *Faith*, 61. Benjamin J. Kaplan, “For they will turn away thy sons”: the practice and perils of mixed marriage in the Dutch golden age’, in: Marc R. Forster et al. (eds), *Piety and family in early modern Europe: essays in honour of Steven Ozment* (Farnham, 2005), 121. Neither Parker nor Kaplan mention the province of Guelders, but according to a decision of the States of Guelders (28-5-1646), Catholics were allowed to be married by magistrates in the cities and by ‘high officers’ in the countryside. *CAN*, 1: 310.

⁶¹ Spiertz, ‘Ontwikkelingsgang’, 288.

⁶² W. F. Elsen, ‘Verslagen door de EE. paters Minderbroeders in de jaren 1656 en 1657 ingediend by den praefectus missionis te Keulen’, *AAU* 2 (1875), 111. HUA, OBC, inv. 251: 5-7-1681. The fact that most marriages (as well as baptisms) were carried out during a religious service before the congregation was probably a deterrent. De Mooij, *Geloof*, 329, 346. As early as 1594 the States General had forbidden the practice of remarrying. Roodenburg, *Onder censuur*, 155. In 1634 the States of Guelders did so as well. *CAN*, 1: 270.

⁶³ Parker, *Faith*, 63–5.

were informally considered by the Catholic Church to be valid.⁶⁴ The Catholic Church thus slowly realised it was better to bend its rules so as to fit in with the circumstances in which Catholicism had to survive. Because there existed certain incentives for Catholics to marry in the public church and Catholics continued to do so, this rite, similarly to baptism, was only partially confessionalised in the seventeenth century.

Another complicating factor with regard to marriages is the phenomenon of mixed marriages, the absence of which has been used to show an advanced state of confessionalisation, whereas their presence has become an argument for the persistent permeability of confessional boundaries.⁶⁵ These opposing arguments have much to do with our lack of knowledge about the number of mixed marriages, especially before the eighteenth century, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to discern whether a continuous process of confessionalisation led to a decreasing number of mixed marriages. Yet there are various signs that the authorities as well as individual believers saw the faith of the partner as an increasingly important marker of confessional affiliation – the various churches had always been completely against mixed marriages. From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, the secular authorities tried to regulate mixed marriages in several ways. The Catholic priest Arnold Waaijer wrote in his diary that the city council of Zwolle forbade Catholics to marry Reformed Protestants, on pain of a fine of fifty guilders.⁶⁶ In 1677 Utrecht's city council determined that Catholics 'had to promise to allow their Reformed partners to practise their faith unhindered, and to allow the couple's children to be baptised and raised in the Reformed faith'.⁶⁷ This decree did not prohibit interfaith marriages, but shows a heightened awareness that these marriages threatened existing confessional boundaries. According to Bertrand Forclaz, mixed marriages became less common over the course of the seventeenth century in the city of Utrecht as confessional boundaries started to become more solid.⁶⁸ Regardless of this development, individuals continued to marry across religious boundaries throughout the seventeenth century, as the choice of spouse was not wholly determined by confessional norms.

Recusant history? Methodology and its implications

It has become clear by now that the behaviour of the Dutch was not entirely guided by confessional norms, and religious diversity fragmented communities and even families. A

⁶⁴ Kaplan, 'Practice and perils', 122. Joke Spaans, 'De katholieken in de Republiek na de vrede van Munster', *DZE* 13 (1997), 253.

⁶⁵ E.g. Groenveld, *Huisgenoten*, and Forclaz, 'Emergence'. Pollmann, 'From freedom'.

⁶⁶ G. A. Meijer (ed.), *Nopende het aerts-priesterschap van Swolle...* (Utrecht, 1921), 57.

⁶⁷ Kaplan, 'Religiously mixed marriages', 55. Forclaz, 'Le foyer', 1113.

⁶⁸ Forclaz, 'Emergence'.

methodology which makes distinctions between the degrees of certainty provided by the sources about the religious affiliation of Dutch nobles is therefore warranted. Having a religious vocation, being mentioned on De la Torre's list, studying at a Catholic university, corresponding with the apostolic vicars or missionary priests, possessing religious objects such as crosses, altars and chasubles, and owning Catholic devotional literature are all clear indicators that someone was a Catholic, whereas other sources, such as registers of the names of the people who married in the town hall, are inconclusive evidence (in this specific case, because it only tells us that at least one of the spouses did not want to marry in the Reformed Church).

A concise overview of sources, including an explanation as to why, in my judgement, they do or do not provide sufficient evidence of religious affiliation, is provided in appendix A. The faith of a person is determined on the basis of sources which provide a high degree of certainty about religious affiliation, and we should now consider the implications of this methodology. The sources that are seen as offering conclusive evidence – that is, providing a high degree of certainty about a noble's religious affiliation – are often related to nobles' support of the Mission, their relationships with missionary priests, and manifestations of their piety. Invariably such sources will leave us with the core of the Catholic nobility, those who knowingly violated the decrees of the secular authorities, were firmly committed to their faith, and took risks in order to support their faith. The Catholic community, however, did not merely consist of a core of believers. If we look at the mission reports compiled by the clergy working in the Dutch Republic, it seems that most missionaries, together with the apostolic vicars, regarded communicants as the core of the Catholic community. It is not always clear how often these people took communion – it not only depended on one's spiritual needs and inclinations, but also on the sheer availability of priests – but once a year during the Easter season was probably the absolute minimum required to be regarded as a communicant.⁶⁹ The missionaries thought of the Catholic community as being larger than this group of communicants, since even people who did not take communion at Easter were seen as belonging to the community.⁷⁰ On the other hand, some participation in the religious life of the Catholic Church was necessary, since those who had more or less lost contact with the Church (those on the margins of the Church, the *randkerkelijken*) and those who had been baptised by a Catholic priest but never really 'made a definite choice' (the 'undecided' or *onbeslisten*) made up the group that existed outside the

⁶⁹ The Fourth Lateran Council decided in 1215 that Catholics were obliged to take communion at Easter.

⁷⁰ Spiertz, 'Ontwikkelingsgang', 269. This is not surprising, as the Catholic clergy were well aware that not every Catholic was able to observe every duty. Ibid., 283.

community. Rather than trying to aim for conversions from Protestantism, most missionary activities were directed at this group of people who had at least some affinity with the Catholic Church.⁷¹

Arguably the various layers of which the Dutch Catholic community consisted must have been mirrored in the Dutch Catholic nobility, among whose ‘core’ members are visible differences such as the support they offered. The difficulty is, however, that it is precisely because of their support for the Mission or their manifestations of piety that a group of Catholic nobles left extant traces in the source material used for this research. This should not obscure the fact that there will have been Catholic nobles who were not so committed to their Church, or who, if the circumstances warranted it, chose to conform to the demands of the authorities. Therefore we should have an eye to nobles who perhaps were tied to the Catholic community in a looser sense, but were nevertheless still part of it – if only to avoid the idea that all Catholic nobles were hard-core supporters of the Catholic faith, since clinging to such an idea will distort our idea of the Catholic nobility and the Dutch Catholic community.

In order to understand this matter more fully, it is instructive to briefly turn to the scholarly debates about English Catholicism. In England, studies on Catholicism, and more specifically on the Catholic gentry, have for a long time taken the recusants, people who ‘deliberately refused to attend Protestant worship’, as their starting point.⁷² To put it at its simplest, recusancy was the stance of a number of Catholics regarding the laws designed to create religious uniformity; but recusancy acquired a wider meaning as historians started to regard recusants as ‘definite Catholics’, that is, Catholics who were ‘fully and irrevocably committed to the Old Religion’.⁷³ Catholics were thus divided into two categories: recusants or non-conformists, who were placed at the top of the scale, and Catholics who practised a measure of conformity, the ‘church papists’ or ‘schismatics’.⁷⁴ John Bossy, who situated English Catholicism within the larger current of non-conformity, saw its history as a process of separation, a gradual movement from occasional conformity, such a seasonal conformity (participation in Protestant holidays and feasts), towards non-communicating and finally

⁷¹ De Mooij, *Geloof*, 569–70. Parker, *Faith*, 145. According to Spiertz, missionaries even considered *randkerkelijken* to be part of the Catholic Church, but most of them lost contact with the Church in the second half of the seventeenth century. Spiertz, ‘Ontwikkelingsgang’, 291. Jesuits made a distinction between those who made confession and took communion and those who merely came to Catholic services – the listeners (*toehoorders*), a group comparable to the *liefhebbers*. Ibid., 268–9. According to Groenveld, the listeners were called ‘neutrales’. Groenveld, *Huisgenoten*, 18. However, he refers to the article by Spiertz, in which the ‘neutrales’ are equated with the *onbeslisten*. Spiertz, ‘Ontwikkelingsgang’, 269.

⁷² Johan Trevor Cliffe, *The Yorkshire gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969), 167. A vast number of studies about Catholic recusancy have been published, including: J. C. H. Aveling, *The handle and the axe: Catholic recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London, 1976); id., *Northern Catholics: the Catholic recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1966).

⁷³ Aveling, *Handle*, 42. Cliffe, *Yorkshire gentry*, 189.

⁷⁴ For such an interpretation see for instance Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 77 and passim. ‘Schismatics’ was the synonym for church papists used by Catholics, mostly Jesuits. Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, 167.

recusancy.⁷⁵ This distinction between recusants and conformists has been increasingly problematised, if only because of the examples of convicted recusants who moved back and forth between recusancy and a degree of conformity, showing that, to echo Michael Questier, ‘the line between recusancy and conformity was permeable.’⁷⁶ According to Alexandra Walsham, occasional conformity was often a deliberate strategy, a ‘position of moral principle rather than an inferior, interim stage on the road to full-blown recusancy’, and therefore, as Questier has suggested, we ‘might view active Catholicism as a larger, inclusive and more flexible quantity of which absolute recusancy (unmoderated nonconformity) and moderate or moderated recusancy (partial or occasional nonconformity) were both expressions’.⁷⁷

The concepts employed by historians of early modern English Catholicism are not unproblematic, and it remains to be seen to what extent some of them can be applied to the Dutch context. One of the difficulties is that recusancy – as both historical phenomenon and concept – originated in a legal context that was absent in the Dutch Republic, where church attendance was voluntary. For historians such as Hugh Aveling, however, recusancy or non-conformity meant more than not attending religious services in the Anglican Church; it also denoted the aim of some Catholics not to be involved with Anglicanism at all.⁷⁸ Non-conformity, then, was a mode of behaviour that extended to areas of life that were not subject to any religious law: it was a larger form of dissociation from the Church of England and from the religious standard set by the English state. In the Dutch Republic the actions of Catholic nobles belonged to non-conformity in this broader sense, and their behaviour expressed a dissociation from the public religion of the Dutch Republic, for instance by having their children baptised by a Catholic priest, by not marrying in the public church, or by not holding any offices which required the holder to take an oath of religion. It was, in a way, a (partial) rejection of the religious regime of the Dutch Republic.

Because of the examples of English Catholics who oscillated between ‘full’ recusancy and occasional conformity, we can no longer regard recusancy as the ‘highest expression of orthodox Roman Catholic faith’.⁷⁹ By casting the net wider and including Catholics who occasionally conformed to the religious demands of the secular authorities, or who wished to do so, we can get a glimpse of the different strategies Catholics employed to find a *modus vivendi*, a way to combine adhering to their religion with living in an officially Reformed Protestant state. As we shall see,

⁷⁵ John Bossy, *The English Catholic community, 1570–1850* (London, 1979), esp. 121–30 and *passim*.

⁷⁶ Michael C. Questier, ‘Conformity, Catholicism and the law’, in: P. Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and orthodoxy in the English church, c. 1560–1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), 260.

⁷⁷ Alexandra Walsham, “‘Yielding to the extremity of time’: conformity, orthodoxy and the post-Reformation Catholic community”, in: *Conformity and orthodoxy in the English church*, 213. Questier, ‘Conformity’, 257.

⁷⁸ This proved to be extremely difficult, however. Aveling, *Handle*, 48.

⁷⁹ Questier, ‘Conformity’, 238.

Catholic nobles found different ways in which to negotiate their position with the secular authorities, showing the variety of options still available to Catholic nobles, even when they were increasingly marginalised as a result of their faith.

Another perspective from which a religious community can be studied is to look at the beliefs of its members. Often, when analysing the beliefs and spirituality of early modern Catholics, a distinction is made between a traditional and a more 'modern' kind of Catholicism, the latter being inspired by the theology and spirituality propagated by the Council of Trent. For our purposes such a distinction can be useful, for instance in order to analyse whether Catholic nobles were influenced by the Counter-Reformation and to what extent they had internalised its teachings. As with most of the distinctions used in any kind of research, a few words of caution are in order. Firstly, making a distinction between a more traditional and a modern type of Catholic spirituality does not mean that both forms of spirituality did not have anything in common (according to H. O. Evenett, the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation had its roots in the Middle Ages).⁸⁰ The meaning of the word 'traditional' is slightly ambiguous as well. When a religious belief or ritual is said to be traditional, it denotes a belief or ritual which originated in a distant past, thereby often implying that the form and meaning have not changed much (or at all) over time. Yet even if the outward ritualistic aspects of a religious practice remained unchanged, the rite may have acquired another meaning.⁸¹ Besides internal changes, such as the approval of a new interpretation of a certain doctrine by a church council, external changes, such as the emergence of legislation, can change the meaning of a religious practice. In 1636 the States of Utrecht prohibited some customs that were still commonly practised at funerals, such as placing a cross on top of a grave or burning candles next to the corpse lying in repose.⁸² These customs were traditional in the sense that they had accompanied burials for ages; but as they were deemed to be superstitious and illegal by both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, for Catholics who continued to adhere to these practices their meaning changed, as the practices became markers of confessional affiliation. We should therefore be very careful when applying labels such as 'traditional'. The distinction between traditional and more modern forms of worship and spirituality can nevertheless be fruitful for studying Catholicism in the Dutch Republic and assessing the extent to which the piety of Catholic nobles was influenced by Tridentine standards.

Therefore, even when we are focusing on a core of Catholic nobles, the differences between the members of this group will be highlighted by employing the different perspectives outlined above, underscoring the different ways in which Catholic nobles behaved, and showing the range of possibilities that were still open to Catholic nobles. Some noblewomen, for example, practised their

⁸⁰ H. O. Evenett, *The spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (London, 1970).

⁸¹ Frijhoff, 'Vraagtekens', 89–97.

⁸² VdW, 1: 446–8.

religion on their estates; others entered foreign convents; and yet others decided to become spiritual virgins, unmarried or widowed women who took simple vows of chastity, humility and obedience, and assisted priests and educated the laity.⁸³ To give another example: some Catholic noblemen seem to have accepted the fact that they were no longer eligible to serve in public office, whereas others negotiated their position with the government or illegally tried to gain possession of an office. Besides accentuating such and other differences, we should not lose sight of the general patterns and trends among this group of nobles and the ways in which they supported, practised and experienced their faith as members of a religious minority in a Protestant country.

Concepts and distinctions such as those mentioned above seek to determine the position of a believer or group of believers within a larger context. This is important, as the experience, behaviour and identity of Catholics were partly shaped by their encounters with members of other confessions, most notably with Calvinists.⁸⁴ An important part of this study will therefore be to study the Catholic nobility against the backdrop of Dutch society, the Dutch Catholic community and the Holland Mission, shedding light on the Catholic nobles as well as on the larger context in which they are placed. The first chapter studies the extent to which noble families were religiously mixed, mostly by addressing the marriage strategies of the Catholic nobility. By studying the marriages that were concluded by the members of ten noble lineages mainly from the province of Utrecht, we can determine whether religion or other considerations enjoyed primacy in marriage arrangements, and whether Catholic nobles had a distinctive marriage strategy compared to Protestant nobles. The data demonstrate that even though six of the ten lineages were religiously mixed, the number of mixed marriages was limited, as a result of which most nuclear families were united rather than divided by faith. This has important repercussions for the topics studied throughout the rest of the thesis, such as the areas of life in which interconfessional interaction did and did not take place.

In the second chapter the social networks of Catholic nobles and their interaction with society at large will be analysed. It will examine topics such as the offices held by Catholic nobles and the spheres of life in which they did and did not interact with members of other confessions, thereby revealing the level and nature of this interaction (e.g. whether it was violent or friendly, whether it led to integration or separation), and the extent to which these interactions were governed by confessional norms. Because Catholic nobles wanted to avoid interactions with Protestants which could endanger their own religious identity or that of their offspring, in some spheres of life, including the family, interconfessional interaction was limited, whereas in other spheres, such as charity, Catholic nobles continued to interact with Protestants.

⁸³ Joke Spaans, *De levens der maechden. Het verhaal van een religieuze vrouwengemeenschap in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 2012), 9–10.

⁸⁴ Parker, 'In partibus infidelium', 144.

The third chapter examines the religiosity of the Catholic nobility by analysing a variety of topics including the religious objects they possessed, the devotional books they owned, and the (religious) upbringing they enjoyed. In this chapter, relationships with the rest of society are taken into account as well: the extent to which acts of devotion ‘spilled over’ into or were intentionally deployed in the public sphere as a clear statement of confessional affiliation is studied. The religiosity of the Catholic nobility was heavily influenced by the Counter-Reformation, due partly to frequent contact with missionary priests that were trained in a Tridentine framework, and partly to the ownership of devotional books that propagated the spirituality advocated by the Council of Trent. The religiosity of the Catholic nobility underpinned the subculture that emerged among Catholic nobles, a subculture which had clear references to their religious affiliation but at the same time still shared aspects of a more general noble culture.

The fourth and last chapter sets the Catholic nobles within the wider framework of the Holland Mission. It analyses the means by which the nobles supported the Mission and the extent to which they made use of their prerogatives and privileges as seigniorial lords in order to support Catholicism. An important topic of this chapter is the patronage rights the Catholic nobility enjoyed, which enabled them to delay the appointment of Reformed ministers, but also brought them into conflict with the apostolic vicars over the appointment of priests in clandestine Catholic churches and chapels. These conflicts, and the general relationships between the Catholic nobles and the leaders of the Mission and missionary priests, are studied, thus providing insight into the inner workings of the Catholic community. Catholic nobles not only supported the Mission; by influencing the appointment of priests, they actively shaped it. In general, even though some priests worked as chaplains on the estates of the Catholic nobility, mainly providing pastoral care to the members of noble families, most priests served nearby Catholic communities as well. In the end, therefore, the Mission as a whole benefited from the support of the Catholic nobles.

This thesis is largely based on sources derived from family archives, including letters, wills, and inventories. Additional information about noble families has been gathered from DTB registers, notarial archives and various genealogical journals. Another crucial source is the archive of the apostolic vicars and their secretaries; in particular the so-called letter books, which consist of the incoming and outgoing letters of these clergymen, proved to be an invaluable source of information about the organization of the Holland Mission and the relationships between the Catholic nobles and the missionaries. Transcriptions of missionary reports, including the list of Catholic nobles in Utrecht and Guelders that was the starting point of this thesis, as well of other relevant primary sources, can be found in several journals on the history of Catholicism in the Low Countries, such as the *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*. The sources used to study the stance of the

secular authorities and the Reformed church toward Catholics include the minutes of the meetings of the Utrecht *ridderschap*, the decrees issued by the secular authorities, and the records of the consistorial meetings.

In order to make the size of the project manageable, some sources have not been consulted, such as the archives of the stadholders. Instead, I have mainly resorted to secondary literature to examine the relationships between the stadholders and the Catholic nobles.⁸⁵ Furthermore, sources such as *Alba Amicorum* have also not been used, since it quickly became apparent that these would lay bare new networks which would need a great deal of prosopographical research.⁸⁶ House archives, most of which are not longer extant, have only been used sparsely since these archives mostly consist of sources which deal with economic issues. I therefore have relied on existing secondary studies to gain information about the financial aspects of the families studied in this thesis.

⁸⁵ E.g. Geert H. Janssen, *Creaturen van de macht: patronage bij Willem Frederik van Nassau (1613–1664)* (Amsterdam, 2005).

⁸⁶ About this source, see e.g. Sophie Reinders, 'Zonder eer geen adel. Het album amicorum van Henrica van Arnhem', *Virtus* 20 (2013), 196-207.

1. Religious diversity, marriage and the family

‘Illa haeretica’, wrote De la Torre about the mother of Baron Van Renesse van Moermont, also mentioning that a non-Catholic nobleman had married a converted woman, and that the first wife of Baron Schellart van Obendorf had not been a Catholic.⁸⁷ One Catholic noblewoman ended up marrying Protestants twice, and in total fourteen (12%) of the 117 marriages the apostolic vicar recorded on his list of Catholic nobles were mixed marriages.⁸⁸ Marrying someone who adhered to a rival church could have weighty consequences: writing about the noble Catholic Van Duivenvoorde family, Petrus a Matre Dei mentioned that this family was ‘shaken’ by the corruptive influence of heresy resulting from mixed marriages.⁸⁹ Nobles who married a partner who adhered to a different faith violated the rules of their churches, since all churches were completely opposed to mixed marriages. Even though such marriages could provide a chance to win over a spouse to the true faith, clergymen were more afraid of the possibility of losing souls to a heretical church.⁹⁰ Benjamin Kaplan has shown, however, that at least in eighteenth-century Holland, ultimately people decided for themselves whether to marry a person of a different faith, relatives and the clergy being largely unable to coerce them.⁹¹

One of the reasons that mixed marriages continued to be concluded throughout the seventeenth century, is that religion was not the only factor which influenced the choice of spouse. Bertrand Forclaz has found, for instance, that mixed marriages in the city of Utrecht in last quarter of the seventeenth century were caused especially by sociability in neighbourhoods and at work.⁹² Traditionally among the social elite in early modern Europe, social endogamy – marrying a spouse of the same social status – was the dominant pattern. Although formal rules of derogation differed in the various European countries, the prevailing noble culture in early modern Europe condemned marriages with members of non-noble families. Next to social status, the choice of spouse was likely to be influenced by economic considerations, and marriages were also used to strengthen relationships between families (it was not uncommon among the nobility that over the course of generations various marriages were concluded between members of the same families). Another

⁸⁷ DLT, AAU 11, 180–1.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 182–3 (Haerslo).

⁸⁹ Deelder, *Clara relatio*, 53.

⁹⁰ Kaplan, ‘Practice and perils’, 132. Franciscus Dusseldorp, *Tractatus de matrimonio non ineundo cum his qui extra ecclesiam sunt* (Antwerp, 1636), 301–6.

⁹¹ Kaplan, ‘Intimate negotiations’, 246.

⁹² Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 309.

important and widely shared objective was the continuation of the lineage through the production of male heirs.⁹³

The fact that mixed marriages were concluded because religion was not necessarily the overriding concern when choosing a spouse could have weighty consequences for a religious community, since conversions as a result of such marriages could diminish its size. Rogier has argued that mixed marriages did have the detrimental effect seventeenth-century clergymen feared, and that these marriages were one of the foremost causes of the dwindling number of Catholic nobles in the Dutch Republic.⁹⁴ On the other hand, historians such as Sherinn Marshall and Conrad Gietman have emphasised the religious endogamy of the Catholic nobility, since families which aimed to strengthen their religious identity often opted to have their family members marry a co-religionist.⁹⁵ Marc Lindeijer concluded in his book about the Catholic nobility in Guelders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that ‘religion, birth, region, fortune, and propriety were the most important criteria, in changing degrees.’⁹⁶ This chapter aims to move beyond Lindeijer’s somewhat generic remark by discerning patterns in the marriage strategies of ten noble lineages, analysing which criteria enjoyed primacy in marriage arrangements, and assessing whether through marriages religious differences were introduced into the lineages, and into the nuclear families of which the lineages consisted.

A distinction will be made between the lineage (the family as a whole), and the nuclear family, consisting of parents and their offspring. This distinction enables us to discern which relations were affected by religious differences: did competing faiths divide husbands and wives, parents and children, or were the various branches of which noble lineages often consisted divided by faith? We will see that although six of the lineages studied in this chapter were religiously mixed, religious differences were not to be found in most of the nuclear families: Catholic nobles preferred to marry spouses who shared their status and religion, thus combining social and religious endogamy. However, because of the limited availability of suitable spouses, more than half did not marry at all, the percentage of unmarried Catholic nobles being significantly higher than among their Protestant counterparts. Catholic nobles also tended to seek their partners abroad more often than their Protestant counterparts (although this never became a very prominent strategy for these families).

⁹³ NA, Familie Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 985: November 1651. Also: HUA, OBC, inv. 248: 10-1-1679.

⁹⁴ ROG, 1: 482–3. See also Richard Paping, ‘Paapse jonkers in Drenthe. Een inventarisatie (1592–1750)’, *Waardeel. Drents Historisch Tijdschrift* 20 (2000), 8–9.

⁹⁵ Marshall, *Gentry*, 44. Gietman, *Republiek van adel*, 15. H. Wassenaar, ‘Katholieke adellijke families in Gelderland en Overijssel (1612–1814)’, *Virtus. Tijdschrift voor adelsgeschiedenis* [henceforth: *Virtus*] 1 (1993–4), 10.

⁹⁶ M. J. F. Lindeijer, *Tussen kasteel en kerk. De katholieke Gelderse adel 1765–1827* (Aalten, 2014), 69.

Data and methodology

The shared traits of the ten lineages studied in this chapter is that they were considered to be *riddermatig*, and that at least one of their members appeared on the list of Catholic nobles in Utrecht composed by apostolic vicar Jacobus de la Torre in 1656. The lineages (i.e. their members and possessions) were not confined to the province of Utrecht, but were spread over other parts of the country as well. The De Wael van Vronestein family came into possession of House Dever, close to the town of Lisse in Holland, whereas the Van Gent family had many possessions and family members living in Guelders.⁹⁷ Because of the focus on Utrecht and Guelders, branches of families who lived in other provinces are omitted from the genealogies (see appendix B) used in this chapter (a branch of the Van Zuylen van Nyevelt family, for instance, lived in Holland and is left out).

Data about the family members and their marriages have been gathered from a wide range of sources, including registers of baptisms, marriages and burials (DTB registers), as well as printed and manuscript genealogies.⁹⁸ Working with these can be tedious, as varying genealogies exist of the same families, often making it necessary to return to primary sources. Research on the marriage strategies of noble families often analyses the marriages contracted by family members across a number of generations. In this chapter I examine the marriages contracted in a particular period (after 1580 and before 1702). This can cause problems, because generations do not neatly ‘fit’ into this period.⁹⁹ For example, some members of a particular generation married before 1580, while others married after this date, and still others did not marry at all. Including the family members from this particular generation that married after 1580 while excluding members of the same generation who remained unmarried would lead to a distortion of the percentage of married family members. In order to avoid a misrepresentation of the number of married and unmarried members of a particular family, a whole generation thus has to be either included or excluded. Therefore the whole generation of a particular family is included if the majority of the marriages of the family members in that specific generation were contracted after 1580 or before 1702. The genealogies are based on the principle of patrilinearity: the marriages of female family members are included, but their children are not, as the wife went over to the family of her husband. In the end this has led to a data set which consists of 367 family members (191 men, 176 women) who concluded 211 marriages (105 contracted by men and 106 by women).

⁹⁷ Several male members of this lineage attended the knighthoods in the various ‘quarters’ of the province Guelders.

⁹⁸ E.g., HUA, VBB, ‘Lange boekjes’. UBU, ‘Lange boekjes’ and ‘Genealogische geschriften’. HRA, Collectie Spaen.

⁹⁹ The term generation denotes ‘all of the offspring that are at the same stage of descent from a common ancestor’. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/generation>.

Religiously mixed families and interfaith marriages

Drawing on sources which provide a very high degree of certainty of religious affiliation, we have been able to determine the religion of a number of family members and in-laws. The high number of nobles whose religion is uncertain reflects the difficulties of doing this. The necessity of a clear methodology to discern the religious affiliations of individuals has already been signalled, and this is especially important when assessing the marriage strategies of the Catholic nobility, for it turns out that many scholars, whether historians or genealogists, often refer to families instead of individuals when speaking about religious affiliation.¹⁰⁰ Michael Questier, addressing the English context, noted that ‘sometimes the label “Catholic” which we assign to a family is a guess based in part or whole on its having contracted a marriage with another family which we also call “Catholic”.’¹⁰¹ In other words, sometimes it is plainly assumed that Catholics married their co-religionists, and on the basis of this assumption whole families are deemed to be Catholic as well. In light of recent research which emphasises the permeability of religious boundaries, and which shows that families were not homogenous confessional entities but were divided by faith, this chapter will examine the marriage strategies of the ten noble families based on the religious affiliations of individual family members and their spouses.

One of the things the following table shows is how careful one should be about attaching labels such as ‘Catholic’ or ‘Protestant’ to lineages. This is not to say that families who traditionally have been deemed Catholic, such as De Wael van Vronestein or Van Renesse van Baer, were not completely Catholic. This is still a distinct possibility, as I have not come across any evidence (specified in appendix A) that any of their members were Protestants. Yet we simply do not have much certainty about the religion of some family members, which should us make careful of statements about the religion of the whole family; and the figures for four families clearly indicate that they were religiously mixed.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. W. Bijleveld, ‘De R.C. gebleven adel in de Ommelanden’, *DNL* 43 (1925), 142. L. H. M. Olde Meierink, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1995), passim. J. Aalbers, ‘Veluwe riddermatige adel (1675–1740)’, in: A. Klukhuhn (ed.), *De eeuwwende 1700. Deel 2: geschiedenis* (Utrecht, 1991), 34. Marshall, *Gentry*, 89, 111.

¹⁰¹ Questier, *Catholicism and community*, 60.

Table 1. Religious affiliation of individual family members.

	Catholic		Protestant		Unknown		Total (n.)
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
Van Amstel van Mijnden	8	32	0	0	18	72	26
Grauwert	6	54.5	0	0	5	45.5	11
Van Gent	6	6.3	20	21.1	69	72.6	95
Van der Haer	2	9.1	0	0	20	90.9	22
Van Hardenbroek	3	9.1	7	21.2	23	69.7	33
Van Renesse van der Aa	0	0	2	14.3	12	85.7	14
Van Renesse van Baer	16	47.1	0	0	18	52.9	34
De Wael van Moersbergen	4	23.5	2	11.8	11	64.7	17
De Wael van Vronestein	24	75	0	0	8	25	32
Van Zuylen van Nyevelt	15	18.1	8	9.6	60	72.3	83
Total	84	22.9	39	10.6	244	66.5	367

This table shows the religious affiliation only of the family members, and not of their spouses. Nevertheless, without taking marriages into account, four of these families were already divided by faith. The religious differences were caused by the fact that in the sixteenth century some family members converted to Protestantism. Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt, for example, became a Protestant, helped to organise hedge-preachings, and had a leading role in the various acts of iconoclasm in 1566.¹⁰² Often the exact moments of conversion are not well documented, and in the majority of cases the fact that a family member was Protestant can be determined because a noble became a member of the Reformed Church or, more commonly, held a public office for which only Protestants were eligible. In the sixteenth century, conversions undoubtedly created religious differences in the nuclear families of which lineages consisted, but the nuclear families of the subsequent generations were religiously homogeneous. The Van Gent lineage was religiously mixed, with six Catholic and twenty Protestant members, and offers a striking example of this pattern. Willem van Gent, Lord of Rijnenburg, remained Catholic, whereas the religious affiliation of his two sisters is unknown. Willem married a Catholic, and four of his five children were Catholic as well (the religious affiliation of one of his daughters is unknown).¹⁰³ Two of Willem's daughters and one of his sons married, but as the marriage of the latter remained childless, this branch died out, and so did Catholicism in this lineage. In a similar fashion, Agnes van Hardenbroek was a Catholic, whereas the religious affiliation of her two sisters is unknown. After having been granted a dispensation by the Catholic Church, Agnes married the non-noble but Catholic Peter van Westreenen (related to her in

¹⁰² Marshall, *Gentry*, 127. Otto Jan de Jong, *De Reformatie in Culemborg* (Assen, 1957), 118–21.

¹⁰³ For some of Hendrik's children, see p. 53.

the third degree), yet thereafter it was Peter van Hardenbroek who reintroduced Catholicism into this lineage because of his conversion to the Old Faith.¹⁰⁴ Peter married a Catholic wife, but his son, also a Catholic, did not marry and died when he was twenty-five, which also meant the end of Catholicism in this lineage. One nuclear family of the De Wael van Moersbergen lineage was divided by faith, as was the case with the Van Zuylen van Nyevelt family, but the majority of the Catholic members of this lineage were the children and grandchildren of Pieter van Zuylen van Nyevelt (see p. 55). While the Reformation had introduced religious differences that divided the nuclear families of which four religiously mixed lineages consisted in the sixteenth century, this was no longer the case by the seventeenth century.

Table 2. Religious affiliation of individual family members and their spouses

	Catholic		Protestant		Unknown		Total (n.)
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
Van Amstel van Mijnden	15	36,6	0	0	26	63,4	41
Grauwert	7	50	0	0	7	50	14
Van Gent	11	7,4	27	18,2	110	74,3	148
Van der Haer	3	10,3	0	0	26	89,6	29
Van Hardenbroek	5	8,1	12	19,4	45	72,6	62
Van Renesse van der Aa	1	4,3	3	13	19	82,6	23
Van Renesse van Baer	25	49,0	3	5,9	23	45,1	51
De Wael van Moersbergen	5	15,6	2	6,3	25	78,1	32
De Wael van Vronestein	31	67,4	0	0	15	32,6	46
Van Zuylen van Nyevelt	21	15,9	13	9,8	98	72,4	132
Total	124	21.5	60	10.4	394	68.2	578

When including the spouses, as has been done in table two, six instead of four lineages were religiously mixed. The fact that religious differences were not introduced on a larger scale within the lineages and its nuclear families was the result of the religious endogamy of the family members. Tables 3 and 4 on pp. 40–1 show the religious affiliation of the noble and non-noble spouses: the most left column of the table consists of the members of the ten families, classified by faith and gender, whereas the other columns give the numbers and percentages of the spouses, classified by faith (this also applies to table 5 on p. 45). As tables 3 and 4 demonstrate, Catholic family members married Protestants only twice. In twelve cases the religion of the spouses of Catholic family

¹⁰⁴ Jacob Bruggeman, *Diarium litterarium OBC* (6 vols, Utrecht, 1982), 3: 154 (11/21-8-1596). For Peter van Hardenbroek, see pp. 87–8.

members is unclear, yet there are no indications that they were Protestant. However, because of the lack of conclusive evidence about the religious affiliation of these nobles, their religion is treated as unknown. The reluctance to marry a spouse of a different faith was equally high on the other side of the confessional divide: only two Protestant family members married Catholics (in twenty-eight cases the religion of the spouse is unknown). It is likely that most of the Protestant family members concluded marriages with co-religionists as well, as several of them had their children baptised by a Reformed minister or married in the Reformed Church. Moreover, with two exceptions, we have no indications that their spouses were Catholic. Unfortunately, the lack of evidence does not enable us to substantiate this. Although the difficulties of determining religious affiliation result in a rather limited number of marriages about which we know the religion of both spouses, our data support the idea of religious endogamy, especially in the cases of Catholic family members.

As mentioned, the danger of the conversion of the spouse and insecurity about the religious upbringing of the children meant that the different churches were vehemently opposed to mixed marriages.¹⁰⁵ In 1650 an exasperated Phillipus Rovenius, the second apostolic vicar of the Holland Mission, stressed that the Catholic Church ‘had always judged’ that a marriage of a Catholic with a Calvinist (geuse) ‘was unruly’, and threatened priests who absolved Catholics who had entered such marriages.¹⁰⁶ In England, Catholic priests, clearly realising the importance of considerations other than religion in marriage arrangements, encouraged the laity to marry someone from an inferior social class rather than a heretic.¹⁰⁷ The aggressive stance of both the Catholic and Reformed Churches towards interfaith marriages seems to have had its influence on the marriage strategies of these families: four of the thirty-seven marriages (10.8%) for which we have a very high degree of certainty about the religious affiliation of both husband and wife were mixed marriages. This percentage is a bit lower than the percentage of mixed marriages recorded by De la Torre (12%), but unfortunately it is impossible to put this figure in a broader context, due to the fact that there is no other information available about the rate of mixed marriages among the Dutch nobility. The figure does demonstrate that this rite was confessionalised to a large extent. By marrying co-religionists the Catholic nobles lived up to the standards set by their Church; yet at the same time most of these nobles violated other decrees of Trent, since the majority of them conformed to the regulations of the state and married in the town hall, which enabled them to have a legal marriage while avoiding having to go to a heretical

¹⁰⁵ Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, 276–82. Parker, *Faith*, 61–8.

¹⁰⁶ HUA, OBC, inv. 90: f. 258r (Rovenius’s *Constitutio*). Also reprinted in Nicolaus Broedersen, *Tractatus historicus: de rebus ecclesiae Ultrajectinae in quo ordine chronico exhibetur* (5 vols, Utrecht, 1763), 5: 271. Catholic priests needed a dispensation to conduct mixed marriages. Apostolic vicar Sasboldus Vosmeer prohibited interfaith marriages around 1600. Parker, *Faith*, 65.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Holmes, *Resistance and compromise: the political thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge, 1982), 113.

church for this rite.¹⁰⁸ Although it is likely that most of these Catholic nobles remarried in front of a Catholic priest, something which Catholics were required to do (we have evidence that two couples did this), this strategy of marrying co-religionists in the town hall bears witness to the ways in which Catholic nobles sought a *modus vivendi* and attempted to deal with the conflicting requirements of their Church and the state.¹⁰⁹

Table 3. Religious affiliation of noble in-laws.

	Catholic		Protestant		Unknown		
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	Total (n.)
Catholics							
Men	15	62.5	1	4.2	8	33.3	24
Women	12	80	0	0	3	20	15
Total/Average (%)	27	69	1	2.6	11	28	39
Protestants							
Men	0	0	0	0	23	100	23
Women	2	29	1	14	4	57	7
Total/Average (%)	2	7	1	3	27	90	30
Religion unknown							
Men	2	6	2	6	31	89	35
Women	4	6	15	21	53	74	72
Total/Average (%)	6	6	17	16	84	79	107
Family members (all)							
Men	17	20.7	3	3.7	62	75.6	82
Women	18	19.1	16	17	60	63.8	94
Total/Average (%)	35	19.9	19	10.8	122	69.3	176

¹⁰⁸ Of the forty-six marriages made by Catholic family members, twenty-one took place in the town hall, three in a Reformed church, three in a Catholic church, and one marriage was solemnised first in a Reformed church and later again by a Catholic priest (information unknown for eighteen marriages).

¹⁰⁹ HUA, OBC, inv. 253: 5-7-1681 (to Jeursema). Forclaz, 'The emergence', 255. W. L. S. Knuijf and J. de Jong, 'Philip Rovenius en zijn bestuur der Hollandse zending', *AAU* 50 (1925), 32.

Table 4. Religious affiliation of non-noble in-laws.

	Catholic		Protestant		Unknown		
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	Total (n.)
Catholics							
Men	3	60	1	20	1	20	5
Women	1	100	0	0	0	0	1
Total/Average (%)	4	66.7	1	16.7	1	16.7	6
Protestants							
Men	0	0	0	0	1	100	1
Women	0	0	1	100	0	0	1
Total/Average (%)	0	0	1	50	1	50	2
Religion unknown							
Men	0	0	0	0	4	100	4
Women	0	0	0	0	5	100	5
Total/Average (%)	0	0	0	0	9	100	9
Family members (all)							
Men	3	30	1	10	6	60	10
Women	1	14	1	14.3	5	71.4	7
Total/Average (%)	4	23.5	2	11.8	11	64.7	17

Let us have a look at the mixed marriages. Catharina de Wael van Moersbergen, daughter of the Remonstrant Adolf de Wael van Moersbergen, was an acatholica as well.¹¹⁰ She was engaged to the old and Catholic nobleman Reinier van Raesfeldt, Lord of Middachten, whom she refused to marry. In the end she married the Catholic nobleman Johan van Oostrum, the ritmeester of the family, who abducted her with his men (eventually her father consented to their marriage).¹¹¹ According to Bertrand Forclaz, Adolf ‘preferred that his daughter marry a Catholic rather than an impoverished Reformed nobleman’, but De la Torre’s list makes clear that Johan was a Catholic as well.¹¹² Two mixed marriages were concluded by the Catholic Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer, Lord of Zoelen and Blyenburgh. His second wife, Johanna Vijgh, was the daughter of Arent Vijgh, a

¹¹⁰ DLT, AAU 11 (1883), 184. Some sources mention that Adolf had a second wife who was a Catholic. See e.g. VdAA, 20: 2–3. Adolf, however, passed away a couple months earlier than his first and only wife. HUA, Begraafboek 122: 345. Ibid., Klapper overluidingen, 94.

¹¹¹ Aleid W. van de Bunt, ‘Nog eens Dirk Adolf van Reede’, *Oud-Utrecht* 34 (1961), 17–8. A ritmeester was a captain in the cavalry.

¹¹² Forclaz, ‘Emergence’, 255. DLT, AAU 11, 184 (Moersberghe). Reinier was affluent: he owned the havezate Harreveld (and possibly inherited the possessions of his deceased brother, Lord of Romberg, Harreveld, Nijefeld and Middachten). GA, Havezate Harreveld, inv. 37. Van der Bunt, ‘Nog eens’, 17–8.

Reformed minister, and she was baptised in the Reformed Church of Zoelen and became a full member there.¹¹³ After Johanna's death, Johan Adriaen married Elisabeth van Utrecht in the Reformed Church in Altforst, and a mere five months after their marriage, the Dominican priest Ignatius Verdusan baptised their son Johannes (also known as Jean Louis).¹¹⁴ Johan Adriaen must have managed to convince Elisabeth to have their son baptised by a Catholic priest, because like Johanna, she was a full member of the Reformed Church.¹¹⁵

Whereas religious differences did not seem to cause difficulties in these mixed marriages, the marriage of Nicolaas van Renesse van Elderen and Agnes van Renesse van der Aa was more problematic. In a prenuptial contract Nicolaas had promised that their children would be raised in the Reformed religion. Initially both of them seem to have been willing to conform to this contract, as their oldest son Hendrik was baptised by a Reformed minister.¹¹⁶ However, a mission report from 1630 recounts that Nicolaas had sailed with his two sons to France, 'so that they were made solid in the faith by having seen the public practices of Catholicism'.¹¹⁷ Problems with the authorities started a couple of years after Agnes passed away: in 1637 the provincial synod of Utrecht mentioned that contrary to the provisions of the contract, Nicolaas had started to raise his children in the Catholic religion, and had sent one of his daughters to a convent in Bergh (in Hainault).¹¹⁸ A year later the synod decided, after it had become clear that Nicolaas had staunchly continued to 'make his children loathe the Reformed religion', to bring the case to the attention of the provincial states. In April 1639 deputies of the synod requested the knighthood of Utrecht to remove all the 'priests and teachers' from Nicolaas's estate, and to return his children who had been sent to foreign schools to the Republic, to put them under the supervision of a Reformed teacher, and to send them to religious services in the public church.¹¹⁹ In 1641, however, the provincial synod received the disappointing answer that the States could not interfere in this case, for 'the Lord of Ter Aa lived outside of this province.'¹²⁰ Agnes had failed to have her children raised in the Reformed religion by means of a

¹¹³ NNBW, 9: 1262–4. HUA, OBC, inv. 337: 6/16-11-1689. She was baptised on 21-5-1632 and became a lidmaat in 1642. GA, RBS, inv. 1858, 90; inv. 1859, 54.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., inv. 82, 245. They married on 24-1-1700. G. A. Meijer, 'De Dominicanen-statie te Tiel', *AAU* 29 (1903), 74 (note 1).

¹¹⁵ GA, RBS, inv. 1859, 95 (Lijsbeth van Utrecht).

¹¹⁶ HUA, DTB: Ter Aa, klapper dopen (hervormd), 36.

¹¹⁷ *RB*, 1: 809. At the time of their voyage to France, the two sons (born in 1624 and 1626) were still very young.

¹¹⁸ Agnes passed away on 15-8-1634. HUA, Begraafboek 122: 33. HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 2: meeting of September 1638. The provincial synod remarked that Nicolaas promised to keep the provisions in the prenuptial contract not by taking an oath, but by referring to his 'noble honour'. Buchelius mentioned that Nicolaas enlisted a monk as a teacher for his children. Campen, *Notae quotidianae*, 89.

¹¹⁹ HUA, Huis Zuilen, inv. 730: meeting of 19-4-1639. According to this source, the deputies of the synod mentioned that Nicolaas had converted to Catholicism. The mission report from 1630 mentions that Nicolaas' family had converted (it seems unlikely that Nicolaas himself converted, for why make provisions in the prenuptial contract of 1619 if Nicolaas was a Protestant?). *RB*, 1: 809.

¹²⁰ HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 2: meeting of September 1641.

prenuptial contract, and it was Nicolaas who achieved victory, since at least one of his children, his oldest son Hendrik, became a Catholic.¹²¹

Sometimes such prenuptial agreements actually succeeded in accommodating religious differences, as the example of two members of other noble families, the Catholic noblewoman Josina Hendrina van Rijckel and the Protestant nobleman Hendrick Munster von Bernsaw, Lord of Ruinen, makes clear. In their prenuptial agreement, Hendrick promised that his wife would be allowed to have all their children (both sons and daughters) baptised by a Catholic priest and to raise them in the Catholic faith, and that this would not be altered after her death. Moreover, he vowed that Josina was completely free to practise her faith on her terms, such as by ‘fasting, feasting, reading, praying, going to church, and living according to the commandment [gebot] of the Holy Church’. Josina was allowed to build a chapel in their house and to receive priests whenever she wanted, and Hendrick promised that Josina would be buried in the ‘Catholic way’, and that their marriage would be solemnised by a priest after receiving a dispensation from the Catholic Church (since Josina was Hendrick’s cousin).¹²² It was certainly not always the case that a Protestant spouse was so forthcoming, and in this case it might have to do with the fact that Hendrick himself was not completely hostile to Catholicism. He vowed, for instance, to be educated about the Catholic faith by ‘learned men’ – who would aid him in seeking ‘his salvation’ – and he declared fidelity to these promises by invoking his ‘noble honour’ and ‘God and all His saints’.¹²³

Because of marriages between spouses who adhered to different religions, the parents of these nuclear families were divided by faith, and sometimes this division was replicated among their children as well. Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer had six children, one of whom, Adrianus Wilhelmus, studied at the Catholic University of Louvain, remained in the southern Netherlands, and became a pastor in Neerlanden and the abbot of St Gertrude.¹²⁴ Two other sons were baptised by a Catholic priest, but one of them, Jean Louis, married Philippina Bittera van Zuylen van Nyevelt, who was baptised in the Reformed Church of Ermelo.¹²⁵ Although we do not have any indications about the religious affiliation of Johan Adriaen’s three other children (one son and two daughters), one of the daughters, Mechtelt Gysberta, married Godard van Eyck, a Protestant nobleman who was admitted to the knighthood of Nijmegen in 1703. One of their daughters, Mechteld Maria, had a

¹²¹ Hendrik is mentioned as a Catholic on De la Torre’s list. DLT, AAU 11, 179. Whether his two daughters were Catholic at later points of their lives is unknown.

¹²² HUA, OBC, inv. 187: prenuptial contract (17-3-1648).

¹²³ Ibid., f. 1r, 2r.

¹²⁴ H. Hens, ‘Naamlijst van studenten, afkomstig uit de Meierij, studerend aan de Leuvense universiteit 1654–1796’, *Brabantse Leeuw* 7 (1958), 113. A. van Sasse van Ysselt, ‘Het huis Durendael te Oisterwijk’, *Taxandria* 4 (1897), 194. NNBW, 5: 588–9. E. van Even, ‘Adriaan Willem baron van Renesse van Baer, voorlaatste abt van Sinte Geertruide, te Leuven’, *Dietsche Warande* 3 (1881), 81–90, 168–86.

¹²⁵ Peter J. R. and Arend Jan Vermaat, ‘Ermelo, index ref. dopen 1703–1748’, 17. W. J. d’Ablaing van Giessenburg, *De ridderschap van de Veluwe...* (The Hague, 1859), 378.

religious vocation and served the Catholic Church.¹²⁶ It seems, therefore, that both the parents and the children of this nuclear family were divided by faith, and Johan Adriaen's mixed marriages had consequences for subsequent generations. In general, however, due the low number of mixed marriages among both Catholic and Protestant nobles, most of the nuclear families of these lineages were religiously homogeneous.

Social endogamy

Besides preferring to marry co-religionists, the members of these lineages also desired to marry spouses of equal social status. The number of Dutch nobles was fairly limited, certainly compared to neighbouring countries, because both Charles V and Philip II only sporadically ennobled Dutch families. After the abjuration of Philip II in 1581, not a single family was ennobled in the Dutch Republic.¹²⁷ The practice of social endogamy itself was one of the causes of the rather small size of the nobility, as it limited the number of marriages nobles contracted and, together with high rates of infant mortality, threatened the continuation of noble lineages. Research has shown that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries noble families living in the province of Holland faced a 25% risk of dying out in each successive generation.¹²⁸

In spite of the obvious downsides of social endogamy, our ten families conformed to this practice, and table 5 shows their high rate of social endogamy: 176 of the 211 marriages were contracted with other nobles (83.4%). Only in a very limited number of cases (17/8.1%) can the marriage be labelled a mesalliance.¹²⁹ The loss of status, not only for the person who married but for the whole family, and the other financial consequences of an unequal marriage prevented this from happening more often.¹³⁰ Certain offices and some female noble convents, for instance, required proof of a number of noble quarters; marriage with a non-noble would restrict the ability to gain access to them, also for subsequent generations, which explains why family members were keen to check the status of a possible spouse. When hearing of the prospective marriage of Maria Elisabeth van Oostrum, an 'unidentified nephew' wrote an angry letter to the bride's mother, Maria van den

¹²⁶ Id., *De ridderschap van het kwartier van Nijmegen* (Den Haag, 1899), 353. This was a daughter from Johan Adriaen's first marriage to Johanna van Doerne, whose religious affiliation is unknown.

¹²⁷ Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 58.

¹²⁸ J. W. van Maren, 'Zoudenbalch, een Utrechtse familie', *JOU* (2006), 36.

¹²⁹ In eighteen cases (8.5%) the status of the in-laws is unknown. In the will of the Catholic nobleman Frederik de Wael van Vronestein, a mesalliance is defined as marriage with 'a person of low esteem and quality or with a controversial or indecent life, or with demeaning behaviour in one way or another'. NA, HVZ, inv. 808, f. 2v.

¹³⁰ Frederik de Wael van Vronestein stipulated in his will that if his cousin (Frederik's marriage remained childless) entered a mesalliance, he would forfeit his inheritance. NA, HVZ, inv. 808, f. 2v. For another detailed study of a mesalliance and its consequences, see: Bert Koene, 'De verboden liefde van Maria van Wassenauer', *BMG* 52 (2011), 161–204.

Bongard (who supported the marriage). According to this nephew, it was all too obvious that Anselm Boll, the future husband, was not a nobleman.¹³¹ Lineage was the key: Pauwels van Assendelft was satisfied with the prospective marriage of his niece with Joachim van Hardenbroek, since her husband's name 'was well known to him' and he knew that this family was 'deemed to be a good old lineage'.¹³²

Table 5. Social status of in-laws. Distinctions made between the religious affiliations of the family members.¹³³

	Noble		Non-noble		Status unknown		
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	Total (n.)
Catholics							
Men	24	80	5	16.7	1	3	30
Women	15	93.8	1	6.3	0	0	16
Total/Average (%)	39	84.8	6	13	1	2	46
Protestants							
Men	23	92	1	4	1	4	25
Women	7	77.8	1	11.1	1	11.1	9
Total/Average (%)	30	88.2	2	5.9	2	6	34
Religion unknown							
Men	35	70	4	8	11	22	50
Women	72	88.9	5	6.2	4	4.9	81
Total/Average (%)	107	81.7	9	6.9	15	11.5	131
Family members (all)							
Men	82	78.1	10	9.5	13	12.4	105
Women	94	88.7	7	6.6	5	4.7	106
Total/Average (%)	176	83.4	17	8.1	18	8.5	211

In his research on the nobility in Holland, Henk van Nierop concluded that social exogamy was restricted to a few (impoverished) noble families, and that mostly men concluded exogamous

¹³¹ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 2668, f. 2r. Anselm made some attempts to prove his noble descent. Bok, 'Laying claim', 215, 218 and passim.

¹³² HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv 242, f. 1r. Also: Marshall, *Gentry*, 4.

¹³³ The most left column of the table consists of the members of the ten families, classified by faith and gender. Among Catholic family members, for example, men concluded 24 marriages with nobles, 5 with non-nobles, whereas the social status of one of the spouses was unknown.

marriages, which is shown by our data as well.¹³⁴ The exogamous marriages were largely concluded by the Van Hardenbroek and Van Renesse van Baer families (seven and five respectively). A branch of the Van Hardenbroeks fell prey to poverty, and the decline of these family members was further accentuated by their marriages to commoners: Gijsbert van Hardenbroek was a silk merchant, lived with his son Jacob, and married Aeltje Schult.¹³⁵ Jacob, to whom the office of vice marshal of Heerjansdam was given in an attempt to improve his condition, quit and resumed his work as a shoemaker.¹³⁶ In the Van Renesse van Baer family, three exogamous marriages were concluded by Catholic family members, and two by members whose religious affiliation is unknown. Willem, a Catholic, married the Catholic Kornelia de Jonge van Baardwyk, whose family possessed the seignury Baardwijk but were not counted among the nobility.¹³⁷ Johanna, his cousin, married Arend Monnix van Vucht, son of Isabelle van Beveren, who belonged to a regent family which claimed to be of noble descent.¹³⁸ Most of the exogamous marriages of the Van Renesse van Baers were contracted with non-noble families who (unlike the impoverished Van Hardenbroeks) belonged to the ‘new’ nobility.

Catholics were a little more prone than Protestants to marry outside the nobility, which resulted from the fact that it was more difficult for them to find suitable spouses in terms of status and religion. This did not happen often, and table 3 shows the combination of the religious and social endogamy of Catholic family members, who preferred to marry other Catholic nobles. Table 4 makes clear that when family members, whether Catholic or Protestant, married outside the nobility, thereby making a concession in terms of social status, they preferred to marry a co-religionist. Yet marrying commoners ran contrary to the prevailing noble culture and thus were not accepted, let alone encouraged. We have already seen that the Catholic Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer married, after the death of his second wife, the Protestant Elisabeth van Utrecht, daughter of Jacob, the churchwarden and secretary of Zoelen.¹³⁹ This incited fierce criticism by his children from his second

¹³⁴ Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 85, 87. The differences in our data are rather small, but one also should take into account that more men concluded a marriage with a spouse whose social status is unknown.

¹³⁵ HUA, VBB, inv. 177, f. 1231. HUA, Trouwboeken NH Utrecht: Gijsbert Antheunisson van Hardenbroek x Alith Schutten, 5-4-1608 (inv. 90, 366). These commoners were not wealthy, and it is likely that these family members chose their partners from the layer of society that they inhabited themselves.

¹³⁶ *NNBW*, 6: 703. He married Wilhelmina Oosterling. HUA, VBB, inv. 177, f. 1231. Jacob's son, also named Jacob, progressed up the social ladder and became captain in the Dutch army, and later served in the Danish army. He married Anna Symon Fockes, daughter of captain (vlagkapitein) Symon Fockes. *NNBW*, 6: 703. However, in a notarial deed he is not addressed as a nobleman. HUA, NOT, inv. U092a001, no. 153 (10-2-1680). His son, another Jacob (b. 1678), managed to secure high positions in the Dutch army.

¹³⁷ Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 165. They married in The Hague, first in a clandestine Catholic church (26-6-1626) and four days later in the town hall. GDH, DTB. Willem's younger brother Jacob Frederik married Margaretha de Jonge van Baardwijck. GDH, DTB: they married in the town hall of The Hague on 3-11-1643.

¹³⁸ *DNL* 22 (1904), 152–3.

¹³⁹ He married Elisabeth in the Reformed church of Alfort. GA, RBS, inv. 82, 245.

marriage, who saw this union as a mesalliance.¹⁴⁰ In spite of the greater difficulties of finding a suitable spouse, Catholic nobles did not discard the principle of social endogamy.

Further limitations: canon law

The marriage pool of the Catholic nobility, already restricted by their distinctive marriage strategy, was further limited by canon law. The Council of Trent reaffirmed the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) ruling out marriages within the fourth degree of kinship. Even though in theory the decrees hardly left room for dispensations, in practice these were granted quite frequently.¹⁴¹ Yet marrying within the forbidden degrees of kinship was not a strategy the Catholic members of these ten lineages often resorted to: it only happened three times. After the death of her first husband, Anna Juliana van Renesse van Baer married her cousin Willem van Renesse van Baer. They were related to each other in the third degree according to canon law (they had the same great-grandfather).¹⁴² Johan Frederik van Zuylen van Nyevelt, whose family was threatened with extinction, received a dispensation to marry his cousin Frederika (related to him in the second degree) in 1680.¹⁴³

Although most marriage dispensations are short and rather straightforward, a number of them are lengthier and include what can be described as a ‘case’ (or justification) for the dispensation. As the Catholic Church was rather lenient in granting dispensations, the reasons given for granting them will not have been of critical influence in the decision-making process. Nevertheless the Church thought them sufficient for the legitimisation of a dispensation, and if we take them together with the reasons stated in dispensation requests, we can understand some of the troubles Catholics experienced. Unsurprisingly for Catholics living in mission territory, reference is often made to the difficulty of finding Catholics of the same status (*catholicas personas paris conditionis*).¹⁴⁴ The dispensation for the nobleman N. Verduyn, Lord of Rijswijk, and his wife states that it might be

¹⁴⁰ *Algemeen Nederlandsch Familieblad* 16 (1903), 418. N. C. Kist, ‘De hervormde gemeente te Zoelen in Nederbetuwe’, *Kerkhistorisch Archief* 2 (1859), 459–63.

¹⁴¹ Frederico Schulte and Aemilius L. Richter (eds), *Canones et decreta concilii Tridentini...* (Leipzig, 1853), 219.

¹⁴² The ‘counting’ of the degrees of kinship according to canon law differs from civil law. Anne Siberdinus de Blècourt, *Kort begrip van het oud-vaderlandsch burgerlijk recht* (4th edition, Groningen, 1932), 379–80. I have not been able to find their marriage dispensation.

¹⁴³ Forclaz, ‘Emergence’, 259. The last example is Agnes van Hardenbroek, see note 104.

¹⁴⁴ HUA, OBC, inv. 90: marriage dispensation of Adam Schellart van Obbendorp (16-5-1634). Also: *ibid.*, marriage dispensation of J. Wijfrinck and G. Aldringe (13-1-1631). It was difficult for Catholics, including from the lower and middle classes, to find Catholic spouses. Forclaz, ‘Emergence’, 259. Spiertz, ‘Ontwikkelingsgang’, 288–9.

difficult for them to find Catholics of the same rank (*nobilitatis*) and status (*conditionis*).¹⁴⁵ According to the dispensation granted to the nobles Alard and Elisabeth Marie Hackfort, they were allowed to marry in order to ‘establish’ them in the Catholic religion and to protect them from sins resulting from marrying non-Catholics.¹⁴⁶ Other requests referred to the importance of maintaining Catholicism in the Dutch Republic. Two missionaries wrote to the Pope that they were watching over a young nobleman, and wanting to preserve him for the Catholic faith, they advised him to marry his cousin, a pious Catholic. To further advance their cause they argued that this marriage should be allowed if Catholicism was to survive in that region.¹⁴⁷

While the reasons stated in these requests for dispensations might not have been of cardinal influence on the actual decision to grant a dispensation, the fact that some reasons are mentioned often in dispensations, such as the difficulty of finding a suitable spouse in terms of status and rank, shows that the practice of social endogamy was fully accepted, just as it was acknowledged that the problems for Catholics living in *partibus infidelium* were real and not imagined. The Church leadership, guided by a healthy dose of pragmatism, tried to alleviate some of the difficulties of the laity by granting them dispensations. Van Neercassel, for instance, granted a dispensation, as he was happy that a nobleman was going to marry the ‘very Catholic and pious’ daughter of Madame Van Passenrode.¹⁴⁸ It may seem remarkable that Catholic family members only married their own kin three times, but marrying with a dispensation must have been a last resort for Catholic nobles – certainly for those wanting to observe the rules regarding consanguinity laid out by the Church. The extinction of their family was a real possibility for the branch of the Van Zuylen van Nyevelts, and although for the Van Renesse van Baers this danger was less imminent, when the marriage between the cousins took place, none of the male siblings of the husband was married.¹⁴⁹

Remaining unmarried

The difficulties for Catholic nobles to find a spouse of the same status and religion are captured in the following table, which lists the numbers and percentages of family members that did and did not marry. Twenty-three family members (thirteen men and ten women) are not included in this table, as they died at a premature age and thus were unable to marry.¹⁵⁰ In total 53.8% of all the nobles married. The difference between Catholic and Protestant nobles is obvious: more than half of

¹⁴⁵ HUA, OBC, inv. 90, 22-10-1637. See also inv. 259 (Johan Vincent Schellart van Obbendorf’s dispensation).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., inv. 258: 20-1-1666.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., inv. 240: 10-10-1681.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., inv. 252: 16-9-1682.

¹⁴⁹ In the end only one of Willem’s brothers married. Anna Juliana only had a sister, so keeping the property within the lineage might have been an additional aim of this marriage.

¹⁵⁰ Hence the total number of 344 instead of 367 family members.

the Catholic nobles (54.8%) did not marry, a figure that was much lower among Protestant nobles (26%). Although there is not much statistical material with which the low marriage rate among Catholic members of these lineages can be compared, research has shown that only twenty-two of the forty-one family members (48.7%) of the Catholic Van Wassenae van Warmond family married in the period 1500–1655.¹⁵¹ Judith Hurwich has found that among the nobility of the south-western part of the Holy Roman Empire, more Catholic than Protestant nobles remained unmarried (33.6% vs 20.5%), yet still 66.4% of Catholic nobles in this area married in the period 1600–99.¹⁵² In particular, figures for the Van Wassenae van Warmond family, whose members lived in Holland, suggests that other Dutch Catholic noble families experienced similar difficulties in finding suitable spouses.

Twenty-nine Catholic members of the ten lineages had a religious vocation and thus were not allowed to marry, yet this does not suffice to explain the substantial difference in our data. Another cause of this discrepancy might be the influence of the Reformation: according to Paula Stutter Fichtner, the Protestant Reformation ‘emphasized greater equality within the sibling group’, leading nobles to find spouses for their (younger) sons and daughters.¹⁵³ Arguably the Reformation had a similar effect in the Netherlands, explaining the higher percentage of married Protestant family members.¹⁵⁴ However, religion alone cannot account for the higher percentage of unmarried nobles among Catholics, since only 49.5% of the members of the Van Gent family, a predominantly Protestant family, married.¹⁵⁵ This is rather low: 66% of the members of the two ‘Protestant’ branches of the Van Wassenae family married, for instance.¹⁵⁶ Huge differences existed within the nuclear families that made up the Van Gent lineage, some of them having all their children married, while

¹⁵¹ Eleven family members had a religious vocation. S. Groenveld, ‘Stijgende lagere adel. Van Duivenvoorde naar Wassenae 1523–1665’, in: *Adel en macht*, 69.

¹⁵² She does not, however, explain how she determined the confessional affiliation of the families she studied. J. Hurwich, ‘Marriage strategy among the German nobility, 1400–1699’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29:2 (1998), 176. Around 20% of the members of the gentry families from Utrecht analysed by Sherinn Marshall did not marry in the period 1520–1640. Marshall, *Gentry*, 32. Between 20% and 25% of the sons and daughters of the ‘landed classes’ in England remained unmarried in the seventeenth century. Lawrence Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England, 1500–1800* (London, 1977), 44, 47. J. P. Cooper has found that half of the members of Catholic elites in western Europe remained unmarried. Cited in Hurwich, ‘Marriage strategy’, 190.

¹⁵³ Ibid. As a result, fewer family members remained unmarried in Protestant noble families in Germany. The same was the case in Italy.

¹⁵⁴ Marshall has argued that in Catholic wills male children were mentioned first, whereas Protestants ranked children by birth order. Marshall, *Gentry*, 29. This was not always the case (e.g. NA, HVZ, inv. 762). Ranking children by birth order might be a sign of greater gender equality, but often the older siblings were favoured economically, so this does not have to mean greater equality from a general perspective. Judith Hurwich, ‘Inheritance practices in early modern Germany’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23:4 (1993), 715.

¹⁵⁵ There is a high likelihood that five family members were Catholic and nineteen were Protestant. The religion of the remaining seventy-one family members is unknown. Another seventeen family members either went to the public church to marry, had one of their children baptised, or acted as a witness at a marriage or baptism. Five family members whose religious affiliation is unknown married a Protestant.

¹⁵⁶ S. Groenveld, ‘Terug naar Wassenae. De stijging van de Duivenvoirdes (1523–1665)’, in: H. M. Brokken (ed.), *Heren van stand: Van Wassenae 1200–2000; Achthonderd jaar Nederlandse adelsgeschiedenis* (Den Haag, 2001), 92.

others only arranged marriages for their oldest sons.¹⁵⁷ So even if Stutter Fichtner is right, everyday practicalities such as wealth could hamper the realisation of new ideas about marriage caused by the Reformation.

In the ten families, more men than women did not marry, which is in line with studies of the marriages of the German nobility in the early modern era.¹⁵⁸ However, substantially more female Catholic family members (67.5%) than male (43.2%) did not marry: more Catholic women remained unmarried than men because far more women (twenty-four) than men (five) served the Church.¹⁵⁹ Fewer Catholic women (three) than men (nine) married someone whose religious affiliation is unknown (a similar pattern is visible among Protestant family members). It could be that when there were no suitable Catholic spouses available, Catholic families were reluctant to let their daughters enter a mixed marriage, afraid that their husbands might use their dominant position in the early modern household to persuade or force their wives to convert, or to raise their children as Protestants.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Only three of the nine children of Walraven van Gent and his two wives (Anna van Arkel and Geertruid van Padevord) married (three children died at a young age). His oldest son, Johan Walrave, had eight children, of whom only one son married (this was his second son; his first son died at the age of twenty-two). Limiting the number of marriages was a strategy used when aiming to favour sons, or only the oldest son, by curbing the division of the family's property. Hurwich, 'Inheritance practices', 699–700, 705, 707, 718. According to Lawrence Stone, primogeniture was the main reason for 'the exceptionally low nuptiality of the daughters and the younger sons of the rural (and perhaps also the urban) elite'. Stone, *The family*, 44. Although primogeniture did occur in the Dutch Republic, in general it was extremely rare. Ariadne Schmidt, "Touching inheritance". Mannen, vrouwen en de overdracht van bezit in Holland in de 17e eeuw', *Holland* 33:3 (2001), 175–89. For an example of primogeniture in a Catholic family, see: S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, 'Heereman van Zuydtwijck. Een oud Amsterdams katholiek geslacht dat zich van Holland vervreemde', *JBG* 47 (1993), 43–85, esp. 55.

¹⁵⁸ Hurwich, 'Marriage strategy', 174.

¹⁵⁹ In the south-western part of Germany more female than male Catholic nobles married in the seventeenth century. Ibid., 190–4. A 'larger number of female than male religious' had always been a trend in the Low Countries. Marshall, *Gentry*, 32. Of these twenty-four women, twenty-one were nuns (two of whom in foreign convents), and three were spiritual maiden.

¹⁶⁰ This was feared in other European states as well. Dagmar Freist, 'One body, two confessions: mixed marriages in Germany', in: Ulinka Rublack (ed.), *Gender in early modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2002), 295–6. I have not come across any examples among the family members and their spouses. According to Benjamin Kaplan, more women than men converted to the faith of their spouse in eighteenth-century Holland. Also, 'a majority of the egregious cases of coercion involve a husband mistreating a wife.' Kaplan, 'Intimate negotiations', 234, 246.

Table 6. Family members who married/remained unmarried.

	Married				
	Yes	%	No	%	Total (n.)
Catholics					
Men	25	56.8	19	43.2	44
Women	13	32.5	27	67.5	40
Total/Average (%)	38	45.2	46	54.8	84
Protestants					
Men	21	70	9	30	30
Women	8	88.9	1	11.1	9
Total/Average (%)	29	74	10	26	39
Religion unknown					
Men	45	43.3	59	56.7	104
Women	73	62.4	44	37.6	117
Total/Average (%)	118	53.4	103	46.6	221
Family members (all)					
Men	91	51.1	87	48.9	178
Women	94	57	72	43	166
Total/Average (%)	185	53.8	159	46.2	344

Marrying accross provincial and national borders

In spite of the difficulties of finding a suitable spouse, Catholic nobles did not start to marry foreign Catholic nobles en masse. Our data demonstrate that the great majority of nobles married their fellow Dutch: just eighteen (10.2%) of the 176 marriages contracted with other nobles were with foreign nobility (see table 7 on page 52). Catholics married a foreign noble six times (33.3%), Protestants once (5.5%).¹⁶¹ All the Catholic nobles who married foreign nobles married co-religionists from the southern Netherlands, and in this they resembled other noble families, such as the Van Wassenaer van Warmond family (who opted to marry nobles from Westphalia as well).¹⁶² This pattern corresponds to those found by other historians who have studied the marriages contracted by members of religious minorities. It turns out that in most cases members of religious minorities were willing to marry a spouse from outside their locale, as long as the partner was a co-religionist. Making one concession was acceptable, but a combination of ‘trade-offs’, such as marrying a spouse of lower status and a different religion, or from a different region, rarely happened. Benjamin Kaplan has

¹⁶¹ Calculated as a percentage of all their marriages: 15.7% the marriages by Catholics and 3.4% by Protestants were with foreign nobles.

¹⁶² Groenveld, ‘Stijgende lagere adel’, 69.

argued that Catholics who lived in areas of the Republic which harboured few co-religionists, they ‘faced a choice between religious and socioeconomic exogamy: they could marry either Catholics or persons of the same status and wealth as themselves.’¹⁶³ In the majority of cases Catholic nobles were able to combine religious and social endogamy by marrying other Catholic nobles, and our data show that when Catholic family members married non-noble spouses, they almost always married co-religionists, making only one concession. This pattern even applies to some marriages which seem to have had more than one trade-off, for instance in the case of the two sons of Joost de Wael van Vronestein, who married a non-noble from Holland. Joost, however, sometimes resided in Dever House in Lisse (Holland) with his family, and at least one of the spouses was a Catholic.¹⁶⁴ Joost’s daughter Wilhelmina married Johan van Scherpenzeel, a nobleman from Guelders and probably a Catholic as well.¹⁶⁵ In some cases, though, more concessions were made: two members of the Van Renesse van Baer family married non-noble (but Catholic) spouses from Holland.

Whereas Catholic nobles were somewhat more willing to marry across national boundaries, it seems that their Protestant counterparts were more eager to transcend provincial boundaries when marrying into the Dutch nobility. Protestant nobles tended to marry nobles from Guelders (41.4%), Utrecht (24.1%) and Holland (20.7%), whereas Catholic nobles clearly preferred to marry nobles from Utrecht (54.5%), followed by Guelders (27.3%) and Holland (12.1% – see table 8 on page 53). The high percentage of marriages of Protestant family members with nobles from Guelders is striking, but can be explained by the fact that the majority of some families, such as Van Gent, resided in Guelders.¹⁶⁶ Even if we exclude members of this family, who lived in Guelders, the figures show that Protestant nobles preferred to marry nobles from Guelders (35.3%) instead of Holland and Utrecht (35 and 23.5% respectively). What exactly caused this tendency to marry into the Guelders nobility is unclear, but in some cases it might have been a combination of the preference of individual family members and previous marriages concluded by close relatives. Gijsbert van Hardenbroek, for instance, was married to a noblewoman from Guelders and was sheriff of Rhenen from 1606 until 1609.¹⁶⁷ Perhaps his relatives – Gijsbert’s mother, Wilhelmina van Heumen, was a member of a *riddermatige* noble family from Guelders – or his position in Rhenen, a city in Utrecht bordering

¹⁶³ Kaplan, ‘Practice and perils’, 125.

¹⁶⁴ One of his children was born there. NA, HVZ, inv. 2553, not numbered. One son married in the new Catholic statie of Lisse in 1687. A. M. Hulkenberg, *Het huis Dever te Lisse* (Zaltbommel, 1966), 146.

¹⁶⁵ Martens van Sevenhoven thought he was a Catholic, albeit without explaining how he arrived at this conclusion. A. H. Martens van Sevenhoven, ‘Een adellijk gezelschap te Beesd in 1640’, *BMG* 40 (1937), 105.

¹⁶⁶ The Protestant members of this family concluded six marriages with the nobility from Guelders (twelve marriages in total were contracted by Protestant members across the ten families). Overall there were sixty-one marriages with the Guelders nobility, twenty-four of which were concluded by the Van Gent family.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Schouten, subst. schouten en secretarissen van Rhenen’

(<http://www.oudrhenen.nl/uploads/SCHOUTEN2.pdf>), 2. He married Hembolda de Cock van Oppijnen in 1603. A. Ottevanger, ‘Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van Oppijnen’, *Gens Nostra* 14 (1959), 259.

Guelders, brought him into contact with the Guelders nobility, because after the death of his first wife he married noblewomen from Guelders twice.¹⁶⁸

Marrying spouses from outside the province was quite common, and in total 55.3% of the marriages with other Dutch nobles were contracted with a noble family from outside the province of Utrecht.¹⁶⁹ This largely corresponds to the pattern Sherrin Marshall discerned, according to whom the gentry from Utrecht increasingly started to marry families from outside their province (in the last generation she analysed, covering the period 1600–40, this held true for 62.7% of the marriages).¹⁷⁰ Marshall put forward the idea that ‘the rise of the Dutch Republic may have fostered a feeling of national spirit on the part of gentry,’ without further developing this thought.¹⁷¹ If such a feeling emerged at all, one might question to what extent this was really national, since in almost 90% of cases family members married a noble from Guelders, Holland or Utrecht.

Table 7. Nationality of noble in-laws in numbers and percentages.¹⁷²

	NL	%	BE	%	GE	%	FR	%	Other	%	Total (n.)
Catholics											
Men	20	83	4	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Women	13	87	2	13.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Total/Average (%)	33	85	6	15.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
Protestants											
Men	23	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
Women	6	86	0	0	1	14.3	0	0	0	0	7
Total/Average (%)	29	97	0	0	1	3.3	0	0	0	0	30
Religion unknown											
Men	31	89	1	2.9	1	2.9	1	2.9	1	2.9	35
Women	65	90	2	2.8	5	6.9	0	0	0	0	72
Total/Average (%)	96	90	3	2.8	6	5.6	1	0.9	1	0.9	107
Family members (all)											
Men	74	90	5	6.1	1	1.2	1	1.2	1	1.2	82
Women	84	89	4	4.3	6	6.4	0	0	0	0	94
Total/Average (%)	158	90	9	5.1	7	4	1	0.6	1	0.6	176

¹⁶⁸ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 64.

¹⁶⁹ This percentage does not include members of the Van Gent family who lived in Guelders. Including these members leads to an increase of 6.1 per cent (to 61.4 per cent).

¹⁷⁰ Marshall, *Gentry*, 45.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² BE denotes the southern or Spanish Netherlands, GE the Holy Roman Empire.

Table 8. Origin of noble in-laws within the Dutch Republic.

	Utrecht	%	Holland	%	Overijssel	%	Gelders	%	Frisia	%	Drenthe	%	Unknown	%	Total
Catholics															
Men	12	60	4	20	0	0	4	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Women	6	46.2	0	0	1	0	5	38.5	0	0	0	0	1	7.7	13
Total/Average (%)	18	54.5	4	12.1	1	0	9	27.3	0	0	0	0	1	3	33
Protestants															
Men	3	13	4	17.4	1	4.3	12	52.2	1	4.3	1	4.3	1	4.3	23
Women	4	66.7	2	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total/Average (%)	7	24.1	6	20.7	1	3.4	12	41.4	1	3.4	1	3.4	1	3.4	29
Religion unknown															
Men	14	45.2	2	6.5	3	9.7	10	32.3	0	0	2	6.5	0	0	31
Women	22	33.8	7	11	2	46	30	46.2	2	3.1	1	1.5	1	1.5	65
Total/Average (%)	36	37.5	9	9.4	5	5.2	40	41.7	2	2.1	3	3.1	1	1	96
Family members (all)															
Men	29	39.2	10	14	4	5.4	26	35.1	1	1.4	3	4.1	1	1.4	74
Women	32	38.1	9	10.7	3	3.6	35	41.7	2	2.4	1	1.2	2	2.4	84
Total/Average (%)	61	38.6	19	12	7	4.4	61	38.6	3	1.9	4	2.5	3	1.9	158

Marrying across national borders did not happen very often, as we have seen, nor did many families move abroad, partly because of the ties to their estates which noble families often had owned and lived on for decades or even more.¹⁷³ A number of Catholic nobles, however, did move abroad, either temporarily or permanently. Sometimes Catholic members who had a religious vocation moved abroad, such as Willem de Wael van Vronestein, who became the provincial of the Belgian province of the Jesuits, and two members of the Van Renesse van Baer family, who served as canons in the abbey of St Gertrude (which only admitted noblemen) near Louvain.¹⁷⁴ In 1629 the States General gave the Catholic sisters Mechteld and Catharina van Gent permission to move to Beveren, a town in the vicinity of Antwerp; and two years earlier, in 1627, their brother Hendrik, also a Catholic, was allowed to live in his mansion in Appeltern and to pay protection money to the Infanta (Isabella of

¹⁷³ About the importance of estates for the identity of noble families, see chapter 2, p. 98, and chapter 3, pp. 134–5, 143–7.

¹⁷⁴ *NNBW*, 5: 588–9.

Spain).¹⁷⁵ Neither Mechteld nor Catharina married into the foreign nobility, and they returned to Utrecht and married Dutch (and Catholic) nobles there. The sisters Maria and Catharina de Wael van Vronestein, a nun at the St Servaes convent (Utrecht) and a spiritual virgin, moved to Maastricht and later to Tongeren, while another of their sisters was a nun at the convent of Voorst, close to Brussels.¹⁷⁶ There was one family, or rather a Catholic branch of a family, that opted to marry and move abroad. Peter van Zuylen van Nyevelt, a captain ‘au service de Sa Majesté Catholique’, moved to the southern Netherlands (although not permanently).¹⁷⁷ He was first married to Olympia Syndico, and later to Lucie Charlotte de Faure, both of them Catholic.¹⁷⁸ Some of his children were raised Catholic: Johan Frederik was immediately baptised by pastor Jacob van Bijleveld and received the last sacraments before he died.¹⁷⁹ Pieter Andries, his youngest brother, like his father serving in the army of the King of Spain, permanently moved to Bruges in 1659, according to J. Gaillard, ‘to avoid the effects of the new regime of reform introduced in Holland in the wake of religious wars and to remain faithful to the Roman Catholic religion’.¹⁸⁰ Some of his siblings went with him: in her testament Adriana Botter van Snellenberch (the wife of Steven van Zuylen van Nyevelt) stipulated that if Anne Marie, one of Pieter Andries’s sisters, ‘resided in enemy territory [vyanden lande] on the day of her [Adriana’s] death or did not come to the United Provinces within six weeks after this day’, she would forfeit her inheritance.¹⁸¹

Pieter Andries had seven brothers and five sisters, but only two of them married, an interesting parallel with the Van Renesse van Baer and De Wael van Vronestein families. He had three children, two of them remaining unmarried (only one of his two sons married).¹⁸² So even in the southern Netherlands, where the marriage pool for the Catholic nobility must have been larger, their marriage policy was very restrictive, possibly to protect the family’s property. There are good reasons to suggest that his initial move to Bruges was not solely motivated by religious considerations. The Van Zuylen van Nyevelts experienced financial hardship, but Pieter Andries and his offspring

¹⁷⁵ I. J. A. Nijenhuis et al. (eds), ‘Besluiten Staten-Generaal 1626–1630’: 21-11-1626, no. 3; 4-10-1627, no. 10.

¹⁷⁶ Walter Couvreur, ‘Daniël Seghers’ inventaris van door hem geschilderde bloemstukken’, *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis en de oudheidkunde* 20 (1967), 109. J. A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens. Deel 4, 1644–1649* (The Hague, 1915), 26.

¹⁷⁷ J. Gaillard, *Maison de Zuylen, histoire et généalogie* (Bruges, 1863), 120.

¹⁷⁸ For the marriage contract of Peter and Olympia, see HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 39. For Lucie’s will, see inv. 38. According to the *Nederlandse Leeuw*, after his marriage with Olympia he married Gertrude van Voorst (a Catholic as well) in 1670. *DNL* 95 (1978), 394. Lucie’s will is from 1669, so probably he married Gertrude quickly after the death of his second wife. Peter and Lucie were members of the parish of St Goedele. HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 48.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, inv. 46 and 55. We do not have information about the religious affiliations of all his children, but five of the thirteen were Catholic.

¹⁸⁰ Gaillard, *Maison*, 124.

¹⁸¹ HUA, NOT, inv. U021a014: f. 75r–77v (6-9-1647). Catharina Rudolpha, another of Pieter Andreas’s sisters, lived in Brussels. HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 46, f. 1r.

¹⁸² This son, Jacob Rudolf, had four children, three of whom married.

managed to turn the tide by securing high positions in Bruges.¹⁸³ He won a position at the court of the prince of Thurn und Taxis and became director general of Tour and Taxis, one of the oldest postal companies in the world.¹⁸⁴ After him this job went to his son, Jacob Rudolf, who also became first alderman of Bruges and deputy of the States of Flanders.¹⁸⁵ These members of the Van Zuylen van Nyevelt family held offices they would no longer have been able to hold in the Dutch Republic due to their loyalty to the Church of Rome, and moving abroad proved to be an excellent choice for this family.¹⁸⁶

The Van Gents arranged the most marriages (seven) with foreign nobles. Adriaen, Baron of Gent and Lord of Oosterwedde, married Elisabeth Maria Aviz, a Portuguese princess.¹⁸⁷ A nuclear family within the Van Gent lineage arranged marriages with foreign nobles on a somewhat larger scale. Christine Judith married the Protestant Conrad Philip von Romberg, a powerful nobleman who was the former president of the Cleve Chamber and close to the house of Brandenburg-Prussia.¹⁸⁸ Her sister Margriet Lucia married Conradt van der Reck, also from Cleve.¹⁸⁹ Their eldest sister married Herman van Wittenhorst, who was of Dutch origin but became a baron (Reichsfreiherr) in the Holy Roman Empire just a year before he died.¹⁹⁰ Isabella, their youngest sister, died unmarried in Cleve, while the only son of the family, Johan Walraven, married Margriet van Renesse van Elderen, a Dutch noblewoman.¹⁹¹ Because the family members who married German nobles were women, we can deduce that starting a dynasty abroad was not the aim. The focus on the nobility from Cleve was possibly the result of the marriage of their father, Otto van Gent, with Sophia Wachtendonk, whose father possessed estates in Cleve and was married to the German noblewoman Raba von Wylich.¹⁹² Otto also spent much time in Germany, since he was the governor of the German city of Wesel.¹⁹³ All the examples of marriages with foreign nobles by members of the family Van Gent show that marriages with foreign nobles mostly originated because a family member decided to move abroad or spent much time abroad. In this family, marrying into foreign nobles was a strategy adopted by a

¹⁸³ See note 319.

¹⁸⁴ Personal correspondence with Dr Heidi Denewerth, whom I would like to thank for this reference. F. van Dycke, *Recueil heraldique de familles nobles et patriciennes de la ville et du fanconat de Bruges* (Bruges, 1851), 538.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 539. He married Marie Anne van Steelant, heiress and Lady of Gaesebeek, in 1718. Gaillard, *Maison*, 125–6.

¹⁸⁶ The same can be said of the De Ridder van Groenestein family. Some family members decided to move to Mainz and held ‘high positions at the court of the Elector, [and] were presidents of the Court of Justice’. Olde Meierink, *Kastelen*, 206.

¹⁸⁷ Bartolt van Gent was rekenmeester of Guelders, and possibly this brought the Van Gent family into contact with the Aviz family. GA, Huizen Waardenburg en Neerijnen [henceforth: Waardenburg], inv. 691: 17-5-1641.

¹⁸⁸ Personal correspondence with Prof. Reininghaus.

¹⁸⁹ L. F. van Gent, *Otto baron van G(H) en (D)t, heer van Dieden en Biesterfeld*, appendix VIII (not numbered).

¹⁹⁰ RHCL, 16.1110: Huis en familie Van Wittenhorst te Horst, inventarisbeschrijving (no. 2.1.15).

¹⁹¹ Gent, *Otto baron van*, not numbered.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

nuclear family rather than a lineage. Catholic nobles, even though they did not marry foreign nobles very often, had another reason to do so, namely the lack of suitable Catholic spouses in the Dutch Republic.

Economic interests

A family's wealth contributed to its status and its political power. By buying seigneuries or renovating castles and estates, noble families could show their status to the rest of society while also acquiring rights and privileges, thus increasing their influence in local communities. Marriages could be and were arranged to improve the financial positions of families, and for a noble family which faced economic hardship and needed a capital influx, securing a sizeable dowry by marrying a daughter from a wealthy family could be of vital importance – especially because to be recognised as a noble by society at large one had to live as a noble, which often involved spending significant amounts of money.¹⁹⁴ That the financial position of a possible spouse was taken into account even by a staunch Catholic family is shown by the following example. Philippa de Wael van Vronestein wanted to marry Willem van Geloës, Lord of Beverts, a nobleman from the southern Netherlands. Her aunt Angela supported the marriage and wrote a letter to Gerard, Philippa's father. Although Philippa tried to convince her father that Willem's possessions were large enough to support her, Gerard did not trust some testimonies (drawn up by local officials) confirming this.¹⁹⁵ In the end Gerard asked his daughter to come home and bring Willem with her, so that he and his wife could 'judge the capacity of his lordship'.¹⁹⁶ Apparently Gerard worried mostly about Willem's ability to take care of his daughter, perhaps because he could not supply his daughter with a large dowry.¹⁹⁷ Religion was not an issue, since Willem was a Catholic as well. This case also makes clear that financial considerations did not only have to do with enlarging the possessions of the family – which

¹⁹⁴ Both their contemporaries and a number of modern historians have argued that the spending pattern of the nobility sealed their downfall, but Van Nierop (among other historians) has challenged this interpretation. Van Nierop, *Ridders*, esp. 107–53. H. M. Scott and Christopher Storrs, 'Introduction: the consolidation of noble power in Europe, c. 1600–1800', in: *The European nobilities*, 8.

¹⁹⁵ NA, HVZ, inv. 716: 6-11-1634. Angela was not completely sure about all his noble quarters, but his parents came from good families. Ibid., letter of 26-1-1635; inv. 722: letter from Philippa to Gerard (26-1-1635, new style), letter from Gerard to Philippa (26-1-1635).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Philippa's dowry was a yearly rent of 845 guilders and forty-five stuivers. NA, Heereman, inv. 801, f. 2r. Walraven van Gent, who married in 1602, received a yearly rent of 1,500 guilders (until the death of his parents, when he would inherit their possessions). GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 25, 1v–2r. This is nothing by comparison with some dowries (100,000 guilders or more) secured by Dutch noblemen in the early eighteenth century. Aalbers, 'Geboorte en geld', 67. The dowries secured and provided by the Richardot family (southern Netherlands) in the seventeenth century were also substantially higher (widow's gifts of 2,000 guilders and higher). Jürgen Vanhoutte, "'Van Robins tot très grands nobles". Carrièreplanning en huwelijksstrategie bij het geslacht Richardot in de zuidelijke Nederlanden (1540–1701)', in: *Adel en macht*, 34–49.

was hard anyway when a daughter married. It was important that a marriage was viable in terms of religion, status and wealth.

A couple could financially benefit from the goods – often real estate – and money the bride and groom brought to the marriage, as it was common in the Netherlands for the families of both parties to (financially) support a marriage.¹⁹⁸ Although often the remaining partner was allowed to use and benefit from these goods after the death of their spouse (which was called *vruchtgebruik*), this did not benefit the family in general (as opposed to the nuclear family) in the long term. In the marriages analysed in this research, the most common construction was as follows: both parties would enter the marriage with some goods, but if the couple remained childless the property would return to the respective families after the deaths of both spouses.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, it was a common arrangement that if a marriage ended childlessly, all of the losses, and also the profits, made during the marriage had to be shared by both families.²⁰⁰ Thus if profits were made during the marriage because of the substantial dowry of the wife, the husband's family would never be the sole benefactor. In the end the lineage, not the nuclear family, was the most important. If there were children, then after the death of both parents their goods would be divided among the offspring. In this way, through the children, the father's lineage could acquire goods brought into the marriage by the wife.

According to the customary inheritance law in the Dutch Republic, fiefs were inherited by sons, albeit not necessarily.²⁰¹ If a marriage did not produce any sons, the daughter or daughters inherited from the parents, which made heiresses (*erfdochters*) an extremely interesting target for families who sought to enlarge their possessions. Although it did not happen frequently, some family members managed to marry a female heir: Walrave van Gent married Anna van Arkel, heiress of Heemstede and Bennebroek, in 1602; Willem van Renesse van Baer enlarged his possessions by marrying his cousin, Anna Juliana van Renesse van Baer, Lady of Baartwijck.²⁰² In total nine noblemen managed to marry an heiress, a mere 5.1% of the marriages contracted with other nobles. In his well-known study *The crisis of the aristocracy*, Lawrence Stone concluded that 20% of the marriages contracted by the English peerage were with an heiress in the early seventeenth century (excluding 'women with huge portions but who were not heiresses'). According to him it was therefore 'evident that wealth was the most important single consideration in very many early-seventeenth-century marriages'.²⁰³ The lower percentage of marriages with heiresses among the

¹⁹⁸ Marshall, *Gentry*, 4.

¹⁹⁹ GA, Familie Van Gent, inv. 17; Waardenburg, inv. 668 and 681; Huis Doornenburg, inv. 260, f. 2v.

²⁰⁰ GA, Huis Hackfort, inv. 280, f. 2r; Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 25, f5r; Huis Doornenburg, inv. 260, f. 3r. HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. 297. NA, HVZ, inv. 1052, f. 5r.

²⁰¹ Schmidt, "Touching inheritance", 179.

²⁰² GA, Familie Van Gent, document 39, f. 16. DLT, AAU 11, 180.

²⁰³ Lawrence Stone, *The crisis of the aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1966), 618.

members of the ten noble families suggests that the wealth of a prospective spouse might have been less of an overriding concern in these families compared to the English peerage. This is not to say that the affluence of the prospective partner was deemed unimportant; the extant marriage contracts show that the spouses brought goods into the marriages.

Financial considerations never led these families to adopt a strategy of marrying into non-noble families, even though in general more female heirs were to be found in burgher families than in noble families.²⁰⁴ Two marriages with non-noble heiresses were concluded, a sign that families ranked lineage and status more highly than wealth. Although one of these marriages was contracted by the Catholic Willem van Renesse van Baer, this is not a sign that Catholic nobles were keener on marrying outside the nobility for of financial reasons. Catholic family members married non-nobles six times; five of these marriages were concluded by men. In three cases the marriage was a financial success: Willem acquired the seignury Baardwijck, his brother Jacob Frederik got hold of the estate of Zuidoort, and Willem de Wael van Vronestein married the very rich Agatha Bijl.²⁰⁵ However, all these women were Catholic as well, so if a concession had to be made in terms of status, none was necessary in terms of wealth or religion.²⁰⁶ Even though the high number of unmarried Catholic nobles (both men and women) can be interpreted as another way to protect the family's financial assets, the rather limited number of marriages with non-noble families justifies the conclusion that in general the financial aspects of a marriage were not the overriding concern of Catholic nobles.²⁰⁷

Although the prospective spouse had to be sufficiently wealthy, as the example of Philippa de Wael van Vronestein suggests, in general the extant marriage contracts of these ten families reflect the practice of social endogamy. In most cases there was not a huge discrepancy between the goods brought in by the two families, or between the widow's and widower's gifts (the yearly allowance for the remaining spouse). This allowance was often higher for the bride, because it was harder for a widow to support herself financially.²⁰⁸ The evidence suggests that most marriages were between

²⁰⁴ Jürgen Vanhoutte has argued this resulted from the fact that the nobility was more inclined to continue its lineage. Burgher families were less interested in doing so. Vanhoutte, 'Van Robins', 31.

²⁰⁵ *Hulkenberg, Huis Dever*, 145–6.

²⁰⁶ Wealth – at least partly – compensated for the difference in status. Because of this, the Catholic Frederik Jacob Heereman van Zuydwijck was able to marry the noblewoman Elizabeth Catharina van Scherpenzeel. Dudok van Heel, 'Heereman van Zuydwijck', 55.

²⁰⁷ Arranging marriages for their sons could be financially beneficial to the lineage, but it also included the danger of the fragmentation of the family's capital. The rich Catholic family Heereman van Zuydwijck from Amsterdam, who belonged to the new nobility, resorted to the practice of primogeniture. *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ For some examples, see: NA, HVZ, inv.1052, 5v; GA, Waardenburg, inv. 271 (charter); Huis Hackfort, inv. 280, f. 3r; inv. 281 (charter). Margaretha van Renesse van der Aa received 2,500 guilders a year as a widow's gift, whereas her sister Agnes, who also married a Van Renesse van Elderen, only received 1,200 a year. This was possibly because Willem, the husband of Margaretha, was wealthier than his brother Nicolaas: Nicolaas was Lord of Vorselaer, while Willem was Lord of Malle, Heesbeen, Baerlant, Baeckendorp and Hellenberch. Jan van Hardenbroek brought in the same amount as his wife, Florentina van Matenesse (1,000 guilders a year). Florentina also brought more goods into the marriage, so probably this was an upward marriage for this family

families of more or less equal status and wealth. The importance of social endogamy in the prevailing noble culture prevented many family members from marrying into patrician and merchant families, who often were willing to provide their offspring with substantial dowries when seeking to arrange marriage with a family of higher rank and status.²⁰⁹ Moreover, even though eldest sons and daughters often got a larger portion of the inheritance, the Dutch law of succession stipulated that the other inheritors would get a proportional share, which made it attractive for Dutch nobles to marry younger noble sons and daughters.²¹⁰ The high social endogamy among the nobility is shown in another way: most of the nobles married within their province of origin or residence, or within the province where most of their possessions were located. Table 8 makes clear that the preference of these ten families was mainly to marry nobles from Utrecht and Guelders. If nobles were able to profit through marriage, they were keen on expanding their holdings in their (immediate) vicinity. In this respect Dutch nobles behaved similarly to nobles elsewhere in Europe.²¹¹

Conclusion

Religious differences were not introduced through mixed marriages into the ten lineages studied in this chapter, at least not on a large scale. The religious endogamy of both Catholic and Protestant nobles prevented this from happening more often. In total only four of the thirty-seven marriages (10.8%) for which we have a very high degree of certainty about the religious affiliations of both husband and wife were mixed marriages. Even though six of the ten lineages were religiously mixed, because of this low number of interfaith marriages, the majority of the nuclear families which made up the lineages were religiously homogenous. In some of the religiously mixed lineages, such as Van Gent and Van Hardenbroek, Catholicism had taken root in a couple of nuclear families, the religious differences dividing aunts and uncles rather than parents and children. The fact that the children belonging to these nuclear families did not produce offspring themselves, or were women and so 'went over' to the family of the husband when married, meant that Catholicism died out in these lineages over the course of the seventeenth century. But even though the number of mixed marriages was limited, some of these marriages carried the religious differences of the parents

(even though the Matenese were a riddermatige family from Holland). HUA, Hardenbroek, inv. 297 (charter). Margriet Lucia's widow's gift was 800 rijksdaelders a year (500 in case of remarriage); her husband's widower's gift was 300 (200 in case of remarriage). Gent, *Otto baron van*, bijlage VIII.

²⁰⁹ Often the older a lineage was, the more its members were inclined to emphasise the importance of the lineage of the spouse. Aalbers, 'Geld en geboorte', 70.

²¹⁰ Rob van der Laarse, 'Virtus en distinctie: de ridders van de Republiek', in: *Virtus* 14 (2007), 30–2.

²¹¹ Keith Brown concluded that 'because local considerations dominated estate-building strategies, early modern society produced geographically endogamous marriage markets.' Keith M. Brown, *Noble society in Scotland: wealth, family and culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2004), 130.

through successive generations, as the example of Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer has made clear.

Both Protestant and Catholic members of these lineages practised what the French historian Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, in his book on the eighteenth-century French nobility, called the ‘equality strategy’, which aimed to create stability and maintain the status of the family.²¹² Catholic nobles sought to combine religious and social endogamy, as they preferred to marry Catholic nobles. As a result, their marriage pool was rather small; no wonder that Johan Frederik van Zuylen van Nyevelt, who ended up marrying his cousin, wrote that ‘there are very few advantageous parties in this country of our status and of our religion.’²¹³ Catholic nobles had to ‘cast their net wider’ in order to find suitable spouses, and a number of them started to marry into the foreign nobility (i.e. the Catholic nobility from the southern Netherlands).²¹⁴ In spite of these difficulties in finding a suitable spouse, most Catholic nobles did not move abroad permanently, except a branch of the Van Zuylen van Nyevelts. It is likely that feelings of loyalty towards the Dutch Republic, as well as the difficulties of leaving the family’s possessions behind and starting life anew elsewhere, prevented this from happening more often.²¹⁵

Although Catholic nobles tried to marry spouses of the same status and religion, status was not the most important criterion for Catholics, as religion enjoyed primacy in marriage arrangements. This, and perhaps financial considerations, explains why Catholics contracted more marriages outside the nobility than Protestant family members. According to Jean Streng, wealthy Catholic regent families in Overijssel started to behave more like nobles, and this – in addition to the fact that Catholic nobles were excluded from the knighthood – lessened the difference in social status between noble and non-noble Catholic families.²¹⁶ Impoverished Catholic nobles even started to contract marriages with members of wealthy but non-noble Catholic families in Overijssel.²¹⁷ Elsewhere in the Republic, such as in Leiden, Catholic non-noble regent families tried to elevate their social status by buying seigneuries and getting ennobled abroad, more so than their Protestant counterparts.²¹⁸ It is telling that two members of the De Wael van Vronestein family married non-noble spouses (at least one of them being very wealthy) while the family was experiencing financial hardship.²¹⁹ However,

²¹² Vanhoutte, ‘Van Robins’, 29.

²¹³ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 165–6.

²¹⁴ Kaplan, ‘The practice and perils’, 125.

²¹⁵ Geert H. Janssen, ‘Quo vadis? Catholic perceptions of flight and the revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 64:2 (2011), 494.

²¹⁶ Streng, ‘Uyt liefde’, 111.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 111–2.

²¹⁸ Maarten Prak, *Gezeten burgers: de elite in een Hollandse stad, Leiden 1700–1780* (Amsterdam, 1985), 248.

²¹⁹ Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 162. Agatha Bijl was very rich, but it is unclear how affluent Jacoba van Tedingh van Berckhout was. The branch of the family to which she belonged was far less wealthy than other branches.

marrying non-noble spouses never became a dominant pattern among the Catholic members of these families.

As a result of their social and religious endogamy, which greatly reduced the number of suitable spouses, the majority of Catholic nobles (54.8%) did not marry at all, and their restrictive marriage strategy, in combination with the willingness to support the Church with their sons and daughters caused two noble families (De Wael van Vronestein and Grauwert) to die out.²²⁰ The last generations of these two families show a steeply declining number of marriages, while some marriages remained childless. For example, five of the six children of Lubbert de Wael van Vronestein and Catharina de Jode van Hardinxvelt had a religious vocation, while one daughter married a Catholic nobleman from the southern Netherlands. Rogier lamented that many Catholic noble families moved abroad, died out or ‘were lost for Catholicism’ because of mixed marriages.²²¹ According to our data, he was only partly right: mixed marriages, due to their limited number, did not cause many Catholic nobles to convert to Protestantism, nor did many of them move abroad. Yet our data reveal that there was a large number of Catholic nobles who remained unmarried, which seriously affected the ability of lineages to secure their own survival and continuity. The combination of religious and social endogamy enabled Catholic nobles to maintain the religious as well as social identity of their family. But for some families, this combination came at a cost.

C. Schmidt, *Om de eer van de familie: het geslacht Teding van Berkhout 1500–1950* (Amsterdam, 1986), 188–9.

²²⁰ The Van Amstel van Mynden family died out after 1725. Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 61.

²²¹ *ROG*, 1: 483.

2. Interaction with Protestants

In the early modern era, the Dutch Republic was known to be one of the most religiously pluralistic countries of Europe; within the Republic, the highest level of religious diversity was to be found in the provinces Holland and Utrecht. Foreign travellers commented on the religious differences existing even within families, and marvelled at the fact that these religious differences did not lead to widespread conflict and violence.²²² Although ideas of (religious) tolerance and diversity have become part of Dutch identity, a number of historians have raised the question how tolerant the Dutch Republic really was.²²³ Moreover, some historians have argued that the level of interaction between the various denominations in the Dutch Republic was rather limited and decreased over time. Adopting the thesis that by around 1650 most Dutchmen had opted for one of the many confessions, Simon Groenveld has argued in his *Huisgenoten des geloofs* that the boundaries between the various confessions became increasingly solidified, and that interaction between people of different faiths dwindled in various spheres of life such as marriage, charity and education.²²⁴ One of the problems with Groenveld's study is that it is rather sketchy, and most examples of confessional separation can easily be countered with examples of interconfessional interaction or even integration. Moreover, as Benjamin Kaplan commented, even if interaction in some spheres of life was limited, this does not have to mean that the whole society had become thoroughly segregated.²²⁵

Willem Frijhoff has argued that despite the existence of different confessional cultures, as a result of 'everyday conviviality' people of different faiths kept interacting on a daily basis.²²⁶ Although this might be true, the concept of everyday conviviality still only illustrates a specific type of interaction between members of different confessions, and does not provide us with a clear insight into the precise context in which interconfessional interaction took place or what this interaction consisted of. It also remains to be seen to what extent interaction of this kind changed over time: did a process of confessionalisation lead to a decrease in interaction between members of different

²²² William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (Oxford, 1972), 116–27. Benjamin J. Kaplan, 'Integrations vs segregation: religiously mixed marriage and the "verzuiling" model of Dutch society', in: Benjamin J. Kaplan et al. (eds), *Catholic communities in Protestant states: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720* (Manchester, 2009), 49.

²²³ Benjamin J. Kaplan, "'Dutch" religious tolerance: celebration and revision', in: *Calvinism and religious toleration*, 8–26. ROG. Van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid*. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 372–7.

²²⁴ Groenveld, *Huisgenoten*, passim.

²²⁵ Kaplan, 'Integration vs segregation', 62.

²²⁶ Willem Frijhoff, 'The threshold of toleration. Interconfessional conviviality in Holland during the early modern period', in: Willem Frijhoff, *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum, 2002), 39–66. See also: Alexandra Walsham, 'Supping with Satan's disciples: spiritual and secular sociability in post-Reformation England', in: Adam Morton and Nadine Lewycky (eds), *Getting along? Religious identities and confessional relations in early modern England – essays in honour of professor W. J. Sheils* (Farnham, 2012), 29–56, esp. 44–56.

confessions? Rather than applying either Groenveld's or Frijhoff's 'model' to seventeenth-century Dutch society as a whole, we should analyse interconfessional interaction in different spheres of life, and complement such an analysis by paying attention to the nature of the interaction. In order to do so, a group of Catholic nobles in Utrecht and their interaction with members of other confessions in various spheres of life throughout the seventeenth century will be examined. The core of this group consists of eighty-nine noblemen (the nobles that appear on De la Torre's list combined with the Catholic members of the families studied in the first chapter). The analysis is not limited to these eighty-nine noblemen, however: their spouses as well as other Catholic noblemen and noblewomen from Utrecht and Guelders are also examined. The analysis focuses on aspects of the lives of Catholic nobles such as family and friendship, education, profession (office-holding), charity and other forums of interaction. Attention will also be paid to the external influences that might hamper or boost the ability and willingness of Catholic nobles to engage with members of other confessions, such as the mode of behaviour advocated by the leadership of the Holland Mission, and the policy of the secular authorities regarding Catholicism in the Dutch Republic. As will become clear, as a result of careful decisions made by Catholic nobles, interconfessional interaction was quite common in particular contexts, such as when serving in the army, being a member of a confraternity, and during social activities. However, in other spheres of life, including the family, office-holding and education, interaction with Protestants was far more restricted. Interconfessional interaction which potentially could jeopardise the religious identity of Catholic nobles and their families was avoided, but the ties between the Catholic nobles and the Protestant elite of the Dutch Republic were not entirely severed, and this led to various types of socialisation in other spheres of life.

Family life

As became clear in the previous chapter, in the majority of cases Catholic nobles married their social and religious equals, which might be used as an argument for the seclusion of Catholic nobles, at least in this area of life. Yet at the same time, the previous chapter has established that a few Catholic nobles had non-Catholic spouses, making clear that marrying a spouse of a different faith was not a complete taboo. Moreover, religious differences did slip into noble families because of conversions; apostolic vicar Van Neercassel, for instance, claimed that he had converted nobles in the province of Guelders.²²⁷ The question of how Catholic nobles dealt with religious differences in their families – here meaning the nuclear as well as the more extended family – is more easily raised than answered, mainly because of the lack of extant descriptive sources. Therefore, in order to understand

²²⁷ HUA, OBC, inv. 233: Visitation reports 18-5-1668, 18-6-1668 and 31-7-1668. DLT, AAU 11, 180 (Bennenbrouck, Berckel).

interconfessional interaction within noble families, this analysis will also look at other forms of interaction besides mixed marriages by examining the religious affiliations of godparents, guardians and the signatories of marriage contracts.

One of the better-documented cases of mixed marriage is the marriage between Godard van Reede and Ursula van Raesfelt. This example will show to what extent religious diversity within a family caused problems, how these problems were (partly) alleviated, and which facets of family life were and were not negatively affected by religious differences. Godard was the son of the well-known Godard Adriaen van Reede and Margaret Turnor, and like his father he held high political office: he was the commander of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, served as field marshal in the Dutch army, and also appeared at the meetings of the knighthood in the late seventeenth century. Both of Godard's parents were lidmaten of the Reformed Church, as was Godard himself.²²⁸ Ursula's parents, on the other hand, remained Catholic, and it is likely that Ursula was a Catholic when she and Godard married in the Reformed church of Amerongen in 1666.²²⁹ At any rate, at some point Ursula and three of her daughters clearly were Catholic,²³⁰ but this religious difference seems not to have caused friction between Godard, Ursula and their children, perhaps because some obvious Catholic ceremonies, such as the celebration of Mass, did not take place at the Amerongen or Middachten Castles, where the family lived.²³¹ Moreover, although in 1692 a priest lived on Middachten Castle for a while, Godard was abroad at that time (he returned from England in 1693), and in general only at Ursula's estate Harreveld priests were housed.²³² Such practices were not uncommon in noble families that were divided by faith, and these and similar arrangements had the aim of maintaining harmony within the family – which could be disrupted if religious differences became too apparent. A friend or acquaintance of Ursula, for instance, the Catholic noblewoman Jacoba Emilia van

²²⁸ HUA, Klapper lidmaten Amerongen, 76, 79, 120.

²²⁹ DLT, AAU 11, 375. For different views on Ursula's faith, see: A. W. J. Mulder, *Het kasteel Amerongen en zijn bewoners* (Maastricht, 1949), 85–8. J. Aalbers, 'Reinier van Reede van Ginckel en Frederik Willem van Reede van Athlone. Kanttekeningen bij de levenssfeer van een adellijke familie, voornamelijk gedurende de jaren 1722–42', *JOU* (1982), 95. Th. A. M. Thielen, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de katholieke enclave Groenlo-Lichtenvoorde* (Zutphen, 1966), 59.

²³⁰ Sometimes such interfaith families adopted the practice of raising 'boys in the faith of their father and girls in the faith of their mother'. Kaplan, 'Practice and perils', 128–9. This was not the case in this family, for not all of Ursula's daughters were Catholic nor were raised in this faith. See figure 1 at p. 66.

²³¹ Aalberts, 'Reinier van Reede', 95. HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177: codicil of 24-3-1715, f. 1v. The inventory of the goods of Ursula and Godard in Amerongen and Middachten Castles does not include any Catholic religious objects. HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3179.

²³² Thielen, *Groenlo-Lichtenvoorde*, 61. It is possible that there was still a (damaged) manorial chapel at Middachten in the seventeenth century. Ronald Immerseel, 'Het middeleeuwse huis Middachten', in: Tarq Hoekstra (ed.), *Middachten. Huis en heerlijkheid* (Utrecht, 2002), 17.

Westerholt, was not allowed to have her own chapel (oratorium) at her castle ‘because her husband was a heretic’ (per essere il suo marito eretico), and she had to attend Mass elsewhere.²³³

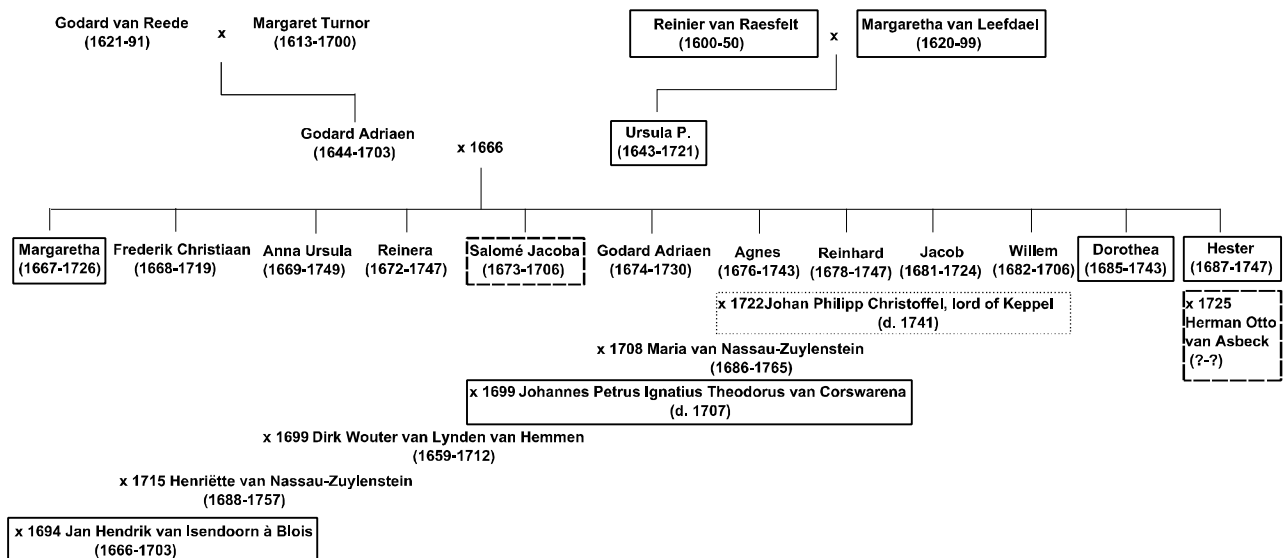


Fig. 1 Family tree of Godard Adriaen van Reede and Ursula van Raesfelt.²³⁴

Although Godard and Ursula found a way to deal with religious differences, Godard’s parents were less pleased about the religious diversity in their son’s family, and in their will of 1679 Godard Adriaen and Margaret voiced their misgivings and fears by stipulating that their oldest grandson or granddaughter (Godard was their only child) could only inherit if he or she was a Reformed Christian.²³⁵ In their will of 1690 this provision was reiterated – even though they stated that it had never been their intention to favour any of their grandchildren – underlining the importance Godard Adriaen and Margaret attached to the religious affiliation of their inheritor.²³⁶ After the death of her husband, Margaret had a new will drawn up in 1692, in which she stated that she feared that Godard and Ursula would disadvantage some of their children by restricting their inheritance. According to Margaret, the inheritance of the children who did not live with Godard and Ursula would be limited,

²³³ D. de Kok, ‘Kerkelijke toestanden in Vorden en omgeving tijdens het bestuur van den Vicarius Apostolicus Petrus Codde’, *AAU* 59 (1935), 240. Id., ‘Stukken betreffende het ontstaan der Minderbroedersstatie te Vorden’, *Neerlandia Franciscana* 2 (1919), 243. For similar arrangements in England, see e.g. George B. Richardson (ed.), *Life of Mrs Dorothy Lawson of St Anthony’s, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Northumberland* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1851), 17.

²³⁴ Partly based on Mulder, *Kasteel Amerongen* (Maastricht, 1949), not numbered. A black line indicates that someone was a Catholic; a dashed black line shows that the person probably was a Catholic. All the other nobles in this family tree were Protestant, except for those with a dotted line, who were probably Protestant.

²³⁵ Mulder, *Kasteel Amerongen*, 103.

²³⁶ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 2772, will of 30-4-1690, f. 2r-v. According to Mulder, this specific provision was not included in the will of 1690. Mulder, *Kasteel Amerongen*, 103.

and therefore Margaret compensated the three Protestant granddaughters who were still living with her at Amerongen Castle.²³⁷

Godard and Ursula responded in their will of 1701. Addressing the fact that Margareta's will benefited their two oldest sons and three of their daughters, the couple sought to remedy this by increasing the inheritance of the other children, aiming for 'some equality [egaliteit]' among their offspring, even though the 'Lady of Amerongen tried to prevent them from doing so'.²³⁸ In a number of codicils Ursula included other provisions, all of which, as she did not fail to mention, were granted to her by her husband and had to be executed to the letter. Among other things, she stipulated that her two youngest and Catholic daughters had to live with her oldest daughter Margaretha (who in the meantime had married the Catholic nobleman Jan Hendrik van Isendoorn à Blois) or with her daughter Salomé Jacoba (who probably was a Catholic as well).²³⁹ Ursula also expressed the wish in her codicil of 1701 that all the provisions would be carried out 'without religious or other passions'.²⁴⁰ However, in her codicil of 1718 Ursula changed some of the provisions made in the will of 1701 by providing extra funds to some of her children, including two of her Catholic daughters. These provisions cast a long shadow, and after Ursula's death her children became involved in a conflict about their inheritance. Godard Adriaen, the second son of Ursula, wanted to heed his parents' will of 1701 rather than his mother's codicils, since he would not be financially able to fulfil the demands of his mother as well as redeeming the debts of his parents.²⁴¹ This pit Godard Adriaen, and his sister Reinera who supported him, against his Catholic sisters, who found their brother Jacob

²³⁷ Ibid., 79. HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 2772, will of 9-9-1692, f. 2r. The three daughters became members of the Reformed church in Amerongen. HUA, Klapper lidmaten Amerongen, 147, 148, 159. She previously took care of the two oldest sons as well, one of whom moved to Leiden for his studies. Mulder, *Kasteel Amerongen*, 79. Margareta even said that she expected the parents to give the children living with her a smaller part than was rightfully theirs according to the laws of inheritance after a person died without a valid will (ab intestato). Catholic parents, however, were forbidden to disadvantage Protestant offspring out of religious motives (the validity of other possible reasons had to be assessed by a judge). *VdW*, 1: 406.

²³⁸ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177: copy (1703) of their will of 11-4-1701, f. 1v-2r.

²³⁹ C.L. Temminck Groll, 'Het kasteel de Cannenburch en zijn bouwgeschiedenis', in: D. J. G. Buurman (ed.), *De Cannenburch en zijn bewoners* (Zutphen, 1990), 63. Salomé does not appear on the lidmaten register of the Reformed church in Amerongen. Salomé's husband was Johannes Petrus Ignatius Theodorus van Corswarena, Earl of Niel (a town near Antwerp). He was a Catholic (being a member of a noble family from the southern Netherlands). Salomé was a witness at a Catholic baptism in Doesburg (GA, RBS, inv. 493.1, 36), and she married Johannes in the Catholic station in Wijk bij Duurstede. According to Thielen, Salomé was a Catholic. Thielen, *Groenlo-Lichtenvoorde*, 59-60.

²⁴⁰ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv 3177: codicil of Ursula (10-5-1701), f. 3v.

²⁴¹ Aalbers, 'Reinier van Reede van Ginckel', 96.

on their side.²⁴² Reinhard, whom Ursula had appointed to carry out her wills, finally managed to broker an agreement between his siblings, but not without opposition from their Catholic sisters.²⁴³

Religious differences, at least for Godard and Ursula, were not an obstacle to loving relationships with each other and their children. They bequeathed the majority of their possessions to their Reformed sons, whereas Godard Adriaen and Margaretha strove to prevent the majority of their property from falling into the hands of one of their Catholic grandchildren. Yet despite the initial conflict between the parents and grandparents, the rift in the family did not strictly follow confessional lines. Some of the children raised by Godard and Ursula were members of the Reformed Church (including Reinhard, whom Ursula entrusted with the execution of her will).²⁴⁴ Religious differences did not stop the children socialising and interacting with each other either. In 1738, for example, a worried Agnes Ursula sent a letter to her brother Reinhard to ask him to help their (Catholic) sister Margaretha, who was experiencing financial difficulties.²⁴⁵ At the same time, their faith might have strengthened the relationships between some of the Catholic siblings: when Hester married the German nobleman Herman Otto von Asbeck, she moved to Westphalia and was accompanied by her other Catholic sister, Dorothea.²⁴⁶

Yet in the case of education and upbringing, religion became a more sensitive issue. It is not a surprise that Ursula raised her Catholic daughters, for the children being raised by their grandparents were growing up in an increasingly Reformed household. The members' register of the Reformed church in Amerongen shows that many of the people who were living or working at Amerongen Castle, ranging from maids to staatsjuffers, were or became lidmaten.²⁴⁷ Moreover, Petrus Bijlloot, a former professor of law who had taught at the Huguenot University of Sedan, was appointed as the

²⁴² Mulder, *Kasteel Amerongen*, 105. Reinera had trouble with her parents, as she had been disobedient and left their home 'without giving any notice and without handing in the keys'. HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv 3177: copy (1703) of their will of 11-4-1701, f. 3r..

²⁴³ Ibid., inv. 3445: letters from Godard Adriaen to Reinhard, 21-2-1721, 16-2-1722. Anna Ursula to Reinhard: ibid., inv. 3447: 20-2-1722. Aalbers, 'Reinier van Reede van Ginckel', 96.

²⁴⁴ Reinhard became a member of the Reformed church of Amerongen in 1704. HUA, Klapper lidmaten Amerongen, 167. Two other children raised by Ursula and Godard, Willem and Jacob, became lidmaten of this church in 1700. Ibid., 164. There are cases of mixed families in which the sons were raised in the faith of their father and the daughters in the faith of their mother. This was often a conscious decision and a means to ensure 'demographic balance between faiths'. Kaplan, 'Practice and perils', 128. Such an arrangement does not seem to have been the case in this family, since three of Ursula's daughters were Reformed Protestants.

²⁴⁵ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3447: letter of 13-5-1738, f. 1r-2r. On the difficulties of Margareta, see Aalbers, 'Reinier van Reede van Ginckel', 116.

²⁴⁶ Aalbers, 'Reinier van Reede van Ginckel', 98. It is likely that Herman was a Catholic, taking into account that Hester was a Catholic and that it was not uncommon that Catholic nobles married their co-religionists from Westphalia. See ch. 1.

²⁴⁷ See e.g. HUA, Klapper lidmaten Amerongen, 121-44. Staatsjuffers were women, sometimes from a noble background, who worked for and accompanied noblewomen.

‘governor’ or mentor of Frederik Christiaen.²⁴⁸ Therefore Ursula, possibly fearing the influence of Reformed family members and their entourage, stipulated in 1701 that her youngest Catholic daughters (at the time fourteen and sixteen years old) should not be raised by them.²⁴⁹ In this family, then, religious differences did not sever many of the family ties, yet considerations regarding some spheres of life, such as education and upbringing, were influenced by confessional norms.

Religious differences did not necessarily have to lead to controversies about inheritance, and in some cases potential problems were averted.²⁵⁰ In general, restricting the inheritance to children who shared the testator’s faith does not seem to have been a very common practice among the nobility, at least not among the families studied in this thesis. Moreover, a survey of the part of the notarial archive of Utrecht that has been digitalised indicates that such provisions were made only sporadically among both nobles and non-nobles in the seventeenth century.²⁵¹ Although the small number of descriptive sources about interconfessional interactions within noble families warrants some caution about formulating a conclusion, it seems that the behaviour of Godard Adriaen van Reede and his wife Margaret Turnor was atypical among the nobility, and perhaps even among the Dutch population in general.

Confessional preferences I: godparents and guardians

When the Reformation hit Europe, selecting godparents for a newborn was already an old and venerable tradition, which tied the parents and godparents more closely to each other, and provided the newborn with a spare set of (spiritual) parents in case his or her natural parents passed away.²⁵² Neither the Protestant nor the Catholic Reformation abolished the practice, but some changes were introduced; the Tridentine Church, for instance, limited the number of godparents to two.²⁵³ The synods of the Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic attached less importance to the institution of godparents, but because it was an ‘old custom’ it was allowed, as long as both the parents and the godparents abstained from all pomp and display during the baptismal rite.²⁵⁴ Parents as well as the confessional churches realised the important role of godparents regarding the education and

²⁴⁸ Bijllot became a member of the Reformed Church in 1682. Ibid., 144. Frederik Christiaen was the eldest son of Ursula and Godard.

²⁴⁹ HUA, Huis Amerongen, codicil of 1701, f. 3r.

²⁵⁰ HUA, NOT, inv. U016a001, no. 228 (31-3-1626); no. 268 (1-8-1626).

²⁵¹ For such provisions, see: Ibid., inv. U070a004, no. 125 (30-1-1671); inv. U065a001, no. 292 (23-3-1671); inv. U064a004, no. 13 (11-1-1675); U054a004, no. 143 (15-1-1683) (all non-nobles), and the will of Josina van Hattum, inv. U040a001, no. 90–4 (19-3-1654). I have not found any evidence of such restrictions in the wills of noble families studied as part of the research for this thesis.

²⁵² Jack Goody, *The development of family and marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), 195.

²⁵³ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), 16.

²⁵⁴ G. D. J. Schotel, *De openbare eeredienst der Nederlands Hervormde kerk in de zestiende, zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Haarlem, 1870), 436–7.

upbringing of orphans, which was a thorny issue in a religiously mixed society. In his ‘large catechism’, Rovenius prohibited Catholics from having their children baptised in a Protestant church or from acting as godparents at a baptism that took place in a heretical church. This stance was confirmed by Van Neercassel, according to whom children did not believe ‘through their own heart and mouth’, but received their faith ‘through the mouths of their parents and godparents’.²⁵⁵ The States of Utrecht decreed in 1649 that if orphans of Reformed parents were about to fall into the hands of ‘popish custodians or curators’, those orphans had to be raised by the magistrates or weesmeesters (members of the board of civic orphanages) of the town in which they lived.²⁵⁶ Taking this decree as their starting point, the town council of the city of Utrecht went even further by saying that this applied to orphans of whom only one of the two parents had been a Reformed Christian.²⁵⁷ Clearly the danger that orphans might be raised in the Catholic faith because of godparents or other custodians who belonged to the Church of Rome was recognised and dealt with by the secular authorities.

Parents did not have to rely on the government acting to protect their children, and could take matters into their own hands by appointing co-religionists as godparents or by making provisions in their will.²⁵⁸ Anna van der Wel, wishing her children to be raised in the Catholic religion and wanting to make sure that this really happened, stated that the Protestant custodians of her children appointed by her late husband were only to take care of the administration of the possessions of her children. Furthermore, these custodians had to be supervised by two other custodians, who also were entrusted with the upbringing of her children.²⁵⁹ One of the custodians appointed by Anna was Jacob de Wijs, one of the last Catholic councillors of the Court of Utrecht, whereas Anna’s husband, who lived next to the Munt (the organization responsible for coining money), had appointed Johan van de Wel, general of the Munt in Utrecht, as one of the custodians.²⁶⁰ In a similar fashion, Catholic nobles tried to prevent their children from falling into the hands of Protestant custodians or institutions: Wilhelmina van Amstel van Mijnden and her husband Gerard de Wael van Vronestein made

²⁵⁵ Christiaan van der Berge, *Catholycke catechismus ofte kort onderwys...* (Louvain, 1657), 92. On this catechism, see: P. Crescentius O. F. M., ‘De catechismus van Rovenius’, *OGE* 31:1 (1957), esp. 283–8. Parker, *Faith*, 142. Johannes van Neercassel, *Bevestigingh in’t geloof* (Brussels, 1670), 140.

²⁵⁶ *VdW*, 1: 398. The States had already agreed on this policy in 1641. *Ibid.*, 400.

²⁵⁷ HUA, SA II, inv. 121-20: 8-11-1641.

²⁵⁸ For an example of a letter asking a Catholic nobleman to become a godparent, see: NA, HVZ, inv. 740.

²⁵⁹ HUA, NOT, inv. U016a001, no. 330 (6-3-1627). Such provisions were made by Reformed Protestants as well. See note 251 (Van Hattum).

²⁶⁰ The other custodian was Hendrick van Leeuwen, servant (commies, possibly a commies-griffier) of the States General. On Jacob de Wijs, see *VdW*, 2: 1054.

provision in their will to keep their underaged children – as well as their possessions – out of the hands of the magistracy of Utrecht and its orphanage.²⁶¹

Because of the danger of their offspring falling into the wrong hands after their death, Catholic nobles carefully selected the godparents of their children, and ultimately their choice was comparable to their choice of spouse: the vast majority of the godparents were Catholic nobles. The Catholic De Wael van Vronestein family mostly opted to select godparents from among members of their own family or from families related to them by marriage. The godparents of Josina were Johan van Winssen, the husband of Josina's great-aunt Frederica, and Elisabeth van Voorst, an aunt of Josina's mother.²⁶² To give another example, Christina van Ittersum and Sweder van Amstel van Mijnden were the godparents of Gerard de Wael van Vronesteijn.²⁶³ Christina was Gerard's maternal grandmother, and Sweder was the brother of Wilhelmina van Amstel van Mijnden, Gerard's paternal grandmother. Being a Catholic family that married other Catholics, members of the De Wael van Vronestein family could choose suitable godparents from a rather large pool of relatives, and godparents were selected from the ranks of their own family and a group of (more distant) relatives from families related to them by marriage (as the overview in appendix C shows). The same pattern applies to the Van Renesse van Baer family, although in some cases family members from other branches of the Van Renesse family, such as the Van Renesse van Elderen branch, became godparents.²⁶⁴ Both the De Wael van Vronestein and the Van Renesse van Baer families now and then picked godparents from outside their family networks but from within a network of Catholic nobles: Wilhelmina van Bronckhorst became the godparent of a member of the former, whereas the godparents of the members of the latter family included the Lady of Petten (Lidvina Sasbout, not a noblewoman).²⁶⁵ The mathematician Godefridus van Haestrecht was the godfather of Costen van Renesse van Baer, the son of two Catholic nobles. Although Godefridus was a canon of the Dom church in Utrecht, it is possible that he was a Catholic – in spite of the decrees of the government which only allowed Reformed Protestants to hold such prebends (I return to this topic in more detail below). Godefridus was not present at Costen's baptism, which took place at the Catholic church of Ysselstein, and he was represented by Jacobus van Schendel, a Catholic priest.²⁶⁶ The family members who made up two generations of the De Wael van Vronestein family had thirty-three

²⁶¹ HUA, NOT, inv. U012a006, no. 29 (30-8-1624), f. 34r–35r. This was common practice, including among non-nobles. E.g. De Mooij, *Geloof*, 588–92.

²⁶² Kleijntjens, 'Aantekeningen', 196.

²⁶³ Ibid., 202.

²⁶⁴ HUA, DTB IJsselstein, RK-gemeente, index klapper, 26.

²⁶⁵ DLT, AAU 11, 185. HUA, DTB, IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 26. *Groot algemeen historisch...*(Amsterdam, 1732), 9: 56.

²⁶⁶ HUA, DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 26. For information about Schendels, see: *VdAA*, 17-1: 285. Godefridus van Haestrecht studied at the University of Anger but his religious affiliation is not mentioned. Willem Frijhof and Rob van Drie, 'Het wapenboek van de Nederlandse studentenvereniging te Angers, 1614–1617', *JBG* 44 (1990), 141. He also studied at Leiden University in 1623. *NNBW*, 1: 1071.

godparents, and at least twenty-one of them were Catholic (according to the strict criteria applied in Chapter 1) – probably many more, considering that another eight godparents were members of Catholic families such as Van Voorst, Van Winssen and Camons. The choice of godparents was thoroughly determined by confessional norms – in the De Wael van Vronesteyn family, from as early as the 1610s onwards – as Catholic nobles clearly realised what was at stake.

Confessional preferences II: witnesses and signatories

Compared to baptisms, the role of witnesses at weddings was of somewhat less importance, as the main function of a witness was to observe that the bride and groom both freely gave their consent. It seems that people did not consider witnesses at weddings to be extremely important: in many cases the names of the witnesses are not mentioned in the DTB records. The two members of the De Wael van Vronesteyn family who noted the names of the godparents of their children (and their gifts) could not be bothered to record the names of the witnesses at the wedding of one of their relatives.²⁶⁷ Alongside witnesses at the formal registry of the intention to marry (*ondertrouw*) – or at the actual wedding (*trouw*), when a wedding took place in a Catholic church – it was a common practice that friends and relatives of the prospective bride and groom signed the marriage contract. Neither the role of witnesses at a wedding nor that of those who signed the marriage contract had specific religious overtones, which at least in theory made it more likely that people belonging to other confessions would be involved. Historians have pointed to the confessional diversity of such witnesses to stress the friendly relationships between members of different confessions.²⁶⁸ We will see, however, that Catholic nobles preferred to select the witnesses and the signatories from the same group of people from which they selected godparents, and thus primarily remained within the boundaries of their socio-religious group.

At the wedding of Cornelia de Jonge van Baardwijk and Willem van Renesse van Baer – who remarried in a clandestine Catholic church in The Hague after having been married by Utrecht's magistrates – Cornelia's father and mother and Willem's brother were witnesses.²⁶⁹ When Elbert van Voorst married in the Catholic enclave of Huissen (close to Arnhem), two members of the Van Amstel van Mijnden family, whose mother was a Van Voorst, acted as witnesses; after the death of

²⁶⁷ Kleijntjens, *Aantekeningen*, 202, 204.

²⁶⁸ See e.g. Streng, *'Uyt liefde'*, 110.

²⁶⁹ GDH, DTB. C. Hoek, 'Repertorium op de grafelijke leningen in Maasland, 1258–1648', 20 (http://www.hogenda.nl/wp-content/plugins/hogenda-search/download_attachment.php?id=9871&type=loanroom).

his wife, Reynier even ended up marrying one of the witnesses.²⁷⁰ Family ties and adherence to Catholicism were the criteria that operated when selecting witnesses for a wedding as well as godparents. In some cases, however, Catholic nobles acted as witnesses at the weddings of commoners who were not related to them by any family ties: jonker De Wael (probably Adriaen de Wael van Vronestein) was a witness at the weddings of two Catholic couples in the Catholic station of Jutphaas.²⁷¹ Not family ties, but the fact that jonker De Wael was a Catholic – and an avid supporter of Catholicism in and around Jutphaas – probably resulted in him being a witness at this marriage.

The selection of signatories also depended on criteria such as family ties and religion, with the difference that most signatories were men, whereas the witnesses at baptisms were virtually always a combination of men and women.²⁷² The signatories of Gerard de Wael van Vronestein's marriage contract consisted of his father Frederick and his mother Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden; Cornelis, a cousin of his father; Wouter van Amstel van Mijnden, a cousin of his mother's father; Floris van Schagen, related to this family through the Camons family; and Johan van Winssen, Gerard's great-uncle.²⁷³ Four of these marriage friends (Frederick, Johanna, Floris and Johan) were to be the godparents of one of Gerard's children. The marriage friends of one of Gerard's daughters, Philippa, were Marie and Engel de Wael van Vronestein, the latter being the godmother of one of his sons.²⁷⁴ As was the case with the selection of godparents, most signatories were Catholic: six of the eight signatories to the marriage contract of Hendrick Pieck van Wolfsweert and his bride Maria van Winssen, and three of the five nobles who signed the marriage contract of Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden, were Catholic (the religion of the other signatories is unknown).²⁷⁵ Because the majority of Catholic nobles married co-religionists, and because they tended to select godparents, witnesses and signatories mostly from their Catholic relatives, interconfessional interaction in these areas of family life was quite limited.²⁷⁶ In some cases, when a couple had many children, the godparents were

²⁷⁰ J. J. Hooft van Huysduynen, *Bijdrage tot een genealogie van het geslacht van Voorst tot Voorst* (The Hague, 1968), S.33.

²⁷¹ HUA, DTB, inv. 552: 20-8-1696; 9-2-1697.

²⁷² The Council stipulated as well that the two godparents had to be a man and a woman. H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, 1978), 185.

²⁷³ NA, HVZ, inv. 730.

²⁷⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 801. Another marriage friend was a canon from Liège.

²⁷⁵ For the marriage contracts, see: NA, HVZ, inv. 934 and 1052. Of the signatories whose religious affiliation is unknown, two were Willem van Tuyl van Bulckstein and Joost de Voocht van Rijnveldt. The family of the former is regarded as having been a Catholic family (www.vantuyl.nl/historie), while the latter held a canonry in the Dom and is not mentioned by Van de Ven as a Catholic. See: A. J. van der Ven, *Over de oorsprong van het aartsbisshoppelijke kapittel van Utrecht der oud-bisshoppelijke clerezy* (Utrecht, 1923), 48–9. For other marriage contracts in which a similar trend is visible: NA, HVZ, inv. 574 and 755. Inv. 687 contains an invitation sent by Gerard to his cousin Bernard van den Bongard, Lord of Nyenrode, to sign the marriage contract of his daughter Philippa. Bernard was a Catholic (DLT, AAU 11, 185).

²⁷⁶ Franciscus Dusseldorpius refused to attend the wedding or sign the marriage contract of the daughter of a Protestant uncle, since the Catholic clergy prohibited the participation of Catholics in such events (although the

somewhat more distant relatives than their witnesses and marriage friends. But as the example of Gerard de Wael van Vronestein shows, not even the need to find godparents for nine children led to the selection of Protestant godparents.²⁷⁷

Attending funerals

The death of a family member could be a trigger for interconfessional interaction, because attending the funeral of a deceased neighbour was a social obligation, and ‘people of all faiths took part in one another’s funeral.’²⁷⁸ In the Dutch Republic the possibility of confessional diversity at funerals was further enhanced, because in most Dutch towns funerals were ‘remarkably nonconfessional in character’ and as such were a sign of a larger a-confessional culture that prevailed in most Dutch towns and cities.²⁷⁹ Attending a funeral was deemed important – which is shown by the many invitations to funerals of deceased relatives that are part of the archives of both Catholic and Protestant noblemen – and going to funerals brought Catholic nobles into contact with non-Catholics. The Protestant Floris Borre van Amerongen, ‘landcommander’ of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, sent a letter to the Catholic nobleman Gerard de Wael van Vronestein inviting him and his two sons to come to the funeral of Wilhelm van Winssen, commander of the Teutonic Order in Maaslant.²⁸⁰ In 1642 Gerard received an invitation to the funeral of the Lord of Wel, which had been sent by the Protestant nobleman Hendrick Valckenaer; Jan, another member of the Valckenaer family, expressed his heartfelt sorrow at the death of Gerard’s wife, while apologising for not being able to come to her funeral.²⁸¹ Catholic nobles were even part of the funeral processions of various stadholders, although it is possible that they did not attend the church service.²⁸² A member of the Catholic noble De Ridder van Groenestein family attended the funeral of the Protestant Philips Ram, former alderman of

clergy did provide the laity with some leeway, as they acknowledged that in some circumstances abstaining from such events was difficult and perhaps even undesirable). Robert J. Fruin, *Uittreksel uit Francisci Dusseldorpius annales 1566–1616* (The Hague, 1893), xix, 391. F. J. M. Hoppenbrouwers, *Oefening in volmaaktheid: de zeventiende-eeuwse rooms-katholieke spiritualiteit in de Republiek* (The Hague, 1996), 69.

²⁷⁷ Although the religious affiliation of some godparents is unknown, I have not found any signs of Protestant affiliation.

²⁷⁸ Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, 93–4 (citation on p. 94). Llewellyn Bogaers, ‘Geleund over de onderdeur. Doorkijkjes in het Utrechtse buurtleven van de vroege Middeleeuwen tot in de zeventiende eeuw’, *BMGN* 112:3 (1997), 350. This happened even at the funeral of Catholic priests. Streng, ‘Uyt liefde voor’, 110. Meijer, *Nopende*, 87. Catholics were allowed to attend the funerals of heretics as long as those heretics had not been formally denounced (a stance in line with the papal bull ‘Ad evitanda’). Joannes Baptista Verjuys, *Pastorale missionariorum cum resolutione casuum...* (Brussels, 1664), 131–2.

²⁷⁹ Geert H. Janssen, ‘Political ambiguity and confessional diversity in the funeral processions of stadholders in the Dutch Republic’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 40 (2009), 299.

²⁸⁰ In 1619 the first Protestant ‘landcommander’ was appointed. Mol, ‘Trying to survive’, 183. Floris was admitted to the Teutonic Order in 1623. For the invitation, see NA, HVZ, inv. 681.

²⁸¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 710, 712. Hendrick attended the meetings of the knighthood of Utrecht from 1643 onwards.

²⁸² Janssen, ‘Political ambiguity’, 298. Bergsma, *Gideonsbende*, 325. Robert Jasper van der Capellen (ed.), *Gedenkschriften van jonkheer Alexander van der Capellen* (2 vols, Utrecht, 1777), 1: 371

Utrecht and Receiver of the General Means; but at the same time members of the Catholic branch of the Ram family (Ram van Schalkwijk) are not listed on the registers of the funerals of deceased members of this family.²⁸³

As attendance at funerals was often religiously mixed, and Catholic nobles went to the funerals of non-Catholics, it is very likely that Protestants came to the funerals of Catholic nobles.²⁸⁴ It is, however, rather difficult to find out who attended these funerals, because the information is either scant or non-existent, and conclusions can therefore only be tentative. It seems, for example, that most of the invitees to the funeral of the Catholic nobleman Sweder van Amstel van Mijnden were Catholic nobles who were related to Sweder and his family by marriage, Catholic nobles from neighbouring noble estates, and at least nine Catholic priests.²⁸⁵ This suggests that attendance at his funeral was predominantly Catholic, but the presence of Protestants cannot be ruled out. More research is needed to determine whether the funerals of Catholic nobles were more confessionally homogeneous than the funerals of their Protestant counterparts, which might perhaps have been the case because parts of the funeral ceremonies of some Catholic nobles had clear confessional overtones (which were further accentuated as Protestants did not consider funerals to be religious rituals), as will be shown in the third chapter. At any rate, even if attendance at funerals tended to consist mainly of co-religionists, Catholic nobles did go to the funerals of non-Catholics, and thus came into contact with Protestants.

Interconfessional interaction within noble families

The preceding sections demonstrated that even though in some respects Catholic nobles tended to interact predominantly with co-religionists, family life was not completely organised along confessional lines and interconfessional interaction in this sphere of life took place, which could have been caused by the fact that at least some noble lineages were religiously mixed. We already saw that this rings true for six of the lineages studied in the first chapter; also the Van Reede family, even

²⁸³ HUA, Familie Ram, inv. 29: doodcedullen Philips Ram. Some of these lists of invitees to funerals are more extensive than others, but not once is a member of the Ram van Schalkwijk branch mentioned. Ibid., inv. 17, 21, 25, 29, 36, 46, 57, 104, 118, 221.

²⁸⁴ Some members of the government attended the funeral of Thomas Walraven van Arkel. GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188a.

²⁸⁵ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 236. Some of the Catholic nobles were Gerrit de Wael van Vronestein, the 'Lord and Lady of Wittenhorst' (Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst and Wilhelmina van Bronckhorst), the Lord of Muyswinckel (DLT, AAU 11, 184), the Lord of Cannenburg (owned by the Catholic Van Isendoorn à Blois family), the Lord of Waermond (a member of the Catholic branch of the Van Wassenaer family), the Lords of Swanenburg (Engelbert Requin van Ensse) and Indoornick (Diederick van Stepraedt), the Lord of Blyenberch (DLT, AAU 11, 180), the Lady of Loenersloot (Odilia van Wassenaer), and the Lords Pieck and Hackfort. These nobles were Catholic or were members of families that are generally known to have been Catholic. However, it has not been possible to discern the identity and religious affiliation of a number of invitees.

before the marriage of Godard and Ursula, was divided by faith – Dirk Adolf van Reede, Godard Adriaen van Reede's uncle, was a Jesuit priest.²⁸⁶ In the province of Holland, contact between the various branches of the noble Van Wassenaer lineage, one of which (Van Wassenaer van Warmond) was Catholic, remained friendly.²⁸⁷ The Catholic convert Peter van Hardenbroek gave a prebend to his niece Wilhelmina van Zuylen van Nyevelt, who was lidmaat of the Reformed Church and was married to Anthonis van Warmvliet, a deacon and elder of this church.²⁸⁸ In these cases, members of lineages that were religiously mixed did continue to interact with one another, as did members of nuclear families that were divided by faith. Ursula van Raesfelt lived in Middachten Castle with some of her Catholic and Reformed offspring, while two of her Reformed sons were intermediaries (arbiters) in the controversy about the inheritance of Johan Hendrik van Isendoorn a Blois, the Catholic husband of their Catholic sister Margaretha.²⁸⁹ But as we have seen, even though family life in general did not have to be disrupted by a division of faith, some activities which were more closely related to the confessional identity of a noble, such as becoming a godparent, were restricted to co-religionists.

A theory which has been used by historians such as Craig Harline in order to explain the way in which individuals dealt with religious differences is the idea of the existence of primary (or master) and secondary statuses or identifiers which influenced one's identity and relationships.²⁹⁰ According to this theory, every person belonged to several reference groups: one was, for instance, a nobleman, a member of a local community, and a Catholic at the same time. Yet these identifiers were not of equal importance, and differences between primary statuses were harder to overcome than differences between secondary identifiers. It was, in other words, easier for people to find common ground by emphasising a shared secondary identifier than by discarding their master status in order to overcome differences (and people often found it more difficult to have a relationship with people who did not share their primary status). Making use of this explanatory model, some historians have argued that nobles dealt with religious differences within the family more easily than did other groups in early modern society, as noble families 'tended to draw [their] primary identity from [their] name, not

²⁸⁶ Aleid W. van de Bunt, 'Een uitzonderlijk lid van een bekend geslacht', *Oud-Utrecht* 33 (1960), 85–8.

²⁸⁷ In 1617 all the branches came together and decided to adopt the surname Van Wassenaer (instead of Van Duivenvoorde). Groenveld, 'Terug naar Wassenaar', 91.

²⁸⁸ HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. 251, f. 1v. On Anthonis, see Fred Lieburg, *De nadere Reformatie in Utrecht ten tijde van Voetius: sporen in de kerkeradsacta* (Rotterdam, 1989), 159. HUA, Klapper lidmaten NHG Utrecht, 1652. He also gave money to his nephew Frederick van Zuylen van Nyevelt, also a Protestant (see: UBU, HS1828 7.A.32: copy of letter of Frederick van Zuylen van Nyevelt, f. 1r.) Wilhelmina and Frederick were children of Willem van Zuylen van Nijevelt, whose wife was Gijsberta van Hardenbroek, Peter's sister. When his wife was pregnant, Peter appointed some Protestant nobles as co-guardians, but a Catholic, Otto Schrassert, was appointed as the financial advisor of the guardian (Peter's wife Agnes). Dirk E. A. Faber, 'Dirck van Baburen, his commissioner and his motifs', in: Rüdiger Klessmann (ed.), *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland* (Braunschweig, 1988), 146.

²⁸⁹ GA, Familie Randwijk, inv. 477.

²⁹⁰ Harline, *Conversions*, 246–51.

[their] religion’.²⁹¹ Raymond Mentzer, in his case study of the French noble Lacger family, has stressed that their family identity was more important than their religious identity. Even when some ‘younger and financially disadvantaged sons’ converted to Catholicism for professional gain, Protestant and Catholic family members kept working together towards ‘the attainment of agreed family objectives’.²⁹² Applying this theory to the Van Reede family, one could argue that Godard Adriaen and Margaret derived their master status from their confessional affiliation rather than from their family identity, whereas the primary status of their son Godard and his wife Ursula was based upon the *riddermatige* status of their family – they decided in their will that their children would be excluded from their inheritance if they married outside the *riddermatige* nobility.²⁹³ As we have seen, however, life was more complicated for Godard and Ursula than finding common ground by emphasising the importance of the *riddermatige* status of their family in order to overcome differences, and other arrangements – not housing priests and celebrating Mass on the estates at which Godard and Ursula lived – were necessary to safeguard the shared identity of the family.

Education

By choosing Catholic godparent and guardians, Catholic nobles tried to prevent that children would be raised in a rival faith. In a society that was divided by faith, education was a sensitive issue, and the authorities in the Dutch Republic acknowledged the importance of education at an early stage. In 1596 the Estates General forbade inhabitants of the Republic to study at Catholic universities or Jesuit schools, as the teachings at these universities and schools ran contrary to the ‘true Christian Religion’ and subverted the authority of the Dutch state.²⁹⁴ Catholics living in the Dutch Republic found themselves caught between the decrees of the authorities, which stipulated a hefty fine in case of their violation, and the stance of the Catholic Church, which prohibited its laity from attending ‘heretical’ universities. For a variety of reasons Catholics ended up violating the rules of their Church, for instance if there was no Catholic school in the vicinity and parents did not wish to subject their children to the dangers of travelling, or if parents were not able to afford to have their children study

²⁹¹ Ibid., 246.

²⁹² Raymond A. Mentzer, *Blood and belief: family survival and confessional identity among the provincial Huguenot nobility* (West Lafayette, 1994), 191.

²⁹³ Aalbers, ‘Riddermatige adel’, 35. HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177, testament from 1701, f. 4v. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the majority of the *riddermatige* nobles married within their own status group or remained unmarried. Aalbers, ‘Riddermatige adel’, 70.

²⁹⁴ Cornelis Cau, *Groot placaet-boek, vervattende de placaten, ordonnantien ende edicten...* (9 vols, The Hague, 1658–1796), 1: 194–5. These decrees of the States General were approved by the States of Utrecht. *VdW*, I: 397. In 1596 the fine was 1,000 ponden a year for every child that studied at a Catholic institution, increasing to 100 ponden a month in 1622. Cau, *Groot placaet-boek*, 1: 205–6.

abroad.²⁹⁵ Some Catholics, priests among them, opted to study at a Dutch university, or at least to register as students at such universities, in order to profit from the privileges the students enjoyed.²⁹⁶ It was possible for Catholics to study at Dutch universities because these universities changed their statutes in order to attract Catholic students (as happened at Leiden), or because universities, some of which were recently established, were reluctant to bar students, even those who exhibited divergent religious beliefs.

Thirteen nobles from the group of eighty-nine nobles went to university: five of them studied at (Catholic) universities abroad, four went to Dutch universities, and four studied at universities both within and outside the Dutch Republic. Gerard de Wael van Vronestein, for example, had studied at the Catholic University of Louvain before he became a student in Utrecht in 1669, while Bernard van Rysenburg went to the universities of Leiden (1628), Angers (1632) and Paris (1634).²⁹⁷ The majority of this group of Catholic nobles thus studied at heretical universities where interaction with non-Catholics was virtually inevitable, since throughout the seventeenth century Catholics constituted a small minority of the total student population.²⁹⁸ In addition to the group of eighty-nine nobles, there were other Catholic nobles who studied at Dutch universities. Cornelis de Ridder van Groenestein and Frederik Jacob Heereman van Zuydtwijck – the latter belonging to the new nobility – studied at the University of Utrecht in 1644, when the strict Calvinist theologian Gijsbert Voetsius was rector magnificus of that university.²⁹⁹ These Catholic nobles did not mind defying the rules of their Church, in a way similar to the Protestant nobleman Philibert van Isendoorn à Blois, who sent his children to a Catholic school despite admonitions of the local consistory to do otherwise.³⁰⁰

From the group of thirteen nobles who went to university, eight nobles decided to study in the Dutch Republic, the majority of whom (five) studied at Dutch universities in the first half of the seventeenth century or even earlier. Possibly a hardening of confessional divisions made it less

²⁹⁵ P. A. M. Geurts O. F. M., 'Het gewetensconflict van katholieke studenten aan de Leidse universiteit, ca. 1600,' in H. F. J. M. van den Eerenbeemt et al. (eds), *Voor Rogier: een bundel opstellen van oud-leerlingen de hoogleraar bij zijn afscheid aangeboden* (Hilversum-Antwerp, 1964), 71. For an overview see: Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Mobility', in: Walter Rüegg (ed.), *A history of the university in Europe. Volume II: Universities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), 416–51.

²⁹⁶ Geurts, 'Gewetensconflict', 68. P. C. Sloots O. F. M., 'De Minderbroeders te Leiden', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van de provincie der Minderbroeders in de Nederlanden* [hereafter: BGMN] 3 (1947), 471. Martine Zoetman concluded that only four of the 67 students with a Catholic background could be regarded as a student. Martine Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie van de Leidse universiteit, 1575–1812* (Leiden, 2011), 174.

²⁹⁷ Simon Groenveld notes that studying at two universities was one of the ideals surrounding the concept of the *honnête homme*. Groenveld, 'Stijgende lagere adel', 70–1.

²⁹⁸ That is, based on the students whose religious affiliation we know. Zoeteman, *Studentenpopulatie*, 147, 176.

²⁹⁹ *Album studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Trajectinae* (Utrecht 1886), 30, 80. In 1644 Johannes van Neercassel studied at this university as well. Willem Frijhoff, *La société néerlandaise et ses gradués, 1575–1814: une recherche sérielle sur le status des intellectuels à partir des registres universitaires* (Amsterdam, 1981), 53.

³⁰⁰ W. A. J. Munier, 'Een mislukte poging tot de inplanting van de Reformatie in de heerlijkheid Borgharen door heer Philibert van Isendoorn à Blois (1647–1679)', *NAK* 65 (1985), 162.

attractive to go to Dutch universities in the second half of the seventeenth century. Based on this figure it seems as if Catholic nobles did not mind studying at Protestant universities and even preferred this to studying at a Catholic university abroad. This impression is misleading, however, since the student registers of the universities in Cologne and Louvain indicate that most Dutch Catholic nobles were willing to breach the decrees of the provincial states, risked the fines and went to study in Catholic territory (see appendix D).³⁰¹ Members of the Catholic noble families Van Stepraedt, Van Hacfort, and Van Dorth, for example, do not appear in the *alba studiosorum* of Dutch universities, but attended the Catholic universities in Louvain and Cologne.

Among the Catholic nobles (outside this specific group of eighty-nine nobles) who studied abroad, a number belonged to the new nobility, such as two members of the Ram van Schalkwijk family, the brothers Petrus and Wilhelmus van den Burch, and Johannes Baptista and Wilhelmus Franciscus van der Werve.³⁰² Although these members of the new nobility did not marry members of the old nobility often, they did mingle at these Catholic universities. Wilhelmus van den Burch, for instance, was registered as a student at Louvain, together with three members of the Catholic branch of the Van Wassenae family.³⁰³ All of them went to the preparatory school called *Castrenses*, one of the four preparatory schools or ‘pedagogies’ of this university in which students were prepared for a university degree. Contacts between the students were quite intensive, because students lived and were taught in the compounds of the preparatory schools, and life was regulated by a sequence of communal religious and educational activities.³⁰⁴ Foreign universities that were not exclusively for Catholic students (such as the University of Angers) were attended by Dutch Catholic and Protestant nobles alike, and these universities could be a setting for interconfessional interaction.³⁰⁵

Unfortunately, far less is known about the education Catholic nobles enjoyed at earlier stages of their lives; for most of them this would be the only formal education they received, as only a minority went to university. Some of them perhaps went to schools like that established by the canon Willem van Assendelft in Leiden, were educated by a priest or private tutor who resided on their parents’ estate, or attended the Catholic schools that were run by priests or spiritual virgins.³⁰⁶ Most

³⁰¹ Gietman, ‘Katholieke adel’, 194–5. HUA, Collegium Pastorum, inv. 27.

³⁰² Hermann Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln* (7 vols, Bonn, 1919–81), 5: 588, 607. E. H. J. Reusens et al. (eds), *Marticule de l’Université de Louvain* (10 vols, Brussels, 1903–67), 6: 36, 69, 99.

³⁰³ His brother Petrus was registered almost a year later. Reusens, *Marticule*, 6: 36, 69.

³⁰⁴ *De universiteit te Leuven, 1425–1985* (1986), 122.

³⁰⁵ Willem Frijhoff, ‘Étudiants étrangers à l’Académie d’équitation d’Angers au XVII^e siècle’, *Lias* I (1977), 46–72. Catholic nobles, such as Berend van Rysenburg, and Protestant nobles (Hendrick Valckenaer) attended this riding school.

³⁰⁶ P. A. M. Geurts, ‘Mr. Willem van Assendelft, kanunnik-schoolmeester te Leiden (1579–1591) en het privilegium fori der universiteit’, *AGKKN* 6:1 (1964), 1–108. Adriaen van den Burch lived with Willem for some time, although he was not a student. *Ibid.*, 14. HUA, Nederlands hervormde gemeente Jutphaas, inv. 1, f.

of this education will have been for Catholics only, although one of the points of the ‘ecclesiastical means for resisting popery’ (kerckelicke middelen dienende tot weeringe des Pausdoms) included an admonition to Reformed parents not to send their children to ‘popish schools or to kloppen to learn something’.³⁰⁷ The fact that the ‘ecclesiastical means’ were formulated in 1652 suggests that, at least around the middle of the seventeenth century, the education of young children was not organised along religious lines as strictly as the Provincial Synod would have liked.³⁰⁸ According to Bertrand Forclaz, even though in the city of Utrecht an increasing number of Catholic schools was established in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, primary and secondary education continued to unite members of different confessions in this city.³⁰⁹

Some forms of Catholic education were specifically provided for Catholic girls: in the city of Culemborg, for instance, there was a school which was run by spiritual virgins.³¹⁰ Culemborg was situated in a county that was politically independent of the Dutch Republic, and Dutch Catholics made use of this political border for activities that were outlawed throughout the Republic, such as the establishment of the aforementioned school. The different social strata were represented among the students, although most of them tended to belong to the higher classes of Dutch society.³¹¹ Members of the Dutch Catholic nobility attended this school, such as Elisabeth van Voorst, a ‘niece of the Lord of Vronestein’, who stayed at this school for seven years, as well as members of other noble families, such as two sisters of the Van Aggama family (Frisia), and a member of the noble Van Eck family (Guelders).³¹² Other girls came from the new nobility, including three members of the Heereman van Zuydtwijck family, and other non-noble but upper-class families, such as Wijckersloot.

Even in spite of the examples of Catholic nobles who went to study at Protestant universities, and although Catholic universities abroad might have hosted some Protestants who were willing to take the required oath, a survey of the student registers of a Catholic university, an extract of which is

105, 222. On Catholic priests and the education of children, see ch. 3. The missionary Bersius mentions the existence of Catholic schools in Utrecht. *RB*, 1: 437.

³⁰⁷ HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 42, f. 71v. Reprinted in: Piet Tuik, *De kerk van het Heylig Cruys en Sint Andreas: duizend jaar geschiedenis van de Andriesskerk te Amerongen* (Amerongen, 2004), 326–7.

³⁰⁸ E.g. A. van Lommel, ‘Bouwstoffen voor de kerkelijke geschiedenissen van verschillende parochiën thans behoorende tot het bisdom van Haarlem’, *BGBH* 7 (1879), 378; G. van der Zee, *Kerkgeschiedenis te Vaassen* (Epe, 1934), 39; R. Bastiaanse et al. (eds), *Tot meesten nut ende dienst van de jeught. Een onderzoek naar zeventien Gelderse Latijnse scholen, ca. 1580–1815* (Arnhem, 1985), 118.

³⁰⁹ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 240–4.

³¹⁰ Marit Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden: leven tussen klooster en wereld in Noord-Nederland gedurende de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 1996), 97–8.

³¹¹ J. C. Alberdingk Thijm, ‘Uit het “Cost Boeck” der zoogenaemde kloppenschool te Culemborg’, *AAU* 37 (1911), 340. Schools run by spiritual virgins existed in the province of Utrecht as well. E. P. de Booy, *De weldaet der scholen. Het plattelandsonderwijs in de provincie Utrecht van 1580 tot het begin der 19de eeuw* (Utrecht, 1977), 106–7.

³¹² Alberdingk Thijm, ‘Cost boeck’, 328, 334. Protestant families sent their daughters to this school as well. Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden*, 98.

included in appendix D, shows that the education of Catholic nobles largely followed confessional norms.³¹³ Of course students could make use of the opportunity to visit ‘heretical’ sites or observe the rituals and customs of other churches while abroad, but in terms of choice of university, the Catholic nobles were clearly led by religious considerations.³¹⁴ The importance of education for the formation of a religious identity – as well as the dangers of falling victim to heretical doctrines as a result of attending Protestant institutions – meant that interaction with Protestants, at least at university level, in general was limited.³¹⁵

Catholic nobles and office-holding

In his mission report of 1617, apostolic vicar Phillipus Rovenius mentioned that ‘everywhere Catholics are excluded from the execution of civil offices and the holding of benefices, unless they wish to vow obedience to the Reformed religion.’³¹⁶ Some Catholic nobles refused to do so, such as the Frisian nobleman Sixtus van Emmingha, who did not want to be disloyal to ‘God or his Catholic king’.³¹⁷ Both Rovenius and his predecessor Vosmeer had exhorted Catholics not to align themselves with the heretical government by holding office or participating in the Dutch East India Company, but although it ‘was required to abstain from offices and benefits’, Catholics had ‘started to defect, out of fear of poverty’.³¹⁸ Van Neercassel, writing about the impoverished Van Zuylen van Nyevelt family, pointed to the fact that ‘religion barred them from all offices in which the gains [emolumenta] of the non-Catholic nobles have been restored.’ Having been removed from these offices, the Van Zuylen van Nyevelts lost the income they were accustomed to.³¹⁹ As well as a loss of income, being excluded from political office was an affront to the history and societal standing of families whose members had held public office for generations. The Catholic patrician Johan de Witt, for instance, lamented the fact that ‘virtuous and praiseworthy men, who are qualified because of their birth and virtue to

³¹³ Steven E. Ozment, ‘The private life of an early modern teenager: a Nuremberg Lutheran visits Catholic Louvain’, *Journal of Family History* 21:1 (1996), 29.

³¹⁴ Gerrit Verhoeven, ‘Koekeloeren op de “paepsche” religie. Gereformeerde reizigers en hun visie op de katholieke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden’, *Trajecta* 18:2 (2009), 81–103; Id., ‘Calvinist pilgrimages and popish encounters. Religious identity and sacred space on the Dutch grand tour (1598–1685)’, *Journal of Social History* 43:3 (2010), 615–34.

³¹⁵ H. J. Allard, ‘Jhr. Arent toe Boecop, S. J.’, *Jaarboekje van Jos Alberdingk Thijm* 55 (1906), 199.

³¹⁶ ‘Passim Catholici ab omni administratione officiorum civilium et perceptione beneficiorum excluduntur, nisi jurare velint in reformatam religionem.’ G. Brom, ‘Verslag...1617’, 459.

³¹⁷ Joke Spaans (ed.), *De levens der maechden* (3 vols, Hilversum, 2012), 2: 72v.

³¹⁸ ROG, 1: 32. Brom, ‘Verslag...1617’, 459, 471. Van Neercassel opposed those who argued that it was permitted for Catholics to participate in the rituals and church services of Reformed Protestants in order to keep their offices. C. Deelder, *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van de roomsch-katholieke kerk in Nederland* (Rotterdam, 1892), 2: 21. He also argued that Catholics should be thankful to God for not being able to serve in public office, as wielding authority invariably led to sinful behaviour. Van Neercassel, *Bevestingh in’t geloof en troost in vervolgingh* (Brussel, 1670), 385–432.

³¹⁹ HUA, OBC, inv. 240: 5-4-1680. Also reprinted in *RB*, 2: 699–700.

govern, are excluded and removed from all public offices.’³²⁰ The policy of the secular authorities, then, hit the finances and the identity of the Catholic elite.

The reason why local and provincial governments excluded Catholics from a number of political offices was fairly straightforward: because of the fear that a number of them were loyal to the king of Spain or to other Catholic rulers, Catholics could not be left in positions in which they would be able to influence government policy. To combat Catholic influence, the authorities decreed that the holders of certain offices and members of political estates had to be Reformed Christians. In general historians tend to focus on decrees, rather than asking how and to what extent these decrees were policed, or more importantly, whether such oaths deterred Catholic nobles from holding particular offices or attending the meetings of the States. Furthermore, it is also not clear how the interaction of Catholic nobles with society at large was influenced by this policy. An answer to these questions is provided by analysing the offices held by a group of eighty-nine Catholic noblemen, complemented by the examples of other Catholic nobles from Guelders (in order to study the differences and similarities between the two provinces). Rather than examining all the offices that were subjected to the policy of the authorities, the focus will be on the offices that in general were held by nobles or members of the higher stratum of society, leaving minor offices out of this survey.

Historians such as J. A. de Kok have argued that in the second half of the seventeenth century, the loss of offices resulted in the conversion of Catholic elites to Reformed Protestantism. According to this argument, the Peace of Münster (1648), in which the autonomy of the Dutch Republic was formally acknowledged, and the Grote Vergadering (Grand Meeting) of 1651, at which all the Provincial States reaffirmed the Reformed Church as the public church of the Republic, shattered the hope of Catholics for a swift restoration of the Catholic Church in the northern Netherlands. Moreover, as the Grote Vergadering stressed the need for Reformed Protestant office holders, Catholic elites increasingly converted to Reformed Protestantism.³²¹ Rather than perceiving the Peace of Münster and the Grote Vergadering as the final blow to Catholic office-holding and a major cause of the conversion of members of the Catholic elite, my own research suggests that the exclusion of Catholics from office had already started in the late sixteenth century, and continued throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries. By the first half of the seventeenth century the vast majority of Catholic nobles no longer held any public office, but for most of them this proved not to be a reason to convert.

³²⁰ A. Hulshof and P. S. Beuning (eds), ‘Brieven van Johannes de Wit aan Arend van Buchel en anderen’, *BMHG* 60 (1939), 168 (note 6).

³²¹ Kok, *Nederland op de breuklijn*, 182. J. C. A. Hezenmans, ‘Nieuw Herlaer in Verval’, *Taxandria* 5 (1898), 251, 255. G. Hilhorst, ‘Het kerspel Schalkwijk’, *AAU* 12 (1884), 21. According to Rogier, the Peace of Münster and the Grote Vergadering reinvigorated the authorities’ policy of ‘Protestantisation’, leading to a decreasing number of Catholic nobles in the second half of the seventeenth century. *ROG*, 1: 471–2, 483.

Although the need for Reformed Protestant office holders was articulated at the Grote Vergadering, the exact requirements demanded of the holders of public office are not entirely clear: some historians maintain that membership of the Reformed Church was required, whereas according to others it was sufficient to be a *liefhebber* of the public church (one could not be a member of a rival church).³²² Joke Spaans, who advocates the latter view, argues that ‘in the second half of the seventeenth century insistence grew on the requirement of profession of the Reformed religion for access to public office.’³²³ The demand that only members of the Reformed Church should be eligible for office was voiced, but often only by a minority of the ruling social and ecclesiastical elite, and their requests frequently fell on deaf ears. On 16 April 1660, the city council of Utrecht tried to require that new members of the knighthood in Utrecht should be nobles who ‘made profession’ of the Reformed faith, but without success: two weeks later, disappointed town councillors had to concede the loss, as the members of the two other political estates in the province did not agree with their demands.³²⁴

In general, then, public offices in the Dutch Republic could be held by *liefhebbers*. To check whether someone really qualified as a Reformed Christian (i.e. as a *liefhebber* or member of the Reformed Church), the authorities required office holders and the people attending the meetings of political estates to take a particular oath. Throughout early modern Europe, oaths were seen as the ‘strongest bond of conscience’. An oath was the ‘individual’s own sense of duty towards God’, and at the same time ‘was an outward acknowledgement of the individual’s obligation, and an opportunity for others to oblige, discipline and coerce the conscience’.³²⁵ Although the history of oaths and oath-taking in the newly founded Dutch Republic starts with the decree of the various provincial states that their inhabitants were released from the oath that had bound them to their former ruler, Philip II of Spain, soon a number of oaths followed to ensure that certain offices were held by qualified people.³²⁶ Most of the oaths that were required in the late sixteenth century were ‘oaths of loyalty’ – the taker vowed his obedience to the secular authorities. Nobles who wanted to attend a meeting of the knighthood of Zutphen, for instance, had to swear an oath of loyalty from 1595 onwards, promising to fight for and protect the ‘Generality’ (the Republic) and the province of Guelders in particular.³²⁷ No part of this oath dealt with the religion of the oath taker, and Catholics who were willing to take such an oath were still able to hold public office or to attend the meetings of political estates. The Catholic

³²² For the former view, see for instance: Parker, ‘In partibus infidelium’, 121.

³²³ Joke Spaans, ‘Violent dreams, peaceful coexistence. On the absence of religious violence in the Dutch Republic’, *DZE* 18 (2003), 159.

³²⁴ HUA, SA II, inv. 121–27: 16-4-1660; 30-4-1660.

³²⁵ John Spurr, “‘The strongest bond of conscience’: oaths and the limits of tolerance in early modern England”, in: Edward Vallance and Harald Brown (eds), *Context of conscience in early modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke, 2004), 151.

³²⁶ *VdW*, 1: 80.

³²⁷ W. J. d’Abbling van Giessenburg, *Bannerheren en ridderschap van Zutphen* (Den Haag, 1877), 6.

nobleman Joost van Giessen was sent to represent the States of Guelders at the Estates General in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³²⁸ There are more of these examples, and it seems that most Catholic nobles did not mind taking oaths of loyalty, which suggests that Catholics did not necessarily have to be loyal subjects of the Spanish Habsburgs, as has been argued in older literature.³²⁹ An increasing number of offices, however, became subject to the rule that their holders had to be Reformed Protestants. From 1621 onwards nobles who attended the meetings of the *ridderschap* of Zutphen, Nijmegen and the Veluwe, for instance, had to ‘swear and promise [sweren ende beloven] that they would maintain the True Christian Reformed Religion... and confess [bekennen] to be of the aforesaid True Christian Reformed Religion and, conversely, to abhor the popish and other similar idolatries’.³³⁰

In the Dutch Republic, Catholics were less often required to take oaths than in England, where the secular authorities formulated a number of oaths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which, in combination with the fact that attendance at religious services in the Anglican Church was mandatory, resulted in the publication of a large number of tracts which explained to Catholics the extent to which it was or was not allowed to comply with the requirements of the state. Although the demands of the state were less pressing in the Republic than in England, Dutch Catholics nevertheless found themselves in circumstances that troubled their consciences. Gerard de Wael van Vronestein wanted his son to become a member of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, but had two problems with the requirements of the authorities. The first problem was that Gerard himself had to vow to raise his son ‘in the Reformed religion’, which ran contrary to ‘his disposition [gemoed] and his conscience’, since he was a Catholic.³³¹ His son eventually had to face a similar problem, since he had to swear that he was a Reformed Christian in order to be admitted to the Teutonic Order. However, as a way of partly conceding to the requirements of admission, Gerard told the States of Utrecht that taking the oath of

³²⁸ N. Japikse (ed.), *Resolutiën Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks 1576–1625*, vol. 13 (The Hague, 1957), 1. A. de With, ‘Een beknopte geschiedenis van Spijker’, *Tussen Voorn en Loevestein: contactblad van historische kring ‘Bommelerwaard’* (December, 1994), 7.

³²⁹ HUA, Staten van Utrecht, inv. 394: ‘Eed voordien gheenen die inde Staten compareren...’ Robert Fruin, ‘De wederopluiking van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland omstreeks den aanvang van de XVIIe eeuw’, in: P. J. Blok (ed.), *Verspreide geschriften* (The Hague, 1901), 3: 274–5.

³³⁰ Abblaing, *Zutphen*, 10. See also J. Barten, ‘Het proces van Jonker Arent thoe Boecoop S. J., hagiograaf en martelaar’, *AGKKN* 3–4 (1961–2), 289, 50–1. For Overijssel, see: Mooijweer, ‘Ridderschap(pen)’, 27. The concept of the oath put forward by the States General and approved by Utrecht’s town council included a similar phrase (‘to abhor popish and other errors’). This oath had to be taken by those who attended the meetings of the States of Utrecht. HUA, SA II, inv. 121–23: 10/11-4-1649. In 1617, the knighthood of Deventer decided that people who practised Catholic worship in their houses (or allowed such practice) or went to Oldenzaal to do so were no longer allowed to attend its meetings. J. de Hullu, ‘Aantekeningen betreffende de katholieken in Twente en op het platteland van Deventer’, *AAU* 40 (1914), 45–6.

³³¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 780: letter from Frederik Henry (1632), f. 1r.

fidelity (eet van getrouwicheyt) was not a problem, which shows that the religious part of the oath was the real obstacle.³³²

Catholic students who were eager to study at the newly founded University of Leiden found their consciences violated as well, because from 1575 onwards every student had to take an oath in which they promised to support (aanhangen) the faith that was taught at the university.³³³ As a result a number of (foreign) Catholic students decided not to study at Leiden, which prompted the university to change the policy: only theology students had to take this oath, whereas all other students had to vow obedience to the rector of the university.³³⁴ The leadership of the Mission asked advice from Jansonius, a theologian at Louvain University, who stated that Catholics were not allowed to study at Leiden University, and that Catholics who had already registered at this university had to leave and retract the oath of obedience. Pope Clement VIII backed Jansonius's stance and declared Catholics studying at Protestant universities to be 'schismatics' who were all suspected of faulty interaction with heretics.³³⁵ Vosmeer adopted the position of Jansonius and the Pope, but not every missionary active in the Dutch Republic agreed, and nor did members of the laity: part of the Catholic community made a distinction between oaths which directly ran contrary to their religion, and oaths by which the oath taker vowed obedience to the secular authorities and their religion was only targeted indirectly (as the authorities to which they promised obedience represented a heretical regime). For the Pope, making such a distinction was unacceptable, since those who took an oath of obedience thereby allied themselves to a heretical regime, even acknowledging its legitimacy.

Unfortunately for Catholic nobles, the requirement for holding most offices and attending the meetings of political estates consisted of more than a plain oath of obedience. In 1610 the Council of State decided that the knighthood of Utrecht would be expanded with 'one or two qualified persons... known to be good patriots and Reformed Christians'.³³⁶ A number of times the knighthood itself repeated this requirement, yet its archive does not mention the exact wording of the oath which new members had to take before being admitted to its meetings.³³⁷ An oath, however, was just one of the means by which the religious affiliation of a prospective member could be tested, and sometimes this was not even necessary, as people were well aware of the religion of others. In 1640 the Prince of Orange demanded the expansion of the knighthood in Utrecht, and as part of their response the existing members of the knighthood sent him a list of nobles who were Reformed Christians and did

³³² Ibid., letter to the States of Utrecht (1625), f. 1r.

³³³ Zoeteman, *Studentenpopulatie*, 55.

³³⁴ Geurt, 'Gewetensconflict', 65–6.

³³⁵ Ibid., 69–70. Rovenius complained about lax regular priests who absolved students at heretical universities even if they did not repent. Brom, 'Vier Missie-verslagen', 56.

³³⁶ HUA, Huis Linschoten, inv. 587.

³³⁷ The wording of the oath is not mentioned in the archives of the Utrecht knighthood. New members did have to take an oath. HUA, Staten van Utrecht, inv. 734–1: 7-7-1642.

qualify to be admitted to the knighthood. Another list compiled by the members of the knighthood consisted of the names of fourteen knightly estates, 'the names of the owners having been omitted' as they did not qualify because, among other things, some of them were 'papists'.³³⁸ A couple of years later, the knighthood noticed that several nobles were endeavouring to be admitted to its meetings, among them nobles who 'were suspect, either because of having Catholic wives, or in another way'.³³⁹ The knighthood decided that none of the suspect nobles would be admitted unless they made profession of the Reformed faith for a period of two or three years.³⁴⁰ In this case, making profession did not mean becoming a member of the Reformed Church, but visiting its religious services for a particular period. In this way the knighthood ruled out acts of occasional conformity and demanded conformity for a prolonged period of time. Attendance at Reformed services could be proven by attestations of Reformed ministers; members of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, for instance, attached such attestations to their own testimonies that they were Reformed Christians.³⁴¹

Even with the judicial infrastructure in place, it remains a question to what extent the decrees against Catholic office-holding were put into practice by those responsible for doing so. According to the Catholic lawyer and priest Franciscus Dusseldorpius, it certainly did occur that the decrees of the authorities were applied less strictly by government officials.³⁴² As the following examples will show, however, often the unlawful possession of offices and benefices by Catholics was policed. In 1652 the sheriff of Utrecht, Anselm Boll, Lord of Rijnestein, questioned the legitimacy of a prebend (a canonry) in the Dom church held by the nobleman Willem van Merode. Willem had been a Reformed Protestant but converted to Catholicism, and thereby, according to the sheriff, violated the decree which stipulated that benefices could only be held by Reformed Protestants.³⁴³ Moreover, his father had declared in 1624 that he would raise Willem 'in the Reformed religion' so that in time the prebend could be transferred to him if Willem remained a Reformed Christian.³⁴⁴ The case, which became more complex because Willem had already transferred the prebend to someone else, was closed when Willem passed away. Another example is the non-nobleman Otto Schrassert, who was appointed councillor in the Court of Utrecht in 1627 'even though he was a Catholic, because of his

³³⁸ Ibid., 22-2-1640. Six of the fourteen estates are recorded on De la Torre's list. With the same apparent ease the classis of Rhenen and Wijck identified Catholic bailiffs and aldermen in Houten and 't Goy. HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 42: 1-8-1667.

³³⁹ HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. 254.

³⁴⁰ Ibid. Reformed nobles with Catholic wives were admitted to the meetings of the knighthood.

³⁴¹ HUA, Staten van Utrecht, inv. 484.

³⁴² Fruin, *Dusseldorpius*, xiii–xiv.

³⁴³ *VdW*, 1: 218: this decree was issued in 1615 by the States of Utrecht. On Catholic canons in Utrecht, see: Van der Ven, *Oorsprong*; HUA, Verzamelde stukken van de oud-katholieke kerk in Nederland [hereafter: OKN], inv. 112. 'Genealogiën samengesteld door de gebroeders Atteveld', *DNL* 2 (1884), 65.

³⁴⁴ HUA, Schepengerecht Utrecht, inv. 2095. For other examples of this practice, see: HUA, NOT, inv. U112a001, no. 233 (5-07-1698); no. 240–2 (24-11-1698). According to Van der Ven, Gerard van Merode was appointed canon in 1606 and was a Catholic. Van de Ven, *Oorsprong*, 49.

excellent expertise and experience'.³⁴⁵ Otto, just like two other Catholic councillors that were appointed after him, was admitted on taking the oath that had been taken by his colleague Tyman van Kuyck on June 4, 1611, exactly one month before the modification of the oath.³⁴⁶ After the appointment of the Catholic councillors, the town council of Utrecht protested, and although their appointment was not revoked, no new Catholic councillors were appointed thereafter.³⁴⁷

If not always, certainly in many cases the credentials of (potential) office holders were checked and investigated, and the policy of excluding Catholics from public office was rather effective, although we should take into account that a number of nobles voluntarily stopped going to meetings of the knighthood or ceased to hold certain offices, as a number of these were becoming professionalised and increasingly time-consuming and therefore more burdensome to nobles (a development that started in the sixteenth century, at least in Holland).³⁴⁸ Of the specific group of eighty-nine Catholic nobles mentioned above, only three held public office, and none of the nobles who came from *riddermatige* families – except for the convert Peter van Hardenbroek – attended the meetings of the knighthood.³⁴⁹ Peter had converted in secret according to De la Torre, who also mentioned another Catholic nobleman who had seats on government bodies, namely Jacob van Wassenauer van Warmond (b. 1592 – d. 1658), a nobleman from Holland.³⁵⁰ Jacob was a member of the water board of Rijnland from 1614 onwards, had a seat in the knighthood from 1618, and was a 'political' lord, meaning that although he was Catholic, he was pragmatic and conformed to the regulations of the state, something which Peter van Hardenbroek did as well.³⁵¹ By conforming to the laws of the state, one could pretend to be Protestant while being a Catholic in heart and mind – a 'church papist', as this group was called in England.³⁵²

Church papists were heavily criticised in England, and in catechisms Dutch Catholics were told that they should not hide their religion but instead had to profess it openly when legally required

³⁴⁵ *VdW*, 2: 1054.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Van Kuyck had been a councilor and later the president of the Court of Utrecht. *Ibid.*, 1039, 1045. HUA, Hof van Utrecht, inv. 2–2, f. 34, 112–4, 126–32. Takers of the new oath had to swear to support and maintain the exercise of the Reformed religion. *VdW*, 2: 1038–9.

³⁴⁷ HUA, SA II, inv. 121–15, 22/23–4–1630, f. 236r–237r. Apparently Catholics could still work as lawyers for the Court of Utrecht. H. J. W. Verhey, *300 Jaar aalmoezenierszorg. Geschiedenis van de Rooms-katholieke aalmoezenierskamer te Utrecht (1674–1746) en van de oude Rooms-katholieke aalmoezenierskamer te Utrecht (1746–1794)* (Rotterdam, 1974), 15, 219.

³⁴⁸ Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 172–5, 182.

³⁴⁹ Of these eighty-nine nobles, three lived permanently in the southern Netherlands, and two other nobles held political office there.

³⁵⁰ DLT, AAU 11, 106.

³⁵¹ W. J. J. C Bijleveld, 'De Van Wassenauer's van Warmond en hunne kerk', *BGBH* 59 (1941), 168. Groenveld, 'Terug naar Wassenauer', 138.

³⁵² This was a deliberate strategy in other countries as well. Mentzer, *Blood and belief*, 170, 172.

to state their religious affiliation.³⁵³ There were missionaries, however, who allowed Catholics to conform in order to keep their offices, while Jesuits were willing to grant laypeople the option to ‘equivocate’ and to conceal the truth in particular circumstances.³⁵⁴ The life and career of Peter van Hardenbroek shows that conformism could be quite a profitable strategy. In 1629 he and Agnes van Hanxelaer, a woman of noble descent and reportedly an abducted nun, were married by a Reformed preacher, and also in the town hall.³⁵⁵ Four years later the marriage was blessed by the nuncio of the pope in the house of a canon in Liège.³⁵⁶ Peter nevertheless managed to become the president (chairman) of the Utrecht knighthood, was a member of the States General (1627), and had a seat in the Council of State (1647).³⁵⁷ However, he appeared in the knighthood of Utrecht in 1607, and could at that time have taken any oath of religion without acting against his own conscience, because his conversion to Catholicism (he was a Remonstrant) probably took place in the late 1620s or early 1630s.³⁵⁸ After his conversion he remained in office, although there are signs that he did not want to be involved in acts that harmed the Catholic nobility.³⁵⁹

Holding such important public offices as Peter van Hardenbroek did was exceptional, and most Catholic nobles had to be satisfied with lesser offices (although not without influence). Gijsbert Grauwert served as the bailiff (landdrost) of Weerdestein, and Quintijn van der Noot was a dikereef (dijkgraaf) in the lands of Vianen, both of them benefiting from the tolerant religious policies of Johan Wolfert van Brederode, lord of the free seignury of Vianen.³⁶⁰ It was somewhat more common that Catholic nobles served as dikereeves – especially in Gelderland, sometimes because this position was pawned to a noble family (pandschap).³⁶¹ In the province of Gelderland a Catholic could become a dikereef, since in 1717 the States of Gelderland decreed that, even though at least half of the members of a water board had to be Reformed, this position would still be accessible to Catholics

³⁵³ Alexandra Walsham, *Church papists: Catholicism, conformity, and confessional polemic in early modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993), 61. Petrus vanden Bossche, *Den Catholycken pedagoge...* (Antwerp, 1685), 34.

³⁵⁴ Forclaz, ‘Emergence’, 252. Van der Capellen, *Gedenkschriften*, 1: 216–7.

³⁵⁵ Faber, ‘Van Baburen’, 144–6.

³⁵⁶ K. J. G. van Hardenbroek van ’s Heeraartsberg en Bergambacht, *Genealogie van het oud-adellijk geslacht van Hardenbroek* (Vorden, 1892), 45. *NNBW*, 6: 706–7. Dirk Faber, ‘Van Baburen’, 144–6. Peter’s wife came from Liège, and she had some family living there. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Raad van Brabant, 1586–1811, inv. 788.0680.

³⁵⁷ *NNBW*, 6: 707.

³⁵⁸ Ibid. Forclaz, ‘Emergence’, 255. Faber, ‘Van Baburen’, 144.

³⁵⁹ HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. no. 254. Peter’s career benefited at least partly from his friendship with the Orange family. Faber, ‘Van Baburen’.

³⁶⁰ Frans E. J. H. Hoeck, *Schets van de geschiedenis der Jezuïeten in Nederland* (Nijmegen, 1940), 64. H. L. Ph. Leeuwenberg, ‘De religiepolitiek van Johan Wolfert van Brederode’, in: A. J. M. Koenheim (ed.), *Johan Wolfert van Brederode, 1599–1655: een Hollands edelman tussen Nassau en Oranje* (Zutphen, 1999), 57–68. According to Voets, Gijsbert was the bailiff of Ameide. B. Voets, ‘Katholiek Cothen in de branding der Eeuwen’, *AAU* 68 (1949), 198. Quintijn was a member of the ‘new’ nobility. NA, HVZ, inv. 934.

³⁶¹ S. W. Verstegen, ‘Heren en vrouwen van de Cannenburch uit het geslacht Van Isendoorn à Blois’, in: *De Cannenburch en zijn bewoners*, 156. It sometimes happened, however, that Catholic nobles were forced to give up the offices they possessed because of their religious affiliation. Gietman, ‘Katholieke adel’, 181.

(although preferably the new members would be Reformed Protestants).³⁶² Another possibility for Catholic nobles in Gelderland was to take positions in local courts of justice, the ‘ambtjonkercolleges’, in which Catholic nobles sat together with non-Catholics.³⁶³ The ambtsjonkers acquired much influence in the areas they governed (the ‘ambten’) at the expense of the sheriffs and their family networks, expanding their control over financial and ecclesiastical matters.³⁶⁴ Catholic ambtsjonkers attended meetings about the appointment of Reformed ministers, and with their Protestant peers defended their rights to exert influence in this matter, as did the ambtsjonkers of Voorst, whose claims were resented by the classis of the Overbetuwe. Unsurprisingly, the classis wanted to limited the power of the ambtsjonkers and was particularly keen to curb the influence of Catholic ambtsjonkers, a stance resembling that of the classes regarding the patronage rights of local lords.³⁶⁵

As ambtsjonkers, then, Catholic noblemen were still able to wield considerable influence at a regional level, and they were allowed to do so until 1732, when these offices were also restricted to Reformed Protestants. Overall, particular public offices, mostly in the countryside, were still open to Catholics – either by law, because Catholics were appointed by Catholic owners of seigneuries, or because the authorities occasionally turned a blind eye to the holding of (minor) offices by Catholics, sometimes simply because qualified Reformed men were not available.³⁶⁶ A couple of other Catholic nobles managed to hold offices that were not public, and succeeded in transferring those offices to their family members. Catharina van Gent was the *erfkamervrouw* (literally, hereditary lady chamberlain) of the principality of Guelders and the county (*graafschap*) of Zutphen.³⁶⁷ She married Floris van Meverden, and in a warrant (*procuratie*) Floris is listed as the *erfkamerheer* of these territories, probably because of the position of his wife.³⁶⁸ Catharina’s sister Machtelt married the

³⁶² CAN, 2: 337–9. According to Lindeijer, this post became completely closed to Catholics, but the decrees of the States of Guelders do not say so. Lindeijer, *Tussen kasteel en kerk*, 26. Johan van Schagen, who probably was a Catholic, was on the board of a waterschap (*hoogheemraad*) in Rijnland, even though it was required that such a person should be a member or sympathiser of the public church. H. A. Schelvis, ‘Hoofdgeld Noordwijk in 1623’, 5. Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 100.

³⁶³ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 156. M. V. T. Tenten, ‘Katholieke adel in het lokale bestuur in het kwartier van Veluwe. In het bijzonder in de ambten Heere, Epe, Apeldoorn, Voorst en Brummen (1621/1795)’, *Felua* 20 (2006), 2–6. The Catholic Thomas Walraven van Arkel took a position in the local court of Vaassen, together with the Protestant nobles Coenraedt van Dedem, Otto Ganseneb (called Tegnagel) and Wijnandt van Renes tot de Pol. GA, Huis Cannenburg, inv. 121: letter of 10-5-1676, f. 1r. Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 314, 318, 326. For similar examples in Voorst and Apeldoorn, see: J. S. van Veen, ‘Het ambt Voorst onder het bestuur der jonkers’, *BMG* 13 (1910), 362–6. M. Tenten, ‘Inventaris Oud Archief Apeldoorn’, 7.

³⁶⁴ Evert de Jong, “De regering ten plattenlande”. De Veluwse ambtsjonkers: hun opkomst en de verwerving van adellijke hegemonie’, *BMG* 98 (2007), 51–66.

³⁶⁵ Van Veen, ‘Het ambt Voorst’, 386–96.

³⁶⁶ CAN, 1: 368–9.

³⁶⁷ Her father, Willem van Gent, had filled this position before her. J. Kleijntjens, ‘Aantekeningen over het geslacht de Wael van Vronestein’, *NAV* 71 (1922), 278.

³⁶⁸ HUA, NOT, inv. U053a005, no. 105 (2-11-1659).

Catholic Lodewijk van Renesse van Baer, who also became erfkamerheer of these lands, and they managed to transfer this office to their son Willem.³⁶⁹

Catholics such as Peter van Hardenbroek and the non-nobleman François de Witt – the latter being appointed as the substitute for the field marshal of the Overkwartier in 1681 – managed to hold high office, and in some cases Catholic nobles who had already been admitted to the knighthood were allowed to attend its meetings, but in general holding higher political office or attending the meetings of the knighthood was not possible for Catholic nobles.³⁷⁰ A few Catholic nobles were nevertheless eager to hold political office or gain access to meetings of the knighthood. Berent van Rysenburg, for example, wished to be admitted of the knighthood of Utrecht, but was told that he had to leave the army (soldiers were not allowed to appear at its meetings) and to make profession of the Reformed religion for two or three years.³⁷¹ Joost van Oostrum, a Catholic according to the list of De la Torre, requested to be admitted to the knighthood as well, and stated that he was a Remonstrant, just like his wife.³⁷² The knighthood, however, did not accept him immediately, as there were some doubts about his religious affiliation, among other things. In the end he was admitted, after receiving a dispensation for being an officer in the army, but it seems that he never appeared at the meetings for some reason.³⁷³ Herman Peter van Hardenbroek was nominated to become a member in the board of the admiralty in Noord-Holland, but was rejected because he was a minor and a Catholic. Somehow he must have managed to convince Utrecht's town council to give him the position (perhaps this was the influence of his father Peter), since eventually his nomination was accepted (he never actually joined the board, and died in 1655).³⁷⁴

Other Catholic nobles managed to secure an office or a benefice because of the leniency of the authorities. Willem van Renesse van Baer gave up his benefice rather than sign an act by which he promised to become a Protestant, but in the end was admitted to the Teutonic Order.³⁷⁵ As mentioned

³⁶⁹ Ibid., inv. U053a006, no. 38 (29-4-1660); inv. U081a001, no. 4 (16-12-1669).

³⁷⁰ The Reformed synod of Utrecht was quick to voice its complaints about François's appointment to the States of Utrecht. HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 42, f. 191r.

³⁷¹ HUA, Staten van Utrecht, inv. 734-1: 26-1-1642.

³⁷² Ibid., 22-2-1642. Stadholder Frederik Hendrik, who had ordered the expansion of the Utrecht knighthood in 1640, was much more tolerant of Remonstrants than his half-brother Maurice had been. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 489–92.

³⁷³ HUA, Staten van Utrecht, inv. 734-1: 22-1642, 21-3-1643, 10-4-1644. Perhaps Johan converted to Catholicism later (although De la Torre did not list him as a convert). Sometimes, in cases of uncertainty about the credentials of a prospective member of the knighthood, an investigation would be launched by existing members. See e.g. *ibid.*, 1-3-1643.

³⁷⁴ HUA, SA II, inv. 121-24: 3-11-1652, 17-11-1652. He is not listed as one of the members of the board of admiralty in Noord-Holland. See R. G. H. Sluiter et al. (eds), 'Repertorium van ambtsdragers en ambtenaren, 1428–1861', available at www.historici.nl. Members of the board of this admiralty had to take an oath of religion. (The date of this oath is unknown, however; but it is telling that none of the oaths required of the holders of other positions within the admiralty included religion.) NA, Admiraliteit, inv. 2986.

³⁷⁵ A. E. Rientjes and J. G. Böcker, *Het kerspel Jutphaas* (Maarssen, 1947), 120.

before, Gerard de Wael van Vronestein appealed to the States of Utrecht in order to obtain a dispensation for the oath of religion his son had to take when becoming a member of the Teutonic Order.³⁷⁶ When addressing the States, he referred to the hardships his family had experienced during the rule of the Duke of Alva, thus invoking the memory of his ancestor Adriaen, who had been executed at the behest of the Habsburg government in 1568.³⁷⁷ Although Gerard emphasised that his ancestors had also been victims of the king of Spain, this was to no avail, as the States of Utrecht denied his requests.³⁷⁸ Gerard then wrote a letter to the stadholder Frederick Henry, in which he explained his problems (see above) and asked the stadholder to dispense his son from the oath of religion.³⁷⁹ He was successful, for Frederick Henry answered that he was inclined to grant such a dispensation as he regarded Gerard as a 'pious nobleman, who always had behaved himself discreetly and obediently, and whose ancestors were so tormented under the Duke of Alba's regime'.³⁸⁰ In the opening lines of his reply, Frederick Henry wrote that some friends of Gerard had informed him about this case, which suggests that besides writing a letter, Gerard had managed to mobilise some friends who were close to the stadholder and pleaded on his behalf.³⁸¹ The admission of his son into the Order would be a financial improvement for Gerard, which was important since he was 'burdened with the care of many children' (*beswaert met vele kinderen*).³⁸² Moreover, as the position of the Dutch nobility was jeopardised by merchants and other *nouveaux riches*, the Teutonic Order increasingly became an 'instrument of distinction' for the Dutch nobility, as only nobles were admitted (every member had to have four noble quarters).³⁸³

Having a family member in the Order was thus a proof and at the same time a display of the noble status and identity of the family, and this, together with possible financial considerations, explains why twenty years later another member of the De Wael van Vronestein family tried to be

³⁷⁶ According to Kleijntjes, Willem was the land commander of the Teutonic Order in 1625, and was removed from this position on grounds of religion. Jos Kleijntjes S.J., 'Het huis Vronestein en de familie De Wael', *DVN* 71 (1922), 191. This does not appear in the letters dealing with this topic (NA, HVZ, inv. 780–3), and cannot have been possible, since Willem was born in 1622. Id., 'Aantekeningen', 202. Buchelius did not include Willem in his list of land commanders. Buchelius, *Monumenta*, f. 94r–v. The Teutonic Order continued as a Protestant institution. Mol, 'Trying to survive'.

³⁷⁷ NA, HVZ, inv. 780 (for a later letter which repeated this message, see inv. 785). On Adriaen, see: *VdAA*, 20: 15, and J. C. J. Kleijntjes S. J. and J. W. C. Campen, 'Bescheiden betreffende den beeldenstorm van 1566 in de stad Utrecht', *BMHG* 53 (1932), *passim*.

³⁷⁸ Apparently, in 1625 Gerard's son Willem was promised admission into the Teutonic Order at some point in the future. Kleijntjes, 'Aantekeningen', 202. NA, HVZ, inv. 780.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, inv. 783.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, inv. 780, inv. 781 (also inv. 2553, number 38). Gerard's son Willem managed to get promoted within the Order, and died as the commander of Schoten. Archief RDO Balije Utrecht, inv. OA.2659.0. HUA, *Begraafboek* 123: 413. According to the mission report of Petrus a Matre Dei: 'Henry, the stadholder, favours many Catholics persistent in the faith.' Deelder, *Clara relatio*, 53.

³⁸¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 780. The identity of Gerard's friends is unknown.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, inv. 783: copy of Gerard's request to the Prince of Orange, f. 1r.

³⁸³ Renger de Bruin, 'De ridderlijke Duitse Orde balije van Utrecht. Een adellijk distinctie-instrument in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden gedurende de achttiende eeuw', *Virtus* 16 (2009), 34–53.

admitted to the Order.³⁸⁴ In the mid-1650s Joost de Wael van Vronestein attempted to secure a place in the Teutonic Order for his son Willem, and had to show and prove all the noble quarters of his children. Four nobles, Peter van Hardenbroek, Johan van Renesse van Wilp, Johan Grauwert and Frederik van Zuylen van Nyevelt, supported his claim.³⁸⁵ Peter van Hardenbroek and Johan Grauwert were Catholic, Frederik was a Protestant, and the faith of the other Johan is unknown.³⁸⁶ Both examples underscore that Catholic nobles were not completely cut off from the nobility as a whole, but managed to get the support of Protestant nobles to further their causes.

The prospect that Gerard's son, once admitted into the Teutonic Order, would become part of an increasingly Protestant organization,³⁸⁷ was not a problem for him (or for his son), and religious differences were only problematic with regard to the required oath. Gerard – who preferred to have Catholic godparents for his children, as we have seen – did not object to the fact that his son would interact with Protestant nobles on a daily basis, as different criteria operated in different spheres of life. Gerard was not unique in this respect: Geert Janssen has shown that the differences between the people who were part of the courts of stadholder Willem Frederik van Nassau were only partly caused by religion. Whereas Willem Frederik's clients in the public sphere were Reformed Protestants – he thought that religious diversity would imperil political stability, and as a stadholder he had to maintain 'unity in government' – his clients in the private sphere comprised Catholics and Mennonites, as selection criteria included geographical origin and historical patronage ties.³⁸⁸ The fact that different criteria were operating in various contexts or spheres of life explains why in some cases interconfessional interaction did occur, whereas this was absent in other circumstances.

If it proved to be impossible for Catholic nobles to hold certain public offices, they could try to pursue a career in the army of the Dutch Republic, which was open to all confessions, and like the civic militias in Dutch town and cities, was a hotbed of interconfessional interaction. Fighting in the army was advantageous for Catholic nobles, as it provided them with an income and military prowess was also highly respectable in contemporary noble culture. Most nobles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not become mere soldiers but served as officers, and some Catholic nobles even managed to become generals in the Dutch army. As promotions were partly based on the merits and qualities of the individual, religion did not have to be an impediment to advancement within the ranks of the army.³⁸⁹ According to G. B. Jansen, however, religion did become a factor of importance

³⁸⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 749–54.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., inv. 753.

³⁸⁶ For Frederick, see: HUA, Booth: genealogische geschriften, inv. 32, f. 56.

³⁸⁷ Mol, 'Trying to survive'. It is not clear whether the Order retained a form of communal life after 1620.

³⁸⁸ Janssen, *Creaturen van de macht*, 100–2.

³⁸⁹ H. L. Zwitser, *'De militie van den staat'. Het leger van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1991), 127.

once one had entered higher positions in the army, and further advancement could be difficult, as the ‘supreme commander of the Dutch armies had to be a member of the public church.’³⁹⁰ Moreover, research about the Dutch army in the eighteenth century has shown that a minority of officers were Catholic, suggesting that religious affiliation could hamper advancement even at earlier stages of one’s career.³⁹¹ Interestingly, some Catholic nobles profited from family ties with Protestant families. Johan Frederik van Isendoorn à Blois was married to Margaretha van Reede, the daughter of Ursula van Raesfeld and Godard van Reede, and the careers of both Johan Frederik and his son Frederik Johan in the Dutch army were advanced through the support of members of the Van Reede family.³⁹²

In the seventeenth century officers in Dutch army had to take an oath of fidelity, whereas in the eighteenth century officers were required to take an oath in which they promised to ‘remain loyal to the maintenance of the Reformed religion.’³⁹³ These oaths did not deter all Catholic nobles from joining the Dutch army, but the majority of Catholic nobles opted to fight in the armies of foreign Catholic rulers.³⁹⁴ Geert Janssen has argued that in the Dutch Republic a more ‘ambiguous Catholic identity’ emerged ‘in which loyalty to an officially Protestant state could coincide with commitment to the Church of Rome’, which was shown by the reluctance of a number of Catholics to migrate to the southern Netherlands.³⁹⁵ It seems that some families even managed to combine loyalty and resistance: some members of the De Wael van Vronestein family were willing to take an oath of obedience, as we have seen, but although this family did not move to the southern Netherlands or other Catholic territories, its members only served in the armies of foreign Catholic rulers, some of whom were even at war with the Republic.³⁹⁶ In other families, some members served in the Dutch armies while others were part of the armies of Catholic rulers, which might lead us to question to what extent profession was related to ideas about loyalty.³⁹⁷ At any rate, although more research is needed about the confessional diversity of specific regiments in the Dutch army, Catholic nobles must have interacted with non-Catholics when serving in the army. This holds true as well for Catholic

³⁹⁰ G. B. Jansen, ‘Frederik Johan van Baer van Slangenburg’, in: H. W. Hoppenbrouwers (ed.), *Slangenburg, kasteel, bouwgeschiedenis en kunstschaten* (Doetinchem, 1999), 91.

³⁹¹ Zwitser, *Militie*, 125–7.

³⁹² Frederik Johan served in the regiment of Reinier van Reede van Ginckel, his uncle. Verstegen, ‘Cannenburg’, 150–1. Reinier became the godparent of the second son of Frederik Johan, even though he was a Protestant. Verstegen, ‘De luister van het oude stamhuis’, 86. Aalbers, ‘Reinier van Reede’, 100.

³⁹³ C. M. Schulten and J. W. H. Schulten, *Het leger in de zeventiende eeuw* (Bussum, 1969), 26. Zwitser, *Militie*, 126.

³⁹⁴ Through my research on ten noble families (see ch. 1), I found five Catholic nobles who fought in the armies of the Spanish Habsburgs, four Catholic nobles who fought in the armies of other Catholic rulers, and two Catholics who fought in the armies of the Dutch Republic (Johan Adriaen and Lodewijk van Renesse van Baer). It is unknown in which army Jacob François van Renesse van Baer served as a captain.

³⁹⁵ Janssen, ‘Quo vadis’, 494.

³⁹⁶ Lubbert was a captain in the Spanish army in the late sixteenth century; Frederik was a member of the Spanish guard in 1579; another Frederik served in the armies of the emperor in Switzerland, as did his brother Adriaen.

³⁹⁷ Verstegen, ‘Cannenburg’, 149.

nobles who served in the armies of foreign Catholic rulers, as these armies consisted of mercenaries from all over Europe, and like the Dutch army, were not confessionally homogenous.

Interconfessional interaction in the seigneuries

Even when Catholic nobles did not hold any political office or fight in the army, as owners of seigneuries or possessors of the *jus patronatus* of a local church they would invariably come into contact with members of other confessions, largely due to the rights possessed by Catholic nobles and the position of Catholic nobles in local society. Although Rogier and other historians have attributed the existence of Catholic enclaves to the efforts of Catholic nobles who in a variety of ways supported Catholicism in their seigneuries or on their estates, it is doubtful whether these areas became homogeneously Catholic, since figures from later periods indicate that in these enclaves Catholics lived together with members of other confessions.³⁹⁸ Moreover, as a result of the decrees of the provincial states, Catholic nobles were forced to appoint Reformed Protestants as officials (e.g. sheriffs or aldermen) in their seigneuries, which brought them in contact with non-Catholics even if they did not abide by the rules as strictly as possible. Catholic nobles also clung, like their English counterparts, to the right to nominate or appoint ministers in the churches in which they possessed the *jus patronatus*.³⁹⁹ This right did not go unchallenged, since the Reformed Church was eager to exclude any outside interference in what it considered to be internal Church affairs.⁴⁰⁰ Yet Catholic nobles successfully appealed to their Protestant peers in the knighthoods for support in defence of their privileges, since both Catholic and Protestant nobles cherished the *jus patronatus*, as it strengthened their position in local communities.⁴⁰¹ The defence of nobles' privileges transcended religious differences, and Dutch nobles acted as a united front against the assault of the Reformed Church on what they perceived to be their inalienable rights.⁴⁰²

As owners of seigneuries and possessors of the *jus patronatus*, or in a more general way as important figures in communal life, Catholic nobles came into more or less regular contact with

³⁹⁸ See for instance the figures in *ROG*, 2: 410–1 and *passim*.

³⁹⁹ Sarah L. Bastow, *The Catholic gentry of Yorkshire, 1536–1642: resistance and accommodation* (Lewiston, 2007), 145–6.

⁴⁰⁰ C. A. Tukker, 'Patronaatsrecht en protestantisering in de Hollandse Reformatie', *AGKKN* 10 (1968), 130–48. B. M. de Jonge van Ellemeet, 'De organisatie der Utrechtse gereformeerde kerken voor de invoering der Dordtse kerkenorde', *NAK* 48–9 (1949), 247–63. A. J. Maris, *De reformatie der geestelijke en kerkelijke goederen in Gelderland* (The Hague, 1939), 46, 49, 52, 98, 103. Annaeus Ypeij, *Geschiedenis van het patronaatsrecht, anders genoemd kollatierecht, in verband met het christelijk kerkbestuur...* (2 vols, Breda, 1829), 2: 532–7.

⁴⁰¹ Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 199–206.

⁴⁰² NA, HVZ, inv. 1466.

Protestants.⁴⁰³ The extent to which Catholic nobles interacted with non-Catholics is not clear, however. The fact that in most areas registers of Catholic baptisms and weddings only start in the late seventeenth century or even later makes it difficult to assess the extent to which the staff working on the estates of Catholic nobles were co-religionists, or to calculate the number of Catholics living in a particular seignury in the seventeenth century. The accounts of the inheritance of Thomas Walraven van Arkel include the names of the servants who worked on or around his estate and with whom he presumably had regular contact, and most of them at least had some affinity with the Catholic Church (see appendix E). However, one of his kitchen maids had her children baptised in the Reformed church, and the schoolmaster and sexton of Ammerzoden, who translated various mourning cards into French and German after Thomas Walraven died, had his children baptised and acted as a witness at the Walloon church in Leiden. In a similar fashion, the schoolmaster of Well married and had his daughter baptised in the Reformed church of Well, showing that at least a number of civil servants in Thomas Walraven's seignury as well as members of his staff were probably Reformed Protestants.

Charity

Cities in the Republic organised poor relief differently: in some cities the Reformed diaconate took care of all the poor in a city, whereas in other cities such as Utrecht the diaconate only provided assistance to the members of the Reformed church, while non-members were aided by municipal poor relief.⁴⁰⁴ Yet there was a tendency that from the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards the other confessions, the "tolerated churches", had to take care of their own poor. The authorities thus had to acknowledge the existence of various confessions, but this recognition was not so much 'the result of growing toleration, but [was], rather, related to administrative concerns'.⁴⁰⁵ Experiencing difficulties in financing poor relief, urban authorities delegated this responsibility to the various confessions, although often municipal relief was not dissolved altogether. This division of poor relief has been used by historians to support the confessionalisation thesis, but according to Charles Parker this was not necessarily the case in the Republic, since the Reformed diaconate was sometimes obliged to contribute to the 'common poor relief chest'.⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, even if the organisation of poor relief was based on a more or less neat division of the Dutch population into various confessions,

⁴⁰³ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 32: letters from De Graeff to Thomas Walraven van Arkel (13-9-1687; 18-10-1687; 17-11-1687; 24-11-1687). HUA, Familie Zoudenbalch, inv. 81: letters of 3-2-1584 and 4-7-1597.

⁴⁰⁴ Charles H. Parker, *The Reformation of community: social welfare and Calvinist charity in Holland, 1572–1620* (Cambridge, 1998), 141. Daniëlle Teeuwen, "'Vande groote swaricheyt der armen deser stadt". De reorganisatie van de armenzorg in Utrecht, 1580–1674', *JOU* (2010), 41.

⁴⁰⁵ Pollmann, 'From freedom', 143. Charles Parker sees the toleration practised in the Dutch Republic as a form of social management. Charles H. Parker, 'Paying for the privilege: the management of public order and religious pluralism in two early modern societies', *Journal of World History* 17:3 (2006), 267–96.

⁴⁰⁶ Parker, *Reformation of community*, 156.

individual religious affiliations did not necessarily have to correspond to this.⁴⁰⁷ It is therefore imperative to look at the various donations of Catholics nobles and the extent to which these donations did or did not transgress confessional boundaries.

Until 1637 poor relief in the city of Utrecht was provided by the Reformed diaconate and the city's poor relief agency, the latter being governed by a board consisting of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics. However, this confessional cooperation came to an end after dissatisfied Catholics left the board and the city council subsequently decided in 1638 to appoint only Reformed members. But in 1674, after the occupation of the French had ended, the city council found itself unable to finance public poor relief, and decided that Catholics had to take care of their own poor.⁴⁰⁸ A group of Catholic patricians responded to this new situation and set up a separate agency for the relief of the Catholic poor.⁴⁰⁹ In the absence of any starting capital, funds for poor relief had to come from the assets of the board members themselves, and from collections and donations. As Catholic institutions did not enjoy any legal existence in the Dutch Republic, and because laws prohibited donations to Catholic priests or Catholic institutions, this way of raising funds was problematical, at least in theory. It seems, however, that Utrecht's city council acted in line with the authorities of other provinces that tolerated donations to Catholic poor relief from the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards.⁴¹⁰

According to Groenveld, the developments regarding the organisation of charity (along confessional lines) and the tendency of believers only to support poor co-religionists led to a 'stiffening' of relations between the various confessions after 1650.⁴¹¹ However, a sample of twenty-four donations made by twenty-three Catholic nobles – donations to charitable institutions or their representatives – paints another picture, since only a minority of these donations (ten out of twenty-four) were gifts to the Catholic poor or Catholic institutions (see appendix F). Even though the size of this sample is rather limited – raising questions about the extent to which such donations were made informally – and conclusions can only be tentative, it suggests that besides religion, other considerations played a role when Catholic nobles were choosing the recipients of their donations. In ten cases Catholic nobles donated money and property to the Catholic poor: Willem de Wael van Vronestein, for instance, donated 5,500 guilders as well as all his furniture and House Oucoop to the

⁴⁰⁷ Pollmann, 'From freedom', 144. In cities where the Reformed diaconate also took care of the urban poor, for instance, the label 'Reformed' was given to everyone who claimed not to belong to a church (and who thus became the responsibility of the Reformed diaconate).

⁴⁰⁸ Teeuwen, 'De reorganisatie', *JOU* (2010), 61.

⁴⁰⁹ Verhey, *Aalmoezenierskamer*, 14–5.

⁴¹⁰ Joke Spaans, *Armenzorg in Friesland 1500–1800: publieke zorg en particuliere liefdadigheid in zes Friese steden: Leeuwarden, Bolsward, Franeker, Sneek, Dokkum en Harlingen* (Hilversum, 1997), 251–4, 373. Verhey, *Aalmoezenierskamer*, 189.

⁴¹¹ Groenveld, *Huisgenoten*, 31.

Catholic poor chamber.⁴¹² Bertrand Forclaz has shown that the houses for the poor (godskameren) that were in the hands of private owners were often inhabited by Catholics, and various Catholic nobles donated money to these very godskameren, while in 1701 Assuerus Hendrick van Spangen and Willem van Amstel van Mijnden transferred the right of appointment (collatie) over four of these godskameren in the A.B.C. Straat to the Catholic poor chamber.⁴¹³

Of the donations made by Catholic nobles that were specifically directed at the Catholic poor, two originated in the first half of the seventeenth century, and eight in the second half of that century. Possibly this was the result of a process of confessionalisation, which increased the willingness to donate to poor co-religionists, but it might also be a reflection of institutional changes, namely the reorganisation of poor relief, which made it easier for Catholics to provide funds to needy members of their confession. Although the organisation of charity became based on confessional norms, the donations made to charity show that throughout the seventeenth century Catholic nobles continued to channel money to the 'general poor' – i.e. made donations to the poor without specifying their confessional affiliation. Isabella van Camons stipulated in her will (1670) that every year her children had to give ten guilders to the poor, while Maria van Amstel van Mijnden donated money to the Apostle 'guest house' (guest or poor houses were charitable institutions in which the poor and elderly were taken care of) in 1666.⁴¹⁴ Agatha Bijl, the wife of Willem de Wael van Vronestein, gave her universal heir Nicolas de Bye (a canon in the Dom church) the assignment to give the hefty sum of 25,000 guilders to the poor, although part of this money was also set aside for certain unspecified 'pious works'.⁴¹⁵

It can be argued that Catholic nobles continued to give money to general funds for the poor because they were more or less forced to do so, as the Catholic Church did not enjoy formal legal existence, and donations to the Catholic clergy and Catholic institutions were prohibited by law. This created an incentive to arrange charity for Catholics informally, or to conceal donations to Catholics by employing vague stipulations in wills.⁴¹⁶ However, a number of donations suggest that Catholic nobles felt that as nobles or owners of seigneuries they had to take care of the local population, irrespective of their own confessional affiliation or that of the recipients of their aid. Such behaviour

⁴¹² NA, HVZ, inv. 861. HUA, NOT, inv. U093a058, no. 8 (22-1-1710).

⁴¹³ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 258–62. HUA, NOT, inv. U097a010, no. 19 (2-4-1701).

⁴¹⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 762: statement of Joost de Wael van Vronestein (7-7-1670). GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 258.

⁴¹⁵ NA, HVZ, inv. 839: will of 12-12-1689. The will mentions that Agatha had written to Nicolas de Bye about these pious works. According to the will of Agatha's husband Willem, the 25,000 guilders were given to some 'guest houses' in Amsterdam. Ibid., inv. 861: statement of Willem, 10-3-1695, f. 1r.

⁴¹⁶ HUA, NOT, inv. U054a004, no. 135–1, f. 1v. Maria van Amstel van Mijnden mentioned in her will that the lawyer Godard de Wijs had 500 guilders for 'pious matters' (godtvrugtiche saecken) 'as I ordered him and as he knows' (dat en sulcx ick hem belast hebben, ende hij wel weet). GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 258, f. 2r. Godard was a Catholic. Van de Ven, *Over de oorsprong*, 56.

was underpinned by the Christian virtue of charity and the (noble) virtue of leadership – virtues that were traditionally associated with the nobility, and that were embraced by Catholic and Protestant nobles alike.⁴¹⁷ These concepts were mostly translated into practice on a local level by Catholic nobles. As Catholic nobles lost most of the opportunities to rule because of their religion, they had fulfil their role as leaders in their seigneuries, rather than on a provincial or national level. Furthermore, nobles clearly felt connected to the seigneuries over which their family had presided: part of the surnames of noble families was based on the name of the most important seignury they possessed, and family members were often buried in the church that belonged to the seignury.

As a result of the strong links Catholic nobles had with their seigneuries, they donated money to the poor in these seigneuries without stipulating the religious affiliation of the beneficiaries of their help. This was something Catholic nobles continued to do throughout the seventeenth century, in some cases continuing a tradition started by their forebears.⁴¹⁸ Some Catholic nobles found a way to combine their own religious beliefs with providing charity to the general poor. Ursula van Middachten provided a yearly quantity of bread to the poor of Borculo, and even though she did not demand that her gifts be restricted to the Catholic poor, she nevertheless hoped that the recipients would pray for her soul.⁴¹⁹ This combination of charity to non-Catholics with a traditional Catholic mindset (alms in return for prayers) was perhaps somewhat unusual, and other Catholic nobles combined donations to the general poor with specific gifts to Catholics or Catholic institutions.⁴²⁰

Some Catholic nobles were more directly involved in charity which brought them into contact with non-Catholics. Thomas Walraven van Arkel, for instance, was the grand master (oppermeester) of a poor-relief chamber (called the Poor of the Holy Ghost), a neutral fund which existed alongside the poor-relief chambers of the various confessions.⁴²¹ The nobles Frederik de Wael van Vronestein and Adriaen van Renesse van Baer, the latter probably a Catholic, were members of the confraternity that was connected to the guest house of St Barbara. For this reason the confraternity was not abolished in 1615, although the town council stipulated that deceased brothers had to be replaced by

⁴¹⁷ Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 39. Gietman, *Republiek van adel*, esp. 13, 37. Jean Broadway, “‘To equal their virtues’: Thomas Habington, recusancy and the gentry of early Stuart Worcestershire”, *Midland History* 29 (2004), 15–6.

⁴¹⁸ HUA, NOT, inv. U001a001, f. 330v (Emerentia van Wynssen’s will, 1584). In this particular case, charity was not directed at the population of a seignury, but consisted of the distribution of alms to the poor in the Buurkerk in the city of Utrecht.

⁴¹⁹ GA, Huis Middachten, inv. 258.

⁴²⁰ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 34, f. 2r and inv. 39, f. 1r.

⁴²¹ B. H. Slicher van Bath, “Thomas Walraven van Arkel, heer van Ammerzoden, Well, Wordragen, ter Lucht en Ypelaar, de laatste van zijn geslacht”, *BMG* 44 (1941), 85. J. J. A. Buylinckx, *Hedel in 1750* (Zaltbommel, 1991), 7.

people who were ‘of the Reformed religion’.⁴²² However, some provisions of the decree of 1615 were violated, and in 1620 the city council ordered that lists of the names of new brothers and their years of entrance had to be sent to them; but it is nevertheless likely that both Frederik (d. 1617) and especially Adriaen (d. 1635) worked together with at least some Protestants.⁴²³

In addition to these donations to the poor, Catholic nobles donated money for the maintenance of churches in their seigneuries even far into the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴²⁴ By that time such churches had been firmly in the hands of Protestants for almost a century, yet Catholic nobles were still closely tied to these churches, because family members were buried there (in family crypts) or because of their possession of the *jus patronatus*. Moreover, even after the churches had been taken over by Reformed Protestants, many Catholics still went to church for public religious rites such as funerals, and some of them still possessed pews in Reformed churches.⁴²⁵ A number of Catholics still hoped for the restoration of Catholicism in the Dutch Republic, and were reluctant to give up altogether what they perceived to be their churches.⁴²⁶ By making donations to churches, Catholic nobles tried to emphasise a notion of continuity: in spite of the religious change, Catholic nobles still presided over the churches just as their family had done for decades or more, and to maintain those churches was to preserve the family history that was so closely tied to the locale.⁴²⁷ Because the religious affiliation of nobles was often well known in local communities, even when such donations did not have specific confessional overtones, Catholic nobles

⁴²² HUA, SA II, inv. 121-6: 4-12-1615. HUA, Sint Barbaragasthuis, inv. 1254: act of 19-9-1631. About the abolishment of the confraternities in the city of Utrecht, see p. 100.

⁴²³ Ibid., copy of resolution of the town council (1620). New brothers had to be approved by the town council. Ibid., 30-12-1620; 7-1-1622. In 1620 we encounter the names of other Catholic families, such as Winssen and Zoudenbalch, among the members of the confraternity.

⁴²⁴ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177: will of Godard van Reede and Ursula van Raesfeld (1701), f. 1r and see also the codicils of Ursula of 1715 and 1718; GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 34, f. 2r; NA, Familie Cousebant, inv. 958, f. 2v.

⁴²⁵ NA, Familie Cousebant, inv. 958. Bijleveld, ‘Van Wassenaer’s van Warmond’, 175. B. H. Pel, ‘Het kerspel Ankeveen’, *AAU* 24 (1897), 253.

⁴²⁶ Judith Pollmann, ‘Burying the dead; reliving the past. Ritual, resentments and sacred space’, in: *Catholic communities in Protestant states*, 84–102. Willem Frijhoff, ‘Catholic expectation for the future at the time of the Dutch Republic’ and ‘Prophecies in society. The panic of 1734’, in: *Embodied belief*, 153–215. Angela Vanhaelen, ‘Utrecht’s transformations: claiming the Dom through representation, iconoclasm and ritual’, *DZE* 21 (2005), 354–74. Ursula van Raesfeld called the church in Ellecom ‘our church’, and after her death her coat of arms was hung in that church. HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177: codicil of May 1711, f. 2r. A. van der Burg, *Geschiedenis van Ellecom en omgeving* (Rheden, 1962), 20.

⁴²⁷ Catholic nobles were able to do so through funerals as well (see ch. 3). In England the Catholic gentry constructed funeral monuments in parish churches which served as ‘a potent reminder that the family had long been an integral and distinguished part of local society’. Richard Cust, ‘Catholicism, antiquarianism, and gentry honour: the writings of Sir Thomas Shirley’, *Midland History* 23 (1998), 53. For donations to parish churches by Catholic nobles, see: Van der Burg, *Ellecom*, 21. Th. Staverman et al., ‘*Hungerige und dorstige schapen der coyen Christi*.’ *Geschiedenis van de parochie Varik* (Varik, 1979), 43. G. J. van der Burgt, *Kerkgeschiedenis van Loenen en Silven* (Brummen, 1953), 39–40. P. M. Heijmink Liesert, *Dorp aan de Lek: een geschiedenis van Tull en’t Waal* (’t Waal, 2010), 39.

were able, in spite of their religious allegiance, to assert their continuous presence in the public space of seventeenth-century Dutch society.

The small set of donations made by Catholic nobles suggest that perhaps charity was less ‘verzuild’ throughout the seventeenth century, even after the organisation of poor relief along confessional lines, than has often been maintained or suggested in secondary literature. The fact that the Catholic Church and its institutions did not enjoy a legal position in the Dutch Republic might have prompted some Catholic nobles to donate money to funds for the general poor. But more importantly, the historical ties of Catholic nobles and their families to local communities, and to virtues such as leadership and charity, explain why Catholic nobles transgressed the boundaries of their confession and continued to provide assistance to the non-Catholic, or at least not specifically Catholic, poor. Further research is required to show whether Catholic nobles were unique in this, or whether more general ideas about charity – perhaps influenced by an ‘a-confessional form of Christianity’ – continued to influence charity and the donations made by people belonging to other strata of Dutch society.⁴²⁸ In this sphere of life, Catholic nobles clearly interacted with members of other confessions, and charity was used by them to reach out to the community at large.

Other spheres of interaction

For nobles life did not entirely revolve around their families and their seigneuries, and there are some remaining spheres of possible interaction between Catholic nobles and the non-Catholic part of society. One of the early modern institutions which merit our attention is the confraternities. Originating in the Middle Ages, confraternities were voluntary organisations consisting of laypeople that were devoted to a specific saint or aspect of Christianity.⁴²⁹ They enjoyed widespread popularity, and one of the main reasons for people to join a confraternity was the assurance that it would take care of the soul of its deceased members (‘brothers’ or ‘sisters’) by endowing Requiem Masses and encouraging prayers for the souls of the deceased.⁴³⁰ In the Dutch Republic a number of confraternities survived the Reformation, although in the city of Utrecht their existence came to an end when the city council decided to abolish almost all the confraternities in 1615.⁴³¹ Although some confraternities continued as Catholic institutions, most of the confraternities that continued to exist in the Republic underwent significant changes as a result of the new religious circumstances, including the forced cessation of Catholic rituals (the celebration of Mass) and the acceptance of Protestants as

⁴²⁸ Kaplan, *Calvinists*.

⁴²⁹ Benjamin J. Kaplan, ‘A clash of values: the survival of Utrecht’s confraternities after the Reformation and the debate over their dissolution’, *DZE* 16:2 (2000), 101–2.

⁴³⁰ Kaplan, *Divided by faith*, 56.

⁴³¹ Kaplan, ‘A clash of values’.

members.⁴³² The existence of confraternities with mixed confessional membership was made possible by the accommodation of religious differences. The confraternity of St Jacob in Haarlem, for instance, made sure that its refection day was not celebrated on a day on which Catholic members had to fast according to the liturgical calendar of their Church.⁴³³ Accommodations were also made in regard to the management of confraternities: perhaps inspired by already existing examples of bi-confessionalism, the boards of some confraternities consisted of an equal number of Catholic and Protestant members.⁴³⁴

One of the confraternities in Utrecht which consisted of a mix of Protestants and Catholics and whose members included Catholic nobles was the Cleyne Kalende confraternity.⁴³⁵ Among the last twenty members of this confraternity, which was devoted to Mary, we find the Catholic nobles Roelof Grauwert, Jacob van Renesse van Baer, Willem van Winssen, Frederik de Wael van Vronestein and Jacob Taets van Amerongen, who mingled with non-Catholic nobles such as Adolph de Wael van Moersbergen, and with other nobles who probably were Protestant, such as Joachim van Hardenbroek.⁴³⁶ Other Catholic nobles such as Dirk de Ridder van Groenestein were members of the confraternity of the Holy Cross, although it is not clear whether this confraternity was religiously mixed.⁴³⁷ Outside the city of Utrecht confraternities continued to exist after 1615, and some of these accepted both Catholic and Protestant members. The confraternity of Our Lady in Vleuten united the Catholic members of the noble Uyten Ham family with the Protestant owners of the knightly mansion Den Eng, such as Frederik van Zuylen van Nyevelt.⁴³⁸

Godfried Dycke, in his work on the confraternity of Our Lady in Den Bosch, has argued that there were hardly any feelings of harmony among its members. United against their will, its members were religiously separated, as Catholic brothers opted to celebrate Requiem Masses for their deceased brothers in a clandestine church of the Capuchins.⁴³⁹ Other historians have suggested that confraternities gradually lost their religious meaning and slowly turned into social clubs

⁴³² A. F. O. Sasse van Ysselt, *Beschrijving van het Heilige Kerstmisgilde te Haarlem* (The Hague, 1905), 104. For the Catholic nobles that were members of this confraternity, see pp. 133–5. Also GA, Huis Vornholz, inv. 360. New confraternities for Catholics were established as well. Marc Wingens, *Over de grens: de bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1994), 222–4. Parker, *Faith*, 183–4.

⁴³³ H. F. Heerkens Thijssen, 'De geschiedenis van het Haarlemse St. Jacobsgilde', *JBG* 9 (1955), 95.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 94. G. C. M. van Dijck, *De Bossche optimaten. Geschiedenis van de illustere lieve vrouwenbroederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318–1973* (Tilburg, 1973), 320–1.

⁴³⁵ On this confraternity, see: Janna Leguijt, 'Wanneer een broeder of suster sterft, soe selmen se halen myt dat cruus. Religieuze lekenbroederschappen in het 15e-eeuwse Utrecht', *JOU* (1994), 8.

⁴³⁶ For a list of these members, see Th. J. G. v. E., 'De Maria-broederschap genaamd "de kleinere Calender" te Utrecht', *AAU* 31 (1906), 151–2. Also see Kaplan, *Calvinists*, 287–91, esp. 290.

⁴³⁷ HUA, Broederschappen Utrecht, inv. 321–2: account of 1613.

⁴³⁸ J. H. Hofman, 'O. L. Vrouwen Broederschap te Vleuten', *AAU* 25 (1898), 267, 269.

⁴³⁹ Dijck, *Bossche Optimaten*, 399.

(gezelligheidsverenigingen).⁴⁴⁰ The extent to which the religious aspects of confraternities withered is not entirely clear – possibly their members were able to find common Christian ground, a Christianity devoid of the specific confessional overtones that would be detrimental to harmony amongst the brothers. For many confraternities harmony was still an important goal, as they continued to promote this among their members and ‘even extended their social mission to promote peace among the confessions’.⁴⁴¹

Even if the membership of a number of confraternities was religiously mixed, the fact that Catholics and Protestants willingly came together makes clear that they did not object to interaction with members of other confessions in this specific context. Even when divided by faith, members of confraternities still experienced the cultural and socio-economic ties that united them. It is telling that Catholic nobles in Utrecht joined confraternities of which most of the members came from the nobility, or at least from the urban patriciate. Such a concentration of members of the nobility in particular confraternities occurred in Haarlem, and to a lesser extent in Den Bosch as well. Interaction with peers during a festive dinner on the refection day was perfectly acceptable for most people; according to Heerkens Thijssen, Protestant members of the confraternity of St Jacob in Haarlem thought it was a good way of having contact with Catholics who had formerly belonged to the same political elite.⁴⁴²

In a similar fashion, Catholic and Protestant nobles formed a hunting society in Beesd, Guelders.⁴⁴³ Going hunting (one of the few noble privileges that remained in the Republic, although increasingly non-nobles were allowed to hunt as well) and enjoying a sumptuous meal together were typically class-bound social activities which continued to unite people in spite of their religious differences.⁴⁴⁴ Such activities did not threaten the religious identity of either Catholic or Protestant nobles, and at the same time all of the members were emphasising their common noble identity. Their social status and culture was the common ground which united them; for these nobles, the most important source of difference was not so much religion as social status.⁴⁴⁵ Next to a matching social status, overlapping scholarly interests could result in interaction and even create networks that

⁴⁴⁰ Heerkens Thijssen, ‘St Jacobsgilde’, 92. Dijck, *Bossche optimaten*, 399–405.

⁴⁴¹ Kaplan, ‘A clash of values’, 108. Valentijn Paquay is more critical of the idea of harmony within confraternities. According to him, this was more fiction (and as such reflected in the statutes) than reality. Valentijn Paquay, *De geschiedenis van de stichting Sint Nicolai broederschap te Arnhem: 1351–1993: gasthuis, preuven en hulpbetoon* (Zutphen, 1993), 208.

⁴⁴² Heerkens Thijssen, ‘St Jacobsgilde’, 94.

⁴⁴³ Martens van Sevenhoven, ‘Een adellijk gezelschap’, 93–110. It was not unusual that Catholic and Protestant nobles hunted together. Streng, ‘Uyt liefde’, 110.

⁴⁴⁴ Johan Hendrik van Isendoorn à Blois received invitations to dine with the burgomasters, aldermen and councillors (raeden) of Deventer to celebrate the octave of St Peter. GA, Huis Cannenburg, inv. 121, letters of 25-2-1667; 25-2-1669. Stadholders Frederick Henry and Willem Frederik dined with Catholic nobles. Janssen, *Creaturen van de macht*, 69.

⁴⁴⁵ Martens van Sevenhoven, ‘Een adellijk gezelschap’, 103

transgressed religious boundaries.⁴⁴⁶ According to G. W. van Heukelum, the Catholic nobleman Frederik de Wael van Vronestein enjoyed friendly relations with the professor Antonius Matthaeus – probably a Protestant, since he taught at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden – because of their shared interest in antiquity.⁴⁴⁷ Such phenomena were by no means confined to the religiously pluralistic provinces of the Dutch Republic: in the English Midlands there existed a network of antiquarians which consisted of a mix of Catholic and Protestant gentry, united by their shared interests, social and geographical origins, and conservative political outlook.⁴⁴⁸

This is of course not to say that all activities included contact with people of different faiths. In 1678, for example, Frederick de Wael van Vronestein joined a Catholic choir, the Music Assembly of the Holy Maiden Mary (Musickcollegie van de H:H: Maghet Maria), which had been founded in 1660.⁴⁴⁹ This choir included other nobles as well as members from outside the nobility (the surnames suggest that most of these were from families in the upper strata of society). Other Catholic nobles joined confraternities established by missionary priests.⁴⁵⁰ These are just some examples that show that people also sought to have contact with co-religionists outside the sphere of family life. The dominant trend within the group of Catholic nobles analysed here is nevertheless that they consciously made a choice about when and in which spheres of life to include or exclude people of different faiths. In this way Catholic nobles behaved similarly to their English counterparts, who often resorted to co-religionists for matters concerning their family or estate management, but who did not shy away from fulfilling their neighbourly obligations to Protestants.⁴⁵¹ It shows that religious differences were a matter of concern for Catholic nobles, but that at the same time Catholic nobles continued to have reasons to interact with members of other confessions on a voluntary basis.

Conclusion

As Benjamin Kaplan has remarked, ‘integration and segregation were not mutually exclusive, all-or-nothing alternatives’, and this research has shown that Catholic nobles made careful decisions

⁴⁴⁶ Judith Pollmann, ‘The bond of Christian piety: the individual practice of tolerance and intolerance in the Dutch Republic’, in: R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop (eds), *Calvinism and religious toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2006), 64.

⁴⁴⁷ G. W. van Heukelum and A. E. Rientjens, *Het kerspel Jutfaas: geschiedekundige aantekeningen... voor de ‘Stichtse Post’* (Utrecht, 1912), 79.

⁴⁴⁸ Cust, ‘Catholicism’, 40–70. See also: Broadway, ‘To equal their virtues’, 9.

⁴⁴⁹ R. A. Rasch, ‘Mijn werk op internet: Deel een. Geschiedenis van de muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden, 1572–1795. Hoofdstuk Negen: de kerken II: Niet-reformatorische stromingen’, 4, 8. (<http://www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/r.a.rasch/>).

⁴⁵⁰ P. de Kok, ‘De broederschap van de Rozenkrans te Megen’, *Bossche Bijdragen* 20 (1950–1), 100–13.

⁴⁵¹ Cust, ‘Catholicism, antiquarianism’, 50. Broadway, ‘To equal their virtues’, 1.

about when to interact with Protestants.⁴⁵² In some areas of life, interconfessional interaction was seen to be too risky, as it might jeopardise the religion of Catholic nobles or thwart the transmission of the true faith to younger generations, whereas in other spheres of life mingling with Protestants was seen as relatively harmless. In the sphere of the nuclear family, religion was of primary importance, but in other areas of life, other considerations or criteria were operative and enjoyed the upper hand, making interaction with Protestants possible. Even within specific spheres, different circumstances facilitated interconfessional interaction. Catholic nobles clearly preferred to marry co-religionists, as we have seen, but writing to the priest Joannes Heymenberg, Van Neercassel stated that they could not meet at Loenersloot Castle, since there would certainly be ‘people of the other religion’ because of the wedding of Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden and Peter Reinier van Stepraedt.⁴⁵³ Despite the religious endogamy of the Catholic nobility, then, Protestants were welcome to participate in wedding celebrations on the estates of Catholic nobles. In a similar fashion, Godard Adriaen van Reede wanted to restrict his legacy to his Protestant grandchildren, yet in 1675 he warmly received a cousin of Van Neercassel and a Catholic canon, as in this context religious differences were less harmful.⁴⁵⁴

In some spheres of life, interaction between Catholics and Protestants was restrained by the policies of the Dutch state. Starting in the late sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catholics were gradually excluded from various public offices. Rogier argued that ‘social and economical self-preservation’ gradually drove Catholic nobles (and Catholic patrician families for that matter) towards Protestantism.⁴⁵⁵ In some cases this was true: as we have seen in the previous chapter, hardly any Catholics are to be found in the later generations of families such as De Wael van Moersbergen or Van Gent. This happened to some noble families in Guelders as well: Joost van Stepraedt stopped attending the meetings of the knighthood of Nijmegen after 1620, but his son Reinier and his grandson Joost Hendrik were admitted to its meetings, and it is likely that both of them were Protestants or converted to Protestantism at some point.⁴⁵⁶ Nonetheless, for some families Catholicism became part of the family identity, and for the group of Catholic noblemen studied in this chapter, the fact that they could not hold public office was lamented, but was not a reason to convert.⁴⁵⁷ However, the refusal of these noblemen to comply with the policies of the Dutch state and take oaths which would make them abjure their religion, meant that interaction in this sphere

⁴⁵² Kaplan, ‘Integration vs segregation’, 62–3.

⁴⁵³ HUA, OBC, inv. 249: 28-5-1679. For another example: Yme Kuiper, ‘Manner van eer en vrouwen van reputatie. Religie en politiek op de Friese ‘edele state’ rond 1650’, *Alde Fryske Tsjerken* 6 (2012), 7.

⁴⁵⁴ HUA, OBC, inv. 246: 10-3-1675.

⁴⁵⁵ *ROG*, 1: 483.

⁴⁵⁶ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 141, 274, 322. Also: Gietman, ‘Katholieke adel’, 180–2.

⁴⁵⁷ Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 189. Also: Brown, *Noble Society*, 244. Mirian Chrisman, ‘Family and religion in two noble families: French Catholic and English Puritan’, *Journal for Family History* 8:3 (1983), 190–210.

of life became increasingly limited, especially in Utrecht, where Catholic nobles enjoyed less leeway than in Guelders.

According to Willem Frijhoff, the Dutch Catholic community was internally stratified, since the various socio-economic groups of which the Catholic community consisted strove for confessional but not cultural homogeneity.⁴⁵⁸ Within the Catholic community social and cultural differences were pronounced, and it was exactly this difference in ‘cultural strategy’ and the need for social and cultural differentiation felt by Catholic nobles that resulted in interactions with members of the Protestant elite. This kind of horizontal interaction (interaction within the same socio-economic and cultural group, rather than vertical interaction penetrating the various social layers of the Catholic community) consisted of various types of contact with Protestant elites that resulted from shared interests, histories, and cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. This kind of interaction was still common at the end of the seventeenth century, which raises questions about the extent to which Dutch society became *verzuild* in this and later centuries as the result of an ongoing process of confessionalisation.⁴⁵⁹

Some of this interaction between Catholic nobles and the Protestant elite was caused by Catholic nobles’ aim to defend their rights, which in turn was a way for Catholic nobles to strengthen their authority in their seigneuries and – by appealing to their peers in the knighthood – to show that they were still part of the noble community.⁴⁶⁰ In England, some Catholic nobles tried to emphasise that they were still part of the gentry at large, for instance by omitting the religious affiliation of members of the gentry from their historical works, following a practice that existed among Protestant and Catholic writers of local histories.⁴⁶¹ Depending on the circumstances, Catholic nobles had the possibility to emphasise their differences from or their similarities with their Protestant counterparts; their behaviour was motivated by various considerations, ranging from the extent to which interconfessional interaction might boost their noble identity or jeopardise their religious identity, to concerns about the safeguarding of their privileges. Moreover, the behaviour of Catholic nobles was further influenced by the policy of the secular authorities and the rules laid down by the different churches. All of this explains why interconfessional interaction in some spheres of life was limited, whereas in other areas of life Catholics nobles freely and voluntarily interacted with Protestants.

⁴⁵⁸ Willem Frijhoff, ‘Overlevingsstrategieën van rooms-katholieken in Zutphen na de Hervorming’, in: E. H. Bary et al. (eds), *Lebuïnus en Walburgis bijeen: Deventer en Zutphen als historische centra van kerkelijk leven* (Delft, 2006), 216. Also Streng, ‘Uyt liefde voor’, 111–4.

⁴⁵⁹ According to Lindeijer, the Catholic and Reformed elite enjoyed friendly relations with each other in Guelders in the second half of the eighteenth century. Lindeijer, *Tussen kasteel en kerk*, 29–31, 52.

⁴⁶⁰ For another example, see: Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 35.

⁴⁶¹ Broadway, ‘To equal their virtues’, 14, 19.

Interconfessional interaction resulted from calculated decisions about the circumstances in which interaction with non-Catholics was acceptable and in some cases even pleasant and desirable.

3. The religiosity of the Catholic nobility

As became clear in the previous chapter, because of their faith Catholic nobles hardly interacted with non-Catholics in certain spheres of life, which was partly the result of their religious identity. In this chapter the faith of the Catholic nobility that underpinned their religious identity will be addressed by studying their beliefs, their acts of devotion and piety, and the religious material culture on their estates. The beliefs of the Catholic nobility are a difficult topic to address, since the vast majority of (Catholic) nobles did not write about their beliefs, and furthermore, Dutch historians have to do without the commonplace books used to trace the beliefs of Catholic nobles in England.⁴⁶² It is therefore necessary to connect together all the snippets of information about the religious beliefs of Catholic nobles by using sources such as the religious paintings and books owned by Catholic nobles, and by analysing the (religious) education Catholic nobles enjoyed and the religious background of the priests Catholic families housed on their estates. Recently Charles Parker has argued that ‘the Catholic revival in the Netherlands stood squarely within the Baroque piety of post-Tridentine Catholicism’, thus revising the thesis put forward by historians such as Rogier and J. A. F. Kronenburg, according to whom Catholicism in the Republic was distinctly Dutch in character.⁴⁶³ This chapter is in agreement with Parker’s analysis, since the religiosity – here understood as someone’s religious beliefs and practices – of the Catholic nobility was profoundly influenced by the Counter-Reformation.

This Counter-Reformation spirituality was a distinctive type of spirituality, yet at the same time it was not created *ex nihilo*, nor did it completely break with forms of medieval piety. Rather, some aspects of Medieval piety were intensified and systematised, such as the technique of mental prayer, while the importance of the sacraments was emphasised and grounded in the religious life of the laity.⁴⁶⁴ Moreover, the importance of morality for leading an exemplary Christian life, already present in late Medieval devotional tracts, was further highlighted, for instance in the sacrament of penance.⁴⁶⁵ These and other developments contributed to the fact that spiritual introspection and self-reflection, as well as the interiorisation of the teachings of the church, was more important in the type of Catholic spirituality that emerged in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than in its

⁴⁶² E.g. Geoff Baker, *Reading and politics in early modern England: the mental world of a seventeenth-century Catholic gentleman* (Manchester, 2010).

⁴⁶³ Parker, *Faith*, 174–5, 186.

⁴⁶⁴ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the landscape: religion, identity, and memory in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), 213. Wingens, *Over de grens*.

⁴⁶⁵ R. N. Swanson, *Catholic England. Faith, religion and observance before the Reformation* (Manchester, 1993), 1–45. Wingens, *Over de grens*, 142.

medieval forebears, as ‘medieval lay religiosity was more essentially a matter of devout activity...’⁴⁶⁶ More so than in medieval forms of spirituality, the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation aimed at a reconfiguration of both the feelings and beliefs of the individual believer, as well as his or hers outward actions.

The religiosity of Catholics was underpinned by the existence of a wide variety of religious artifacts, hence the need to study the material culture at the estates and houses of Catholic nobles. The Council of Trent, reacting to Protestant criticism, reaffirmed the beneficial use of paintings and statues, among other religious items, to get in contact with the divine.⁴⁶⁷ Furthermore, older practices such as the use of rosaries were intensified during the Catholic Reformation, and numerous religious objects were sent to Catholic communities in Protestant countries such as England and the Republic.⁴⁶⁸ Because of the strong connection between Catholic religiosity and the use of religious items, this chapter addresses the religious material culture on the estates of the Catholic nobility, and seeks to get more insight into the religious objects owned and used by Catholic nobles for their devotions. Religious material culture also has a spatial dimension: where on the estates of Catholic nobles were religious objects to be found, and what does this say about devotional practices? Were, for instance, religious objects mostly part of the inventory of manorial chapels, perhaps expressing forms of communal devotion, or were these objects to be found in private spaces, used for individual acts of piety?

Examining the (religious) material culture on the estates of Catholic nobles makes it possible to address another question, namely the extent to which a Catholic subculture emerged among the Dutch nobility. In the late nineteenth century Alberdingk Thijm argued that, because of the exclusion of Catholic nobles from public office and because of their religious endogamy, a Catholic noble subculture did come into being.⁴⁶⁹ Recently Conrad Gietman has analysed this topic in more detail and confirmed Thijm’s thesis, although he warns that the idea that a subculture took root among the Catholic nobility should not obscure the differences that existed among Catholic nobles.⁴⁷⁰ The material culture in the mansions of Catholic nobles gives us more insight into this noble subculture, for instance by assessing whether the faith of Catholic nobles is reflected in the art they owned. By connecting the spirituality of Catholic nobles to the material culture at their estates, we are able to examine the ‘lived religion’ at the estates of Catholic nobles (i.e. the characteristics of their religiosity).

⁴⁶⁶ John H. Arnold, ‘Catholic reformations: a medieval perspective’, in: *The Ashgate research companion*, 432.

⁴⁶⁷ Schroeder, *Canons*, 215–7.

⁴⁶⁸ Alexandra Walsham, ‘Beads, books, and bare ruined choirs’, in: *Catholic communities in Protestant states*, 103–22.

⁴⁶⁹ Thijm, ‘Het Amsterdamsch geslacht der Dommers’.

⁴⁷⁰ Gietman, ‘Katholieke adel’.

The analysis of the religiosity of Catholic nobles is not confined to their castles and estates, i.e. their domestic spaces, since the last part of the chapter examines the religious practices or forms of devotion that spilled over from the private into the public sphere. Benjamin Kaplan has asserted that the distinction between public and private spheres was essential for the functioning of Dutch religious tolerance, and semi-private acts of worship were tolerated by means of a ‘fiction of privacy’.⁴⁷¹ In a recent publication Jesse Sponholz has suggested that the boundaries between public and private spheres were rather porous, and that therefore religious dissenters had the opportunity to express their religion in public.⁴⁷² This raises the question whether Catholic nobles, perhaps more so than non-nobles because of their social position, were able to transgress the boundaries that separated public and private spheres and to articulate their religious beliefs openly. Rogier coined the term ‘minority Catholicism’ (*minderheidskatholicisme*) to describe the variant of Catholicism that emerged in the Dutch Republic. According to him, the main characteristic of this type of Catholicism was its watchfulness, but even though Catholic nobles indeed were often careful not to perform overly visible acts of Catholic piety in public, their estates were turned into bulwarks of the Catholic revival, suggesting a self-confidence which nuances Rogier’s characterization of Dutch Catholicism in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷³

Part I: Counter-Reformation spirituality

Although the Council of Trent aimed for institutional centralisation and the standardisation of religious doctrine and ritual, due to the birth of new theological currents in the seventeenth century (e.g. Jansenism), the Catholic Church and its doctrine did not become an entirely coherent and unified entity after the Protestant Reformations had torn medieval Christianity apart. As a result it is a daunting task to characterise the Catholic spirituality that came into being after Trent, and one of the few historians who has tried to do so was H. Outram Evenett. He argued that the Counter-Reformation was a ‘powerful religious movement’ that did not simply reaffirm the doctrines of the medieval Church but developed its own spirituality, while at the same time having its roots in late medieval spirituality.⁴⁷⁴ Although it seems that the Council of Trent simply defined the theological and doctrinal stance of the Catholic Church in direct opposition to Protestant teachings – it reaffirmed the intercessory power of saints, repudiated the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, and

⁴⁷¹ Benjamin J. Kaplan, ‘Fictions of privacy: house chapels and the spatial accommodation of religious dissent in early modern Europe’, *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), 1031–64; *Divided by Faith*, ch. 7.

⁴⁷² Jesse Spohnholz, ‘Confessional coexistence in the early modern Low Countries’, in: Thomas Max Safley (ed.), *A companion to multiconfessionalism in the early modern world* (Leiden, 2011), 70–2.

⁴⁷³ *ROG*, 2: 795.

⁴⁷⁴ Outram Evenett, *Spirit*, 23–43, quote on p. 24.

retained all seven sacraments – changes were introduced as well.⁴⁷⁵ According to Outram Evenett's outline, the essential elements of Counter-Reformation spirituality were the 'revival of sacramental life, the spread and development of powerful new techniques of meditative prayer and Eucharistic devotions, [and] the driving urge towards outward activity and good works as a factor in personal sanctification'.⁴⁷⁶ The importance of the sacraments was boosted by the Church in many ways: stricter rules were applied to the sacraments in order to increase their status (e.g. a marriage was only valid when administered by a priest and one or two witnesses), and the laity was exhorted to confess and take communion more often than once a year (i.e. during the Easter period). By decreeing that every bishop had to establish a seminary for the training of priests in his diocese, the Council tried to staff the Church with priests who were qualified and able to explain the sacraments to the laity, while other measures had to counter absenteeism and aimed to ensure that priests were actually available in the parishes to administer the sacraments. At the same time the laity were more closely tied to their parish church and its priest by the rule that every Sunday they were expected to go to Mass in the church of the parish in which they lived.⁴⁷⁷

The technique of meditative prayer predated the Reformation, but a 'systematic method' gradually emerged over the course of the sixteenth century, and these meditative prayers aimed at self-reflection, self-control and self-dedication, with the ultimate goal of overcoming sin in order to lead a more virtuous and Christian life. It was a 'method of personal self-improvement' which had its origin in monasteries, but which came to be directed at the laity as well, in an attempt to 'monasticise' the laity.⁴⁷⁸ This technique had powerful advocates and was propagated, for instance, in the *Spiritual exercises* of the Spanish nobleman Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. In this book, a handbook for teachers who had to guide aspirant members of the Jesuits, meditative prayers were used to detect one's own sins and spiritual shortcomings, meditate on these flaws, and ideally overcome them in order to achieve spiritual progression.⁴⁷⁹ Progression should be achieved in spirit but also in behaviour, and Counter-Reformation spirituality included a 'zeal for good works of mercy and charity', as believers had to sanctify themselves inwardly and outwardly.⁴⁸⁰

Although Ignatius set out a trajectory that everyone who took the *Exercises* had to follow, he provided the leeway to accommodate a variety of people and circumstances.⁴⁸¹ This individuality, the

⁴⁷⁵ Schroeder, *Canons*, 51–2, 215

⁴⁷⁶ Outram Evenett, *Spirit*, 40.

⁴⁷⁷ Schroeder, *Canons*, 195, 204.

⁴⁷⁸ Outram Evenett, *Spirit*, 34. Lodewijk M. Brouwers, Carolus *Scribani S.J., 1561–1629* (Antwerpen, 1961), 317–8.

⁴⁷⁹ On the spiritual exercises, see: John W. O'Malley, *The first Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1993), 37–42.

⁴⁸⁰ Outram Evenett, *Spirit*, 31–2.

⁴⁸¹ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 38.

idea that different sorts of people with entirely different backgrounds could embark on a journey of spiritual and moral improvement, is another important tenet of Counter-Reformation spirituality. The decrees of the Council of Trent on justification stressed the cooperation of man with God's free gift of divine grace: humans did not have the power to force God to bestow his divine grace upon them – in this sense it was an entirely free act of God – but human will was left intact in the sense that one could accept or reject the divine gift of grace.⁴⁸² This voluntary aspect is echoed in the words of the French theologian François de Sales, who stressed the 'emphatic call of God to all human beings'.⁴⁸³ Every individual had the option to respond to this call and serve God in their own way according to their particular background and situation.⁴⁸⁴ Even though communal acts of devotion such as processions and pilgrimages remained hugely important, Catholicism became more directed towards the individual, a development which is also borne out by the introduction of the confessional and private confession.⁴⁸⁵ The focus on individual believers was also accompanied by a greater emphasis on the education of the laity, for example through sermons, devotional literature and catechisms, through which believers were to internalise or interiorise universal truths as taught by their Church.

Competing forms of Catholic spirituality in the Dutch Republic

Although the Council of Trent removed many of the theological uncertainties by meticulously defining Church doctrine, its decrees did not preclude the possibility of competing interpretations of doctrinal issues.⁴⁸⁶ In the seventeenth century, a controversy arose between Jansenists and their opponents, and especially in the Republic this conflict was severe, resulting in a schism within the Dutch Catholic Church in 1723.⁴⁸⁷ F. Hoppenbrouwers has argued that two types of spirituality existed side by side in the Republic, which both stemmed from the doctrine of justification as formulated by the Council of Trent. The first type of spirituality was influenced by the theology of the Spanish Jesuit Molina, according to whom God provided man with 'sufficient grace', which in case of the one's voluntary cooperation with this divine gift (something which God foresaw) in reality was efficacious (efficax) grace.⁴⁸⁸ Through the sacraments humans were able to repair human nature

⁴⁸² Schroeder, *Canons*, 42–3.

⁴⁸³ Michael J. Buckley, 'Seventeenth-century French spirituality: three figures', in: Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers (eds), *Christian spirituality: post-Reformation and modern* (New York, 1989), 28–68.

⁴⁸⁴ Robert Birely, *The refashioning of Catholicism: a reassessment of the Counter-Reformation* (Washington, 1999), 179–80.

⁴⁸⁵ John Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Europe', in: David M. Luebke (ed.), *The Counter-Reformation* (Oxford, 1999), 97–8.

⁴⁸⁶ Outram Evenett, *Spirit*, 31.

⁴⁸⁷ For the backgrounds to this conflict, see: M. Spiertz, 'Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden, 1640–1690', *Trajecta* 1:2 (1992), 144–67.

⁴⁸⁸ L. Ceyssens, 'Het theologisch denken en het jansenisme 1640–1730', in: D. P. Blok et al. (eds), *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1979), 8: 419.

(which was stained because of original sin) and to increase the capacity to do good, to cooperate with the gift of divine grace, and thus to ‘grow in God’s grace’.⁴⁸⁹

The other type of spirituality was defended by Catholics who were more inclined towards the theology of Cornelius Jansenius, a theologian at the University of Louvain who based his ideas about justification on his interpretation of the Latin Church Father Augustine. Jansenius was more pessimistic than Molina about human nature after the Fall, and did not think it possible to improve human nature by receiving the sacraments. Rather than perceiving the sacraments as a medicine, Jansenius thought them to be ‘pedagogic tools’ which were to prevent rather than to cure. By confession and rigorous introspection, believers had to root out sinful behaviour and to subordinate their human nature, the origin of sins.⁴⁹⁰ Moreover, because of the stain of original sin, sufficient grace was not enough, according to Jansenius, and humans needed efficacious grace, which, once imparted, was irresistible.⁴⁹¹ Within Jansenius’s theology, then, the role of human free will, which was such a hotly contested topic in the polemics between Catholic and Protestant theologians as well, was far more restrained than within Molina’s theology.

These theological differences were reflected in pastoral care and caused a rift among the missionary priests working in the Holland Mission, a rift which did not strictly follow the division between regular and secular priests, since not all secular priests were necessarily Jansenists.⁴⁹² Most of the secular priests, however, enjoyed their education at two institutions, Alticollense and Pulcheriae, established in 1602 and 1617 respectively, while a smaller number of them were trained by the French Oratorians or went to the Collegio Urbano at Rome (established in 1626).⁴⁹³ At these institutions the ‘pastoral ethos’ of the Counter-Reformation was promoted, but in all these institutions, with the exception of the Collegio Urbano, the theology of Jansenius was influential.⁴⁹⁴ The regulars, on the other hand, were educated at the colleges and seminaries of their orders, where other theological views held sway. In general, Jansenist priests were more rigorous and restrictive in the administration of sacraments than their opponents: regarding the sacrament of penance, most Jansenist priests were not satisfied with attrition when the laity confessed their sins, and restricted the granting of absolution to laypeople who showed true remorse for their sins out of love for God

⁴⁸⁹ Hoppenbrouwers, *Oefening*, 9–10.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 10–2.

⁴⁹¹ William Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic resistance to authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Basingstoke, 2000), 21. Spiertz, ‘Jansenisme’, 148.

⁴⁹² Gian Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen: bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)* (Amsterdam, 2003), 229.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 86.

⁴⁹⁴ Parker, ‘In partibus infidelium’, 126–8. Parker, *Faith*, ch. 2. Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, ch. 3. Willem Frijhoff, ‘The Oratory in the seventeenth-century Low Countries’, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 107:1 (2012), 169–222.

(contrition).⁴⁹⁵ Moreover, some of the sacraments, such as communion, were regarded as a reward for the efforts of the laity to eradicate their sins and to internalise their faith, as a result of which Jansenist priests were more hesitant to allow members of their flock to take communion.⁴⁹⁶ This could clash with the stance of other missionaries who granted absolution more easily or were much keener to have people take communion more frequently, something which caused problems between the laity and the missionaries. In what follows, we thus have to understand the spirituality and beliefs of Catholic nobles against the backdrop of these competing forms of spirituality, a rivalry that was enhanced further by the controversies between the apostolic vicars and the religious orders.

The beliefs of Catholic nobles: books

The devotional books possessed by Catholic nobles is one way in which we can try to discern their religious beliefs or the types of spirituality by which they were influenced. Although the titles of the books are often not listed in the sources, two inventories do provide us with substantial information about the books owned by Catholic nobles.⁴⁹⁷ Furthermore, the library of Thomas Walraven van Arkel consisted of more than 700 books, and after his death a catalogue of his collection was published.⁴⁹⁸ These inventories and the catalogue reveal the general interests of Catholic nobles, as they owned books about history, chivalry, architecture, gardening and nature, and so on.⁴⁹⁹ It turns out that religious and devotional books comprised a rather small section of the whole collection: around eighty of the 702 books (11.4%) of Thomas Walraven, and around nineteen of the 177 books (10.7%) of Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden, were religious and devotional books (for a list of these books, see appendix G).⁵⁰⁰ On the other hand, the collection of Maria van Winssen consisted largely of religious books (around fourteen of the 22 books – 63.6%).

P. Rietbergen states that it can be difficult to interpret libraries as they ‘tend to reflect the combined interests and idiosyncrasies of succeeding generations’, but according to him this is not the case with Van Arkel’s library, since most of the books which are dated were published in the

⁴⁹⁵ Spiertz, ‘Jansenisme’, 153.

⁴⁹⁶ Hoppenbrouwers, *Oefening*, 12. M. Spiertz, ‘Godsdienstig leven van de katholieken in de 17de eeuw’, in: *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 8: 352. The influential Jansenist author Antoine Arnauld wrote against taking communion frequently in his book *De frequente communion* (1643).

⁴⁹⁷ The will of Agatha Bijl mentions the titles of some books, but also lists ‘around fifty large and small printed books’, without giving any further information. NA, HVZ, inv. 841.

⁴⁹⁸ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188: catalogue (1694).

⁴⁹⁹ P. Rietbergen divided Thomas Walraven van Arkel’s library into seventeen different categories, showing the range of subjects the library included. P. Rietbergen, ‘The library of a Dutch county squire, Thomas Walraven van Arkel (1615–1694). A contribution to the study of Dutch aristocratic culture in the 17th century’, *Lias* 9 (1982), 275.

⁵⁰⁰ The number eighty refers to the books included in Rietbergen’s categories ‘Theology, and Ecclesiology, including sermons, saints’ lives, and moral tracts’ and ‘Bibles’. Rietbergen, ‘The library’, 275.

seventeenth century, indicating that they were acquired by Thomas Walraven (b. around 1620 – d. 1694) himself.⁵⁰¹ When looking at the book first published in or after 1640 (when Thomas had reached adulthood), it becomes apparent that of the 35 ‘Catholic’ books of which we have been able to retrieve the date of the first edition, twelve books were published before and sixteen in or after 1640. Four of the seven books of which the date of publication is mentioned in the catalogue were printed before 1640, three after this year. Six of the thirteen devotional works owned by Maria van Winssen (b. around 1610 – d. 1668) were printed before 1630, whereas it seems that most books owned by Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden (b. 1590 – d. 1633) and Maria van Spaarnwoude (b. ? – d. 1624) were first published before 1610. In this sense the last inventory is a bit more problematic to work with, also because a number of books could not be identified. This and the other two sources nevertheless give a useful overview of the books Catholic nobles possessed and which they possibly used for their acts of devotion.

It is safe to conclude that at least Thomas Walraven van Arkel and Maria van Winssen collected (most of) the books themselves and that these books therefore reflected their religious preferences. As we will see, the religious affiliation of these nobles, including that of Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden and Maria van Spaarnwoude, was clearly mirrored in their book collections. Yet being a Catholic did not rule out the possession of Protestant books. Thomas Walraven clearly had an interest in religious books written by Protestant authors, including two works by Reformed ministers and a collection of writings of Polish Unitarians (the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*).⁵⁰² It was not unusual for Catholics to own such ‘heretical’ books, since besides being the result of the interest in the ideas and practices of other confessions (one must take into account the religious tourism of the early modern era), these books also could be used for polemical ends.⁵⁰³ We should also take into account that readers ‘actively participated in forging the meaning of the books they perused’ – i.e. the interpretation of the reader did not have to match the intended meaning of the author.⁵⁰⁴

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a large number of books were printed that aimed to explain Scripture, its correct interpretation, and the teachings of the Church to the Catholic laity. In catechisms the doctrine of the Church was explained to Catholics in a concise way, whereas the ‘preacher books’ (predikantenboeken) included biblical exegesis and printed collections of sermons,

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 273.

⁵⁰² He owned around eighteen books that did not have a Catholic origin, such as books about the Synod of Dordt and the Reformed English liturgy, and the printed sermons of a Protestant minister. He also owned the *Praeadamitae* by Isaac la Peyrère, a work of biblical criticism that was censured by the States General. GA, Ammerzoden, inv. 188. Six of these books were published after 1640 and it is likely that Thomas bought them himself.

⁵⁰³ It was not uncommon to find Protestant books in the libraries of Catholic missionaries, for example. Willem Frijhof, ‘Vier hollandse priesterbibliotheken uit de 17e eeuw’, *OGE* 51 (1977), 205.

⁵⁰⁴ Alexandra Walsham, ‘The spider and the bee: the perils of printing for refutation in Tudor England’, in: John N. King (ed.), *Tudor books and readers: materiality and the construction of meaning* (Cambridge, 2010), 164.

and through the explanation of Scripture Catholics became acquainted with the teachings of the Church too.⁵⁰⁵ In the preface of his *Catholijcke sermoenen* Costerus stated that he had been asked to publish his sermons ‘for the consolation and education of Catholics, especially those who have to live in contumacious and rebellious countries among heretics’.⁵⁰⁶ Thomas Walraven van Arkel owned a copy of the *Catholyck memory-boeck*, a voluminous book written by Turano Vekiti, a doctor in law, that gained some popularity among Dutch Catholics.⁵⁰⁷ In this book, which was specifically written for Catholics who were living in the midst of heretics, Vekiti confirmed the teachings of the Catholic Church by meticulously refuting the arguments propounded by heretics against Catholic doctrine. Another layman, Petrus Opmeer, the author of a Catholic martyrology, wrote a book in which he argued that Catholics should turn to patience and penitence in order to emerge victorious from the battle against sin. Employing an allegory of a ship that is experiencing heavy weather, Opmeer explained the workings of specific sacraments in a manner that was clear to all readers (e.g. he visualised making confession as pumping the stinking water out of the ship, the water representing the sins) and clarified the defining aspects of the Catholic faith.⁵⁰⁸ All these authors realized that not all Catholics living in heretical countries had easy access to priests and that books were the most simple way in which the doctrines and the spirituality promoted by the Catholic Church could be directed at the laity. According to Rovenius, education and instruction enabled Dutch Catholics ‘to mix more appropriately with non-Catholics’, and Van Neercassel used books to strengthen the Catholic nobles’ understanding of church doctrine or to support particular kinds of devotion.⁵⁰⁹ Therefore he sent some ‘livres de devotien’ to the wife of the Count of Warfusé and a book for the Lady of Cabauw to enhance her devotion to Mary.⁵¹⁰

The libraries of the Catholic nobles consisted of many a book which propagated a specific Counter-Reformation spirituality: works by Costerus and other Jesuits were directed at individual believers, contained a strong moral component aimed at reforming the thoughts and behaviour of their readers, and devotional and spiritual tracts used techniques such as meditative prayer to achieve this personal reformation. The method and format used in these books to educate the laity and to

⁵⁰⁵ Catholic nobles owned books such as Franciscus Costerus’s *Catholijcke sermoenen*, Vanden Bossche’s *Den Catholycke pedagoge...*, Martin Back’s *Den schat der Catholijke sermoenen*, and Henricus Adriani’s *Catholyke sermoenen*.

⁵⁰⁶ Costerus, *Catholijcke sermoenen*, 2r. See also Jos Andriessen, ‘Een verkenning van de geestelijke literatuur in de 17de en 18de eeuw’, *Vlaanderen* 41 (1992), 213 and K. Porteman, ‘Na 350 jaar: de “sermoenen” van Franciscus Costerus’, *OGE* 43 (1969), 213.

⁵⁰⁷ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188. Turano Vekiti, *Het Catholijck Memory-Boeck* (4th edition, Antwerp, 1646). *NNBW*, 1: 1249–50. This book was largely based on Robert Bellarmine’s *Disputationes*.

⁵⁰⁸ Petrus Opmeer, *Dat schip van patientie en penitentie* (Antwerp, 1593), 33, 41.

⁵⁰⁹ Cited in Parker, ‘In partibus fidelium’, 132.

⁵¹⁰ HUA, OBC, inv. 252: 9-1-1683 (to Warfusé); 26-6-1682 (to Cabauw). The Lady of Cabauw was Jacoba Bam van Vrijenhove, widow of Cornelis de Nobelaer (d. 1681). In 1676 Van Neercassel sent a book about the triple communion of Jesus Christ (‘...de la triple communion de JC...’) to Catharina Cecilia van Bochtoltz, widow of Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst. *Ibid.*, inv. 247: 17-12-1676.

strengthen their faith and religious identity were often rather similar: the books covered a particular period in the liturgical year and provided a sermon for every Sunday or feast day in that period.⁵¹¹ In the books of Adriani and Costerus the sermons consisted of a passage from one of the Epistles and from the Gospel, together with the correct interpretation of these passages and their meaning. These explanations included or were followed by specific lessons for the readers, which might be moral teachings or the encouragement of certain behaviour, such as having faith in Christ and His promises rather than seeking refuge in ‘various ideas and opinions’ which would only lead to the emergence of new heretical sects.⁵¹² Costerus concluded every sermon with a prayer that referred to the passages of the bible that had previously been explained, the prayer serving as both an act of devotion and a tool to rehearse and reprise the lessons drawn from the specific passages.⁵¹³

Whereas the genres of religious literature addressed above were predominantly directed towards the education of the readers, other books offered the laity a guide for conducting acts of devotion and self-improvement. Thomas Walraven van Arkel owned the *Spiritual exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola, Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden possessed a copy of Carolus Scribani’s *First part of the meditations*, and among the devotional works owned by Maria van Winssen we encounter Willem de Wael van Vronestein’s *Oeffeninghe van devotie om een salighe doot te becomen* (‘Exercise of devotion to attain a blessed death’). The idea of self-improvement is clearly visible in Scribani’s *Meditations*, who discerned three sorts of people and devised different kinds of meditation for each of them, dividing these meditations into three sets of four weeks and providing one meditation for every day of the week. ‘Starting’ people needed meditations to root out sin, ‘progressing’ people required meditations that inspired virtuous behaviour, while it was necessary for the last category of people, those who were ‘flawless’, to have meditations which united them with God ‘by the power of love’.⁵¹⁴

The meditations addressed a variety of topics, such as the sins of Adam and Eve and the severity of one’s own sins, and later weeks included meditations on specific phrases from the bible, all with the aim to understand a certain topic (memorie), to investigate the truthfulness of this understanding by the mind (verstand), and to change behaviour by the human will (wille), which is informed by the mind.⁵¹⁵ The meditations initiated self-reflection and ultimately, with the help of

⁵¹¹ For Costerus’s aims, see: Costerus, *Veerthien Catholycke sermoenen op de epistelen ende evangelien der sondagen van den advent tot den vasten* (Antwerpen, 1618), 2r.

⁵¹² Costerus, *Veerthien Catholycke sermoenen*, 203.

⁵¹³ For example, Costerus, *Veerthien Catholycke sermoenen*, 208. Adriani included prayers as well, although compared to Costerus his prayers (as well as his sermons) were shorter. Adriani, *Catholycke sermoenen*, 7. Theo Clemens, *De godsdienstigheid in de Nederlanden in de spiegel van katholieke kerkboeken 1680–1840* (Tilburg, 1988), 76.

⁵¹⁴ Scribani, *Meditatien*, *5r.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., *2r–v.

‘Godly illumination’, led to greater knowledge of ‘virtues, Godly things, and God Himself’, moving people to abhor sins and awakening the desire to live a virtuous and Christian life.⁵¹⁶ A similar aim is visible in the book *Exercise in devotion* by the Jesuit provincial and nobleman Willem de Wael van Vronestein, which focused on the Passion of Christ and the seven sorrows of Mary. By meditating on these topics, believers had to change their behaviour in order that they might live and die as good Christians, something which was possible, according to the author, because all people who were devoted to the dying Christ and His mother and who remained steadfast in their exercises ‘would not have to fear death, but should unconditionally [vastelijck] hope to die blessedly [salighlijck]’.⁵¹⁷ Willem stressed that these meditations had to be practised on a daily basis, as then believers would always be assured of the ‘help and comfort’ of Jesus and His mother.⁵¹⁸ Indeed, when such devotional exercises permeated the lives of believers, they did not have to fear death any more, but rather could welcome it, as they could rely on His divine aid.

The meditations provided in *Exercise of devotion* were not simply mechanical acts through which divine support could be acquired, for Willem stressed the importance of sincerity of thought and the fact that believers had to work hard in order to gain Jesus’ support: in his book *Croone der alderheylighste wonden Christi Jesu* (‘Crown of the most holy wounds of Jesus Christ’) he stressed that ‘sincere remorse resulting from genuine love and not from fear of punishment’ was necessary.⁵¹⁹ In order to strengthen the religiosity of the laity, the meditations and their preparations were connected to certain parts of the day, and Willem included hymns, psalms, prayers and meditations, starting from the early morning (ad matutinum) and ending in the evening (ad vespas), thus giving the believer a clear schedule for their acts of devotion.⁵²⁰ Spreading these exercises throughout the day would enable the believer to scrutinise and adapt their thoughts and behaviour continuously. Other books in the possession of Catholic nobles which included acts of devotion spread throughout the day (dagheiliging) were various books of hours, such as the *Officium Beatae Mariae*. These books of hours were introduced in the Middle Ages and were frequently used by the laity in their individual prayers, and they continued to be used in the seventeenth century by laity who craved a devout life.⁵²¹

The Catholic Church, however, realized that people could be led astray by reading particular books, and besides prohibiting the laity from reading books which exhibited a clear Protestant message, the Council of Trent did not allow laypeople to read the bible – neither the original nor the

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., *2r. See also: Brouwers, *Scribani*, 322, 334–6. Hoppenbrouwers, *Oefening*, 95.

⁵¹⁷ De Wael van Vronestein, *Oeffeningh*, 70. Thomas Walraven van Arkel owned a French translation of this book.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 64–5, 269–76.

⁵¹⁹ Willem de Wael van Vronestein, *Croone der alderheylighste wonden Christi Jesu* (Antwerpen, 1649), 73.

⁵²⁰ According to Scribani, before going to sleep Catholics were required to think about the topic of the next day’s meditation. Scribani, *Meditatien*, 3v.

⁵²¹ Clemens, *De godsdienstigheid*, 68.

vernacular translation – unless they had received a dispensation from a bishop or inquisitor.⁵²² It was not so much the bible itself, but the risk of the distortion of its meaning as a result of the flawed understanding of ‘undeveloped’ people, or even of more despicable intentional abuse, which led the Church to issue this prohibition.⁵²³ As a result, rather than the whole bible, parts of it were provided to the laity, since the Church fully endorsed books in which bible verses were explained, for instance in printed sermons.⁵²⁴ The inventories of the Catholic nobles show, however, that most of them did possess bibles (including translations into the vernacular), and Theo Clemens has suggested that we should not entirely exclude the bible from the ‘Catholic reading culture’, since Dutch translations of the bible were available in the Republic, and apostolic vicars such as Van Neercassel and Codde advocated the reading of the bible in the vernacular by the laity.⁵²⁵ Indeed, in his book *Gods woord verdedigd* (‘God’s word defended’), Van Neercassel argued that it was necessary for laypeople to read the bible, as it was important for the believer to edify himself and his relatives with knowledge derived from the Holy Scriptures.⁵²⁶

This message was also conveyed to Catholic missionaries and Catholic nobles: Van Neercassel provided a copy of *Gods woord verdedigd* to the priest Daniël Verhaer, who resided at Cannenburg Castle, and had a copy of his book *Bevestigingh in’t geloof...* (‘Confirmation in the faith’) sent to the Lord and Lady of Ter Horst (Alard and Elisabeth Maria Hackfort).⁵²⁷ In the latter book, Van Neercassel advocated the reading of the bible by laypeople on condition that the bible was read in a humble and submissive (ootmoedich) manner, and that the laity did not seek to come up with their own interpretations (something which inevitably led to heresy).⁵²⁸ When the bible was read in this approved way, the knowledge derived from the bible would reinforce the lessons conveyed by

⁵²² Schroeder, *Canons*, 274. Moreover, among the laity only ‘learned and pious men’ were allowed to read the bible. Dominique Julia, ‘Reading and the Counter-Reformation’, in: Guglielmo Cavallo et al. (eds), *A history of reading in the West* (Cambridge, 1999), 243.

⁵²³ Verjuys, *Pastorale missionarium*, 239.

⁵²⁴ Some devotional literature included parts of the bible without any explanation (apart from the times of the liturgical year at which the verses should be read). See for instance *Epistelen ende Evangelien soo die op de Sondaghen ende Heylich-daegen des geheele jaers inden dienst der H. Missen gelesen worden* (Antwerpen, 1626). It is remarkable that no explanation is added, since the index of prohibited books stipulated that it was permitted to read ‘the Epistles or Gospels that are sung at Mass during the year, provided they not be alone, without an accompanying sermon or declaration composed or to be composed on each of them for the edification of the faithful’. Cited in Julia, ‘Reading and the Counter-Reformation’, 244.

⁵²⁵ Theo Clemens, ‘De religieuze leescultuur onder Nederlandse katholieken, 1580–1850’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 9:2 (2006), 57. Clemens, *De godsdienstigheid*, 91–2. Also: NA, HVZ, inv. 841.

⁵²⁶ Johannes van Neercassel, *God’s woord verdedigd...* (Antwerp, 1685), 43. On Jansenism and the translation of sacred texts into the vernacular, see: Julia, ‘Reading and the Counter-Reformation’, 247–50.

⁵²⁷ HUA, OBC, inv. 254: 28-2-1686 (to Verhaer/Van Haren).

⁵²⁸ Johannes van Neercassel, *Bevestigingh in’t geloof*, 366–7. Van Neercassel’s stance shows some lingering doubts about the laity reading the bible, doubts that were shared by most clergymen. Alexandra Walsham, ‘Unclasping the book? Post-Reformation Catholicism and the culture of print’, *Journal of British Studies* 42 (2003), 155–6. See also Verjuys, *Pastorale missionarium*, 241–2.

the sermons of priests.⁵²⁹ In other words, the reading of the bible by the laity was to be encouraged as long as the laity remained within the boundaries of orthodoxy established by the Catholic Church. Therefore Van Neercassel sent a book to the count of Warfusé which was to ‘inspire [his] affections for Holy Scripture and to teach [him] in which disposition it must be read’.⁵³⁰ Advocating the reading of the bible by laypeople might have received particular support from Jansenist priests, but most missionaries realised that even though the laity could be led astray by reading the bible themselves, at the same time it shielded laypeople against the corruptive influence of Protestant doctrine, as well as against charges of ignorance.⁵³¹

This discussion about whether laypeople should or should not be allowed to read the bible is one example of the diverging strands of spirituality and pastoral care which existed in the Catholic Mission in the Republic. Nor was this the only point of contention, for Van Neercassel criticized forms of devotion to Mary that were too excessive according to him, preferring the worship of Saints which was characterized by ‘historical solemnity,’ a piety more rooted in the inner movement of the heart than in outward signs.⁵³² The different sorts of spirituality are not always clearly reflected in the libraries of the Catholic nobles, however. Although it turns out that most of the religious books of which it was possible to retrieve the name of the authors were written by regulars (mostly Jesuits), none of the collections consisted entirely of books written by authors who belonged to a specific spiritual current within the Catholic Church. Thomas Walraven van Arkel owned eighteen books by Jesuit authors, but possessed books written by the Jansenist theologian Antoine Arnauld and secular priests such as Johannes Stalpart van der Wiele as well.⁵³³ It was likely through books and other channels that Catholic nobles came into contact with diverging types of spirituality. A number of Catholic nobles had frequent contact with Johannes van Neercassel, who besides promoting a more restrained and less emotionally charged way of worshipping Mary and the other saints, also advocated an austere view on the practice of confession.⁵³⁴ The preference for authors from religious orders suggests that Catholic nobles had more in common with the Molinist-type of spirituality, but the extant sources are too limited for any firm conclusions. Although the libraries of Catholic nobles did contain some books which predated the Reformation – namely ‘Christian classics’ such as Thomas à Kempis’s *The imitation of Christ* (a book which remained popular throughout the seventeenth

⁵²⁹ Van Neercassel, *Bevestigingh in’t geloof*, 366–7.

⁵³⁰ ‘[L]ivre qui vous inspirera de l’affection pour l’écriture sainte et qui apprend avec quelle disposition elle doit estre leu.’ HUA, OBC, inv. 252: 9-1-1683 (to Warfusé).

⁵³¹ Walsham, ‘Unclasping the book’.

⁵³² See his: *Verhandeling van den eere en dienst der heiligen...* (Antwerp, 1676), esp. 527 and passim.

⁵³³ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188. Research on the libraries of three priests labouring in the southern Netherlands has shown that around 40% of the books owned by these priests were written by Jesuits. J. de Brouwer, ‘De bibliotheek’, 205. In the Republic secular priests also owned many books by Jesuit authors. Frijhoff, ‘Priesterbibliotheeken’, 205–6.

⁵³⁴ C. P. Voorvelt, *De amor poenitens van Johannes van Neercassel, 1626–1686: onstaansgeschiedenis en lotgevallen van een verhandeling over de strenge biechtpraktijk* (Zeist, 1984).

century, among both Catholics and Protestants), Augustine's *Meditations* and Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* – the vast majority of their devotional books were first printed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Books therefore constituted an important medium through which Catholic nobles came into contact with the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation.

Education I: parents and priests

Van Neercassel, probably influenced by the Jansenist idea that some elementary knowledge was necessary in order to be able to serve God properly, thought it important that the laity be educated in matters of belief.⁵³⁵ At the same time, the increased importance of the education of the laity was not limited to Jansenism, but formed a wider trend within Counter-Reformation Catholicism. Books were not the only means through which the laity was educated, and catechisms encouraged their audience to become a Catholic teacher or to be a student (*leerkind*), while stressing the statement by Thomas Aquinas that children were allowed to leave parents who were negligent in instructing their offspring in the faith.⁵³⁶ Missionaries emphasised the key role of parents as the transmitters of faith in their sermons: the secular priest Gijsbertus Lap preached that in the times of the Old Covenant it had been imperative to have many children, but now it was more important to have 'good children'. Parents should consider their (baptised) children as temples in which the Holy Ghost dwelt, and in order to 'decorate and construct' these temples, children should be raised in the Gospel.⁵³⁷

Catholic nobles realised the importance of education and made arrangements to ensure that their offspring would be raised in the Catholic faith. Maria van Spaarnwoude appointed two guardians so that her children 'would be raised in God', and Johan van der Burch appointed guardians who had to make sure that his children would be raised 'in the fear of God, in virtue, wisdom, honour, and in the old Catholic religion'.⁵³⁸ Not much is known about the education of children of Catholic nobles prior to university, as we have seen, although there were Catholic nobles who housed a 'Popish school' in their homes to provide education for children.⁵³⁹ Occasionally resident priests on noble estates would have taught the rudiments of the faith to these children: at castle Vronestein, the chaplain acted as the teacher of Joost de Wael van Vronestein's children; Adriaen Ram van

⁵³⁵ Clemens, *De godsdienstigheid*, 92.

⁵³⁶ Vanden Bossche, *Pedagoge*, 591.

⁵³⁷ HUA, Willibrordparochie Vleuten, inv. 70, sermon titled 'How parents should raise their children in Christianity'.

⁵³⁸ GA, Doornenburg, inv. 232, f. 7r. RG, Archief Wissocq, inv. 4433: will of Johan van der Burch and Maria van Sneeck (10-8-1615) f. 2v. See also: NA, Cousebant, inv. 345, f. 1r; J. Barten, 'De korte koniek van de Jezuïetenstatie van de Overbetuwe', *AGKKN* 15 (1973) 256.

⁵³⁹ HUA, Hervormde gemeente Jutphaas, inv. 1, f. 222.

Schalkwijk, although denying that the (secular) priest Van der Horst had been appointed as the teacher of his children, admitted that this priest had taught them an ‘Ave Maria or Pater Noster’.⁵⁴⁰ In some cases priests sought to educate the children of noble families by letter, even when no longer living on the estates of the families. The Jesuit Adrianus Cosijns frequently wrote to members of various Frisian Catholic noble families, such as the Ockinga family, and composed (short) poems in which he explained matters of religious doctrine and morality. When writing to the three daughters of Maria Hylck van Ockinga, for instance, Cosijns stressed that the virtue, fertility and beauty of an apricot was to be found inside the fruit, something which applied to people as well: ‘Oh virgins, instil this lesson deep into your mind [sianen], the virtue, the true virtue is inside the heart, and only this is what is praised by God.’ At the end of the poem, Cosijns concluded: ‘remember this lesson for your salvation, hide yourself in a shell of humility, [for] the inner beauty deserves the crown.’⁵⁴¹

Although some noble families tended to house either regular or secular priests on their estates (see appendix H), apostolic vicar Jacobus de la Torre seems to have grasped the preferences of the Catholic nobility by stating in his mission report of 1656 that ‘there are various nobles around this city [Utrecht] who [are] in their castles and who often call upon the secular priests mentioned before, but also [upon] Jesuits and other regulars.’⁵⁴² De la Torre listed the names of seventeen noble families who were visited by secular and regular priests on their various estates; indeed, some Catholic nobles housed regular and secular priests on their estates, and did not seem to have a clear preference for a specific type of spirituality.⁵⁴³ At the same time, a couple of noble families preferred regular priests, caused by the fact that some areas – including parts of the Republic that did not belong to the Holland Mission – were served by regulars from nearby monasteries across the border. The Tielerwaard and Bommelerwaard, for example, belonged to the bishopric of Roermond, and Franciscans of the nearby monastery of Megen resided at and used Ammerzoden Castle as a missionary outpost for this area.⁵⁴⁴ Overall, though, during most of the seventeenth century, many Catholic nobles did not seem to have a very strong preference for a specific type of Catholic spirituality. Yet in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, increasingly more Catholic nobles started to complain about Jansenist priests and to express their preference to go to a regular instead of a Jansenist priest to make confession, and

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., f. 79. Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 138. Heukelum, *Jutfaas*, 144. J. H. Hofman, ‘Dr. Theodorus Mensinck’, *AAU* 23 (1896), 370–86. D. de Kok, ‘De strubbelingen tussen Petrus Codde en Hendrik baron van Dorth te Vorden’, *AAU* 69 (1950), 43. HUA, Buchel-Booth, inv. 142, f. 23r.

⁵⁴¹ H. J. Allard, ‘Pater Adrianus Cosijns, S.J. Een historisch-letterkundige schets’, *Dietsche Warande* 10 (1874), 354.

⁵⁴² DLT, *AAU* 10, 187.

⁵⁴³ In’s Heerenberg Castle, for example. A. G. van Dalen, ‘De protestantisering en recatholisering tussen Rijn en Oude Ysel’, *AAU* 73 (1954–5), 79–87.

⁵⁴⁴ M. Heijer, ‘Pater Jan Ooms, stichter van de Franciskaanse “missie” in de Bommelerwaard’, *BGMN* 7 (1951), 9–24.

nobles were genuinely concerned about their freedom to choose a confessor.⁵⁴⁵ Moreover, some nobles stated that they were used to hearing Mass every day, which also potentially might have clashed with the opinions of more Jansenist-minded priests.⁵⁴⁶

Education II: foreign universities and sodalities

Although some Catholic nobles were sent abroad for educational purposes at a young age, most of them seem to have gone abroad when old enough to attend university.⁵⁴⁷ Many a Catholic noble attended foreign universities in Catholic territories, although according to Conrad Gietman the interest in doing this declined (at least among the Catholic nobility from Guelders) after 1650.⁵⁴⁸ Most Catholic nobles went to schools attached to universities, in which students were prepared for university study, rather than pursuing an academic degree. In Louvain many Catholic nobles went to one of the four preparatory schools, where students were instructed in the liberal arts, covering subjects such as poetry, philosophy, history and rhetoric, which provided nobles with the educational and cultural background to cultivate the ideal of the *honnête homme*.⁵⁴⁹ Students took classes in the buildings of these preparatory schools, but lived there as well and were subjected to a strict regime. Religion was an important component of the curriculum and everyday life of these students, since they were trained to refute heretical ideas, and every morning they were expected to hear Mass.⁵⁵⁰

Another university which was popular among Dutch Catholic nobles was the university of Cologne. In both Louvain and Cologne the Jesuits operated a college, but in particular the Jesuit college in Cologne, called the Triconoratum, attracted nobles from Utrecht and Guelders, including Anthony van Lynden, Johan Hendrik van Isendoorn (à Blois) and Ludovicus van Renesse (van Baer) (see appendix D). Similarly to the preparatory schools in Louvain, students were instructed in the liberal arts at this Jesuit college, which combined a humanist-inspired curriculum with religious education.⁵⁵¹ The students of this college had a number of religious duties, such as daily attendance at Mass, weekly confession, and prayers before and after class, and all students carried rosaries.⁵⁵² Catholic nobles from the Dutch Republic attended the two other gymnasia in Cologne as well, both of

⁵⁴⁵ *RB*, 3: 322-4. De Kok, 'Vorden', 247. See pp. 193-4.

⁵⁴⁶ HUA, OBC, inv. 340: 18/28-8-1692 (Hendrik van Dorth).

⁵⁴⁷ H. Amersfoordt and U. A. Evertsz (eds), *Verhaal van de verrigtingen der Jezuiten in Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1842), 115.

⁵⁴⁸ Gietman, 'Katholieke adel', 195.

⁵⁴⁹ Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, 82. Asch, *Nobilities in transition*, 76-85. According to Rietbergen, Thomas Walraven van Arkel possessed a total of fifty-six books on 'manners and chivalry'. Rietbergen, 'The library', 275, 279, 281.

⁵⁵⁰ *De universiteit te Leuven*, 122. Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, 82.

⁵⁵¹ Eric Meuthen, *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte. Die alte Universität* (Cologne, 1988), 304-5. Josef Kuckhoff, *Des Geschichte des Triconoratum* (Cologne, 1931), 247-9.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 251. Brouwers, *Scribani*, 28, 30.

which were attached to religious orders: Laurentium and Montanum were linked to the Franciscans and Dominicans respectively, and students of the latter school had to attend vespers at the Dominican monastery on Sundays and holy days.⁵⁵³ The importance of religious instruction at these gymnasia was expressed by Caspar Ulenberg, regent of Laurentium, according to whom ‘piety [was] better than learned education.’⁵⁵⁴

Cologne was also home to a Marian sodality that was established by the Jesuit Frans Costerus in 1575. It was initially only for students, but Catholic refugees were quickly accepted as members as well.⁵⁵⁵ As such the sodality had close ties with the Jesuit college and formed an extension of the religious education of students.⁵⁵⁶ Members of the sodality were expected to perform a number of individual acts of devotion (e.g. confession, meditation) and to partake in communal activities (including processions and missions), and their religiosity was strictly supervised.⁵⁵⁷ The spirituality promoted in the sodalities thus neatly echoed the spirituality advocated in the religious books examined above, which illuminates the combined efforts of the various institutions of the Catholic Church working towards the transformation of the lives and beliefs of the laity.

As students and as members of sodalities, Catholic nobles were introduced to a new ‘type of Catholicism’ that had features that were unknown to Catholics from the Republic, especially in the later sixteenth century, when religious books and priests trained in the ‘spirit of the Counter-Reformation’ had just started to find their way to the Republic.⁵⁵⁸ In Cologne Catholics were also able to participate in processions – forbidden in the Republic – and were exposed to the baroque Catholicism that started to emerge in parts of the Holy Roman Empire, providing a new religious experience to Dutch Catholics. Studying abroad, then, could be a liminal experience, similar to the experience of Dutch Catholics who went on pilgrimage to a shrine across the border.⁵⁵⁹ Catholic nobles from various parts of the Republic studied at the same gymnasia, which fostered the creation of networks, while membership of the Marian sodality in Cologne created a sense of solidarity.⁵⁶⁰ In these Catholic areas outside the Republic a strong confessional identity was cultivated and transmitted

⁵⁵³ Meuthen, *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte*, 353.

⁵⁵⁴ Cited in *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Geert H. Janssen, ‘The Counter-Reformation of the refugee: exile and the shaping of Catholic militancy in the Dutch Revolt’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63:4 (2012), 678.

⁵⁵⁶ Kuckhoff, *Triconoratum*, 244. Brouwers, *Scribani*, 32.

⁵⁵⁷ Janssen, ‘The Counter-Reformation of the refugee’, 679. Kuckhoff, *Triconoratum*, 244–5, 249. Brouwers, *Scribani*, 32–3. Louis Chatellier, *The Europe of the devout: the Catholic Reformation and the formation of a new society* (Cambridge, 1989), 19–46.

⁵⁵⁸ Janssen, ‘The Counter-Reformation of the refugee’, 679. Samme Zijlstra, ‘Studying abroad. The student years of two Frisian brothers at Cologne and Douai (1582–1593)’, in: Koen Goudriaan et al. (eds), *Education and learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600: essays in honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens* (Leiden, 2004), 305.

⁵⁵⁹ Wingens, *Over de grens*, 27, 265–6.

⁵⁶⁰ Janssen, ‘The Counter-Reformation of the refugee’, 679.

to nobles through universities and sodalities, hence the importance Dutch Catholic nobles attributed to the foreign education their children enjoyed.

Religious writings of Catholic nobles

In some rare cases Catholic nobles wrote about religion, such as Duchess Madeleine de Cusance, wife of Duke Albert van Bergh, who noted down some poems and a number of prayers in a small booklet.⁵⁶¹ She grouped the prayers under the heading ‘Pious exercise in waking and for the rest of the day for my use’, and accompanied various daily activities with specific prayers, thus creating a religious structure or framework within which daily life took place.⁵⁶² The prayers consisted of a combination of phrases from different psalms, as for example in the prayer that was tailored to the moment of awakening: ‘Bless the Lord, my soul, and all things which are within me, bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, my soul, and do not forget every reward of Him, He who pardons all my sins’ (Psalm 102:1–3). The prayer continued with two lines from Psalm 17 – ‘Shall I not love Thee, Lord, my only defender? The Lord is my rock-fastness, my stronghold, my liberator. My God and my creator and my redeemer and my protector, I will trust in Him’ – followed by some lines from Psalm 30.⁵⁶³ The slight modification of the Latin text of some prayers signifies that Madeleine resorted to these prayers for personal use: in the third line of Psalm 102 (‘Qui propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus tuis’), for instance, the adjective ‘tuis’ was replaced by ‘meis’, the sentence now referring to Madeleine instead of addressing an undefined person.

During activities such as getting dressed, Madeleine’s prayers consisted of parts of the ‘vesting prayers’, the prayers spoken by a priest while putting on his vestment as part of the liturgy. After having dressed and when leaving the room, Madeleine prayed to God that He would direct her to the righteous way, and the prayer used when undressing was a combination of a vesting prayer – ‘Undress me, Lord, that old man, from his habits and behaviour’ – and a phrase from Psalm 50: ‘And create a pure heart in me; restore a right spirit into my flesh.’ Most of Madeleine’s prayers, whether they were based on vesting prayers or on the psalms, were requests to God to enable her to live according to His commandments, to forgive her sins, and to protect her from evil. As such these prayers also echoed a central tenet of the Counter-Reformation, namely moral self-control and improvement, and her prayers show a deeply felt belief that without the help of God, Man would be

⁵⁶¹ GA, Huis Bergh, inv. 858. The booklet dates from 1651.

⁵⁶² ‘Exercice pieuse en s’evellant et pour le rest de la journee pour mon usage.’

⁵⁶³ GA, Huis Bergh, inv. 858, 8/15.

overcome by sin. She might have taken a cue from one of the apostolic vicars, for it was Philippus Rovenius who advocated the use of these kinds of short prayer during various daily activities.⁵⁶⁴

According to Theo Clemens, the combination of education and prayer became dominant, and he argues that the new forms of prayer became ‘more rational and distant [as] the intimate and direct relationship with God and the saints was displaced in the prayer books (kerkboeken) by the evocation of doctrinal truths (while praying) and the constant occupation with the perfection of oneself’.⁵⁶⁵ Marc Wingens has discerned a similar development with regard to Catholic pilgrimages: according to him these acts of devotion were ‘spiritualised’, because the goal of pilgrimages, as propagated by the Church, shifted from acquiring divine aid for physical ailments to requesting help from God in spiritual matters.⁵⁶⁶ Rather than physical improvement as the desired outcome of a pilgrimage, the Church advocated moral and spiritual improvement as the main aim. This development is reflected in the prayers of Madeleine, since nowhere does she pray for her physical well-being, and moreover her prayers are a form of dagheiliging, another type of devotion advocated in post-Tridentine devotional literature.⁵⁶⁷ She also called her prayers ‘exercises’, strengthening the impression that they were meant for continuous use in order to attain spiritual progress. Having said this, new forms of devotion were introduced but did not entirely replace older ones, something which Wingens acknowledges. Among the prayers of Madeleine we encounter for instance a number which aim at establishing an intimate relationship with God, and which are less easy to square within the developments described by Clemens.⁵⁶⁸ Under the heading ‘Acte d’amour’, for example, Madeleine wrote: ‘I love you, most beloved Jesus. I love you, unlimited benevolence. I love you with all my heart, with all my soul, with all my strength, and I wish and desire to love you more and more.’⁵⁶⁹

Less passionate are the writings contained in a ‘booklet with moral and religious contemplations’, probably written around 1700 by Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden, according to the inventory.⁵⁷⁰ The author was certainly Catholic, for when writing about the ‘injurious deeds in the Church’ (iniura facta in templo) he lamented the stripping of altars, the destruction of images, and

⁵⁶⁴ Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650: hard-won unity* (Basingstoke, 2004), 385. Philippus Rovenius, *Het gulden wierockvat* (Antwerpen, 1670), ‘tot den lezer’ and passim.

⁵⁶⁵ Clemens, *De godsdienstigheid*, 76.

⁵⁶⁶ Wingens, *Over de grens*. See also Walsham, ‘The sacred landscape’, in: *The Ashgate research companion*, 215.

⁵⁶⁷ Clemens, *De godsdienstigheid*, 77.

⁵⁶⁸ Although Clemens did find a small number of prayer books which included more ‘affective prayers’. Ibid., 79.

⁵⁶⁹ GA, Huis Bergh, inv. 858, 15/15.

⁵⁷⁰ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 261 (unpaginated). The booklet does not contain any information about or reference to the possible author. Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden (d. 1727) was the son of Gerrit van Amstel van Mijnden and Anna van Brakel. The booklet starts with the phrase ‘Laus deo semper’ (always praise God), a phrase which also was used by Jacob’s uncle, Joost van Amstel van Mijnden (see NA, HVZ, inv. 684, f. 1r).

the mockery of the sacrament of the altar (the Eucharist).⁵⁷¹ Jacob's feelings about this religious upheaval cannot be separated from his political outlook, since he preferred in all things tranquillity and peace, as a result of which justice and law might flower.⁵⁷² He raises the question what is to blame for all kinds of turmoil, yet he seems not to attribute it solely to heresy or the cruelty of tyrants.⁵⁷³ At any rate, he disapproved of this religious upheaval; according to him, the best condition was a state of tranquillity and peacefulness.

At the individual level, tranquillity was something people should actively seek as well: Jacob's description of a holy man is rather traditional in seeing such a man as someone who 'curbed everything of the frolicsome mind, extinguished the wantonness of the fires of desire, [and] quenched the desires of all sins, he repressed all turbulent movements' – to sum up, someone who enjoyed 'tranquillity and chastity of mind'.⁵⁷⁴ For Jacob, perhaps influenced by Jansenist spirituality, an important component of being holy was to have knowledge about God and all that was holy. In an entry titled 'Deum adorare', Jacob stated that it was essential to gain knowledge about 'the essence of both divine and human things' so that we 'may pursue God through the greatest good with honourable love and reverence'.⁵⁷⁵ The importance of knowledge is emphasised in Jacob's description of a good young person as well, since because of religious knowledge, a young person can attain holiness and set an example 'of absolute piety' that has to be followed by all.⁵⁷⁶ For Jacob, a thorough understanding of religion brought one closer to God and able to become a better believer and a better person. The religious writings of Madeleine and Jacob are in tune with the religious books Catholic nobles possessed, and they reflect some aspects of the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation, such as striving for spiritual well-being and personal sanctification.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., under the header: *Discriptio iniuara facta in templo*.

⁵⁷² Ibid., under the header: *Pax et concordia*.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., under the header: *Modus applicandi scelera*. The whole text is: 'Adque, vos auditores, unde et ex quo fonte tot et tantas rerum sacrarum profanationes, tot tectorum incendia, tot hominibus piis iustisque illatas iniurias, tot rerum omnium motus ac tumultus manasse arbitramini; non ex tyrannorum immanitate; an ex heresi ac sectis; quibus quasi ligati ducebantur; an ex odio quod in veteratum renovare ac ulcisci vellent; an ex libidine et cupiditate rapiendi; an ex audacia an ex domestica sua turpitudine ac difficultate turcarum haec est crudelis immanitas.'

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., under the header: *Descriptio hominis sancti*. See also his description of an impious man (*homo impius*). Perhaps Jacob was influenced by Justus Lipsius' *De constantia in publicis malis* (1583), a popular Neostoic book in which Lipsius argued that man should not be moved by the violent changes European societies underwent at that time. Jan Papy, 'Justus Lipsius', in: Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Stanford, Fall 2011). <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/justus-lipsius/> Last accessed at 19-12-2014. Also: Pollmann, *Religious choice in the Dutch Republic*, 53–4.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., under the header: *Deum adorare*.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., under the header: *Descriptio probi adolescentis*.

Part II: The Reformations and Catholic religious material culture

The material aspects of Catholicism were challenged by prominent reformers such as Martin Luther and John Calvin, who dismissed the veneration of statues and other religious imagery as idolatry. Hostile to the idea that there existed an instrumental relationship between the believer and God such that the believer could invoke divine power by acts of piety, the reformers did away with most of the religious paraphernalia which decorated church walls or was to be found in the homes of the laity.⁵⁷⁷ The reformers dispensed with the notions that saints had any intercessory power and that divine power was located in sacred places and material objects, and Protestant theology regarding the material aspects of Catholicism was echoed in the policy of the Republic's secular authorities, as chapels and other sacred spaces were razed to the ground at their behest.⁵⁷⁸ By prohibiting open acts of worship such as processions and pilgrimages, and by taking other measures to prevent such illegal acts of worship, the authorities tried to root out superstition and idolatry.⁵⁷⁹

In a characteristic manner the Council of Trent responded to Protestant theology by reaffirming most of the practices of the medieval Church, yet this defensive stance on traditional practices certainly did not mean that the Council left everything intact, since in the higher ranks of the clergy there was a degree of dissatisfaction with a number of popular practices.⁵⁸⁰ In its twenty-fifth session the Council ruled that saints had the power to intercede on behalf of human beings, and that therefore honour should be attributed to them through the images and statues representing particular saints. At the same time the Council tried to remedy the belief that divine power was located in these images of saints: it was not to be believed 'that any divinity, or virtue, is... in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them'.⁵⁸¹ This decree shows that the Council was not entirely at ease with some religious practices of the laity, many of which had been condoned but never officially sanctioned by the medieval Church. But rather than doing away with these acts of devotion altogether, the Tridentine Church tried to modify the beliefs which accompanied religious practices, or to incorporate those practices within a normative ecclesiastical framework.⁵⁸²

The Catholic Church thus consciously steered away from the popular idea that all kinds of religious objects could be used for the believer's material gain and support in everyday life, but changing the minds and attitudes of the laity proved to be a difficult and slow process. In addition to

⁵⁷⁷ On instrumental relationships between the believer and God, see Wingens, *Over de grens*, 11–2 and passim.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 22, 49.

⁵⁷⁹ Wingens, *Over de grens*, 20–1. Knuttel, *Toestand*, 1: 273.

⁵⁸⁰ Walsham, *Reformation of the landscape*, ch. 1.

⁵⁸¹ Schroeder, *Canons*, 216. Catholic catechisms reflected the decrees of Trent. E.g. Christiaen vanden Berge, *Catholycke catechismus*, 70–1.

⁵⁸² Wingens, *Over de grens*, 261. Walsham, *Reformation of the landscape*, 213–4.

the modification of Church doctrine, because of politico-religious changes the religious objects associated with Catholicism acquired a range of new meanings. In Protestant countries the religious material culture of Catholicism was imbued with a polemical and political meaning, since by possessing particular religious item or performing certain acts of piety believers emphasised their dissenting religious preferences. Miracles were used by Catholics to show that God favoured the true religion, and for a Catholic living in a Protestant country, going on pilgrimage was an act of both devotion and defiance.⁵⁸³

Religious paintings

In devotional literature and catechisms, the importance of owning religious objects was explained to the laity. Petrus vanden Bossche's *Den catholycke pedagoge* stipulated that Catholics should have in their houses:

A crucifix of our Saviour, as a clear sign of their Christian calling and standard of their spiritual [gheestelijken] battle... A statue of Mary, to always hold her in memory and to arouse their affection for her... Other devotional paintings, either of saints or of pious histories, with which to decorate their houses... to entertain the viewers and to incite themselves and others to virtuous things.⁵⁸⁴

In addition to being a source of devotion or inspiration, religious paintings were also used in combination with mental prayers, during which believers had to imagine themselves present at a particular biblical event.⁵⁸⁵ A depiction of such an event could help the believer with his prayers and religious exercises. Moreover, images in general were seen as useful tools to spread the teachings of the Church, and increasingly elaborate images, with textual explanations of their meaning, were included in the books that were published for the Catholic laity.⁵⁸⁶

More so than in England, paintings constituted an important part of the religious material culture of Dutch Catholicism, and many Catholic nobles owned a number of paintings depicting

⁵⁸³ Alexandra Walsham, 'Miracles and the Counter-Reformation mission to England', *Historical Journal* 46 (2003), 779–815. Wingens, *Over de grens*, 177–84.

⁵⁸⁴ Vanden Bossche, *Pedagoge*, 261.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 140. Anthony Mottola (ed.), *The spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius* (London, 1989), 54–5, 60, 69–70.

⁵⁸⁶ Julia, 'Reading and the Counter-Reformation', 266–7. See e.g. *'t Schat der zielen* (Amsterdam, 1648), a copy of which was owned by the non-noble Willem Bicker (RG, Wissocq, inv. 4325: inventory of Willem Bicker's goods), or Antoine Gerard's *Les peintures sacrées sur la Bible* (Paris, 1665), a book in the possession of the Catholic nobleman Thomas Walraven van Arkel. Images of saints (statues, paintings) were seen to provide the laity with models of exemplary life that were more forceful than words. Vanden Berge, *Catholycke catechismus*, 71.

saints, the Holy Family and scenes from the bible.⁵⁸⁷ The extent to which a specific Catholic iconography came into being after the Reformation is not clear, however, and has been a subject of debate among (art) historians. Christian Tümpel has argued that in general ‘Catholic biblical scenes did not exist... as there were no differences in the paintings made by Catholic and Protestant artists,’ and P. Theissings explained that a distinct Catholic iconography did not emerge because ‘the great majority of paintings of biblical subjects were probably not even made with the presumption of a particular religious conviction, and merely served the often free-thinking, general Christian ethic.’⁵⁸⁸ An additional complicating factor is that inventories of Protestants show that some of them owned paintings that were generally associated with Catholicism, such as the Passion of Christ or altarpieces.⁵⁸⁹ Gabriël Pastoor has therefore suggested that we should conceive individual paintings in relation to the whole painting collection of a specific owner, since this relationship might imbue a painting with a ‘specific meaning’.⁵⁹⁰ If, for instance, an altarpiece was part of a collection that mainly consisted of secular art, it is likely that the altarpiece served as an object of art rather than an object of devotion: in the context of the collection, the ‘sacral character of the religious image and its devotional meaning’ were de-emphasised.⁵⁹¹ The (physical) place of religious art is important and should be taken into account as well: Richard Williams has observed that the altarpieces owned by Protestant gentlemen in England were displayed ‘in secular spaces of their houses’ and not in the chapels, something ‘which greatly reduced the threat of their idolatrous misuse’.⁵⁹²

Because of the absence of a separate Catholic iconography and the possession of ‘Catholic’ paintings by Protestants, historians have attempted to discern patterns in the painting collections of Catholics and Protestants in order to detect which (biblical) themes were more likely to be owned by members of a specific confession. Although the results of such research are preliminary, it turns out that themes which were predominantly represented among paintings owned by Catholics revolved

⁵⁸⁷ Richard L. Williams, ‘Cultures of dissent: English Catholics and the visual arts’, in: *Catholic communities in Protestant states*, 236–7.

⁵⁸⁸ Christian Tümpel, ‘Religieuze schilderkunst’, in: Albert Blankert et al. (eds), *God en de goden: verhalen uit de bijbelse en klassieke oudheid door Rembrandt en zijn tijdgenoten* (Amsterdam, 1981), 51. P. J. J. van Thiel, ‘Catholic elements in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, apropos of a children’s portrait by Thomas de Keyser’, *Simiolus* 20:1 (1990–1), 55.

⁵⁸⁹ Ben Olde Meierink and Angelique Bakker, ‘The Utrecht elite as patrons and collectors’, in: Joaneath A. Spicer et al. (eds), *Masters of light: Dutch painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (Baltimore, 1997), 81. Eric Jan Sluijter, ‘“All striving to adorne their houses with costly peeces”. Two case studies of paintings in wealthy interiors’, in: Mariët Westermann, *Art & home: Dutch interiors in the age of Rembrandt* (Zwolle, 2001), 126. It has been suggested that such paintings were inherited and kept for their ‘sentimental and artistic value’. Gabriël M. C. Pastoor, ‘Bijbelse historiestukken in particulier bezit’, in: Christian Tümpel, *Het Oude Testament in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle, 1991), 124.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁵⁹² Williams, ‘Cultures of dissent’, 245. Williams mentions (p. 246) that the authorities would act against Catholic owners of such paintings, showing that the religious affiliation of the owner and the place where the painting was hung were deemed more important than the religious overtones of the painting itself.

around Christ and Mary, such as the Passion of Christ and the Annunciation.⁵⁹³ Catholics were also more likely to own paintings of saints, some of whom had clear links with the Counter-Reformation, such as the Jesuits saints Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier.⁵⁹⁴ Both Catholic and Protestant households possessed paintings representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments, but Protestants tended to own more images depicting scenes from the Old Testament, whereas figures indicate that Catholics clearly preferred New Testament subjects, arguably because of the ‘specific religious functions of devotional images’ within Catholicism.⁵⁹⁵

The inventories of Catholic nobles reveal that some of them were ardent collectors of art, most notably Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst, whose collection numbered over 190 paintings.⁵⁹⁶ At least sixty paintings were displayed at Loenersloot Castle, around fifty-nine paintings decorated the walls of Vronestein Castle in 1691, and Johan de Baer van Slangenburg owned around fifty paintings.⁵⁹⁷ In most cases religious paintings formed a sizeable part of the collection, yet never the majority: only thirty-five of the roughly 192 paintings owned by Willem Vincent had a religious and devotional character. Similarly, seven of the sixty or so paintings owned by Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden and his wife Maria van Spaarnwoude were religious paintings. Many of the paintings in the possession of Catholic nobles were portraits of family members, but they also owned landscapes, paintings with classical themes, and depictions of everyday life.⁵⁹⁸

Catholic nobles collected paintings of religious subjects that were popular among Protestants as well, such as the supper at Emmaus, Susanna and the elders, and the sacrifice of Abraham.⁵⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the subjects of the religious paintings owned by Catholic nobles reflect the trends of Catholic painting ownership described above: of the 106 religious paintings they owned, seventy-two (67.9%) depicted figures or scenes from the New Testament, and forty-five of those seventy-two paintings (62.5%) revolved around Mary and Christ. The seven religious paintings in the possession of Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden provide a good example, since these included the transfiguration of

⁵⁹³ John Michael Montias, ‘Works of art in seventeenth-century Amsterdam: an analysis of subjects and attributions’, in: Jan November de Vries and David Freedberg (eds), *Art in history, history in art: studies in seventeenth-century Dutch culture* (Santa Monica, CA, 1991), 358, 360. John Loughman, ‘Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie: openbare en privé-verzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620–1719’, in: Peter Marijnissen et al. (eds), *De zichtbaer werelt: schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands oudste stad* (Zwolle, 1992), 56.

⁵⁹⁴ Sluiter, ‘All striving to adorne’. Montias, ‘Works of art’, 358, 360.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 358, 360. Loughman’s figures indicate that Protestants also preferred New Testament subjects, but that this preference was less marked than among Catholics. Loughman, ‘Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie’, 58. Pastoor, ‘Bijbelse historiestukken’, 123.

⁵⁹⁶ Marion Boers-Goosens, ‘De schilderijenverzameling van baron Willem Vincent van Wyttenhorst’, *Oud Holland* 117:3–4 (2004), 181.

⁵⁹⁷ Olde Meierink, ‘The Utrecht elite’, 79. NA, HVZ, inv. 813. H. W. Hoppenbrouwers, ‘Slangenburg, kasteel, bouwgeschiedenis en kunstschaten’, in: *Slangenburg*, 33, 160–1.

⁵⁹⁸ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 234.

⁵⁹⁹ Boers-Goosens, ‘De schilderijenverzameling’, 218, 240. GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246. NA, HVZ, inv. 799 and inv. 940. Montias, ‘Works of art’, 359. Loughman, ‘Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie’, 49.

Christ, the resurrection of Christ, a depiction of the Holy Family, a triptych of the crucifixion, and the flight of Our Lady from Egypt.⁶⁰⁰ The noblewoman Maria van Brakel, a spiritual virgin, owned, among other religious paintings, images of the death of the Virgin, the birth of Christ, and the dead Christ lying in the lap of Mary, while Willem de Wael van Vronestein possessed paintings of Mary and of the baptism of Christ.⁶⁰¹ Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst had paintings of members of the Holy Family, such as landscapes with Anna and Christ and with Joseph and Christ, and he also owned an *Ecce Homo*, as did Joost de Wael van Vronestein and Isabella van Camons.⁶⁰²

This focus on Christ and Mary is not surprising, as Counter-Reformation spirituality heavily focused on the Passion of Christ and Mary's sorrow, as exemplified in devotional literature (e.g. Willem de Wael van Vronestein's book *Exercise in devotion*). Catholic nobles did possess paintings of other saints, however, such as of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and saints Michael, Anthony and Catharine. The Apostles Peter and Paul were of great significance to Catholicism; Joost van den Vondel, the great Dutch poet and playwright, wrote a play about Peter and Paul after his conversion to Catholicism, depicting these Apostles as the pillars on which the Catholic Church rested.⁶⁰³ Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, only one of the 106 religious paintings depicted the saints Willibrord or Boniface, although apostolic vicars Sasbout Vosmeer and Philippus Rovenius promoted the veneration of these national saints.⁶⁰⁴ Vosmeer established a confraternity dedicated to the veneration of these saints in Cologne, and both he and his successor Rovenius included the feast days of these saints in the liturgical calendar of Dutch Catholics.⁶⁰⁵ Inventories show that there were Catholics who owned paintings of these saints, but it appears that for some reason the veneration of Willibrord and Boniface did not become popular among nobles, or at least that their popularity did not materialise in the painting collections of the Catholic nobility.⁶⁰⁶

Scenes and figures from the Old Testament enjoyed far less popularity among the Catholic nobles (only sixteen out of 106 religious paintings – 15.1%), but they were not completely absent from their painting collections. Willem de Wael van Vronestein owned a 'history of Isaiah', the eighth-century BC prophet who prophesied against the nation of Judah because its people had turned away

⁶⁰⁰ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 234. The other religious painting was an image of caritas.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., inv. 246, f. 1r–v. NA, HVZ, inv. 862.

⁶⁰² Boers-Goosens, 'De schilderijenverzameling', 217, 223. NA, HVZ, inv. 764. Most of the religious paintings owned by Catharina Rudolphina van Zuylen van Nyevelt, who lived in Brussels, also revolved around Christ and Mary. HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 53.

⁶⁰³ Xander van Eck, *Kunst, twist en devotie: Goudse katholieke schuilkerken 1572–1795* (Delft, 1994), 164.

⁶⁰⁴ Willebrord was depicted on one of the outer doors of the Den Ham triptych (he was the patron of Vleuten's parish church). Casper Staal, 'Johan Ludolph van Rhenen, vicaris te Vleuten, paap op Den Ham en redder van de Cunera-relieken', *JOU* (1996), 76–7.

⁶⁰⁵ Xander van Eck, *Clandestine splendor: paintings for the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle, 2008), 51–79. L. J. Rogier, 'De cultus van Sint Willibrord bij de apostolische vicarissen der Hollandse zending in de zeventiende eeuw', *Historisch Tijdschrift* 18:3 (1939), 246–74. Parker, *Faith*, 184–7.

⁶⁰⁶ E.g. Sluiter, 'All striving to adorne', 231.

from God and lived in great sin.⁶⁰⁷ Arguably, it was not a coincidence that Willem owned a painting with this theme, as the prophet's history could easily be linked to the religious situation in the Dutch Republic. In the eyes of Catholics, many of their fellow Dutch had gone astray and left the old Church for a heretical religion. In the words of Isaiah: 'Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.'⁶⁰⁸ From a Catholic perspective (Isaiah also was popular among Dutch Protestants), Isaiah addressed the Protestant part of the nation, for they had left the true faith in which they, and certainly their ancestors, had been raised. It was an exhortation to Protestants to return to the Catholic Church: did not Isaiah prophesy doom to the sinful people of Judah?

Other paintings depicting biblical scenes were closely related to the fact that Catholics lived amidst various heretical 'sects'. Maria van Winssen owned a painting of 'a great landscape with the history of Philippus and the baptism of the Moor', and a painting with the same theme decorated a wall of the clandestine church of St Gertrude in Utrecht.⁶⁰⁹ A number of other conversion paintings were also commissioned for clandestine churches, depicting for instance the conversion of William of Aquitaine, who supported the antipope Anacletus II, or the incredulity of Thomas, a 'figure frequently held up to Catholics as a role model, someone who, after a period of doubt, returned to the true faith'.⁶¹⁰ Whether it was the conversion of an infidel or heretic, or the removal of doubt from a Catholic, these conversion stories all attested to the strength of the Catholic faith, and resounded even more forcefully in the hearts and minds of Catholics who lived among Protestants. On the other hand, the baptism of the chamberlain was a popular theme among other confessions as well, as its meaning could be explained according to the tenets of competing faiths, again showing the common ground of the different Christian confessions that emerged over the course of the sixteenth century.⁶¹¹

Two nobles possessed paintings of the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt, and biblical precedents like these were used as arguments by those who supported the exile of Catholics from territories that were ruled by Protestants.⁶¹² One of the owners of a painting with this theme, Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst, did leave the Dutch Republic at some point, as he settled in the part of Guelders that was in the hands of Catholic Spain; the other owner, Maria van Winssen, remained in the Dutch Republic for her whole life. Catholics found themselves betwixt and between loyalty to

⁶⁰⁷ NA, HVZ, inv. 862.

⁶⁰⁸ Isaiah 1:2. This quote is taken from the King James Bible, Cambridge edition.

⁶⁰⁹ NA, HVZ, inv. 940, f. 44v. Van Eck, *Clandestine splendor*, 142.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 67–77, citation on p. 70.

⁶¹¹ Xander van Eck, 'Schilderkunst en religieuze verdraagzaamheid in de Gouden Eeuw', in: Xander van Eck and Ruud Priem (eds), *Vormen van verdraagzaamheid. Religieuze (in)tolerantie in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle-Utrecht, 2013), 73.

⁶¹² GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 234. Boers-Goosens, 'De schilderijenverzameling', 218, 236. Janssen, 'Quo vadis', 485–6. Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the refugee', 676–7.

their religion and to the Protestant country in which they lived, but most of them found a way to reconcile these two seemingly conflicting loyalties, as loyalty to Catholicism did not invariably mean loyalty to any Catholic ruler.⁶¹³ Yet some Catholic nobles who owned portraits of Charles V and his son Philip II might have secretly longed for the restoration of Catholicism under the guiding hand of a Catholic king.⁶¹⁴ The inventories of the Catholic nobles that have been studied do not include any paintings of William of Orange or his family members, whereas research on painting ownership has shown that such paintings were popular among the Dutch at the time.⁶¹⁵

For Catholics living in a Protestant country, martyrs constituted impressive exempla of steadfastness in times of religious persecution. Yet neither among the paintings which decorated the walls of clandestine churches in the Dutch Republic, nor among the paintings owned by Catholic nobles, many depictions of martyrs are to be found.⁶¹⁶ One noble possessed a painting of the torture of Lawrence (of Rome), a third-century AD martyr, whereas others nobles owned paintings of St Catharine (of Alexandria) and St Cecilia, a female Roman martyr who died for her faith around 230 AD. Besides being a martyr, Cecilia was also a member of the Roman nobility, and this convergence between her noble and religious identities might have made her a particularly interesting figure for Catholic nobles. Even though Dutch Catholics remembered their martyrs in pamphlets, books and objects, it is not clear why this culture of remembrance was not replicated in the paintings of the Catholic nobility.⁶¹⁷

Portraits

Most Catholic nobles owned a significant number of portraits (conterfeytsels) of family members and relatives, which could have multiple functions: as parts of Ahnengalerien, portraits showed the long pedigree of the family, while the noble quarters that were often depicted in the

⁶¹³ On the ambivalent feelings of Catholics during the French occupation, see Bertrand Forclaz, “‘Rather French than subject to the prince of Orange’”. The conflicting loyalties of the Utrecht Catholics during the French occupation (1672/73)’, *Church History and Religious Culture* 87:4 (2007), esp. 525–6.

⁶¹⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 921, f. 2r. For Catholic ideas of the restoration of Catholicism, see Xander van Eck, ‘Dreaming of an eternally Catholic Utrecht during Protestant rule: Jan van Bijlert’s Holy Trinity with Sts Willibrord and Boniface’, *Simiolus* 30:1–2 (2003), 19–33. Note 420.

⁶¹⁵ Loughman, ‘Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie’, 47.

⁶¹⁶ Van Eck, *Clandestine splendor*, 76. Among Utrecht painters the martyr St Sebastian did enjoy some popularity. Joneath A. Spicer et al. (eds), *Masters of light: Dutch painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (Baltimore, 1997), 155–61. Willem Frijhoff noted that in England martyrs were honoured with more intensity than in the Republic. Willem Frijhoff, ‘Shifting identities in hostile settings: towards a comparison of the Catholic communities in early modern Britain and the Northern Netherlands’, in: *Catholic communities in Protestant states*, 7.

⁶¹⁷ Judith Pollmann, ‘Met grootvaders bloed bezegeld. Over religie en herinneringscultuur in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden’, *DZE* 29:2 (2013), 157–61.

paintings emphasised the family's noble status.⁶¹⁸ Portraits could also have a religious message, with texts such as 'God have his soul' imploring viewers to pray for the soul of the deceased, but according to Thiel, 'the Catholic portrait... played only a very modest role compared to the Catholic history painting and devotional picture.'⁶¹⁹ In the Republic, portraits were mostly used to display the social status of the person who was depicted rather than to profess a religious affiliation. Thiel argues, however, that even though it perhaps did not happen often, especially in the first decades of the seventeenth century Catholics used portraits to profess their faith 'more frequently and ostentatiously than Protestants'.⁶²⁰

As it turns out, Catholic nobles did not use portraits to convey their religious affiliation, at least not in the seventeenth century, because portraits were mainly vehicles for displaying their socio-economic status.⁶²¹ The Catholic noblewoman Anna Maria Sidonia van Bronckhorst (fig. 2) for instance, is depicted wearing expensive clothes and jewellery, while next to her left foot a large sheet of paper shows all her noble quarters. Behind her are depicted two estates, one of which is Stein Castle, which had been in the hands of her family for more than a century.⁶²² Noblemen were often displayed wearing armour, as in the portraits of Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst and Elbert van Isendoorn à Blois (figs 3 and 4).⁶²³ Traditionally armour referred to the fact that a nobleman served in the army, but armour was also used to show the *riddermatige* status of a nobleman.⁶²⁴ Elbert van Isendoorn à Blois was an officer in the Dutch army; Willem Vincent was not a soldier, but in his portrait, which was made in 1650, he is depicted in armour, even though he only would become a member of the knighthood of the Overkwartier in 1660.⁶²⁵ Possibly the noble custom of displaying their *riddermatige* status by being depicted wearing armour was not limited to Reformed noblemen

⁶¹⁸ Piet Bakker, 'De Friese adel en de schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw', *Virtus* 15 (2008), 43–71.

⁶¹⁹ Van Thiel, 'Catholic elements', 58.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ At least this seems to be the case among Catholic nobles from Utrecht and Guelders. G. Six, however, mentions some Catholic nobles from Frisia who were depicted holding a prayer book. G. A. Six, *Het slot Wiardastate te Goutum bij Leeuwarden...* (Leeuwarden, 1873), 180–1, 183, 196.

⁶²² Steven Coene, 'Het geportretteerde huis. Landhuizen op de achtergrond van portretten uit de zeventiende eeuw', *Virtus* 15 (2008), 111–3, 115.

⁶²³ See also: 'Bijlage 2: de familieportretten', *Slangenburgh*, 160–1. Boers-Goosens, 'De schilderijenverzameling', 232–41.

⁶²⁴ A. J. Mensema, 'Mannen in harnas. Portretten van Overijsselse riddermatigen in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Virtus* 16 (2009), 54–67. I. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Een drieluik van Jacques de Gheyn', in: J. Bruyn et al. (eds), *Album amicorum J. G. van Gelder* (The Hague, 1973), 256. Coene, 'Het geportretteerde huis', 116–7. Male members of the Orange family were often depicted wearing armour, symbolising their position as rulers and commanders. Ibid., 110–1.

⁶²⁵ Verstegen, 'Cannenburg', 149. Boers-Goosens, 'De schilderijenverzameling', 227. Adolf Steffens, *Geschiedenis der aloude heerlijkheid en der heeren van ter Horst* (Roermond, 1888), 89. Another example is Thomas Walraven van Arkel, who did not serve in the army (his father did), but who was depicted wearing armour. Rietbergen, 'The library', 272. F. G. L. O van Kretschmar, 'Wat over de familieportretten van Ammersoyen achterhaald kon worden', in: D. J. G. Buurman (ed.), *Ammersoyen. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het kasteel, de heerlijkheid en de heren van Ammersoyen* (Zutphen, 1986), 218.

who actually were admitted to the knighthood: Willem Vincent's wife Wilhelmina van Bronckhorst owned Nijenrode House, which would have given Willem access to the knighthood of Utrecht if he had not been Catholic.⁶²⁶ At any rate, despite the religious differences among Dutch nobles, their portraits were similar, as the main goal was to convey the noble's social status to the viewer. Although the painting collections betrayed the faith of Catholic nobles and signal the existence of a Catholic subculture, in general portraits were not used by Catholic nobles to profess their faith or to distinguish themselves from their Protestant peers.



Fig. 2. Portrait of Anna Maria Sidonia van Bronckhorst.

⁶²⁶ For a similar example of a Catholic nobleman from a *riddermatige* family wearing armour, see: Van Regteren Altena, 'Een drieluik', 256.



Fig 3. Portrait of Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst (c. 1640).



Fig. 4. Portrait of Thomas Walraven van Arkel (Cornelis van Poelenburgh, 1651).

Religious material culture and religiosity on noble estates

The religious material culture on the estates of Catholic nobles encompassed more than paintings and included a variety of other objects, such as Agni Dei, crucifixes and statues of saints, as well as rarer items such as a silver bowl with the image of Christ being baptised, or a decorated cabinet with a statue of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin.⁶²⁷ Some of these religious objects were made of precious materials, and therefore reflected both the piety and the wealth of their owners: Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden owned an Agnus Dei that was made of crystal and studded with gold, and Ursula van Raesfelt mentioned in her codicil of 1718 that one of her sons had snatched a 'silver cross with accessories [toebehoren]' that was worth around 15,000 guilders.⁶²⁸ In order to make sense of this wide array of religious objects, we not only need to study these objects and the way they were related to one another, but we also have to relate these objects to the spaces in which they were placed, all of which should enable us to understand their role in various devotional practices, and ultimately the religiosity of Catholic nobles.

Often the majority of religious objects were clustered in one space within the estates or houses owned by Catholic nobles, namely the chapel or the room that served as one. The chapel of Heemstede Castle, the castle built by the nobles Maria van Winssen and her husband Hendrick Pieck, Lord of Muyswinckel, was equipped with all kinds of objects which made the celebration of Mass possible, such as a chalice, a crucifix, a silver tabernacle (hostiedoos) and a number of antependia (voorhangsels); the necessary liturgical garments for priests (e.g. chasubles) and liturgical books (e.g. a missal and breviary) were available as well.⁶²⁹ The inventory of Vronestein Castle shows another lavishly decorated chapel, including two big statues of Mary, a number of crucifixes and crosses, and a wide range of paramenta (ecclesiastical vestments).⁶³⁰ The chapel in Cannenburg Castle (finished in 1664) included a small space for an organ and a connecting space which served as a sacristy, and it is possible that there was a confessional too.⁶³¹

Nobles estates which did not have a manorial chapel, often had a room in which Mass was celebrated, with a permanent or movable altar that had been consecrated by an apostolic vicar.⁶³² The celebration of Mass was very much a communal act of devotion, involving the members of the family

⁶²⁷ See e.g. GA, Huis Doornenburg, 243, f. 13r, 15v. NA, HVZ, inv. 669, copy of codicil of Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden (1632), f. 7r. NA, HVZ, inv. 412: codicil of Maria van Heereman (23-1-1699).

⁶²⁸ NA, HVZ, inv. 669, copy of codicil of Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden (1632), f. 4r. HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177, codicil of Ursula van Raesfelt (1718), f. 1v.

⁶²⁹ NA, HVZ, inv. 940, f. 59v–61r. For the religious objects in their house at the Plompstorengracht in Utrecht, see f. 34v–35r. Sometimes chapels were decorated with items that had been removed from parish churches. G. A. C. Juten, 'Den Ypelaer', *Taxandria* 8 (1941), 119. Also: note 781.

⁶³⁰ NA, HVZ, inv. 813, f.

⁶³¹ Temminck Groll, 'Het kasteel de Cannenburg', 63.

⁶³² Brom, 'Vier Missie-verslagen', 21.

who lived on the estate, and often members of nearby Catholic communities as well. Some noblemen were used to the daily celebration of Mass in their homes, and in exceptional circumstances the apostolic vicars gave missionary priests the authority to celebrate Mass twice a day (bineren) in order to accommodate the needs of local Catholic communities.⁶³³ Besides the celebration of Mass, Jesuits such as Willem de Wael van Vronestein promoted the frequent (monthly) reception of the Eucharist in the southern Netherlands, a practice which spread to the northern Netherlands.⁶³⁴ Acts of devotion in these manorial chapels were encouraged by the apostolic vicars: Rovenius blessed the image of the Virgin Mary that the Lord of Rhoon had placed next to the altar in his newly established domestic chapel (oratorium domesticum). Besides encouraging acts of piety in the chapel (such as praying, reciting Pater Nosters and Ave Marias, and hearing the canonical hours), Rovenius also tried to instil a confessional identity in believers by offering a plenary indulgence to those who confessed, took communion and prayed for the ‘exaltation of the Holy Church and for the extirpation of heresy’.⁶³⁵

Despite this concentration of religious objects in the manorial chapel, however, inventories show that other rooms on noble estates were decorated with devotional items as well. In Loenersloot Castle one or more religious paintings hung on the walls of the great hall (grote sael) and ‘middle chamber’, and a crucifix and a memorial painting (memorietafel) of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden (d. 1553) decorated the chamber of the lords of Loenersloot.⁶³⁶ Various religious objects such as crucifixes were spread throughout the house of Agatha Bijl, and an old bible lay in the room of the Lord of Dever (Willem de Wael van Vronestein).⁶³⁷ Some Catholic nobles owned vessels in which holy water was kept that might be part of the equipment of a chapel, but might also be used for private devotions.⁶³⁸ In Vronestein Castle, although it had its own chapel, an Ecce Homo hung on the wall of the bedroom, and two paintings of the Jesuit saints Ignatius and Xaverius decorated the kitchen.⁶³⁹ Architectural historian Hanneke Ronnes has argued that ‘the chapel’s religious association was to a degree transmitted to two alternative architectural spaces: the closet and garden.’⁶⁴⁰ The closet often was used for study, and it is likely that these and other private spaces (such as bedrooms) were used for acts of individual devotion. An excellent example of the religious aspect of such a

⁶³³ HUA, OBC, inv. 340, letter from Hendrik van Dorth (18/28-8-1692).

⁶³⁴ ROG, 2: 770.

⁶³⁵ A. van Rossum, ‘Brief van den Apostol. Vicars Philips van Roveen uit den jare 1617, betreffende de kapel op het Huis te Roon’, *AAU* 1 (1875), 55. This seems to have been a standard phrase that was used in other Protestant countries (England) as well. Walsham, *Reformation of the landscape*, 196.

⁶³⁶ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 234.

⁶³⁷ NA, HVZ, inv. 841.

⁶³⁸ NA, HVZ, inv. 930, f. 16r–v, 20v. GA, Doornenburg, inv. 246: will of 18-12-1680, f. 1v. GA, Ammerzoden, inv. 188: documents no. 5, 6, 8. Catechisms stipulated the use of holy water before starting to pray. E.g. Van den Berge, *Catholycke catechismus*, 52–3, 55.

⁶³⁹ NA, HVZ, inv. 813.

⁶⁴⁰ Hanneke Ronnes, *Architecture and Élite Culture in the United Provinces, England and Ireland, 1500–1700* (Amsterdam, 2006), 149.

private room is provided by the bedroom of Maria van Winssen, which contained a ‘gilded gold or silver cross of Caravaca’.⁶⁴¹ Interestingly, the Jesuit Willem de Wael van Vronestein, who was related to Maria, dedicated the book *Openbaeringhe, mirakelen, gratien van het Heyligh Cruys tot Caravaca in Spaignien* (‘Revelation, miracles, remissions of the Holy Cross in Caravaca in Spain’) to her.⁶⁴² In the preface Willem stated that he hoped that this book would offer her some comfort and entertainment, since she had suffered three losses, and the ‘double cross’ (the cross of Caravaca has two horizontal bars) would help her to bear her own cross, which, as Jesus said, every believer had to do.⁶⁴³ Although the inventory of her possessions does not include a copy of this book, it is very likely that she received a copy of it since it was dedicated to her, and the fact that she owned a cross of Caravaca suggests that she had read or was aware of the book and its message, and used the cross for her private devotions.⁶⁴⁴

Religious paintings and also furniture with religious decorations were to be found in more communal spaces, such as kitchens and halls in which families gathered and guests were invited.⁶⁴⁵ On the one hand, these religious objects might have helped Catholic nobles to structure the day around a set of devotional acts and the continuous endeavour to become a better Christian, which was so forcefully advocated by the Tridentine Church. Lisa McClain has argued that Catholics in England, bereft of churches and traditional sacred spaces, would reconceptualise the purpose of a room in the house in order to create new sacred spaces.⁶⁴⁶ Such a reconceptualization could be achieved in the mind; the Jesuit Robert Southwell encouraged lay Catholics to dedicate an ordinary space to a saint and enter it as if it was a chapel or church.⁶⁴⁷ The actual redecoration of an ordinary space could have aided such a reconceptualization, and doing so was less dangerous for Dutch Catholics than for their English counterparts. The same creative process might have been adopted by Catholic nobles living in the Netherlands as well, which offers another explanation as to why religious items were spread among various rooms in the houses of the Catholic nobility.

⁶⁴¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 940. Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden had an Ecce Homo hanging in her bedroom. Ibid., inv. 669.

⁶⁴² Willem de Wael van Vronestein, *Openbaeringhe, mirakelen, gratien van het heyligh crvys tot Caravaca in Spaignien* (Antwerp, 1649). Maria’s grandfather, Johan van Winssen, was the husband of Willem’s aunt Frederica.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., a2r–v. Maria’s father died in 1639, her mother and brother Willem in 1640. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 63, 84.

⁶⁴⁴ She did have a copy of Willem’s *Oeffeninghe van devotie*. NA, HVZ, inv. 940.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., inv. 912, f. 2r.

⁶⁴⁶ Lisa McClain, ‘Without church, cathedral, or shrine: the search for religious space among Catholics in England, 1559–1625’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33:2 (2003), 381–99. Richardson, *Dorothy Lawson*, 27.

⁶⁴⁷ McClain, ‘Without church’, 384.

Receiving the sacraments and other acts of devotion

In addition to the celebration of Mass, missionary priests administered other sacraments, such as the sacrament of penance. Catholic nobles were keen to have diligent confessors, and their expectations were met by the standards demanded of missionary priests by their overseers, the apostolic vicars. When able to do so, Van Neercassel catered to the needs of Catholic nobles and their family members, and he wrote to Anthony, Baron of Lynden, that he would provide a priest who spoke Dutch and French so that 'his wife, most noble sister and mother did not have to seek a confessor outside their house.'⁶⁴⁸ Nobles contacted the apostolic vicars if they were unhappy with (the qualities of) a priest, and actively tried to get a replacement. Not only the behaviour of the missionaries was scrutinized, however, and when nobles themselves did not live up to the minimal requirements of the Church (confession during the Easter period), apostolic vicars did not fail to mention this to them and to exhort them to change their behaviour.⁶⁴⁹

Other sacraments, such as baptism and marriage, were frequently administered to Catholic nobles and their children as well, and priests were also called upon to strengthen dying nobles with the 'holy sacraments' (extreme unction).⁶⁵⁰ During the liturgical year, priests celebrated Mass on holy days; at times of fasting priests provided guidance to their flock, or corresponded with apostolic vicars in order to obtain dispensations for Catholic nobles – sometimes the leaders of the Mission were willing to grant small concessions to nobles, such as allowing the consumption of eggs and sometimes even meat on specific days.⁶⁵¹ Requests for dispensations show that nobles took the religious obligation of fasting seriously, and if it was inconvenient, they tried to obtain dispensations by contacting the apostolic vicars. Some evidence suggests that nobles also considered it important to celebrate certain holy days, such as Sweder van Amstel van Mijnden, who told Gerard de Wael van Vronestein that he could not leave his house because of the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin (lichtmisse).⁶⁵²

Throughout the liturgical year and in many pious acts, the presence of a priest was indispensable, as also was their religious function: according to Charles Parker, the close proximity of

⁶⁴⁸ HUA, OBC, inv. 248: 22-11-1678 (to Kronenburg). Also: inv. 361: 28-2-1696 (to Slangenburgh).

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., inv. 246: 25-5-1675 (to Pieck van Wolfswinkel). Other Catholic nobles did stick to this obligation, and visited the apostolic vicars during Holy Week. Ibid., inv. 248: 9-4-1678 (to Hooft).

⁶⁵⁰ NA, HVZ, inv. 107. See also: Herman Joseph Oldenhof, *In en om de schuilkerkjes van Noordelijk Westergo. Katholiek leven in Frieslands noordwesthoek onder de Republiek* (Assen, 1967), 237–40. The priest Jacobus Bijlevelt was present at the birth of Rudolphus Fredericus van Zuylen van Nyevelt (whom he baptised), possibly partly to assist the mother, who died after giving birth. HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 46: draft letter of Johan Frederik van Zuylen van Nyevelt.

⁶⁵¹ HUA, OBC, inv. 251: 25-2-1681 (to Roskam). See also: ibid: 10-3-1682 (to Deventer); inv. 253: 5-3-1684 (to Tuscheerder); inv. 254: 28-2-1686; inv. 359: 28-2-1692; inv. 360: 4-2-1695 (all to Van Haren).

⁶⁵² NA, HVZ, inv. 685, letter of 7-11-1638 (probably Sweder was speaking about a moment in the future, since this feast is celebrated on 2 February).

Dutch Catholics to Calvinists resulted in a ‘vigorous clericalism [that] represented one defining element of a resurgent Catholicism in the Netherlands’.⁶⁵³ Nobles were indeed eager to house priests on their estates, and largely conformed to the rhythm of the liturgical year and its religious obligations; but at the same time they possessed devotional literature which provided them with religious education and with acts of devotion they could perform themselves (without the necessary presence of a priest). Some of these books, e.g. Costerus’s *Sermons*, could be read by individuals, but according to K. Porteman they were often read aloud to other people.⁶⁵⁴ In this sense, similarly to developments within Catholicism in England, books could function as ‘domme prechers’, surrogates for the priests that were so scarce in some parts of the country.⁶⁵⁵ Perhaps, then, it is no surprise that Van Neercassel had some religious books sent to a couple of noblemen in Guelders, where the number of priests was much lower than in Utrecht (and Holland).⁶⁵⁶ But even in Utrecht Catholic nobles who were dependent on ambulant priests had to do without the presence of clergymen sometimes: some members of the De Wael van Vronestein family were baptised on the day they were born or the day after, but it could take up to two weeks, as they were relying on the services of Steven de Cruyff, the priest of Overlangbroek (near Wijk bij Duurstede) – who had to travel north to Loenersloot Castle for such matters – or Victor Schoor, a priest stationed in Utrecht.⁶⁵⁷ Yet even though devotional works directed at Dutch Catholics might have boosted the religious autonomy of the laity, the religious literature for the Dutch market provided laypeople with only a limited degree of freedom from clerical supervision. Unlike in England, where in general the access to priests was much harder, the situation in the Republic did not necessitate the production of tracts to guide laypeople though the process of doing penance without a priest being present, for instance.⁶⁵⁸

The frequent presence of priests in the houses of Catholic nobles made possible a religiosity that was centred on the sacraments, while the availability of devotional literature provided the Catholic nobility with additional acts of devotion that could be performed without a priest. Some nobles ventured out to visit priests (rather than the other way around), and the nobleman Thomas van

⁶⁵³ Parker, ‘In partibus infidelium’, 126. Id., ‘Obedience with an attitude. Laity and clergy in the Dutch Catholic church of the seventeenth century’, in: Arie-Jan Gelderblom et al. (eds), *The Low Countries as a crossroads of religious beliefs* (Leiden, 2004), 177–96.

⁶⁵⁴ K. Porteman, ‘Na 350 jaar’, 215. In the preface to his *Wieroockvat*, however, Rovenius provided the reader with various ways to pray that were usually practised by the clergy. Philippus Rovenius, *Het gulden wieroockvat* (Antwerpen, 1670), unpaginated.

⁶⁵⁵ Alexandra Walsham, ‘Domme prechers?’ Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the culture of print’, *Past and Present* 168 (2000), 72–123. According to Vosmeer, in the absence of a priest, a family member would sometimes read the homilies in the vernacular. G. Brom (ed.), ‘Insinuatio status provinciarum, in quibus haeretici dominantur’, *AAU* 17 (1889), 160.

⁶⁵⁶ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 379, 389.

⁶⁵⁷ Kleijntjens, ‘Aantekeningen’, 196–202.

⁶⁵⁸ Such literature was available to English Catholics. See Lisa McClain, ‘Troubled consciences. New understandings and performances of penance among Catholics in England’, *Church History* 82:1 (2013), 90–124.

Buerlo went to the Jesuits at Emmerick for spiritual retreats.⁶⁵⁹ Through priests and books, Catholic nobles were exposed to the doctrine and spirituality of the Counter-Reformation, and Alexandra Walsham has suggested that ‘within the claustrophobic sphere of the gentry household, it was perhaps uniquely possible to institute a quasi-parochial regime of sacramental conformity and spiritual introspection.’⁶⁶⁰ Because of their relatively easy access to priests, the piety of the gentry might have differed from the piety of recusant households in general, which was ‘primarily inward-looking and devotional in tone, a religion perhaps rooted more in prayers and self-regulated programmes of spiritual exercise than in sacramental observances that relied on a resident chaplaincy which relatively few could afford or dared to maintain’.⁶⁶¹ Among the Dutch nobility, especially in the province of Utrecht and to a lesser extent in Guelders (because in this province fewer priests were active), the presence of priests made possible the regular observance of the sacraments, while the devotional books provided the Catholic nobility with supplementary acts of devotion.⁶⁶²

Only for those Catholic nobles who married a Protestant spouse it probably was more difficult to follow a regime of sacramental observance. We have already encountered the example of Jacoba Emilia van Westerholt, who could not celebrate Mass in her house because her Protestant husband would not allow it.⁶⁶³ A former servant of Debora Bake, the Lady of Assumburg, stated that she had visited Catholic priests since she was seventeen, but that she did so in secret and sometimes went with her Protestant parents to the Reformed church, in order both to keep them happy and to deceive them, fearing that they would obstruct her practising her religion.⁶⁶⁴ In such circumstances it is possible that a more inward-looking ‘spiritualized’ type of religiosity developed that largely relied on the individual believer and less on a priest. It was, however, not always necessary for Catholic nobles to act in secrecy and to leave the house in order to practice the faith as accommodations were brokered with their partners, aiming to safeguard the right to practice their religion without jeopardizing the harmony within the family.

Most acts of piety took place in the houses of Catholic nobles (exactly this could create difficulties for Catholic nobles who concluded a mixed marriage), a context which was conducive for the emergence of a piety which revolved around the house and the family. Walsham mentioned the

⁶⁵⁹ Barten, ‘Het proces’, 293.

⁶⁶⁰ Alexandra Walsham, ‘Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation’, *Historical Research* 78:201 (2005), 309. Id., ‘Bead, books and bare ruined choirs’, 104. Also: Christopher Haigh, ‘The continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation’, *Past and Present* 93 (1981), 66–7.

⁶⁶¹ Walsham, ‘Domme prechers’, 121.

⁶⁶² In Guelders more priests resided at the estates of the Catholic nobles, yet most of them visited other places and had to cover more territory than priests working in Utrecht.

⁶⁶³ According to the Dominican missionary P. de Windt, the Lord of Zoelen (Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer) could not have a shrine (sacellum) in his house because his wife was a Protestant. HUA, OBC, inv. 337: 6/16-11-1689.

⁶⁶⁴ H. van Benthem, ‘De laatste katholieke vrouwe van Assumburg’, *BGBH* 61 (1946), 223.

possibility that English Catholicism moved in another direction because of its greater independence from priests and the fact that ‘household religion came to be the very cornerstone of a Catholic community striving to avoid its own annihilation,’ whereas in Europe domestic devotion was looked upon with suspicion.⁶⁶⁵ There are signs that domestic devotion was promoted by the leaders of the Holland Mission, since the rules of the confraternity of Willibrord and Boniface stipulated that members who lived in places that were seldom visited by priests had to erect a place of worship in their houses, including a ‘crucifix or another statue of the Passion of Christ where they gather with their family [huysghesin] on Sundays and other obligatory holy days to pray in the morning for at least half an hour, instead of hearing Mass, and after that to read the sermon on the Epistle and Gospel’.⁶⁶⁶ If we are to believe a Catholic chronicler, most Catholic homes had a room equipped with a small altar and devout images where the family often went to read and pray, ‘mainly on Sundays and holy days’ when no priest was available or when going to church was dangerous.⁶⁶⁷ As we have seen, even though the presence of priest at the estates of the Catholic nobility made possible a piety which revolved around the (frequent) reception of the sacraments, at the same time their houses were well-equipped for acts of domestic devotion.

Identities

A more rare form of domestic devotion consisted of the veneration of a family member who had served the church. The Frisian nobleman Jarich van Liauckama ordered the portrait of his ancestor, the Norbertine saint Eelco Liauckama, to be hung in the hall (salet) of his castle, so that he and his family could ‘take their pious ancestors as an example’. When Jarich heard that the Norbertines commemorated Eelco in a Mass celebrated on the day of his death, he decided to invite friends and family to the castle on that day to ‘pray and to honour this member of the lineage’.⁶⁶⁸ These acts of piety included the veneration of a Catholic saint as well as homage to a respected family member; indeed, Jarich also invited the provost of Osnabruck to add to the honour of his family.⁶⁶⁹ This nexus between family and religious identity was common among the Catholic nobility, and according to Conrad Gietman a ‘symbiosis between nobility and Church’ emerged on the estates of

⁶⁶⁵ Walsham, ‘Domme prechers’, 122. Also: Marc R. Forster, ‘Domestic devotions and family piety in German Catholicism’, in: *Piety and family*, 113.

⁶⁶⁶ Rogier, ‘De cultus’, 270. See also the nineteenth rule. J. Visser, *Rovenius und seine Werke. Beitrag zur Geschichte der nordniederländischen katholischen Frömmigkeit in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Assen, 1966), 78. The priest Martin Back mentioned the family as the target audience of his book as well (next to individual Catholics). Martin Back, *Den schadt der Catholicker sermoonen* (Antwerp, 1597), f. 2v.

⁶⁶⁷ *BGBH* 1 (1873), 319. Cited in: Kaplan, ‘Fictions of privacy’, 1043. See also Brom, ‘Insinuatio status’, 160.

⁶⁶⁸ Oldenhof, *Schuilkerkjes*, 240.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Catholic nobles.⁶⁷⁰ Nobles used their estates to convey the identity of their family by a variety of means, such as memorial stones, escutcheons and pillows embroidered with coats of arms.⁶⁷¹ On the estates of Catholic nobles the link between religion and family was made visible in various ways. First, sometimes the frames around devotional pieces were decorated with coats of arms, and religious paintings were in some cases ‘surrounded’ by paintings of family members.⁶⁷² In the main hall of Vronestein Castle there was a chimney painting of the Holy Family, while its walls were decorated with many portraits of the estate owners’ family members.⁶⁷³ Second, although Ronnes has argued that chapels ‘carried predominantly – arguably even singularly – religious meanings’, manorial chapels were also spaces in which the close connection between religion and family was displayed.⁶⁷⁴ The Van Isendoorn à Blois family had a chapel erected in Cannenburg Castle which included stained glass windows with their coat of arms and the names of family members and spouses, while the inventory of the chapel at Heemstede House included an aspergillum with the coat of arms of the Winssen family and a silver tabernacle with the coat of arms of Maria van Winssen, the owner of the castle.⁶⁷⁵ In such ways Catholic nobles made clear that they were the patrons of the chapel, and forged a clear link between the religion they supported and the identity of their family, something which could be buttressed further by having family members with religious vocations working in the family’s manorial chapel.⁶⁷⁶ More rarely, requests were made to priests to celebrate Requiem Masses at the estate of the deceased noble and his family, further underpinning the link between family and piety.⁶⁷⁷ Finally, some noble estates had a ‘priest’s room’ (priesterskamer), where presumably priests were lodged; at Vronestein Castle this chamber was not embellished with any religious paintings, but did have five portraits hanging on its walls, again establishing the link between the noble family and the religion they supported and adhered to.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁰ Gietman, ‘Katholieke adel’, 200–1. This symbiosis was also visible in clandestine and foreign Catholic churches which received donations from Dutch Catholic nobles. L. J. van der Heijden, ‘De Snaafburg’, *Niftarlake* (1913), 10. Antonie Paul van Schilfgaarde and J. H. A. van Beek, *Het huis Bergh* (Maastricht, 1950), 254.

⁶⁷¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 940, f. 34r. Olde Meierink, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden*, 461, 463.

⁶⁷² Boers-Goossens, ‘De schilderijenverzameling’, 236. In the sixteenth century and earlier, the symbiosis between a noble family and their religion was often established in a triptych, in which the family was depicted in a scene from the bible. Gradually over the course of the sixteenth century this genre became less popular in the northern Netherlands. Some triptychs were commissioned by Catholic nobles. See: Van Regteren Altena, ‘Een drieluik’, 253–9. Id., *Jacques de Gheyn. Three generations* (3 vols, The Hague, 1983), 2: 12; 3: 22–4. P. Dirkse, *Begijnen, pastoors en predikanten: religie en kunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden, 2001), 20–2. For the triptych at Den Ham Castle, see *ibid.*, 23–33. Staal, ‘Johan Ludolph van Rhenen’, 69–86.

⁶⁷³ Heukelum, *Jutfaas*, 80. For another example, see Boers-Goossens, ‘De schilderijenverzameling’, 186–7.

⁶⁷⁴ Ronnes, *Architecture and elite culture*, 160.

⁶⁷⁵ Temminck Groll, ‘Het kasteel de Cannenburg’, 63, 65. NA, HVZ, inv. 940, f. 60r. See also: *ibid.*, inv. 930, f. 16r–v.

⁶⁷⁶ Verstegen, ‘Cannenburg’, 155.

⁶⁷⁷ GA, Huis Vornholz, inv. 530, f. 1r.

⁶⁷⁸ NA, HVZ, inv. 813.

Although the noble identity of these families predated the Reformation and was already well established, a clear confessional Catholic identity gradually emerged among the Catholic nobility. The religious endogamy of the Catholic nobility was one of the characteristics of this confessional identity that manifested itself at a relatively early stage; as we have seen, even in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries mixed marriages were uncommon, while the choice of godparents also followed confessional norms (at least among the families we studied in the first two chapters). In Guelders, around 1600 a couple of families which made up the core of the Catholic nobility in this province were already connected to each other by bonds of marriage.⁶⁷⁹ Other aspects of this confessional identity, such as the commitment to the Catholic faith, are already discernable in the late sixteenth century, when Catholic nobles obstructed the (implementation of the) Protestant Reformation, as we will see. Over time, however, these instances of defiance evolved into a more clear pattern of support offered by Catholic nobles, such as the housing and protection of Catholic priests on a regular basis, something which really gained momentum around the middle of the seventeenth century (although the relative lack of sources for the earlier part of the seventeenth century might have influenced this image to some extent). According to Gietman, another aspect of this Catholic noble identity was that Catholic nobles named their children after the founders of religious orders (Ignatius, Franciscus), names that were normally not common among the Guelders nobility.⁶⁸⁰ Gietman does not mention the chronology of this development, but, judging from the names of the Catholic nobles included in the appendixes, during most of the seventeenth century this practice was not so common among the Catholic nobility, showing that their Catholic identity evolved and continued to include more aspects of their lives over the course of this century and thereafter.⁶⁸¹ Nevertheless, around the middle of the seventeenth century, a clear confessional identity had emerged. This identity manifested itself through a clearly recognisable pattern of behaviour, consisting of the nobles' support of the Mission, their religious endogamy and religiosity, and the degree and nature of their interaction with Protestants.

This Catholic identity had an oppositional and polemic edge, for in the Dutch Republic the ubiquitous presence of the Calvinist Church acted as a catalyst for the emergence of a Catholic identity, as this identity was in relation to the Calvinist opponent.⁶⁸² In particular, some devotional literature could be quite militant in tone; even in books in which the author adopted a gentler approach towards heretics, the differences between Catholicism and the 'false' religions were

⁶⁷⁹ Gietman, 'Katholieke adel', 184.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 193.

⁶⁸¹ See also: NA, HVZ, inv. 740.

⁶⁸² Parker, 'In partibus infidelium', 122

explained to the reader.⁶⁸³ The polemical and oppositional edge of the confessional identity of Catholic nobles was reflected in their behaviour and piety. Hendrik van Dorth criticised a priest for having too convivial relations with ‘dirty beggars’ (vuile geusen), and in another letter called the Republic a ‘beggar country’ (geus lant); Steven van Zuylen van Nyvelt wrote a poem in which he wished for the ‘triumph of Catholicism in the Netherlands’; while Sweder van Amstel van Mijnden used the slogan ‘Fidei firmatae fidei’ (‘have trust in the confirmed faith’), according to Gietman a possible reference to his religious affiliation.⁶⁸⁴

Catholic nobles highly valued their noble identity, and, as their confessional identity was not their only identity, it therefore did not completely govern their behaviour. Because their confessional and noble identity became intertwined, Catholic nobles tried to verify the ‘standard’ (meaning) of both these identities, to use the jargon of the more technical literature on identities. Catholic nobles sought to combine the meanings of their noble and confessional identities and to align these meanings with the meaning of the context in which they operated (the so-called ‘situational meaning’).⁶⁸⁵ In other words, Catholic nobles aimed to bring the meaning of their identities into line with the meaning of particular circumstances, and the dialogue between identity and context shaped the actual behaviour of Catholic nobles. If the context negatively affected the meaning of an identity, the nobles behaviour changed accordingly. Hence we saw that Catholic nobles generally married co-religionists nobles, the requirements of both identities influencing each other. Sometimes Catholic nobles married non-nobles, showing that if both identities could not be verified, their confessional identity was ranked higher in the hierarchy of identities when it came to the choice of a spouse. The interplay between noble and confessional identities largely depended on the context, and those circumstances which did not ‘activate’ the Catholic nobles’ confessional identity, were the areas of life in which interconfessional interaction took place. In these circumstances other identities took precedence over the confessional identity, as the interaction with Protestants was of such a kind that the ‘situational meaning’ did not activate their confessional identity, or at least not to such an extent that it trumped their other identities and precluded interconfessional interaction.

Part III: Public acts of devotion

Although Catholics were forbidden by law to perform acts of devotion in the public sphere, throughout the seventeenth century the Calvinist Church incessantly complained to the secular

⁶⁸³ Compare Costerus’s *Sermoonen*, for instance, with Martin Back’s *Den schadt* or Godfried Wandelman’s *De Ware Christi Kercke* (esp. preface).

⁶⁸⁴ HUA, OBC, inv. 340: 12/22-7-1692; 18/28-8-1692 (from Hendrik van Dorth). Gietman, ‘Katholieke adel’, 183, 194. Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 162.

⁶⁸⁵ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets, *Identity theory* (Oxford, 2009), 130–54.

authorities about the violation of the decrees which outlawed Catholicism. A cause of considerable irritation for local Calvinist consistories and classes was the pilgrimages undertaken by Catholics, acts of devotion that were encouraged in catechisms and received the blessing of the apostolic vicars.⁶⁸⁶ Although pilgrimages were strictly forbidden on Dutch soil, Van Neercassel, for example, recommended to Agatha van Heussen, who had become blind, that she make a pilgrimage to Utrecht to venerate the statue of Our Lady of Houten.⁶⁸⁷ Even when statues or chapels which signified sacred places had been destroyed by the authorities or because of popular initiatives, Catholics kept returning to the debris of what in their eyes was still a location of the divine.⁶⁸⁸ Catholic nobles offered a helping hand to local Catholic communities when sacred places were demolished, such as the owners of Hernen Castle, who housed a statue of Mary after the destruction of the chapel on the Molenberg in 1628.⁶⁸⁹

Pilgrimages to shrines located just across the border became increasingly popular among Dutch Catholics, for instance to places in the southern Netherlands such as Scherpenheuvel and Kevelaer. There are some indications that Catholic nobles visited such holy places: a letter sent to Francelina d’Affaytadi mentioned that the Baron of Arkel (her son, Thomas Walraven van Arkel) and his wife had left for Scherpenheuvel, where a statue of Mary that had worked a number of miracles was worshipped.⁶⁹⁰ In spite of the clergy’s promotion of the spiritual rather than the physical benefits of pilgrimages, some Catholic nobles who embarked on pilgrimages clearly had the aim of attaining divine help for their physical needs. Hoping to get a second son, Hendrik van Bergh went to Scherpenheuvel in 1608, while in 1658 Willem Bentinck went to Scherpenheuvel and Kevelaer so that his daughter might be cured of her illness (which miraculously happened at Kevelaer).⁶⁹¹

Whereas in the southern Netherlands the patronage of the archdukes bolstered the fame of Scherpenheuvel, in the Republic the veneration of this cult was spread by the Jesuits, who equipped a number of their stations with a small statue of Mary carved from the wood of the oak at

⁶⁸⁶ See e.g. HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, f. 92. Elsevier, ‘Klachtbrief wegens bedevaarten...’, *DNV* 7 (1857), 101. Vanden Berge, *Catholycke catechismus*, 68–9. Also: P. J. Margy, ‘Processie versus stille ommevang: het probleem van de openbare godsdienstuitoefening buiten gebouwen en besloten plaatsen in Holland’, *Holland* 25:3–5 (1993), 178–83.

⁶⁸⁷ *VdW*, 1: 471. *CAN*, 2: 205. HUA, OBC, inv. 249: 6-8-1680.

⁶⁸⁸ Judith Pollmann, ‘Burying the dead’, 86–9. Wogens, *Over de grens*, 22. Frijhoff, *Embodied belief*, 116, 240. For parallels of such behaviour in Britain and Ireland, see Walsham, *Reformation of the landscape*, ch. 3.

⁶⁸⁹ H. ten Boom, ‘De mislukte protestantisering in het land van Maas en Waal’, in: *Geloven tussen de rivieren*, 120. On the site of the former chapel a lime tree was planted, and pilgrimages to this ‘holy tree’, which cured diseases, continued.

⁶⁹⁰ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 23: letter of Godefroy van Muylenburgh (29-9-1653), f. 1r. On Scherpenheuvel, see e.g. Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A bishop’s tale: Matthias Hovius among his flock in seventeenth-century Flanders* (New Haven, CT, 2008), ch. 6.

⁶⁹¹ Schilfgaarde, *Huis Bergh*, 221. Wogens, *Over de grens*, 200–1.

Scherpenheuvel in which the statue of Mary originally had been placed.⁶⁹² All kinds of imagery related to this sacred place was passed on to the laity and reached the Dutch Catholic nobility as well: Frederica de Wael van Vronestein possessed a painting (bordeken) of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel.⁶⁹³ The pilgrimages to foreign shrines, however, were less disturbing than pilgrimages within the Republic, because often once the border had been crossed pilgrims would express their true purpose, whereas most pilgrims who were still on Dutch soil were careful not to attract the suspicion of local magistrates and Calvinist ministers.⁶⁹⁴ Within the Republic, the veneration of saints sometimes took place within the confined spaces of the private sphere, such as in a house or clandestine church, but these ‘silent processions’ were not held in high regard, and throughout the seventeenth century various Catholic processions continued to take place in the open.⁶⁹⁵

Sometimes Catholics used religious objects to perform acts of devotion in a restricted yet visible manner. For example, English Catholics took their rosaries with them to Anglican churches, and during religious services said the rosary, an act of both devotion and defiance.⁶⁹⁶ Although Dutch Catholics were not obliged to attend services in Reformed churches, some of them caused commotion by performing acts of piety that were associated with Catholicism during religious services. Notorious, for instance, was the behaviour of a number of Catholic women in the city of Gouda, who knelt in the church at the graves of deceased relatives during Reformed worship.⁶⁹⁷ Reformed consistories also targeted Catholic women for wearing crosses, which apparently were worn in a visible manner.⁶⁹⁸ This is something some Catholic noblewomen did as well: Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden owned a ‘silver cross (kruisteken) with her name inscribed that she wore around her neck’, which she bequeathed to her son Frederik de Wael van Vronestein; she had also inherited from Gerarda van Amstel van Mijnden a ‘golden cross which I [Gerarda] wear around my neck’.⁶⁹⁹

Another great nuisance to the Reformed Church was Catholic funeral practices such as kneeling and praying at graves, putting crosses on them, and carrying crosses at the head of funeral processions. Decrees by the Provincial States prohibited such ‘popish superstitions’, as well as the holding of wakes next to the body of the deceased and the embellishment of graves and biers with

⁶⁹² *ROG*, 2: 774. In a similar fashion the Jesuit Willem de Wael van Vronestein sent statues carved from the holy oak at Foy to Catholic churches and colleges. L. v. M., ‘Twee kerkelijke plechtigheden bij de Jezuiten te Breda. 1629 en 1632’, *Taxandria* 25 (1918), 133–5. Bishop Mathias Hovius had this tree cut down to prevent such practices. Harline and Put, *A bishop’s tale*, 106.

⁶⁹³ NA, HVZ, inv. 921, f. 3r.

⁶⁹⁴ Wingens, *Over de grens*, 216.

⁶⁹⁵ Margy, ‘Processie’, 178, 180. *VdW*, 1: 400–2.

⁶⁹⁶ Walsham, ‘Beads, books’, 106, 110. On rosaries and their use in the Counter-Reformation, see e.g.: A. Dillon, ‘Praying by the number: the Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic community, c. 1580–1700’, *History* 87: 291 (2003), 451–71.

⁶⁹⁷ Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics*, 67. Pollmann, ‘Burying the dead’, 95.

⁶⁹⁸ *ROG*, 2: 795. Sloots, ‘Minderbroeders’, 517.

⁶⁹⁹ NA, HVZ, inv. 669: codicil of Johanna (1632). NA, HVZ, inv. 1043: will of 1610.

herbs.⁷⁰⁰ In addition to the fact that many Catholic funeral practices took place in the open and thus contaminated the public sphere that was the domain of the Reformed Church, some of these ‘superstitions’ were practised in graveyards and even inside churches, posing an even greater challenge to the dominance of the Reformed religion.⁷⁰¹ Catholic nobles adhered to Catholic funeral practices – or to customs that were attributed to Catholicism by the Reformed authorities – and were sometimes punished for this, something which the high-ranking noble Peter van Hardenbroek experienced when he was fined by Utrecht’s town council for the use of ‘illicit decorations at the funeral of his noble daughter’.⁷⁰²

Most Catholic nobles preferred to have a ‘Christian funeral’, and although this term and its meaning are somewhat ambivalent, it is likely that the majority of nobles would have had similar preferences to Ursula van Raesfelt, who wanted to be buried ‘with the ecclesiastical ceremonies’, and who put her three Catholic daughters in charge of the organisation of her funeral.⁷⁰³ The costs of the funerals of many Catholic nobles show that some parts of their funerals had clear confessional overtones. On numerous occasions one or several spiritual virgins were paid to hold a wake next to the body of a deceased Catholic noble, and candles were bought for the house where the deceased lay in state.⁷⁰⁴ For the funerals of Catholic nobles money was spent ‘ad pias causas’ or ‘ad pios usus’, a phrase which might have encompassed money given to the poor in exchange for prayers for the soul of the deceased.⁷⁰⁵ The costs of the funeral of Anna van Winssen included a payment ‘ad pias causas to lord Nieuwpoort’ – it is likely that this was the secular priest Servaas Nieuwpoort, the priest of the Catholic station Geertekerk – and in 1729 money was given to P. Piers (the Jesuit Ignatius Piers) for ‘services to the deceased’ (the nobleman Erasmus van Scherpenzeel).⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁰ HUA, Hervormde gemeente Jutfaas, inv. 1, f. 25. VdW, 1: 446–7. CAN, 2: 369.

⁷⁰¹ Pollmann, ‘Burying the dead’, 95. Also: L. Knappert, *Van sterven en begraven* (Baarn, 1909), 6.

⁷⁰² HUA, Vroedschapsresoluties, 7-9-1640. In their verdict the town council referred to their decree of 14-7-1624, which prohibited the ‘decoration of corpses’ with herbs and jewellery. VdW, 3: 528. On the decoration of coffins, see: H. L. Kok, *De geschiedenis van de laatste eer in Nederland* (2nd edn, Lochem, 1990), 172–5.

⁷⁰³ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177, codicil Ursula (1715) f. 1r. On the use of the term ‘Christian funeral’ see e.g. NA, HVZ, inv. 798. Other Catholic nobles used the term ‘ecclesiastical funeral’ (*kerkelijke begrafenis*). See e.g. NA, HVZ, inv. 679, f. 1r.

⁷⁰⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 765, 813, 930, 940. GA, Huis Doornenburg, 234, 242. In other cases Catholic nobles paid poor women to hold a wake. J. H. Hofman, ‘Ter uitvaart van Jr. Herman Frans Kockman en diens zoon Hendrik’, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van Overijssel* 5 (1879), 261–2, 264. On the use of candles, see: GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 234. NA, HVZ, inv. 413. GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188a.

⁷⁰⁵ NA, HVZ, inv. 217, 765, 813, 862, 930, 940, 1174. See also Hofman, ‘Ter uitvaart’, 260–7.

⁷⁰⁶ NA, HVZ, inv. 600; 930, f. 32v. Hoeck, *Schets*, 73. Servaas Nieuwpoort died in 1677. H. van Ryn, *Historie ofte beschryvinge van’t Utrechtsche bisdom...* (Leiden, 1719), 1: 334–5. Ignatius Piers was also called upon at the death of Adriaen de Wael van Vronestein. Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 174. After Margareta van Schoonhoven had died, five guilders were given to both lord Heijmenberg and Reede (probably Laurentius Heijmenberg, who established a Catholic station in Maarssen, and the Jesuit Theodorus van Reede van Amerongen). HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 42-1. R. W. J. Peters, *Geschiedenis der parochie Maarssen* (Maarssen, 1900), 10.

A secular priest accompanied Anna Maria Sidonia van Bronckhorst-Batenburg and advised her on the transfer of the body of her deceased husband (Floris de Merode), and Anna van Brakel reserved money for a priest to administer the last rites and ‘perform the funeral ceremonies’ (uijtvaert doet).⁷⁰⁷ It is unclear whether these ceremonies were held in public or in the house where the corpse lay in state, but since most Catholic nobles were buried in churches, the possible presence of a minister made the performance of Catholic rituals by priests more difficult.⁷⁰⁸ In the *Rituale contractum* (1622) – the abridged version of the *Rituale Romanum* which Rovenius allowed priests serving in the Holland Mission to use – the traditional transfer of the body from the house to the church and to the graveyard is not mentioned. Indeed, the place where the funeral ceremonies were to be carried out by the priest is not addressed at all, which at least allowed the performance of the funeral rites in private.⁷⁰⁹ It is therefore likely that Catholic funeral rites were mostly confined to the private sphere of a noble’s house or estate.⁷¹⁰

Some Catholic symbols were only employed in the public sphere in particular circumstances: it is telling, for instance, that in his *Journal* (journal) Abraham Wickfort describes the funeral of a Catholic lady (Elisabeth Heereman) in 1672 and mentions that the corpse was carried out of the Dom in a coffin ‘in the normal way, *except* that on top of the black cloth [which covered the coffin] there was a cross made of white silk’.⁷¹¹ Such clear references to Catholicism were only possible in the years when France occupied large parts of the Dutch Republic (1672–3), as some churches were restored to Catholic use. On the other hand, at the funerals of most Catholic nobles there were people holding flaming torches, which according to archpriest Arnoldus Waeijer were a clear sign of a Catholic funeral.⁷¹² Even though the consistory of Bergen op Zoom complained about the increasingly popular custom of burials taking place in the evening or during the night, a practice which ‘smacked of supersition,’ it seems that this custom, and hence the use of torches, was not

⁷⁰⁷ J. H. Hofman, ‘Sprokkels uit het archief der stad Montfoort’, *AAU* 5 (1878), 425. GA, Huis Doornenburg, 246: will of 11-7-1676, f. 2r.

⁷⁰⁸ Frijhoff, ‘Vraagtekens’, 94.

⁷⁰⁹ Frans X. Spiertz, *De katholieke liturgie in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1992), 11, 130.

⁷¹⁰ According to Ackermans, the Catholic priest Volquerus Heringe was buried according to the *Rituale* in 1663, yet the sources are silent about which rituals were used and only speak about ‘Catholic ceremonies’. Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, 186. J. C. Streng, ‘Stemme in de staat:’ *de bestuurlijke elite in de stadrepubliek Zwolle 1579–1795* (Hilversum, 1999), 312.

⁷¹¹ Abraham de Wicquefort, *Journal, of dagelijcksch verhael...* (Amsterdam, 1674), 54 (my italics). This was an older custom. Otto Jan de Jong, *De Reformatie in Culemborg* (Assen, 1957), 44.

⁷¹² *AAU* 46, 200. For the use of torches at the funerals of Catholic nobles, see: GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188a, f. 211v. GA, Huis Vornholz, inv. 188. NA, HVZ, inv. 413; 813; 862; 930.

restricted to Catholics only and thus was not the clear marker of confessional affiliation Waeijer thought it was (or it stopped being one as a result of the increasing popularity of this practice).⁷¹³

Even though funerary rites were confined to private spaces, and some overtly Catholic symbols were largely absent from the public sphere as well, customs including the ringing of bells to announce a death and during one's funeral, made that the funerals of Catholics were still distinguishably Catholic.⁷¹⁴ Because of this, and because people were aware of the religious affiliation of Catholic nobles, Catholicism managed to penetrate Reformed churches, since although some Catholic nobles wanted to be buried in churches located on Catholic territory, many were interred in family crypts in churches that now belonged to the Reformed confession.⁷¹⁵ Above the grave of the deceased noble his or her coats of arms were hung, and the Reformation and the subsequent purification of churches made it possible for Catholic nobles to erect tombs and grave monuments at particular spots in the church that had been less accessible prior to the Reformation, such as the choir.⁷¹⁶ In a lot of wills Catholic nobles expressed their wish to be buried under the choir, clearly clinging to the belief that it was beneficial for the soul to be buried close to the high altar, the holiest place of a church.⁷¹⁷ In wills Catholic nobles ordered their offspring to erect monuments that often had to be decorated with the coat of arms of the deceased, but it is unclear whether Catholic nobles in the Republic added 'inscriptions theologically incongruous in a Protestant setting', as their co-religionist peers in England sometimes did.⁷¹⁸ It seems, however, that Dutch Catholic nobles were quite restrained in conveying their religious preferences through funeral monuments.⁷¹⁹ Furthermore, the desire to be interred in the family crypt had one additional disadvantage for Catholic nobles: whereas some Catholics opted not to be buried in churches but in the vicinity of (more secluded)

⁷¹³ De Mooij, *Geloof*, 545. Streng, *Stemme in de staat*, 315. Knappert, *Van sterven*, 13. Portegies, *Dood en begraven*, 105–6.

⁷¹⁴ Pollmann, 'Burying the dead', 97–8.

⁷¹⁵ Schilfgaarde, *Huis Bergh*, 216. Some Catholic nobles expressed the wish to be buried on consecrated ground (e.g. NA, HVZ, inv. 1024), although in the seventeenth century this requirement was not often stated in wills. Catholic priests normally put some consecrated earth in or on the coffin of deceased Catholics. Pollmann, 'Burying the dead', 95.

⁷¹⁶ Justin E. A. Kroesen, 'Eretempels voor de adel. De manifestatie van de Ommelander adel in het interieur van Groninger kerken (1500–1800)', *Virtus* 14 (2007), 76–98. For epitaphs and coats of arms of Catholic nobles in Reformed churches, see P. C. Bloys van Treslong Prins, *Genealogische en heraldische gedenkwaardigheden in en uit de kerken der provincie Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1919), 104, 106–7, 133, 174.

⁷¹⁷ E.g. NA, HVZ, inv. 1046. GA, Huis Ter Horst, inv. 233. NA, Cousebant, inv. 958. HUA, Huis ter Haar, 42–1. Some Catholics, such as the Dutch missionary priest Petrus den Hollander, framed burial in a church as an act of defiance against Protestant rule. Walsham, 'Beads, books', 112.

⁷¹⁸ Peter Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and community in the burial of English Catholics, c. 1570–1700', in: *Getting along?*, 62. Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott, 'Introduction', in: *The Catholic gentry in English society*, 11. GA, Huis Ter Horst, inv. 233, f. 1v. Kleijntjens, 'Aantekeningen', 276.

⁷¹⁹ Pollmann notes that Catholic priests were allowed to be buried in churches, but that their tombs did not refer to their clerical status. Pollmann, 'Burying the dead', 98. Records of the provincial synod in Utrecht are silent about Catholic funeral monuments, which suggests that this did not happen often. HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 42.

sacred spaces, such as the ruins of churches and monasteries outside the city (which enabled the performance of Catholic rituals), the fact that Catholics nobles often were buried in churches, sometimes with a minister and members of the government present, lessened the possibility of carrying out the funeral in a Catholic fashion in the public sphere.⁷²⁰

Through the creation of monuments and epitaphs, Catholic and Protestant nobles conveyed their noble identity during and after their funerals. Even though some Catholic nobles expressed the wish to be buried without 'great outward splendour' (groote uitwendighe pomperije), many of them wanted a burial which reflected their social status.⁷²¹ In order to communicate this message, in similar fashion to their Protestant peers, Catholic nobles paid people to carry the coffin into the church and bear the coats of arms: the large number of people involved revealed the status and wealth of the deceased and his or her family. The corpses were usually transported in carriages, but other means of transport were used as well: the corpse of the Catholic nobleman Willem de Wael van Vronestein was transferred from Amsterdam to Jutphaas by boat.⁷²² The room in which the deceased lay in state (the rouwkamer) was dressed in black cloth, mourning clothes were made for servants and local magistrates, and sometimes the inside of churches was decorated with black cloth too.⁷²³ The rouwkamer of Thomas Walraven van Arkel was decorated with twenty escutcheons and a gilded coat of arms, which was also hung at the gate of his estate.⁷²⁴ Even though the authorities in both Catholic and Protestant territories were increasingly opposed to holding sumptuous meals on the day of the funeral, Catholic nobles invited relatives and friends to attend these occasions, and ordered large quantities of food and wine for their guests.⁷²⁵

Often money was paid to churches to sound the church bells after a Catholic noble had died, a practice known as 'overluiden' that was common among Protestant nobles and members of the non-noble social elite as well. This practice was used to announce the death of a person, but for Catholics

⁷²⁰ With the exception of high nobles, perhaps: Van Dalen, 'De mislukte protestantisering', 117. On the burial of Catholics near sacred places, see Pollmann, 'Burying the dead', 86–9, 98–9. T. J. de Vries, *Geschiedenis van Zwolle* (2 vols, Zwolle, 1961), 2: 36. Nobles that owned a castle with their own chapel could be buried according to Catholic ritual. Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden wished to be buried in the chapel of Loenresloot, right in front of the altar. GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 233. Some Catholic nobles were buried in (or near) the female convents in Utrecht. E.g. HUA, Begraafboek 121: 510, 590, 689, 723, 753; Begraafboek 123: 550.

⁷²¹ GA, Huis Ter Horst, inv. 233, f. 1v. See also: NA, HVZ, inv. 1063, 1065, 1201. Janssen, 'Frederik Johan van Baer', 91. Streng, *Stemme in staat*, 311–7.

⁷²² Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 152. Also: Kleijntjens, 'Aantekeningen', 276.

⁷²³ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 39, 188a. Kroesen, 'Eretempels voor de adel', 96. Sometimes mourning clothes were made for a number of 'virgins' as well, but it is unclear whether this referred to spiritual virgins. See: NA, HVZ, inv. 813; 940, f. 102r.

⁷²⁴ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188a. E. C. barones van der Borch to Verwolde-Swemle, 'Het kasteel en iets over zijn bewoners', in: *Ammersoyen*, 115. See also: GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 236. NA, HVZ, inv. 600. Olde Meierink, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden*, 62.

⁷²⁵ VdW, 1: 446. Pieter J. Meertens, 'Vorreformatorische Relikte in den reformatorischen Nederlanden', in: Branimir Bratani et al. (eds), *Festschrift Matthias Zender: Studien zu Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte* (2 vols, Bonn, 1972), 1: 406–7.

it might have been an invitation to pray for the soul of the deceased, a request that was often made in the death notices (rouwbriefen) that Catholic nobles sent to friends and family.⁷²⁶ The sounding of the church bells could last from hours to days, the length of the period reflecting the importance and wealth of the deceased and his family, which was also indicated by the number and importance of the churches in which the bells were rung. The bells were often sounded in the churches of the parishes where nobles held possessions such as land or estates or enjoyed patronage rights (and of course in the churches in which they were buried).⁷²⁷ A number of the funeral ceremonies and customs of Catholic and Protestant nobles, then, stemmed from a shared noble culture and glorified the noble identity of the deceased and his lineage, although the meaning of some customs varied depending on the confessional outlook of the deceased and his family. At times some of these symbols were defended against non-noble intrusions: Jacob Heereman van Zuydtwijck bought the crypt of the De Wael van Vronestein family in the Buurkerk in order to prevent its being sold to ‘the rabble [Jan Hagel] and the ornaments being mistreated by the same sort of people’.⁷²⁸

Death and devotion

If some parts of the funerals of Catholic nobles were not distinctly Catholic, the beliefs attached to death certainly were. Reporting the death of Hendrik van Brakel, Cornelis van Spangen mentioned that Hendrik had wanted to be buried without ‘any ceremonies’, but that he had been strengthened with the sacraments of the Holy Church, and that therefore no one had to fear for his salvation (zieleheil).⁷²⁹ In her will Maria Heereman van Zuydtwijck expressed the wish that her friends and relatives would ‘not forget my soul but commemorate it’, and letters sent to Catholic nobles bringing the grave news of someone’s death asked their recipients to pray for the soul of the deceased.⁷³⁰ In a draft letter Johan de Cock van Oppijnen wrote that although death was the will of the highest God, which should not be opposed, it was permitted to pray for the soul of the deceased, which he would surely do.⁷³¹ In order to commemorate the deceased and to shorten the time their souls had to spend in purgatory (the existence of which was denied by Protestant theology), many

⁷²⁶ In 1605 the Classis of Apeldoorn protested against overluiden and wanted to have it banned throughout the Veluwe, because it was a ‘superstitious remnant’ and served as a reminder to pray for the dead. C. Ravensbergen, *Classicale Acta 1573–1620. Deel IX: Provinciale synode Gelderland* (Den Haag, 2011), 663. Kok, *Geschiedenis van de laatste eer*, 177.

⁷²⁷ NA, HVZ, inv. 940, f. 102v. After the death of Thomas Walraven van Arkel, during a period of six weeks the bells of the churches in Ammersoyen and Well sounded for three hours a day. Van der Borch, ‘Het kasteel’, 26.

⁷²⁸ Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 163.

⁷²⁹ NA, HVZ, inv. 744. It seems that here the ceremonies denote religious rites. See also: Portegies, *Dood en begraven*, 47. Cornelis van Spangen’s wife was Hendrika van Brakel.

⁷³⁰ NA, HVZ, inv. 412: will of Maria Heereman (5/15-6-1696), f. 2v; inv. 738, 745, 747, 748, 1065, 1066.

⁷³¹ GA, Familie Cock van Oppijnen, inv. 21: 27-10-1647. Also: HUA, OBC, inv. 251: 7-9-1681 (to Cabauw).

Catholic nobles donated money to priests, who were to celebrate Requiem Masses and annual or memorial Masses (jaargetijden) to that end.⁷³² Maria Heereman van Zuytwijck donated money to ‘all priests in Amsterdam and Utrecht and to [priests] outside these cities she knew well’ for the celebration of Requiem Masses; Adriaen van Camont and his wife Maria Christina van Ittersum arranged the celebration of Masses for deceased family members and friends, and gave the priests Herkinge and Waeijer a golden cross to use to pray for Adriaen’s and Maria’s souls.⁷³³ Catholic nobles also donated money and food to the poor – the ‘people of Christ’ (liedekens Christi), as it was phrased in a will – in exchange for prayers for the nobles’ souls, revealing traditional notions of the role of the poor in the God-ordained society.⁷³⁴ Some Catholic nobles also heeded traditional mourning periods, such as Ursula van Raesfelt and Johan Uytenhamme van Wanroy and his wife, who prescribed in their wills that their (unmarried) offspring had to live on the family’s estate (stamhuis) for a period of one year and six weeks.⁷³⁵

Whereas (Dutch) Catholic nobles living in Catholic territories had more choice over where (at which churches or altars) Masses for the dead could be celebrated, Catholic nobles living in the Republic had to take into account that the availability of priests, and the time those priests had to celebrate Requiem Masses, might be limited.⁷³⁶ This explains why some Catholic nobles opted to have Masses celebrated outside the Republic. For the celebration of Requiem Masses, Anna van Arkel donated money to a foundation (vicarie) in Cranenburg, and Maria van Brakel and Willem de Wael van Vronestein gave money to the Capuchin order in Brussels, the latter making use of the services of a befriended merchant, who transported the money and the letters exchanged by Willem and the friars.⁷³⁷ Willem, although critical of the sloppy administration of the friars, ordered a staggering 1,200 Requiem Masses, and the friars notified him that their capacity to celebrate even more Masses was somewhat restricted because the illness of the King of Spain and the Archduchess was causing them a very large amount of work.⁷³⁸ As Catholic nobles earnestly believed in the

⁷³² E.g. NA, HVZ, inv. 679; 2523. GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246. GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 39. HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 56.

⁷³³ NA, HVZ, inv. 412: will of Maria Heereman (5/15-6-1696), f. 1r; inv. 1173: will of Van Camont and Van Ittersum, f. 1v.

⁷³⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 413, 1173. GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246: will of Maria van Brakel (11-7-1676) f. 1r. Note 413.

⁷³⁵ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177. GA, Huis Ter Horst, inv. 233, f. 1v–2r.

⁷³⁶ See e.g. the wills of Catholic nobles who had emigrated from the Republic. RAG, Wissocq, inv. 4331: will of Johan van der Burch (17-12-1670); will of Johanna Maria van der Burch (2-3-1690); inv. 4434: will of Pieter vanden Broucke (a Belgian noble) (27-7-1663). Johan van der Burch required the celebration of the ‘Mass of St Gregory and of St Mary liberatrix,’ for instance (although it is awkwardly phrased, it is likely that he meant the celebration of Masses in different churches and basilica). However, he also gave money to a befriended nobleman in Haarlem for the celebration of Requiem Masses in Holland.

⁷³⁷ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 39. GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246. NA, HVZ, inv. 2532. Also: GA, Huis Aerdt, inv. 157.

⁷³⁸ NA, HVZ, inv. 2532: letters of 9-4-1698 and 24-5-1698.

spiritual benefits of Requiem Masses, they could easily spend hundreds of guilders on them, and family members who were unwilling to arrange (and pay for) their celebration were reprimanded by relatives. Teresa de la Mere wrote to Sysbrandt van Alckemade's family members that she could not understand 'why a Catholic conscience did not desire to execute [the provisions made by Sysbrandt]', since Requiem Masses 'contributed to the consolation and aid [troost en lavenisse] of the soul that is suffering in the flames of purgatory and that cannot help itself'.⁷³⁹

Conclusion

The religiosity of the Catholic nobility was underpinned by three components: the ready availability of priests, the religious literature they owned, and the religious material culture on their estates. These components, although they have been analysed separately, were firmly intertwined: by providing lodging for priests, Catholic nobles gained regular access to the sacraments, and were able to take part in most of the rituals that constituted the religious life of Catholicism; devotional literature provided Catholic nobles with sermons and all kinds of religious exercises, supplementary to the services provided by the missionaries and enabling nobles to organise their religious lives themselves in the absence of priests. The religious material culture underpinned both facets of the religious lives of Catholic nobles, since all sorts of objects enabled priests to administer the sacraments, while crucifixes and religious paintings, among other devotional items, facilitated acts of individual piety. As such, the spirituality of the Catholic nobility was a combination of sacramental observance and inward-looking piety: a former servant of Debora Bake stated that after her husband died, Mass was celebrated daily in the chapel of Assumburg Castle, and that sometimes Debora knelt in front of the altar 'with great devotion', while according to another statement she also 'practised her faith in Roman Catholic books, with religious fasting, [and] kneeling in front of crucifixes'.⁷⁴⁰

The religious books and paintings owned by Catholic nobles reveal a strong link with the Counter-Reformation, a link that was solidified further by study at foreign universities and frequent contact with priests trained according to the standards advocated by the Tridentine Church. Recently Willem Frijhoff has argued that the cultural reading practices of Dutch Catholics focused on the visual and the ritualistic aspects of their religion, yet Catholic nobles owned a number of religious books which sought to explain Scripture and the doctrine of the Catholic Church, while they were sent books by the apostolic vicars, some of which advocated the reading of the bible.⁷⁴¹ Nobles possessed

⁷³⁹ NA, Cousebant, inv. 342: letter of Teresa de la Mere, f. 1r-v. See also: NA, HVZ, inv. 748.

⁷⁴⁰ Benthem, 'Assumburg', 224, 226.

⁷⁴¹ Willem Frijhoff, 'The confessions and the book in the Dutch Republic', in: Stefan Ehrenpreis et al. (eds), *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsgeschichte der Reformierten in konfessionsvergleichender Perspektive: Schulwesen, Lesekultur und Wissenschaft* (Berlin, 2007), 185–212.

copies of the bible, all of which suggests that, at least for the Catholic nobility, books covered more than just the visual and ritualistic aspects of their faith, and possibly books, especially the reading of the bible, were a more important component of Dutch Catholicism than has been acknowledged.⁷⁴²

As the Catholic nobility possessed books which promulgated different spiritual strands and were in touch both with regular and secular priests, the Catholic nobles in Utrecht and Guelders came into contact with different spiritual and pastoral flavours. Although Catholic nobles owned more books written by members of religious orders and had a slight preference to house regular priests, in general during most of the seventeenth century they did not have an outspoken preference for a specific type of spirituality. It seems that only in parts of Guelders that were mainly served by regular priests, some Catholic nobles developed a more pronounced preference for regulars.⁷⁴³ According to Hoppenbrouwers the Molinist variant of Catholic spirituality became dominant among Dutch Catholics in the Golden Age, but if this was the case among Catholic nobles, then only in the last two decades of this century, when an increasing number of Catholic nobles became dissatisfied with the pastoral care of certain members of the secular clergy, as we will see in the next chapter.⁷⁴⁴

In his monumental work about Dutch Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Rogier coined the terms ‘minority Catholicism’ and ‘clandestine-church Catholicism’, arguing that because of the dominant position of the Reformed religion, Catholicism in the Republic developed some specific characteristics. According to Rogier, Dutch Catholicism differed from forms of Catholicism that developed in Catholic parts of Europe, since it was ‘watchful’ and lacked confidence, as a result of which pious acts such as outward devotions to saints were omitted. For Rogier the stance of Van Neercassel, who was always receptive to Protestant critique of Catholic practices, was exemplary of this Dutch variant of early modern Catholicism.⁷⁴⁵ Although Rogier was right to point to the peculiar characteristics of Dutch Catholicism, and to the fact that this was largely the result of the dominant position of Reformed Protestantism within the Republic, historians have not uncritically adopted the term ‘minority Catholicism’.⁷⁴⁶ According to Willem Frijhoff, the ‘clandestine-church mentality’ covers only one side of the history of Catholicism in the Republic, while Xander van Eck has argued that the decoration of many clandestine churches belies the watchfulness and self-censure that Rogier attributed to Dutch Catholicism in the sixteenth and

⁷⁴² Cf. Ibid.

⁷⁴³ See pp. 195–6.

⁷⁴⁴ Hoppenbrouwers, *Oefening*, 96.

⁷⁴⁵ *ROG*, 2: 794–9. On Van Neercassel and his concern about Protestant opinion, see Voorvelt, *Amor Poenitens*, 57, 83, 143, 153.

⁷⁴⁶ For a similar characterisation, see: Polman, *Godsdienst*, 64–87, and his ‘Het geestelijk leven der katholieken in Nederland onder de apostolische vicarissen’, *OGE* 20:1–2 (1946), 215.

seventeenth centuries.⁷⁴⁷ Moreover, the stance of apostolic vicars such as Van Neercassel and Codde on the veneration of saints, and the fact that they took Protestant critique of this Catholic practice into account, might have been a characteristic of a particular spiritual current within Dutch Catholicism, rather than of Dutch Catholicism as a whole.⁷⁴⁸

If one considers the religiosity of the Catholic nobility in light of Rogier's characterisation of Dutch Catholicism, it is clear that most of the outward expressions of their faith were limited to the private sphere of their estates and houses, although Catholic nobles did go on pilgrimages, mostly to sacred places in the southern Netherlands (the extent to which this happened is not clear). In spite of their privileged position, Catholic nobles were very careful about where to house priests and where to erect chapels and clandestine churches. From this perspective, Catholic nobles had to take into account the decrees of the local and provincial authorities to a large extent, which influenced their religiosity. However, we should not overemphasize the watchfulness of the Catholic nobles' religiosity, since even though in some respects Catholic nobles were careful about expressing their religious affiliation outwardly, they certainly did not lack confidence: Catholic nobles constantly violated the decrees of the authorities, for instance by housing priests, or by sending their children to Catholic schools and foreign universities. Because of the great dependency on the laity, missionaries, trained according to Tridentine standards, often resided at or frequently visited noble castles and estates, which turned into focal points of the Counter-Reformation. In this sense the Catholic nobles were the first to profit from the distinctive strengths of Dutch Catholicism.

Even if some of the aspects of their devotional practice were influenced by the particular politico-religious circumstances in the Dutch Republic, this was less the case with the nobles' spirituality, for the evidence mustered in this chapter, including the importance of the sacraments and the prominence of Mary among the paintings and in the devotional literature owned by Catholic nobles, corroborates Charles Parker's thesis that Dutch Catholicism had strong links with the Counter-Reformation.⁷⁴⁹ In this sense, rather than being distinctly Dutch, the religious culture among the Catholic nobility had more in common with an international Catholic culture. But even when influenced by the spirituality of the Counter-Reformation to a large extent, some aspects of the religiosity of Catholic nobles were 'traditional', such as the nobles who embarked on pilgrimage in order to attain divine help for physical hardships, which betrays that shift towards a more 'spiritualized' variant of this practice was a gradual one. Indeed, older types of spirituality that were less focused on spiritual introspection and moral improvement were not so easily replaced. Other acts of piety were traditional in the sense that they predated the spiritual renewal of the Catholic Church

⁷⁴⁷ Frijhoff, 'Overlevingsstrategieën', 204, 206. Van Eck, *Kunst, twist*, 121, 133–4.

⁷⁴⁸ Voorvelt, *Amor poenitens*, 57. Spiertz, 'Godsdienstig leven', 335.

⁷⁴⁹ Parker, *Faith*, 186–9.

that was officially sanctioned by the Council of Trent. Many Catholic nobles donated money for the celebration of Requiem Masses for themselves and their deceased kin, gave money or food to the poor at their funeral, and Catholic nobles possessed numerous rosaries and Agni Dei, items that were still seen as apotropaic objects which possessed all kinds of protective powers, despite the modification of such beliefs propagated by Trent.⁷⁵⁰ In many ways, as Alexandra Walsham has rightly stated, Catholicism after Trent was a ‘fruitful synthesis of Tridentine and traditional, confessional and customary religion’.⁷⁵¹

The religious material culture on the estates and in the houses of Catholic nobles shows the contours of a Catholic subculture, a subculture that was further underpinned by distinct religious beliefs and practices, as well as by specific patterns of interaction with Protestants. At the same time Catholic nobles still shared aspects of a ‘general’ noble culture – in order to convey their noble identity, the Catholic nobility adopted means that were used by Protestant nobles as well, ranging from particular funeral ceremonies to commissioning portraits and other items which enshrined their social status. Just like their Protestant peers, Catholic nobles clung to long-standing ideas about noble lordship and authority, and this influenced the manner in which the Catholic nobility supported the *Missio Hollandica*, the topic of the next chapter.

⁷⁵⁰ Silvia Evangelisti, ‘Material culture’, in: *The Ashgate research companion*, 413.

⁷⁵¹ Walsham, *Reformation of the landscape*, 162.

4. Shaping the Catholic Mission

Although Rogier was very critical of parish histories which ascribed the survival of Catholicism almost entirely to the industrious work of zealous priests who guarded their flock against the dangers of Protestant heresy, he nevertheless emphasised the importance of priests by arguing that areas which were not visited by clergymen were likely to fall victim to the advance of Protestantism.⁷⁵² Recent studies on Catholicism in the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have focused less squarely on the activities of priests. Instead they have examined the relationship between the laity and missionary priests and stressed the cooperation between the shepherds and their flock, emphasising the invaluable lay support without which the Catholic Mission in the Netherlands would never have progressed very far.⁷⁵³ This chapter focuses specifically on the contributions of the Catholic nobility to the *Missio Hollandica* and the ways in which these nobles tried to support the Dutch Catholic community at large, which in practice often meant Catholics inhabiting the seigneuries owned by Catholic nobles or living in nearby areas. Is the claim made by Rogier (and endorsed by other historians) that Catholic owners of seigneuries (*ambachtsheren*) were largely responsible for the emergence of Catholic enclaves and the survival of Catholicism, even into the nineteenth century, warranted?⁷⁵⁴ We should also take into account less rosy assessments of the role of the gentry in relation to English Catholicism in England and determine to what extent this also occurred in the Republic. According to the English historian Christopher Haigh, a disproportionate number of missionaries ended up working on the estates of the Catholic gentry, monopolizing resources that would otherwise have benefited the Catholic laity at large.⁷⁵⁵ In the Dutch Republic, at least in the provinces Utrecht and Guelders, this did not happen: in Utrecht, Catholic nobles mostly relied on the service of secular priests who were stationed in and around the city of Utrecht, whereas in Guelders most priests that were housed by Catholic nobles also served the surrounding Catholic communities. Rather than harming the Mission, in a variety of ways, such as by housing and protecting priests, Catholic nobles were of invaluable importance for the success of the Mission and continuing existence of Catholicism in their seigneuries and in the areas around their estates in the seventeenth century.

⁷⁵² Rogier, 'De cultus', 239. *ROG*, 2: 441.

⁷⁵³ Parker, *Faith*. Sebastien Dudok van Heel, 'De rol van de katholieke elite bij ontstaan der staties', in: Guus van den Hout and Robert Schillemans (eds), *Putti en cherubijntjens: het religieuze werk van Jacob de Wit (1695–1754)* (Haarlem, 1995), 35–53.

⁷⁵⁴ J. Barten, 'Historische achtergronden bij de door Rogier opgegeven percentages van de katholieken in de Nederbetuwe en de zogenaamde katholieke driehoek', *AGKKN* 21 (1979), 293–303. De Kok, *Breuklijn*. Tenten, 'Katholieke adel', 2–6.

⁷⁵⁵ Christopher Haigh, 'From monopoly to minority: Catholicism in early modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981), 129–47.

The relationship between the Catholic nobility, missionary priests and (more importantly) apostolic vicars is another focal point of this chapter. By examining the correspondence between the clergy and Catholic nobles, we study the ways in which harmonious relationships were maintained and conflicts were mediated. Of special importance are the conflicts about patronage rights that emerged in the last decades of the seventeenth century between the apostolic vicars and the Catholic nobility, as Catholic seigniorial lords were keen to defend what they perceived to be their rights in regard to the nomination and appointment of priests in (clandestine) churches. Catholic nobles saw themselves as the leaders of local communities, and driven by ideas of ownership and leadership, they influenced and shaped the Mission. Yet in the case of patronage rights they faced the opposition of the apostolic vicars, who were eager to defend their own authority over the *Missio Hollandica*. The ways in which these conflicts evolved and were resolved provide us with insights into how Catholic nobles conceived of their position vis-à-vis the Catholic community and the leaders of the Mission, showing that the way in which these nobles supported Catholicism should be understood against the backdrop of the noble culture in which they were born and raised. These conflicts also highlight the pastoral concerns of the apostolic vicars and Catholic nobles, making clear that these quarrels did not only consist of the defence of rights and authority.

Hampering the Reformation

Around 1600, almost forty years after the first ‘hedge-preachings’ introduced Reformed Protestantism to a large segment of the Dutch population, it was undeniable that this variant of Protestantism had made much headway in the northern Netherlands, the part of the Low Countries then known as the Dutch Republic. Yet there was much for the Reformed Church to worry about, since in parts of the provinces of Utrecht and Guelders the advance of the Reformation had been less quick and thorough than many had hoped and expected. In 1593 the States of Utrecht formed a committee consisting of three preachers and an elder who visited the churches in the countryside, and their findings revealed that many churches were in a state of disrepair and still contained statues and other ‘popish’ remnants. Because of a shortage of trained ministers, the Reformed Church had to rely on former Catholic priests, some of whom were unwilling to conform to Reformed teachings or had, in order to placate their flock, started to administer the sacraments in both a Reformed and a Catholic manner, depending on the specific needs of each parishioner.⁷⁵⁶ In Guelders the situation was scarcely better, for many clergymen did not meet the standards of the Reformed Church, and in some parts of

⁷⁵⁶ G. van der Zee, ‘Schets van de crisis der kerkelijke reformatie in de dorpen van de provincie Utrecht, 1580–1620’, *Jaarboekje van het Oudheidkundig Genootschap ‘Nifterlake’* (1956), 1–97. ‘Visitatie der kerken ten platten landen in het sticht van Utrecht in 1593’, *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 7 (1884), 207 and passim.

the province (such as the Bommelerwaard) there were hardly any ministers at all in the early seventeenth century. Even though classes were formed earlier than in Utrecht, some villages in Guelders had to do without consistories until the eighteenth century.⁷⁵⁷ Besides the difficulties of setting up a fully fledged ecclesiastical structure, the Reformed Church experienced other problems as well: in 1606 there were still Catholic priests who, rather than being pensioned off, continued to administer the sacraments to Catholics and thus greatly disturbed the formation of Reformed congregations.⁷⁵⁸

The problems which troubled the Reformed Church can partly be ascribed to the lethargy of local and provincial authorities (often caused by an unwillingness to succumb to the demands of hardline Calvinists), the difficulties of inventorying and reallocating the property that had formerly belonged to the Catholic Church, the ongoing war with Spain – which was especially disruptive in various parts of Guelders – and of course the unwillingness of people to convert en masse to the Reformed faith. To this list, which is certainly not exhaustive, can be added the obstinacy of the Catholic nobility, as some nobles actively tried to obstruct the introduction of the Reformation in their seigneuries. Their stance could be decisive in regard to the advancement of Reformed Protestantism, since as officers (such as ‘ambtmannen’, officials who enjoyed legal power in districts called ‘ambten’) or as owners of seigneuries, Catholic nobles often enjoyed extensive rights such as the appointment of local magistrates (e.g. the sheriff or bailiff) and the nomination of pastors, and seigniorial lords often controlled or at least had a say in the possessions of the parish church.⁷⁵⁹ The secular authorities upheld the patronage rights of individuals; although in the provinces where the decrees of the Synod of Dordt were ratified the *jus patronatus* was restricted to the right to nominate a minister, in some areas specific arrangements existed between seigniorial lords and local consistories, sometimes allowing the patron a decisive voice throughout the whole process of nominating *and* appointing a new minister, the patron effectively controlling the procedure.⁷⁶⁰

The Reformed Church shuddered at the fact that Catholic nobles possessed patronage rights over Reformed churches, something which ministers criticised in sermons.⁷⁶¹ Because of problems with their Catholic lord, Protestants in Warmond voiced their fear that Catholic patrons would deliberately delay the appointment of ministers in order to give priests the opportunity to win people

⁷⁵⁷ Menno Potjer, ‘De Reformatie in de Nederbetuwe 1590–1620’, in: *Geloven tussen de rivieren*, 33, 44–5, 49. Ravensbergen, *Acta IX*, XIII–XXXIV. Duke, ‘Backwoods’, 253.

⁷⁵⁸ ‘Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de gemeenten der hervormden in de provincie Utrecht vóór 1618’, *Tijdschrift voor Oudheden, Statistiek, Zeden...* 1 (1847), 107–8, 110, 112–3.

⁷⁵⁹ Potjer, ‘Nederbetuwe’, 45. Ten Boom, ‘De mislukte protestantisering’, 115–6, 122–3. See also: ‘Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis’, 116.

⁷⁶⁰ C. A. Tukker rightly contends that the practical exercise of patronage rights was more complex than the laws suggest. Tukker, ‘Patronaatsrecht’, 146. For an example of a specific arrangement between the seigniorial lord and the consistory, see: Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 109–10. NA, HVZ, inv. 1456.

⁷⁶¹ Tuik, *De kerk van het Heyligh Kruis*, 95.

over to Catholicism.⁷⁶² Besides severely delaying the appointment of Reformed ministers and preventing ministers from attending meetings of classes, the possession of patronage rights also made it possible for Catholic nobles to protect nonconformist priests that Reformed classes wanted to see removed.⁷⁶³ Catholic patrons were also keen to obstruct the appointment of hardline Calvinists ministers in their seigneuries: the ducal court of Bergh resisted the appointment of Theodorus Cornelii ab Angelis because they were worried about ‘our gatherings’ (i.e. meetings of Catholics), since Theodorus was a ‘bitter bird who in Didam did much damage to Catholics’.⁷⁶⁴

Following the abolishment of Catholicism, the secular authorities confiscated the so-called “ecclesiastical properties”, which largely consisted of the possessions of monasteries, in order to amass funds for the payment of Reformed ministers. Although parish churches and their property were left intact by the policy of the state, complaints were voiced that (Catholic) nobles were attempting to usurp the possessions of parish churches. Although Van Nierop has shown that in sixteenth-century Holland this did not happen in a systematic way, some nobles did indeed try to direct church funds towards themselves or to keep control over the churches’ property.⁷⁶⁵ Naturally Catholic nobles were dismayed that the revenues from ecclesiastical property were being used for the benefit of the Reformed religion, and they argued that since the original goal of donations to the church (e.g. a fund for the celebration of Requiem Masses) had been abolished, the goods should automatically return to their owners.⁷⁶⁶ In a similar fashion Jan van Eck, Lord of Wijnestein, refused to pay a Reformed minister, simply because Masses were no longer celebrated.⁷⁶⁷ We should not rule out that the behaviour of these nobles might have been based on economic and other motivations rather than religious zeal; yet the ways in which Catholic nobles in these provinces refused to fully cooperate with the implementation of the Reformation suggests that their faith was at least partly responsible for their actions. Whatever their exact motivations may have been, their deeds did obstruct the advance of Reformed Protestantism in certain areas.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶² Groenveld, ‘Terug naar Wassenaar’, 139. See also: Van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid*, 28–9.

⁷⁶³ Ten Boom, ‘De mislukte protestantisering’, 115–6. Maris, *Kerkelijke goederen*, 105. Tukker, ‘Patronaatsrecht’, 141. C. van Leemkolk, ‘Rhenoy’, *AAU* 13 (1885), 10. Van der Zee, ‘Vaassen’, 13–27. H. ten Boom, ‘De vestiging van de gereformeerde kerk in het land van Maas en Waal. Een mislukte reformatie’, *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 50 (1970), 227–8. Duke, ‘Backwoods’, 255. Ravensbergen, *Acta IX*, xxxi, xxxviii, 9, 61.

⁷⁶⁴ Van Dalen, ‘De protestantisering’, 109. See also: Duke, ‘Backwoods’, 256.

⁷⁶⁵ Heukelum, *Jutphaas*, 119. Potjer, ‘Nederbetuwe’, 46. Maris, *Kerkelijke goederen*, 192–3. Van Dalen, ‘De protestantisering’, 31–5. F. S. Knipscheer, *Henricus Leo. Een remonstrantsch-gereformeerd predikant (± 1575–1648)* (Huis ter Heide, 1929), 32, 145. Van der Burgt, *Loenen en Silven*, 56–70. Ravensbergen, *Acta IX*, xxx, 89, 99.

⁷⁶⁶ Dalen, ‘De protestantisering’, 31–2.

⁷⁶⁷ Heukelum, *Jutphaas*, 118.

⁷⁶⁸ Boom, ‘De vestiging’, 228.

In spite of these actions by Catholic nobles, however, the Reformed Church continued to grow, albeit slowly and piecemeal. Sooner or later arrangements were made for the payment of ministers and the maintenance of churches; classes and consistories were established; and an increasing number of churches were staffed with properly trained ministers.⁷⁶⁹ This development slightly altered the role of Catholic nobles. Instead of preventing the organisational expansion of the Reformed Church, Catholic nobles could support their religion more successfully by enabling Catholics to practise their faith with a certain degree of freedom; this could be achieved by appointing Catholics as local magistrates, thus preventing the disturbance of Catholic worship and the persecution of Catholic priests. Throughout the seventeenth century, Reformed clergymen kept voicing complaints about Catholic magistrates and officials who refused to execute the placards issued by the authorities, and ‘remonstrances’ were sent to the government to request the removal of these officers. In August 1651 the consistory of the Meern complained that Catholic seigniorial lords had appointed Catholic sheriffs, as a result of which Catholics had grown bolder and their gatherings had increased in number, causing harm to the Reformed Church.⁷⁷⁰ In Loenen a Catholic sheriff, who declared that he was bound by oath only to the Lord of Kronenburg, infuriated the Reformed minister Johannes Kickius, who knew that he could never rely on the sheriff to deal with Catholics.⁷⁷¹ After a complaint by the consistory of Kockengen, the States of Utrecht ordered the Catholic Lord of Den Ham to appoint another, non-Catholic sheriff in 1675, but to little avail, since in 1676 the sheriff still had not been replaced – on the contrary, a Catholic secretary was appointed as well. Only in 1680 was the former sheriff (who had been removed in 1674 in favour of a Catholic) restored to office.⁷⁷² This example bears witness to the existence of a cat-and-mouse game between Catholic nobles and the authorities: the former tried to appoint co-religionists; the latter were unable to prevent the existence of Catholic officers altogether, but by policing and enforcing their decrees were able to limit the extent to which Catholic nobles could give important offices in their seigneuries to Catholics.

The States of Guelders resolved in 1663 that if seigniorial lords had appointed Catholic officials after 12 October 1652, they had to replace those officials with Reformed Protestants within three months.⁷⁷³ Even though it is likely that this decree was principally aimed at the Catholic nobility, it was certainly not the case that only Catholic nobles appointed Catholic officers: Reformed seigniorial lords did this as well, sometimes because they were lenient towards Catholics, or simply

⁷⁶⁹ See e.g. Staverman, *Varik*, 37–43.

⁷⁷⁰ HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, letter to the classis of Utrecht (11-8-1651). See also: letter of Bunnik’s minister, 19-11-1652; memorie, 16-10-1629. The classis of Zutphen made many complaints about the haphazard enforcement of the placard against Catholics in the seignury of Bergh. Van Dalen, ‘De protestantisering’, 94.

⁷⁷¹ Heijden, *Loenersloot*, 16–7. For another example, see Van Dalen, ‘De protestantisering’, 95. For an example of such an oath, see: HUA, Heerlijkheid Harmelen, inv. 17.

⁷⁷² Willem M. van de Pas, *Tussen Vecht en Oude Rijn* (Utrecht, 1952), 107.

⁷⁷³ CAN, 2: 398.

because qualified Reformed men were not available.⁷⁷⁴ Sometimes too, Protestant nobles valued the interests of their family over politico-religious incentives, and appointed members of a Catholic branch of their family to offices they were not supposed to hold according to the governmental decrees.⁷⁷⁵ An extensive survey of the religious affiliations of government officials undertaken on behalf of the States of Holland in 1658 revealed the existence of more than 650 Catholic officers (including bailiffs, secretaries, burgomasters and aldermen) serving in almost 200 villages, underscoring the extent to which Catholic officers were appointed by Protestants.⁷⁷⁶ If we compare this survey to the list of Catholic nobles in Holland composed by De la Torre, it becomes apparent that in many villages which did not fall under the jurisdiction of Catholic nobles, Catholic officers nevertheless were appointed.⁷⁷⁷ Protestant nobles were admonished to replace Catholic officials, but just like their Catholic counterparts, they were not always extremely cooperative or quick to comply with such demands: the sheriff of Jutphaas turned out to be a Catholic (in 1674), but several years later the Reformed seigniorial lord of Jutphaas again had to be asked to appoint Protestant instead of Catholic magistrates (although by 1677 the sheriff had already been replaced).⁷⁷⁸ These examples make clear that Catholic nobles cannot solely be held responsible for Catholics serving in public office in the countryside.

Contrary to the laws which prescribed that teachers in public and private schools should be Reformed Protestants (or at least adherents of this religion), Catholic nobles were keen to appoint Catholic teachers in 'their' schools, and sometimes Catholics also used the authority of their Catholic lords to force Protestant schoolmasters to allow Catholic children to read from Catholic books.⁷⁷⁹ Simply by giving co-religionists jobs, Catholic nobles at least implicitly discouraged people living under their jurisdictions from converting to Protestantism: a Protestant artisan remarked that it was difficult for non-Catholics to get employment in the seignury of the Catholic Lord of Schalkwijk, and the Van Isendoorn à Blois family was known for commissioning Catholic workmen.⁷⁸⁰ The Catholic nobility may even have used their authority to compel their tenants to go to Catholic priests for their spiritual needs, since a placard issued by the Provincial States of Guelders in 1651 stated that 'papist' landowners were not allowed to lease land under the condition that the leaseholder (pachter)

⁷⁷⁴ Duke, 'Backwoods', 237. G. C. A. Juten, 'Geen katholieken in regeeringsposten', *Taxandria* 8 (1941), 90.

⁷⁷⁵ Leeuwenberg, 'De religiepolitiek', 59.

⁷⁷⁶ Knuttel, *Toestand*, 1: 347–54.

⁷⁷⁷ The following names of villages listed in the survey coincide with the names of noble domains given by De la Torre: Aerlanderveen, Assendelft, Baertwijck, Calslagen, Dussen (twice), 's Gravemoer, 's Gravezande, Haserswoude, Homade, Nieucoop, Outdorp, Outheusden, Rhynsaterwoude, Ryswijck, Roon, Schagen, Schooten, Vrijehoeve.

⁷⁷⁸ HUA, Hervormde gemeente Jutphaas, inv. 1, f. 71, 76, 90. HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, f. 197.

⁷⁷⁹ Knuttel, *Toestand*, 1: 103, 267. Booy, *Weldaet*, 104–7.

⁷⁸⁰ Knuttel, *Toestand*, 1: 314. Verstegen, 'De luister van het oude stamhuis', 84. Also: Van Dalen, 'De protestantisering', 72.

had to go to Mass or have their children baptised by a Catholic priest.⁷⁸¹ The consistory of Neerlangenbroek complained that Catholic nobles living there sought to ‘control and attract the people’; in Houten this was not the prerogative of the nobility but of rich Catholic farmers, who forced ‘poor folks’ to be remarried and have their children baptised by Catholic priests, while two Catholic sheriffs also caused havoc by coercing people to go to Catholic missionaries.⁷⁸² The extent to which this happened is unclear, however, since it was only when a number of conditions were met (e.g. when Catholic nobles owned most of the available land in a certain area) that an effective lease policy that favoured co-religionists could be executed.⁷⁸³ But even when not resorting to pressure in order to direct their subjects away from the Reformed Church, Catholic nobles and officers could set an example simply by not attending the religious services in the parish church, thereby communicating a clear message about the religious preferences of the local community’s elite.⁷⁸⁴

Protecting the shepherds

By appointing co-religionists as officers, Catholic nobles could reduce the possibility of the persecution of Catholic missionaries. Although the situation was not as dire as in England, where priests were tortured and executed, it did occur in the Republic that missionaries were incarcerated, banished or beaten when caught. Many missionaries reported that they were persecuted by local magistrates, some of them devising crafty ways to remain out of the hands of government officials.⁷⁸⁵ Catholic nobles were able to provide relatively safe shelter for missionaries on their estates in the countryside, since often these noble mansions were surrounded by a moat and were located somewhat outside a town or village, removed from the prying eyes of local officials. However, even in spite of the defensive structures of noble mansions and the social status of their owners, government officials did raid these houses in order to disturb Catholic worship and catch serving priests and Catholics, since the fines were a welcome source of income for the sheriffs and their servants.⁷⁸⁶ Hernen Castle, home to the Franciscan missionary Franciscus Dammarin, was raided by Cornelis van Varick, the commander of the nearby fortress Nassau, who even had his men patrolling nearby roads in order to

⁷⁸¹ CAN, 2: 328. Van Dalen, ‘De protestantisering’, 124–5. According to Van Dalen, Protestants nobles tried to ‘influence’ their tenants as well. Ibid., 65. On the leasehold politics of Catholic nobles in England, see e.g. Baker, *Reading and politics*, 76–9.

⁷⁸² HUA, Hervormde gemeente Neerlangbroek, f. 58. HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 42: memorie, 26-10-1629; letter of the Reformed minister and schoolteacher of Houten, 13-3-1630, f. 1r.

⁷⁸³ Faber, ‘Numerieke aspecten’, 161.

⁷⁸⁴ Duke, ‘Backwoods’, 238. ‘Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de gemeenten der Hervormden’, 112, 151. Dirkse, *Begijnen, pastoors*, 28. G. Brom (ed.), ‘Neerkassels bestuur van 1662 tot 1676’, AAU 18 (1891), 276–77.

⁷⁸⁵ RB, 1: 437.

⁷⁸⁶ J. H. Hofman, ‘Papenjacht te Woerden’, AAU 1 (1875), 39–47.

capture the priest.⁷⁸⁷ Luckily for the priest, Catharine van Stepraedt, the owner of Varick Castle, and some of her friends came to his rescue and offered him protection.⁷⁸⁸ In the province of Utrecht the houses and estates of Catholic nobles were subjected to raids by government officials as well. Most notorious was the incident that occurred in the summer of 1651, when marshal J. Strick and his men tried to gain access to the Schalkwijk estate in order to capture the priest who was celebrating Mass there. Instead of cooperating, the Catholics present were unwilling to lower the drawbridge and threw stones at the government officials, and things spun even further out of control as the sheriff and his servant were wounded when an angry Catholic mob tried to break the siege. The owner of the house, Adriaen Ram van Schalkwijk, was banished from the province: he had violated the decrees of the government before, and was also found guilty of housing several priests and owning a baptismal font that had been removed from a nearby parish church.⁷⁸⁹ In the city of Utrecht Catholic gatherings were discovered in the houses of Willem van der Burch and the Lady of Loenersloot (Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden) in 1652 and 1657 respectively, while Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer, Cornelis Arnout van der Marsche, and the Lady of Outheusden were fined for attending one of these gatherings in Maria Johanna's house.⁷⁹⁰ In 1681, government officials conducted a large house-to-house search of suspected hotspots of Catholic activity, and some buildings owned by Catholic nobles were targeted in the process.⁷⁹¹ More dramatic was the raid in 1639 on the house of the noblewoman Hendrica van Duivenvoorde by the sheriff of Utrecht and his men, who almost captured Philippus Rovenius but failed to do so as the apostolic vicar, disguised in women's clothes, managed to escape.⁷⁹²

Although in some cases the authorities refrained from targeting noble mansions, Catholic nobles realised that they were only partly shielded from religious persecution, and many manorial chapels were located in relatively secluded spaces such as attics, towers or cellars.⁷⁹³ Both on noble estates and in their houses in the cities, hiding places for priests were constructed, while houses were

⁷⁸⁷ J. Barten, 'Een listige overval op het kasteel van Hernen', *Numaga* 4 (1976), 128–30. See also: Staverman, *Varik*, 48–50. For other examples of raids on castles, see: J. H. Hofman, 'Het kerspel Olst', *AAU* 19 (1892), 80. id., 'Broederschap', 269. Voets, 'Cothen', 199.

⁷⁸⁸ Barten, 'Historische achtergronden', 294.

⁷⁸⁹ The whole episode is described in detail by Hilhorst, 'Schalkwijk'. See also: HUA, Buchel-Booth, inv. 142. De la Torre condemned the persecution of the nobleman. DLT, *AAU* 10, 186–7. For a Protestant source on this episode, see: HUA, Buchel-Booth, inv. 139, 'Vertooch van redenen...', f. 9r. On violence perpetrated by Catholics against government officials, see: Van Nierop, 'Sewing the bailiff in a blanket', 102–11.

⁷⁹⁰ Forclaz, *Catholicques*, 123. HUA, Schepengericht, inv. 2244–104 and –125.

⁷⁹¹ J. H. Hofman, 'Allerlei, betreffende de stad Utrecht', *AAU* 5 (1878), 190–1.

⁷⁹² W. L. S. Knuijf and J. de Jong, 'Philip Rovenius en zijn bestuur der Hollandse Zending', *AAU* 50 (1925), 62.

⁷⁹³ Van Lommel, 'Bouwstoffen', *BGBH* 8 (1880), 197–255. A. G. Schulte, *Het rijk van Nijmegen: westelijk gedeelte* (The Hague, 1982), 62. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Slangenburgh', 26. Temminck Groll, 'Het kasteel de Cannenburgh', 63. Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 103. The tower in which Adriaen Ram van Schalkwijk had built a chapel was razed to the ground at the behest of the authorities. Hilhorst, 'Schalkwijk', 66.

often equipped with several exits, enabling Catholics to escape the premises as quickly as possible.⁷⁹⁴ In order to lessen the chance of detection by the authorities, priests sometimes preferred to celebrate Mass and administer the sacraments during the night, or thought it better to move to another noble mansion that was a little more secluded.⁷⁹⁵ In case Catholic nobles failed to protect the priests, initiatives were developed to raise the money necessary to pay the priests' bail. At Honloo Castle in Overijssel, owned by the Catholic nobleman Gerard van Laer, the 'majority of the nobles and other pillars of [the] church' established a communal fund which could be used in times of persecution.⁷⁹⁶ Examples of such joint efforts by the lay leaders of the Catholic community were not very common, but in cases of bribing officials or liberating priests close cooperation was necessary, since the ransom and 'recognition money' that were demanded could amount to thousands of guilders a year.⁷⁹⁷

In order to prevent priests from being captured, Catholic nobles could resort to their ties with the ruling Protestant elite. Hendrik van Bergh gained the permission of one of Elburg's burgomasters to house a priest at his estate, and he and his family also benefitted from their bonds (through marriage) to the stadholders.⁷⁹⁸ Hendrik Peterson, the brother of the secretary of the Duchess van Bergh, asked the Protestant nobleman Godard Adriaen van Reede, Viscount of Montfoort, to send a request to Montfoort's magistracy not to expel the secular priest Hendrik Aller, which Godard duly did.⁷⁹⁹ Because of their status as dukes and their kinship ties with the stadholders, the Van Bergh family was exceptionally powerful compared to most other Catholic nobles, but Catholic nobles of lower rank could make use of their relationships with members of the local authorities.⁸⁰⁰ Baron van Lottum pleaded with a town magistracy and managed to obtain particular favours for some 'sisters', for which Van Neercassel thanked him.⁸⁰¹ Family ties with Protestant nobles were also put to use: the Jesuit priest Thomas Beer wrote a friendly letter to Ursula van Raesfelt, asking whether her Protestant husband, Godard van Reede, whom he likened to his 'natural father', could obtain letters of safe conduct (*sauvegarde*) for some priests.⁸⁰² According to the Catholic nobleman Hendrik van Dorth, Lord of Medler, it was largely because of the kinship relations of Jakoba Emilia van Westerholt, who was married to the Protestant Jakob Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, the steward (*landdrost*) of

⁷⁹⁴ S. Muller Fsn. (ed.), 'Raadsbesluiten van Utrecht betreffende geheime godsdienstoefeningen der Rooms-Katholieken in 1652–1655', *AAU* 14 (1886), 236–40. Heijer, 'Jan Ooms', 12.

⁷⁹⁵ J. Barten, 'Een doopboekje van twee rondtrekkende Jezuiëten', *AGKKN* 9 (1967), 336. Heukelum, *Jutfaas*, 133–5.

⁷⁹⁶ 'Breve chronicon P.P. Missionariorum Socit Jesu in Transisalanian', *AAU* 7 (1880), 208–15.

⁷⁹⁷ Parker, 'Paying for privilege', 291–4. Christine Kooi, 'Paying off the sheriff: strategies of Catholic toleration in Golden Age Holland', in: *Calvinism and religious toleration*, 87–101.

⁷⁹⁸ Meijer, *Nopende*, 27. Van Dalen, 'De protestantisering', 94.

⁷⁹⁹ Hofman, 'Montfoort', 426–7.

⁸⁰⁰ Schilfgaarde, *Huis Bergh*, esp. 214–5, 273. Van Dalen, 'De protestantisering'.

⁸⁰¹ HUA, OBC, inv. 247: 14-9-1675. For another example, see: Leemkolk, 'Rhenoy', 12.

⁸⁰² Thielen, *Groenlo-Lichtenvoorde*, 61. GA, Huis Middachten, inv. 1082: letter from Thomas de Beer S. J. (21-5-1702).

Zutphen, that Catholicism was able to survive in those regions.⁸⁰³ In his polemic with Petrus Codde, Hendrik van Dorth may have exaggerated the importance of Jakoba's husband a little, but his remark attests to the fact that Catholic nobles made use of their ties with powerful Protestants in order to mitigate the persecution of Catholics in the Republic.

Maintaining priests I: housing

In spite of the risks attached to lodging priests – with fines starting at 100 Flemish pounds (600 guilders) for harbouring a priest, and 200 guilders for owning the place in which a Catholic gathering was held – many Catholic nobles housed one or sometimes more priests on their estates, or offered shelter to itinerant priests who would stay for a number of days to administer the sacraments and regain their strength before resuming their journey.⁸⁰⁴ In addition to providing missionaries with a place in which they could spend the night, most nobles also fed the priests and sometimes gave them money.⁸⁰⁵ It is difficult to calculate the total number of missionaries who were protected and maintained by Catholic nobles in this way, since most mission reports tend to mention briefly the noble estates to which priests went to celebrate Mass, rather than providing information about the priests' exact locations. However, using mission reports in combination with the correspondence of the apostolic vicars and secondary literature gives the following overview of the priests who resided for a period of time (excluding priests who occasionally visited noble mansions) in the houses or on the estates of Catholic nobles in Guelders and Utrecht (see appendix H).

The table in appendix H shows that slightly more regular than secular priests resided in the houses and on the estates of these Catholic nobles, and this small difference suggests that at least as a group these Catholic nobles did not have a strong preference for either regular or secular missionaries. In the second half of the seventeenth century Varick Castle housed Jesuits (until 1662), and before the secular priest Daniel Meynaerts took up residence the castle was visited by Dominican missionaries.⁸⁰⁶ In similar fashion, Gronsfort, owned by the Van Stepraedt family, was visited by Jesuit missionaries but harboured mostly secular priests in the second half of the seventeenth century, while Doddendaal, another possession of this family, was the residence of Jesuits.⁸⁰⁷ It was common, then, for Catholic nobles to house and make use of the services of both regular and secular priests.

⁸⁰³ De Kok, 'Minderbroederstatie', *Neerlandia Franciscana* 2 (1919), 239. *Groot algemeen historisch...* (1732), 9: 94.

⁸⁰⁴ *VdW*, I: 396-8. *CAN*, I: 269, 291, 302. *HUA*, OBC, inv. 342: 20/30-1-1695.

⁸⁰⁵ A. van Lommel, 'Verslag van het Ordes-bezoek... ten jare 1656 afgelegd...', *AAU* 3 (1876), 65, 75, 81. Id., 'Labores extant lati et fructus... in foederatio Belgio 1684-5', *AAU* 8 (1880), 460. *GA*, Huis Vornholz, inv. 733.

⁸⁰⁶ Barten, 'Historische achtergronden', 294-5.

⁸⁰⁷ J. H. Hofman, 'Renkum', *AAU* 31 (1906), 22. J. Barten, 'De korte kroniek van de Jezuïetenstatie van de Overbetuwe', *AGKKN* 15 (1973), 257.

There was, however, an important difference between the Catholic Mission in the two provinces. As appendix H makes clear, whereas in Utrecht the Catholic nobility housed more secular than regular priests (10 – 7), in Guelders this was the other way around (20 – 26). In parts of Guelders, the mission was largely staffed by regular priests, as various religious orders had monasteries close to the Republic's border from which missions into the Dutch border areas were launched. To give some examples: prior to its conquest by Frederik Henry, Jesuits and Capuchins from Den Bosch visited Catholics in Nijmegen, while Dominicans ventured from Den Bosch to provide spiritual socale to Catholics living in Tiel; from their monastery in Megen (an independent county and Catholic enclave) the Franciscans directed their missionary efforts at the Bommelerwaard and Tielerwaard; Aerdts was visited by Franciscans from the German town of Elten, while Franciscans from Bocholt attended to the Catholics of Vorden (see the map on p. 175).⁸⁰⁸ Many of these regulars working in the countryside used the castles of Catholic nobles as missionary outposts, as we shall see below.

The situation in Utrecht was different, for most of the missionaries working in this province were seculars. The city of Utrecht, the old episcopal see that was so important for the apostolic vicars who considered themselves the rightful successors of the bishops of Utrecht, had four stations run by regular priests, but was home to thirty seculars (around the middle of the seventeenth century).⁸⁰⁹ From this city, secular missionaries ventured to nearby places, including castles owned by Catholic nobles. Guelders lacked a city which served as the centre of the Mission, which explains why in Guelders more priests were housed by the Catholic nobility than in Utrecht (47 – 19). Although in this respect the Mission in Utrecht depended less on the support of the Catholic nobility than in Guelders, even in Utrecht, despite the existence of several Catholic stations in this city, priests were housed by Catholic nobles. Unfortunately it remains unclear exactly where the missionaries who worked in this city resided, since information about the exact whereabouts of the priests is not provided in mission reports. This information is given by a number of missionaries who conformed to the decree issued by the States General on 26 February 1622, which stipulated that priests who had lived in the country before 1622 and had been tolerated (*gedoogd*) had to give their names and address to the magistrates of the place in which they resided.⁸¹⁰ In Utrecht thirty-two priests provided this information to the authorities, but only a few stated in whose house or with whom they lived.⁸¹¹ One of them was the seventy-four-year-old priest Willem Acrijnsen, who lived in a house at the

⁸⁰⁸ ROG, 1: 21–3. Van Eck, *Clandestine splendor*, 59. P. Placidus, 'De Capucijnenmissie te Nijmegen 1623–1644', *Bosche Bijdragen* 7 (1925–6), 18–66. Heijer, 'Jan Ooms', 9–24. Meijer, 'Tiel'. D. de Kok, 'Het katholicisme te Aerdts en omgeving onder den vicarius apostolicus Petrus Codde', *BMG* 38 (1935), 183–94. Id., 'Minderbroederstatie', 233–46.

⁸⁰⁹ A. J. J. Hoogland, 'De Dominicanen te Utrecht', *AAU* 9 (1881), 178–246. A. K. de Meijer, 'Rumoer in de Herenstraat. De Utrechtse augustijnenstatie', *JOU* (1981), 276–313. ROG, 2: 392.

⁸¹⁰ Cau, *Groot Placaetboek*, 1: 203. The States of Utrecht issued this decree on 26-2-1622. *VdW*, 1: 398.

⁸¹¹ HUA, OKN, inv. 112.

Janskerkhof, owned by the ‘Lord of Nyenrode’ (this was Bernard Bongart, who was mentioned on De la Torre’s list of Catholic nobles). According to Rovenius there were several old priests living in Utrecht (some of them still receiving stipends as canons of Utrecht’s chapter churches), but according to him they were hardly involved in providing pastoral care.⁸¹² A thirty-six-year-old priest, Goidschalk Augustijn de Wolff, lived in the house of jonker Floris Foeyt, and Lubbert Cornelissen Cuijlmán (aged forty) resided in the house of Catharina van Oostrum at the Grift.⁸¹³ Cuijlmán was a vicar in the chapter of Oudmunster in Utrecht and not much is known about his pastoral activities, but De Wolff (b. 1585 – d. 1635) had studied in Cologne before graduating from the University of Louvain, and was appointed pastor of Enkhuizen in 1616. He became a canon of the Haarlem chapter, and he probably was only residing temporarily in Utrecht in 1622.⁸¹⁴

Priests did not necessarily live together with members of a Catholic noble family: sometimes Catholic nobles provided separate housing for missionaries. Anton van der Burch bequeathed 1,000 guilders to two burghers from Schiedam (Holland), who had to buy a house in that city in which spiritual virgins and a priest could live, supported by an annual rent of 54 guilders.⁸¹⁵ The noblewoman and spiritual virgin Maria van Brakel stipulated in her will that her cousin Maria Teresa vander Laen, also a spiritual virgin, could reside in her house at the Baeckernessergracht in the centre of Haarlem. Moreover, if another of Maria’s cousins, Cornelia van Doornenburch, became a spiritual virgin, she would be allowed to live in this house as well, but only ‘as long as she [continues] in this way of life’.⁸¹⁶ Other Catholic nobles, such as Ursula van Raesfelt and members of the Van Stepraedt family, allowed priests to reside in their castles (Harreveld and Doddendaal respectively) and allowed co-religionists into their homes to attend Mass and receive the sacraments, even though the nobles themselves did not reside there.⁸¹⁷

⁸¹² Brom, ‘Verslag... 1617’, 463. There were priests who decided to stay in their houses as a form of silent protest against the Reformation and the changes it had wrought. Pollmann, *Religious choice*, 1.

⁸¹³ HUA, OKN, inv. 112, f. 2v, 3r–4v. DLT, AAU 11, 185.

⁸¹⁴ On Cuijlmán, see: J. Putman, ‘Oudewater. Geestelijken, kloosters en geestelijke goederen’, *BGBH* 21 (1896), 236. HUA, Kapittel Oudmunster, inv. 2169. On De Wolff, see: *NNBW*, 9: 1269. Hoogland, ‘Descriptio status’, 240.

⁸¹⁵ RG, Wissocq, 4433: will and codicil of Anton van der Burch (1615).

⁸¹⁶ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246, f. 2r–v.

⁸¹⁷ See also: Staverman, *Varik*, 50.

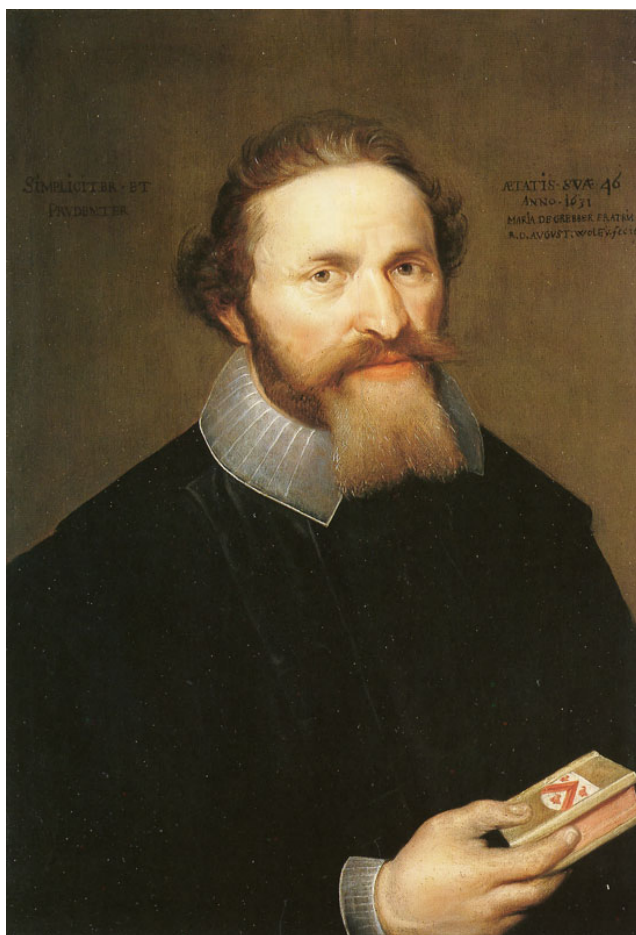


Fig. 5. Maria de Grebber, *Portrait of Aegidius de Wolff* (1631), Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent.

The gentrification of Dutch Catholicism?

In 1981 the English historian Christopher Haigh wrote an influential article in which he argued that English Catholicism became ‘a seigneurially structured minority’, as most priests ended up serving gentry households. According to Haigh this was not a desirable development, because the concentration of priests on and near the estates of the gentry meant that the majority of Catholics living in England had to do without (regular) pastoral care.⁸¹⁸ Arguably Haigh overly focused on priests, their pastoral endeavours and their role in the Catholic Mission in England at the expense of the influence of laypeople, who remained loyal to the Catholic faith – even when priests were (temporarily) not available – and played a key role in the education of children and in transmitting Catholic doctrine and ritual to subsequent generations.⁸¹⁹ Moreover, as Michael Questier has argued,

⁸¹⁸ Haigh, ‘From minority’.

⁸¹⁹ Sarah L. Bastow, *Catholic gentry of Yorkshire*, 74. Ethan H. Shagan, ‘Introduction’, in: Ethan H. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the ‘Protestant nation: religious politics and identity in early modern England* (Manchester, 2005), 11.

priests were not ‘some kind of religious fashion accessory’ of the gentry, but worked together with some of the gentry to promote a certain type of Catholicism and to define the stance of Catholics vis-à-vis the English state.⁸²⁰ But even if the development of English Catholicism was more complex than Haigh portrayed it to be, missionary priests were highly valued resources of any Catholic Mission, and as in England, the distribution of priests in the Dutch Republic was uneven. Were the Dutch Catholic nobility the foremost cause of this uneven distribution, and did they attract a disproportionate share of the available priests?

Just as in England, priests in the Republic did not end up on the estates or in the houses of the Catholic nobility by sheer chance. We have already seen that Catholic nobles were able to maintain and protect priests, and the apostolic vicars requested Catholic nobles to provide protection for missionaries. Van Neercassel wrote to the Lord of Nes asking whether he was willing to grant ‘safety’ (vijligheijt) to two priests, as many Catholics lived in his jurisdiction; he also enquired whether the Duke of Warfusé could offer the ‘protection and safety of [his] high jurisdiction’ to a priest.⁸²¹ Van Neercassel praised Catholic nobles who housed priests on their estates as this contributed to the ‘great blessing of your [families] and... the edification of poor Catholics living in the vicinity’, and nobles were also directly approached by missionaries seeking support and protection.⁸²² Regular priests in particular targeted the gentry as their first point of contact when arriving in the Holland Mission, since the idea was that the rest of society could be reached through members of the elite, a pastoral strategy which can be labelled ‘trickle-down spirituality’.⁸²³ In cities, but even more so in the countryside, the gentry’s houses and families *nolens volens* constituted natural targets for priests who wanted to establish a bridgehead from which their missionary activities could be expanded.

On the other hand, Catholic nobles asked for priests who could live and work in their houses, either by writing to the apostolic vicars directly or by using priests to transmit their requests.⁸²⁴ As Charles Parker has shown, laypeople were keen to take the initiative, and submitted various requests to the apostolic vicars in order that their spiritual needs might be met – with the difference that Catholic nobles often corresponded with the apostolic vicars of their own accord, whereas Catholics

⁸²⁰ Michael C. Questier, ‘Catholicism, kinship, and the public memory of Sir Thomas More’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53:3 (2002), 508.

⁸²¹ HUA, OBC, inv. 245: 16-11-1671; inv. 252: 6-7-1682. For a similar example, see: inv. 242: 20/30-1-1666.

⁸²² Ibid., inv. 248: 22-11-1678. See also: *ibid.*, 10-1-1679; inv. 360: 14-4-1695; inv. 361: 13-1-1698. Lommel, ‘Labores extant’, 452.

⁸²³ Robert E. Scully, ‘Trickle down spirituality? Dilemmas of the Elizabethan Jesuit mission’, *NAK* 85 (2005), 285–99. See also Gerrit vanden Bosch, ‘Saving souls in the Dutch vineyard: the *Missio Hollandica* of the Jesuits (1592–1708)’, in: R. Faesen and L. Kenis (eds), *Jesuits of the Low Countries: identity and impact (1540–1773)* (Leuven, 2012), 139–51.

⁸²⁴ HUA, OBC, inv. 254: 17-3-1685; inv. 336 1-11-1688; inv. 337: 23-3-1689. Van Lommel ‘*Relatio visitationis*’, 254.

from lower segments of society often were represented by the elite members of their community.⁸²⁵ However, not every Catholic noble writing to the apostolic vicars could immediately expect full cooperation just on the grounds of their status and religion: Codde wrote to a missionary that he had first checked the credentials of Jacob van Renesse van Baer, whom he had not seen in many years.⁸²⁶ At any rate, missionaries ended up residing on the estates of the Catholic nobility not only because of the requests of Catholic nobles, but also as a result of the pastoral strategies of the missionaries and the policy of the apostolic vicars.

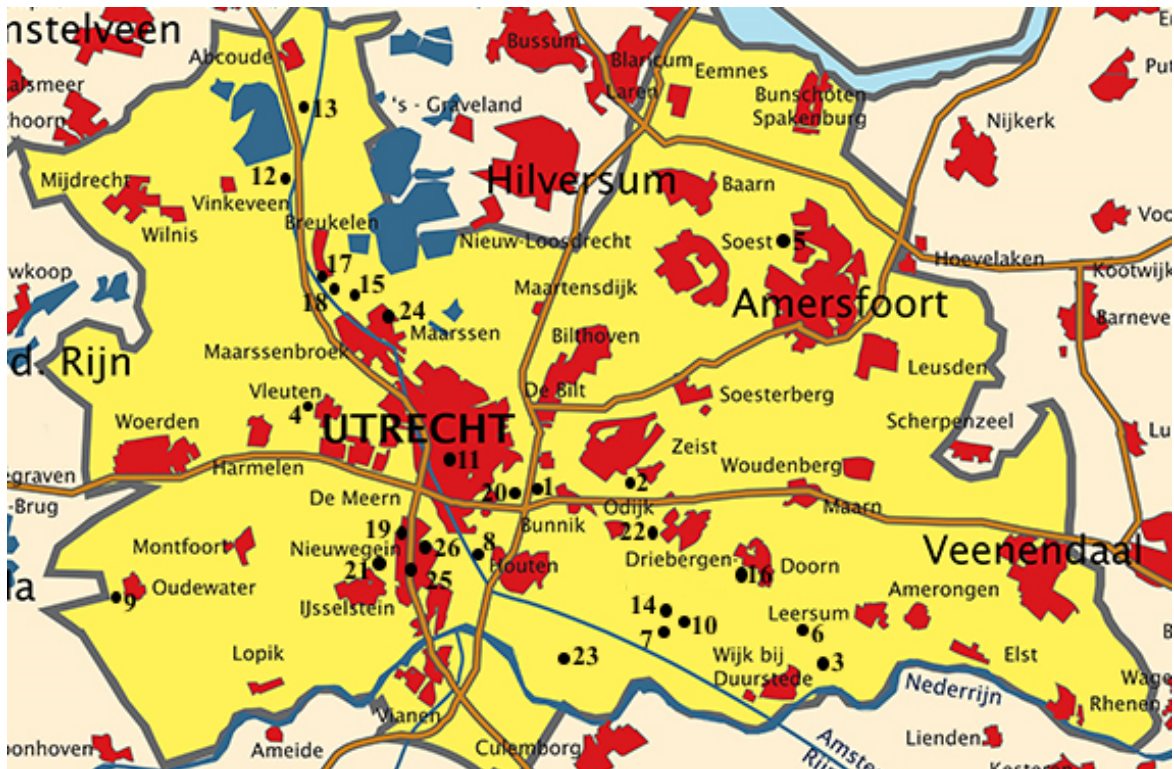


Fig. 6. Castles and houses in the province of Utrecht owned by Catholic nobles in 1656.⁸²⁷

In spite of these developments, Catholic nobles did not appropriate an uneven share of the resources (understood here as the available number of priests) of the Holland Mission, at least not in

⁸²⁵ Parker, *Faith*. Streng, 'Uyt liefde', 123.

⁸²⁶ HUA, OBC, inv. 358: 3-1-1690 (to De Windt). It is likely that Codde meant Johan Adriaen van Renesse van Baer, Lord of Zoelen.

⁸²⁷ DTL, AAU 11, 179–88. 1: Amelisweerd; 2: Blikkenburg; 3: Broekhuizen; 4: Den Ham; 5: Emiclaer; 6: Groenstein; 7: Hardenbroek; 8: Heemstede; 9: Hekendrop; 10: Hinderstein; 11: Utrecht (various houses, see appendix H); 12: Kronenburg; 13: Loenersloot; 14: Lunenburg; 15: Maerssenbroek; 16: Moersbergen; 17: Nijenrode; 18: Oudaen; 19: Rhynestein; 20: Rijnauwen; 21: Rijnenburg; 22: Rysenburg; 23: Schalkwijk; 24: Snaafburg; 25: Vronestein; 26: Wijnestein; 27: Nyestein; 28: Ter Aa.

Utrecht and Guelders. We have already seen that in 1622 three of the thirty-two priests who submitted their details to the authorities in the city of Utrecht lived in houses owned by Catholic nobles. Even if the services of these priests were entirely restricted within the confines of these houses and their inhabitants, which is unlikely, nobles in this city appropriated less than 10% of the total number of available priests to themselves. Around forty priests were working in this city in 1616, thirty-six in 1638 and forty-one (including nine regular priests) in 1656, after which it decreased to fourteen in 1701.⁸²⁸ Even though a number of regular priests working in this city may have enjoyed the patronage of nobles, the secular priests were attached to independent stations that had replaced the old parish churches within the city walls or were located at the city's outskirts, providing a platform for missionaries to venture out to Catholics living in nearby towns or in villages in the hinterland. Although the sources prevent a more detailed reconstruction of the number of priests who lived in the houses of the nobility, in the city of Utrecht it is clear that clerical resources were not monopolised by Catholic nobles.⁸²⁹

In tandem with the rising numbers of priests in its main city, the number of priests working in the province of Utrecht as a whole initially rose quickly to around forty-four priests in 1629, to around seventy priests in 1656, after which it decreased to sixty-four in 1701.⁸³⁰ Most missionaries were clearly concentrated in the city of Utrecht, since in 1629 around thirty priests (68%) resided here. However, some villages in the close vicinity of Utrecht, such as Vreeswijk and Jutphaas, enjoyed the almost continuous presence of priests, and even some places farther away from Utrecht (e.g. Ankeveen) had their own priests or were visited by itinerant priests. In 1617 the Catholics living in the city of Amersfoort were served by six missionaries, but other cities such as Rhenen, Montfoort and Wijk bij Duurstede had to do without resident priests. More than a decade later the situation had not changed much, since these cities did not include many Catholics and were served by a couple of itinerant priests.⁸³¹ Many villages in Utrecht were thus served by itinerant priests, or by missionaries who lived in larger cities but ventured into the countryside from time to time. Also, missionaries living outside the province offered spiritual solace to Utrecht's Catholics: villages such as Cothen and Werkhoven were visited by Jesuit missionaries from Culemborg, for example.⁸³² The density of priests in the Utrecht countryside was thus much lower than in bigger cities such as Utrecht and

⁸²⁸ Van Lommel, 'Verslag...1616', 209. DLT, AAU 10, 181–4. Hoogland, 'Descriptio status', 193–4. G. Brom (ed.), 'Verslag der Hollandsche Missie ten jare 1701', AAU 18 (1890), 441 (this figure seems to include only the pastors of the fourteen stations in Utrecht).

⁸²⁹ A similar source about priests in Amsterdam suggests that this was not the case in this city either. N. de Roever, 'Namen van de geestelijke personen...', BGBH 18 (1893), 48–60.

⁸³⁰ A. van Lommel (ed.), 'Kort verslag van den toestand der R. C. godsdienst der voormalige Hollandsche Zending – 1629', AAU 13 (1885), 254–5. ROG, 2: 395–6.

⁸³¹ Hoogland, 'Descriptio status', 194–8. Brom, 'Verslag...1617', 464. Montfoort had a resident priest from 1623 onwards. H. van Ryn, *Batavia sacra...* (Leiden, 1726), 2: 247. For the situation in 1656 and 1701, see: DLT, AAU 10, 194. Brom, 'Verslag...1701', 442.

⁸³² Hoeck, *Schets*, 77. These villages were also visited by secular priests. DLT, AAU 10, 186.

Amersfoort, and in rural areas the estates of Catholic nobles were often home to missionaries. De la Torre mentioned that in 1656 the estates of the Catholic nobles in Utrecht were often visited by seven secular priests, but also by Jesuits and other regulars, which suggests that at most around 27% of all the priests available in the province of Utrecht in this year were sometimes residing on or at least visiting noble estates.⁸³³ According to De la Torre, these secular priests served Catholic communities in towns such as Schalkwijk, Loenen, Zuilen and Maarssen, and the services of the missionaries were thus not restricted to these noble families.

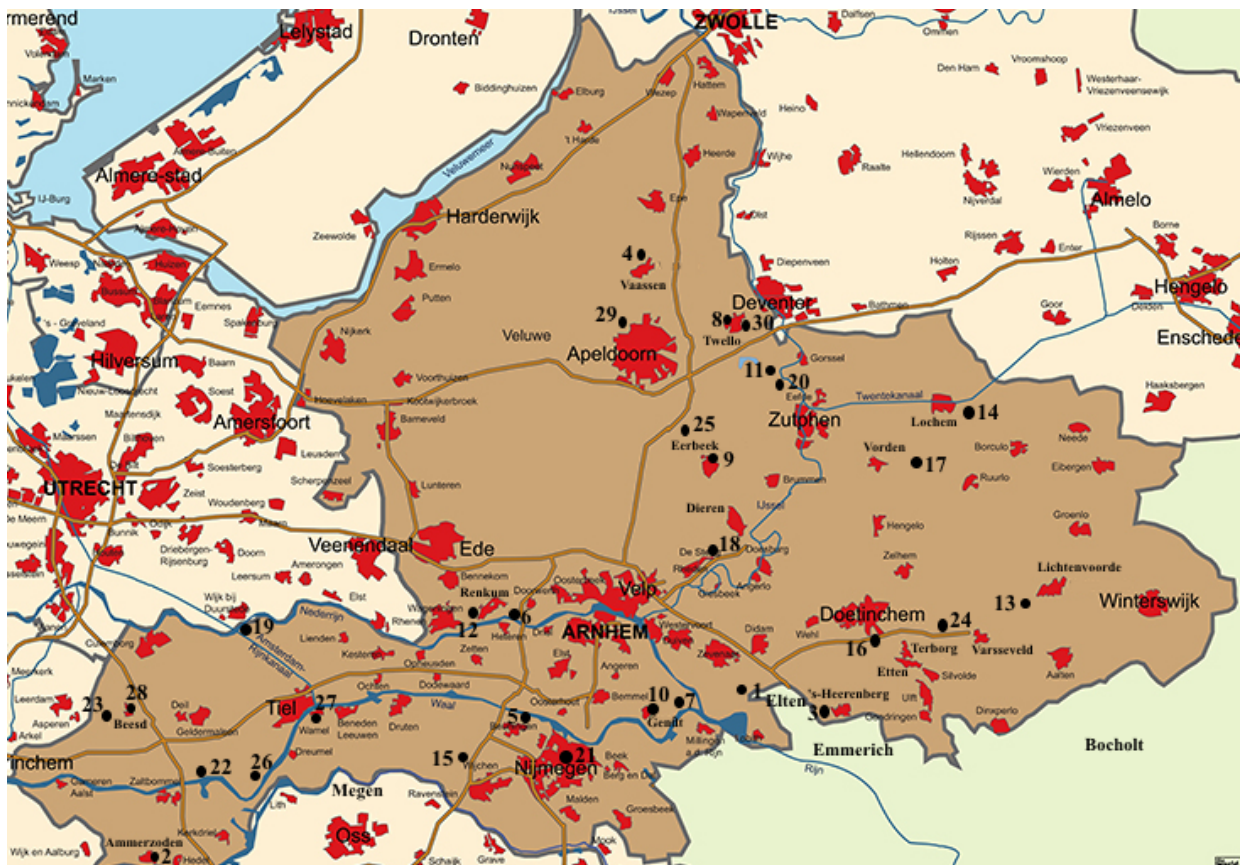


Fig. 7. Castles and houses in the province of Guelders owned by Catholic nobles in the seventeenth century.⁸³⁴

⁸³³ Ibid., 187–8. In 1656 around seventy priests were serving in Utrecht. If we assume that all regular priests visited noble estates, around eighteen of the seventy priests were offering their services to noble families in the countryside.

⁸³⁴ This list is not exhaustive. See: DLT, AAU 11, 375. Gietman, 'Katholieke adel', 183–4. During the seventeenth century, some of these castles fell into Protestant hands. Oostveen, *Velua Catholica*, 74. 1: Aerd; 2: Ammersoyen/Ammerzoden; 3: Bergh; 4: Cannenburgh; 5: Doddendaal; 6: Dooreweert; 7: Doornenburg 8: Duistervoorde; 9: Eerbeek; 10: Gent; 11: Gietelo; 12: Gronsfoort; 13: Harreveld; 14: Heest; 15: Hernen; 16: Kemnade; 17: Medler; 18: Middachten; 19: Muiswinkel; 20: Nijenbeek; 21: Nijmegen (various houses, see appendix I); 22: Opijnen; 23: Rhenoy; 24: Slangenburgh; 25: Ter Horst; 26: Varik; 27: Wamel; 28: Wolfswaard; 29: Het Loo; 30: Veenhuis.

Whereas the province of Utrecht was blessed with more than fifty priests during most of the seventeenth century, the much larger province of Guelders had to do with far fewer missionaries, around twelve in 1629 and twenty-four in 1701.⁸³⁵ As in Utrecht, most priests resided in the bigger cities of Arnhem (two) and Nijmegen (five), but fewer priests were available in the countryside.⁸³⁶ Earlier in the seventeenth century, in 1616, Rovenius mentioned that on the Veluwe, a large area to the east of Apeldoorn, there were hardly any priests to be found (with the notable exception of the Jesuit Ryserius, who sometimes visited this area).⁸³⁷ A year later, the large cities of Arnhem and Zutphen had their own priest, who also visited nearby places in the Veluwe. The Tielerwaard and Bommelerwaard, areas that were not part of the Holland Mission, were left to the care of regular priests (probably Dominicans and Jesuits) who sometimes visited from Den Bosch, then still under Spanish control.⁸³⁸

There are signs that attempts were made in the 1630s to improve the pastoral care of Catholics living in Guelders, yet the number of priests remained low, especially considering the territory they had to cover. Unsurprisingly, most of the priests who were not attached to a station or who regularly crossed the countryside and visited dispersed pockets of Catholics were in one way or another supported by Catholic nobles. Two sources from 1656, De la Torre's *Relatio* and the mission report written by the Jesuit provincial Thomas Dekens, enable us to get an idea of the link between the Catholic nobility and the missionaries in this province in this year. The secular priest and the two Jesuits working at the Veluwe served Catholic communities as well as noble houses: the Jesuit Franciscus Dammarin worked in and around Bommelen, where he often went to noble castles, especially Varick, since there was a missionary station run by Jesuits at this castle; his colleague Gerardus Grumsel S. J. 'attends the houses and castles of Catholic nobles, which are many here'.⁸³⁹ Two Jesuits worked in the area known as the 'Land of Maas and Waal': Guilielmus van Meldert administered the sacraments in and around Doddendaal Castle (he was most beloved – gratissimus – by its noble lord), and although he had no fixed abode, he was regularly received and fed in two noble houses; Joannes Pladys enjoyed 'the house and meal of nobles, among whom he also had his

⁸³⁵ Van Lommel, 'Kort verslag...1629', 255–6. Brom, 'Verslag...1701', 453–4, 457 (including the stations in the district 's-Heerenberg).

⁸³⁶ Van Lommel, 'Kort verslag...1629', 255. See also: P. Placidus, 'De Capucijnenmissie te Nijmegen 1623–1644', *Bosche Bijdragen* 7 (1925–6), 18–66.

⁸³⁷ Hofman, 'Renkum', 23–4. Van Lommel, 'Verslag... 1616', 226. Voets, 'Cothen', 200.

⁸³⁸ Brom, 'Verslag...1617', 465–6. Meijer, 'Dominicanen-statie', 62–3. J. Barten (ed.), 'Drie getuigenissen over het werk van de Jezuïeten in het land van Maas en Waal', *Numaga* 9–10 (1972), 138. A station run by a Jesuit was established in Nijmegen in 1616, and in 1618 a second Jesuit was stationed in Nijmegen. M. G. Spiertz, *Reformatie en herleving van het katholicisme in Nijmegen (1591–1623): Rogier herzien en herdacht* (Nijmegen, 1993), 27, 29.

⁸³⁹ Van Lommel, 'Ordes-bezoek', 75. Grumsel often stayed at the castles of the noble families Van Stepraedt and Hackfort. Hoeck, *Schets*, 83. Hofman, 'Renkum', 25–7. For an overview, see: J. W. Oostveen, *Velua Catholica. Tweede deel, 1600–1953* (Apeldoorn, 1953).

congregations' (De la Torre mentioned that Pladys was lodged by the noble De Reuver family).⁸⁴⁰ Another Jesuit who was active in Guelders in 1656 was Guilielmus van Gessel, who worked in and around Zutphen and attended to certain areas and noble houses.⁸⁴¹ These priests were not the only missionaries in 1656 who (temporarily) lived on or regularly visited the estates of Catholic nobles: the Franciscan priest Bernard Sengers often resided at Medler Castle (from 1654 onwards); Jan Ooms (also a Franciscan) lived at Ammerzoden Castle; and the nobleman Hendrik van Isendoorn à Blois, another Franciscan, resided at Cannenburgh, his family's castle, where a Catholic station was established.⁸⁴² This short overview shows that especially in the rural areas of Guelders, most missionaries had frequent contact with Catholic nobles, as they celebrated Mass in their castles and resided there permanently or temporarily.⁸⁴³

Most of the priests working in Utrecht and Guelders were not permanently stationed on the estates or in the houses of Catholic nobles, although there were stations in Loenersloot House (in the city of Utrecht) and at five castles in Guelders, including Cannenburg, Eerbeek, and Gronsfort, while the castles Doddendaal, Harreveld, and Ammerzoden were used as missionary outposts.⁸⁴⁴ In Guelders, the Mission clearly was more dependend on the Catholic nobility, as this province lacked a city like Utrecht, which functioned as a centre and hub of missionary activities. In some cases, however, priests working in the Mission were not assigned to places where they had to work as a pastor, but were placed in a noble house as a chaplain. For varying periods Vronestein and Loenersloot castles in the province of Utrecht each had a chaplain (both secular priests), as did Medler and Varik castles in Guelders. Although Haigh attributed the shortage of priests in some parts of England to the fact that many priests served as chaplains in noble houses, and in times of persecution were not allowed by their patrons to use these noble estates as missionary centres or to serve Catholics in the vicinity, in Guelders and Utrecht the situation was different, since often these chaplains were not strictly confined to the premises of the house in which they served.⁸⁴⁵ Johannes van Heymenbergh, for example, the secular priest and chaplain at Loenersloot Castle, also worked in the nearby towns of Loenen and Niewersluys, and later served as the pastor of the clandestine church

⁸⁴⁰ Barten, 'Korte kroniek', 262. Van Lommel, 'Ordes-bezoek', 75. DLT, AAU 10, 205. For a statement from Joannes de Roover about Jesuit activities, see Barten, 'Drie getuigenissen', 138–9.

⁸⁴¹ Van Lommel, 'Ordes-bezoek', 73, 75, 77. For some time Van Gessel lived at Harreveld Castle, owned by Reinier and later Ursula van Raesfelt. Thielen, *Groenlo-Lichtenvoorde*, 58.

⁸⁴² M. Reinders, 'De kerken van Kranenburg', 3. (<http://www.kleinkranenburg.nl/documents/dekerkenvankranenburg.pdf>). Hoeck, *Schets*, 87. Heijer, 'Jan Ooms', 9. G. Schotel, 'Ammerzoden', *Bijdragen voor de Vaderlandse Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* 4 (1884), 150. Verstegen, 'Cannenburg', 155. Staverman, *Varik*, 50.

⁸⁴³ DLT, AAU 10, 205–6. In 1656 it is mentioned that six castles were visited by missionaries. Id., AAU 11, 375.

⁸⁴⁴ S. Muller Fsn., *Oude huizen te Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1911), 3. For an overview in 1701, see: Brom, 'Verslag...1701', 454.

⁸⁴⁵ Haigh, 'From monopoly', 145 and *passim*.

at the Slootdijk (from 1655 onwards).⁸⁴⁶ Even when they worked as chaplains, the services of these priests were often not limited to the family they served, because they administered the sacraments to Catholics who came to participate in religious services held in the estate's chapel as well. Sometimes too, a priest was appointed pastor in various noble houses and nearby vicinities: the secular priest and later archpriest Stephanus van Lent was appointed pastor of Ter Horst and Eerdbeeck castles and of the 'surrounding Catholics', and was allowed on holy days to celebrate Mass twice, once in each castle.⁸⁴⁷

Most of the missionaries were not strictly tied to the estates of Catholic nobles, although some noble families complained that missionaries left the castle too often.⁸⁴⁸ In most cases, however, the limited authority of the priests was not the result of the power the nobles enjoyed over them, but was because of the policy of the apostolic vicars. Writing to the secular priest Daniel Meynaerts, Petrus Codde stated that he was allowed to administer the sacraments at Medler House, and also to the Catholics who 'were accustomed to come there to practise their faith'.⁸⁴⁹ Other chaplains enjoyed fewer privileges: Van Milligen could preach in the chapel of Te Tol House but was strictly forbidden to behave like a 'normal' missionary, and the priest at Slangenburg Castle was only allowed to hear the confessions of Baron van Slangenburg and his 'housemates' (huysgenooten).⁸⁵⁰ Baron van Meynerswijk wondered whether Catholics from Doetinchem who visited the chapel in his house were allowed to receive the sacraments (since otherwise they would have to go to Cleve), but he was told that this was only permitted for himself and six other people.⁸⁵¹ Van Neercassel approved of the Lord of Vronestein's request that his domestic chaplain was allowed to merely (dumtaxat) administer the sacraments to the members of his household.⁸⁵² The apostolic vicars had various reasons to grant only limited authority to some of these chaplains, since in some cases these priests lacked the skills to serve larger congregations. Furthermore, some chaplains were appointed at the request of noble families, and the apostolic vicars wanted to restrict their authority in order to avoid clashes with missionaries who were already working in the area.⁸⁵³ Especially in cases where a chaplain was appointed to a noble family in an area where other missionaries were active, one might argue that Catholic nobles had indeed appropriated valuable resources that could have been used in other parts of the country. On the other hand, sometimes Catholic nobles desired (foreign) regular priests as

⁸⁴⁶ DLT, AAU 10, 187. Heijden, *Loenersloot*, 25.

⁸⁴⁷ HUA, OBC: inv. 361, 20-8-1697.

⁸⁴⁸ Van Lommel, 'Ordes-bezoek', 88.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., inv. 345: 18-11-1688.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., inv. 359: 12-4-1692; inv. 360: 19-4-1695; inv. 361: 28-2-1696.

⁸⁵¹ RB, 3: 492-3.

⁸⁵² HUA, OBC, inv. 258: 31-10-1667.

⁸⁵³ HUA, OBC: inv. 360: 19-4-1695. Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, 177.

chaplains, and since the apostolic vicars scrupulously limited the maximum number of regulars operative in the Republic, these priests were not likely to be allowed to work in the Mission at all.⁸⁵⁴

In general, then, the chaplains of Catholic families and the missionaries residing on the estates of the Catholic nobility provided their services to nearby Catholic communities. Yet it is difficult to assess whether these missionaries should have been serving larger Catholic communities elsewhere, since the statistical data in the mission reports of the seventeenth century are rather unreliable. The number of Catholics in the Dutch Republic given by J. A. de Kok has been criticised, and the debate has mainly revolved around whether the numbers given by the apostolic vicar in 1656 represent Catholics or only communicants.⁸⁵⁵ Kok's critics have convincingly argued that the 1656 mission report gave the number of Catholics, and that the number of Catholics between 1656 and 1726 remained fairly stable. This makes it possible to use the more reliable statistics from the mission report of 1726 to assess whether priests – mostly those in Guelders, as the estates of the Catholic nobility in Utrecht were often visited by priests from the city of Utrecht – should have worked elsewhere in the Republic. According to the 1726 report, the Catholic communities in the areas where Catholic nobles lived in the seventeenth century consisted of an average of around 400 people, roughly equal to the size of Catholic communities in the countryside of Holland, the province with the highest number of Catholics; in that respect it would not have been more profitable to send the priests to the Holland countryside (see appendix I). The apostolic vicars also realised that it was better for Catholics to have their own priest, rather than having to go to neighbouring places for their acts of worship, and therefore a more even distribution of priests was desirable rather than detrimental to the Mission.⁸⁵⁶ It also remains to be seen whether it would have been profitable to send even more priests to Holland, as this part of the Mission was already home to the largest number of priests (around 225 of the roughly 450 priest in total around the middle of the seventeenth century), with some cities experiencing a surplus of priests (in relation to the number of Catholics living there) and some rural Catholic communities not able to sustain one.⁸⁵⁷

Judging from the figures in the 1656 and 1726 reports, one might argue that all Catholic missionaries should have served in the cities, which held the largest numbers of Catholics. We should take into account, however, that a mix of missionaries from different orders and spiritual and pastoral backgrounds could lead to fierce competition, something which could negatively affect the

⁸⁵⁴ De Kok, 'Strubbelingen', 43.

⁸⁵⁵ Faber et al., 'Numerieke aspecten'. M. G. Spiertz, 'Het aandeel van de katholieken in de Friese bevolking tussen 1663 en 1796', *AGKKN* 19 (1977), 147–69.

⁸⁵⁶ Brom, 'Verslag...1701', 29.

⁸⁵⁷ *ROG*, 2: 361–3. Voets, 'Een leider', 288. 135 or 136 priests served in the bishopric of Haarlem, while ninety priests served in the Holland part of the archbishopric of Utrecht. *ROG*, 2: 364, 395. For the total numbers of missionaries, see Spiertz, 'Priest and layman', 291.

Mission.⁸⁵⁸ Furthermore, even in the cities Catholics did not always have enough money to support a priest (hence the competition between priests), and a large number of missionaries centred on a particular area could also drain the financial abilities of local Catholics to support the missionaries.⁸⁵⁹ Although in terms of sheer numbers the missionaries working in the Guelders countryside could have served more Catholics elsewhere, a more sizeable group of Catholics did not necessarily have the recourses to fund a priest. Moreover, the well-being of the Mission depended on more than quantitative factors, such as the capacity of Catholics to provide protection and places of refuge. As the policy of the apostolic vicars was based on sending missionaries to Catholic communities which could support and protect them, the fact that priests ended up working in and around the estates of the Catholic nobility – who could fulfil those criteria – is not at odds with the overall strategy of the Holland Mission, which from its outset wanted to expand the scope of its pastoral care to Catholics throughout the Republic.⁸⁶⁰ In this sense, rather than appropriating a disproportionate share of the available missionaries, Catholic nobles in the countryside of Utrecht and especially Guelders attracted priests that otherwise would not have come to these areas.⁸⁶¹

Staffing the Mission

In addition to the protection of priests, the Mission depended on the laity for the provision of recruits and funds, since money was needed to train prospective priests, and to support them when working in the Mission after having been ordained. Dutch Catholics could support their faith and their Church by serving as priests or spiritual virgins, but the number of Catholic nobles who were willing to assist the Mission in this capacity was limited. We have already seen that of the Catholic members of ten noble families examined in chapter one, only five men had a religious vocation (three of whom worked as priests in the Republic). This might be a specific characteristic of those families – in 1656, for instance, three members of the noble De Ridder van Groenestein family were serving as priests – but it seems that in general only a small portion of the Dutch Catholic nobility had a religious vocation.⁸⁶² The number of priests that worked in the Dutch Republic sharply increased when Vosmeers's successors Rovenius and Van Neercassel presided over the Catholic Mission, but most of these (secular) priests were recruited from the middle classes rather than from the higher strata of society.⁸⁶³ Although there was some interest in joining religious orders such as the Jesuits, possibly

⁸⁵⁸ Van Eck, *Kunst, twist*, 142–4. Parker, *Faith*, 172–3. ROG, 2: 154–5.

⁸⁵⁹ G. A. Meijer, *Katholiek Nijmegen* (2 vols, Nijmegen, 1904–5), 1: 18.

⁸⁶⁰ Parker, *Faith*, 102–3.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., 103. Barten, 'Korte kroniek', 257. A. van Lommel (ed.), 'Iets over eenige statien der paters Jesuïten in de Hollandsche zending ten jare 1670', *AAU* 2 (1875), 467–8.

⁸⁶² DLT, *AAU* 10, 183. Hoeck, *Schets*, 202. Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 58, 117. *NNBW*, 5: 598.

⁸⁶³ Parker, *Faith*, 34, 97. Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, 55. Hoogland, 'Descriptio status', 190.

the fact that priests largely had to operate in the dark (literally, celebrating Mass during the night in order to avoid detection) and at times had to endure all sorts of (physical) hardships was not so attractive for many nobles: these conditions were far removed from the situation prior to the Reformation, when many nobles had enjoyed the income and prestige attached to holding canonries in collegiate churches.⁸⁶⁴ Moreover, according to Gian Ackermans, the social prestige of priests depended on the social status of their kin rather than on the religious vocation itself.⁸⁶⁵ It might therefore have been more appealing for Catholic noblemen to support Catholicism in other ways. Some of them nevertheless became priests and were able to do important work for the Mission, as their family connections and the fact that they came from the same milieu as the ruling elite partly shielded them from religious persecution.⁸⁶⁶

For a number of Catholic noblewomen in Utrecht it was possible to remain in convents. While the authorities destined some convents to die out, others continued to exist under the supervision of the knighthood, who ruled that vacant benefices in these institutions had to be given to Reformed noblewomen.⁸⁶⁷ The religious aspects normally attached to an endowment in these female convents were abolished, and the inhabitants of these convents were forbidden to practise Catholicism, yet convents and monasteries remained sites where Catholics gathered and practised their religion for a number of decades.⁸⁶⁸ But while the number of Catholic noblewomen in these convents dwindled, Catholic noblewomen had the option to enter foreign convents, which only a small number of them did.⁸⁶⁹ A somewhat larger, but never very sizeable number of noblewomen opted to support the Mission as spiritual virgins.⁸⁷⁰ Tryn Jans Oly's *Levens der maechden (Lives of the virgins)*, a biographical description of 234 virgins who lived in the Haarlem community of virgins, includes the lives of thirteen noble virgins, most of whom were members of Frisian noble families

⁸⁶⁴ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 53, 58.

⁸⁶⁵ Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, 34, 51.

⁸⁶⁶ Priests who enjoyed such connections were therefore favoured by Van Neercassel. Ibid., 51. Notable examples are Dirk Aldolf van Reede and Hendrik van Isendoorn à Blois. Bunt, 'Een uitzonderlijk lid'. Verstegen, 'Cannenburg', 155. Van Dalen, 'De protestantisering', 84. Also: A. van Lommel, 'Narratio historica seu discriptio...', *AAU* 6 (1879), 29.

⁸⁶⁷ C. A. Kalveen, 'De vijf adellijke vrouwenkloosters', in: C. Dekker and E. S. C. Erkelens-Buttinger (eds), *De kerk en de Nederlanden: archieven, instellingen, samenleving* (Hilversum, 1997), 164. J. H. Hofman, 'De Wittevrouwen te Utrecht', *AAU* 32 (1907), 133–4. *ROG*, 1: 530–1. D. G. Rengers Hora Siccama, *De geestelijke en kerkelijke goederen onder het canonieke, het gereformeerde en het neutrale recht* (Utrecht, 1905), 698–727, esp. 698, 701, 705. According to Maris, benefices in former female convents in Guelders were also granted to Catholic women after the Reformation. Maris, *Kerkelijke goederen*, 478.

⁸⁶⁸ HUA, Provinciale kerkvergadering, inv. 42, remonstrance to the States of Utrecht (undated), 1v; complaints of the church of Amersfoort (undated). Knuttel, *Toestand*, 1: 104. Also: Deelder, *Bijdragen*, 1: 95. W. F. N. Rootselaar, 'Amersfoort. Godsdienst en onderwijs, 1580–1680', *AAU* 25 (1898), 435–6.

⁸⁶⁹ See note 159.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid. It has been asserted that becoming a spiritual virgin should not be seen as a substitute for entering a convent after this ceased to be possible for Catholic women, because the existence of groups of women who wanted to lead a more pious life without entering a convent predated the Reformation. Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden*, 21–2.

with which the priest who had established the community, Nicolaas Cousebant, enjoyed excellent relations.⁸⁷¹ One of the virgins who lived in this community in Haarlem was Margareta Grauwert, a member of an impoverished noble family from Utrecht who had worked as a lady's maid (kamenierster) for the Lady of Marquette before becoming a spiritual virgin.⁸⁷²

It is difficult to assess whether in general Catholic noblewomen were more willing than their male counterparts to take up a religious vocation, but it seems that the number of noble spiritual virgins was rather limited too. Perhaps this is what motivated Willem de Wael van Vronestein to write a tract in which he promoted the cause of, and praised the work done by, women (jonckvrouwen) who served as spiritual virgins and dedicated their lives to educating the poor and the young in Catholic doctrine.⁸⁷³ Spiritual virgins were expected to live modestly, and in some of their communities all virgins, irrespective of rank and status, had to do manual work such as cleaning and repairing clothes, which probably made this kind of life somewhat unappealing for daughters of (well-to-do) noble families.⁸⁷⁴ On the other hand, recent research by Joke Spaans and Marieke Abels has shown that there was a clear hierarchy within some communities of virgins – rich virgins had their own seating places with foot warmers in the church, or wore elegant clothes – enabling noblewomen to retain their social status.⁸⁷⁵ Moreover, most virgins lived not in large communities, but in small groups, with their parents, or alone. Maria van Brakel, a noblewoman from Utrecht, lived in a house in Haarlem and was in close contact with a couple of family members who were spiritual virgins too.⁸⁷⁶ In such situations, where virgins were not subject to the rules of poverty that were introduced in some communities of spiritual virgins, it would have been much easier for noblewomen to combine a life devoted to God with maintaining their social status. But whereas for women of lower social strata becoming a spiritual virgin and submitting oneself to the authority of a confessor was a suitable option for leading a pious life, noblewomen could often achieve this on their family estate, which often had a resident priest or chaplain, without having to take vows of obedience and chastity or giving up their lifestyle.

The unwillingness to renounce earthly possessions was in no way an innate characteristic of all nobles (one only has to take into account the example of Francis of Assisi), but even if a number of considerations lessened the willingness of Catholic nobles to serve as priests or spiritual virgins in

⁸⁷¹ Joke Spaans, 'Orphans and students: recruiting boys and girls for the Holland Mission', in: *Catholic communities in Protestant states*, 159.

⁸⁷² Spaans, *Levens*, 62.

⁸⁷³ MSB: Willem de Wael van Vronestein, *Sendt-brief aen de vvel edele, eeren-rycke, ende godtvrvcchtighe ionckvrouwen...* (Brussels, 1656). Although Willem does not strictly focus on noblewomen, several examples suggest that the targeted audience of his tract were well-to-do (*bemiddelde*) women. Ibid., f.5–6.

⁸⁷⁴ Spaans, *Levens*, 120, 129.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., 121–2. Marieke Abels, 'Beeld en zelfbeeld van zeventiende-eeuwse kloppen in de noordelijke Nederlanden', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis* 14:1 (2011), 6.

⁸⁷⁶ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246, f. 2v.

the Holland Mission, they helped to staff the Holland Mission in other ways. In some cases noblewomen, such as the aforementioned Lady of Marquette, employed the relationships they enjoyed with priests to get maidservants into communities of spiritual virgins, thus adding to their numbers.⁸⁷⁷ An entry about a spiritual virgin named Magdalena Lucasdr. relates that at the age of seven she came into the service of a Catholic noblewoman, who instructed her in the Catholic religion and made it possible for her to receive the sacrament of confirmation. Magdalena's faith was so strong that her sister in Emden failed to convert her to Protestantism, and eventually Magdalena, having been helped by another servant of the same noblewoman, arrived in Haarlem, where she became a spiritual virgin.⁸⁷⁸ Often servants accompanied noblewomen when they visited the apostolic vicars, which brought them into contact with missionary priests, and both by instructing servants and other members of the household and by using their networks, noblewomen supplied the Mission with new recruits.⁸⁷⁹

By providing scholarships, Catholic nobles enabled boys who aspired to become priests to get the necessary education. The nobleman Frederick van Deurn granted the income of a fund established at the altar of the Holy Cross in the parish church of Beest to Everard Jan van der Burch, and was allowed to do so by the States on the strict conditions that a third of the money would be used ad pious usus (but for the Reformed Church) and that Everard would not go to Jesuit schools. Contrary to the intention of the States, however, Everard became a missionary priest who worked in Loenersloot and later in Bovenkerk.⁸⁸⁰ Besides illegally tapping into sources that were designated for students at Reformed schools and universities, Catholic nobles often put their own money to use for the education of future priests. Adriaen Camons stipulated in his codicil that every year at Easter, 125 guilders had to be given to the son of Lucas van Luyck as long as he was studying to become a priest, after which a studentship of 2,000 or 2,500 guilders was to be created in Cologne.⁸⁸¹ Paschina d'Edel, Lady of Amelisweerd, established a foundation of 2,000 guilders for a student at Alticollense; Jacob van der Burch, Lord of Oudaen, provided a grant for a student at the Collegio Urbano (Pauscollegie); and in 1640 Jacob Nobel provided 3,000 guilders in order to create a studentship at the college of Our Lady (the 'Dutch college') in Louvain, where Elisabeth van Alckemade also founded two scholarships.⁸⁸² Although there were some problems with two studentships at the Dutch college, the

⁸⁷⁷ Spaans, *Levens*, 62. For other servants of Catholic noblewomen who became spiritual virgins, see Spaans, *Levens der maechden*, 3: 78r,

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., 225r–226r.

⁸⁷⁹ HUA, OBC, inv. 243: 13/23-8-1669. See also: Benthem, 'Assumburg', 224.

⁸⁸⁰ J. H. Hofman, 'Het heilig kruis te Beesd', *AAU* 17 (1889), 34–5. HUA, NOT, inv. U167a006, no. 194 (5-10-1737). Lambert J. van der Heijden, *Het kerspel Loenersloot* (Utrecht, 1913), 28. Everard studied in Louvain. Van Ryn, *Batavia sacra*, 4: 223.

⁸⁸¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 1176: extract from the codicil of Adriaen van Camons (1655).

⁸⁸² GA, Huis te Horst, inv. 255. RG, Wissocq, inv. 4373, inventaris goederen Philibert de Clerque, f. 33r–34v. HUA, OBC, inv. 251: 24-2-1681; inv. 231: 6-10-1683 (to Van Neercassel). See also: Six, *Wiardastate*, 199;

foundation of Jacob Nobel successfully provided money for the education of at least three priests in the second half of the seventeenth century, and in 1701 and 1713 two other students were supported with money from this foundation.

Three of the five students funded by Jacob Nobel ended up working in the Republic; providing such financial support was a means for nobles to create a network of befriended priests, and to assure the availability of priests in the places where they lived. Pashina d'Edel stipulated that the priests who profited from her studentship had to work within the archbishopric of Utrecht or 'at least in the United Provinces'. Furthermore, the beneficiaries had to be relatives (bloet verwanten) of Paschina, or if this was not possible, sons of 'good and lawful parents'.⁸⁸³ Similar to patronage rights over local churches, the founders of these scholarships possessed the right to present or nominate a student, after which the apostolic vicar or the president of a particular college could accept or reject the nominee.⁸⁸⁴ The apostolic vicars had their preferences and sometimes recommended students to Catholic nobles, while Catholic nobles themselves requested advice about which students to endow with money, and in general the process of nominating and approving students was far less explosive than the appointment of pastors, as we shall see.⁸⁸⁵

Maintaining priests II: donations

After the completion of their education, and once the apostolic vicars had judged them to be suitable and ready for the task at hand, priests were sent to a specific place in the Dutch Republic to offer their services to the Catholic laity. Charles Parker has shown that the apostolic vicars were inclined to send priests to serve sizeable Catholic communities that were able to support them, which was especially necessary for priests who were not able to provide for their own income or did not enjoy the financial assistance of wealthy family members.⁸⁸⁶ Although some priests were affluent, the majority of the missionaries working in the Republic were not able to tap into large sources of income. As the Catholic Church was no longer able to provide priests with an income, Catholic nobles and other affluent laypeople took it upon their own shoulders to support priests financially. Besides the informal arrangements that undoubtedly were made, nobles donated money to priests in

GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246, inventory of the possessions of Maria van Brakel. In 1632 Cornelis Nobelaer had provided a bursary of 2000 at Pulcheria. Parker, *Faith*, 244. For Elisabeth van Alckemade, see *ibid.*, 243. Also: P. Placidus (ed.), 'Twee verslagen over de toestand der Hollandse Missie van de apostolische vicaris Philippus Rovenius aan de Infante Isabella', *AAU* 68 (1949), 239.

⁸⁸³ GA, Huis Ter Horst, inv. 255. See also, Parker, *Faith*, 214.

⁸⁸⁴ RG, Wissocq, inv. 4373: inventaris goederen Philibert de Clerque, f. 34v–35r. HUA, OBC, inv. 245: 12-1-1672 (to Van Wassenaer van Warmond).

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, inv. 231: 6-10-1683 (to Van Neercassel); inv. 251: 24-2-1681 (to Hooft); inv. 252: 25-9-1683 (to Mgr); inv. 245: 12-1-1672 (to Van Wassenaer van Warmond); inv. 254: 21-7-1685.

⁸⁸⁶ Parker, *Faith*, 102.

their wills. Margariet d'Edell stipulated that a benefice of 200 guilders annually be established in the Buurkerk (Utrecht), and also provided money to support blood relatives who decided to become priests.⁸⁸⁷ Anna Francisca van Abbinga, Lady of Den Ham, willed money to various priests, including her confessor Jacob Catz and her chaplain Turck.⁸⁸⁸ Other nobles did not give money to priests directly, but provided money to establish foundations in churches. Willem de Wael van Vronestein ordered that the revenues of some land he had sold be used to establish a new foundation in the 'Roman Catholic church' of Sassenheim, a town in the province of Holland, in exchange for the celebration of three Requiem Masses a week.⁸⁸⁹ The States of Utrecht found out in 1641 that three years earlier the Lord of Incourt, Johan van Heemskerk van Bekestein, had provided a fund (vicarie) established at the altar of the Holy Cross in the St Bavo church in Haarlem – which at that time, like all parish churches, was used by Reformed Protestants – to the priest Johan Duyck (who was sentenced to leave the province within a fortnight).⁸⁹⁰ Anna Marie and Thomas Walraven van Arkel donated money to a foundation in Cranenburgh (it is likely that this was the German town of Kranenburg, just across the Dutch-German border) and to its possessor, the priest Theodorus Arust, also in exchange for Requiem Masses.⁸⁹¹ As we saw in the previous chapter, many Catholic nobles ordered the celebration of Requiem Masses, which proved to be a valuable source of income for priests.⁸⁹²

Besides giving money to priests, Catholic nobles donated goods to them as well: Maria van Barkel bequeathed two silver chandeliers to Johannes van Neercassel, and Anna Maria van Arkel willed her cloak (tabbart) and lamp to a priest, from which a chasuble and chalice were to be made.⁸⁹³ However, even though donations were made quite frequently, it was not straightforward to do so, since the secular authorities had prohibited donations to the Catholic Church or its staff both within and outside the Republic, and nor was it possible for Catholic priests to own any goods.⁸⁹⁴ In 1644 the States of Utrecht decreed that Catholic widows and unmarried women no longer enjoyed the

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid., 217.

⁸⁸⁸ GA, Huis Ter Horst, inv. 246. See also, GA, Van Dorth tot Medler, inv. 14; NA, HVZ, inv. 413. Hoeck, *Schets*, 68.

⁸⁸⁹ NA, HVZ, inv. 1910. Since 1674 Willem had been in control of another foundation in the church of Sassenheim, the income of which was enjoyed by the priest Ludolphus van Meteren (in the period 1636–58). Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 106, 150. NA, HVZ, inv. 1173.

⁸⁹⁰ Hofman, 'Montfoort', 444. It is unclear whether this chantry was founded anew, or whether Johan Duyck enjoyed the income of an already existing one. It is significant, however, that Catholics continued the practice of bestowing priests with an income from a chantry even though the church was in use by Reformed Protestants. Moreover, next to the high altar, there were 32 other altars in the St Bavo, all of which were removed by Reformed Protestants in 1573. This example shows that Catholics continued earlier, pre-Reformation practices, and tried to reclaim the church by stressing its Catholic past.

⁸⁹¹ GA, Huis Ammerzorden, inv. 39.

⁸⁹² HUA, OBC, inv. 251: 7-9-1681. Requiem Masses could also restrain priests in their pastoral activities, since they were allowed to say only one Mass a day.

⁸⁹³ GA, Huis Ammerzorden, inv. 39; Huis Doornenburg, inv. 245.

⁸⁹⁴ CAN, 1: 217, 292, 304, 363–4, 515. *VdW*, 1: 397, 399, 407.

administration of their own goods, and wills drawn up by such women had to be controlled by the authorities.⁸⁹⁵ This placard was not introduced in Guelders, but the States of that province had already decided (in 1640) that spiritual virgins were not allowed to inherit.⁸⁹⁶ A group of female Catholics, consisting of spiritual virgins, widows and unmarried women, petitioned the States of Utrecht to mitigate the placards, so that they at least had the freedom to bequeath their possessions to ‘worldly’ people.⁸⁹⁷ Whether it was because of this letter or for other reasons, the States modified the decree in 1656, prohibiting Catholic women only from donating money to clergymen or ecclesiastical institutions.⁸⁹⁸ Even though around fifty Catholic women were allowed to bequeath their property in the period before the alteration of the law, the wills of some Catholic noblewomen were scrutinised and declared null and void because of certain legal violations, as happened to the will of Digna van Meerevelt.⁸⁹⁹

In other cases the family members of Catholic women tried to prevent them from controlling their own possessions. Lamberta van Coddenoort, the only daughter of Yda de Gouda and Nicolaes van Coddenoort, members of the ‘new’ nobility, was the Lady of Royenstein and a spiritual virgin. She lived at Royenstein with Jacob Bosschuyt (or Bossuyt), who pretended to be a merchant from Antwerp but was really a former Jesuit priest (he had been ejected from the order). After Lamberta had drawn up her will in 1645, one of her cousins, Diederick van den Burch, wrote to Utrecht’s town council that Lamberta, as a spiritual virgin, was never involved in worldly affairs, including her own possessions. Moreover, ‘some foreign [vreemde] and greedy [begeerlicke] persons’ desired to gain control over Lamberta’s possessions. In a later request to the States of Utrecht, Diederick argued that Bosschuyt had ‘ruled’ over Lamberta’s ‘conscience and possessions’, had excluded her friends, and had transferred 16,000 guilders of her money to the Jesuits in Antwerp. In order to become the administrator of Lamberta’s possessions himself and to have her will (in which no money was given to clergymen or Catholic institutions) cancelled, Diederick invoked the placard of 1644, which prohibited spiritual virgins from administering their own possessions.⁹⁰⁰ The case dragged on for two decades; it seemed to have been settled in 1664, but in 1666 Frederick van Voorst stated at the request

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid., 406–7.

⁸⁹⁶ CAN, 1: 302. In 1711, kloppen living in the quarter of the Veluwe were prohibited from inheriting and from making wills. Id., 3: 170 (see also p. 487).

⁸⁹⁷ HUA, Secretarie Utrecht, inv. 620. See also: NA, HVZ, inv. 798.

⁸⁹⁸ Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden*, 76.

⁸⁹⁹ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 117. UBU, Booth: genealogische geschriften, inv. 31–2. Other wills by Catholic women were checked: HUA, Buchel-Booth, inv. 139: ‘rakende de permissie om te mogen testeren in Utrecht, waar toe de Roomsche verpligt waren, te vragen’ (extracts from the resolutions of Utrecht’s town council).

⁹⁰⁰ HUA, OBC, inv. 186. On Jesuit persuasion and their strategies for finding donors, see: Olwen H. Hufton, ‘The widow’s mite and other strategies: funding the Catholic Reformation’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998), 117–37.

of Lamberta's inheritors that Bossuyt had collected rents and signed receipts with her name.⁹⁰¹ Clearly Diderick's offspring thought that Lamberta's possessions, which amounted to almost 300,000 guilders, were worth a protracted legal battle.

These examples show that Catholic nobles had to take into account the decrees of the government, as well as family members who showed signs of predatory behaviour. In spite of religious and familial ties, Catholic nobles quarrelled amongst themselves, and took matters to court if they thought they had been wronged.⁹⁰² While legal battles taking place within the Republic invariably involved the authorities at some point, a number of Catholic nobles tried to circumvent the legal structures that disadvantaged Catholics by concealing their donations to Catholic priests and institutions. In his letter to the States of Utrecht, Diederick van den Burch mentioned the possibility of secret arrangements, and referred to Lamberta's use of 'prelegaten', donations made before the execution of a will.⁹⁰³ Catholic nobles were also keen to keep their wills devoid of references to their faith, and instead included these in their codicils. It is telling that the codicils of Sysbrandt van Alckemade composed in Mechelen in 1664 were full of references to Catholicism and donations to Catholic priests and churches, whereas his will of 1663 (drawn up in Leiden) had been conspicuously silent about spiritual matters.⁹⁰⁴ In some cases only specific codicils mentioned religious arrangements which had to be made: Johanna van Sneeck, widow of Jacob van der Burch, Lord of Oudaen, did not mention anything about religion in the three codicils drawn up by the Utrecht notary Gerard Vastert, but the family archive includes a codicil from January 1649 in which Johanna stipulated that her children had to distribute 1,000 guilders to 'her confessor and to other priests or to the poor'.⁹⁰⁵ Catholic nobles who were willing to provide monetary support to priests had to make careful decisions about how to arrange this: on the one hand it was wise to use legal documents, as family members were sometimes keen to keep the money of the deceased to themselves; but on the other hand, it was not easy to decide which documents to use, as legal papers such as wills were likely to be scrutinised by the authorities.

⁹⁰¹ Gerard van Woudenberg, 'Het goed Rhodesteyn in Nederlangbroek: geschiedenis, eigenaars en bewoners (1615–1965)', *Het Kromme Rijngebied* 44:2–3 (2010), 10. HUA, NOT, inv. U048a002, no. 182, 30-10-1666: statement of Frederick van Voorst. For another statement regarding the priest Jacob van Gouda, the brother of Ida van Gouda, Lamberta's mother, see: *ibid.*, inv. U072a001, no. 27, 19-11-1664.

⁹⁰² NA, HVZ, inv. 941–55.

⁹⁰³ HUA, OBC, inv. 186. For the English context, see Baker, *Reading and politics*, 52.

⁹⁰⁴ NA, Cousebant, inv. 341, 342. Some nobles made a deposited will (*besloten testament*). NA, HVZ, inv. 1173. GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246. In 1646 Ermgard de Wael van Vronestein's will was approved by Utrecht's town council after it emerged that it did not violate the placard of 1644 (against Catholic unmarried women and widows), yet in her codicil of 1653 Ermgard donated money for the celebration of 200 Requiem Masses. HUA, Buchel-Booth, inv. 139, extract uit vroedschapresoluties, 24-2-1646. NA, HVZ, inv. 679.

⁹⁰⁵ RG, Wissocq, inv. 4434: codicil of Johanna van Sneeck (20-1-1649).

Providing places of worship

The estates of the Catholic nobility were often equipped with a proper chapel or a space that served as one, and Catholic nobles tried to get permission to construct chapels.⁹⁰⁶ Besides the manorial chapels, Catholic nobles often had houses in Utrecht in which a room was used for worship; a list of places in the city of Utrecht where Catholics gathered, composed by Utrecht's consistory in 1647, included the houses of seven Catholic nobles.⁹⁰⁷ Catholic nobles also provided places for worship outside their houses or made donations to existing clandestine churches. Maria van Brakel was committed to the church in which she was accustomed to participate in religious services: she willed 'her biggest silver lamp' (to be used at the altar) and donated 25 guilders for the choir to restore their books and repair the organ, as well as four guilders for the female sextons (*kosteressen*) 'for all their efforts'.⁹⁰⁸ Instead of making donations to existing churches, nobles helped to erect new churches by providing plots of land on which clandestine churches could be built. In Vleuten a Catholic church was raised on ground donated by the owners of Den Ham Castle, and in Maarsen Jacobus Bijlevelt became the first pastor of a church that was built on a piece of land owned by the nobles Daniel Isaac de Cronstrom, Lord of Den Neemelaar, Dina Henrietta, Baroness de Cronstrom, and Anna Christina, Baroness of Egten.⁹⁰⁹ Maria Heereman van Zuydtwijck stipulated in her will that 2,000 guilders be given to an unspecified Catholic station; but the nobles Alard and Everad Ram van Schalwijck were more parsimonious, as they sold the land on which the church of Jutphaas was built. One of their ancestors, Adriaen, was more generous: in 1640 he bought Clarenburch House in Utrecht, turned it into a clandestine church, and opened it for the use of Utrecht's Catholics.⁹¹⁰ In Loenen, a town in Holland close to the border of Utrecht and belonging to the diocese of Utrecht,

⁹⁰⁶ Hoeck, *Schets*, 68. See also: A. G. Schulte, 'Kerken op "een vaste burcht". Slotkapellen en schuilkerken in Gelderse kastelen', *Venster* (1993), 114–9. For the construction of chapels, see: HUA, OBC, inv. 337: 23-3-1689; inv. 338: 22-8-1690.

⁹⁰⁷ G. van Klaveren, 'Vergaderplaatsen der Rooms-katholieken in 1647', *Maandblad Oud-Utrecht* (1947), 27. Namely the houses of the jonker Proeys, the Lady of Montfoort, Lord of Braeckel, Lord of Spangen, jonker Van Hooft, Lord of Honcoop and Lord of Incourt. Clarenburg House was mentioned as well.

⁹⁰⁸ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246: deposited will (besloten testament) of 11-7-1676. See also: Van Kretschmar, 'Familieportretten', 225. A. E. Rientjens, 'Geschenken aan de katholieke kerk te Maarsen in de XVIIe eeuw', *AAU* 55 (1931), 280–1. Catholic nobles also contributed to the maintenance of Catholic churches abroad. NA, HVZ, inv. 1166. Wingens, *Over de grens*, 107.

⁹⁰⁹ Olde Meierink, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden*, 225. R. W. J. Peters, *Geschiedenis der parochie Maarssen* (Maarssen, 1900), 11.

⁹¹⁰ NA, HVZ, inv. 413. Heukelum, *Jutphaas*, 49. A. J. van der Ven, 'Het huis Clarenburch te Utrecht', *JOU* (1952), 48–50.

minister Kickius and the consistory complained about Catholics who gathered in a 'new house, which has been built some years ago, funded by Catholics [uyt der Papisten beurs]'. The land on which this 'house', a Catholic church, was built had been given by Alexandrina van Stepraedt, Lady of Kronenburg and Grunsfoort; according to Kickius, once built the church attracted large numbers of Catholics from various places (some of them came by cart).⁹¹¹

Kickius's remark attests to the fact that sometimes Catholic worship could bring together a large number of people, something which not only caught the attention of the local consistories but also made them feel uneasy about their own position in the local community. The consistory of Jutphaas complained about the fact that Protestant worship often coincided with Catholic worship, and that members of these confessions took the same sand path to go to their respective churches, which was especially unpleasant for Protestants, as they were outnumbered by Catholics.⁹¹² The chapels on the estates and in the houses of Catholic nobles attracted large crowds as well. According to Peter van Stepraedt, between 500 and 600 Catholics came to his castle to practise their faith, and Margaretha van Reede, Lady of Cannenburg, complained in a letter to her mother Ursula van Raesfelt that the chapel sometimes was so full of people that the structure would creak.⁹¹³ The Jesuit missionary Dammarin visited castles of Catholic nobles where he celebrated Mass for crowds of 300 people, but certainly not all gatherings were so numerous. Dammarin's colleague Gerard Grumel S. J. worked in the Veluwe and often encountered 'small numbers of listeners' at the castles of Catholic nobles.⁹¹⁴

However, irrespective of the size of the crowds that came to the castles of Catholic nobles in order to find spiritual solace with residing or visiting priests, in return for maintaining and protecting priests and providing places for worship, Catholic nobles felt they deserved some influence over the Catholic Mission and the way it took form in their jurisdiction. Catholic nobles thus clung to certain rights which they believed they had possessed since time immemorial, such as the *jus patronatus* over local churches. In the seventeenth century these parish churches were in use by Reformed Protestants, yet Catholic nobles felt entitled to appoint priests in their manorial chapels or in the newly established clandestine churches in the seigneuries as well. This entitlement was contested by the apostolic vicars, and since Catholic nobles were unwilling to give up their rights, and apostolic vicars were no less unbending when it came to the defence of their own authority, serious controversies erupted, even reaching the highest echelons of the Catholic Church in Rome.

⁹¹¹ Heijden, *Loenersloot*, 12. Pas, *Tussen Vecht*, 115. Chr. Philipponia (ed.), 'Uit de acten classis Amstelodamensis, 1646–1656', *BGBH* 14 (1887), 309. Lommel, 'Bouwstoffen', *BGBH* 9 (1881), 384

⁹¹² HUA, Hervormde gemeente Jutphaas, inv. 1, f. 94.

⁹¹³ GA, Huis Vornholz, inv. 733; Huis Middachten, inv. 1029.

⁹¹⁴ Lommel, 'Ordes-bezoek', 73, 75.

Contested rights: the *jus patronatus*

In its twenty-fifth session, held in December 1563, the Council of Trent decided that the right of patronage of individuals would be respected, but only when people were able to prove that they had legitimately acquired that right. According to the Council, this right belonged to a person who 'has founded and erected *de novo* a church, benefice, or chapel; or has adequately endowed out of his own patrimonial resources one already erected but insufficiently endowed'.⁹¹⁵ After doing this, the patron gained the right to present or nominate a priest when a vacant spot became available in the chapel or church he had established or endowed, but only bishops enjoyed the authority to approve or reject the nominee.⁹¹⁶ In the Dutch Republic the apostolic vicars enjoyed the authority of delegated bishops, but nevertheless 'comport[ed] themselves as resident archbishops formed in the mold of Trent'.⁹¹⁷ Naturally the leaders of the Mission thought that ultimately they should decide about the appointment of pastors in clandestine Catholic churches, but the Catholic nobility considered themselves patrons of all the churches in their jurisdiction, both Catholic and Protestant, which inevitably led to conflicts.

The quarrel between Anthony van Lynden, Lord of Kronenburg, and Johannes van Neercassel is a striking example of a conflict about patronage rights, interesting not only because of the detailed source material that is available, but also because an increasing number of people and institutions were drawn into the conflict, showing the inner workings of the Dutch Catholic community. In Loenen, Catholics had been accustomed to gather at Kronenburg Castle and 't Honderd House to practise their faith, but in 1648 Anthony's grandmother, Alexandrine van Stepraedt, donated a plot of land in Sloodijk on which a clandestine church was built.⁹¹⁸ The prelude to the trouble started in February 1679, when the family took a dislike to Kaufman, the secular priest sent by Van Neercassel, although at this point the apostolic vicar acquiesced to Van Lynden's wishes and transferred Kaufman to Haarlem.⁹¹⁹ In 1682 Van Lynden favoured the secular priest Laurentius Pilsen to become the new pastor of the clandestine church in Sloodijk, but Van Neercassel was hesitant about this, since Pilsen had just been appointed in Huissen. The apostolic vicar tried to

⁹¹⁵ Schroeder, *Canons*, 113.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., 114, 208–10, 241–3. Ypeij, *Patronaatregt*, 483–6.

⁹¹⁷ Parker, 'In partibus infidelium', 123. Also: *ROG*, 1: 17–20, 167, 180.

⁹¹⁸ Arie A. Manten, 'Huis het honderd te Nieuwer ter Aa was van 1578 tot 1652 een R.K. schuilkerk', *Tijdschrift historische kring Breukelen* 9 (1994), 4–9. Van Ryn, *Batavia sacra*, 2: 286.

⁹¹⁹ HUA, OBC, inv. 229: 18/28-2-1679. On sending priests to Kronenburg, see: inv. 248: 22-11-1678. On Kaufman's appointment in January 1679 see: inv. 248: 10-1-1679; inv. 249: 22-3-1679. In 1680 Van Lynden favoured a new priest: inv. 250: 20-12-1680.

smother a possible conflict by inviting Van Lynden to meet in The Hague to talk about the matter, reminding him that the well-being and salvation of souls, and not ‘seigniorial rights’, was of the utmost importance.⁹²⁰ In two letters dated April and May 1682, Van Neercassel adopted a more critical stance, first explaining that he would not revoke his appointment of the new candidate, Everard van den Burch, since this would trouble his conscience and lead him to act against the will of God and the rulings of the Church (of which, Van Neercassel suggested, Van Lynden was insufficiently aware). Moreover, although the church in Slootdijk enjoyed Van Lynden’s protection, this should not curb the freedoms of the Catholics living in his jurisdiction.⁹²¹ In the meantime, Van Neercassel instructed Abraham van Brienem, a priest working in Utrecht and a friend of the apostolic vicar, to send various documents to the Lord of Kronenburg to prove the legitimacy of their position in order to ‘prevent all troubles’.⁹²²



Fig. 8. Detail of the map ‘Nieuwe kaart van Loenen’ by C. C. van Bloemswaerd (1726). The arrow on the left indicates Seigneurie Kronenburg, the arrow on the right the clandestine Catholic church.⁹²³

The hardening stance of Van Neercassel was clearly expressed in a letter of February 1683, in which the apostolic vicar said that it was best to let a judge decide about the matter, and that ‘to enforce change by sheer power was more like the unlawful and non-Catholic use of the placards

⁹²⁰ Ibid., inv. 252: 31-1-1682, 20-2-1682.

⁹²¹ Ibid., 1-4-1682, 15-5-1682; inv. 237: 22-8-1682. For Van Lynden’s response to some of the accusations, see: inv. 230: 27-7/6-8-1682. Also: inv. 252: 20-8-1682.

⁹²² Ibid., 15-5-1682.

⁹²³ Universiteitsbibliotheek Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam: LK.03496gk. The entire map can be accessed at: <http://imagebase.ubvu.vu.nl/cdm/ref/collection/krt/id/3232>.

designed against the Catholic religion.’ He also wrote to the Catholics in Sloodijk that the actions of the Lord of Kronenburg resembled the behaviour of a non-Catholic nobleman.⁹²⁴ Van Neercassel became more and more infuriated with Van Lynden, since this nobleman, as the apostolic vicar wrote to the priest Massis, ‘pretended’ to have the right to appoint and elect priests as he liked, and claimed spiritual and temporal authority over Catholics which he did not possess.⁹²⁵ More fuel was added to the fire when Nicolas du Bois, a former jurist and fierce anti-Jansenist who had become a professor of the Holy Scriptures at the University of Louvain in 1654, published a treatise in 1683 in which he defended the patronage rights of Catholic noblemen in Holland.⁹²⁶ Du Bois’s treatise was a point-by-point refutation of thirty-three points he had distilled from a dissertation that has been attributed to Van Neercassel (although Du Bois wrote against Van Neercassel’s unnamed lawyer) and which denied the patronage rights of Catholic nobles.⁹²⁷ The arguments used by both parties were derived from various sources, such as the practices in the early Christian Church and the canons of various church councils, but attention was paid to the situation in the Dutch Republic after the Reformation as well. One of the main differences regarding the historical practice of the *jus patronatus* was that according to Van Neercassel this right was not common law (*jus communis*) automatically gained by establishing or endowing a church, but had always been within the gift of the bishop – something which was ‘clearly false’ (*plane falsus*) according to Du Bois.⁹²⁸

Focusing on the situation in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, Du Bois argued that Van Neercassel should not refuse the right of patronage to those nobles who defended the Catholic Church. Instead, enjoying the right of patronage should be an incentive for nobles to defend their Church.⁹²⁹ Van Neercassel argued that if Catholic nobles indeed enjoyed patronage rights, these rights did not extend to private chapels, but were limited to parish churches.⁹³⁰ Indeed, after the Reformation noble patrons were still allowed to ‘nominate pastors of the Reformed religion’ in these churches, but this did not mean, as some nobles had pretended, that they also enjoyed the right to

⁹²⁴ HUA, OBC, inv. 252: 16-2-1683; 7-10-1683.

⁹²⁵ Ibid., 7-10-1683.

⁹²⁶ On Du Bois, see: *De universiteit te Leuven*, 95. Ceyssens, ‘Het theologisch denken’, 439. A copy of the treatise, titled *Dissertatio canonica super quaestione vtrvm nobilibvs qvisbvsdam catholicis in Hollandia...*, can be found in HUA, Ecclesia Ultrajectina, inv. 34. Du Bois wrote about the process of composing this treatise to Anthony van Lynden. HUA, OBC, inv. 231: copy of letter of 9-8-1683.

⁹²⁷ Van Neercassel, or someone acting on his behalf, had written the *Dissertatio qua expenditur num nobilibus in Hollandia ius competat pro arbitrio suo designandi ac nominandi Pastores super populum catholicum*, and a befriended Oratorian priest, Gabriel Geberon, was the author of *Dissertatio de jure patronatus, contra nobilem quemdem, Batavum Catholicum, arrogare sibi volentem jus patronatus in oratoria catholicorum*. NNBW, 4: 1021; 6: 571–6. In a letter to Van Neercassel, Codde mentioned that the apostolic vicar was writing an ‘answer’ to Du Bois’s statements. HUA, OBC, inv. 231: 6-10-1683. There was a lawyer, called De Wijs, who helped Van Neercassel with the preparation of documents regarding the conflicts about the *jus patronatus*. Inv. 252: 19-7-1682, 26-7-1682, 6-9-1683. This probably was Sebastiaan de Wijs (d. 1695).

⁹²⁸ Du Bois, *Dissertatio*, f. 8–9, 23.

⁹²⁹ Ibid., f. 15.

⁹³⁰ Ibid., f. 16. Compare with point 6 on f. 7.

nominate Catholic priests who served in private chapels. In letters written to the Count of Warfusé, who was also obstinately defending his rights, Van Neercassel explained his stance once more: nobles did not enjoy patronage rights over chapels and oratories, since the priests serving there did not enjoy benefices but received their income from alms and donations.⁹³¹ Besides focusing on legal issues, Van Neercassel put forward another argument to support his stance: if laypeople were to enjoy patronage rights, these rights should be enjoyed by the Catholic community (*societas Catholica*) instead of by noble patrons, since the contributions of the community outweighed the support of the nobles.⁹³² His stance was clear: patronage rights derived solely from the authority of the bishop, and the laity, even when they had demonstrated meritorious behaviour, could not lay claim to these rights.

Du Bois's treatise was read by Dutch Catholic nobles: in his correspondence with Van Lynden (which suddenly changed from Dutch to Latin), Van Neercassel wrote that he 'had hoped that I was about to sent you [Van Lynden] the whole refutation of the filthy and foul text [foedi et fallacis scripti] in which Du Bois wishes to seduce you into error and to take action against the Church'.⁹³³ In the meantime, Van Neercassel had been busy finding out whether it was true that churchwardens in Loenen really had asked Van Lynden to transport liturgical objects from the church to his castle, or whether the baron had acted on his own initiative.⁹³⁴ Appendices to a letter sent to Van Neercassel by Codde, including copies of letters sent by Van Lynden, show that the baron had authorised the secretary and sheriff of his seigneurie to remove the liturgical goods and library from the clandestine church in Sloodijk, and to order Van der Burch to leave.⁹³⁵ A stalemate seemed to have been reached: in their correspondence during the remainder of 1683, Van Neercassel and Van Lynden each refused to comply with the other's wishes; and on 8 October 1683, Van Neercassel wrote to the internuncio about this case, demonising Du Bois and his treatise, and asking the internuncio whether a couple of theologians could proclaim that Van Lynden would not be able to receive the sacraments unless he acknowledged the Pope's verdict on the matter, handed over the possessions of the clandestine church and restored the banished priest.⁹³⁶

However, the situation eased a little in 1684, and on 11 February Van Neercassel reported to the internuncio that some Catholic nobles were willing to respect the final judgment of the Pope

⁹³¹ Parker, *Faith*, 168. HUA, OBC, inv. 252: 30-7-1682. See also: inv. 358: 1-11-1689.

⁹³² Du Bois, *Dissertatio*, f. 18.

⁹³³ HUA, OBC, inv. 237: 30-9-1683. *Speraveram me hac occasione tibi missurum integram refutationem foedi et falacis scripti quo du Bois te in errorem abducere et contra ecclesiam voluit exurgere*. For the letters sent by Du Bois to Anthony van Lynden, see: inv. 237, copy of letter of 20-11-1683; inv. 231: copy of letter of [19?]-8-1683.

⁹³⁴ Ibid., inv. 231: 29-8-1683; 4-10-1683 (two letters); 6-10-1683. For Van Lynden's letters about this topic, see: inv. 231: 12-10-1683; 30-10/9-11-1683.

⁹³⁵ Ibid., 4-10-1683 (Codde to Van Neercassel).

⁹³⁶ Ibid., 28-11/8-12-1683; inv. 237: draft letter (undated). Ibid., inv. 240: 8-10-1683. He also wrote to the Pope about this matter: 24-7-1683.

regarding the *jus patronatus*, and that he had good hopes that Van Lynden would do the same.⁹³⁷ Four days later, Van Neercassel expressed the idea that the controversy about the patronage rights was almost over; and in a letter of 21 February, Van Neercassel allowed the secular priest Anthonius de Ryser to serve in the chapel of Kronenburg Castle *ad interim*, until the Pope's verdict.⁹³⁸ In a classic assertion of his rights, Van Lynden demanded that an act of 'non-prejudice' be made in order to ensure that this breach of protocol did not constitute an acknowledgement of Van Neercassel's authority.⁹³⁹ Van Neercassel agreed, and in doing so he thanked the baron for the favour (the appointment of De Ryser) and stated that 'we will not use this favour to the disadvantage of his noble [and] old right of the *jus patronatus* over the parish church of Loenen; rather, [we] leave everything unchanged as it has been for hundreds of years.'⁹⁴⁰ In April 1684 the Pope finally arrived at a final decision about the matter, which held that the Catholic Church did not acknowledge the rights of patronage of the Catholic nobility in the Dutch Republic.⁹⁴¹ This, however, did not immediately end all the conflicts about the *jus patronatus*, as some nobles continued to contest the authority of the apostolic vicars.⁹⁴²

Besides this conflict with Anthony van Lynden, Van Neercassel and his successor Codde had disagreements about the *jus patronatus* with other Catholic noblemen, such as Floris Bam, Hendrik van Dorth (Medler), Frans van Dorth (Varick), Joost van Steenhuisen (Aerd), Floris Carel van Beyeren-Schagen, Count of Warfusé, Jan van Wassenaer van Warmond, and Albert Joseph, Count of Arberg.⁹⁴³ Yet the apostolic vicars did not want to exclude Catholic nobles from the process of appointing new pastors entirely: they were happy to acknowledge the nobles' right to nominate and present a candidate, and were careful not to violate these rights by appointing or replacing pastors without the knowledge of the noble patron.⁹⁴⁴ In a letter to the Lord of Vosbergen, Petrus Codde

⁹³⁷ Ibid., inv. 241: 11-2-1684. See also: inv. 253: 15-2-1684 (to Steenler). In late January Van Neercassel had written to the Pope to take a decision about this matter. *RB*, 2: 753, no. 1088.

⁹³⁸ HUA, OBC, inv. 253: 16-2-1684 (to Cousebant). See also: *ibid.*, 21-2-1684, 7-3-1684 (to Codde).

⁹³⁹ Ibid., inv. 253: 8-3-1684. On De Ryser, see: Van Ryn, *Batavia sacra*, 2: 268.

⁹⁴⁰ HUA, OBC, inv. 231: 6-3-1684; inv. 253: 8-3-1684.

⁹⁴¹ Ibid., inv. 231:1-4-1684 (from Cardinal Cibo). In 1682 Rome voiced its support for the apostolic vicar in this matter. D. de Kok, 'Het katholicisme te Aerd', 185. In the mid-1640s, acting as a judge in the conflict between Nicolaas van Renesse van Elderen and the chapter of Haarlem, the University of Louvain had already ruled that patronage rights did not apply to Mission territories. B. Voets, 'Een leider van het Haarlemse bisdom uit de vervolgingstijd', *BGBH* 62 (1953), 294–5.

⁹⁴² E.g. Floris Bam. Also, Van der Heijden, *Loenersloot*, 28–9.

⁹⁴³ Lord of Aerd: HUA, OBC, inv. 358: 18-9-1689, 1-11-1689, 9-2-1690, 11-12-1690; inv. 360: 21/23/25-3-1695. Kok, 'Aerd', 183–94. Hendrik van Dorth: De Kok, 'Vorden', 226–53. Id., 'Minderbroederstatie', 233–46. Id., *Neerlandia Franciscana* 3 (1920), 115–22, 283–96. HUA, OBC, inv. 340: 12/22-7-1692, 18/28-8-1692. Lord of Arberg: A. M. Frenken, 'Het verzet van een kasteelheer van Helmond tegen een pastoorsbenoeming', *Bossche Bijdragen* 26 (1962–3), 239–61 (in the conflict between the Count of Arberg and the abbot of Postel, Codde acted as mediator). Frans van Dorth: HUA, OBC, inv. 336: 3-7-1688, 1-11-1688, 23-11-1688; inv. 337: 23-3-1689, 28/18-8-1689; inv. 358: 22-8-1690; inv. 360: 26-10-1695. Warfusé: Parker, *Faith*, 167–170; Floris Bam: e.g. inv. 253: 28-6-1684, 23-7-1684; *RB*, 2: 749, 752–60, 762, 764, 767.

⁹⁴⁴ HUA, OBC, inv. 260: 21-9-1672; inv. 247: 22-2-1676, 8-3-1676; inv. 360: 30-9-1694.

confessed that he had sent a priest to the Veluwe two months earlier without informing the lord, for which he offered his sincere apologies, mentioning that this had not been deliberate but was the result of sheer negligence.⁹⁴⁵ Even when nobles did not have patronage rights, they nevertheless wrote concerned letters to the apostolic vicars when, for instance, a station was discontinued, asking for clarifications and demanding a solution for the problems that emerged.⁹⁴⁶ The apostolic vicars thus had to take Catholic nobility into account when making decisions regarding the Catholic Mission, and sometimes the clerical leaders needed to explain and justify their policy, especially when their decisions affected the Catholic nobles in a negative way.

The fact that in some cases the apostolic vicars were firmly opposed to the rights of Catholic noblemen was influenced by a number of factors, one of which was the quality of the priest nominated by the noble patron. In various letters the leaders of the Mission stressed that these priests had to be ‘god-fearing and learned’, and not ‘schoolboys, unlearned, or avaricious’.⁹⁴⁷ This was also grounds for the apostolic vicars to dispute the nobles’ rights of patronage: allowing nobles to exercise such rights, argued Van Neercassel, would ‘open the door to all unmannered, greedy and ignorant priests’.⁹⁴⁸ Moreover, the apostolic vicars stressed that priests should not aim to work in the most profitable and comfortable places, serving their own needs, as their only incentive should be ‘God’s greater glory and the greater advantage of souls’.⁹⁴⁹ In other cases, the apostolic vicars were unwilling to transfer the candidates of noble patrons to other places because this would harm the congregation the nominee was currently serving, or because the apostolic vicar did not want to force missionaries to move, especially when they had financed their studies themselves and were financially independent.⁹⁵⁰

Priests also had to be officially permitted by the apostolic vicars to work in the Mission, and nobles were reprimanded for housing priests who were not formally approved. In a letter to pastor Joannes Lindeborn, Van Neercassel fulminated about the ‘exorbitant wish’ of some Catholic nobles from the Veluwe and the Lady of Duistervoorde (Johanna van Voorst), who wanted to make use of the services of a regular priest who had never received written approval by the apostolic vicar.⁹⁵¹ The apostolic vicars considered themselves the spiritual leaders of the Mission, and were keen to defend

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., inv. 361: 20-12-1697. For a complaint about the lack of communication, see: inv. 246: 9-6-1674. For letters in which nobles are informed about changes in pastoral care: inv. 246: 25-6-1674; inv. 248: 11-8-1678, 17-8-1678; inv. 251: 30-3-1681; inv. 360: 14-4-1695, 25-4-1694, 23-3-1695; inv. 361: 20-8-1697, 15-10-1697.

⁹⁴⁶ Voets, ‘Cothen’, 202–4. HUA, OBC, inv. 360: 10-12-1693, 3-4-1694.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., inv. 247: 2-2-1676. For concerns about the quality of priests, see: inv. 249: 11-2-1680; inv. 251: 31-10-1681; inv. 253: 17-6-1684; inv. 254: 10-7-1685; inv. 345: 9-12-1688; inv. 336: 17/7-11-1688; inv. 360: 27-10-1695. See also Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*, 121–69.

⁹⁴⁸ HUA, OBC, inv. 252: 7-10-1683.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid., inv. 248: 25-1-1679, 1-2-1679.

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid., 25-1-1679; inv. 252: 6-7-1682.

⁹⁵¹ HUA, OBC, inv. 250: 13-10-1680. See also: inv. 247: 18-4-1676, 22-10-1676; inv. 361: 22-10-1698.

their own authority; combined with their concern to safeguard a particular standard in pastoral care, and possibly with their own spiritual preferences, this could create the idea that the Mission's leaders favoured certain priests.⁹⁵² Of course the apostolic vicars wanted to prevent this idea from taking root, and therefore Van Neercassel wrote to the aforementioned nobles of the Veluwe that he did not want to force a secular priest (*prister vande cleresij*) upon them, but neither was he willing to increase the number of regulars working in the Mission.⁹⁵³ Denying a regular priest to these nobles might create problems, because 'in truth these nobles favour the Franciscans greatly,' as Van Neercassel confided to Johannes Dobbius, and therefore he decided to be more lenient in this case.⁹⁵⁴

But even such ad hoc acts of leniency could not obscure the fact that the rift between regulars and seculars was increasing in the last decades of the seventeenth century, especially as Jansenism was becoming an increasingly controversial topic within the Catholic Church. Eventually these tensions in the Holland Mission became intertwined with conflicts about patronage rights, as some nobles wanted to get rid of priests who were too restrictive in granting absolution because of their austere views on the sacramental practice of confession. In Vorden – like the Veluwe an area that had mainly been served by regular priests – the secular priest Laurentius van Rhemmen fell out of favour with Hendrik van Dorth, who prohibited Van Rhemmen from celebrating Mass, and who duly housed a Franciscan priest, Bernardus Sengers, at his castle ad interim. A number of Catholic nobles, including the Baron of Keppel and Jakoba Emilia van Westerholt, accused Van Rhemmen and his eventual successor, the secular priest Van Ray, of not allowing nobles to choose their own confessors, and both priests were attacked on grounds of Jansenism.⁹⁵⁵ Of course these accusations of Jansenism might have been merely a pretext to have the priests removed and to support the arguments of these nobles when appealing to the internuncio and the Propaganda Fide, but the letters nobles exchanged amongst themselves suggest that the complaints of some of them were sincere: Jakoba van Westerholt and the Lady of Aert, Barbara Antoinette de Fourneau, wrote to Ursula van Raesfelt that they did not want to take confession with Jansenist priests.⁹⁵⁶ Furthermore, although some priests including Van Rhemmen responded negatively to Codde's question whether Van Ray was a Jansenist, Van Rhemmen was one of the priests who supported Codde when the apostolic vicar had to defend

⁹⁵² Ibid., inv. 362: 18-6-1699. Ackermans has argued that Van Neercassel and Codde were keen to give important posts to priests who were sympathetic to their ideas. Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen*.

⁹⁵³ HUA, OBC, inv. 250: 27-10-1680. In an excerpt from a letter written by the Lord of Aert, Codde was called an 'innovator' (*Nieuwgezinde*) and was criticised for the restrictions he imposed upon Franciscans. Ibid., inv. 341: 'Excerptum ex epistola aliqua dominae D'Aert' (1693).

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid., inv. 250: 12-9-1680.

⁹⁵⁵ De Kok, 'Vorden'. *RB*, 3: 374–5.

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid., 322–4, 326–7. Also: HUA, OBC, inv. 341: 10-4-1693.

himself in Rome (against accusations of Jansenism), and his career in Delfshaven also suggests that not all Catholics were entirely satisfied with his pastoral care.⁹⁵⁷

Irrespective of whether these priests expressed strong Jansenist leanings, Codde was aware that a specific form of pastoral care was not particularly liked by these nobles, since he suggested to Hendrik van Dorth that Van Rhemmen's successor would not be a priest 'from the Dutch nation, neither from the University of Louvain'.⁹⁵⁸ We have seen that in general Catholic nobles made use of the services of both regular and secular priests, and in the previous chapter we saw that the libraries of Catholic nobles consisted of books which propagated varying strands of spirituality, none of which seemed to pose a problem as long as these theological differences did not materialise in a concrete form of pastoral care that was (perceived to be) threatening the believer's salvation. The stance of Catholic nobles against Jansenist priests shows that when the salvation of nobles was threatened – which was the case when they were not receiving absolution for their sins – theological differences did matter. Three Catholic nobles, including Frederik de Wael van Vronestein, complained about 'junior missionaries' whose aberrant ideas about the 'death of Christ for all' and the sacrament of penance, among other things, threatened the unity of the Catholic Church.⁹⁵⁹ Recent research on the behaviour of the Catholic laity in early eighteenth-century Culemborg has shown that initially laypeople would not exchange a church served by secular clergy for a church run by regulars, even when one of the secular priests caused some consternation by giving his view on the doctrine of justification in a sermon. But when the nuncio decided not to send the papal bull regarding the Jubilee (1708) to (secular) priests who had opposed Rome, believers in Culemborg started to go to the regulars, as they feared that the sacraments administered by the 'unruly' priests might not be legitimate (and because indulgences could only be acquired at the churches of the missionaries who conformed to the authority of Rome).⁹⁶⁰ Like the Catholic laity in Culemborg, a number of Catholic nobles developed a clear preference for (in this case) regular priests; but whereas in Culemborg laypeople made their choice known simply by going to another church, the Catholic nobility had found other means of doing so.

In exceptional cases Catholic nobles resorted to force when defending their rights, such as by confiscating church property, banishing priests from their seigneuries, and forbidding their farmers to house priests of whom they did not approve (albeit not always successfully); one nobleman, the Count of Arberg, even threatened to invoke the placards of the States prohibiting the public exercise

⁹⁵⁷ De Kok, 'Vorden', 239. L. J. Rogier, 'De Oud-katholieken te Delfshaven', *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 9 (1927), 46–67.

⁹⁵⁸ De Kok, 'Vorden', 232.

⁹⁵⁹ J. Kleijntjens, 'Jansenistische beroeringen omstreeks 1690', *AAU* 44 (1919), 204–5.

⁹⁶⁰ Gerard Witkamp, 'Vervreemding. Een onderzoek naar de kerkscheuring tussen de cleresie en hun kerkvolk in Culemborg in de periode 1680–1750', *Culemborgse Voetnoten* 34 (2006), 2–40.

of the Catholic religion if his rights were not respected, while the count's official chastised the sheriff and aldermen for not taking action against Catholic gatherings.⁹⁶¹ The banishment of priests could result in a temporary hiccup in the administration of pastoral care, yet such incidents only occurred sporadically (e.g. in Loenersloot). Most conflicts were carried out by letter, and although they consumed the time and energy of the priests and apostolic vicars involved, they were otherwise not damaging to the Mission.

Friendship

Although controversies surrounding patronage rights troubled the relationship between Catholic nobles and apostolic vicars (some nobles being seriously affronted by remarks made by the leaders of the Mission that questioned the social status of their families), both tended to want to restore that relationship.⁹⁶² After his conflict with Van Neercassel, Anthony van Lynden mentioned the 'entrenched friendship between the apostolic vicar and our house' and was willing to meet Van Neercassel, who himself was quick to write that their 'old and deeply rooted friendship had in no way been hurt', and who a month later sent a gift (a book about the fruits of marriage) to the baron and his wife.⁹⁶³ In general, though, relationships did not need mending: the apostolic vicars visited nobles on their estates and travelled with Catholic nobles, and the nobles went to the houses in which the leaders of the Holland Mission were residing.⁹⁶⁴ In order to cement their relationship with the Catholic nobility, the apostolic vicars offered their services, and when they did not write to Catholic nobles directly, they would ask missionaries to convey their gratitude to Catholic nobles. At times very lustrous language was used to assure Catholic nobles of their services: in a letter to Jacob van Renesse van Baer, Lord of Zoelen, Petrus Codde stated that he was inclined 'to offer all possible courtesies to the old Catholic families of our fatherland, especially to support the exercise of the faith with them'.⁹⁶⁵ Although such letters were partly a means used by the apostolic vicars to ensure the cooperation and support of the Catholic nobility, correspondence with other missionaries shows that their esteem for some nobles, and their respect for them and occasionally for their piety, was sincere

⁹⁶¹ De Kok, 'Vorden', 231. Id., 'Strubbelingen', 52. Frenken, 'Verzet', 242-4. Also: HUA, OBC, inv. 231: 4-10-1683 (to Van Neercassel).

⁹⁶² Ibid., inv. 237: copy of letter (25-10-1683); inv. 359: 26-7-1692; inv. 340: 18/28-8-1692. De Kok, 'Minderbroederstatie', 292.

⁹⁶³ HUA, OBC, inv. 231: 9-2-1684; inv. 253: 8-3-1684, 28-4-1684. On 7 February, Van Neercassel invited the Baron, his wife and his uncle, the Lord of Spangen, to have lunch with him. Ibid., 7-2-1684.

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., inv. 247: 29-8-1676. Also: inv. 248: 3-4-1677, 9-4-1678 (to J. Hooft). Brom, 'Neerkassels bestuur', 258-65. Meijer, *Nopende*, 101. S. Muller Fsn. (ed.), 'Getuigenis van een afvalligen priester over de organisatie der Rooms-Katholieke kerk in Nederland omstreeks 1630', *AAU* 14 (1886), 241.

⁹⁶⁵ HUA, OBC, inv. 358: 18-1-1690. See note 826. For other letters of gratitude, see: inv. 248: 13-5-1678, 22-6-1678; inv. 249: 25-6-1680; inv. 252: 16-1-1682; inv. 359: 14-6-1691; inv. 360: 25-3-1695, 26-10-1695; inv. 361: 16-8-1697.

(especially, it seems, in the case of some noblewomen).⁹⁶⁶ Rovenius, who now and then visited Loenersloot Castle, dedicated his book *Het gulden wierooockvat* to the Dowager of Loenersloot, Odilia van Wassenauer, who daily prayed to God with the members of her household.⁹⁶⁷

Besides expressing gratitude for support, apostolic vicars offered comforting words when a family member had died, and occasionally the apostolic vicar himself would go to visit a noble at his or her deathbed, or would quickly send a priest to assist a noble family in their time of need.⁹⁶⁸ Van Neercassel offered his house in Huissen to two noblewomen in case they wanted to visit the sickly lord of Craenenburg (Kranenburg was a border town in Cleve), and in a letter to Cornelis Nobelaer, the Lord of Cabau, the apostolic vicar mentioned the celebration of Requiem Masses for Nobelaer's deceased father.⁹⁶⁹ In order to strengthen their relationships, nobles and apostolic vicars sent presents to each other such as partridges, candied fruit, beer and chocolate, and the apostolic vicars were also keen to send books.⁹⁷⁰ Gifts were exchanged between missionaries and Catholic nobles as well: as a token of his gratitude, Andreas Bouvaers S. J. gave a painting by the Jesuit Daniel Seghers to Quintijn van der Noot.⁹⁷¹ Relationships with missionary priests could be particularly strong, which is not surprising, as some of these priests lived with noble families for years. Priests died on noble estates, some of them were buried in the family crypts of Catholic nobles, bequests were made to priests (especially by noblewomen to their confessors), and on a number of occasions Catholic nobles wrote positive statements about missionaries (especially Jesuits) working in the areas in which they lived.⁹⁷² Missionaries were also liked for qualities outside the sphere of pastoral care: Johan van Reede van Renswoude expressed his sorrow that the priest Hendrick Snabel had left, since Snabel had been a 'trusted friend' (familiere vriend) who had assisted the nobleman with his music on a weekly basis.⁹⁷³

The apostolic vicars tried to maintain cordial relationships by alleviating the burdens of Catholic noble families, for example by authorising priests to celebrate Mass twice a day, by providing pastors with places to live of their own, and by striving to erect church buildings in which the faith could be practised (so that noble families would not be burdened with the presence of many

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid., inv. 243: 23-7-1668, 25-7-1668; inv. 247: 6-11-1676.

⁹⁶⁷ Rovenius, *Wierooockvat*, 3v–4f.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid., inv. 242: 10-6-1666; inv. 248: 26-4-1677, 7-12-1677, 25-10-1678; inv. 249: 8-2-1680; inv. 251: 7-9-1681. Parker, *Faith*, 218.

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., inv. 248: 3-9-1678, 17-11-1678.

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid., inv. 229: 18/28-2-1679, inv. 242: 26-9-1667; inv. 248: 20-9-1678, 10-1-1679; inv. 245: 12-12-1671, inv. 246: 14-8-1675; inv. 247: 1-10-1675; inv. 249: 28-2-1679; inv. 252: 9-1-1683.

⁹⁷¹ Leeuwenberg, 'De religiepolitiek', 61. Quintijn was a Catholic, see: DLT, AAU 11, 183 (Killesteyn).

⁹⁷² Bunt, 'Een uitzonderlijk lid', 88. A. van Lommel, 'Opvolging der Jesuiten als missionarii in eenige steden en dorpen van het tegenwoordige Aartsbisdom Utrecht', AAU 3 (1876), 281–2; id., 'Iets over eenige statien', 457–61, 467–8, 472. Leemkolk, 'Rhenoy', 12–3. Hoeck, *Schets*, 95. Hofman, 'Olst', 86–7.

⁹⁷³ HUA, OBC, inv. 227: 5-5-1676; inv. 247: 10-5-1676; inv. 248: 30-8-1678; inv. 249: 9-2-1680.

churchgoers on their estates, although pastoral concern played a role as well).⁹⁷⁴ Priests working on the estates of, or in areas controlled by, noble families received orders about how to behave: Nicolaas van Erckel was instructed not to act ‘without the permission of the noble lords of Warmond, Poelgeest and Woude’, and Roskam had to admonish Smitte to ‘speak cautiously’ to the Lord of Slangenburg, while Schuurkens had to be warned not to incite the same lord against Smitte.⁹⁷⁵ Kaufman, even though he had to leave his station because the noble family did not approve of him, was ordered to say goodbye in the politest way and to refrain from uttering any complaints; on the other hand, Van Rhemmen made himself impossible by saying in front of his congregation that Jakoba Emilia van Westerholt, the wife of the Protestant steward, had incurred the wrath of God. Reporting on this matter, the priest Andreas van Dieren doubted whether her Protestant husband would silently ‘accept this public affront of his wife by a papist [paep]’, and thought it wise to transfer Van Rhemmen.⁹⁷⁶

The apostolic vicars and missionaries had obvious incentives to maintain friendly relationships with Catholic nobles. Yet these relationships were not one-sided but reciprocal, as the Catholic nobility depended on the missionaries’ services and on the leaders of the Mission for the supply of priests, while the apostolic vicars were also able to control the scope of the pastoral care offered.⁹⁷⁷ In some cases Catholic nobles depended on members of the clergy financially, as some of them borrowed money from missionary priests. At the time of her death, Maria van Winssen owed 2,000 guilders, with a yearly interest of 80 guilders (a normal interest rate of 4%), to Johannes van Neercassel; Thomas Walraven van Arkel owed 600 guilders to Antonius Crols, his pastor at Den Ypelaer Castle, and 2,000 guilders to Josephus van Mate, prior of the female Norbertine convent St Catharinedael in Oosterhout.⁹⁷⁸ Besides being financially indebted to priests, a number of Catholic nobles were tied to apostolic vicars by patron-client relationships: apostolic vicars such as Van Neercassel acted as patrons, and represented and tried to advance the interests of the nobles. Naturally the apostolic vicars could boost the careers of the sons of Catholic noblemen within the Catholic Church. Van Neercassel intended to arrange a place for two noble students at the Collegio Urbano, while he sent a letter of recommendation to Cornelis van Spangen for his brother, addressed to the ‘politest, most learned and most honoured cardinals of Rome’; seven months later he sent Cornelis

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., inv. 248: 10-1-1679 inv. 252: 26-6-1682; inv. 358: 2-3-1689.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid., inv. 248: 26-3-1678; inv. 360: 30-9-1694. See also: inv. 246: 5-4-1675.

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., inv. 249: 22-3-1679; inv. 340: 26-8-1692 (appendix 2: letter of Van Dieren).

⁹⁷⁷ E.g. ibid., inv. 247: 6-11-1676; inv. 246: 28-1-1675; inv. 358: 18-1-1689 (to De Windt), 3-1-1690; inv. 337: 6/16-11-1689; inv. 258: 18-1-1690; inv. 361: 20-8-1697.

⁹⁷⁸ NA, HVZ, inv. 940, f. 85r. GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188a, f. 243-4. On Crols’ financial prowess, see: J. van Gils, ‘Drie Bavelse pastoren en hun erfgenamen’, *Brabantse Leeuw* 24 (1975), 30, 33-6.

the dimissorial letters for jonker Carel, hoping that he would acquire a benefice soon.⁹⁷⁹ Cornelis van Spangens's brother was supported by the Count of Solms as well, and Van Neercassel wrote to Cornelis that he had duly thanked the count (Hendrik Trajectan of Solms-Braunfels) and his mother (Anna Elisabeth) for these favours.⁹⁸⁰ These high-ranking nobles were a source of patronage for Van Neercassel: he approached them to plead the cause of several Catholic nobles, sometimes carefully trying to restore family relationships, at other times aiming to secure offices and benefices for these nobles and their family members.⁹⁸¹

In turn, apostolic vicars would approach Catholic nobles with whom they were on friendly terms to bolster their own interests. Van Neercassel was convinced, he told the priest Henricus van der Graft, that the Lord of Warmond would be willing to 'employ the credit he enjoyed with the Lord of Duivenvoorde to further their cause'; in a later letter he mentioned that the ladies of Warmond (Magdalena Sophia van Wassenauer?) and Loenersloot (Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden) had 'greatly admonished' the Lord of Warmond (Jan van Wassenauer van Warmond) to accept Van Neercassel's wishes regarding the appointment of pastors.⁹⁸² While he was embroiled in the conflict about the *jus patronatus* with Van Neercassel, Anthony van Lynden stated that he had promised his uncle that he would not resort to 'rigour'; almost a year later Van Neercassel received a copy of a letter from a missionary called Castro, who advised him to resolve the case through Van Lynden's uncle, the Lord of Duistervoorde, Peter Reinhard van Stepraedt, a man of 'great virtue and conscience', who might be able to convince Van Lynden to refrain from sticking to his 'pretensions'.⁹⁸³ Arguably Van Neercassel could count on the support of this nobleman, for in 1678 he lobbied in Warmond and other places to advance his career and had this reported to Peter's mother, Johanna van Voorst.⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁷⁹ HUA, OBC, inv. 244: 21-3-1671 (to Mattio); inv. 248: 14-5-1677, 6-12-1677. In 1676 Van Neercassel had sent a positive testimony to Carel. Ibid., inv. 247, 15-5-1676. It is likely that Carel (b. 1649) was Cornelis's son. Simon van Leeuwen, *Batavia illustrata, ofte verhandelinge....* (The Hague, 1685), 1106. See also: HUA, OBC, inv. 248: 11-4-1678, 27-10-1678; inv. 254: 7-4-1685.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid., inv. 247: 13-1-1677.

⁹⁸¹ Ibid., inv. 246: 8-2-1675, 1-3-1675, 29-7-1675; inv. 247: 16-10-1675 (to Meliskerke, to Gravin van Solms), 13-6-1676, 7-11-1676, 20-11-1676.

⁹⁸² Ibid., inv. 243: 14-11-1669; inv. 252: 20-9-1682.

⁹⁸³ Ibid., inv. 230: 27-7/6-8-1682; inv. 237: 18/8-10-1683 (copy of letter from Father Castro). It is likely that this was the Franciscan missionary Augustinus de Castro, who was supported by the Lord of Doddendaal, Peter Reinhard Stepraedt, who was also the owner of Duistervoorde (and was related to Van Lynden, whose mother was Alexandrine van Stepraedt). Peter's wife was Maria Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden, Lady of Loenersloot, a castle near Castle Kronenburg.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid., inv. 248: 27-10-1678. It seems that Peter Reinhard indeed intervened, for a copy of a letter from Grunsfoort (likely sent by Anthony van Lynden, the owner of Grunsfoort) mentions the solution advocated by the recipient of the letter, the author's uncle. Ibid., inv. 237: copy of letter (25-10-1683).

Conclusion

The Catholic nobility aided the *Missio Hollandica* in a variety of ways, but the main thrust of noble support was directed at ensuring the availability of priests and creating the most favourable conditions in which Catholicism could be practised (i.e. with as little persecution as possible), albeit in the relative safety of the private sphere. Missionary priests were supported by offering them a place to stay and by nourishing and protecting them, and studentships were funded to enable the training of prospective priests. Catholic nobles were less interested in serving in the Mission as priests and spiritual virgins themselves, however, as noble culture was partly at odds with the life that awaited a member of the clergy in the Dutch Republic, and as a result only a small number of priests and virgins working in the Holland Mission came from a noble background.

In their houses and estates the Catholic nobility provided places of worship for themselves and their families, and often for Catholics in the vicinity as well. The places became safe havens in which (permanent) stations were established, where priests (including most chaplains) offered pastoral care to visiting Catholics, and from which missionaries ventured to nearby areas. Nobles expressed genuine concern for the spiritual well-being of nearby Catholics, especially those living in their seigneuries. Informing his mother about his conflict with Codde, Hendrik van Dorth wrote that he would make the effort and spend the money required by Codde's solution, for 'all our spiritual advantages [gerijf] and for the comfort of the poor and abandoned Catholics hereabouts'.⁹⁸⁵ We should take into account that the same Hendrik van Dorth forbade his subjects to house priests whom he did not like, but it is exactly this idea of leadership and ownership which prompted Catholic seigniorial lords to feel responsible for the spiritual well-being of the people living under their jurisdiction. Catholic nobles, acting either on their own or in conjunction with other members of the Catholic elite, acted as the leaders of local Catholic communities, thereby assuming responsibility for their co-religionists.

Catholic nobles thus did not merely support the Mission, but also shaped the Mission: by offering their aid, they influenced the allocation of resources (i.e. priests), while exerting influence on the appointment of pastors as well. By various means Catholics nobles tried to ensure the availability of priests, for instance by stipulating that priests who had benefited from their studentships had to work in the area in which the noble patron lived. Although in general the influence of the nobility on the Mission was not resented, and relations between the Catholic nobility and the missionaries were cordial and friendly, in some case conflicts about the *jus patronatus* erupted, as the apostolic vicars felt that the Catholic nobles appropriated too much power. Both the apostolic vicars and the Catholic nobility made use of their networks in order to bolster their claims, and although these conflicts often

⁹⁸⁵ Kok, 'Vorden', 246. HUA, OBC, inv. 340: copy of letter (26-8-1692).

were carried out on paper, both parties trying to convince each other of the legitimacy of their stance, more forceful means were not entirely ruled out. In some cases the conflicts about patronage rights became intertwined with complaints about Jansenist priests, already showing glimpses of the rifts in Dutch Catholicism that would tear it apart in the eighteenth century.⁹⁸⁶ These conflicts also make clear that while the Catholic nobility was willing to support the Mission, they wanted to do so on their own terms, as they felt entitled to defend their rights and press for their own needs.

Catholic seigniorial lords made use of the extensive rights they possessed in their jurisdiction in order to hamper the Reformation, to protect Catholic priests, and to prevent Catholic worship from being disrupted by local magistrates. It is doubtful, however, whether the actions of Catholic nobles resulted in the emergence of Catholic ‘enclaves’ that survived into the nineteenth century, as claimed by Rogier. There are signs that this was not the case: Protestants lived in the seigneuries of Catholic nobles (as the example of Thomas Walraven van Arkel showed in chapter 2); Catholic nobles were forced to appoint Protestant officers to an increasing extent; in a growing number of villages, consistories were established and churches were staffed with Reformed ministers; and the extent to which Catholic nobles were able to influence the religious affiliations of their peasants is unclear. Whether the influence of the Catholic nobility remained visible into the nineteenth century requires more local research spanning several centuries, as in some places castles owned by Catholic nobles were destroyed and not rebuilt, and also because some Catholic families died out, converted to Protestantism or moved abroad. Perhaps the Catholic nobility provided enough time for the creation of a distinct Catholic identity, after which it proved impossible for Reformed Protestantism to get a foothold in these local communities – an argument used to explain the unwavering strength of Catholicism in the Generality Lands.⁹⁸⁷ Local research has shown, however, that the population of some areas where Catholic nobles lived and which were visited by missionaries in the seventeenth century nevertheless consisted mostly of Protestants by 1839, making clear the need to include other factors when explaining the religious affiliation of the population over long periods of time.⁹⁸⁸

In Guelders the Catholic Mission depended more on the support of Catholic nobles than in Utrecht, for in the latter province the city of Utrecht functioned as the centre of the mission from which priests regularly set out to visit other parts of the province. In Guelders a larger number of priests were residing at the estates of Catholic nobles, some of which served as missionary outposts or were turned into permanent stations. In spite of these differences, neither in Utrecht nor in Guelders the Catholic nobility harmed Dutch Catholicism by appropriating a disproportionate share of the

⁹⁸⁶ Compare with the politicisation of family and kinship networks within English Catholicism. James E. Kelly, ‘Kinship and religious politics among Catholic families in England, 1570–1640’, *History* 94 (2009), 328–43.

⁹⁸⁷ Judith Pollmann, *Catholic identity and the revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (Oxford, 2011), 192–202.

⁹⁸⁸ Staverman, *Varik*, 53. A population census was held in this year.

available resources: the services of missionaries were not restricted to noble families, but rather the priests also served nearby Catholic communities, which in general were not smaller than those elsewhere in the country. There was a chronic shortage of priests for most of the seventeenth century, but one of the aims of the leaders of the Mission had always been to have missionaries working in all parts of the country, and the Catholic nobility made this possible in areas which otherwise were not likely to be visited by priests. As Codde wrote to the lords of Ter Horst and Eertbeeck after having received word that they were pleased with the priest Stephanus van Lent, who had been appointed at their castles: 'it truly is good fortune for the weak Catholics in those districts [gewesten] that they are nowadays provided with a priest and religion.'⁹⁸⁹ Naturally, the support provided by Catholic nobles was partly out of self-interest, and salvation was an important incentive for noble support; this was neatly expressed by the nobleman Peter Reinhard van Stepraedt, who hoped that God would 'especially bless' (*besonderlijck gebenedijden*) him because of the money he paid to house and maintain priests, because of the hassle caused by the Catholics who visited his house to attend Mass, and because of the 'large and daily fruits' resulting from these activities.⁹⁹⁰

The missionaries and the apostolic vicars acknowledged and praised the nobles for their support, and at times laypeople expressed their gratitude as well.⁹⁹¹ The parishioners in Lisse, for example, wished to celebrate the establishment of a new Catholic church in their village, and in order to commemorate this event a song was composed, which reverently included the lines: 'We wish the noble Lord Zuytwijck, with the noble Lord of Runt, a blessed new year as a sign [that the] Lord grants to you his blessing.'⁹⁹² As a result of their actions – which were typically a mixture of self-interest and concern for the Catholic community at large – in Guelders and Utrecht, at least, the Catholic nobility were key to the survival of Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁹⁸⁹ HUA, OBC, inv. 361: 13-1-1698.

⁹⁹⁰ GA, Huis Vornholz, inv. 733. Apostolic vicars mentioned the prayers of the laity in return for noble support. HUA, OBC, inv. 248: 22-11-1678. See also: GA, Huis te Horst, inv. 255.

⁹⁹¹ Deelder, *Clara relatio*, 54.

⁹⁹² A. M. Hulkenberg, *De Aagtenkerk van Lisse* (Lisse, 1960), 68. The nobles to whom the song referred were Frederick Jacob Heereman van Zuydtwijck and Adriaen de Wael van Vronestein.

Conclusion

As the Catholic Church was brought to its knees by the confiscation of its property and the demise of its clergy, the lands once Christianised by the great missionary saints Willibrord and Boniface were demoted to the status of mission territory by the Holy See. Yet amidst the ruins of the Church, a group of priests under the leadership of the apostolic vicars laboured to turn the tide in what came to be known as the Holland Mission. Cut off from traditional sources of income and victimised by the law, the Mission relied heavily on lay support. The Catholic nobility proved to be of key importance for the success of this enterprise, as nobles provided the Mission with money, sheltered and offered protection to missionaries, and supplied the Catholic community with places of worship. But the story of the Catholic nobility involves more than the ways in which they contributed to the survival of Catholicism: as members of a religious minority, their relationships with their compatriots and with the state were profoundly altered as a result of the political and religious changes resulting from the Reformation and the Dutch Revolt. Against this backdrop of changed political, social and religious circumstances, the Catholic nobility should be studied and understood.

The religious fragmentization of the Dutch Republic is mirrored in the ten lineages studied in the first chapter: six of them were religiously mixed. However, because only a limited number of mixed marriages (four) were concluded by its members, most of the nuclear families of which these lineages consisted were religiously homogeneous. The marriage strategies of the Catholic nobility in Guelders and Utrecht reflect the politico-religious developments in the Dutch Republic, since although these nobles clung to the traditional ideal of social endogamy, the faith of their spouses was of key importance. This combination of religious and social endogamy further limited the size of the marriage pool of the Catholic nobility; and because only some Catholic nobles sought partners from the southern Netherlands, a large number of them remained unmarried. The argument propounded by Rogier and others that mixed marriage was one of the foremost causes of the conversion of Catholic nobles to Protestantism does not apply to the core of Catholic nobles studied here, since the vast majority of them married co-religionists.

The preference to marry co-religionists can be attributed to the fact that Catholic nobles carefully chose in which areas of life to interact with Protestants, a choice which was largely determined by concerns to maintain their religious identity, but which was influenced by the policies of the state as well. In the sphere of the family, where the most intimate forms of contact took place, interaction with Protestants was therefore very limited: Catholic nobles tried to ensure the maintenance of their own religious identity and that of their offspring by selecting Catholic

godparents and guardians, thus preventing their children from falling into the hands of Reformed Protestants. Even in this sphere, however, interaction with Protestants was not entirely obliterated, and evidence suggests that the weddings of Catholic nobles were attended by Protestants, as were their funerals. It was thus not interconfessional interaction per se, but the nature of this interaction, which mattered most, which explains why in other areas of life Catholic nobles interacted freely with Protestants. In some spheres of life confessional preferences were less dominant and a different set of criteria was operative, as a result of which Catholics and Protestants interacted with one another in spite of their religious divisions.

As members of confraternities and hunting societies, Catholic nobles mingled with Protestants, yet interconfessional interaction also moved beyond the sphere of conviviality. In the capacity of seigniorial lords Catholic nobles interacted with Reformed ministers and schoolmasters, as the Catholic nobility clung to the privileges they enjoyed as owners of seigneuries; moreover, driven by a sense of leadership and ownership, they also continued to behave as leaders of local communities. The precise level of interconfessional interaction in the seigneuries and on the estates of Catholic nobles is not completely clear due to the lack of extant sources (e.g. Catholic baptismal and marriage registers), which renders it difficult to statistically capture the religious diversity in the areas owned by Catholic nobles. Some of the data analysed in this dissertation suggest that noble households largely consisted of people with a religious orientation similar to that of their noble lords, but in the case of Thomas Walraven van Arkel, for example, it is clear that he interacted with Protestants living in his seigneurie.

Catholic nobles were also willing to rub shoulders with Protestants when serving in public office, which they did when allowed to do so by the secular authorities. The replacement of the oaths of loyalty with oaths of religion over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century made it more difficult for Catholic nobles to serve in office if they did not want to violate the dictates of their conscience. Some nobles tried to negotiate with the state in order to reach an accommodation: although often regarded as a fifth column, these Catholic nobles clearly wanted to come to a new understanding with the authorities about their position in the body politic, and to define their stance regarding questions about loyalty. This process of adaptation shows that Catholic nobles determined the extent to which they wanted to conform with the stance of their Church and the demands of the state; they tried to work out a *modus vivendi* which would enable them to retain their position in society while at the same time safeguarding their religious identity. They mostly married Catholics, but they often did so in the town hall, thus concluding a marriage which was legal in the eyes of the secular authorities but was not acknowledged by the Catholic Church throughout most of the seventeenth century (although it is a distinct possibility that most of them remarried in front of a

Catholic priest later). In a similar fashion, Catholic nobles in general were willing to swear allegiance to the Dutch state, but they refused to take an oath which would make them abjure the Catholic faith. In other words, they tried to reconcile the stance of the Catholic Church with the demands of the state, and to come to terms with the new politico-religious circumstances in which they found themselves.

Identities

Catholic nobles thus made careful decisions about when, where and to what degree to interact with Protestants. Even though around the middle of the seventeenth century a clear confessional identity had emerged among the Catholic nobility, visible in their support for the Mission and their religiosity, among other things, this identity did not trump other identities – that is to say, Catholic nobles did have more identities than just their confessional identity. Bertrand Forclaz has shown in his research on Catholicism in the city of Utrecht in the seventeenth century that social, familial and urban identities existed alongside confessional identity, and he argues that the hierarchy of these identities differed in each family.⁹⁹³ The Van Reede family, for example, was divided by faith, but Ursula and Godard clearly valued the noble identity of the family over its confessional identity – which they underscored by restricting their inheritance to offspring who married *riddermatige* nobles, without stipulating the religious affiliations of their children and their (prospective) spouses. This research suggests that this hierarchy was not static and fixed, but rather was dynamic and depended on specific circumstances. Interconfessional interaction did not merely result from Catholic nobles valuing other identities over their confessional identity or finding common ground with Protestants because of a shared identity (e.g. as members of the nobility), but also because in some areas of life their confessional identity was less threatened, and hence was less likely to direct and guide their behaviour. Precisely these circumstances fostered the prominence of communal and shared bonds over religious ones.

Identities did not only exist next to each other as part of a neatly ordered hierarchy, and the noble and confessional identities of the Catholic nobility became firmly intertwined. The behaviour of Catholic nobles was shaped by the facts that the requirements of these identities influenced each other, and that nobles tried to verify the meanings of both identities. The funerals of most Catholic nobles, to mention one example, combined references to their religious affiliation but also made use of traditional ways of conveying the social status of the deceased and his or her family. The religious and social endogamy of the Catholic nobility affirmed and supported their social status and religious

⁹⁹³ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 160–80.

affiliation, thus underpinning the merger of their noble and confessional identity. Depending on the circumstances, these identities both obstructed and facilitated interaction with Protestants.

Spirituality and religious culture

The confessional identity of the Catholic nobility was firmly underpinned by their religious beliefs, and by the religious material culture on their estates, including not only items that made possible the performance of the sacraments (especially Mass), but also objects such as paintings, crucifixes and rosaries which supported nobles in their individual acts of devotion. The beliefs of Catholic nobles were profoundly influenced by the doctrines and spirituality of the Counter-Reformation, with which they had come into contact through books printed at Counter-Reformation centres such as Brussels and Antwerp, and through priests, most of whom were trained in a Tridentine mould. The presence of priests, who visited noble estates and resided there, made possible a spirituality which revolved around the (frequent) reception of the sacraments, and in cases of the absence of priests Catholic nobles could resort to devotional literature, which provided them with meditations and other acts of devotion. Regardless of the influence of the Counter-Reformation on the religiosity of the Catholic nobility, we should not overlook more traditional aspects of the Catholic nobles' piety, however: some of them still embarked on pilgrimages in order to acquire divine aid for their physical needs; and religious practices such as giving alms to the poor in the form of small sums of money or food (e.g. bread) and the celebration of Requiem Masses were continued.

Through books and priests, nobles came into contact with the competing forms of spirituality offered by regular priests (mostly Jesuits and Franciscans) and secular priests who had studied in Louvain or in one of the houses of the French Oratory, such as the apostolic vicars Van Neercassel and Codde. In general this did not cause any problems, since in addition to owning books which propagated different types of spirituality, Catholic nobles also housed regular and secular priests on their estates. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, the differences between the types of spirituality and pastoral care did become increasingly important, and Catholic nobles, especially those who lived in areas which had been served by regular priests for decades, preferred the less austere and less strict approach of the Jesuits and other regulars. This preference of the Catholic nobles became more pronounced in the last two decades of the seventeenth century; it was in this period that the Jansenist controversy became increasingly important for the laity, a development which gained momentum in the eighteenth century.⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹⁴ Theo Clemens, 'Katholieke vroomheid en het schisma van 1723', *Holland* 25 (1993), 199.

Religious tolerance and intolerance

Because of their support of Catholicism, the estates and houses of the Catholic nobility were occasionally raided by government officials; this would undoubtedly have happened more often if not for their social status, their ties with members of the local authorities, and the authority they enjoyed as local or seigniorial lords. To a certain extent, Catholic nobles also fell prey to the uncertain nature of Dutch religious tolerance, which depended on the goodwill of the authorities rather than on any statutory law, save for that of freedom of conscience. Most of the time, the authorities responded politely to requests by local consistories and classes to make an end to popish impudence; yet often promises of forceful reprisal materialised in half-hearted interventions, if indeed any action was undertaken at all, giving Dutch religious tolerance its distinct local flavour. From the perspective of the government, religious tolerance was a form of public management, as Joke Spaans and Charles H. Parker have argued.⁹⁹⁵ The government tried to keep the (illegal) activities of Catholics and other minorities in check, generally ensuring that the dominance of the Reformed Church in the public domain was not challenged, while also enabling religious dissenters to carve out a space for themselves in Dutch society.

Whereas the toleration practiced by authorities was mainly motivated by the aim to maintain civic harmony and a certain wariness of (religious) persecution, people kept interacting with different faiths as various ties which united them remained intact and were not severed by the Reformation. As religious considerations did not always enjoy primacy and different criteria operated in different spheres of life, bonds connecting kin, neighbours and colleagues, continued to exist over the seventeenth century. Historians such as Willem Frijhoff have opted to use the term confessional coexistence rather than religious tolerance, as the latter term has a more modern connotation of seeing religious and other differences as something inherently positive, whereas the former term more accurately describes the situation in early modern Europe, where people in general only grudgingly accepted the existence of religious differences. Judith Pollmann has aptly described Dutch religious tolerance as being 'Janus-faced', for Dutchmen interacted with members of other confessions while at the same time denouncing the doctrines and rituals of rival churches.⁹⁹⁶ Catholic nobles were not different in this respect, yet the fact that Catholic nobles kept interacting with Protestants in certain spheres of life was partly the result of actually appreciating this kind of interaction. Such interconfessional interaction did not merely result from the coexistence of rival faiths, from people living in close proximity to members of other confessions, but had more positive overtones.

⁹⁹⁵ Parker, 'Paying for privilege'. Spaans, 'De katholieken in de Republiek'.

⁹⁹⁶ Pollmann, 'The bond of Christian piety'.

Although the framework in which interconfessional interaction took place was partly determined by the policies of the church and the state, the actual way in which Dutch religious tolerance was played out and gained its concrete form depended to a large extent on the actions of the laity, in our case Catholic nobles, themselves, as ultimately they decided where, when, and how to interact with members of rival churches. Perhaps nobles were uniquely qualified to construct their own playing field: the fundamentally unequal position created by the dominant majority's tolerance of a religious minority was 'complicated', to echo Alexandra Walsham, by the nobles' social status.⁹⁹⁷ Because of their social status, nobles often outranked their persecutors and found themselves on an equal level with their judges (or the members of institutions to which they appealed); within the Catholic community too they enjoyed eminence over both lay co-religionists and priests.⁹⁹⁸ Catholic nobles had to decide for themselves whether or not (and to what extent) to conform to the demands of the Catholic Church and the state. Ultimately, the actions of the laity were more complex than the behaviour prescribed in the rules of state and Church, hence the behaviour of Catholic nobles involved combinations of loyalty and resistance, integration and separation, and of conformity and non-conformity. For example, some of the social strategies of the Catholic nobles led to a degree of separation (e.g. their religious endogamy), while some of their cultural strategies, such as the continuous interaction with members of the social elite in specific areas in life, worked towards integration.

Catholic nobles and the Holland Mission

Catholic nobles supported the Mission in a variety of ways, such as by housing and nourishing clergymen, and by providing spaces of worship for their families and often for Catholics living in the vicinity of their estates. The fact that they had been reared in noble culture gave them a strong sense of leadership and ownership, as a result of which they wanted to have influence over, or at least be involved in, the way the Catholic Mission materialised in the areas under their control, something which in some cases became even more pronounced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁹⁹⁹ This idea of leadership and ownership meant that Catholic nobles not only actively supported but also shaped the Mission in their areas. This undoubtedly was a positive contribution to the survival of Catholicism in the Dutch Republic, even though there were instances in which the outlook and stance of the Catholic nobility clashed with the policy of the apostolic vicars, who felt that they were the rightful leaders of the Mission and were entitled to make final decisions about the allocation of resources (i.e. priests). The controversy about patronage rights in the later decades of the

⁹⁹⁷ Walsham, 'Cultures of coexistence', 123.

⁹⁹⁸ Barten, 'Het proces'.

⁹⁹⁹ Lindeijer, 'Tussen kasteel en kerk', 34–43, 202–3 and *passim*.

seventeenth century was mostly carried out by letter, although sometimes these conflicts moved beyond the sphere of rhetoric as church property was sequestered, priests were banned, and threats were made to invoke the laws against Catholicism, showing the lengths to which nobles would go to defend what they perceived to be their rights.

Ultimately, in spite of occasional clashes between Catholic nobles and apostolic vicars, the Catholic nobility proved to be a formidable source of support for the Mission, even though it is doubtful whether Rogier's claim is true that Catholic nobles were responsible for the emergence of Catholic enclaves which survived into the nineteenth century. This was certainly not the case in other parts of the Dutch Republic, where the role of the Catholic nobility seems to have differed noticeably: according to Richard Paping, Catholic nobles in Drenthe mostly directed the services of missionaries towards their own families rather than catering for nearby Catholic communities. This, in combination with the fact that most priests, especially Jesuits, focused on serving rich burghers in the city of Groningen, resulted in the fact that the role of the Catholic nobility as supporters of the Mission in the countryside of Drenthe, was limited.¹⁰⁰⁰ Further comparative research which includes factors such as the varying social and economic structures in different parts of the Republic, is needed to explain such differences. Differences were also caused by the way the Mission was structured as well as the proximity of political (and religious) borders; whereas the city of Utrecht was the main hub of missionary activities in this province, the Mission in Guelders depended more on the support of the Catholic nobles, who often housed regular priests who visited parts of this provinces from their monasteries near the Dutch border. While further comparative research can provide answers to the questions raised here, this research has demonstrated that, at least in Utrecht and Guelders, in their localities and in the cities in which they owned houses, Catholic nobles made invaluable contributions to the maintenance of Catholicism in the seventeenth century. In Loenen, for instance, despite the quarrel between Van Neercassel and Anthony van Lynden, Protestants complained that Catholics in that area did not attend the Reformed church, and that those Catholics 'under the protection of the lords of Kronenburg were most fervently Catholic and still are'.¹⁰⁰¹ Although the nobles' influence was at times resented by the leaders of the Holland Mission, they simply could not do without the support of the Catholic nobility.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Paping, 'Paapse jonkers', 8–10.

¹⁰⁰¹ HUA, Heerlijkheid Kronenburg, inv. 131, f. 575. '[O]nder de bescherming van de Heeren van Cronenburg meest Rooms geweest, en toen en nu nog Rooms sijnde'.

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gruwelijcke wreetheyt en tyrannie, in dese twee plaetsen, gelijk oock in verscheyde anderen gepleegt, seer levendig ten toon gestelt worden: alles uyt de daghteeckeningen, in de voorgedachte plaetsen gedaen, getrocken, en nu door de druck in't licht gebracht (Amsterdam, 1674).

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Evidence about someone's religious affiliation

In this section the various types of evidence and the degree to which they provide information about someone's religious affiliation are given. What follows is not an exhaustive list of all the available sources, but rather an overview which gives an idea of the nature of the sources and the degree of certainty they provide about someone's religious affiliation.

Conclusive evidence: Catholics

- Having a religious vocation (e.g. priest, nun, or spiritual maiden).
- Supporting the Holland Mission, either by 1) donating money to Catholic church and its clergy, or to Catholic institutions (e.g. the Catholic poor chamber); 2) having a place of worship at the estate where Mass is celebrated; 3) housing priests or spiritual virgins. There are some more complex combinations possible. For instance, a nobleman held a public office for which only Protestants were eligible, yet at the estate where this nobleman and his wife lived there was a chapel in which Mass was celebrated. First the religious affiliation of both husband and wife should be determined by making use of other, additional sources, if available. If there are no other indications whatsoever about the religious affiliations of these nobles, the husband is regarded as a Protestant, the wife as a Catholic. Although it is a possibility that the husband was a Catholic who conformed to the demands of the State, my research has shown that this did not happen often at all (at least not in Utrecht and Guelders in the seventeenth century), hence it can be assumed that in this case the husband is Protestant.
- Evidence which relates to a form of Catholic piety: owning Catholic objects for personal and communal devotion; owning Catholic (devotional) books; receiving the Last Rites; celebrating Catholic feasts; donating money for the celebration of Masses of Requiem. These sources tell us that this person was a Catholic at a certain point in life. If there are no indications which suggests that this person has converted to Protestantism at a later point in life, he or she is regarded as a Catholic.
- The noble has a Catholic funeral: although the funerals of Protestant and Catholic nobles had things in common, there are indications that aspects of the funerals of Catholic nobles were distinctly

Catholic. The best example is when a spiritual virgin was sitting next to the corpse or when the funeral costs include a payment to a Catholic priest.

-Moving abroad to the Spanish Netherlands.

- Serving in army of the Spanish Habsburgs. It is by no means a general rule that those who fought in the army of foreign Catholic ruler were Catholic themselves. The army of the Spanish Habsburg proves to be a special case because they were in war with the Republic which made it highly unlikely that Dutch Protestants were part of this army (hence it is seen as conclusive evidence). Fighting in armies of other Catholic rulers was less troublesome and it should not surprise us that Protestants were found even among the officers of the army of the Holy Roman Emperor.¹⁰⁰² However, in combination with conclusive evidence from other family members we regard nobles who fought in the armies of other Catholic rulers to be Catholic as well.

- Being granted a marriage dispensation by the Catholic Church.

- Being a noble from Spain or from the Southern Netherlands: some nobles married to the foreign nobility and when these nobles were from these countries they are regarded to be Catholic as the population of both countries was virtually completely Catholic.

- Being mentioned on De la Torre's list of Catholic nobles in Utrecht and Holland. Although Rogier criticized this list for mentioning families that already had moved abroad or families from which only a branch had remained Catholic, it is actually possible to determine the individual nobles that were listed, for instance by looking at the name of the spouse or by finding out who owned a castle or seigneury at the time the apostolic vicar made his list.¹⁰⁰³

- Corresponding with the apostolic vicars or with other missionary priests.

- Being a student at a Catholic university. Although it is a possibility that there were Protestant students who did not mind taking the *declaratio fidei* at a Catholic university, the vast majority of the students at these universities were Catholic. If, therefore, a Dutch nobleman, about whom we know he had Catholic family members (parents, siblings) attended a Catholic university, he is seen to be a Catholic.

¹⁰⁰² Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck and Erich Lessing, *Die Kaiserliche Kriegsvölker: von Maximilian I. bis Prinz Eugen, 1479–1718* (Munich, 1978), 69.

¹⁰⁰³ *ROG*, 1: 483.

Conclusive evidence: Protestants

- Being a *lidmaat* of the Reformed Church.
- Being a minister, elder, or deacon in the Reformed Church.
- Holding certain political offices: not every office required the holder to take an oath of religion or make a profession of faith, nor did the States of the different provinces introduce such measures at the same time or enforced them as strictly as happened elsewhere. It is therefore necessary to list the various offices that were subjected to such measures, again without the aim to provide an exhaustive list. The list is tailored to nobles and the offices normally held by them. The general rule is as follows: if someone held an office which required taking an oath of religion or making a profession of faith and we do not have any evidence that this person was a Catholic then he is considered to be a Protestant. If, however, we have conclusive evidence that the office-holder was a Catholic, then he is regarded to be a church-papist. These rules apply to the following offices.

* Attending the meetings of one of the knighthoods throughout the Dutch Republic from 1621 onwards. In Guelders the decision that every attendant had to take an oath of religion was already made in 1617, but it would take for years before this measure was formally introduced.¹⁰⁰⁴ The discussion which took place in the States of Guelders veered from allowing Catholics to hold office as long as they conformed to the decrees (*plakkaten*) issued by the same States (1640), to replace Catholics by Reformed Protestants after their death (1649), and to removing them from office immediately (1651).¹⁰⁰⁵ As everyone who wanted to attend the meetings of the States had to take the oath of religion, depending on other evidence nobles which attended these after 1621 are seen either as Protestants (possibly converts) or church papists.

* Offices such as having a seat in the States General, the Council of State, and the Admiralties from 1621 onwards. The States of Guelders determined in 1621 that deputies from the province holding one of these offices had to take an oath of religion, whereas in Utrecht deputies sent by the States of this province only 'should take into careful consideration that the true Christian Reformed religion...may be maintained as well.'¹⁰⁰⁶ However, in order to be elected a deputy one had

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 43. The oath was in Guelders the only means used to force Catholics from not attending these meetings anymore. The oath applied to everyone who wanted to attend the meeting of all the States in Guelders, not only to the knighthood.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 34. *VdW*, 1: 328: '...zullen nauw regard nemen, dat de ware Christelyke Gereformeerde Religie, by publycque autoriteyt, in dese Landen geleert, allenthalven ook mag gemainteneert worden.'

to have a seat in one of the States, which required taking an oath of religion or making a profession of faith.¹⁰⁰⁷

* In Guelders the members of the Provincial Court, the Chamber of Finance (*rekenkamer*), the deputies of the quarters, other officers who dealt with matters of the state, high judges, and envoys of the cities as they had to take an oath of religion as well.¹⁰⁰⁸

* The *geëligeerden* in Utrecht as they had to make a profession of faith from 1586 onwards.¹⁰⁰⁹

* The newly appointed canons in Utrecht also had to be Reformed Protestants but, as A. J. van der Ven has shown, Catholics could be appointed if it happened to be the turn of a Catholic canon to fill a vacant spot.¹⁰¹⁰ The States had the right to reject such a nominee, but in a number of cases they had no objection to a Catholic becoming canon, shown by the cases of Johannes Wachtelaer and Jacob van Gouda, appointed in 1588 and 1593 respectively.¹⁰¹¹ This became impossible in and after 1615, for in this year the States of Utrecht decided that every newly appointed canon had to make a profession of the Reformed religion, something which new provost, deans, and treasurers had to do from 1600 onwards.¹⁰¹²

* Other offices such as ambassadors, envoys to synods such as the Synod of Dordt or to peace negotiations.

Inconclusive evidence: Catholics and Protestants

- Being baptized by a Reformed minister or Catholic priest: this tells us only something about the religious affiliation of one of the parents (in case of a baptism performed by a Catholic priest), or nothing at all, as people who had their children baptized in the Reformed church were not necessarily Protestants. Moreover, even if someone was baptized in a particular church, this does not provide any evidence for their religious affiliation at a later stage in life.

¹⁰⁰⁷ This explains why the oath when joining an Admiralty made no reference to religion. For the oath, see: *Nederlands Placaat- en rechtskundig woordenboek...* (5 vols, Amsterdam, 1791–7), 2: 427.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 33.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *VdW*, 1: 187–9.

¹⁰¹⁰ The pope lost his right to appoint new canons in 1579. Catholic canons that were appointed before 1580 were not removed, making it possible that new canons were appointed. Van de Ven, *Oorsprong*, 44–5.

¹⁰¹¹ Knuif and De Jong, ‘Philippus Rovenius’, *AAU* 50 (1925), 106. See also the list of Catholic canons in Van de Ven, *Oorsprong*, 48–52. The last Catholic canon, Gerhardus van der Steen, canon in St. John, died in 1680. Knuif and De Jong, ‘Rovenius’, 104.

¹⁰¹² Knuif and De Jong, ‘Rovenius’, 105.

- Married in the town hall/in the Reformed Church/by a Catholic priest. This tells us something about the religious affiliation of one of the spouses (in case of a marriage that took place in the town hall or was solemnized by a Catholic priest). As people from different confession married in the Reformed Church, this evidence does not provide us with sufficient certainty about the religious affiliation of the spouses.

- The religious affiliation of family members, even when based on conclusive evidence, has not been used to determine the religious affiliation of other family members, due to the fact that a large number of families in the Dutch Republic were divided by faith. In the first chapter, the religious affiliation of each family member is therefore entirely based on the conclusive evidence of that particular person's faith. If there is no conclusive evidence of the faith of a certain person available, his or her religion is set to be unknown. The inconclusive evidence is not discarded altogether, however, for it can tell us something about the affinity family members had with the different churches, or about the arrangements that were made in a family (for instance, the churches the children of a mixed marriage were baptized in). When a child of a Catholic couple was baptized by a priest, but married a Protestant, this is not conclusive proof that this was a mixed marriage, or that this person converted to Protestantism, but it does flag possible religious differences (and thus warrants additional research). Furthermore, even if conclusive evidence of the faith of certain people is available, inconclusive evidence shows the different choices members of a religious community made (e.g. Catholics who married in the Reformed Church rather than in the town hall). In other words, such evidence shows the variety of opinions and stances that are to be found among the members of a religious community.

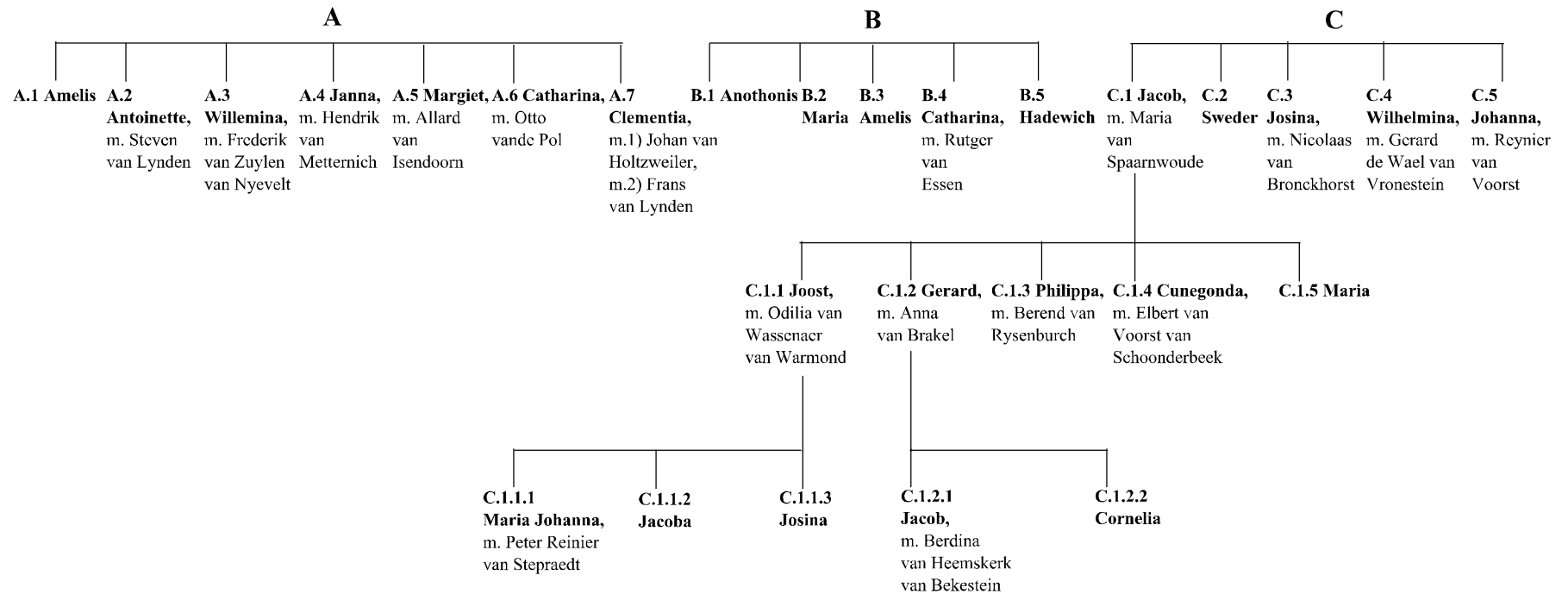
Appendix B: Genealogies of ten noble families

Some remarks about the (partial) genealogies of the ten noble lineages studied in the first chapter:

- When the religious affiliation of a family member or his or her spouse is unknown, nothing will be mentioned about the faith of this person. The religious vocations of Catholic family members are mentioned in the genealogical trees.
- The numbering system of these partial genealogies works as follows. The capital letters (e.g. 'A') denote the parents of a number of children. These parents are not part of the genealogical tree since they belong to a generation which is not included in this research. However, the use of these capital letters show that not all the family members in the genealogical tree are the children of the same parents. The numbers denote the various generations. Take Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden, for example. His number is C.1, as he is the first child of the third 'set' of parents. His first child, Maria Johanna, has the number C.1.1.
- As virtually all sources are silent about illegitimate children, perhaps because less children were conceived out of wedlock,¹⁰¹³ or because of the increasing disapproval of such practices, which makes it it very difficult to detect them, they have not been included in the genealogies of these families.

¹⁰¹³ Gietman, *Republiek van adel*, 168–70, 186.

Van Amstel van Mijnden



Van Amstel van Mynden¹⁰¹⁴

A.1 Amelis.

A.2 Antoinette (d. 16-12-1627), m. (1578) Steven van Lynden (d. 14-8-1624), Lord of Mynden, Loosdrecht, and Synderen.¹⁰¹⁵

A.3. Willemine, m. Frederik van Zuylen van Nyevelt (b. 1531 – d. 1591), Lord of Gerestein.¹⁰¹⁶

A.4 Janna, m. Hendrick van Metternich, a German nobleman.

A.5 Margriet, m. Allard van Isendoorn, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1598-1611).¹⁰¹⁷

A.6 Catarina, m. Otto vande Pol, Lord of Wamel, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1565-86).¹⁰¹⁸

A.7 Clementia, Lady of Kronenburg, m. 1) Johan van Holtzweiler, bailiff of Hattem; m. 2) Frans van Lynden, member of the knighthood of Guelders and, later, Utrecht.¹⁰¹⁹

B.1 Anthonis (d. 23-5-1597), canon in the Dom church (1596).¹⁰²⁰

B.2 Maria (d. 1603).

B.3 Amelis (d. 1597).

B.4 Hadewich, m. Rutger van Essen, a member of a *riddermatige* family from Guelders.

B.5 Catharina (d. 27-6-1603).¹⁰²¹

C.1 Jacob (d. 23-6-1633), Lord of Loenersloot, m. (1615) Maria van Spaarnwoude (d. 2-4-1624). He was the godfather of Adriaen de Wael van Vronestein (A.1.1.6) and she was the godmother of Adriaen's brother Joost (A.1.1.8).¹⁰²² They were both Catholic.¹⁰²³

C.2 Sweder (d. 26-3-1658), Lord of Doornenburg. He was the godfather of Sweder de Wael van Vronestein (A.1.1.7) and he was a Catholic (e.g. mentioned on De la Torre's list).¹⁰²⁴

C.3 Josina (d. 4-10-1622), m. Nicolaas van Bronckhorst (d. 1-1-1607).¹⁰²⁵

C.4 Wilhelmina (d. 24-3-1642), m. (1608) in the town hall (Utrecht, 28-3-1642) Gerard de Wael van Vronestein.¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰¹⁴ UBU, Buchelius: lange boekjes. Wille Anne van Spaen, *Historie der heer van Amstel, van Ysselstein en van Mijnden* (The Hague, 1807).

¹⁰¹⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 5. *DNV* 37 (1887), 344. Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 112.

¹⁰¹⁶ Gallaird, *Maison*, 43. Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 87.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 94.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁰¹⁹ *VdAA*, 11: 803. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 81.

¹⁰²⁰ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 5.

¹⁰²¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²² *Ibid.*, 5-6. *DNV* 71 (1922), 199-200.

¹⁰²³ Barten, 'Doopboekje', *AGKKN* 9 (1967), 338. NA, HVZ, inv. 1056.

¹⁰²⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 689. DLT, AAU 11, 181 (Dorenburch). *DNV* 71 (1922), 202.

¹⁰²⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 5, 35.

¹⁰²⁶ HUA, DTB: Huwelijken voor het gerecht Utrecht [hereafter: Trouwen gerecht], inv. 85, f. 121v.

C.5 Johanna (d. 1629), m. Reynier van Voorst. She was godmother to Philippa de Wael van Vronestein (A.1.1.2).¹⁰²⁷ He was a witness at a Catholic baptism in Huissen, and one of Reynier and Johanna's daughters, Willemmina Maria Magdalena, became a spiritual maiden.¹⁰²⁸ He was a Catholic.¹⁰²⁹

C.1.1 Joost (d. 26-4-1651), Lord of Loenresloot, ter AA, and Oudekoop, m. Odilia van Wassenaer van Warmond, dr of Jacob and Jacoba van Matenese. Both were Catholic (mentioned on De la Torre's list).¹⁰³⁰

C.1.2 Gerard (d. 1699), Lord of Suylenborch, m. in town hall (Utrecht, 24-1-1646) Anna van Brakel (d. 1651).¹⁰³¹ They were both Catholic.¹⁰³²

C.1.3 Philippa, m. in the town hall (24-8-1638) Berend van Rysenburch. There were Catholic.¹⁰³³

C.1.4 Cunegunda, m. in the Reformed church (Putten) Elbert van Voorst van Schoonderbeek.¹⁰³⁴ He was a Catholic.¹⁰³⁵

C.1.5 Maria (d. 26-10-1666).¹⁰³⁶

C.1.1.1 Maria Johanna, m. (1679) Peter Reinier van Stepraedt, Lord of Doddendael and Ewijck. They were Catholics.¹⁰³⁷

C.1.1.2 Jacoba, died at a young age.

C.1.1.3 Josina, died at a young age.

C.1.2.1 Jacob, Lord of Doornenburg, m. in town hall (Utrecht, 9-2-1695) Berdina van Heemskerck van Bekestein. He was a Catholic.¹⁰³⁸

C.1.2.2 Cornelia. She was a Catholic.¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰²⁷ DNV 71 (1922), 200.

¹⁰²⁸ GA, RBS, inv. 981.03, 51. Hooft van Huysduynen, *Bijdrage tot een genealogie*, S.40

¹⁰²⁹ Barten, 'Kroniek', 257.

¹⁰³⁰ DTL, AAU 11, 184 (Loenersloot). NAV 51 (1901), 95.

¹⁰³¹ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 386v.

¹⁰³² NA, HVZ, inv. 245, 249. DLT, AAU 11, 188 (Zuylenburch).

¹⁰³³ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 330v. DLT, AAU 11, 186 (Rysenburch).

¹⁰³⁴ GA, RBS, inv. 1310.1, 17.

¹⁰³⁵ *Heraldieke bibliotheek* 5 (1876), 66

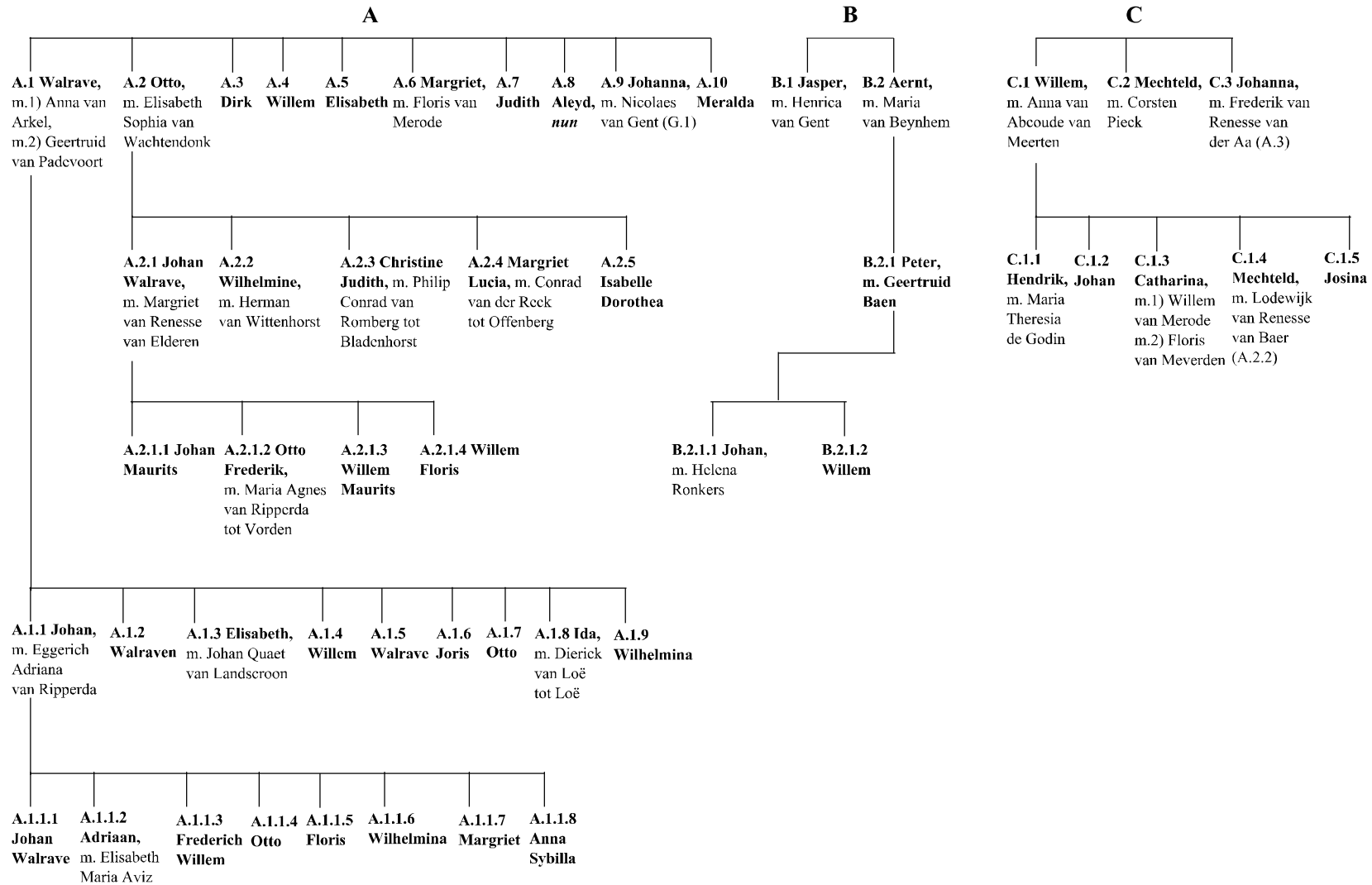
¹⁰³⁶ HUA, Begraafboek 125, 95.

¹⁰³⁷ See chapter 4.

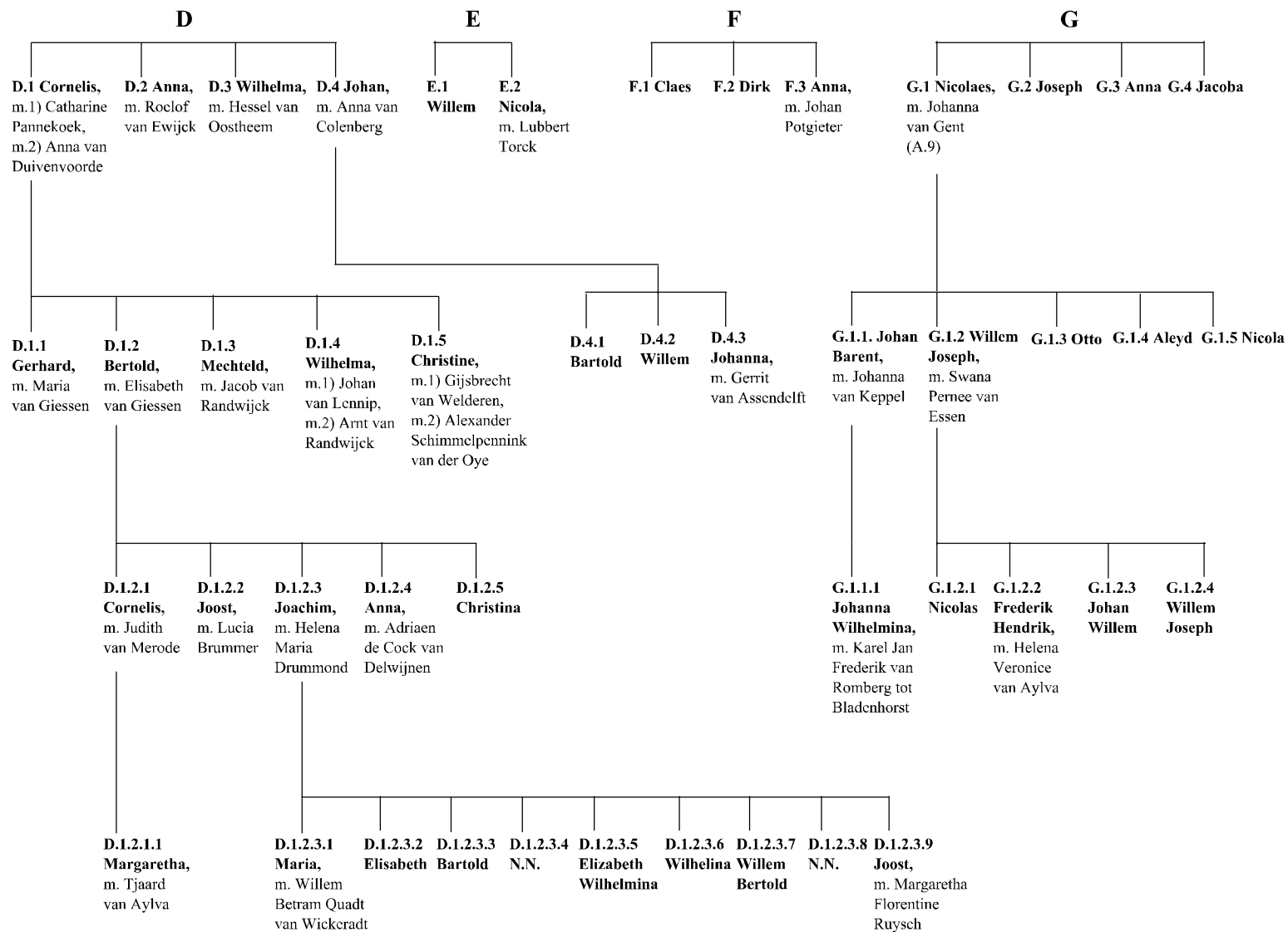
¹⁰³⁸ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 249.

¹⁰³⁹ Ibid.

Van Gent



Van Gent



Van Gent¹⁰⁴⁰

A.1 Walrave (b. 1572 – d. 1644), officer in the Dutch army, Lord of Oyen, Dieden and the Engelenburg, m. 1) in the town hall (Utrecht, 12-12-1601) Anna van Arkel (d. 3-6-1610), 2) (1635) Geertruid van Padevord.¹⁰⁴¹

A.2 Otto (d. 5-1-1641), Lord of Dieden and Bisterveld, govenor of Emmerick, m. Elisabeth Sophia van Wachtendonk (d. 27-9-1627).¹⁰⁴² Elisabeth was a Catholic.¹⁰⁴³

A.3 Dirk (d. 1612), dean of Deventer (1596).

A.4 Willem (d. 1652), dean of Elst, member of the Reformed church in Scherpenzeel (1628).¹⁰⁴⁴

A.5 Elisabeth.

A.6 Margriet, m. (1606) Floris, Baron of Merode and Rummen (d. 1627).

A.7 Judith, nun at Oudwijck, Utrecht. Later member of the Reformed church in Scherpenzeel (1628).¹⁰⁴⁵

A.8 Aleyd , nun at Rhunsburg (probably Rijsburg). She was Catholic.

A.9 Johanna (d. 1670), m. in the Reformed church (24-8-1622) Nicolaes van Gent (G.1) (d. 1635).¹⁰⁴⁶

A.10 Meralda (d. 1625), unmarried.

B.1 Jasper, m. Hendrica van Gent.

B.2 Aernt, m. Maria van Beynhem.¹⁰⁴⁷

C.1 Willem (14-7-1624), m. Anna van Abcoude van Meerten, Lady of Essenstein. Both were Catholic.¹⁰⁴⁸

C.2 Mechteld (d. 21-10-1644), m. (1596) Corsten Pieck (d.29-7-1634), Lord of Wolfsweert and Muyswinkel, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen.¹⁰⁴⁹

C.3 Johanna (d. 4-11-1625), m. in the town hall (Utrecht, 3-9-1608) Frederik van Renesse van der Aa (d. 1609); m. 2) Johannes de Bourgoigne, Lord of Fromont, Sevenhuysen, Segwaert et al. (d. 25-4-1625).¹⁰⁵⁰

D.1 Cornelis (d. 27-2-1614), Lord of Loenen, member of the States General, m. 1) in 1578 Catharina Pannekoek, dr Godert and Johanna van Eyll; 2) in 1596 (in the Reformed church of Nijmegen) Anna van Wassenaer van Duivenvoorde (d. 1629), who had been a nun at Nivelles, dr of Johan and Magdalena van Foreest.¹⁰⁵¹ He was a Protestant.¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴⁰ HRA, Collectie Spaen, inventaris B, book V. Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie [hereafter: CBG], Dossier Van Gent.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 4. VdAA, 7: 103 L. F. van Gent, 'Walraven van G(h)en(d)t van Oyen (1572-1644)', *BMG* 43 (1940), 261-96. HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 79v; Klapper overluidingen, 6.

¹⁰⁴² Ibid., 60. *NNBW*, 6: 565–6. *DNV* 39 (1889), 392.

¹⁰⁴³ L.F. van Gent, *Otto baron van*.

¹⁰⁴⁴ GA, RBS, inv. 1419.1, 16.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibid., inv 718.13, 3.

¹⁰⁴⁷ This was a noble family from Guelders. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 30

¹⁰⁴⁸ HUA, Begraafboek 121: 99. DLT, *AAU* 11, 180 (Appeltern). Olde Meierink, *Kastelen*, 386.

¹⁰⁴⁹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 60. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 116.

¹⁰⁵⁰ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 60. HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 123. *DNV* 37 (1887), 538.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 10. Regionaal Archief Nijmegen [hereafter: RAN], RBS, inv. 1172, f. 27v. VdAA, 7: 104. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 60.

¹⁰⁵² Boom, 'De mislukte protestantisering', 116.

D.2 Anna, m. Roelof van Ewijck, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen.¹⁰⁵³

D.3 Wilhelma, m. (1603) Hessel van Ostheem, a Frisian nobleman.¹⁰⁵⁴

D.4 Johan (d. 6-3-1621), member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1592-1619), *ambtman* of the Overbetuwe, m. in the Reformed church (Nijmegen, 1598) Anna van Colenberg (d. 14-8-1627), dr Johan and Odilia Uyteneng.¹⁰⁵⁵

E.1 Willem, died in Rotterdam.

E.2 Nicola (d. 18-10-1604), m. Lubbert Torck, Lord of Heesbeen (d. 6-10-1620).¹⁰⁵⁶ Their religious affiliation is unknown.

F.1 Claes, drowned in the Linge (d. 1602).

F.2 Dirk, died at a young age.

F.3 Anna, Lady of Essensteyn (d. 18-12-1643), m. Johan Potgieter tot Essen (social status is unknown).¹⁰⁵⁷ Their religious affiliation is unknown.

G.1 Nicolaas/Claes (van Gent tot Winssen), member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1614-9), m. in the Reformed church (Winssen, 24-8-1622) Johanna van Gent (1.7) (d. 1635).¹⁰⁵⁸ They had two of their children baptized in the Reformed church and Nicolaas acted as a witness at a Reformed baptism.¹⁰⁵⁹

G.2 Joseph, (d. 1611), he studied in Leiden and Angers.¹⁰⁶⁰

G.3 Anna.

G.4 Jacoba.

A1.1 Johan, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1638-68), m. in the Reformed church (The Hague, 8-6-1636) Eggerich Adriana Sibylle van Ripperda.¹⁰⁶¹ Some of their children were baptized in the Reformed church in Nijmegen, others in the Wallonian church in The Hague.¹⁰⁶² He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

A.1.2 Walraven (d. 1632/6?).

A.1.3 Elisabeth, m. Johan Quaat van Landsroon, Lord of Mul and Overwinter.¹⁰⁶³

A.1.4 Willem, died at a young age.

A.1.5 Walrave (d. 1661).

A.1.6 Joris, died at a young age.

¹⁰⁵³ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 7.

¹⁰⁵⁴ VdAA, 14:, 164-5. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 128.

¹⁰⁵⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 60. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 27. Regionaal Archief Nijmegen [hereafter RAN], RBS, inv. 1172, f. 35v. DNV 38 (1888), 337

¹⁰⁵⁶ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 59. DNV 36 (1886), 203.

¹⁰⁵⁷ HUA, Begraafboek 121: 723. A. Klein Kranenburg, 'De Hulsbergerland in het ambt van Heerde. Een overzicht', *BMG* 68 (1974-5), 224. The family Potgieter were stewards (*rentmeesters*) in Cleve.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 374.

¹⁰⁵⁹ GA, RBS, inv. 718.11, 9, 38; inv. 718.11, 22.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Frijhoff, 'Étudiants étrangers', 54.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 235. GDH, DTB.

¹⁰⁶² GDH, DTB. RAN, RBS, inv. 1165, 130, 176.

¹⁰⁶³ GA, Familie Van Gent, document 39, f. 16.

- A.1.7 Otto, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1652–3).¹⁰⁶⁴ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).
- A.1.8 Ida, m. Diederick van Loë tot Loë, a German nobleman.
- A.1.9 Wilhelmina, died at a young age.
- A.2.1 Johan Walraven (b. 1632 – d. 20-4-1682), Lord of Dieden and Bisterveld, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (from 1652 onwards), m. in the Reformed church (Vorden, 29-12-1663) Margriet van Renesse van Elderen, Lady of Heesbeen, dr of Willem and Margriet van Renesse van der Aa (A.1.2).¹⁰⁶⁵ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).
- A.2.2 Wilhelmine, m. Herman baron of Wittenhorst, Lord of Sonsfeldt, son of Johan and Adriana van Schagen.¹⁰⁶⁶
- A.2.3 Christine Judith, m. Conrad Philip van Romberg tot Bladenhorst, a Protestant and powerful German nobleman.¹⁰⁶⁷
- A.2.4 Margriet Lucia, m. Conradt van der Reck tot Offenbergh, Lord of Doornick, a German nobleman.¹⁰⁶⁸
- A.2.5 Isabelle Dorothea (d. 1686).
- B.2.1 Peter, captain and steward (*landrentmeester*) in Cleve, m. Geertruid Baen (from Olyslager) (social status = unknown).
- C.1.1 Hendrik (d. 1657), Lord of Gent and Appeltern, m. Maria Theresia de Godin. He was a Catholic (mentioned on De la Torre's list).¹⁰⁶⁹
- C.1.2 Johan (d. 1682), Lord of Gent, Appeltern, and Rijnenburg. He was a Catholic (mentioned on De la Torre's list).¹⁰⁷⁰
- C.1.3 Catharina (d. 1664), m. 1) in the town hall (Utrecht, 29-1-1625) Willem van Merode, and m. 2) in the town hall (Utrecht, 19-2-1631) Floris van Meverden van de Ven, Lord of Zegwaard.¹⁰⁷¹ Catharina and Floris were Catholic (mentioned on the De la Torre's list).¹⁰⁷²
- C.1.4 Mechteld, m. in town hall (9-6-1632) Lodewijk van Renesse van Baer (A.2.2), both were Catholic (see the genealogy of the Van Renesse van Baer family).
- C.1.5 Josina (d. 8-10-1610).¹⁰⁷³
- D.1.1 Gerhard, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1613–38), m. Maria van Giessen (d. 1659), Lady of Klingenbergh and Neerijnen, dr of Joost and Anna van Malburg. She was a witness at a Reformed baptism.¹⁰⁷⁴ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 276.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid., 278. J. Belonje, 'De erven Torck te Heesbeen', *Brabantse Leeuw* 21 (1972), 136. GA, RBS, inv. 1604, 173.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg, Huis en familie Van Wittenhorst te Horst, inventaris.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels Lexicon* 7 (Leipzig, 1867), 566. Personal correspondence with Prof. Reininghaus, 9-6-2011.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Van Gent, *Otto baron van*, appendix VII.

¹⁰⁶⁹ DLT, AAU 11, 180 (Appeltern).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid., 182 (Ghent).

¹⁰⁷¹ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 216v, 267.

¹⁰⁷² DLT, AAU 11, 188 (Zegwaard).

¹⁰⁷³ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 60

¹⁰⁷⁴ RAN, RBS, inv. 1164, 62. NA, Inventory of the archive Mackay van Ophemert, 110.

D.1.2 Bertold, Lord of Meijnerswijck, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1619–49), m. in the Reformed church (Bommel, 12-9-1617) Elisabeth van Giessen, dr of Joost and Anna van Malburg.¹⁰⁷⁵ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.1.3 Mechteld (d. 1617), m. in the Reformed church (Nijmegen, 29-12-1616) Jacob van Randwijck.¹⁰⁷⁶

D.1.4 Wilhelma (b. 1580 – d. 7-5-1617), m. 1) in 1602 Johan van Lennep, m. 2) in the Reformed church (Nijmegen, 30-4-1609) Arnt van Randwijck (d. 12-11-1641), member of the States.¹⁰⁷⁷ Three of their five children were baptized in the Reformed church.¹⁰⁷⁸ Arnt was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.1.5 Christine, m. 1) in the Reformed church (Nijmegen, 8-10-1616) Gijsbrecht van Welderen, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1613), (d. 1636).¹⁰⁷⁹ Gijsbrecht was a witness at a Reformed baptism.¹⁰⁸⁰ M. 2) in 1638 Alexander Schimmelpennink van der Oye (d. 16-5-1688), officer in the Dutch army, later member of the knighthood of the Veluwe (1682).¹⁰⁸¹ Alexander was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.4.1 Bartold, Lord of Wolferen, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1630-58).¹⁰⁸² He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.4.2 Willem, a captain in the Dutch army. He was a member of the Reformed church.¹⁰⁸³

D.4.3 Johanna, m. Gerrit van Assendelft, Lord of Cralingen, son of Johan and Christina van Rossem.¹⁰⁸⁴

G.1.1 Johan Barent, (b. 1624 – d. 1701), Lord of Winssen, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1648-1701), m. in the Reformed church (Oosterbeek, 30-11-1670) Johanna van Keppel, dr of George and Ermgard van Boetzelaer.¹⁰⁸⁵ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

G.1.2 Willem Joseph (d. 1672), canon at the Dom church, admiral in the Dutch fleet. He was baptized in the Reformed church of Winssen (14-5-1626) and was a witness at a Reformed baptism.¹⁰⁸⁶ M. (1666) Swana Pernee van Essen, dr Frederick and Anna van Varick (b. 1646 – d. 3-3-1692).¹⁰⁸⁷ He was a Protestant.

G.1.3 Otto (b. 1627), officer in the Dutch army, baptized in the Reformed church of Winssen (28-10-1627).¹⁰⁸⁸

G.1.4 Aleyd, she was baptized in the Reformed church of Winssen (16-02-1632) and was witness at a Reformed baptism.¹⁰⁸⁹

G.1.5 Nicolina.

A.1.1.1 Johan Walrave, Lord of Winssen. He was baptized in the Reformed church (Nijmegen, 24-2-1641) and was a witness at the baptism of one of the children of his brother Adriaen (in the Reformed church).¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁷⁵ VdAA, 7: 105. RAN, RBS, inv. 1172, 237.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid., 231v.

¹⁰⁷⁷ GA, Huizen Waardenburg en Neerijnen, inv. 679. RAN, RBS, inv. 1172, 171. DNV 46 (1896), 125.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid., inv. 1164, 29, 47, 62.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid., inv. 1172, 229.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid., inv. 1164, 62.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 2. Ibid., *Veluwe*, 382.

¹⁰⁸² Ibid., *Nijmegen*, 217.

¹⁰⁸³ GA, RBS, inv. 1419.1, 16

¹⁰⁸⁴ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 27.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibid., 235. GA, RBS, inv. 1330.1, 81.

¹⁰⁸⁶ GA, RBS, inv. 718.11, 9. RAN, RBS, inv. 1165, 111.

¹⁰⁸⁷ DNL 45 (1927), 208.

¹⁰⁸⁸ GA, RBS, inv. 718.11, 13.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibid., inv 718.11, 38; inv. 718.2, 169.

A.1.1.2 Adriaan (b. 1645 – d. 10-8-1708), Lord of Oosterwedde and Papenburg, officer in the Dutch army.¹⁰⁹¹ Baptized in the Reformed church in The Hague (19-2-1645), m. in the Reformed church in Rijswijk (11-4-1678) Elisabeth Maria Aviz (b. 1648 – 1717).¹⁰⁹² Their five children were baptized in the Wallonian church in The Hague.¹⁰⁹³ Elizabeth was a Protestant (two ministers from the Wallonian church acted as witnesses when drawing up her will).¹⁰⁹⁴

A.1.1.3 Frederich Willem, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1680).¹⁰⁹⁵ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

A.1.1.4 Otto (d. 1666) in Paris, he was baptized in the Wallonian church in The Hague (7-1-1648).¹⁰⁹⁶

A.1.1.5 Floris, soldier in the Dutch army, he was baptized in the Wallonian church in The Hague (17-4-1654).¹⁰⁹⁷

A.1.1.6 Wilhelmina, she was baptized in the Wallonian church in The Hague (26-8-1682).¹⁰⁹⁸

A.1.1.7 Margriet, she was baptized in the Reformed church in Nijmegen, (24-9-1639).¹⁰⁹⁹ She was a witness at three Reformed baptisms.¹¹⁰⁰

A.1.1.8 Anna Sybilla, she was baptized in the Reformed church in The Hague (14-5-1643) and was a witness at a Reformed baptism.¹¹⁰¹

A.2.1.1 Johan Maurits, died at a young age.

A.2.1.2 Otto Frederik (b.1666 – d. 1706), Lord of Dieden and Bisterveld, officer in the Dutch army, m. (Vorden, 24-11-1696) with dispensation Maria Agnes van Ripperda tot Vorden.¹¹⁰²

A.2.1.3 Willem Maurits (b. 1668), died at a young age.

A.2.1.4 Willem Floris (b. 1670), died at a young age.

B.2.1.1 Johan (d. 1668), m. Helena Ronkens (non-noble) (d. 1672).

B.2.1.2. Willem, Reformed minister in Beek (d. 1669).

D.1.2.1 Cornelis (d. 1682), Lord of Loenen and Neerijnen, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1637–72).¹¹⁰³ He was a witness at a Reformed baptism.¹¹⁰⁴ M. (1651) Judith van Merode, dr of Floris van Margaretha van Gent. He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.1.2.2 Joost (d. 15-4-1663), Lord of Opijnen, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1651–2), m. (1660) Lucia Brummer (d. 1674).¹¹⁰⁵ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

¹⁰⁹⁰ RAN, RBS, inv. 1165, 176. GDH, DTB.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 235.

¹⁰⁹² GDH, DTB.

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁴ GA, Familie Van Gent, document 31.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 330.

¹⁰⁹⁶ GDH, DTB. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 235.

¹⁰⁹⁷ GDH, DTB.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁹ RAN, RBS, inv. 1165, 130.

¹¹⁰⁰ GDH, DTB.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰² Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 278. GA, RBS, inv. 1605, 189. R. Wartena, 'Huwelijksdispensatiën in Gelderland', 28. Available at: http://www.veluwsegeslachten.nl/openbaar/pub/vvg_pub027.pdf.

¹¹⁰³ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 234.

¹¹⁰⁴ RAN, RBS, inv. 1164, 47.

D.1.2.3 Joachim (b. 1621 – d. 1682), officer in the Dutch army and was a representative at the peace talks at Westphalia, m. (1653) Helena Maria Drummond, dr of Jan Willem and Maria de Cock van Delwynen.¹¹⁰⁶ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.1.2.4 Anna, m. Adriaen de Cock van Delwijnen, Lord of Wadenoyen.¹¹⁰⁷

D.1.2.5 Christina.

G.1.1.1 Johanna Wilhelmina, Lady of Winssen, m. Karel Jan Frederik van Romberg tot Bladenhorst (d. 4-6-1728).¹¹⁰⁸ She was a member of the Reformed church in Winssen.¹¹⁰⁹

G.1.2.1 Nicolas, officer in the Dutch army, Lord of Drakenburch.

G.1.2.2 Frederik Hedrik (b. 1668 – d. 1713), member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1691), m. Helena Veronice van Aylva, dr of Tjaard and Margaretha van Gent, Lady of Loenen (D.1.2.1.1). He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

G.1.2.3 Johan Willem, officer in the Dutch army, *ambtsjonker* of Barneveld.

G.1.2.4 Willem Joseph (b. 1671 – d. 1732), captain at sea, later member of the knighthood of the Veluwe (1714). Last male member of his dynasty. He was a Protestant (because of his offices).¹¹¹⁰

D.1.2.1.1 Margareta (b. 1656 – d. 1741), Lady of Waardenburg and Neerijnen, m. (1683) Tjaard van Aylva (b. 1650 – d. 1705), *grietman* of Wonseradeel.¹¹¹¹ He is a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.1.2.3.1 Maria (b. 1654 – d. 1682), Lady of Loenen, m. Willem Betram Quadt van Wickeradt (d. 18-2-1713).¹¹¹²

D.1.2.3.2 Elisabeth (b. 1656 – d. 1658).

D.1.2.3.3 Bartold (b. 1657), member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1682). He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.1.2.3.4 'a daughter', (b./d. 25-9-1658).

D.1.2.3.5 Elisabeth Wilhelmina (b. 1660).

D.1.2.3.6 Wilhelina (b./d. 1661).

D.1.2.3.7 Willem Bertold (b. 1662 – d. 1685), officer in the regiment of Aylva.

D.1.2.3.8 'a son', died on the day he was born (1663).

D.1.2.3.9 Joost (b. 1664 – d. 1694), officer, shot by major Biesenbraack, m. (1690) Margaretha Florentine Ruysch (d. 7-11-1691).¹¹¹³

¹¹⁰⁵ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 265.

¹¹⁰⁶ NA, Inventory of the archive Mackay van Ophemert, 29.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 126.

¹¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 251.

¹¹⁰⁹ GA, RBS, inv 718.2, 110b.

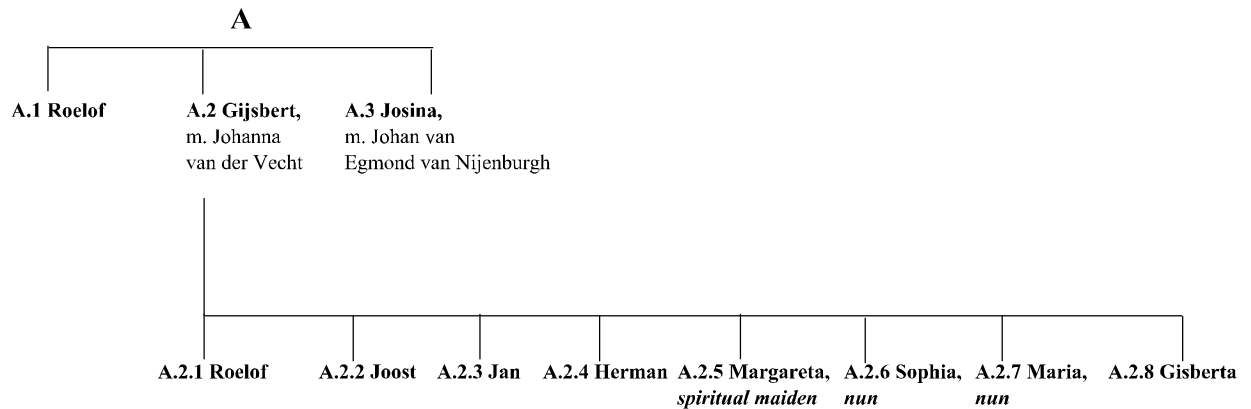
¹¹¹⁰ VdAA, 7: 107.

¹¹¹¹ NNBW, 7: 63–4.

¹¹¹² Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 393.

¹¹¹³ A. van Sasse van Ysselt, 'Rouw- of wapenborden en grafmonumenten in de St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch', *Taxandria* 10 (1903), 308.

Grauwert



Grauwert¹¹¹⁴

A.1 Roelof (d. 23-9-1620), officer (vendrich) in the army of Carel van Mansfelt (he was a Catholic).¹¹¹⁵

A.2 Gijsbert (d. 5-6-1614), Lord of Weerdestein (1602), m. (11-9-1602) in the town hall Johanna van der Vecht, dr of Johan Hermansz. and N. van Snellenberch.¹¹¹⁶ Gijsbert and Johanna were Catholics.¹¹¹⁷

A.3 Josina (d. 4-4-1642), m. Johan van Egmond van Nijenburgh.¹¹¹⁸

[3.2.4 Robbert Grauwert: mentioned by Booth, yet I have not found any evidence about his existence, hence he is not part of this genealogy.¹¹¹⁹]

A.2.1 Roelof (d. 1650), Lord of Weerdestein, died unmarried and without children.

A.2.2 Joost (d. ?), died without children; died in the service of the Emperor. He was a Catholic.

A.2.3 Jan, Lord of Weerdestein after the death of his brother Roelof. He was a Catholic.¹¹²⁰

A.2.4 Herman, Lord of Weerdestein after Jan. Last male member of this dynasty. He was a Catholic.¹¹²¹

A.2.5 Margareta, 'obiit devota Haerlem' (d. 14-6-1630). She was a spiritual maiden.¹¹²² She was Catholic.

A.2.6 Sophia, 'geestelijk gestorven'. She was a nun in the *Wittevrouwenklooster*, Utrecht. She was a Catholic.

A.2.7 Maria, she was a nun at Daell, Utrecht. She was a Catholic.

A.2.8 Gisberta, m. Johan vanden Vecht.

¹¹¹⁴ UBU, Cornelis Booth: genealogische geschriften, HS 1828, 7.A.28. 'Genealogieën opgesteld door de gebroeders Atteveld: Grauwert', *DNL* 5 (1887), 56–9.

¹¹¹⁵ Cor Snabel, 'Overluidingen te Utrecht', 65.

¹¹¹⁶ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 65. Roelof, Gijsbert, and Josina were all children of Roelof and Johanna van Hardenbroek. HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 82v.

¹¹¹⁷ Spaans (ed.), *Levens*, 1: 282v. For Gijsbertus, see also: *AAU* 68 (1949), 198; *AGKKN* 9 (1967), 336.

¹¹¹⁸ Cor Snabel, 'Overluidingen te Utrecht', 65. HUA, Begraafboek 122: 624. He was a member of a family which pretended to be noble. Van Nierop, *Ridders*, 226.

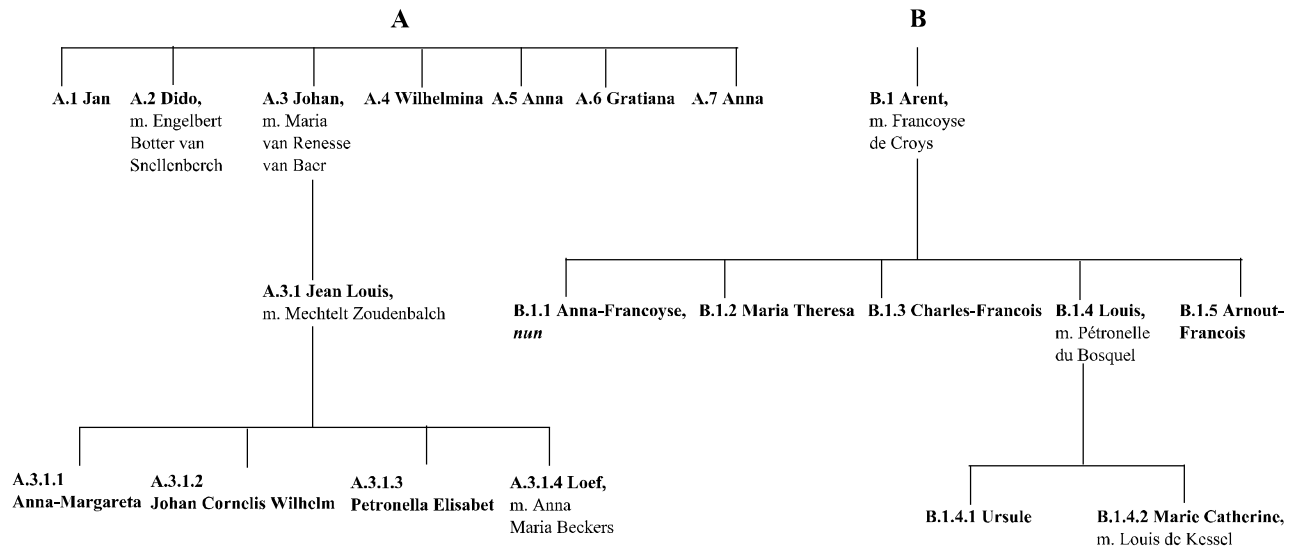
¹¹¹⁹ HUA, VBB, inv. 173, f. 893.

¹¹²⁰ DLT, *AAU* 11, 188; *AGKKN* 9 (1967), 336; *AGKKN* 21 (1979), 301.

¹¹²¹ *AAU* 2 (1875), 458.

¹¹²² Spaans (ed.), *Levens der maechden*, 1: 282v–286r.

Van der Haer



Van der Haer¹¹²³

A.1 Jan (d. 1581)

A.2 Dido (d. 18-4-1599, 'inde craem'), m. Engelbert Botter van Snellenberch (d. 10-1-1619).¹¹²⁴

A.3 Johan (d. 19-12-1625), m. (11-5-1616) in town hall Maria van Renesse van Baer (A.1.5) (d. 1688).¹¹²⁵ They were Catholic.¹¹²⁶

A.4 Wilhelmina.

A.5 Anna (d. 'young').

A.6 Gratiana (d. 1596).

A.7 Anna (d. 22-10-1605).¹¹²⁷

B.1 Arent, Lord of Berlincourt et al., m. Francoyse de Croys (d. 1702).¹¹²⁸

A.3.1 Johan Louis (b. 1626? – d. 1665), m. (1655) in town hall Mechtelt Zoudenbalch, dr of Hendrik and Marganta van Reede tot Nederhorst.¹¹²⁹

B.1.1 Anna-Francoyse, nun at St. Ursula ('religieuse in St. Ursulen'). She was a Catholic.

B.1.2 Maria Theresa.

¹¹²³ UBU, Booth: genealogische geschriften, HS 1828, 7.A.28. HRA, Collectie Spaan, inventaris B, book 2, f. 320vv. CBG, Dossier Van der Haer.

¹¹²⁴ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 30, 69.

¹¹²⁵ HUA, Begraafboek 121, 288. HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 156.

¹¹²⁶ DLT, AAU 11, 185 (Petten).

¹¹²⁷ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 69.

¹¹²⁸ *Quartiers généalogiques des familles nobles des pays-bas* (Cologne, 1776), 1: 168.

¹¹²⁹ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 457v.

B.1.3 Charles-Francois.

B.1.4 Louis, Lord of Berlincourt, m. Catherine Pétronille du Bosquel, dr of Guillaume and Catherina de Coupigny.

B.1.6 Arnout-Francoys.

A.3.1.1 Anna-Margareta (b. 16-3-1655 – d. 1671).

A.3.1.2 Johan Cornelis Wilhelm (b. 1657 – d. 1694), lieutenant, served in Bergen op Zoom.

A.3.1.3 Petronella Elisabet (b. 1660 – d. 1691).

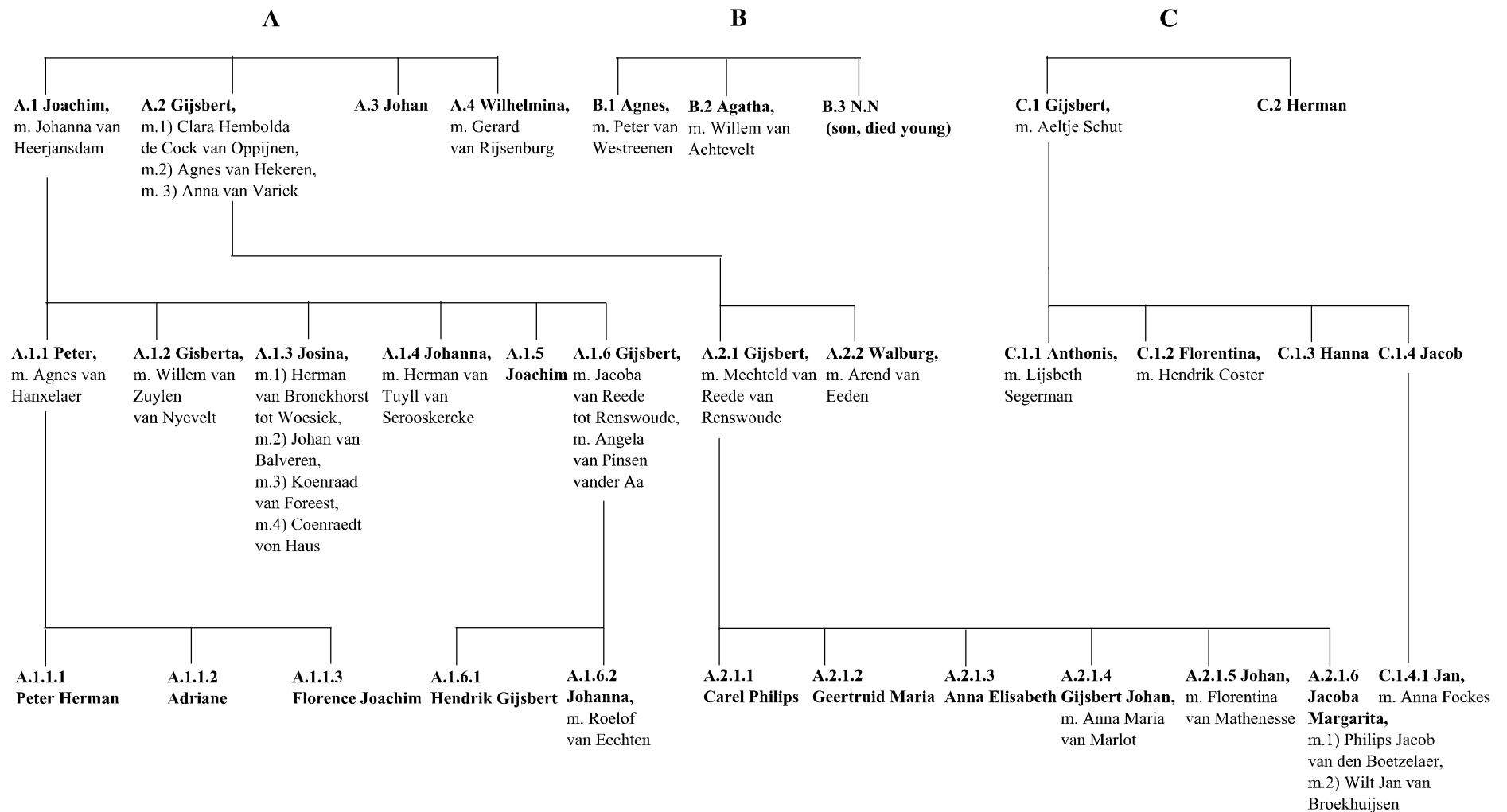
A.3.1.4 Loef (b. 1663 – d. 1697), army captain, m. Anna Sophia Beckers (social status: unknown).

B.1.4.1 Ursule.

B.1.4.2 Marie Catherine. m. Louis de Kessel, Lord of Fleurs.¹¹³⁰

¹¹³⁰ *Quartiers généalogiques*, 1: 168.

Van Hardenbroek



Van Hardenbroek¹¹³¹

A.1 Joachim (b. 1565 – d. 4-8-1605), member of the Teutonic Order, member of the knighthood of Utrecht, the Council of State (1603) and the States General (1602), m. in Reformed church (Utrecht, 15-10-1592) Johanna van Heerjansdam (d. 8-5-1637), dr of Pieter and Adriana van Schoonhoven.¹¹³²

A.2 Gijsbert (d. 8-7-1627), canon Oudmunster (1594), member of the Admiralty of Rotterdam, member of the *geëligeerden* (appointed in 1610), m. 1) in 1603 Clara Hembolda de Cock van Oppijnen (d. 9-5-1611), m. 2) in the Reformed church in Utrecht Agnes van Hekeren, widow of Eustaes van Scherpenzeel, m. 3) in the Reformed church in Utrecht (12-9-1613) Anna van Varick, dr of Goessen.¹¹³³ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

A.3 Johan, d. unmarried.

A.4 Wilhelmina (d. 10-8-1614), m. in the Reformed church in Utrecht (22-1-1604) Gerard van Rijsenburg, marshal of Abcoude¹¹³⁴

B.1 Agnes, m. in the town hall (7-8-1596), after having received a dispensation from the Catholic church, Peter van Westrenen, a non-nobleman.¹¹³⁵ Both acted as witnesses at a Catholic baptism.¹¹³⁶ They were Catholic.

B.2 Agatha (d. 24-11-1601), m. in the town hall (Utrecht, 14-4-1599) Willem van Achtevelt, Lord of Achtevelt.¹¹³⁷

B.3 N. N. (a son, died at a young age).

C.1 Gijsbert (d. 1653), a silk merchant, m. in the Reformed church (Utrecht, 5-4-1608) Aeltje Schut.¹¹³⁸

C.2 Herman.

A.1.1 Peter (b. 16-9-1593 - d. 13-10-1658), member and president of the Utrecht knighthood, member of the States General and the Council of State.¹¹³⁹ Converted to Catholicism, m. in the Reformed church (but listed under 'buytengezinden') and later their marriage was solemnized in Liege (by Pieter Aloysio, the papal nuntius) Agnes van Hanxelaer (d. 25-4-1653), dr of the baron of Herstel, Lord of Ottrop and Catharina Spies van Bullesham.¹¹⁴⁰ Their marriage is also recorded in the register of the marriages concluded in Utrecht's town hall. Both were Catholic (mentioned on De la Torre's list).

A.1.2 Gisberta (d. 3-3-1675), m. in the Reformed church in Utrecht (17-8-1625) Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt (d. 14-3-1639), Lord of den Eng, member of the Admiralty of Dokkum.¹¹⁴¹ She became a member of the Reformed church in Maarssen (1668).¹¹⁴²

¹¹³¹ HUA, VBB, Lange boekjes, inv. 172, 177-8. K. van Hardenbroek, *Genealogie*. CBG, Dossier Van Hardenbroek.

¹¹³² HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 71. H. P. P. Rijperman, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal, vol. 12 (1602–3)* (The Hague, 1950), 2. VdW, 1: 303. NNBW, 6: 704. HUA, Trouwen NH kerk, inv. 90, f. 69; Klapper overluidingen, 75.

¹¹³³ NNBW, 6: 701. HUA, Trouwen NH kerk, inv. 91, 60, 138; Begraafboek 121: 391. *Gens Nostra* 14 (1959), 259. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 5.

¹¹³⁴ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 72; Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 90, 212.

¹¹³⁵ Note 102 (p. 37) HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, 50v.

¹¹³⁶ Barten, 'Een doopboekje', *AGKKN* 9 (1967), 338.

¹¹³⁷ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, 64v; Klapper overluidingen, 71.

¹¹³⁸ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 72; Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 90, 366.

¹¹³⁹ NNBW, 6: 706-7. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 72. HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. 251.

¹¹⁴⁰ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, 259; Klapper overluidingen, 74. DLT, AAU 11, 183 (Hardenbroeck).

¹¹⁴¹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 72; Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 94, 116. DNV 45 (1895), 146.

¹¹⁴² HUA, DTB, Maarsen: lidmaten NH kerk.

A.1.3 Josina (d. 31-12-1661), m. 1) in the Reformed church in Utrecht (21-8-1631) Herman van Bronckhorst tot Woesick, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1620-40), m. 2) in Nijmegen (2-11-1642) Johan van Balveren, Lord of Den Lakenburg, member of the knighthood of Nijmegen (1630-57), m. 3) Koenraad van Foreest, Lord of Opheusden, m. 4) in the Reformed church in Brummen (30-12-1660) Coenraedt von Haus (Hoes) van op Rees.¹¹⁴³ The religious affiliation of Josina, Koenraad and Coenraedt is unknown, Herman and Johan were Protestant (because of their offices).

A.1.4 Johanna (d. 18-12-1676), m. (1639) Henric van Tuyll van Serooskercke (d. 1649), Lord of Welland, commander of Philippine (Flanders). Their religious affiliation is unknown.

A.1.5 Joachim (d. 21-10-1631).¹¹⁴⁴

A.1.6 Gijsbert (30-12-1653), dean of St Peter (Utrecht, 1645), member of the Admiralty of Rotterdam, marschall of the Nederkwartier (1643), m. 1) in the Reformed church in The Hague (27-8-1641) Jacoba van Reede tot Rijnsoude (d. 9-10-1646), m. 2) in the Reformed church in Utrecht (25-5/10-6-1651) Angela van Pinsen vander Aa (d. 10-3-1681).¹¹⁴⁵ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

A.2.1 Gijsbert (d. 18-10-1658), officer in the Dutch army, governor of Hulst, m. in the Reformed church in The Hague (24-11-1641) Mechteld van Reede van Renswoude (d. 6-4-1692), Lady of Hinderstein and Groenewoude, dr Johan, Lord of Renswoude, and Jacoba van Eede.¹¹⁴⁶

A.2.2 Walburg, m. in the Reformed church in Utrecht (1628) Arend van Eeden, Lord of Emminkhuizen.¹¹⁴⁷ She was a member of the Reformed church.¹¹⁴⁸

C.1.1 Anthonis (5-2-1666), m. in the Reformed church in Utrecht (7-5-1633) Lijsbeth Segerman.¹¹⁴⁹

C.1.2 Florentina, m. in the Reformed church in Jutphaas (21-7-1639) Heijndrick Coster (this was the painter Hendrik Coster).¹¹⁵⁰

C.1.3 Hanna.

C.1.4 Jacob, shoemaker to whom the office of vice-marshal of Heerjansdam was offered, but who returned to his previous occupation, m. Wilhelmina Oosterling (d. 29-3-1681).¹¹⁵¹

A.1.1.1 Peter-Herman (b. 1630 – d. 4-11-1655), member of the Admiralty of the Noorderkwartier.¹¹⁵² He was a Catholic (mentioned on De la Torre's list).¹¹⁵³

A.1.1.2 Adriane (b. 1631 – d. 1-9-1640).¹¹⁵⁴

¹¹⁴³ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 198. HUA, Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 95, 42. GA, Huis Woekelom, inventory, no. 12.2.03. Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 219.

¹¹⁴⁴ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 72.

¹¹⁴⁵ *NNBW*, 6: 701. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 72, 153, 163. GDH, DTB. HUA, Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 97, 397.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Gens Nostra* 23 (1968), 352. *NNBW*, 6: 702. HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. 268.

¹¹⁴⁷ HUA, Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 94, 299. GA, RBS, inv. 1850.

¹¹⁴⁸ HUA, Klapper lidmaten NH Utrecht, 87.

¹¹⁴⁹ HUA, Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 95, 125; *Begraafboek* 125: 11.

¹¹⁵⁰ HUA, Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 96, 248; DTB, Trouwen NH Jutfaas, 21.

¹¹⁵¹ *NNBW*, 6: 703. HUA, *Begraafboek* 126: 323

¹¹⁵² Wolleswinkel, 'Kwartierwapenboek', 18.

¹¹⁵³ DLT, *AAU* 11, 183 (Hardenbroeck).

¹¹⁵⁴ Faber, 'Van Baburen', 146. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 72.

A.1.1.3 Florence Joachim (b. 1629 – d. 1631).¹¹⁵⁵

A.1.6.1 Hendrik Gijsbert (d. 2-12-1697), canon of St Jan (Utrecht), member of the *geëligeerden* (appointed in 1674).¹¹⁵⁶ He was a member of the Reformed church in Cothen.¹¹⁵⁷

A.1.6.2 Johanna (d. 1689), m. in the Reformed church (Loosduin, ?-8-1674) Roelof van Echten (b. 1648 – d. 1735), member of the knighthood of Drenthe, bailiff of Drenthe.¹¹⁵⁸

A.2.1.1 Carel Philips (d. 3-9-1674), he was baptized in the Reformed church of Rhenen (28-12-1651), he was marshall of the Nedersticht and Abcoude.¹¹⁵⁹

A.2.1.2 Geertruid Maria, she was baptized in the Reformed church of Rhenen (26-1-1651).¹¹⁶⁰

A.2.1.3 Anna Elisabeth, she was baptized in the Reformed church of Rhenen (9-1-1650).¹¹⁶¹

A.2.1.4 Gijsbert Johan, Lord of Groenewoude and Hinsterein, member of the Utrecht knighthood (1674) and the States General (1691), m. in the Reformed church in Nederlangbroek (4-8-1683) Anna Maria van Marlot, Lady of Giessenburg and Giessen Nieuwkerk.¹¹⁶² He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

A.2.1.5 Johan (d. 9-6-1695), Lord of Sterckenburg, Mathenesse and Riviere, officier in the Dutch army, canon in the Dom church (Utrecht), m. in the Reformed church in Utrecht (2-1-1681) Florentine van Matheness, dr of Willem and Margriete van Valckenaer.¹¹⁶³ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

A.2.1.6 Jacoba Margarita, m. 1) Philips Jacob van den Boetselaer (d. 14-3-1686), Lord of Raephorst and Asperen, member of the knighthood of Holland (from 1663 onwards), m. 2) in the Wallonian church in Utrecht (22-2-1691) Wilt Jan van Broekhuijsen, Lord of Lathmer, member of the knighthood of Overijssel, govenor of Hulst.¹¹⁶⁴ Her religious affiliation is unknown, they were both Protestant (because of their offices).

C.1.4.1 Jan (b. 1656 – d. 4-9-1688), captain (*vlagkapitein*) in the Dutch fleet, m. Anna Fockes (d. 27-11-1686).¹¹⁶⁵

¹¹⁵⁵ Faber, 'Van Baburen', 145-6.

¹¹⁵⁶ *NNBW*, 6: 702

¹¹⁵⁷ HUA, DTB, Lidmaten NH Cothen, 68.

¹¹⁵⁸ GDH, DTB. Westra van Holthe, Drenthe, 122.

¹¹⁵⁹ HUA, DTB, Hervormd Dopen Rhenen, 68; Klapper overluidingen, 72.

¹¹⁶⁰ HUA, DTB, Hervormd Dopen Rhenen, 68.

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

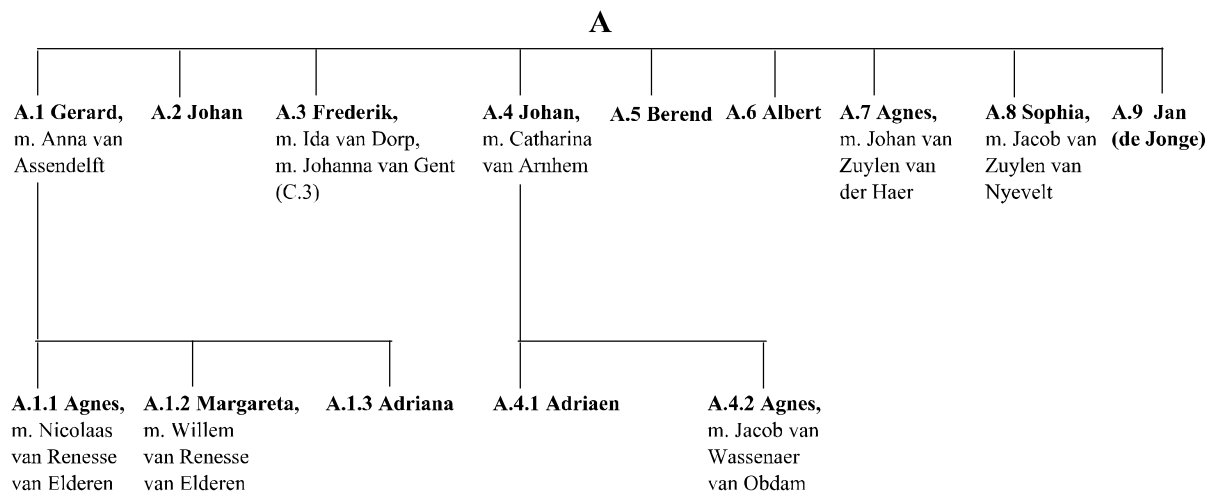
¹¹⁶² *NNBW*, 6: 702. HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. 194.

¹¹⁶³ HUA, Trouwen NH Utrecht, inv. 99, 260.

¹¹⁶⁴ NA, Ridderschap Holland, inv. 80. HUA, Trouwboek niet-hervormden. Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 333.

¹¹⁶⁵ *NNBW*, 6: 703. HUA, Begraafboek 126: 624, 717.

Van Renesse van der Aa



Van Renesse van der AA¹¹⁶⁶

A.1 Gerard, Lord of Ter AA, (b. 1552 – d. 1-8-1609).¹¹⁶⁷ He appeared in Utrecht's knighthood (1580, 1586–7), was the first burgomaster of Utrecht in 1593–4 and 1605–7, represented Utrecht in the States General in 1593 and 1598.¹¹⁶⁸ M. (20-9-1594) Anna van Assendelft (d. 11-2-1616), Lady of Streefkercken, Nieuwlekkerlandt, and Assendelft (1617).¹¹⁶⁹ She was the daughter of Cornelis and Margaretha van Abcoude van Meerten. Cornelis appeared in Holland's knighthood in 1582, his son in 1601.¹¹⁷⁰

A.2 Johan (b. 1555 – d. 1600), canon at the Dom church, Utrecht (1580).¹¹⁷¹

A.3 Frederik (d. 28-5-1609), canon St. Peter (Utrecht), later m. 1) Ida van Dorp (d. 27-2-1607), Lady and heiress of Dorp, dr of Cornelis and Maria van Bronckhorst, m. 2) Johanna van Gent in the town hall in Utrecht (3-9-1608), dr Hendrik and Catharina Uyteneng.¹¹⁷² Johanna was Catholic (see the genealogy of the Van Gent family).

A.4 Johan (d. 1634), Lord Dorp (1609), Zuylestein (29-8-1611), and Schoonauwen (29-4-1631), dean (proost) chapter of St. Jan (1596), member of the States of Utrecht in the period 1610–33, m. Catharina van Arnhem (b. 13-5-1576 – d. 6-3-1639), dr of Karel, Lord of Kernhem, and Agnes van Stepraedt.¹¹⁷³ Johan was a Protestant.

A.5 Berend (b. 1558, d. unmarried).¹¹⁷⁴

A.6 Albert (b. 1560, d. unmarried).¹¹⁷⁵

¹¹⁶⁶ HRA, Collectie Spaen, inv. A: 108/558; Collectie Van der Lely, inv. 987.

¹¹⁶⁷ DNL 33 (1915), 306-7. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166.

¹¹⁶⁸ VdW, 1: 283. N. Japikse, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal 1576-1609, volume 8 (1593-5)* (The Hague, 1925), 2. Abilaing, *Zutphen*, 141.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Groot algemeen historisch woordenboek*, 9: 71. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 7.

¹¹⁷⁰ NA, Ridderschap Holland, inv 80.

¹¹⁷¹ J. D. Wagner, 'Familie-aantekeningen Renesse van der Aa', DNL 33 (1915), 306. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f.147: according to this document he became a canon in 1586.

¹¹⁷² HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166. *Groot algemeen historisch woordenboek*, 9: 71. HUA, Trouwen gerecht, i85.

¹¹⁷³ VdW, 1: 202, 254. H. G. A. Obreen, *Geschiedenis van het geslacht Van Wassenaer* (Leiden, 1903), 144. *Groot algemeen historisch woordenboek*, 9: 72. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 6; Begraafboek 122: 447.

¹¹⁷⁴ Wagner, 'Familie-aantekeningen', 306–7.

A.7 Agnes (b. 1562 – d. 5-9-1605), m. (1583) Johan van Zuilen van der Haer, Lord of Sevender, sheriff of Utrecht, son of Nicolaes van Zuilen van Drakenborg, Lord of Haer and Sevender, and Theobolda van Schagen.¹¹⁷⁶

A.8 Sophia (b. 1554 – d. 4-1-1627), m. Jacob van Zuylen van Nyevelt (d. 17/9-11-1626), Lord of Hoevelaken, member of the Utrecht knighthood.¹¹⁷⁷

A.9 Jan de Jonge (b. 1564 – d. 19-5-1634?).¹¹⁷⁸

A.1.1 Agnes, Lady of Ter Aa, Assendelft, Beverwijk, Eemskerk et al. (b. 7-12-1597 – d. 15-8-1634), m. (1619) Nicolaas van Renesse van Elderen, Lord of Vosmeer, son of Frederik, duke of Warfusé, baron of Elderen and Masny, Lord of Racourt, and Helena Tork.¹¹⁷⁹ She was a Protestant, he was a Catholic.¹¹⁸⁰

A.1.2 Margareta (b. 17-4-1599 – d. 19-4-1636), m. (2-6-1622) in Reformed church Willem van Renesse van Elderen (d. 1630), Lord of Mal and Heesbeen.¹¹⁸¹ They had two of their children baptized in the Reformed church.¹¹⁸² Their religious affiliation is unknown.

A.1.3 Adriana (b. 24-2-1602 – d. 13-12-1619).¹¹⁸³

A.4.1 Adriaan, Lord of Schonauwen and Dorp (b. 19-2-160 – d. 24-9-1632), marshall of the Overkwartier.¹¹⁸⁴ He was baptized in the Dom church.¹¹⁸⁵

A.4.2 Agnes (b. 23-9-1610 – d. 26-10-1666), Lady of Kernhem.¹¹⁸⁶ She was baptized in the Reformed church (the Geertekerk, Utrecht), m. (28-4-1633) in Reformed church Jacob van Wassenaer van Obdam (b. 1610 – d. 13-6-1655), admiral, member of the Holland knighthood.¹¹⁸⁷

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 307.

¹¹⁷⁶ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166. Wagner, 'Familie-aantekeningen', 307. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv 11, f. 148.

¹¹⁷⁷ HUA, Begraafboek 121: 359. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166, 207. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv 11, f. 149.

¹¹⁷⁸ Wagner, 'Familie-aantekeningen', 307. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166.

¹¹⁷⁹ *Groot algemeen historisch woordenboek*, 9: 71. HUA, Begraafboek 122: 33; Klapper overluidingen, 166. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 147.

¹¹⁸⁰ P. P. Landsman, 'De parochie Assendelft', *BGBH* 30 (1906), 277–8.

¹¹⁸¹ *Groot algemeen historisch woordenboek*, 9: 71. HUA, Begraafboek 122: 176; Klapper overluidingen, 166. Belonje, 'De erven Torck', 135.

¹¹⁸² HUA, DTB, Ter AA: hervormd dopen, index, 36.

¹¹⁸³ *Groot algemeen historisch woordenboek*, 9: 71. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166.

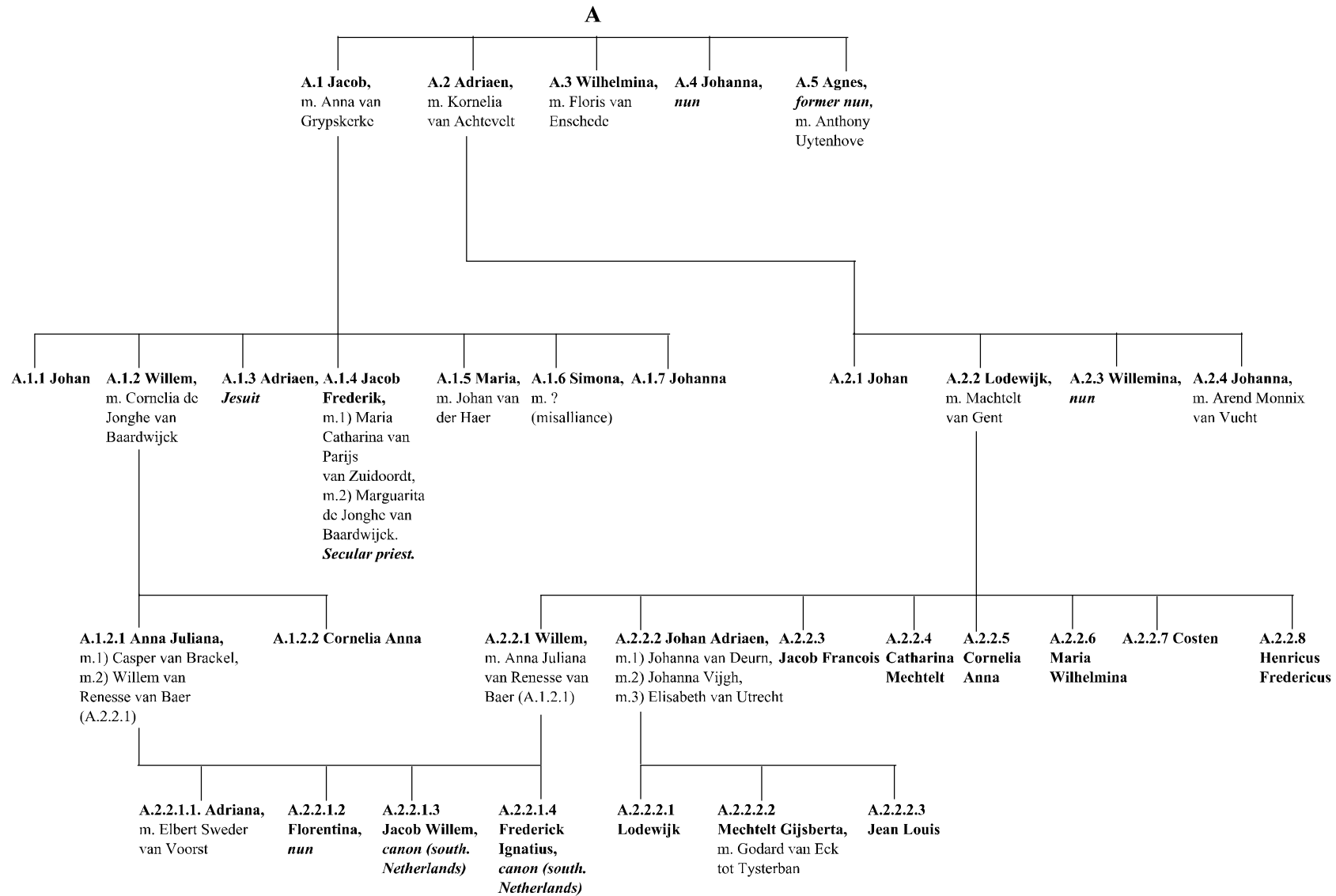
¹¹⁸⁴ HUA, Begraafboek 121: 693; Klapper overluidingen, 166. Wagner, 'Familie-aantekeningen', 307–8.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 308.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ablaing, *Zuthpen*, 169. NA, Ridderschap van Holland, inv. 80.

Van Renesse van Baer



Van Renesse van Baer¹¹⁸⁸

A.1 Jacob (d. 15-12-1605), Lord of Rynestein, member of the Utrecht knighthood (1592), member of the admiralty of Zeeland (1598), m. (1582) Anna van Grypskerke (d. 20-6-1627), dr of Simon and N. van Westersteyn.¹¹⁸⁹

A.2 Adriaen (d. 19-9-1635), m. (3-1-1590) in the town hall in Utrecht Kornelia van Achtevelt (d. 14-7-1624).¹¹⁹⁰

A.3 Wilhelmina, m. (12-5-1599) in the town hall in Utrecht Floris van Enschede, son of Johan and N. Grube.¹¹⁹¹

A.4 Johanna (d. 6-7-1629), nun at Oudwijck, Utrecht.¹¹⁹² She was Catholic.

A.5 Agnes (d. 14-11-1613), nun at Dekelingen, later m. (8-4-1593) in the town hall Anthony Uytenhove (d. 1625), colonel and governor of the cities Doesburg and Emmerick, son of Olivier and Elisabeth Ketel van Hackfort.¹¹⁹³

A.6 Anna (d. 24-7-1607), m. (8-10-1603) in the town hall in Utrecht Frederick de Voogt van Rijnevelt (d. 26-3-1629).¹¹⁹⁴

A.1.1 Johan

A.1.2 Willem, member of the Teutonic Order, Utrecht. M. in the town hall in Utrecht (3/30-6-1626) and later in a Catholic church in The Hague (26-6-1626) Cornelia de Jonge van Baardwijk, dr of Jacob, a family that owned seigneuries but was not counted among the nobility.¹¹⁹⁵ Both were Catholic.¹¹⁹⁶

A.1.3 Adriaen (b. 1599 – d. 16-10-1657). He was a Jesuit.¹¹⁹⁷

A.1.4 Jacob Frederik, Lord of Grypskerke and Poppendamme, m. in the town hall in Utrecht (28-7-1627) 1) Maria Catharina van Parijs van Zuiddoordt (b. 1610 – d. 1629), dr of Gijsbert and Catharina di Schotti, m. 2) in the town hall (The Hague, 3-11-1643) Marguarita de Jonghe van Baerdwijk.¹¹⁹⁸ He was a witness at the marriage of his brother Willem; Jacob Frederick was a soldier in the service of the ‘enemy’ and, after his last wife had died, he became a secular priest.¹¹⁹⁹ Jacob Frederik and his wives were Catholic.¹²⁰⁰

A.1.5 Maria (d. 1668), nun at Oudwijck, later m. (11-5-1616) in town hall in Utrecht Johan van der Haer, Lord of Petten, son of Loef and Hextoria van Boxwier.¹²⁰¹ They were Catholic.¹²⁰²

A.1.6 Simona, she mismarried (‘heeft zich in 1644 mishuwelykt’).

¹¹⁸⁸ HRA, Collectie Van der Lely, inv. 987.

¹¹⁸⁹ Klapper overluidingen, 166. RGP, GS 85, 3. *VdW*, 1: 303 HUA, Begraafboek 121: 385; Klapper overluidingen, 66. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 138.

¹¹⁹⁰ HUA, Begraafboek 121: 89; 122: 109; Klapper overluidingen, 166; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 23v.

¹¹⁹¹ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 65.

¹¹⁹² HUA, Begraafboek 121: 497; Klapper overluidingen, 166.

¹¹⁹³ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 34. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 137.

¹¹⁹⁴ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166, 227; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 88.

¹¹⁹⁵ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 229. GDH, DTB.

¹¹⁹⁶ Mol, ‘Trying to survive, 201. Heukelum, *Jutfaas*, 93.

¹¹⁹⁷ *BGBH* 10 (1882) 66; *NNBW*, 5: 588; 9: 853-4.

¹¹⁹⁸ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 239v. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 138. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 149; Begraafboek 121: 532. GDH, DTB.

¹¹⁹⁹ GDH, DTB. HUA, Staten van Utrecht, inv. 364-10-171. NA, Cousebant, inv. 1066. *AAU* 11 (1883), 100.

¹²⁰⁰ DLT, *AAU* 11, 182 (Grypskercke).

¹²⁰¹ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 156. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 139.

¹²⁰² DLT, *AAU* 11, 185 (Petten).

A.1.7 Johanna (d. 27-7-1634), m. (30-1-1630) in the town hall in Utrecht Peter Ruysch (d. 1654), Lord of Merestein, officer of the Lord Frans Carel van Hartevelt, son of Hugo and Lucia van Egmond.¹²⁰³

A.2.1 Johan (d. 27-8-1628).¹²⁰⁴

A.2.2 Lodewijk (d. 13-5-1662 in the convent St Servaes), canon in the chapter of Oudmunster, Utrecht, m. in town hall in Utrecht (9-6-1632) Machtelt van Gent, Lord of Rijnenburg and Blijkenburg, dr of Willem, Lord of Erlikom, Appeltern and Alvorst, and Anna Abcoude van Meerten, Lady of Ter Meer and Essensteyn.¹²⁰⁵ He was a guarantor of a loan for to the daughter of his son, a nun, and he had three of their children baptized in by a Catholic priest (in IJsselstein) and also acted as witness at Catholic baptism.¹²⁰⁶ Both were Catholic (Machtelt is mentioned on De la Torre's list as the mother of the Lord of Rijnenburg).

A.2.3 Willemina (d. 19-12-1650), nun at St. Servaes, Utrecht, witness at Catholic baptism.¹²⁰⁷

A.2.4 Johanna, m. Arend Monnix van Vucht, son of Johan and Isabelle van Beveren (non-nobles).

A.1.2.1 Anna Juliana (d. 23-7-1679), m. 1) in the town hall in Utrecht (29-1-1653) and The Hague (16-2-1653) 1) Casper van Brackel (d. 2-11-1654), son of Zweder, Lord of Blikkenburg, and Anna Catharina Mom, Lady of Huis te Beest, m. 2) in town hall in Utrecht (12-11-1656) her cousin Willem van Renesse van Baer (A.2.2.1), son of Lodewijk.¹²⁰⁸ She was a witness at a Catholic baptism.¹²⁰⁹ They all were Catholics.¹²¹⁰

A.1.2.2 Cornelia Anna (d. 29-7-1663).¹²¹¹

A.2.2.1 Willem, m. 1) in town hall in Utrecht (12-11-1656) his cousin Anna Juliana (A.1.2.1). Both were Catholic.

A.2.2.2 Jan Adriaan (b. 3-10-1635 - d. 21-10-1721), Lord of Zoelen en Blyenburg, a soldier in the Dutch army, m. 1) in town hall in Utrecht (8-7-1667) Johanna van Deurn, Lady of 't Hoge Huys tot Beest, m. 2) (1675) Johanna Vijgh (b. 21-5-1632 – d. 27-5/10-1695), m. 3) in Reformed church in Altforst (21-1-1700) Elisabeth van Utrecht.¹²¹² On 26-12-1675 two children of Johan Adriaen and, presumably, Johanna, were baptized by a Catholic priest.¹²¹³ On 17-5-1700 a child of Johan Adriaen and Elisabeth was baptized by a Catholic priest.¹²¹⁴

¹²⁰³ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 258. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 139.

¹²⁰⁴ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166; Begraafboek 121: 454. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 140.

¹²⁰⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166; Begraafboek 124: 442. HUA, Staten van Utrecht, inv. 249. HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 277. NA, Mackay van Ophemert, inv. 11, f. 140.

¹²⁰⁶ HUA, NOT, U053a006, no. 38 (29-4-1660); DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 26, 28. It is likely that their other children were baptized by a Catholic priest as well, yet the registers only start in 1640.

¹²⁰⁷ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166; Begraafboek 123: 364; DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 26 (Guilma van Renesse).

¹²⁰⁸ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 440; inv. 86, f. 1v. GDH, DTB. *Ablaing, Nijmegen*, 154

¹²⁰⁹ HUA, DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 44.

¹²¹⁰ DLT, AAU 11, 185 (Rynenburg), 187 (Spalant).

¹²¹¹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166. She is not mentioned in genealogies, but she is mentioned in various notarial deeds and had her own will drawn up. HUA, NOT, U053a006, no. 38 (29-4-1660); U065a001, no. 12-3 (10-7-1663).

¹²¹² NNBW, 9: 1263. HUA, NOT, inv. U035a003, no. 110 (4-3-1652); Trouwen gerecht, inv. 86, f. 86v. GA, RBS, inv 82, 245.

¹²¹³ HUA, DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 134. According to Spaen, Johan Adriaen and Johanna van Duerne had two children. He was, however, not aware of Johan Adriaen's other marriages.

¹²¹⁴ AAU 29 (1903), 17 (note 1).

Johan Adriaen was a Catholic, the religious affiliation of Johanna van Duerne is unknown, whereas both Johanna Vijgh and Elisabeth van Utrecht were Protestants.¹²¹⁵

A.2.2.3 Jacob François (d. 31-12-1697), he was a captain in the army (unknown is in which army). He was a witness at a Catholic baptism, studied in Cologne, and donated money to the Catholic poor chamber.¹²¹⁶

A.2.2.4 Catharina Mechtelt.¹²¹⁷

A.2.2.5 Cornelia Anna, died unmarried.¹²¹⁸

A.2.2.6 Maria Wilhelmina, baptized by a Catholic priest (18/20-3-1643) at Rijnenburg Castle.¹²¹⁹

A.2.2.7 Costen, baptized by a Catholic priest (23-4/4-5-1646) at Rijnenburg Castle.¹²²⁰

A.2.2.8 Henricus Fredericus (d. 6-11-1666), baptized by a Catholic priest (4/6-3-1645) at Rijnenburg Castle.¹²²¹

A.2.2.1.1 Adriana, Lady of Baardwijk and Blyckenburg, m. in the town hall (IJsselstein, 2-6-1677) Elbert Sweder van Voorst, Lord of Schoonderbeeke and Altforst son of Elbert and Cunigunda van Amstel van Mijnden. Both were Catholic.¹²²²

A.2.2.1.2 Florentina, nun in the St. Cecilia convent, Cologne.¹²²³ She was Catholic.

A.2.2.1.3. Jacob Willem, canon at the abbey of St. Gertrude, Louvain.¹²²⁴ He was Catholic.

A.2.2.1.4. Frederik Ignatius, canon at the abbey of St. Gertrude, Louvain.¹²²⁵ He was Catholic.

A.2.2.2.1 Lodewijk, major in the Dutch army and died unmarried.¹²²⁶ He was baptized by a Catholic priest (26-12-1675) and studied at the University of Cologne.¹²²⁷ He was a Catholic.

A.2.2.2.2 Mechtelt Gysberta, m. (15-12-1695) Godart van Eck tot Tysterban (d. 20-12-1706), admitted to the knighthood of Nijmegen in 1703.¹²²⁸ He was a Protestant.

A.2.2.2.3 Jean Louis, baptized by a Catholic priest.¹²²⁹

[Johan Adriaen and Elisabeth had three other children, who are not part of this genealogy as they were born after 1702]

¹²¹⁵ Johanna Vijgh: GA, RBS, inv. 1858, 90. Ibid., inv. 1859, 54. Elisabeth van Utrecht: GA, RBS, inv. 1859, 32. Ibid., inv. 1859, 95.

¹²¹⁶ HUA, Begraafboek 127: 531; Klapper overluidingen, 166; DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 134; NOT, inv. U065a004, no. 1-2 (24-8-1687).

¹²¹⁷ Ibid., inv. U064a001, no. 12-1 (12-9-1663).

¹²¹⁸ Ibid.

¹²¹⁹ HUA, DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 26.

¹²²⁰ Ibid.

¹²²¹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 166; DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 26.

¹²²² They had their will drawn up in Antwerp. See: HUA, NOT, inv. U093a040, no. 2 (13-1-1701).

¹²²³ Ibid., U053006, no. 38 (29-4-1660).

¹²²⁴ Ibid., U021a021, no. 35 (06-03-1655).

¹²²⁵ Ibid.

¹²²⁶ <http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BrievenAnthonieHeinsius1702-1720/Index/r>

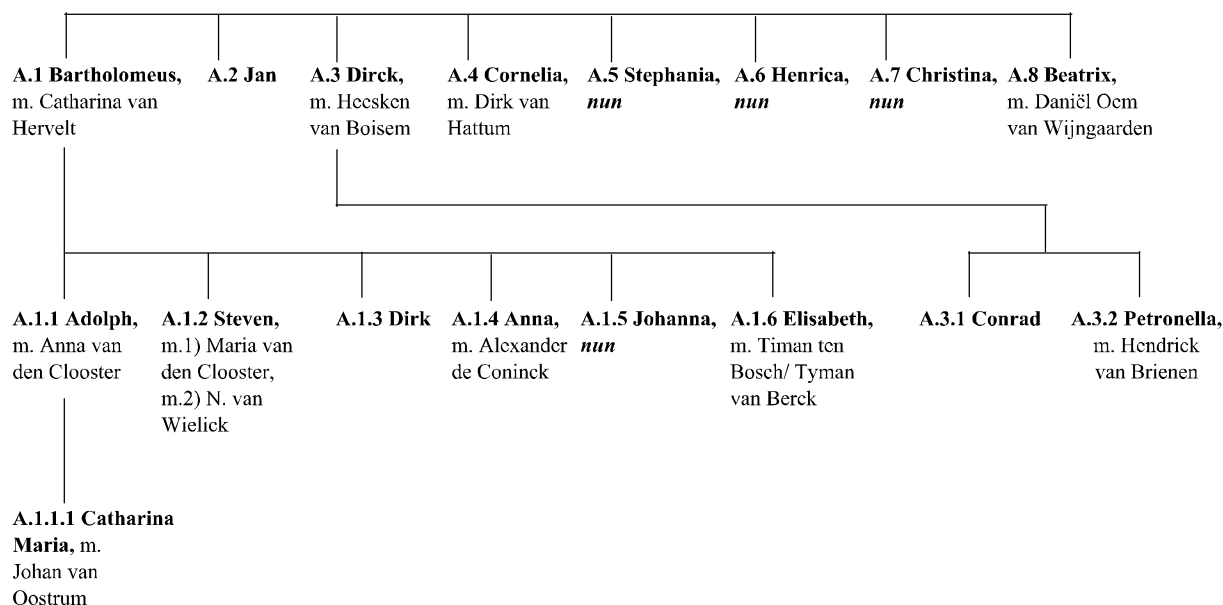
¹²²⁷ HUA, DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 134.

¹²²⁸ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 354.

¹²²⁹ AAU 29 (1903), 17 (note 1).

De Wael van Moersbergen

A



De Wael van Moersbergen¹²³⁰

A.1 Bartholomeus (d. 1592), m. Catharina van Hervelt (from Westphalia) (d. 1625).¹²³¹

A.2 Jan, canon at the Dom church (chapter of Oudmunster), 1568.

A.3 Dirck (d. 1586), m. Heesken van Boisem (social status = unknown).

A.4. Cornelia (d. 1586), m. (1566) Dirk van Hattum.¹²³²

A.5 Stephania (d. 1591), nun at the convent Mariendael. She was Catholic.

A.6 Henrica (d. 1596), nun at convent St. Servaes. She was Catholic.

A.7 Christina (d. 1579?), nun at convent Leeuwenhorst. She was Catholic.

A.8 Beatrix, m. Mr. Daniel Oem van Wijngaarden.

A.1.1 Adolph (d. 19-6-1637), Lord of Moersbergen, member of the Utrecht knighthood, burgomaster of Utrecht (1610-2), m. 1) (1610) Anna/Occe van den Clooster (d. 2-10-1637).¹²³³ Adolph was a Remonstrant.

A.1.2 Steven, officer in the Dutch army (1616), houtvester of Utrecht (1606–9), m. 1) Maria van den Clooster (d. 28-9-1631), dr Gernt and Henrica Ripperda, m. 2) ? van Wielick (social status = unknown).¹²³⁴

A.1.3 Dirk (d. 1608).

¹²³⁰ UBU, Booth: Lange boekjes; Genealogische geschriften. HRA, Collectie Spaen, inventaris B.

¹²³¹ VdAA, 10: 5.

¹²³² Wolleswinkel, 'Kwartierwapenboek', 23. D. F. Tollenaar, 'De afstamming van Nicolaas van Hattum, chirurgijn te Asperen', *Gens Nostra* 38 (1983), 297–311.

¹²³³ HUA, Begraafboek 122: 345; Klapper overluidingen, 94

¹²³⁴ Ibid., 95.

A.1.4 Anna (d. 26-2-1620), m. in the Reformed church in Utrecht (16-1-1610) Alexander de Coninck (d. 6-2-1633), canon of St. Jan, houtvester of Utrecht (1611), officer in the Dutch army.¹²³⁵

A.1.5 Johanna, nun at St. Servaes, Utrecht. She was Catholic.

A.1.6 Elisabeth, she mismarried ('mistroutwt') Timan ten Bosch/Tyman van Berck.

A.3.1 Conrad, died unmarried.

A.3.2 Petronella (d. 1625), m. Hendrick van Brienem (d. 1625), member of the knighthood of the Veluwe (1609), naval captain, *ambtsjonker* of Voorst.¹²³⁶

A.1.1.1 Catharina Maria (b. 1612? – d. 22-5-1644), m. in the Reformed church of Cothen (15-3-1636) Johan van Oostrum (d. 13-12-1656), officer in the Dutch army.¹²³⁷ She was a Protestant, he was a Catholic¹²³⁸

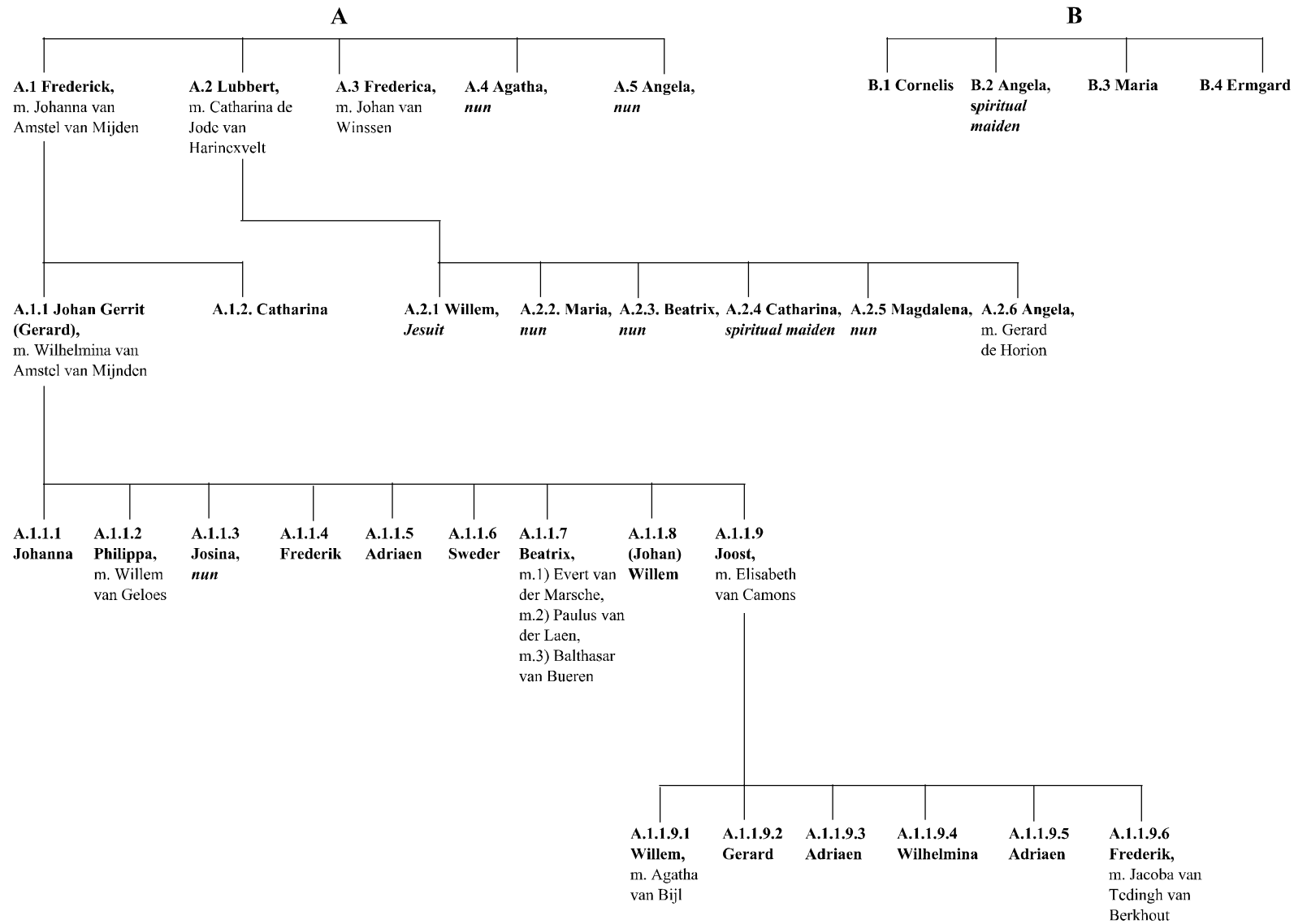
¹²³⁵ Ibid., 231. HUA, Trouwboeken NH kerk, inv. 90, 442. Westra van Holthe, *Ridderschap van Drenthe*, 102. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 98.

¹²³⁶ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 237.

¹²³⁷ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231; DTB, Wijk bij Duurstede: hervormd huwelijken, part 2, 236. Three months later they also married in the town hall of Wijk bij Duurstede. HUA, DTB, Wijk bij Duurstede: huwelijken v/h gerecht, 100; Klapper overluidingen, 144.

¹²³⁸ DLT, AAU 11, 184 (Moersberghe).

De Wael van Vronestein



De Wael van Vronestein¹²³⁹

A.1 Frederick (d. 19-4-1617), member of a Spanish guard (1579), attended the Utrecht knighthood (1580), m. Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden (d. 10-9-1632), dr of Wouter and Josina van Spaarnwoude.¹²⁴⁰ Both were Catholic.¹²⁴¹

A.2 Lubbert (d. 26-10-1605), captain in the Spanish army, buried at a convent near Brussels, m. Catharina de Jode van Harincxfelt (d. 16-1-1626), she died in Brabant.¹²⁴² Both were Catholic

A.3 Frederica (d.25-10-1630), m. (1577-8?) Johan van Winssen (d. 15-1-1627).¹²⁴³ She was a Catholic (she owned Catholic objects).¹²⁴⁴

A.4 Agatha, nun in the convent of Oudwijck, Utrecht. She was Catholic.

A.5 Angela (d. 1593-4), nun in the convent of Oudwijck, Utrecht.¹²⁴⁵ She was Catholic.

B.1 Cornelis (d. 6-9-1629), m. in the town hall (Utrecht, 9-7-1603) Josina van Lynden (9-3-1633), dr Carel, bailiff of Vianen.¹²⁴⁶

B.2 Angela (d. 21-11-1645), spiritual maiden.¹²⁴⁷

B.3 Maria (d. 25-6-1590).¹²⁴⁸

B.4 Ermgard (d. 9-6-1654), witness and godparent at several Catholic baptisms.¹²⁴⁹ She was Catholic (celebration of Requiem Masses after her death).¹²⁵⁰

A.1.1 Johan Gerrit (Gerard) (d. 1-3-1647), Lord of Vronesteyn, m. in the town hall (Utrecht, 18-6-1608), Wilhelmina van Amstel van Mijnden (d. 24-3-1642).¹²⁵¹ Willemina was related to Gerard's mother in the fifth degree of kinship. Gerard was Catholic.¹²⁵²

A.1.2 Catharina.

A.2.1 Willem (b. 10-2-1583 – d. 31-8-1659), he was a Jesuit.¹²⁵³

A.2.2 Maria, nun at the convent of St. Servaes, Utrecht. She was Catholic.

A.2.3 Beatrix, nun at the Vrouwenklooster (probably the Wittenvrouwenklooster, Utrecht). She was Catholic.

¹²³⁹ UBU, Buchelius, Lange boekjes. HRA, Collectie Spaen, inventaris B. Kleijntjens, 'Aantekeningen over het geslacht De Wael van Vronesteyn', 'Het huis "Vronestein" en de familie "De Wael"'. J. van Egdom and J. Schut, 'Genealogisch overzicht van het geslacht de Waal van Vronestein en zijn verwantschap aan het geslacht Van Zuijlen van Abcoude', *Cronijck De Geyn* 6 (1984), 2–20. NA, HVZ, inv. 2553.

¹²⁴⁰ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 5, 231.

¹²⁴¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 669.

¹²⁴² HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231; Begraafboek 121: 296.

¹²⁴³ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231, 244.

¹²⁴⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 921.

¹²⁴⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231.

¹²⁴⁶ 'Overluidingen', *DNV* 39 (1889), 391. HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 87; Klapper overluidingen, 114.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid., 231.

¹²⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid. HUA, DTB IJsselstein: RK-dopen, index, 25.

¹²⁵⁰ NA, HVZ, inv. 679.

¹²⁵¹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 121v; Klapper overluidingen, 5.

¹²⁵² NA, HVZ, inv. 780.

¹²⁵³ Hoeck, *Schets*, 405.

A.2.4 Catharina, spiritual maiden. She was Catholic.

A.2.5 Magdalena, nun at the convent of Voorst (Brussels). She was Catholic.

A.2.6 Angela (d. 23-6-1636), moved to the Southern Netherlands, m. Gerard de Horion (d. 8-10-1633), Lord of Colonster, member of the council of the prince of Liège, bailiff of Los.¹²⁵⁴ Both were Catholic.

A.1.1.1 Johanna (b. 16-6-1609 – d. 24-3-1679), baptized by a Catholic priest, witness at a Catholic baptism, she was a Catholic.¹²⁵⁵

A.1.1.2 Philippa (b. 21-8-1610 – d. 2-11-1638), was baptized by a Catholic priest, moved to the Southern Netherlands, m. (1635) the Belgian nobleman Willem van Geloës, who died in Liège.¹²⁵⁶ Both were Catholic.

A.1.1.3 Josina (b. 30-10-1611 – d. 1683), baptized by a Catholic priest, nun at the abbey of Leeuwenhorst near Leiden

A.1.1.4 Frederik (b. 27-11-1612 – d. 1631), baptized by a Catholic priest, served in the army of the Habsburg emperor in Switzerland (he was a Catholic).

A.1.1.5 Adriaen (b. 29-9-1614 – d. 1631), he served in the army of the Habsburg emperor and died near Swaben. He was a Catholic.

A.1.1.6 Sweder (b. 14-4-1619 – d. 24-4-1619), baptized by a Catholic priest.

A.1.1.7 Beatrix (b. 1617 – d. 14-6-1653), m. 1) in the town hall in Utrecht (25-9-1641) Evert van der Marsche (d. 3-10-1642), m. 2) in the town hall in Utrecht (2-12-1643) Paulus van der Laen, m. 3) (1649) Balthasar van Bueren (b. 1604 – d. 21-9-1669), Lord of Zuidoort.¹²⁵⁷ Beatrix and Balthasar, were mentioned on De la Torre's list, Paulus was a Catholic as well, for he went to Rome to give a statement about Catholic martyrs and miracles.¹²⁵⁸

A.1.1.8 (Johan) Willem (b. 16-1-1622 – d. 29-9-1651), baptized by a Catholic priest, member of the Teutonic Order (after having received a dispensation for the oath of religion).¹²⁵⁹ He was a Catholic.

A.1.1.9 Joost (b. 31-10-1625 – d. 26-7-1670), m. (1645?) Elisabeth van Camons, dr of Adriaen, Lord of Walcourt, Vuren and Nijestein.¹²⁶⁰ All their children were baptized by a Catholic priest; Joost and Elisabeth were mentioned on De la Torre's list.¹²⁶¹

A.1.1.8.1 Willem (b. 1646 – d. 1699), baptized by a Catholic priest, m. in front of a Catholic priest (1687) Agatha Bijl (d. 1694).¹²⁶² Both were Catholics.

¹²⁵⁴ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 84, 231. DNV 55 (1905), 511, 514.

¹²⁵⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231; DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 25. NA, HVZ, inv. 798.

¹²⁵⁶ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231; Begraafboek 122: 425.

¹²⁵⁷ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 38, 123, 231; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 354v; f. 372v.

¹²⁵⁸ DLT, AAU 11, 188 (Zuidoort). <http://www.decocqvandelwijnen.nl/generatie12e.htm>. One of Beatrix's and Balthasar's sons was named Frederick Ignatius. NA, HVZ, inv. 740.

¹²⁵⁹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 231.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid., 231.

¹²⁶¹ HUA, DTB IJsselstein RK-gemeente, index, 25-6. AAU 11, 187 (Vronestein)

¹²⁶² Hulkenberg, *Aagtenkerk*, 61. E. B. F. F. Wittert van Hoogland, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Utrechtse ridderhofsteden en heerlijkheden* (2 vols, The Hague, 1909–12), 1: 301

A.1.1.8.2 Gerard (b. 1647 – d. 1691). He was a Catholic (he was baptized by a Catholic priest and studied in Louvain).

A.1.1.8.3 Adriaen (b. 8-10-1649 – d. 1650).

A.1.1.8.4 Wilhelmina (b. 1650 – d. 1690), she was baptized by a Catholic priest, m. (1672) Johan van Scherpenzeel tot Rumpt (d. 1693). Their religious affiliation is unknown.¹²⁶³

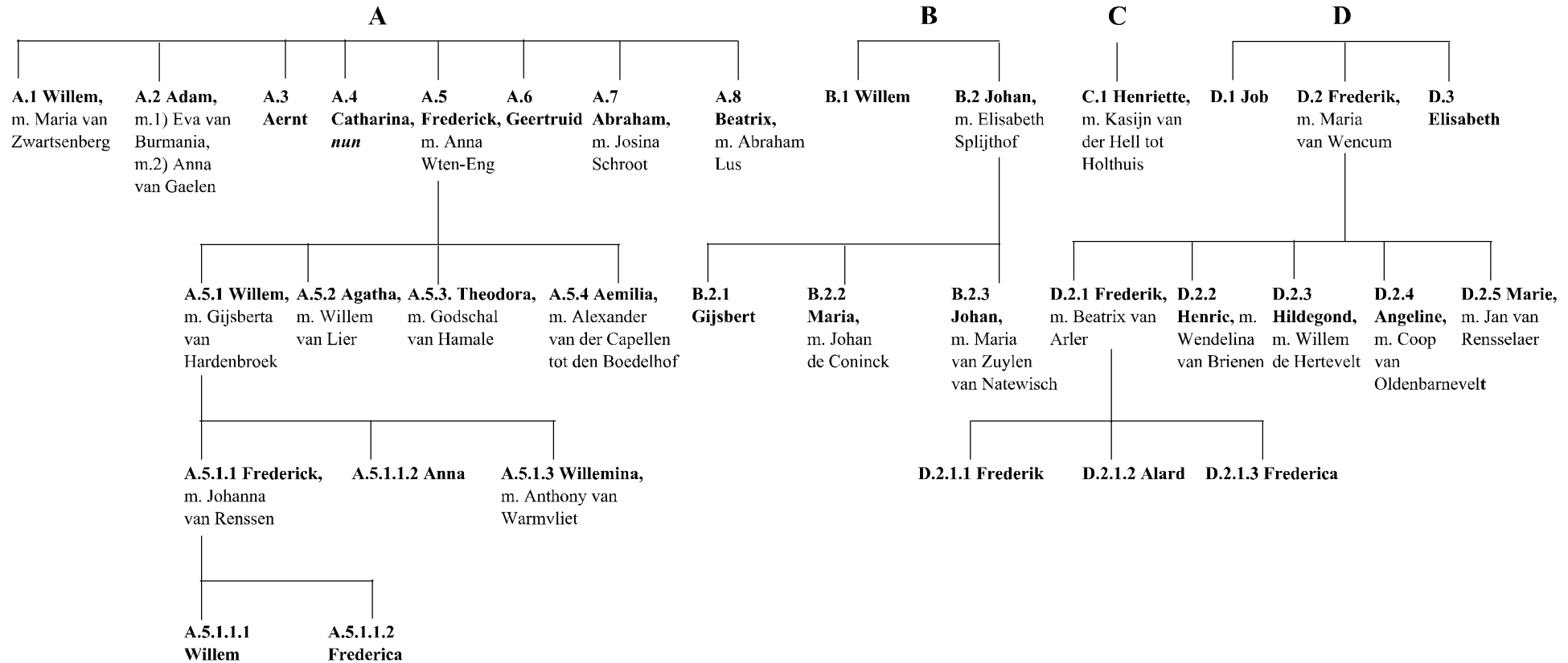
A.1.1.8.5 Adriaen (b. 9-5-1655 – d. 1-1-1710), baptized by a Catholic priest, he was a Catholic. He was the last male member of this dynasty.

A.1.1.8.6 Frederik (d. 1657 – d. 1691), he was baptized by a Catholic priest and a Catholic, m. (15-8-1688) Jacoba van Tedingh van Berchout (a non-noblewoman whose religious affiliation is unknown).¹²⁶⁴

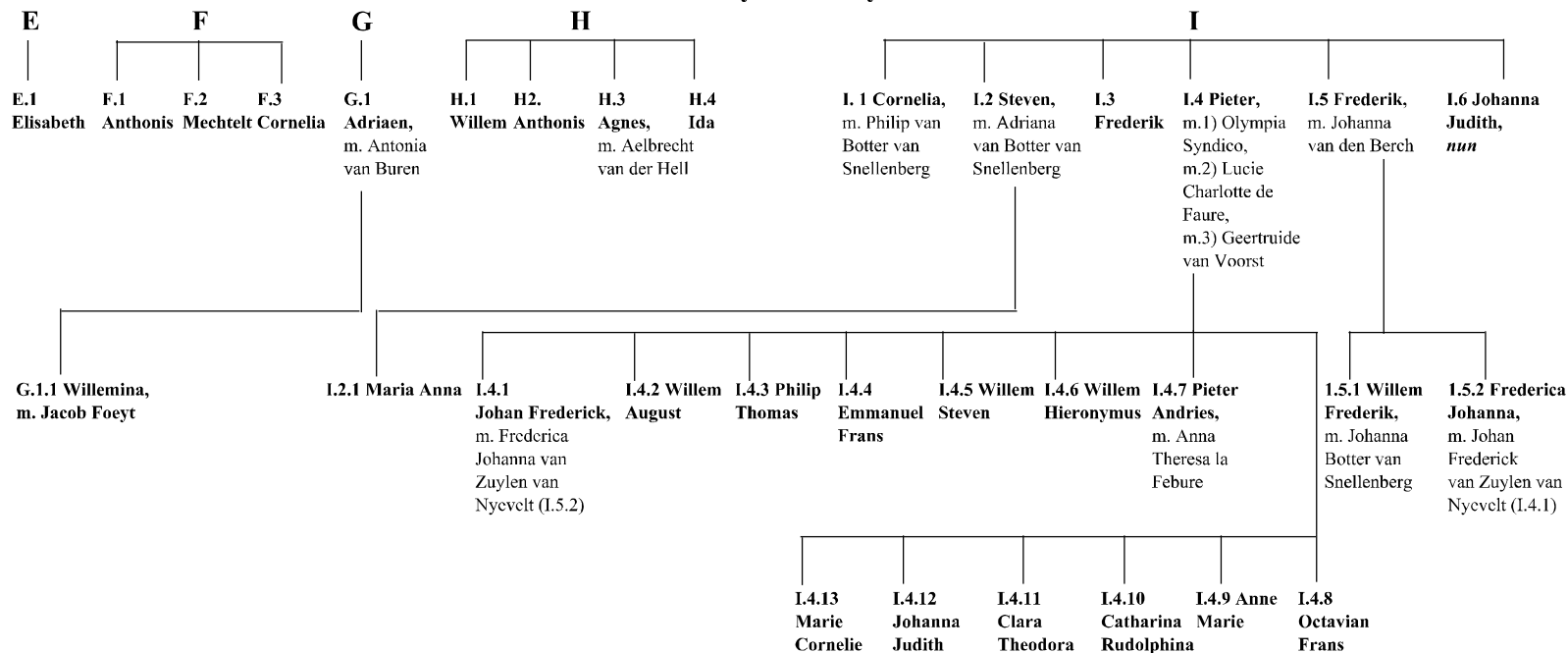
¹²⁶³ It is likely that they were Catholic: they had six children, a daughter who died at a young age, two daughters who became nuns at Sledenhorst (= Sendhorst near Münster?), another daughter who married a Catholic nobleman (Frederick Heereman van Zuydtwijck, member of the ‘new nobility’), and one unmarried daughter and two unmarried sons). Hulkenberg, *Huis Dever*, 294–5.

¹²⁶⁴ E.g., NA, HVZ, inv. 813. *NNBW*, 4: 132.

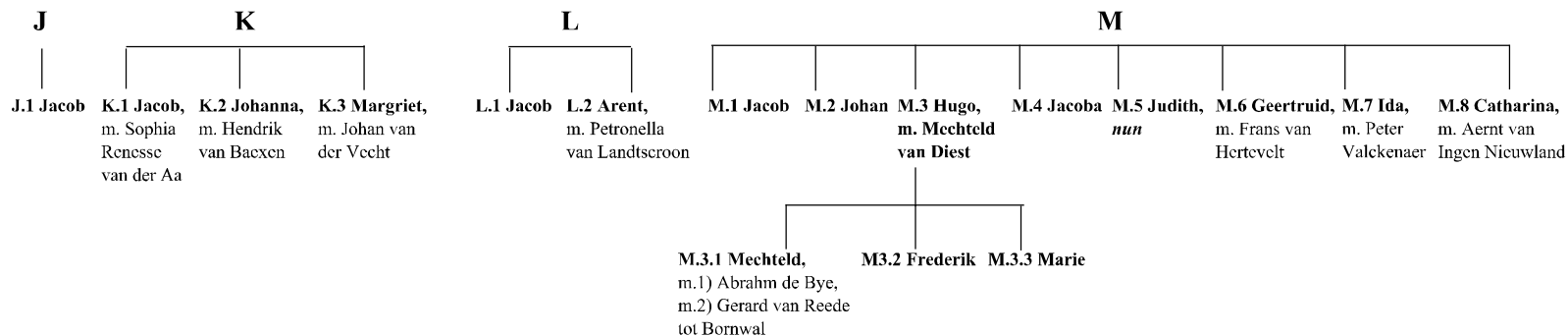
Van Zuylen van Nyevelt



Van Zuylen van Nyevelt



Van Zuylen van Nyevelt: branch Van Hoevelaken van Gerestein



Van Zuylen van Nyevelt¹²⁶⁵

A.1 Willem (d. 1580), m. Maria van Zwartsenberg.¹²⁶⁶

A.2 Adam, m. 1) Eva van Burmania, 2) Anna van Gaelen.

A.3 Aernt (d. 1626).¹²⁶⁷

A.4 Catharina, nun at Leeuwenhorst.¹²⁶⁸

A.5 Frederick (d. 6-7-1646), Lord of 's Heeren Aertbergen, Berckewoude et al., m. Anna Wten-Eng (d. 22-1-1625), heiress of Den Enge.¹²⁶⁹ He was a Protestant (he attended the Synod of Dordt on behalf of the States of Utrecht) and was a member of the knighthood until 1646).¹²⁷⁰

A.6 Geertry (Geertruid), died unmarried.

A.7 Abraham (d. 1613), engineer in the service of the prince of Wales, 'was poisoned by an Italian'.¹²⁷¹ M. Josina Schroot 'out the country of Liege'.

A.8 Beatrix, m. Abraham Lus. This was a family from Liège, who were *tafelhouders* (money lenders).¹²⁷²

B.1 Willem (d. 1587).¹²⁷³

B.2 Johan (d. 1604), m. Elisabeth Spijthof (d. 17-7-1604).¹²⁷⁴ Her social status is unknown.

C.2 Henriette, m. Kasijn van der Hell tot Holthuis (d. 1601), member of the knighthood of the Veluwe and the Council of State.¹²⁷⁵

D.1 Job, dies without children in Oostende.

D.2 Frederick, m. Maria van Wencum.¹²⁷⁶

D.3 Elisabeth.

E.1 Elisabeth.

F.1 Anthonis (d. 24-12-1605), died unmarried.¹²⁷⁷

F.2 Mechtelt (d. 10-10-1607), died unmarried.¹²⁷⁸

F.3 Cornelia, m. (1608) Evert ter Marsche (d. 3-10-1642).¹²⁷⁹ She was Catholic (mentioned on De la Torre's list).¹²⁸⁰

¹²⁶⁵ UBU, Booth, Genealogische geschriften, HS 1828, 7.A.32. Gaillard, *Maison*. HRA, Collectie Spaen, inv. B. VdAA, 13. For other branches of this family, see: D. G. van Epen, *Het geslacht Van Zuijlen van Nijvelt* (The Hague, 1904).

¹²⁶⁶ VdAA, 13: 392.

¹²⁶⁷ Ibid., 391.

¹²⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁹ HUA, Begraafboek 123: 49; Klapper overluidingen, 215.

¹²⁷⁰ VdAA, 13: 393.

¹²⁷¹ Ibid., 391

¹²⁷² *Brabantse Leeuw* 21 (1972), 48

¹²⁷³ DNL 1910, 119.

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid. HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 198.

¹²⁷⁵ Ablaing, *Nijmegen*, 215.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid., *Veluwe*, 24.

¹²⁷⁷ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 206.

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid., 206.

G.1 Adriaen, m. Anthonia van Buren. Her social status is unknown. He was a Catholic.¹²⁸¹

H.1 Willem, died at a young age.

H.2 Anthonis.

H.3 Agnes, m. Aelbrecht van der Hell.

H.4 Ida, m. (1610) Abraham van Goorde (social status = unknown).

I.1 Cornelia (d. 16-11-1624), m. Philip Botter van Snellenberg (4-1-1637), son of Henri and Adrienne of Nyenrode.¹²⁸²

I.2 Steven (d. 16-12-1657),¹²⁸³ Lord of Snaefburch, m. Adriana van Botter van Snellenberg (26-8-1651).¹²⁸⁴ He spent 20 years in Rome, both were Catholic (mentioned on De la Torre's list).¹²⁸⁵

I.3 Frederik, died at young age.

I.4 Pieter (b. 1604 – d. 1691), m. 1) in 1636 Olympia Syndico (b. 1617 – d. 1654), a Belgian noblewoman, m. 2) Lucie Charlotte de Faure (another Belgian noblewoman), m. 3) in 1670 Geertruide van Voorst (a Dutch noblewoman).¹²⁸⁶ He was a soldier in the service of the Catholic emperor and he and Lucie were members of the parish of St. Goedele (in the Southern Netherlands).¹²⁸⁷ Pieter, Olympia and Lucie were Catholics.

I.5 Frederik (b. 1608 – d. 1638), m. (1636) Johanna van den Berch (d. 2-11-1647), dr of Alexander and Barbe van Hol.¹²⁸⁸

I.6 Johanna Judith, nun in the Wittenvrouwenklooster, Utrecht. She was a Catholic.

A.5.1 Willem (d. 14-3-1639), Lord of den Engh, member of the knighthood of Utrecht, m. in the Reformed church (St. Jacob, Utrecht) (17-8-1625) Gijsberta van Hardenbroek (8-3-1675).¹²⁸⁹

A.5.2 Agatha, m. in the Reformed church (Utrecht) Willem van Lier, Lord of Oosterwijk and ambassador in Venice and at the French court.¹²⁹⁰ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

A.5.3 Theodora, m. (1642) Godschalk van Halmale, Lord of Hindersteyn, marshall of Montfoort.

A.5.4 Aemilia (d. 1676), m. (30-4-1620) Alexander van der Capellen tot Boedelhof (d. 1656), member of the knighthood of Zutphen (1623–56) and bailiff of Doesburg.¹²⁹¹ He is a Protestant (because of his offices).

B.2.1 Gijsbert (d. 1622), he studied at Franeker University.¹²⁹²

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid., 123.

¹²⁸⁰ Mentioned as the mother of Bitter van der Marsche. *AAU* 11, 183 (Hindersteyn).

¹²⁸¹ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 162.

¹²⁸² HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 31, 207.

¹²⁸³ Ibid., 207.

¹²⁸⁴ Ibid., 31.

¹²⁸⁵ *VdAA*, 13: 410. Forclaz, 'Emergence', 259. *DLT*, *AAU* 11, 187 (Snaefburgh).

¹²⁸⁶ HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 39. *DNL* 1978, 393.

¹²⁸⁷ HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 48.

¹²⁸⁸ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 15.

¹²⁸⁹ *VdAA*, 13: 393.

¹²⁹⁰ HUA, Trouwboeken NH Kerk, inv. 94, 229. *VdAA*, 13: 394.

¹²⁹¹ *Ablaing*, *Zutphen*, 153.

¹²⁹² Wittert van Hoogland, 'Van Zuylen van Nyevelt', *DNL* (1910), 119. S. J. Fockema Andreae and Th. J. Meijer (eds), *Album studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844)* (Franeker, 1968), 56.

B.2.2 Maria (d. 19-6-1661), m. Johan de Coninck (d. 6-4-1638), officer in the Dutch army.¹²⁹³

B.2.3 Johan, m. (1621) Hendrica van Zuylen van Natewisch.

D.2.1 Frederik (d. 1671), burgomaster of Hardewijk, member of the knighthood of the Veluwe (1660–71), m. Beatrix van Arler, dr van Aelt and Elisabeth Schrasser.¹²⁹⁴ He was a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.2.2 Henric, d. in Deventer, was a lieutenant, m. Wendelina van Brien (d. 1645), dr of Hendrik and Beatrix van Lynden.¹²⁹⁵

D.2.3 Hildegond, m. Willem de Hertevelt, burgomaster of Amersfoort.

D.2.4 Angeline, m. Coop van Olden-Barnevelt, member of the knighthood of the Veluwe (1614–28).¹²⁹⁶ He is a Protestant (because of his offices).

D.2.5 Marie, m. Jan van Rensselaer (a nobleman).¹²⁹⁷

G.1.1 Willemina (d. 23-11-1633), m. Jacob Foeyt, Lord of Emiclaer.¹²⁹⁸

I.2.1 Maria Anna (d. 10-10-1664), her father had determined in his will that she had to spend two or three years in the convent Barlemont (Brussels).¹²⁹⁹ She was a Catholic.¹³⁰⁰

I.4.1 Johan Frederick, m. (1680) Frederica Johanna van Zuylen van Nyevelt (I.5.2). They were Catholic (they received a dispensation from the Catholic church and Johan received the Last Rites).¹³⁰¹

I.4.2 Willem August, died unmarried, born in Oudenaarde (in the Southern Netherlands).

I.4.3 Philip Thomas (b. 1642), died unmarried, captain in the army of the Spanish Habsburgs (he was a Catholic).

I.4.4 Emmanuel Frans (b. 1644), died unmarried, born in Oudenaarde (in the Southern Netherlands).

I.4.5 Willem Steven (b. 1646), died at a young age.

I.4.6 Willem Hieronymus, died unmarried.

I.4.7 Pieter Andries (b. 1649 – d. 1698), born in Oudenaarde, soldier in the army of the Spanish Habsburgs, m. (1686) Anna Theresa le Febure, dr of Willem and Marie-Anne de Pottre (Belgian nobles). Both were Catholic.¹³⁰²

I.4.8 Octavian Frans (b. 1651), died unmarried.

I.4.9 Anne Marie (b. 1639 – d. 1691), she lived in the Southern Netherlands and was a witness at a Catholic baptism (in the Netherlands).¹³⁰³ She was a Catholic (for she lived in the Southern Netherlands and received Catholic objects).¹³⁰⁴

¹²⁹³ J. A. Kummel, 'Het geslacht De Coninck', *DNV* 69 (1920), 214.

¹²⁹⁴ Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 361.

¹²⁹⁵ *DNL* 27 (1909), 170–1.

¹²⁹⁶ Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 239.

¹²⁹⁷ J. Jesserun, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer, van 1623 tot 1636* (The Hague, 1917), 24. Janny Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer (1586–1643): designing a new world* (Hilversum, 2010), 319

¹²⁹⁸ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207.

¹²⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁰ W. A. Wijburg, 'Van Zuylen van Nyevelt', *DNL* 100 (1983), 463.

¹³⁰¹ HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 55.

¹³⁰² Ibid., inv. 48, 56.

¹³⁰³ HUA, DTB, Maarsen: dopen R.K. 1682–1730, 80. Note 177.

I.4.10 Catharina Rudolphia (b. 1638 – d. 1696), died unmarried, in Brussels. She was a Catholic (she lived in the Southern Netherlands) and owned Catholic religious items.¹³⁰⁵

I.4.11 Clara Theodora (b. 1648), died unmarried at Snaefburch Castle.

I.4.12 Johanna Judith (b. 1640 – d. 18-9-1646).¹³⁰⁶

I.4.13 Marie-Cornelie (b. 1643 – d. 29-10-1664), died unmarried.¹³⁰⁷

I.5.1 Willem Frederik (b. 1637), Lord of Bolestein and Maarssenbroeck, m. (1658) Johanna Botter van Snellenberg.¹³⁰⁸

I.5.2 Frederica Johanna (b. 1640 – d. 1681), m. 1) in 1655 Thomas Taets van Amerongen (b. 13-10-1574 – d. 1657), canon in the chapter of Oudmunster, m. 2) in 1680 Johan Frederik van Zuylen van Nyevelt. Frederica and Johan were Catholic.

A.5.1.1 Frederick (d. 19-1-1657), Lord of den Engh, m. Johanna van Renssen, dr of Lubbert and Geertruit Donckel (social status = unknown).¹³⁰⁹ Frederik was a Protestant.¹³¹⁰

A.5.1.2 Anna (8-1-1647), died unmarried.¹³¹¹

A.5.1.3 Willemina (d. 17-10-1709), m. in the Reformed church in Utrecht (21-8/4-9-1653) Anthony van Warmvliet, a deacon and elder in the Reformed church.¹³¹² Both were Protestants (she became a full-member of the Reformed church in 1652).¹³¹³

D.2.1.1 Frederik, died at a young age.

D.2.1.2 Alard, Lord of Schoonderbeek, admitted into the knighthood of the Veluwe in 1671.¹³¹⁴ He was a Protestant (because of his office).

D.2.1.3 Philip (d. 1700), baptized in Putten (22-3-1635), student at the university of Hardewijk (1659), bailiff of the Veluwe (1699), m. (1667) Bitter Heeck (d. 1692), heiress of the Schouwenburg dr of Gerrit and Cataline Wendelina Sageman (social status = unknown).

A.5.1.1.1 Willem, Lord of Den Engh (until his guardians sold Den Eng in 1662).

A.5.1.1.2 Frederica (b. 1640).

Van Zuylen van Nyevelt: branch Van Hoevelaken van Gerestein

J.1 Jacob (d. 1587), Lord of Hoevelaken, member of the knighthood of Utrecht (1580).

¹³⁰⁴ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 165.

¹³⁰⁵ HUA, Huis ter Haar, inv. 53.

¹³⁰⁶ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207.

¹³⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁸ Wijburg, 'Van Zuylen van Nyevelt', 464.

¹³⁰⁹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207.

¹³¹⁰ HUA, Booth: genealogische geschriften, inv. 32, f. 56.

¹³¹¹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207; Begraafboek 123: 79.

¹³¹² HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207; Begraafboek 128: 708. Lieburg, *Nadere Reformatie*, 159.

¹³¹³ HUA, Lidmaten NH kerk Utrecht.

¹³¹⁴ Ablaing, *Veluwe*, 327.

K.1 Jacob (d. 16-11-1626), Lord of Hoevelaken and Gerestein, member of the knighthood of Utrecht (1597), m. (1588) Sophia van Renesse van der Aa (d. 1626).¹³¹⁵

K.2 Johanna (b. 1559 – d. 1-4-1636), m. Hendrik van Baexen, heer van Harmelen.¹³¹⁶

K.3 Margriet (d. 8-4-1636), m. in the town hall in Utrecht (23-12-1587) Johan van der Vecht, a nobleman.¹³¹⁷

L.1 Jacob, Lord of Gerestein.

L.2 Arent (d. 23-3-1633), Lord of Gerestein and Teckop, attended the knighthood of Utrecht in 1606 as well as the States General in 1614, m. Petronella van Landscroon, dr of Gijsbrecht and Catharina van Abcoude van Meerten.¹³¹⁸

M.1 Jacob (d. 14-7-1625), member of the Teutonic Order, commander of Maasland.¹³¹⁹

M.2 Johan

M.3 Hugo (d. 17-5-1630), dean (domproost) in the Dom church (from 1618 onwards), m. Regina van Reede van Nederhorst (d. 9-4-1653), dr Gerard and Mechtild van Diest. He was a Protestant (because of his office).¹³²⁰

M.4 Jacoba.

M.5 Judith, nun in the St. Servaes convent, Utrecht (d. 28-9-1646).¹³²¹ She was Catholic.

M.6 Geertruid (d. 18-8-1656), m. in the town hall in Utrecht (20-1-1616) Frans van Herteveldt (d. 1633).¹³²²

M.7 Ida, m. Peter Valckenaer, member of a noble family.¹³²³

M.8 Catharina, m. in the town hall in Utrecht (20-1-1616) Aernt van Ingen Nieuwland, member of a noble family.¹³²⁴

M.3.1 Mechteld (29-9-1699), Lady of Vreeswijk, member of the Reformed church in Utrecht (1643), m. 1) in the Reformed church in Utrecht (3-12/17-12-1643) Abraham de Bye, Lord of Albrantsweer, officer in the Dutch army.¹³²⁵ M. 2) in the Reformed church in The Hague (18-3-1646) Gerard van Reede (24-12-1666), Lord of Bornewal, member of the Council of State and the knighthood of Utrecht.¹³²⁶ Mechteld and Gerard were Protestants.

M.3.2 Frederik (d. 9-4-1666).¹³²⁷

M.3.3 Marie (d. 15-4-1633).¹³²⁸

¹³¹⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207. Buchelius, *Monumenta*, 23v.

¹³¹⁶ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207.

¹³¹⁷ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 13v.

¹³¹⁸ E. J. Wolleswinkel, 'Uit de collecties van de Hoge Raad van Adel. Een zeventiende-eeuws kwartierwapenboek van Joost van Atteveld', *DNL* 127 (2010), 18.

¹³¹⁹ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207.

¹³²⁰ Ibid., 163, 207.

¹³²¹ HUA, Begraafboek 123: 60.

¹³²² HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 163; Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 155. *VdW*, 1: 202.

¹³²³ Ibid., 312.

¹³²⁴ HUA, Trouwen gerecht, inv. 85, f. 155. Ablain, *Nijmegen*, 211.

¹³²⁵ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 207; Trouwen NH kerk, inv. 97, f. 125. J. D. Wagner, 'Marcus de Bye', *Taxandria* 7 (1920), 187.

¹³²⁶ HUA, Klapper overluidingen, 164. O. Schutte, *Repertoria vertegenwoordigers in Nederland en in het buitenland 1584–1810* (The Hague, 1976), 82.

¹³²⁷ HUA, Begraafboek 125: 31.

Appendix C: Godparents of the family De Wael van Vronestein¹³²⁹

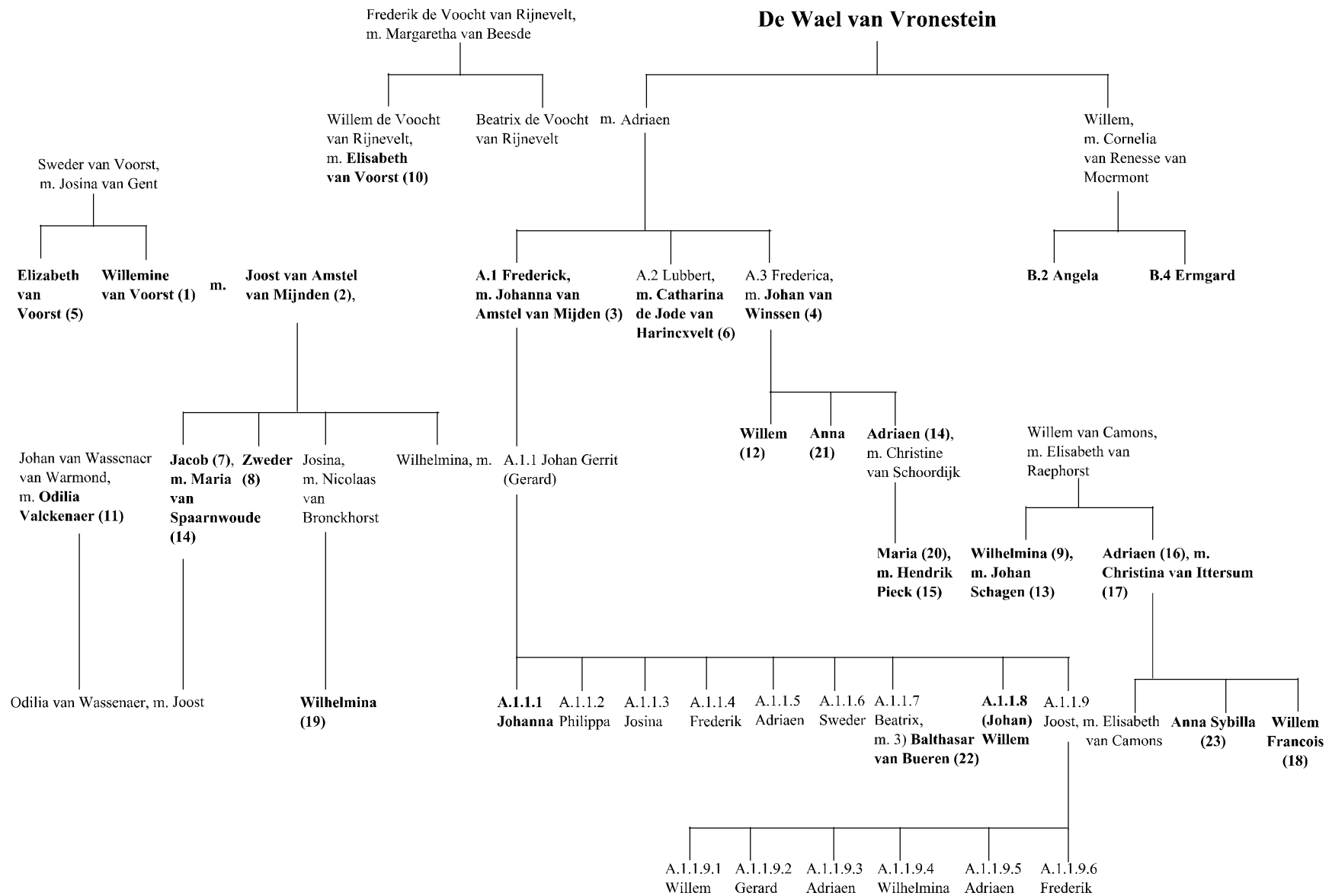
The following table gives the names of the godparents of the children of Gerard de Wael van Vronestein and Wilhelmina van Amstel van Mijden, and of Joost de Wael van Vronestein and Elisabeth van Camons. The numbers refer to the genealogical tree on the next page; the nobles whose name is bold were godparents. Willem van Doornick and Floris van Schagen have not been included in this genealogical tree as the exact family relationships could not be established.

Name child	Name godparent	Relation to the child's parents	Religious affiliation
Johanna (A.1.1.1)	Frederick de Wael van Vronestein (A.1)	Father	Catholic
	Willemine van Voorst (1)	Mother	Unkown
Philippa (A.1.1.2)	Joost van Amstel van Mijnden	Father	Catholic
	Johanna van Amstel van Mijnden (3)	Mother	Catholic
Josina (A.1.1.3)	Johan van Winssen (4)	Uncle	Unknown
	Elisabeth van Voorst (5)	Aunt	Unknown
Frederik (A.1.1.4)	Catharina de Jode van Harincxvelt (6)	Aunt	Catholic
	Willem van Doornick	Great uncle?	Unknown
Adriaen (A.1.1.5)	Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden (7)	Brother	Catholic
	Floris van Schagen	Cousin of Johan van Schagen	Unknown
Sweder (A.1.1.6)	Zweder van Amstel van Mijnden (8)	Brother	Catholic
	Wilhelmina van Camonts (9)	Aunt of his son's wife	Unknown
Beatrix (A.1.1.7)	Elisabeth van Voorst	Widow of great uncle	Unknown
	Odilia Valckenaer	Related to his wife's family	Unknown
	Willem van Winssen	Cousin	Unknown
(Johan) Willem (A.1.1.8)	Johan van Schagen	Uncle of their son's wife	Unknown
	Angela/Engel de Wael van Vronestein (B.2)	First cousin once removed	Catholic
Joost (A.1.1.9)	Maria van Spaarnwoude (13)	Sister in law	Catholic
	Adriaen van Winssen (14)	Cousin	Unknown
	Hendrick Pieck (15)	Husband of first cousin once removed	Catholic
Willem (A.1.1.9.1)	Adriaen van Camons (16)	Father	Catholic
	Ermgard de Wael van Vronestein (B.4)	First cousin twice removed	Catholic
Gerard (A.1.1.9.2)	Sweder van Amstel van Mijnden (8)	Uncle	Catholic
	Christina van Ittersum (17)	Mother	Catholic
Adriaen	Willem Francois van Camons (18)	Brother in law	Unknown

¹³²⁸ Ibid., 121: 727.

¹³²⁹ Kleijntjens, 'Aantekeningen'.

(A.1.1.9.3)			
	Johanna de Wael van Vronestein	Sister	Catholic
Wilhelmina (A.1.1.9.4)	(Johan) Willem de Wael van Vronestein	Brother	Catholic
	Wilhelmina van Bronckhorst	Cousin	Catholic
	Maria van Winssen	Second cousin	Catholic
Adriaen (A.1.1.9.5)	Adriaen van Camons (16)	Father	Catholic
	Anna van Winssen (21)	First cousin once removed	Catholic
Frederik (A.1.1.9.6)	Balthasar van Bueren (22)	Brother in law	Catholic
	Anna Sybilla van Camons (23)	Sister in law	Catholic



Appendix D: The education of Catholic nobles¹³³⁰

Anger ('riding school'):

- *Sweder van Amstel van Mijnden (1615)¹³³¹
- Windandus Hackfort (1615)¹³³²
- *Bernardus de Rysenburg (1632)

Cologne:

- *Anthonis van Lynden (1665), ex gymnasio Tricoronato¹³³³
- Elbert and Hendrik van Isendoorn à Blois (2-5-1617)¹³³⁴
- Wilhelmus van der Burch (26-5-1623)¹³³⁵
- Laurentius Hacfort (20-5-1650), ex gymnasio Laurentiano¹³³⁶
- Alard Hackforst ex Horst (12-5-1656), ex gymnasio Laurentiano¹³³⁷
- Roelof van Dorth de Meyerdick (1658), nomina logicorum gymnasii Trium Coronarum¹³³⁸
- Everardus a Ram (25-5-1658), nomina logicorum gymnasii Trium Coronarum¹³³⁹
- Alardus a Ram (29-4-1660), ex gymnasio Trium Coronarum¹³⁴⁰
- Henricus von der Borch (=Burch) (30-4-1660), ex gymnasio Laurentiani¹³⁴¹
- Wilhelminus Henricus von der Borch (30-4-1660), ex gymnasio Laurentiani¹³⁴²
- Gijsbert Ignatius van Dort (1661), ex parte gymnasii Trium Coronarum¹³⁴³
- Hendrik Willem van Dort (14-9-1663)¹³⁴⁴
- Roelof & Jan van Dort (14-9-1663)¹³⁴⁵

¹³³⁰ A * next to the name of a noble means that he is part of the group of 89 nobles which are the central object of study in chapter II. This list is not exhaustive, but included names of well-known Catholic families and member of some members of the 'new-nobility' in and around Utrecht.

¹³³¹ Frijhof, 'Het wapenboek', 122, 138-40. Frijhoff, 'Étudiants étrangers', 46.

¹³³² Frijhof, 'Het wapenboek', 138. Frijhoff, 'Étudiants étrangers', 56.

¹³³³ Keussen, *Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 4: 665.

¹³³⁴ Ibid., 274.

¹³³⁵ Ibid., 321.

¹³³⁶ Ibid., 508.

¹³³⁷ Ibid., 562.

¹³³⁸ Ibid., 592. J. H. Hofman, 'Het geslachtboek der heeren van Dorth' *BMG* 3 (1900), 104 (Roelof, d. 1689).

¹³³⁹ Ibid., 588.

¹³⁴⁰ Ibid., 607.

¹³⁴¹ Ibid., 613, 615.

¹³⁴² Ibid., 615.

¹³⁴³ Ibid., 621. Hofman, 'Heeren van Dorth', 105.

¹³⁴⁴ Keussen, *Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 4: 647. Hofman, 'Heeren van Dorth', 106.

- Gisbertus Johannes and Jacobus Willem a Ravesway (13-5-1665), ex gymnasio Tricoronato¹³⁴⁶
- Adrianus Henricus de Ravesway, (16-5-1667), ex gymnasio Tricoronato¹³⁴⁷
- Carolus von Spangen (13-5-1669), ex gymnasio Laurentio¹³⁴⁸
- Petrus Henricus de Ravesway (14-5-1669), ex gymnasio Tricoronato¹³⁴⁹
- Arnoldus Isbrandus de Ravesway (2-5-1673), ex gymnasio Tricoronato¹³⁵⁰
- Aloysius Arnoud van Dort (1674), ex parte gymnasii Trium Coronarum¹³⁵¹
- Hermanus Josephus Franciscus de Raweswag (= Ravesway) (9-5-1681), ex gymnasio Trium Coronarum¹³⁵²
- Johan Hendrik van Isendoorn à Blois (28-4-1684), ex gymnasio Trium Coronarum¹³⁵³
- Walterus Stephanus de Stepraedt (May 1652), gymnasii Laurentiani¹³⁵⁴
- Judocus Henricus Wittenhorst (17-5-1688), ex parte gymnasii Montani¹³⁵⁵
- Johannes Guilielmus de Wittenhorst (12-4-1690), ex gymnasio Tricoronati¹³⁵⁶
- *Ludovicus van Renesse van Baer (1695)¹³⁵⁷
- Bern de Proeyss (= Proeys) (19-4-1695), ex gymnasio Trium Coronarum¹³⁵⁸
- Theodorus Johan van Stepraedt (1700), logici gymnasii Trium Coronarum¹³⁵⁹
- Johan Ant. Petr. van Stepraedt (1700), logici gymnasii Trium Coronarum¹³⁶⁰

Douai:

- *Johan Grauwert (1636)¹³⁶¹

¹³⁴⁵ Keussen, *Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 4: 647. According to this matricule, these names have been added later. It is likely that this was Roelof Jan van Dort, the older brother of Hendrik Willem. Hofman, 'Heeren van Dorth', 106.

¹³⁴⁶ Ibid., 665. Adrianus Hendricus and Gijsbert Johannes also attended the 'riding school' in Anger in 1672. Frijhoff, 'Étudiants étrangers', 69.

¹³⁴⁷ Keussen, *Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 4: 678.

¹³⁴⁸ Ibid., 695.

¹³⁴⁹ Ibid., 698.

¹³⁵⁰ Ibid., 733.

¹³⁵¹ Ibid., 708. Hofman, 'Heeren van Dorth', 105.

¹³⁵² Keussen, *Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 5: 46. All the members of the Van Raveswaey family who studied in Cologne were sons of IJsbrand van Raveswaey and Anna van der Wiele van der Werve. IJsbrand was mentioned on De la Torre's list. DLT, AAU 11, 182 (Egghe).

¹³⁵³ Keussen, *Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 5: 73.

¹³⁵⁴ Ibid., 525.

¹³⁵⁵ Ibid., 102.

¹³⁵⁶ Ibid., 122.

¹³⁵⁷ Ibid., 160.

¹³⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁵⁹ Ibid., 208

¹³⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁶¹ Van Lommel, 'Iets over enige statien', 457.

Leiden:

- *Adriaen van Camont (3-6-1598)¹³⁶²
- *Johan van der Haer (2-9-1602)¹³⁶³
- *Balthazar van Bueren (30-4-1621)¹³⁶⁴
- *Bernardus de Rysenburg (5-9-1628)¹³⁶⁵
- *Ludovicus de Renesse de Baer (30-11-1693)¹³⁶⁶

Louvain:

- *Gerard de Wael van Vronestein (1600)¹³⁶⁷
- Johannes Vincentius a Wittenhorst (20-10-1616)¹³⁶⁸
- *Adriaen van Renesse [van Baer] (9-12-1616), falconenses minorennens¹³⁶⁹
- *Ludovicus a Renesse [van Baer] (9-12-1616), falconenses divites¹³⁷⁰
- Joannes Ferdinandus de Renesse de Elderen (12-2-1636), falcones divites¹³⁷¹
- Petrus van den Burch (27-2-1649), porcenses divites¹³⁷²
- Renerus van Dort (16-2-1646), minorennis, liliensis¹³⁷³
- Guihelmus van der Burch (7-1-1655), castrenses nobiles¹³⁷⁴
- Johannes de Wassenauer (7-1-1655), castrenses nobiles¹³⁷⁵
- Antonius de Wassenauer (7-1-1655), castrenses nobiles¹³⁷⁶

¹³⁶² Just Emile Kroon, *Album studiosorum academiae Lugduno Batavae MDCCCLXXV–MCMXXV* (Leiden, 1925), 52.

¹³⁶³ Ibid., 67.

¹³⁶⁴ Ibid., 153.

¹³⁶⁵ Ibid., 212. He also attended the 'riding school' in Anger in 1632. Frijhoff, 'Étudiants étrangers', 71.

¹³⁶⁶ Ibid., 729.

¹³⁶⁷ HUA, Collegium Pastorum, inv. 27.

¹³⁶⁸ Reusens, *Marticule de l'Université de Louvain*, 5: 10. This was the father of Willem Vincent van Wittenhorst.

¹³⁶⁹ Ibid., 71.

¹³⁷⁰ Ibid., 10. HUA, Collegium Pastorum, inv. 27.

¹³⁷¹ Reusens, *Marticule de l'Université de Louvain*, 5: 313.

¹³⁷² Ibid., 500. This was the brother of the lord of Oudaen, who is mentioned on De la Torre's list. DLT, *AAU* 11, 180 (Audaen).

¹³⁷³ Reusens, *Marticule de l'Université de Louvain*, 5: 463.

¹³⁷⁴ Ibid., 6: 36

¹³⁷⁵ Ibid. This probably was Jan Jacob van Wassenauer van Obdam (b. around 1636), son of Adam and Johanna van Beieren-Schagen.

- Theodorus a Wassenauer [van Warmond], (7-1-1655), castrenses nobiles¹³⁷⁷
- Johannes Baptista and Wilhelmus Franciscus van der Werve (14-1-1658), falconenses nobiles¹³⁷⁸
- Guilielmus de Nobelaer (27-11-1658), castrenses¹³⁷⁹
- Emilius and Joannes Nobelaer (19-12-1660), nobiles castrenses¹³⁸⁰
- *Gerardus Aloisius de Waal a Vronestein (1664-5), nobilis falconeses¹³⁸¹
- Theodorus de Zijdtwijck (1689), porcenses¹³⁸²

Paris

- *Bernardus de Rysenburg (1634)

Utrecht:

- *Adriaen van Renesse van Baer (?)¹³⁸³
- *Johannes van der Haer (1644)¹³⁸⁴
- Cornelis de Ridder van Groenestein (1651)¹³⁸⁵
- *Gerardus de Wael a Vronesteyn (1669)¹³⁸⁶
- Frederik Jacob Heereman van Zuydtwijck (1684)¹³⁸⁷

¹³⁷⁶ Ibid.. This probably was Antony van Wassenauer van Opdam (b. around 1638), Jan Jacob's brother. Both of them registered at Leiden university in 1657. Groenveld, 'Terug naar Wassenauer', 131. *Album studiosorum academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague, 1875), 454.

¹³⁷⁷ Reusens, *Marticule de l'Université de Louvain*, 6: 36. This is Dirk van Wassenauer van Warmond (b. 1639 – d. 1679), son of Jan and Maria Eleonora van Eyckel. He registered at Leiden university as well. Ibid., 455.

¹³⁷⁸ Ibid., 99.

¹³⁷⁹ Ibid., 117.

¹³⁸⁰ Ibid., 147. The family Nobelaer, part of the so-called 'new nobility', were frequently mentioned on De la Torre's list. DLT, AAU 11, 181: Cabau, Clinkerlant; 182: Grypsenoorde; 183: Kerckwerwe; 186: Sinsenburg; 187: Uytwijck; 188: Weer

¹³⁸¹ Reusens, *Marticule de l'Université de Louvain*, 6: 221.

¹³⁸² Ibid., 7: 62. This probably was Diderik Frans Heereman van Zuydtwijck (b. 1671 – d. 1712).

¹³⁸³ Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 53.

¹³⁸⁴ *Album studiosorum academiae Rheno-Trajectinae...* (Utrecht, 1886), 6. His father, Johan, studied at Leiden university.

¹³⁸⁵ Ibid., 30.

¹³⁸⁶ Ibid., 63.

¹³⁸⁷ Ibid., 80.

Appendix E: The religious affiliation of Thomas Walraven van Arkel's servants¹³⁸⁸

Name	Occupation	Signs of religious affiliation
Ariaen Aertsen van Liemt	servant (<i>bouw knecht</i>)	Married in the Catholic Church; witness at a Catholic baptism
Teunis Gijsbertssen	servant (<i>bouw knecht</i>)	Witness at a Catholic baptism
Wouter Arijense	servant (<i>bouw knecht</i>)	?
Willem Tielen	shepherd	? - Family van Tiel appears often in Catholic registers
Ariaen Rijckers	gardener	?
Gerrit Carpentier	manservant (<i>lijf knecht</i>)	Daughter was baptized by a Catholic priest; witness at several Catholic baptisms
Johannes Verhoeven	manservant (<i>livreijknecht</i>)	?
Cornelis Petersen Mutsart	charioteer	Witness at a Catholic baptism
Sibille Hegeringhs	cupbearer (<i>bottelierster</i>)	Witness at a Catholic baptism
Henderijn Peters	kitchen maid	Child/children baptized in the Reformed Church
Geurtjen Claes	milkmaid	Witness at Catholic baptism?
Beltjen de melkmeijdt	milkmaid	?
Hubertus du Chainé	manservant (<i>livreijknecht</i>)	?
Arie Danielssen	skipper	Son was baptized by a Catholic priest
Jacob Westervoordt	labourer	Daughter was baptized by a Catholic priest; married in the Catholic Church
Handrick Krijnen	labourer	Witness at Catholic baptism?
Gijsbert Jaspersen	roofer (<i>decker</i>)	Son baptized in the Reformed church; married in the Reformed Church
Jasper Gijsbertsen	-	? father-in-law married in Reformed Church
Jan Arijenssen	-	Daughter was baptized by a Catholic priest; married in the Catholic Church; married in the town hall
Clement Hermenssen	-	Son was baptized by a Catholic priest; married in the town hall
Peter de Gier	paid for mowing the grass	Children were baptized by a Catholic priest; witness at Catholic baptism; married in Catholic Church
Adriaen Dirksen de Cauw	-	Son was baptized by a Catholic priest; married in the town hall
Paulus Janssen	paid for services	Married in the Catholic Church; witness at Catholic baptism
Antonij Benoist ¹³⁸⁹	painter	Listed in Catholic burial register
Isaac Roorda ¹³⁹⁰	schoolmaster and sexton	Had his children baptized in the Wallonian church in Leiden, and acted as a witness there.
Metjen Hyberts ¹³⁹¹	wife of schoolmaster	Had her children baptized in the Reformed Church; married in the Reformed Church.

¹³⁸⁸ Thomas also made use of services from people from Den Bosch, who are not included in this table. Most of the information has been retrieved from online DTB registers. See the 'Registers Ammerzoden' at: http://www.streekarchiefbommelerwaard.nl/personen/bladeren-door-de-registers/q/register_gemeente/Ammerzoden. The names of the servants can be found in: GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188a: 'rekeningen betreffende nalatenschap van Thomas Walraven van Arkel', and, in the same document 'Deel II: Uitgaaf van de boode lonen'.

¹³⁸⁹ He painted Thomas' twenty quarters after Thomas had died.

¹³⁹⁰ He was the schoolmaster and sexton in Ammerzoden.

¹³⁹¹ She was the widow of the former schoolmaster in Well and she was paid for tolling the bells (*overlyden*).

Appendix F: Donations to charity made by Catholic nobles

Donations to the Catholic poor or to Catholic institutions:

Name	Specification of donation	Date
Maria van Winssen ¹³⁹²	Money for the five houses for the poor at the <i>Begijnhof</i> ¹³⁹³	1606
Gerarde van Amstel van Mijnden ¹³⁹⁴	Twelve guilders for beguines in Utrecht	1610
Barbara de la Kéthulle ¹³⁹⁵	20000 guilders to the houses for the poor (Utrecht) ¹³⁹⁶	1665
Maria van Brakel ¹³⁹⁷	2000 guilders for the maintenance of the houses for the poor ¹³⁹⁸	1676–80
Margareta Uytenhamme ¹³⁹⁹	100 guilders to the Catholic poor chamber	1690
Frederik Uytenhamme ¹⁴⁰⁰	800 guilders to the Catholic poor chamber	1695
Jacob Francois van Renesse van Baer ¹⁴⁰¹	100 guilders to the Catholic poor chamber 5 guilders to each of the four houses for the poor in the Stroysteech ¹⁴⁰²	1698
Assuerus van Spangen & Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden ¹⁴⁰³	Transferred right of collation of houses for the poor in the A.B.C. straat to the Catholic poor chamber	1701
Willem de Wael van Vronestein ¹⁴⁰⁴	Furniture, 5500 guilden and the estate Oucoop to the Catholic poor chamber	1695, 1698, 1710

¹³⁹² NA, HVZ, inv. 660.

¹³⁹³ Later in the seventeenth century all these poor chambers were inhabited by Reformed Protestants. Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 261.

¹³⁹⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 1043.

¹³⁹⁵ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 35.

¹³⁹⁶ The will mentions that these houses were established by her 'grandfather Van Raveswaey. It is likely that these were the poor chambers in the Meyenpoortje (see HUA, NOT, inv. U133a001, no. 148 (13-11-1705), which were, at least in 1687, all inhabited by Catholics. Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 261.

¹³⁹⁷ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 246.

¹³⁹⁸ These chambers of the poor were located in the Strosteeg, the A.B.C. straat, and behind Maria's house that was standing next to the Hieronymusschool (Nieuwegracht).

¹³⁹⁹ HUA, NOT, inv. U056a017, no. 45 (18-8-1690).

¹⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., inv. U056a016, no. 83 (3-6-1688).

¹⁴⁰¹ Ibid., inv. U065a004, no. 1-2 (03-01-1698).

¹⁴⁰² These poor chambers are not mentioned in the overview of 1687 and the religious affiliation of its inhabitants is unknown (For this overview, see: Forclaz, *Catholiques*, 260-1). However, at some point in the eighteenth century four chambers in the Strosteeg were owned by the Catholic poor chamber. HUA, Oude rooms-katholieke aalmoezenierskamer te Utrecht, inv. 58.

¹⁴⁰³ Ibid., inv. U097a010, no. 19 (02-04-1701).

¹⁴⁰⁴ NA, HVZ, inv. 861; HUA, NOT, U093a058, no. 8 (22-01-1710).

Donations to the general poor or general institutions (not attached to a certain confession)

Name	Specification of donation	Date
Anthonia van Winssen ¹⁴⁰⁵	50 guilders to the poor	1582
Emerentia van Winssen ¹⁴⁰⁶	2 guilders (yearly) to the poor	1584
Ermgard de Wael van Vronestein ¹⁴⁰⁷	300 guilders to her 'usual poor'	1653
Peter van Hardenbroek ¹⁴⁰⁸	500 guilders to the poor of Hardenbroek	1656
Adriaen van Camons and Christina van Ittersum ¹⁴⁰⁹	Clothes and 400 guilders to the poor	1657
Barbara de la Kéthulle ¹⁴¹⁰	1000 guilders to Ammerzoden's poor relief chamber	1665
Maria van Amstel van Mijnden ¹⁴¹¹	200 guilder to the <i>Apostelgasthuis</i> , Utrecht	1666
Ursula van Middachten ¹⁴¹²	Yearly amount of rye to the poor in Borculo	1667
Isabelle Catharina van Camons ¹⁴¹³	10 guilders (yearly) to the poor	1670
Agatha Bijl ¹⁴¹⁴	25000 guilders to the poor	1687
Thomas Walraven van Arkel ¹⁴¹⁵	1000 guilders to the poor in Well	1692
	1000 guilders to the poor in Ammerzoden	
Godart van Reede and Ursula van Raesfelt ¹⁴¹⁶	2000 guilders to the poor of Ellecom	1701
	1000 guilders to the poor of Amerongen	

¹⁴⁰⁵ NA, HVZ, inv. 1024

¹⁴⁰⁶ HUA, NOT, inv. U001a001, f. 330v.

¹⁴⁰⁷ NA, HVZ, inv. 679.

¹⁴⁰⁸ HUA, Familie Hardenbroek, inv. 251.

¹⁴⁰⁹ NA, HVZ, inv. 1173, 1176.

¹⁴¹⁰ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 35.

¹⁴¹¹ GA, Huis Doornenburg, inv. 259. The Protestant nobleman Frederick van Zuylen van Nyevelt and his wife donated money to this almshouse as well. HUA, NOT, inv. U35a002, no.226 (11-5-1649).

¹⁴¹² GA, Huis Middachten, inv. 258.

¹⁴¹³ NA, HVZ, inv. 762.

¹⁴¹⁴ Ibid., inv. 839. According a will of her husband, Willem de Wael van Vronestein, 25,000 guilders were given to the *godshuizen* (almshouses) in Amsterdam. Ibid., inv. 861: will of 4-3-1695.

¹⁴¹⁵ GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 34.

¹⁴¹⁶ HUA, Huis Amerongen, inv. 3177.

Appendix G: Religious books owned by Catholic nobles¹⁴¹⁷

Devotional books owned by Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden and Maria van Spaarnwoude¹⁴¹⁸

<i>Catholic books</i>			
Author	Background	Title book	Date
Martin Back	Secular	Den schat der Catholijke sermoenen	1597
Pierre de Bérulle	Jansenist	Elevation a Jesus Christ notre-seigneur sur la conduite...	1627
Jakob Feucht	Secular	Postilla Catholica Evangeliorum de Sanctis totius Anni...	1597
		Manuel de prieres catholiques [Peter Canisius SJ, Le manuel des catholiques contenant la vraye maniere de prier Dieu?]	
		Hijmni Collectae et evangelia totius anni [= Hymni et collectae, item evangelia... quae in Ecclesiae Dei leguntur..., 1566]	
Petrus Canisius	Jesuit	Summa doctrinae Christianae	1556
		L'exemple de la parfaicte contemplation [Francois Fichet O.F.M., exemple de la parfaicte contemplation, 1604?]	
Bernardinus van Balbano	Capucin	Le Sacré mystère de la flagellation de nostre Sauveur ¹⁴¹⁹	?
Jacopo Sadoletto	Secular	Epistolarum libri sexdecim	1554
Petrus Opmeer	Cath. layman	Dat schip van patientie en poenitentie	1593
		Tableau de la penitence [Antoine Godeau, Les tableaux de la penitence?]	
		Vier schone Christelijcke gebet [=?]	
		Enchridion Psalmodum [?] ¹⁴²⁰	
		Passie ons heeren Jesu Christi [=Die passie ons Heere Jesu Christi, als Nicodemus en de vier evangelisten...1600?]	
Claude Paradin	Secular	Quadres historiquies de la bible [= Quadrins historiquies de la bible?]	1553
		Florimond Remond [=Florimond Remond, Historia de ortu, progressu, et ruina haereseon hujus saeculi, 1614?]	
Carolus Scribani	Jesuit	Het eerste deel der meditatie	1613
<i>Protestant books</i>			
		German bible [by Luther?]	1534
<i>Pre-Reformation books/General Christian works</i>			
		Two old missals on parchment	?
		Officie van onse L Vrouwe geschreven	?
		Officium H Marien	?
		Officium H Marien in 16 ^o : with silver locks	?
		Officium H Maria, written	?
		Breviarium secundum usum [et consuetudinem maioris] ecclesie traiectionis	1518
		Magnues de la perfection chrestienne [=L'Eminence de la perfection Chrestienne... par le V. P. Maistre Gérard le Grand?]	
		Novum Testamentum	?
		Libri Prophetarum [=Sébastien Gryphe, Libri prophetarum, 1543?]	
		Nieuwe Testament (<i>New Testament</i>) with silver locks	?
		Biblia Latina [=Vulgate]	?
		La vie de Madame Theresa [=?]	
		Albertus Magnus [=?]	
Augstine	Church father	De doctrina Christiana	1529

¹⁴¹⁷ If a date is between brackets (e.g. [1624]), it means that this is the date mentioned in the inventory. Otherwise the date of first publication, mainly derived from the *Bibliotheca Catholica Neerlandica Impressa*, is given.

¹⁴¹⁸ GA, Huis Doornenberg, inv. 234: inventory of the estate of Jacob van Amstel van Mijnden and Maria van Spaarnwoude (1635).

¹⁴¹⁹ French translation by Antoine Gazet.

¹⁴²⁰ This could be Francois Mouret's *Enchridion psalmodum Davidis regii...* (Paris, 1581), but also Ulrich Zwingli's *Enchridion psalmodum* (1532).

Augustine	Church father	Meditationes	1539
Bernard Parmensis		Casus decretalium	?
		Liber psalmodum	?
Ludolph of Saxony		Het leven ons heeren (<i>The life of our Lord</i>)	1503

Devotional books owned by Maria van Winssen¹⁴²¹

Catholic books			
Author	Background	Title book	Date
Henricus Adriani	Secular	Catholique sermonen (Catholic sermons)	1592
Pieter de Backere	Regular	Hortulus precationum	1566
Frans Coster	Jesuit	Meditations sur la vie de la vierge marie [=Cinquante méditations de la vie et louanges de la Vierge Marie]	1597
Charles Lallement	Jesuit	Divers entretiens sur la vie cachée de Jésus-Christ	1660?
Petrus Opmeer	Cath. layman	Dat schip van patientie en poenitentie	1593
Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jure	Jesuit	Conduites pour les principales actions de la vie chrestienne	
Antoine Vatie	Jesuit	La conduite de Saint Ignace	1661
Willem de Wael van Vronestein	Jesuit	Oeffeninghe van devotie... (<i>Exercise of devotion...</i>)	1653
		Epistolen ende evangelien op sondagen en heilighdagen	1626?
		catechismus in het Duits [= Canisius' catechism?]	
Pre-Reformation books/General Christian works			
		Getijden van ons L vrouwe in frans en latijn	?
		Officium beatae Mariae	?
Thomas a Kempis	Regular	De imitatio Christi (2 copies, in Latin and German)	1501

Devotional books owned by Thomas Walraven van Arkel¹⁴²²

Catholic books			
Author	Background	Title book	Date
Antoine Arnauld	Jansenist	Apologie pour les Catholiques contre les faussetez et les calomnies...	1681?
Antoine Arnauld	Jansenist	Quatre petits traittes de St Augustin	?
John Barclay	Catholic	Satyricon	1604-7
Caesare Baronius	Secular	Generale kerckelijcke historie...	[1623]
Robertus Bellarminus	Jesuit	De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis	1631
Valentijn Bisschop	Jesuit	Loff der Suyverheyt, 3. boek	1625
Prieur de Blainville	Regular	Histoire Sacre en Tableaux...	1675?
Thomas le Blanc	Jesuit	La direction et la consolation des personnes mariées; ou, Les moyens....	[1688]
Andreas de Boeye	Jesuit	Levens der gehouder personen die heylighlyck geleeft hebben	1631
Petrus vanden Bossche	Dominican	Den Catholycken pedagoge...	1685
Jean Boucher	Franciscan	Le bouquet sacré ou le voyage de la Terre Saint...	1614
V. Cepari	Jesuit	Het leven vanden salighen Lodewyck Gonzaga	1615
J. Costerus	Jesuit	Catholicke sermoenen (2 copies)	[1616]
J. Costerus	Jesuit	Het nieuwe testament	[1614]
Antoine Gerard	Jesuit	Les peintures sacrées sur la Bible	1665
Antonius Godeau	Secular	La vie de fr. Charles Borromee	1657
Johannes van Gouda	Jesuit	Boekje van de Jezuiet Gouda [Corte wtlegginghe van het	1622

¹⁴²¹ NA, HVZ, inv. 940: inventory of the estate of Maria van Winssen (1669).

¹⁴²² GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188: catalogue of the books owned by Thomas Walraven van Arkel (1694).

		alderheylichste..?]	
Julien Hayneufve	Jesuit	Meditation sur la vie de Jesus Christ, 3 vols ¹⁴²³	1645
Cornelius Hazart	Jesuit	Aenmerkingen van Pater Hasart tegens D. Petrus Cabeljau	1662?
Cornelius Hazart	Jesuit	De vagevuer bevesticht uit de H. Schriftuer	1679?
Cornelius Hazart	Jesuit	Den Hollantschen Icarus, uyt-ghebeeldt in Daniel Peenius predicant tot...	1664
Johannesvan Hoorenbeeck	Dominican	Het leven van den salighen Henricus Suso	1627
Giovan Paolo Lancelotti	Catholic layman	Institutiones iuris canonici	1563?
Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy	Jansenist	La vie de dom bartholemey des martyrs	[1663]
Jacob van Liesvelt	Protestant	De bybel in t' Duyts ¹⁴²⁴	[1556]
Ignatius de Loyola	Jesuit	Geestelijcke Oeffeninghen	1640
Jean de Bernières Louvingy	Franciscan	Le chrestien interieur, ou la conformité interieure qui doivent...	1664
Thomas Murner	Franciscan	Nebulo Nebulorum	?
Pierre Nicole	Jansenist	Tradition de l'Eglise touchant l'Eucharistie	1659?
Blaise Pascal	Jansenist	Lettres Provinciales	1657
Blaise Pascal	Jansenist	Pensées sur la religion...	1669
Isaac La Peyrère	Catholic	Praeadamitae	1655
Adrianus Poitiers	Jesuit	Het Heyligh Herte vereert...	1659
Ludovicus de Ponte	Jesuit	Meditation van de principaelste mistieren...4. deel	1614-6
Florimond de Remond	Cath. layman	L'histoire de la naissance: progrez et decadence de l'heresie de ce siecle	?
Cardinal-duc de Richelieu	Secular	Traite de la perfection du Chrestien	1646
Heribert Rosweyde	Jesuit	Generale kerckelijcke historie	1623
Nicolaus Saunders	Secular	Historie du schisme d'Angleterre ¹⁴²⁵	1683
J. Stalpart van der Wiele	Secular	Extractum Catholicium tegens alle gebreken van verwarde herssenen	1631
Thomas Stapleton	Secular	Promptuale morale [=Promptuarium morale]	1591
Famianus Strada	Jesuit	Vol. 1 [= first volume of his De Bello Belgico decades duae, 1632-50?]	
B. Surius	Franciscan	Den Godvruchtighen Pelgrim....	1649
Willem de Wael van Vronestein	Jesuit	La Couronne des Palyes de Jesus Christ	1651
Godfried Wandelman	Jesuit	De ware kercke Jesu Christi..	1647
		Consilium Tridentinum [Canones et decreta...concilii Tridentini, 1564?]	
		Fragmens Pieux [= Fragments pieux de divers Pères de l'Église, 1669?]	[1669]
		De nieuwe legenden van Surius [=?]	
		L'Histoire de sainte par Galett [=?]	
		Histoire du cardinal Richelieu [=Anetoine Aubrey, Memoires pour l'histoire du...?]	
Protestant books			
Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas	Huguenot layman	Bartas, Weke der Scheppen/La semaine du Bartas	1578
Pierre du Bosc	Huguenot	Cinq sermons	1683
Thomas Brown	Anglican	Religio medici	1643
Reformed Church		Acta synodi nationalis habita Dordrecht	1620
Reformed Church?		Postacta sinodi Dordrechtensis	?
Henricus Groenewegen	Calvinist	Oefeningen Over den Heidelbergschen Catechismus....	[1687]

¹⁴²³ French clergymen were encouraged to meditate each morning using Hayneufve's book. Julia, 'Reading and the Counter-Reformation', 252.

¹⁴²⁴ This was a Dutch translation of the bible printed by Jacob van Liesvelt. Originally this was a Reformed translation of the bible, largely based on Luther's translation, yet later versions of this bible were 'catholicized' and were approved by the Catholic church. Willem François, 'Jacob van Liesvelt, his widow and their bibles. The boundaries of confessionalism in history writing', paper given at the Refo500 conference (Bologna, 17-5-2014).

¹⁴²⁵ This is Francois Maucroix's translation of Saunders' *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani*.

Hugo Grotius		De veritate religionis	1627
Pierre du Moulin	Huguenot	Philosophie de Du Moulin [= La philosophie françoise, 1625?]	
	Huguenot		
François de la Noue	layman	Discours politiques et militaires	1587
Rumoldus Rombouts	Calvinist	Schriftuurlijke verklaring, ende godtvrugtige betragting,	1685
Petrus van Staveren	Calvinist	Huys-houginge Godts in zijn kercke tot de Suntbloet	1694
	Protestant		
Justus Turcq	layman	Meditationes sacrae [=Solitudo Pia, Seu Meditationes Sacrae]	1669?
Zacharius Ursinus	Protestant	Het Schatboek der verclaringhen over de Catechismus	1602 ¹⁴²⁶
		Bibliotheca fratrum polonorum	1668
		De gereformeerde engelse liturgie en andere engelsche tractaten [=De gereformeerde Engelsche liturgie, 1645?]	
?		Hoogduitsche kercken ordre	
?		Histoire de la vie de Jean du Labadie	
		Uitlegging over de schriftuur [= Frans Burman's Synopsis Theologiae, 1671?]	
Pre-Reformation/General Christian books			
	?	Sermoenen van St Bernardus [= Frans Vervoort OFM, De sermonen ende manieren van Leven, 1557?]	
Augustine	church father	La cité de Dieu	[1655]
Thomas a Kempis	regular	De imitatione Christi	
	Pre-		
Sulpicius Severus	Reformation	L'Histoire sainte	?
		Biblia junii ¹⁴²⁷	?
		Biblia Vulgata	?
		Horae Beatae Mariae M.S. (book of hours)	
		Orarium secundum ordinem regularium capituli Windesemensis	[1545]

Source: GA, Huis Ammerzoden, inv. 188: catalogue of the books owned by Thomas Walraven van Arkel (1694).

¹⁴²⁶ This was the translation by Festius Hommius.

¹⁴²⁷ This was probably the Latin translation of the bible from Hebrew by Immanuel Trimellius and his son-in-law Franciscus Junius.

Appendix H: Priests housed by Catholic nobles

	Name of the estate	Name of the owner(s)	Name of the missionaries	Regular/ Secular
Utrecht (countryside)	Den Ham	Uyten Ham	Johan van Rhenen (1609–15) Johannes van Aelst	Regular? Secular
	Groenestein	Ridder van Groenestein	Johannes Ryzer	Jesuit
	Kronenburg	Van Amstel van Mijnden	Johannes van Heymenbergh	Secular
	Loenersloot	Stepraet/Van Lynden J. G. Oostrum van	Johannes van Heymenbergh ¹⁴²⁸	Secular
	Meulesteyn	Moersbergen	Pater Possenius Antonius Stock	Jesuit Jesuit
	Rijnestein	Ridder van Groenestein	Theodorus Mensinck (periode?)	Secular
	Schalkwijk	Ram van Schalkwijk	Trolman?	?
	Snaafburg	Van Zuylen van Nyvelt	Dirck van den Horst (until 1651) Jacobus Bijleveld	Secular Secular
	Vronestein	De Wael van Vronesteyn	Theodorus Mensinck (1664–72) Gerardus van Wijk Johannes Vermeer	Secular Secular Secular
	Weerdestein	Gijsbert Grauwert	pater Robbe (1612–4)	Jesuit
City of Utrecht	Loenersloot	Amstel van Mijnden	Station of the S.J. from around 1662	Jesuit
	House at Mariaplaats	Gijsbertha C. van den Burch	Jacob Catz	Secular
	Grift	Catharina van Oostrum	Lubbert Cornelissen Cuijman	Secular
	House in Utrecht	Floris Foeyt	Goidschalk Augustijn de Wolff	Secular
	House in Utrecht	Gijsbert van Hardenbroek	Rolandus Robyn (until 1599)	Dominican
	House in Utrecht	Tho Boecop	Nicolaas de Munck (1671–86)	Dominican
Guelders	Aerdt	Joost van Steenhuysen	Thomas Verhoeven (1693–1701?)	Secular
	Ammerzoden	Van Arckel	Joannes van Olmen (1647–51) Jan Ooms (1651–74) Joannes Lemmers (1674–81) Petrus van der Hulpen (1681–4) Petrus Vogelssanck (1684–1700) Petrus de Kindere (1700–1732)	Jesuit Franciscan Franciscan Franciscan Franciscan Franciscan
	Cannenburg	Van Isendoorn à Blois	Hendrik van Isendoorn (from 1655) Daniel van Haren (1685–95) Johannes Uphuys (1698–1706)	Franciscan Secular Secular
	Doddendael	Van Stepraedt	Walter van Alkemade (until 1649) Leo de Meyer (1649) Willem de Meldert (1651–71) Augustinus de Casto (1684–8; 1690–1703?)	Jesuit Jesuit Jesuit Franciscan

¹⁴²⁸ Until 1652.

	Duistervoorde	Van Stepraedt	Martinus Weert (1688–90)	Franciscan
			Adam Blondaeu (1673/4–?)	Franciscan
			Van Linne (1687–?)	Franciscan
			?? (1701?) ¹⁴²⁹	Secular
	Gietelo	Dirk van Dorth	Joannes van den Broeck (1639)	Jesuit
	Gronsfoort	Stepraedt/Van Lynden	Dirck van den Horst (1651–2?)	Secular
			Franciscus Beltjes (1662–6)	Secular
			Gerard de Bruyn (1666–78)	Secular
			Lauren van Pilsen (1679–80)	Secular
			Philips Tuscheer (1680–1728)	Secular
	Harreveld	Van Raesfelt	Petrus van Duppen	Jesuit
			Godefridus van Gessel (tot 1660)	Jesuit
			Sebastianus Riccius (1694–1701?)	Secular
	Ter Horst; Medler	Hackfort; Van Dorth; van Doetinghem	Joannes van de Broeck (1631–39)	Jesuit
			Jan van Eechoute (1640–50)	Jesuit
			Gerardus Grumsel (1650–78)	Jesuit
	Ter Horst; Eerdbeeck	Hackfort; Van Lamsweerde	Philips Tuscheer (1680–1728)	Secular
			Stephanus van Lent (1697–?)	Secular
	De Heest	Jakoba Emilia van Westerholt	Balthazar van Ray (1692)	Secular
	Hernen	Maria van Mekerem	Franciscus Dammarin	Franciscan
	Medler	Hendrik van Dorth	Bernardus Sengers (1654–82)	Franciscan
			Andreas van Dieren (1683–8)	Secular
			Wilhelmus van der Linden (1688–9?)	Secular
			Lauren van Rhemmen (1689–92)	Secular
			Ludovicus van Elsen (1695–1702?)	Franciscan
	Middachten	Ursula van Raesfelt Cock van	Hendrik van Deventer (1692)	Secular
	Opijnen	Opijn/d'Oultremont	Jan Ooms	Franciscan
	Rhenoy	De Ruyter van Rhenoy	Erasmus Visscher	Secular
	Slangenborg	Frederik Johan de Baer	Johannes Verschleyen (1683/4–?)	Secular
	Varik	Stepraedt	Wynandus Schordij	Jesuit
			Franciscus Dammarin (until 1662)	Jesuit
			Daniel Meynaerts (until 1695)	Secular
	Wamel	De Roover/Reuver	Joannes Pladys (1656–?)	Jesuit
Nijmegen	House in Nijmegen	Hendrik van den Bergh	Dean De Raedt	?
	House Xanten	Grobbe/Van der Heyden	Jesuits	Jesuits
	House Waldbeeck	Stepraedt	Franciscans (1677–?)	Franciscans

¹⁴²⁹ Brom, 'Verslag...1701', 458.

Numbers of priests				
	Regular	Secular	?/Uncertain	<i>Total</i>
Utrecht	7	10	2	<i>19</i>
Guelders	26	20	1	<i>47</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>66</i>

Appendix I: Number of Catholic communicants in the vicinity of castles owned by Catholic nobles¹⁴³⁰

	Name village	Communicants		Noble influence in the seventeenth century ¹⁴³¹
		1656	1726	
Utrecht	Baarn		183	Priests at Groenestein Castle
	Breukelen ¹⁴³²	5336	-	Priests at Weerdestein and Schalkwijk castles
	IJsselstein	534	1000	Priests at Vronestein and Rijnestein castles
	Jutphaas		432	Priests at Vronestein and Rijnestein castles
	Loenersloot		324	Priests at Loenersloot and Kronenburg castles, church at the Sloodijk
	Maarssen		900	Priests at Snaafburg Castle
	Vleuten		721	Priests at Den Ham Castle
	Werkhoven		500	Priests at Weerdestein and Schalkwijk castles
	Wijk bij Duurstede	800	600	Priests at Groenestein Castle
Guelders	Duistervoorde		600	Station at Duistervoorde Castle (mentioned in 1701)
	Eerbeek en Horst		220	Station at Eerbeek and Ter Horst castles
	Epe-Cannenberg		340	Station at Cannenburg Castle
	s-Heerenberg		450	Priests visited 's-Heerenberg Castle
	Herwen en Aerdt		530	Priests maintained by the lords of Aerdt
	Rhenoy		300	Priests housed by the family De Ruyter van Rhenoy
	Varik-Tielerwaard		178	Priests visited Varik Castle
	Wageningen-Renkum	67	250	Station at Grunsfort Castle

¹⁴³⁰ The figures are based on De Kok, *Breuklijn*, 466–75. The figures of 1656 have been adapted, since De la Torre did not give the number of communicants (as De Kok argued), but of Catholics. Communicants normally made up two-thirds of the Catholic community.

¹⁴³¹ For more details see Appendix H.

¹⁴³² Including Houten, 't Goy, Cothen, Werkhoven, Schalkwijk, Bunnik, Zeist, Maarssen, Zuylen, Loenen, Jutphaas, and Vleuten. De Kok, *Breuklijn*, 470, note 4.