

ADRIANUS DE APPELTERN THE ONLY AUGUSTINIAN SUFFRAGAN OF UTRECHT 1502 - CA. 1507*

On February 20, 1502 Frederick, marquis of Baden, bishop of Utrecht (1496-1516), commissioned his secretary Hartlenus Hundebeke at his castle Duurstede to inform the five chapters of Utrecht, that he had chosen Adrian of Appeltern, Austin friar of Dordrecht, to be *vicarius in spiritualibus* and suffragan of Utrecht¹.

The reason for this was that the "elect is well acquainted with our country and its inhabitants and also able to preach to the people" (onser lande ende maniere unser undersaten beest konde hadde en oick bequaem is unse undersaten dat woert Goidts toe preken).

The bishop asked the chapters to approve his decision and to send plenipotentiaries to Rome, so that the Pope could confirm the appointment. In fact Adrian had already been chosen on February 7, as Michael Keyen, the public notary of the chapter of the cathedral tells us in his daily notes².

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¹ A.M.C. van Asch van Wyck "Archief der vijf kapittelen te Utrecht", *Kronyk van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 2 (Utrecht 1846), 149. The medieval bishops of Utrecht acted in the bishopric more as temporal sovereigns than as spiritual leaders. With respect to the latter they chose from the regular clergy a *vicarius in spiritualibus*. Consequently Frederick of Baden on his sepulchral monument in the *Stiftskirche* at Baden-Baden is represented in a suit of armour with a mitre on his head, A.J. van de Ven, "De graftombe van bisschop Frederik van Baden", *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht* 1947-1948, 62-78.

² "Eadem die [7 Februarii 1502] admissus fuit frater Adrianus de Apeltern terminarius augustinensis Dordracensis in Traiecto ad suffrageanatum", *Dagelijkse aantekeningen van notaris Michiel Keyen 1502-1504*, Rijksarchief Utrecht, today Het Utrechts Archief, Domkapittel, Ms 4305, 3 vol. (not foliated), here 4305-1. It is a small MS., measuring 15x11,5 cm. with an average text space of 12,5x6,5 cm., not easy to read because of Keyen's tiny and unclear handwriting. For this reason I am indebted to Dr. H.L.Ph. Leeuwenberg of the HUA, who kindly afforded me several of his transcriptions of Keyen's notebooks. At the beginning of the Register of resolutions of the States of Utrecht (6 April 1495) he

Adrian's predecessor, Judocus van Dale OP of Malines, who had been appointed titular bishop of Sebaste on February 13, 1495, may have died at the beginning of the year 1500³. It took some time for Frederick to find a capable successor. In the mean time, the suffragan bishops of Cambrai and Paderborn, respectively, Giles van der Heijden, de Merica, OCarm. (1505) and John Velmaker of Fritzlar OFM (1504) regularly assisted at ordinations⁴.

Frederick thought that the diocese of Utrecht could no longer remain without a suffragan of its own and so made haste to resolve the matter. The canons obviously listened to the appeal of their bishop, since Pope Alexander VI appointed Adrian of Appeltern bishop of Sebaste on April 18, 1502 and granted him the usual privileges, that is to say, the faculty to elect his consecrator, dispensation of all ecclesiastical censures, the permission to officiate as suffragan in the diocese of Utrecht, and to accept the annual stipend of 200 Rhenish guilders granted to him by Bishop Frederick⁵. The official appointment as suffragan of Utrecht followed on August 4, 1502⁶. Meanwhile, on February 22, Keyen drafted

calls himself: "Michael Keyen de Breda clericus Leodiensis diocesis ... capitulorum quinque ecclesiarum Traiectensium scriba", see facsimile in *Geschiedenis van de provincie Utrecht I tot 1528* (Utrecht 1997), 254.

³ J.F.A.N. Weijling, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de wijbisschoppen van Utrecht tot 1580*. (Diss. K.Un.Nijmegen), Utrecht 1951, 258-262. Also appeared in *Archief Geschiedenis Aartsbisdom Utrecht* (AAU) 70 (1951), 1-347.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 274-276. Of the latter Keyen (note 2) tells us that the "suffraganeus episcopus Paderbornensis" administered on February 19, 1502 in the cathedral of Utrecht the holy ordinations. Of Giles van der Heijden "suffraganeus Cambricensis" he says that on July 31, 1502 he preached in the Utrecht Carmelite-church.

⁵ G.Brom, *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland*, 1,2 (RGP, kleine serie, 6). 's-Gravenhage 1909, 651 (= nn. 1852-1855). C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, II (Patavii² 1960), 233, 276 where his family name is spelled Appelnern.

⁶ "Officiatorum reverendissimi Frederici de Baden 1496-1516", ed. *Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch regt en geschiedenis* 1 (Deventer 1872), 291-292: "Frederick etc. Reverendo in Christo patri et Domino Adriano Apeltorn eadem gratia Episcopo Sebastensi ac sacre theologie baculario ordinis Augustinorum salutem et in commissis debitam adhibere diligentiam ut per nostras civitatem et diocesim Traiectensem officium nostrum pontificale liberum exercere ordines sacros et non sacros temporibus debitis et consuetis ministrare et celebrare quecunque loca de novo consecranda et alia negotia ad divinum cultum pertinentia consecrare polluta, reconciliare, et alia facere et exercere que ad hujusmodi pontificale officium de consuetudine spectare noscuntur valeatis vobis praesentibus licentiam et plenariam auctoritatem concedimus et impertimur. Et quia de consensu et voluntate nostra per sanctam sedem apostolicam vobis de pensione ducentorum florenorum renensium currentium iuxta tenorem bulle singulis annis quoad vixeritis ex bonis mensis episcopalis dicti nostri episcopatus per nos solvenda, liberrime sit provisum, et pensio hujusmodi assignata et ressuata extitit volumus propterea et

a document for the appointment of monies from the treasury for the suffragan, made copies of it, had it signed, and gave it to master William Buser and got nothing for it, but drank with Adrian a glass of wine. A month later, on March 29, Adrian was invited together with some canons by Keyen for dinner, and again on April 13, April 20 and May 19⁷.

1. WHO WAS ADRIAN OF APPELTERN?

In Utrecht he was not unknown. From Keyen we already know that he was the terminarius of the Augustinians at Dordrecht. The fact that he delivered a sermon to the people on the dedication-day of St. Martin's cathedral, July 22, 1501⁸ could have been decisive in persuading Frederick

presentibus protestamur quod ad solutionem et satisfactionem ressuat pensionis ducentorum florenorum currentium ut supra solutio fieri debet de tribus mensibus in tres menses, incipientes mense augusti presentis anni et sic consequenter de aliis mensibus salvo quod officium nostrum vicariatus in pontificalibus in nostra diocesi vos personaliter exercere et adimplere debeatis nisi infirmitas corporalis aut aliud diffortunium impediatur. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium praemissorum has nostras litteras nostra manu signatas sigilli nostri iussimus et fecimus appensione communiri. Datum in castro nostro Vollenhove Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo secundo mensis augusti die quarta".

After the appointment Adrian paid a visit to his bishop and the "Dominus suffraganeus Traiectensis" from Vollenhove returned to Utrecht on September 10, 1502, Keyen (note 2).

⁷ "Die martis 22 Septembris [lege: Februarii] fuit festum S. Petri ad cathedram et concepi instrumentum constitutionis sindicorum pro suffraganeo et ingrossari feci et subscribere et tradidi magistro Wilhelmo Buser et nichil recepi sed propinavi domino suffraganeo". - "Item [29 Martii] pransus fui cum domino vicario in pontificalibus futuro suffraganeo; ibidem eciam erant Beyer, Bokeler et ac Spierinc et nichil solvimus". - "Eadem die [13 Aprilis] pransi fuimus Beyer et ego cum T. Malsen; ibi eciam futurus suffraganeus, Haza, Hubertus [?] questor cum uxore et consumpsimus quilibet in vino 1 stuferum et cenavimus in domo et habuimus ½ quartam vini pictantie". - "Item [20 Aprilis] pransi fuimus Beyer et ego cum d. vicario; ibi eciam erant socius eius et novus suffraganeus, Johannes Dedel, m. Symon medicus, Keyl et Kaluwe ac filius sororis vicarii et bibimus 4 quartas vini renensis quarum duas dedit d. vicarius de vino exequiarum filie d. Johannis Renesse militis et lusimus pro aliis quartis unde nichil ego solvi et cenavimus in domo et habui d. Johannem Herstraten et d. Gerardum succentorem et bibimus 4 quartas vini quas ipsi solverunt et eciam portarunt salmonem et elst". - "Die jovis 19 Maii pransus fui cum patre de Jherusalem ibi eciam erant novus suffraganeus, Zenden, Malsen, Haza, Bernardina, Laen ac socius patris et Wernerus [?] et pater propinavit symbolum meum videlicet 1 braspenning et Beyer fuit in Bethleem et cenavi in domo et habui Beyer et d. Bartholdum de Alcmaria et bibimus 1 quartam vini renensis quam ipse solvit".

⁸ "Item Domino Adriano lectori ordinis s. Augustini qui fecit sermonem in ostensione reliquiarum huiusmodi -39-", *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom te Utrecht*, ed. W. Jappe Alberts, 2e deel, 2e stuk, Rekeningen 1480/81-1506/07 (RGP, grote serie 129). 's-Gravenhage 1969, 583 (= 1 maart 1501-1 maart 1502). See also F.H.A. Rikhof,

to propose him to the chapters as his candidate. Possibly Adrian had preached more than once in the cathedral - as a terminarius he was obliged to - but we have no information about it.

When we consider Adrian's coat of arms we see that he was a relative of James of Appeltern "the last medieval dean of Utrecht's cathedral"⁹. His father, a prominent nobleman of Guelderland, Lord of Appeltern and Persingen, procured for him in 1472, at an early age, a prebend in the chapter of the cathedral. The following year, James reached the age of majority being 18 years old and began his studies at the university of Cologne. Repeatedly he is mentioned as a canon between 1480 and 1507 in the cathedral's accounts because of missions for the chapter, especially in Guelderland. In the last edited account, 1506-1507, he is called *praepositus* of Elst¹⁰. James of Appeltern, although not a priest, was chosen dean of the chapter on January 15, 1509. He was ordained to the priesthood on Easter Saturday April 7, 1509¹¹. At the end

in *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland* 1: Noord- en Midden-Nederland (Amsterdam-Hilversum 1997), 744-45 (= Utrecht, Kathedrale kerk van St. Maarten, Domkerk, Kerkwijdingsdag met processie), where he says that the absolute culminating-point in the cult of relics in the cathedral was once in seven years on dedication-day, July 22. On July 22, 1501 Adrian, lector of the Augustinian order, preached to the people. In his study "Prediking voor de leken in de stad Utrecht 1500-1580" in: *Utrechters entre deux* (Utrecht 1992), 112-146, R.H. Pegel quotes the example of Adrian of Appeltern, who was appointed suffragan of Utrecht, because Frederick of Baden considered it all-important, that Adrian, belonging to a mendicant order was highly experienced in preaching to the people (p. 125-126).

⁹ K. Heeringa "Jacob van Appeltern, de laatste middeleeuwse domdeken van Utrecht", *Verslag van de algemeene vergadering der leden van het Historisch Genootschap op 11 april 1928*, 4-23. Adrian's coat of arms can be seen on an impression in wax of his seal, attached to a charter of August 18, 1503, with which we will deal below, described by Weijling (note 3), 280, as follows: Christ with the Samaritan woman at the well; at the right: a bishop with a crosier [St. Augustine?], and left: St. Mary with the Child. Here below: a shield with, in counter-company, St. Andrew's cross of silver and red billets, surmounted by a mitre. The legend runs: S (igillum) D (omi)ni Adriani de Appeltern episcopi Sebasten (is). This coat of arms corresponds with that of the Lords of Appeltern and Persingen of the quarter of Nijmegen: In gold in counter-company a St. Andrew's cross of silver and red billets, J.B. Rietstap, *De wapens van den tegenwoordigen en den vroegeren Nederlandschen adel* (Groningen 1890), 286. The Lords of Appeltern lived temporarily in different strongholds, among others at Beuningen, Doddendaal, Dukenburg, Hernen and Persingen, see F. Gorissen, "Die Burgen im Reich von Nimwegen", *Niederrheinisches Jahrbuch* 4 (1959), 105-168, with illustrations of coats of arms and some genealogical registers, among which Adrian, however, does not appear.

¹⁰ *Bronnen* (note 8), in *Indice*, s.v. Jacob van Appeltern. He belonged also to Keyen's circle of friends who were regularly invited to dinner (cf. note 2).

¹¹ G. Brom "Naamlijst der Priesters, die in het bisdom Utrecht gewijd zijn van 1505-1518", *AAU* 23 (1896), 423 and 24 (1897), 72. James of Appeltern was not quick to receive this ordination. Pope Alexander VI allowed him on August 12, 1501 to postpone

of May 1525 James fled Utrecht for Charles, Duke of Gueldre, the antagonist of his Bishop Philip of Burgundy, who had died on April 7, 1524. He himself died on May 27, 1525¹².

About Adrian's youth we are not informed. We do not know when and where he was born nor when he joined the Augustinian order. The first almost certain notice about him dates from May 28, 1491, during the general chapter of the order held in Rome. The prior general, Anselmo da Montefalco, granted Adrian of Dordrecht permission to obtain the degree of lector in theology at Bologna¹³. When this occurred we do not know. Considering, however, the fact that Adrian, when appointed *vicarius* of Frederick of Baden, is entitled bachelor of theology, it is obvious that he had already become lector, the first step on the way to the doctor's degree, and that he studied, possibly at Bologna, for another two years to obtain the bachelor's degree. After that he would have returned to his monastery at Dordrecht in order to teach theology to his young confrères. Although he is called lector in the cathedral's account of July 22, 1501¹⁴, this does not necessarily mean that he did not proceed in the scholarly field. The qualification of *lector* can also stand for teacher of theology. Furthermore, we have no information telling us when and by whom he was consecrated bishop.

it for two years, but he had to receive the ordination because he was in possession of the parish church of Wassom (diocese of Liège), G.Brom, *Archivalia* (note 5), I,1 (RGP, kleine serie, 2), 's-Gravenhage 1908, 176 (= no. 501).

¹² H.F.van Heussen and M.van Rijn, *Historie ofte beschrijving van 't Utrechtsche bisdom*, etc. 1 (Leiden 1719), 93. James of Appelteren seems to have been a difficult person. The postponement of his ordination already shows this. Worse was to follow when he came into conflict with William of Enckevoirt, a prelate living in Rome, who already had gained a great number of benefices in the Low Countries. Appointed, under Julius II (1503-1513), dean of the cathedral of Utrecht – he already was dean of St.John's there – a struggle arose between him and the sitting dean of the cathedral, James of Appelteren, who would not give up his office. The question was not yet resolved in 1517 and again in 1519. Of these years executorial letters have been preserved according to which he was discharged from his office by judges, delegated by the Pope, in Enckevoirt's favour, but James would not budge. In the end the secular power had to be called in, see: K.Heeringa, *Inventaris van het archief van het kapittel ten Dom* (Utrecht 1929), no. 2483 and W.A.J.Munier SSCC, "De curiale loopbaan van Willem van Enckevoirt voor het pontificaat van Adriaan VI", *Archief Geschied. Kath. Kerk in Nederland* 1 (1959), 142.

¹³ "Eadem die [28 Maii 1491] dedimus licentiam lectorandi Bononie fratri Adriano de Dordracō", Rome, Arch.Gen.OSA, *Registrum Dd 8*, fol.67, ed. in: N.Teeuwen OSA - A.de Meijer OSA, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire médiévale de la province augustinienne de Cologne. Extraits des Registres des prieurs généraux, 1357-1506* (Heverlee-Louvain 1961), no. 981 (= *Augustiniana* 11 (1961), 406).

¹⁴ See note 8.

2. ADRIAN'S ACTIVITIES AS A BISHOP IN 1502

We are rather well-informed about Adrian's acting as suffragan in the diocese of Utrecht, although this lasted only a few years. Weijling¹⁵ collected information concerning these activities from several sources, but after him new ones have come to light.

Utrecht

We have already seen that Adrian of Appeltern was appointed bishop of Sebaste by Pope Alexander VI on April 18, 1502, and that the appointment as suffragan was officially confirmed by Bishop Frederick of Utrecht on August 4 of the same year. Whether, having been elected, he went on to participate in the general procession of April 30, 1502, is unknown. The account of the cathedral from March 1, 1502 to March 1, 1503, mentions the suffragan participating in it, but his name is not given¹⁶.

In the same account we read that on the feast of the dedication of the cathedral, July 22, 1502, there were three suffragans in the procession and at the high mass¹⁷. These three bishops were Adrian of Appeltern, Giles de Merica, who was at the Carmelites on July 31, and John Velmaker, who officiated as substitutes during the vacancy of the own suffragan¹⁸.

¹⁵ Weijling (note 3), 276-280.

¹⁶ "Item dedi pro vino propinato domino suffraganeo qui interfuit processioni generali ultimo die Aprilis [30 apr.1502] celebrata -15-6", *Bronnen* (note 8), 613. From another account of the same source for candles it appears that this special procession on April 30, 1502 was held "pro prospero felicique successione et reditu archiducis Philippi" (*ibidem*, 610). A same procession took place in the next year on the feast of St. Matthias [Febr. 25, 1503] "pro pace et tranquillitate etc. et felici reditu archiducis cum deportatione ligni Domini" (*ibidem*, 610), and on the day after Translatio S. Martini [July 5, 1503] "pro felici reditu archiducis Philippi" (*ibidem*, 637). Philip the Fair, who was married at Lier on October 20, 1496 to Joan of Castile, the second daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, was called by his wife's parents to come to Spain in order to be inaugurated by the Cortes as the future successors to the throne. The journey took place from November 4, 1501 to November 12, 1503, see: Antoine de Lalaing, "Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne en 1501", *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, éd. L.P. Gachard e.a. (Bruxelles 1876), 121-385.

¹⁷ "Item propinavit capitulum nostrum in festo dedicationis ecclesiae nostrae [22 Iulii 1502] tribus dominis suffraganeis qui stationem et summam missam interfuerunt sex amphoras vini videlicet 18 qu, facit cum portitoribus 2-11--". *Bronnen* (note 8), 615.

¹⁸ See p... Keyen (note 2) mentions this fact in his daily notes: "Die veneris 22 Iulii fuit festum beate Marie Magdalene et dedicationis ecclesie traiectensis et dominus Adrianus episcopus Sebastensis novus suffraganeus celebravit et fecit offitium in primis

On September 24 Adrian administered holy orders in the cathedral for the first time¹⁹, and four days later he was Keyen's guest at dinner along with an Austin friar of Dordrecht²⁰.

The Holy Year 1500 was greatly celebrated in Rome, notwithstanding the threat of the Turks²¹. In other countries, in the following year, the indulgence of the Jubilee could be earned without travelling to Rome. Two thirds of the earnings were destined for the war against the Turks, but that failed for the greater part, inasmuch as the sovereign lords would participate in the selling of the indulgences. The papal commissioner for the Netherlands, Raymond Cardinal Peraudi, indicated which cities would be accorded the privilege for the indulgence which only lasted a few months²². At Utrecht the promulgation of the indulgence was postponed by the chapter of the cathedral, even after Pope Alexander had extended the Jubilee for another year until September 30, 1501. Cardinal Peraudi even sent a threatening letter on August 16, 1502 from Strasbourg to the chapter dealing with their refusal to promulgate the papal indulgence within the diocese. On 9 September, 1502 writing from his castle at Vollenhove, Bishop Frederick of Baden also urged the chapter to resolve the problems it had with Peraudi²³.

Finally, the indulgence of the Holy Year was promulgated at Utrecht in the cathedral on October 9, 1502. Michael Keyen fully reported the solemnity in his daily notes: "On October 9, 1502 after Vespers and Compline, the canons of the five Utrecht chapters, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine with the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carmelites, the Knights of St. John and those of the Teutonic Order, passed in procession with

vesperis misse et secundis vesperis. Et dominus decanus traiectensis habuit invitatos in prandio dictum dominum suffraganeum ac Cameracensem et Monasteriensem [Paderbornensem ?] suffraganeos et prelatos ecclesiarum Traiectensium et socios".

¹⁹ "Eadem die [24 Septembris] novellus dominus suffraganeus pro prima vice ministrat sacros ordines in ecclesia traiectensi" (Keyen).

²⁰ "Die mercurii 28 Septembris pransus fui cum d. Adriano episcopo Sebastensi suffraganeo; ibi eciam erant Bokeler, magister Symon medicus, capellanus episcopi et quidam alter frater monasterii augustiniensium et Johannes de Mechelinia qui propinavit 3 quartas vini bibiti" (*ibidem*).

²¹ L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* III (Freiburg 1899), 507-513. The proclamation of the bull of the jubilee 1500 (December 20, 1498) is edited in *Codex documentorum sacratissimarum indulgentiarum neerlandicarum* (1300-1600), ed. P. Fredericq (RGP, kleine serie, 21). 's-Gravenhage 1922, 397-399.

²² R. R. Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland vóór de Reformatie van ± 1500 tot ± 1580* (Utrecht- Antwerpen 1954), 474-475.

²³ *Codex documentorum* (note 19), 410-412, 414-421, 423-426, 430-432, 437-442. Since only the Holy Year indulgence was permitted, it is conceivable that the Utrecht chapter feared the loss of considerable revenue.

crosses and banners through the *Donkerstraat* to the *Buurkerk* (the official parish church). There the deans of the cathedral and Oldminster (St.Salvator), papal commissioners, transmitted the conduct of the ceremony to the suffragan [whom we may suppose to have been Adrian of Appeltern]. The knights John of Renesse and John of Nyevelt received his blessing and absolution and the banners of the pope and the legate. The two commissioners kneeling presented the bull of indulgence wrapped in gold-thread to the suffragan, who brought it in procession, assisted by the Benedictine abbots of St.Paul and of St.Lawrence (Oostbroek) to St.Martins's cathedral. There the hymn "O Crux ave spes unica" was sung in the nave of the church and thereafter the *Te Deum*, accompanied by the organ. When the choir came to the verse "Quos precioso sanguine" the suffragan and both commissioners erected the Cross in the middle of the church. Subsequently the hymn "Vexilla regis prodeunt" was sung. The cantors sang "O crux ave" three times before the cross. Instead of "de passionis tempore" they sang all the time "gratioso tempore". Finally there was a sermon to the people"²⁴.

Hoorn

At the end of the same month we find Adrian of Appeltern at Hoorn in Westfrisia settling a controversy between the municipality and three convents of the third order of St.Francis concerning contributions for the fortification of that city, which had been imposed on various

²⁴ Keyen (note 2): "*Introductio indulgentiarum*. Eadem die [9 Oct. 1502] post vespervas et completorium venerunt ad pulsum maioris campane ad ecclesiam Traiectensem quattuor alie ecclesie ac Regulares, predicatorum, minores et carmelite necnon S.Katharine et ordinis Theutonicorum et sic processionaliter cum crucibus et vexillis accesserunt ecclesiam civilem per plateam dictam de Donkerstraet, intrantes retro ad turrin ecclesie. Et in choro domini decani maioris [ecclesie] et S.Salvatoris, commissarii apostolici, tradiderunt suffraganeo traiectionensi potestatem. Qui et benedixit et absolvit duos milites, videlicet Iohannem de Reness et Iohannem de Nyevelt, et tradidit eis ad genua provolutis vexilla pape et legati. Et tunc dicti duo commissarii tradiderunt suffraganeo ad genua etiam provoluta bullam indulgentiarum pulcre cum pallio aureo ornatam. Qui illam ulterius processionaliter assistentibus sibi S.Pauli et in Oostbroec abbatibus deportavit in ecclesiam traiectionensem. Et exivit processio tunc ex janua meridionali ecclesie civilis ad ecclesiam traiectionensem. Et in navi ecclesie decantata antiphona O crux, in organis decantatum fuit Te Deum. Et cum cantaretur Quos pretioso sanguine, etc. dictus suffraganeus et ambo commissarii erexerunt crucem in medio ecclesie. Et de post decantatus fuit ymnpus Vexilla regis. Et illum versum O crux ave cantarunt tres chorales ante crucem ad respondentem ter. Et chorus semper finivit reliquam materiam. Et loco dicti de passionis [tempore] etc. cantatum semper fuit gratioso tempore. De post factus fuit sermo in eadem navi ecclesie ad populum".

monasteries. The convent of St. Agnes and that of St. Gertrude had to pay 50 guilders and that of St. Catherine 105 guilders²⁵. The three arbiters, among them Adrian of Appeltern, bishop of Sebaste, on October 27, 1502, endorsing the verdict, edited a charter, saying that the nuns should contribute for the time of 14 years towards the costs of the municipality²⁶. About this question it is possible that Keyen (note 2) already on August 29 had written a letter to the dean of Westfrisia, telling that Adrian after the feast of the Holy Cross [September 14], when he had to administer holy orders, would go there²⁷.

Utrecht, Cathedral

On the eve of St. Martin's-day, November 10, Adrian celebrated the first vespers²⁸ in the cathedral and on the feast-day itself the high mass. In return for this, the chapter offered him two jars of wine²⁹. He received the same recompense on Christmas Day, celebrating the mass in the cathedral³⁰. That same day he was at dinner with Keyen³¹.

²⁵ P.M.Bots, *De oude kloosters en abdijen van het tegenwoordige bisdom van Haarlem* (Rijnsburg 1883), 245-249.

²⁶ C.J.Gonnet and R.D.Baart de la Faille, *Inventaris van het archief der stad Hoorn* (Haarlem 1918), 449 (= no.1254); P.Koster, *Hoorn in de middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam 1929), 109.

²⁷ "Die lune 29 Augusti scripsi ex parte ecclesie nostre missivam decano Westfrisie super eo quod missuri essent dominum suffraganeum ibidem post Crucis proxime qui hic erit ministraturus ordines sacros et quod interea singula prepararet et eciam resolutionem de certis dubiis per eum scriptis. Scripsi tamen sub nomine meo de mandato tantum".

²⁸ "Item celebrate fuerunt vespere valde solempniter et episcopus Sebastensis suffraganeus fecit officium" (Keyen).

²⁹ "Item capitulum nostrum propinavit domino suffraganeo celebranti summam missam in festo beatissimi Martini patroni nostri duas amphoras vini qu. quilibet quia mustum pro 3½ st. comp. facit unacum portitura 21-6-", *Bronnen* (note 8), 617-618.

³⁰ "Item capitulum nostrum propinavit domino suffraganeo missam in festo Nativitatis Christi celebranti duas amphoras vini musti facit 6 qu., pro qualibet qu. tres st. facit unacum portitura -18-6-", *ibidem*, 618.

³¹ "Eadem die [25 Decembris] celebraui [=Keyen] missam tertiam de die in altari meo, et pransus fui cum domino decano Traiectensi; ibi eciam erant alii socii cenobitales, ac suffraganeus cum Reess et Uterwije" (Keyen MS. 4305-2, [fol.1]).

3. ADRIAN'S ACTIVITIES IN 1503

Utrecht

Mention is made, in the second part of Keyen's MS. (note 2), of the fact that on February 4, 1503, Adrian returned from Frisia with two persons, but he does not tell us for what reason he had been there. Then on March 11, 1503, the suffragan administered holy orders in the cathedral and Theodoricus Wadding became a priest. On Maundy Thursday [April 13] he consecrated the chrism in the cathedral with 12 assistants³².

Tiel

Weijling (note 3) referring to a note in Van Leeuwen's edition of the *Auctoris incerti Chronicon Tielense*³³ states that Adrian of Appeltern visited the church of Tiel possibly on May 14, 1503. It deals with the consecration of the new choir of St. Martin's church in 1400. In the manuscript a later hand added a not so clear note in the margin. From this one can conclude that the building of the second side-aisle of the church was begun in the second half of the 15th century and completed just after 1500 between the feastday of St. Servatius (May 13) and that of St. Vitus (June 15)³⁴. Then follows that in the same year, which however is not given, Adrian, Bishop of Sebaste and suffragan to Utrecht's Bishop Frederick of Baden was at Tiel on Sunday *Cantate*, that is the fourth Sunday after Easter³⁵. It is not mentioned what Adrian did there, but it could have been that he consecrated the church which had been completed by then.

For Tiel Sunday *Cantate* was a special feast-day. In the manual for the church, written in 1571 by the parish priest Peter of Teeffelen, there is

³² "Eadem die [4 Februarii 1503] redierunt ex frisia dominus suffraganeus, decanus...[illegibile name] et magister Ulricus circa hora prandii". - "Eadem die [11 Martii 1503] dominus suffraganeus administrat sacros ordines in ecclesia traiectensi... et dominus Theodoricus Wadding ordinatus fuit presbyter". - Item [April 13] feci cedulam de 12 assistantibus suffraganeo in consecratione crismatis" (Keyen).

³³ *Auctoris incerti Chronicon Tielense*, ed. J.D.van Leeuwen (Trajecti ad Rhenum 1789), 433, note (d).

³⁴ "Anno XVc iterum factum annihilatum in die Servatii et inter Viti tempus ad edificium consummatum et relique tunc fuerunt juncte".

³⁵ "Et anno eodem Tiglate Dominica Cantate a venerabili patre domino Adriano Episcopo Sebastiensis et suffraganeo ipsius Episcopi Traiectensis domini Frederici de Baden [consecrata ?]".

a list of feasts for which the bells of the church had to be rung. On this list also *dominica Cantate* figures "propter Inventionem reliquiarum"³⁶. He does not mention, however, whose relics these are, possibly of the church's patron St. Martin. The only Sunday *Cantate* occurring in the years 1502-1507 between May 13 and June 15 is that of May 14, 1503, so we may assume that Adrian visited Tiel on that particular day.

Rijswijk, near the Hague

Having safely returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Comen Gheryt of Leiden erected on July 13, 1502 a crucifix near the bridge at Rijswijk. As early as August 1502 the parish priest Sybrant Willems built a little chapel over it³⁷. Adrian of Appeltern was invited to consecrate the cross and the chapel. This occurred on July 27, 1503 and the bishop granted an indulgence of 40 days to everyone praying five times the Pater noster and the Ave Maria, and again 40 days for those who gave alms for the chapel³⁸.

³⁶ J.S. van Veen, "Handboekje van den Tielschen pastoor Petrus van Teeffelen" *AAU* 42 (1916), 74-278, here 107.

³⁷ "In t jaer ons Heeren 1502 den 13ten dach in Julio soe wert dat beelde van den Heyligen Cruys an die brugge tot Rijswijck geset s morghens omtrent seven uuyren bloet up den heerwech van Comen Gheryt van Leyen ende hadde gheweest ten Heylighe Lande"; "up datselfde jaer up Sinte Bertelmeesavent [August 23] soe wert die capelle angeleyt by den pastoer meester Sybrant Willems ende die capellemeesters". This is written on a fly-leaf of the oldest register of the church at Rijswijk, J. Smit, "De kapel van het H. Kruis te Rijswijk", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, nieuwe serie 21 (1928), 47-53, here 48.

³⁸ "De 27e Juli 1503... wert dat beelde van den Heyligen Cruys gewijt ende geconsecreert van den eerwaardigen Vader in Christo heer Adriaen, biscop van Sebaste, suffragaan tot Uuytrecht, ende gaf up die tijt allen menschen, die daer spreken vijf P (ater)s ende 5 Ave Marien tot gehoechgenisse der passien ons Heeren, staende in der staet der gracen, 40 daghen oflaets, ende noch 40 daghen aan allen denghenen, die daer geven haer aelmissen tot behoef der capelle", *ibidem*, 49. The expenses for this were eight pounds. Concerning Adrian, Smit made a mistake. He attributed the consecration to Adrian of Utrecht, later Pope Adrian VI, but he never was bishop of Sebaste and in 1503 he was still professor at the university of Louvain.

Utrecht, Carmelite-church

The devotion to St. Anne, mother of the Blessed Virgin, was widespread in the second half of the 15th century in the Rhineland and the Low Countries³⁹. It started in Mainz, where they kept a relic from the head of the saint, brought from Bethlehem at the beginning of the 13th century. In the church of the Carmelites at Mainz a fraternity in honor of St. Mary and St. Anne was erected and confirmed by the archbishop on June 1, 1499⁴⁰. The silver-gilt shrine in the shape of the head of the saint, preserved in St. Stephen's church was stolen on November 29, 1500 and brought to Düren⁴¹. There it remained since the citizens of Düren systematically refused to give it back⁴². Consequently Düren became a much frequented place of pilgrimage to the present day.

Following their confrères of Mainz, the Carmelites of Utrecht, on instigation of Adrian of Appeltern, erected, in or about 1503, a confraternity of St. Anne in their church, which is now the Roman Catholic cathedral of St. Catherine⁴³. Raymund, Cardinal Peraudi, whom we met earlier⁴⁴, had just edited in Germany a printed letter of indulgence in honor of St. Anne⁴⁵.

On August 18, 1503 Adrian confirmed the confraternity of St. Anne, which he himself had erected in the church of the Carmelites at Utrecht and granted an indulgence of 40 days to all those who prayed five times an Ave Maria before the statue of St. Anne or devoutly read the letter of indulgence edited by Peraudi⁴⁶, which the Carmelites had propagated.

³⁹ T. Brandenburg, *Heilig Familieleven*. Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd, 15de/16de eeuw (Nijmegen 1990); *St. Anna in Düren*, hrsg. von Erwin Gatz (Mönchengladbach 1972).

⁴⁰ Gatz, 163. The Carmelites, who proclaimed St. Anne patron of their order, were the principal propagators of this devotion.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 114.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 163-185.

⁴³ A. Eekhof, "Twee aflaatprenten, uitgegeven en van toelichting voorzien", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, nieuwe serie 7 (1910), 1-14, here 8.

⁴⁴ See p. 293. Peraudi died at Viterbo on September 5, 1505 and was buried in SS. Trinità, the church of the Austin Friars, where his tomb is still preserved, see: A. Röpcke, "Geld und Gewissen. Raimund Peraudi und die Ablassverkündigung in Norddeutschland am Ausgang des Mittelalters", *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 71 (1992), 43-80, with three illustrations of it.

⁴⁵ A facsimile in Eekhof (note 43) between p. 4 and 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 9-10; *Catalogussen van de bij het Stadsarchief bewaarde archieven*, door S. Muller Fzn, I: De aan de stad Utrecht behorende archieven (Utrecht 1913), 57 (= no. 360). Brandenburg (note 39) mentions this letter on p. 232-233, note 68, but erroneously

This document is preserved in the municipal archives of Utrecht with Adrian's seal pendent⁴⁷. Eekhof edited the text⁴⁸. The following year Adrian repeated the indulgence also for the purpose of gaining new members for the confraternity⁴⁹.

4. CONSECRATIONS AND GRANTINGS OF INDULGENCES IN 1504

Gouda

At Gouda, rich in monasteries during the middle ages, where the Augustinians of Dordrecht possessed, probably since 1447, a home for their *terminarii*, which was located in the Zeugestraat, and which is mentioned in a document as late as 1577, preserved in the judicial archives of the town⁵⁰, there is a Jerusalem chapel, still standing today behind the

attributed the letter to the bishop of Utrecht instead of to the suffragan.

⁴⁷ See above note 9.

⁴⁸ Eekhof (note 43), 13-14. It runs: "Adrianus Apelttern, Dei et apostolice sedis gracia episcopus Sebastensis et reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Frederici marchionis de Baden, episcopi Traiectensis in spiritualibus vicarius generalis, universis et singulis cuiuscumque status aut condicionis existant ad quos nostre presentes littere pervenerint, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quum pia nos devocio divinaque inspiratio multipliciter ammoneant et hortentur, universos Christifideles in quantum possumus et valemus incitare et exhortari ad extollendum et ampliandum honorem divinum quo ad divinam gratiam et gloriam captandam aptiores reddantur et graciosiores; attendentes insuper, quod illis potissimum, exhiberi deceat gratitudinis beneficium, e quibus exordium sumpsit salus omnium. Hinc est quod nos singulari affectione devicti in laudem regine glorie et filie sublimissime matris cupientes honorare, Annam sanctissimam extollimus et laudamus, omnique honore dignam predicamus et dicimus, felix radix illius arboris, que nobis protulit pomum salutis meritoque decet laudari a fidelibus, quibus tante contulit beneficium pietatis; quare ad sanctissime predictae matrone Anne laudem, eiusque deifere filie gloriam, fraternitatem laudabilem in conventu fratrum ordinis eiusdem intemerate virginis Marie de Monte Carmeli, in civitate Traiectensi a nobis noviter erectam et fundatam, confirmamus et approbamus, insuper quoque omnibus Christifidelibus ubilibet constitutis predictam fraternitatem assummentibus quociens oraciunculam illam a nobis approbatam quam presencium baiuli [= procuratores] prenotati ordinis et conventus fratres impressam distribuunt coram imagine sancte Anne legerint, aut qui legere nequeunt quinquies salutacionem Anglicam dixerint ob honorem sanctissime Anne coram sua imagine, tociens quadraginta dies indulgenciarum de iniunctis eis penitenciis misericorditer in Domino relaxamus. In quorum robur, fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tercio, die vero mensis Augusti decima octava".

⁴⁹ Muller (note 46), 57 (= no.361). About the history of the Carmelites at Utrecht, see C.de Boer OCarm., "Het Carmelietenklooster te Utrecht", *AAU* 38 (1912), 72-103, but the confraternity of St.Anne is not mentioned.

⁵⁰ J.Taal, *De Goudse kloosters in de Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum 1960), 11.

choir of St. John's church. It is a twelve-sided building with a vault of bricks in the shape of a star⁵¹. Gijsbert Willems Raet, vicar of St. John's and former pilgrim to Jerusalem, founded the chapel in 1497. In his last will of February 13, 1505 the chapel is called "sepulcrum Domini" and it was donated to the Brethren of the Common Life (*Collatiebroeders*), who lived in the adjacent monastery of St. Paul. Vorstman⁵² edited various documents from the archives of the Brethren, and in one of them Adrian also figures. It is the history of the foundation of the Jerusalem chapel, written by John of Emmerik. He tells us that Adrian of Appeltern consecrated the altar of the chapel in 1504, being himself present, but he does not know at what date this occurred, since the letter of the consecration was lost⁵³.

Utrecht, Cathedral

In Keyen's daily notes (note 2) we find that Adrian was preaching in the cathedral during the evening of March 3, 1504, being the second Sunday of Lent⁵⁴. We do not know if it was a special occasion. However, it is the only evidence of a sermon, delivered by Bishop Adrian in the cathedral of Utrecht, mentioned by Keyen in his daily notes between 1502 and 1504.

⁵¹ *Voorlopige lijst der Nederlandsche monumenten van geschiedenis en kunst*, VI: De provincie Zuidholland (Utrecht 1915), 80. A plan and a cross-section of the chapel in *Kunstreisboek voor Nederland*, 5th ed. (Amsterdam 1965), 411.

⁵² M.A.G. Vorstman, "Stukken betreffende de Broeders des Gemeenen Levens en inzonderheid die van Gouda", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis* 7 (1847), 65-167, here 143-148. He edited a great number of documents, which he found in "an old manuscript", but does not tell us where it is preserved. Presumably he refers to Cartularia, now preserved in the regional archives "Hollands Midden" at Gouda, cf. A.G. Weiler, *Volgens de norm van de vroege kerk*. De geschiedenis van de huizen van de broeders van het Gemene leven in Nederland (Middeleeuwse studies, XIII). Nijmegen 1997, 208.

⁵³ "Item consecratum est ejusdem capellae altare, et tantumdem pavimenti, quantum intra cancellos et murum nostri refectorii continetur (ubi et idem dominus Gysbertus postea sepultus est), anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quarto a domino Adriano de Appelterne, episcopo Sebastensi. Sed non exstant inde littere. - Hanc consecrationem ego Iohannes Embricae, qui haec scripsi, oculis meis vidi" (Vorstman, 142).

⁵⁴ "Eadem die [3 Martii, dominica Reminiscere, secunda Quadragesimae, 1504] dominus suffraganeus fecit sermonem post Completorium in ecclesia Traiectensi" (Keyen, MS. 4305-3).

Elburg

In July 1504 Adrian is recorded in two places. The first is Elburg. Whether or not he was there in person cannot be deduced from the source. The suffragan of Utrecht on July 21, 1504 granted an indulgence of 40 days to those who came to pray at the seven crosses, standing along the way from Elburg to Doornspijk. The document with Adrian's seal is preserved in the regional archives of Elburg, Nunspeet and Oldenbroek⁵⁵. The year before, on August 15, 1503, Raymond Cardinal Peraudi, then staying at Cologne, promulgated an indulgence of 100 days for the visitors of the Calvary at Elburg. Frederick of Baden also granted a forty day indulgence on July 6, 1504, issued from his castle at Vollenhove. Both documents likewise are preserved in the above mentioned archives⁵⁶.

To understand what is meant by these crosses and Calvary, we can refer to an analogue at Wageningen. On a map of 1570, designed by Thomas Witteroos, four crosses can be seen along the way in the direction of Arnhem. The road runs to the now no longer existing parish church of Old-Wageningen, where is written "Ten Heyligen Cruys" (At the Holy Cross)⁵⁷. The author of the article, with a printed map, mentions that on the map of Wageningen, designed by James of Deventer ca. 1560, this Way of the Cross can also be seen as having seven crosses, which is more correct, he says, and he refers to the seven crosses between Elburg and Doornspijk and the indulgence letters of 6 and 21 July, 1504⁵⁸. In the 15th and 16th centuries the devotion to the seven occasions on which Jesus fell under the Cross was very popular. The definitive propagation of the Way of the Cross with 14 stations, as we know it today, arose not earlier than the 18th century and was propagated by the Franciscans.

⁵⁵ "1504, juli 21. Adrianus de Apeltern, bisschop van Sebaste, vicaris-generaal in pontificalibus van Fredericus, bisschop van Traiectum, verleent een aflaat van 40 dagen aan hen, die berouwvol en na belijdenis hunner zonden op bepaalde dagen komen bidden bij de zeven kruisen, buiten de stad Elburgum opgericht op den weg tusschen die stad en de parochiekerk van Doernspijk. Datum anno millesimo quingentesimo quarto die vicesima prima mensis Iulii", A.J. van de Ven, *De oudste archieven van de gemeente Elburg en van den zeepolder Oosterwolde* ('s-Gravenhage 1932), 361 (= no. 678).

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 359 (= no. 669), Peraudi was requested by his chaplain Peter Jacobi of Vollenhove, canon of St. Peter's, Utrecht; and 361 (= no. 677).

⁵⁷ H.L. Driessen, "Ten Heyligen Cruys bij Wageningen", *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen Gelre* 38 (1935), 133-137.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 137. See also T. Steenbergen and J. Tersteeg, "Wageningen", *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, I: Noord- en Midden-Nederland (Amsterdam-Hilversum 1997), 792-795, with illustrations of the two maps mentioned.

Rugge, near Brielle

A week after the granting of the indulgence at Elburg we find Adrian of Appeltern in the monastery of St.Elisabeth which belonged to the Augustinian Canons Regular at Rugge, near Brielle. This location, although nothing of the buildings has been preserved, later became a place of pilgrimage. In a barn of the monastery 19 religious, arrested by the Protestants, in 1572 were hanged and died as martyrs for the catholic faith: the so-called Martyrs of Gorinchem⁵⁹.

The monastery of St.Elisabeth was founded in 1403 by Hugo, Lord of Heenvliet, and some inhabitants of Voorne. In 1406 it was admitted to the Chapter of Windesheim⁶⁰.

Matthias, bishop of Budua and suffragan of Utrecht on August 12,1421 declared that he had consecrated a number of altars between the years 1405 and 1413⁶¹. Adrian of Appeltern was at Rugge on July 28,1504. He consecrated the two remaining altars and granted two indulgences each of 40 days. Moreover he changed the holy patrons of the altars, which had been consecrated by Bishop Matthias. The solemnity is fully described by Van Heussen and Van Rijn⁶².

Axel

In August 1504 Adrian consecrated the hall of the parish church at Axel in Flemish Zeeland. The municipality paid him a honorarium⁶³.

⁵⁹ P.J.Margry, "Gorinchem", *Bedevaartplaatsen* (note 58), 231-245.

⁶⁰ J.G.R.Acquoy, *Het klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed*, 3 (reprint Amsterdam 1968), 40; H.F.van Heussen and H.van Rijn, *Oudheden en gestichten van het rechte Zuid-Holland en van Schieland* (Leiden 1719), 277-333.

⁶¹ A.A.Arkenbout, "Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het Regulierenklooster van St.Elisabeth te Rugge bij Brielle", *Ons voorgelacht*. Maandblad van de Zuidhollandse vereniging voor genealogie 20 (1965), 261-328, here 288-289. He quotes from the Cartulary of the monastery, preserved in the regional archives Voorne-Putten en Rozenburg at Brielle.

⁶² Van Heussen-Van Rijn (note 60), 319-323, see Appendix 1. For the history of the monastery, see *Monasticon Windeshemense*, hrsg. von W.Kohl, E.Persoons und A.G.Weiler, 3: Niederlande (Brüssel 1980), 394-414.

⁶³ "Item ghepresenteert mynen heere den souvergaen van Utrecht, als hy hier binnen dcser stede wiën ende consecreren die voorkercke", Axel, Stadrekening 5 augustus 1504, G.C.Juten, "Priesters in de vier Ambachten", *AAU* 35 (1909), 222-239, here 223. Weijling (note 3), erroneously mentions Hulst as the place of action, but this refers to the precedent item of 1493.

Hattem

The Guelders city of Hattem received Adrian two months later. The new choir of the parish church, dedicated to St. Andrew and St. Catherine, was completed in 1504. He consecrated it on October 8, 1504 together with the altar of St. Anne and the statues of the two patron saints of the church⁶⁴.

Utrecht

Adrian's last activity for the year 1504, as far as we know, was the celebration of the high mass on the feast of St. Martin, November 11, in the cathedral of Utrecht. For this the chapter awarded him with six quarts of wine⁶⁵.

We may assume that during this year the suffragan also administered the ordinations in the cathedral. We found the mentioning of one day, i.e., the feast of St. Matthew, September 21, 1504. Michael Keyen (note 2) recorded it because his friend John Bokeler, who was regularly invited by him to dinner, was ordained deacon⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ "1504, october 8. De consecratione chori novi. Chorus novus edificatus, consecratus est anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quarto a suffraganeo de Apeltorn, episcopo Sebastienensi, octava die mensis octobris. Eodem die fuit consecratum altare sancte Anne et imagines sancti Andree et Katherine patronorum", Hattem, Municipal archives, *Cartularium*, note on fol.1, and transcript in *Privilegiënboek*, p.8, as quoted by F.A.Hoefer, *Aanteekeningen betreffende de kerk van Hattem*, 2 vol. (Arnhem 1900), here II, 90 (= bijlage XXXIII). An altarstone with five crosses and a reliquary, with the inscription "... van Apeltoren", was discovered in the floor of the church, Weijling (note 3), 278. See also *Voorloopige lijst der Nederlandsche monumenten van geschiedenis en kunst* IV: De provincie Gelderland (Utrecht 1917), 101: Ned. Herv. Kerk (HH.Andreas en Catherina).

⁶⁵ "Item capitulum nostrum propinavit Domino suffraganeo cantanti missam in die obitus b.Martini 6 qu vini cum portitore -20--", *Bronnen* (note 8), 665.

⁶⁶ "Die sabbati fuit festum sancti Mathei apostoli et evangeliste et celebrati ac ministrati fuerunt sacri ordines maiores in ecclesia traiectensi et Johannes Bokeler promotus fuit ad diaconatum", MS. 4305-3.

5. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE YEAR 1505

Bruxelles

In the church of St.Gudule at Brussels, today the cathedral of St.Michael and St.Gudule, a memorial service was celebrated on January 14, 1505 for the late Queen Isabella of Castile, who had died on November 26, 1504. Three bishops were present, among whom "le suffragant d'Utrecht" is the first named⁶⁷.

Utrecht, ordinations of 1505

One of the specific tasks of a suffragan was to ordain clerics, secular as well as religious, to minor and major orders. Brom published lists of priests ordained in the diocese of Utrecht between 1505 and 1518⁶⁸. He omitted the names of those who received minor orders to make the lists not too long and because most men later became priests. In the year 1505 there were ordinations on February 8, March 8, March 22, May 17, September 20 and December 10. Neither the place of action nor the name of the bishop have been recorded. The first place of designation would of course have been the cathedral of Utrecht, but it could equally have taken place in any other church or chapel. Similarly, the first person to be designated would have been the diocesan bishop, but in those days the bishop of Utrecht mostly stayed in his castles of (Wijk bij)Duurstede and Vollenhove, and since he was busy with secular affairs, he used to leave these functions to his suffragan. Brom supposes, that Jacob de Ridder OP, bishop of Hebron administered by far the most, if not all, of the

⁶⁷ *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. G.Doutrepont et O.Jodogne, II, 1488-1506 (Bruxelles 1935), 538-554: "Des obseques celebréz en Bruxelles pour très catholique princesse, madame Ysabel, royne de Castille, de Leon et Grenade. Le XIIIe jour du mois de janvier an. XVcIII (=1505) furent faites les vigilles, en l'église de Saint Goule en Bruxelles... L'ordre de la procession... premier vinrent Jacobins, Carmes et Cordeliers... puis vinrent les prelatz, aucuns mitréz, l'autes non, et III. evesques, c'est asscavoir, le suffragant d'Utrecht, l'evesque de Tournay et l'evesque d'Arras".

⁶⁸ G.Brom, "Naamlijst der Priesters, die in het bisdom Utrecht gewijd zijn van 1505 tot 1518", *AAU* 23 (1896), 386-471; 24 (1897), 1-85. The names of the ordinandi are noted in a manuscript of the State Archives of Utrecht, today *Het Utrechts Archief*, Dom 118, entitled "Registrum ordinandorum inchoante anno quinto usque ad annum XVIII sub magistro Ulrico Byell scholastico ac canonico Traiectensi". Brom refers to it as an absolutely unique specimen of our church history prior to the Reformation, *ibidem*, 388.

ordinations mentioned in the register in the name of Frederick of Baden⁶⁹. However, Jacob de Ridder did not become a suffragan before March 1507. Consequently we may presume that in the years 1505 and 1506 Adrian of Appeltern was the bishop presiding at the ordinations. It appears from Frederick's statement of February 14, 1505, that Adrian of Appeltern administered the minor order of acolyte to James of Arnhem, son of Theodoric⁷⁰. This certainly occurred on February 8, 1505. It appears also that on that day minor orders were administered. On the same day two Austin friars were ordained to the priesthood by Adrian, namely Adrian of Rotterdam and John of Haarlem⁷¹. The above mentioned Jacob Theodoric de Arnhem was ordained a priest on March 22, 1505, together with Adrian's confrère of Dordrecht: "Fratr Cornelius de Dordracō ordinis sancti Augustini"⁷². Before that, on March 8, 1505, two other Augustinians Judocus Gerardi and Peter of Bolsward (de Boelsvardia) became priests⁷³. Among the remaining ordinations of this year no Augustinians are mentioned.

At the end of his study Brom gives three tables of priests, deacons and subdeacons ordained during the years 1505-1518⁷⁴. For the year 1505 there were 275 priests, among them 200 seculars and 75 religious - five Augustinians as we already mentioned - 305 deacons and 303 subdeacons.

Zoeterwoude

The Knights of St. John at Haarlem possessed the parish church of Zoeterwoude. Within its territory stood a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin given into the charge of the Knights in 1487 by its owner Tieleman Oem van Wijngaarden. At the beginning of the 16th century the chapel, as yet not consecrated, was already in decay. It was duly renovated and the work was finished in 1505. Adrian of Appeltern was invited to consecrate

⁶⁹ *Ibidem* 24 (1897), 67-68.

⁷⁰ "Mensis Februarii die decima quarta 1505. Frederik, Markgraaf van Baden, bisschop van Utrecht, getuigt dat Adriaan de Apelteren, bisschop van Sebaste, den Utrechtschen priester [sic] Jacob van Arnhem Dirkszoon heeft bevorderd tot den rang van acoliet", P.N. Doorninck en N. Wynaendts van Resandt, *Inventaris van het Oud-Archief van het kasteel Middachten*, II, opgemaakt door N. Wynaendts van Resandt (Arnhem 1914), 63 (= no. 752).

⁷¹ Brom (note 68), 23 (1896), 389.

⁷² *Ibidem*, 392. In 1502 a Cornelius Nicolai de Dordracō studied theology, as a *cursor*, in the general monastery of Sant' Agostino in Rome, Teeuwen-de Meijer (note 13), no. 1029 (= *Augustiniana* 11 (1961), 609).

⁷³ *Ibidem*, 390.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 24 (1897), 54-57.

the chapel in the name of the bishop of Utrecht in honor of Our Lady of Victory, St.Panthaleon, and the patron of the hospitallers, St.John the Baptist⁷⁵.

It may be useful at this stage to offer some explanation of the two titular saints first mentioned. In order to do so we have to transport ourselves mentally to the island of Rhodes, where since 1310 the Knights of St.John had had their headquarters after they had been expelled from the Holy Land, until they had to flee again from the Turks in 1523 to the island of Malta. Hence we know them now as the Knights of Malta. But the Crescent Moon had sailed out earlier with a big fleet intent on conquering Rhodes. The Turks attacked the island on July 27,1480, the feast-day of St.Panthaleon, but the Grand-Master of the order, along with his knights, slew them in a terrible battle and the rest of the Turkish fleet fled in an easterly direction. The devastated churches were replaced by new churches, one in honor of Our Lady of Victory, the other in honor of St.Panthaleon, to whose intercession in particular the order ascribed the victory. They petitioned the Pope to accord spiritual favours to the new churches in order to preserve the memory of the victory for ever. Pope Innocent VIII decided on May 31,1485 that henceforward the name-day of St.Panthaleon should be celebrated as a feast-day for the entire Church and that in the whole order churches should be dedicated to Our Lady of Victory, granting indulgences to those contributing towards their construction.

In 1501 the commander of St.John at Haarlem, John William Janssen, applied to the Bishop of Utrecht asking him to confirm the papal favours for the church at Haarlem and the chapel of Zoeterwoude. On November 2,1501 Frederick of Baden granted this request. But the commander had more plans. He wished to demolish the chapel of Zoeterwoude and build a new one. This also was allowed and thus on June 1,1505 the suffragan of Utrecht arrived for the consecration of the chapel. In addition, he also consecrated altars in honor of the three patron saints and of St.Catherine, St.Agnes, and St.Elisabeth. Adrian decided that the consecration of the chapel should be celebrated every year on the Sunday after Assumption (August 15).

⁷⁵ For this and the next data: C.J.Gonnet, "Sint Panthaleon, patroon van de kapel te Zoeterwoude", *Bijdragen Geschiedenis bisdom Haarlem (BBH)*, 2 (1874), 195-210.

Haarlem, Knights of St.John

In the above mentioned letter of Adrian of June 1, 1505⁷⁶, which is described in the Chartulary of the Knights of St.John at Haarlem, he also tells us that he consecrated a number of altars in their chapterhouse, but a date is lacking. Perhaps it took place the very next day June 2, 1505, when he was at Haarlem, as we shall see below. The altars were dedicated to St.Mary of Victory, St.Panthaleon, St. John the Baptist, and SS.Jerome, Sebastian and Anthony. This fact was to be commemorated every year on the Sunday after the feast of St.Jerome (September 30)⁷⁷.

Haarlem, Beguinage

From another source it is known that Adrian was at Haarlem on June 2, 1505 for the blessing of a statue of St.Mary in the chapel of the Beguinage, and that, according to Weijling⁷⁸, he administered the sacrament of confirmation, for which the municipality rewarded him with five pounds and wine.

The miraculous oak statue of the Blessed Virgin is still present in town. It dates from about 1500, is 45 cm. high, and is known as Our Lady of Haarlem. Today it stands in St.Joseph's church, built in the 19th century on the place of the former Beguinage, and is much venerated by the faithful citizens of Haarlem⁷⁹.

The oldest mention of the blessing of the statue by Adrian of Appeltern is a note by John Albert Ban, rector of the Beguinage from 1630 until 1644, which was found in a *Rituale Romanum* (Antwerp 1620)⁸⁰.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 209-210. See Appendix 2.

⁷⁷ For the history of the Knights of St.John at Haarlem, see: F.Allan, *Geschiedenis en beschrijving van Haarlem*, II (Haarlem 1874, reprint 1973), 249-386.

⁷⁸ Weijling (note 3), 279.

⁷⁹ W.Helversteijn, *Sint Josephkerk Haarlem Honderdvijftig jaar, 1843-1993*, Kroniek van de kerk op het Begijnhof (Haarlem 1993), 120-127; B.Speet, "Haarlem. Mariakapel in de parochiekerk van St.Joseph", *Bedevaartplaatsen* (note 58), 398-403. The crowns of Mary and the Child, both scepters and the crown of stars were stolen in 1974 and afterwards in 1983 a great number of silver ex-voto's of which 11 still remain, Margry (note 80), 33-34; Helversteijn, 120, and 123.

⁸⁰ F.M.K.van Kersbergen, "Oude gebeden en zegeningen bij de beeltenis van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Haarlem", *BBH* 31 (1908), 314-319, here 317: "Memoriae S (acrum). Anno millesimo quingentesimo quinto die secunda Junii, consecrata est haec statua B.Mariae Virginis a R.mo Domino Adriano Episcopo Sebastensi et Suffraganeo Ultrajectensi. Qui concessit indulgen: quadraginta dierum omnibus in statu gratiae coram ea quinquies salutationem angelicam recitantibus"; P.J.Margry, "Onze Lieve Vrouw van

In 1629 the Vicar Apostolic Philip Rovenius, visiting the Beguinage, granted a forty day indulgence to those praying the Litany of Mary before the statue⁸¹.

Ten years later, the same Rovenius edited a letter in which he tells us that on visiting the Beguinage in September 1638, he saw the statue, which had been blessed by Adrian of Appeltern on June 2, 1505. Because many miracles were associated with the statue, Rovenius was requested to grant indulgences for the augmentation of the devotion. He then granted a fifty day indulgence to the prayers of the Litany of Loreto⁸². This event of 1639 is recorded by rector Ban in another *Rituale Romanum* (Antwerp 1625) on a quire bound with the book⁸³. Margry doubts whether Rovenius twice within such a short time would have granted almost identical indulgences and supposes that Ban's note of 1629 is a mistake and that the authentic one is that of 1639⁸⁴.

John Albert Ban also compiled rules and charters for the Beguinage which were approved by Philip Rovenius on December 5, 1631. Chapter 7 states that the beguines of this court are obliged to attend holy mass every day... and that after mass on week-days the priest will pray the Litany of Loreto before the miraculous image of Mary, which was blessed in 1505 by Sebastian [read: Adrian], Bishop of Sebaste and suffragan of Utrecht, and is kept here with many miracles⁸⁵.

Haarlem. Een 20e-eeuwse opleving van een oude devotie", *Haarlem-Jaarboek* 1984 (Haarlem 1985), 26-45, here 43, note 5. This study also appeared as a pamphlet, appendix to *Devotionalia* (Eindhoven, december 1985), 23pp. See also J.A.F.Kronenburg CsrR, *Maria's heerlijkheid in Nederland VI* (Amsterdam 1909), 458-465. The *Rituale Romanum*, originally at the Beguinage, is preserved today in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, Collection Library of St. Joseph's parish Haarlem, no. 63b, Margry, 43.

⁸¹ "Illustrissimus et Reverendissimus Dominus Philippus Archiepiscopus Philippensis concessit omnibus qui intersunt dum recitantur Litaniae aut eas separatim legunt coram hac statua Beatae Mariae Virginis miraculosa quadraginta dierum Indulgentias. Datum Anno 1629", Van Kersbergen (note 80), 317.

⁸² The letter is edited by C.J.Gonnet in Allan's *Geschiedenis van Haarlem* (note 77), II, 637, see Appendix 3. Cf. C.J.Gonnet, "Het archief van het Begijnhof te Haarlem", *BBH* 10 (1882), 116-169, here 124-125 (= no. 14).

⁸³ Van Kersbergen (note 80), 314. This *Rituale Romanum* also is preserved in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, Collection Library St. Joseph's parish, Haarlem, no. 63a, Margry (note 80), 43, note 5.

⁸⁴ Margry, 44, note 19.

⁸⁵ "De beggijnen van desen Hove sijn gehouden alle daghen misse te hooren in haare kercke. Ende naer de misse op alle werkedaghen, sal den Priester lesen die Lauretanische Litanien voor het mirakeleus beeld van de H.Maria, welcke op desen Hove van den Jaere vijftthien hondert en vijft geweest is, van Sebastiaen [sic] biscop tot Sebasten, ende Wybisscop van Utrecht gewijdt, ende met groote mirakeulen alhier bewaert is",

Haarlem, S.Maria ten Zijl

Most probably, being at Haarlem in June 1505, Adrian paid a visit to the Sisters of the so-called Zijklooster. This convent, originally founded in 1372 for women of the third order of St.Francis, in 1428 adopted the Rule of St.Augustine as the convent of St.Mary ten Zijl, and as such was the last nunnery to be incorporated into the Chapter of Sion of the Canons Regular of St.Augustine⁸⁶.

The Cartulary of Zijklooster, formerly preserved in the Seminary of the diocese of Haarlem at Warmond and now in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, has been edited by C.J.Gonnet⁸⁷. Page 5 of the edition preserves a letter of Giles van der Heijden, de Merica OCarm, bishop of Beirut (Beritensis) and suffragan of Cambrai, who, as we have already seen⁸⁸, also officiated as suffragan of Utrecht. In this letter, which is undated, Giles declares that, with the consent of Frederick of Baden, he granted several spiritual favours to the monastery. At the end of the letter is a transcription of an addition by Adrian of Appeltern, testifying that he had granted to the Sisters and commensals of ten Zijl an indulgence of 40 days every time they carry out one of the following acts of piety. Firstly: whoever on awaking in the morning and praying five times Ave Maria says: Dear God, let me pass this day in thine honor and in salvation of my soul, and considers in the evening how she in fact spent the day. Secondly: whoever renders service to the spiritual father in whatever way. Thirdly: whoever goes about in a friendly way with the other sisters and speaks kindly with them. Lastly: whoever receives guests with kindness whether serving them food or drink or does their washing or any other things they need doing⁸⁹.

F.M.K.van Kersbergen, "Nog eenige bijzonderheden omtrent de beeltenis van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Haarlem", *BBH* 31 (1908), 435.

⁸⁶ P.M.Verhoofstad, *Inventaris der archieven van kerken, kloosters en staties berustend in het archiefdepot van het bisdom Haarlem* (Haarlem 1959), 37-57; E.Ypma OSA, *Het generaal Kapittel van Sion. Zijn oorsprong, ontwikkeling en inrichting* (Nijmegen-Utrecht 1949), 11, 18, 41-43.

⁸⁷ C.J.Gonnet, "Cartularium van het Zijklooster te Haarlem (Convent der Kanonessen-Regulieren ten Zijl)", *BBH* 16 (1890-1891), 1-379.

⁸⁸ See p. 288.

⁸⁹ "Ick broeder Adriaen van Appeldoorn [read: Appeltern], biscop van Buruth [read: Sebaste], suffragaen mijns ghenadichs heren van Utrecht, hebbe gegeven die susteren ende commensalen van Zijl XL dagen aflaets van ingesette penitencie, soe menichwerven als men enige van dese nagescreven punten doet. In den eersten soe wie 's morgens als hij opstaet leest vijf Ave Maria, seggende: lieve Heer laet ic desen dach overbrengen tot uwer

6. ADRIAN'S LAST YEAR 1506

Utrecht, ordinations

Just as in the previous year, in 1506 there were six days for ordinations, i.e. February 28, March 28, April 11, June 6, September 19 and December 19⁹⁰. All together 304 priests were ordained, among them 202 seculars and 102 religious, and 297 deacons, and 295 subdeacons⁹¹.

In this year too Adrian administered priestly ordinations to five of his confrères. This was on September 19 and they were Theobaldus Jacobi, Cornelius Michaelis of Bergen, and Cornelius Danielis⁹². In addition on December 19 Johannes of Delft and Petrus of Enkhuizen were ordained by Adrian, always assuming he was still alive⁹³.

Dordrecht

At Dordrecht, in the street called Zwindrechtstraat, now the Dolhuisstraat, there stood until after 1580 the house of the Cellebrothers or Brothers of St. Alexius who had arrived in the town prior to 1441. They along with their female branch were engaged in the care of the sick, especially those who were victims of the plague, and in the interment of the deceased⁹⁴. The Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Eemstein, under whose protection they were, granted them a house in the Dolhuisstraat⁹⁵.

eere ende tot zalicheyt mynre zielen. Ende 's avonts overdenct hoe hij den dach overgebracht heeft. Item soe wye pater dienstelic is hetsij wair dattet is. Item soe wie mit sijn medesusterkijns vreedsamelic ommeget ende minliken toesprect. Item soe wie die gasten minliken ontfaet ende dient, hetsij in eten, in drinken, wassen off in een ander dingen die sij te doen hebben", Gonnet, Cartularium (note 87), 299-301 (= no. 220); Verhoofstad (note 86), 39 (= no. 132).

⁹⁰ Brom (note 68), 1896, 316-405.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 1897, 54-57.

⁹² *Ibidem*, 1896, 403.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, 1896, 404.

⁹⁴ *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht*, I: De geschiedenis tot 1572, eindred. J. van Herwaarden (Dordrecht-Hilversum 1996), 147-149.

⁹⁵ Before this the Cellebrothers lived in a few little houses in the street, named Vriesestraat, which in the 15th century were called *huyskens van de swarte mannekens* (small houses of the little black men), because of their black clothing, and where plague-patients were nursed, C.J.P. Lips, *Wandelingen door Oud-Dordrecht* 2 (Zaltbommel 1974), 456. Today in the Dolhuisstraat a part of the monastery still stands (*ibidem*, 393-395 with

A chapel was built there. On August 9, 1506 Adrian of Appeltern, in the name of the bishop of Utrecht, granted an indulgence of 40 days to those patronizing the altar of the chapel. From this it is supposed that the chapel together with its altar were ready at that time⁹⁶.

Gouda

We have already dealt with the Brethren of the Common Life and their Jerusalem chapel⁹⁷. In 1506 Adrian was once more in touch with the house of the Brethren, dedicated to St. Paul. On November 10 of that year Frederick of Baden, bishop of Utrecht, authenticated a relic of St. Paul, a part of his rib, set into a statue of the patron-saint, and granted a forty day indulgence to all those coming to venerate the statue in the monastery church. On the same day Adrian also edited a letter of the same tenor⁹⁸. This also forms the final act of Adrian's life which has been transmitted to us.

7. DEATH AND INTERMENT

Precisely when Adrian of Appeltern departed this life is just as unknown as the date of his birth. It could have occurred towards the end of 1506 or at the beginning of 1507. His successor, namely as suffragan of Utrecht, the Dominican James (de) Ridder of Kalkar was appointed by Frederick of Baden on March 12, 1507, although he had already been consecrated bishop of Hebron on July 10, 1506⁹⁹. On August 13 of that

a photograph ca. 1880 on p. 389). See also *Oude gebouwen te Dordrecht* by J.C. Overvoorde a.o. (Dordrecht 1900), 28, no. 7.

⁹⁶ J.L. van Dalen, "Het Cellebroedersklooster te Dordrecht", *BBH* 25 (1900), 304-308, here 305-306.

⁹⁷ See p. 300.

⁹⁸ Vorstman (note 52), 157-159, followed by "Item in eadem forma de verbo ad verbum litteras de suffraganeo domini Trajectensis, scilicet Adriano de Appeltern, Episcopo Sebastensi"; Taal (note 50), 88, who also published a picture of the monastery, facing p. 117, which finally was demolished in 1943. St. Paul's statue is now preserved in the Museum Catharinagasthuis at Gouda. For the history of the monastery and the aforementioned documents, see Weiler, *Volgens de norm* (note 52), 138-149.

⁹⁹ Weijling (note 3), 282.

year he paid the due amount to the Camera Apostolica in Rome¹⁰⁰. It is not known as to where he went on to function as suffragan¹⁰¹.

Adrian is said to have been interred in the church of the Carmelites, later the church of St.Catherine of the Knights of St.John, and today the cathedral of the archdiocese of Utrecht. In about 1600 Buchelius wrote his *Monumenta*¹⁰², mentioning his name there but without giving a date. However, it is not quite clear if Van Buchel transcribed Adrian's tombstone or that he saw the text on one of the then there present stained glass windows¹⁰³. Between these representations in the column at the right of fol.83v, within two lines, one reads: "D(ominus) Adrianus de Appeltern Sebastien(sis) Ep(iscopus) Suffraganeus Traiectensis". Above this text Van Buchel writes: "Visitatio Elisabethae et D(ivae) Virginis", and next to it: "Puerperium D(ivae) Elisabeth". Below Adrian's text is written: "Christus a Jo(hann)e tingitur". Underneath Buchelius copied a coat of arms: in a shield a cross-beam charged with three diamonds, but this is not Adrian's coat of arms, as we have already noted, from the confirmation letter of the confraternity of St.Anne¹⁰⁴. Under the whole text is written: "in medio baptisterii". The meaning of which could be that Adrian of Appeltern has been interred in the baptistery of the church¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁰ Brom, *Archivalia* (note 5), I,1 (= no.1045).

¹⁰¹ Eubel, *Hierarchia* (note 5), 163 is not clear in his statement. He mentions James as suffragan of Utrecht under the year 1503, while in the list of the suffragans of Utrecht (*ibidem*, 276) he notes the year 1506.

¹⁰² A.Buchelii, *Monumenta passim in templis et monasteriis Traiectinae urbis atque agri inventa*, Het Utrechts Archief, MS. bibl.XXVIII, L 1, fol. 83v. He describes what he found in the church of the Knights of St.John, which in Adrian's day belonged to the Carmelites (f.83r-84r).

¹⁰³ Buchelius who copied a great number of coats of arms, probably also copied those of the Knights of St.John, who after 1528 were in the possession of the church, including texts for the saints and for the persons likely to have donated the windows.

¹⁰⁴ See note 9.

¹⁰⁵ After these texts relating to Adrian, Buchelius writes: "Sequitur locus lavandis ut videtur manibus destinatus, ubi quatuor vitra sequentibus signis et picturis notata, a dextris: Historie van het vrouken op de putte ende Christo [History of Christ and the Samaritan at the well]". Finally one reads: "duorum Eremitarum simulacra". This could mean that these windows do deal with Adrian, as Weijling (note 3), 279 supposes. See also above note 9, where we considered Adrian's coat of arms.

8. EPILOGUE. AFTER ALL: ANOTHER AUGUSTINIAN SUFFRAGAN OF UTRECHT

We sub-titled this study: Adrian of Appeltern the only Augustinian suffragan of Utrecht. However, this is only partly true, because there was another Augustinian of the monastery of Dordrecht, who received an appointment as suffragan of Utrecht, James Lisse, son of a mayoral family of Dordrecht and mentioned as prior of the Augustinian monastery there in 1428-1429 and 1432-1441¹⁰⁶. This was during the Utrecht schism (1423-1449)¹⁰⁷, and thus in quite other circumstances. We shortly will report upon this schism.

After the death of Bishop Frederick of Blankenheim in 1423 two parties contested the secular and spiritual power within the diocese of Utrecht: the Lokhorsts and the Lichtenbergers, the former partisans of the Hooks, the latter intimates of the Cods. One party chose Sweder of Culemborg as successor of Frederick, the other Rudolph of Diepholt. Neither was confirmed by the Pope, but an outsider: Rhabanus of Helmstedt, bishop of Speyer, was appointed¹⁰⁸. In 1425 Rhabanus stood down and the Pope then appointed Sweder of Culemborg to the See of Utrecht¹⁰⁹. The other party supported Rudolph of Diepholt, who in fact ruled the diocese in the years 1428-1431, but beyond the temporal power, Sweder was acknowledged by many as the real bishop. From 1430 onwards he resided at Dordrecht.

The new Pope, Eugene IV (1431), sent a legate to the Low Countries to resolve the question. There they demanded the deprivation of Sweder and appealed, not to the Pope, but to a General Council. In 1431 both candidates travelled to the Council of Basle, which had been convoked by the Pope, and soon came into conflict with Eugene IV himself. On December 10, 1432 Eugene IV appointed Sweder of Culemborg titular bishop of Cesarea¹¹⁰, and Rudolph of Diepholt bishop of Utrecht¹¹¹. However, in January 1433 the Council decided otherwise

¹⁰⁶ G.D.J.Schotel, *Het klooster, het Hof en de Kerk der Augustijnen te Dordrecht* (Dordrecht 1861), 55-56; Weijling (note 3), 67-68, 225-227.

¹⁰⁷ J.de Hullu, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Utrechtsche schisma* (Den Haag 1892). For what follows see R.R.Post, *Kerkgeschiedenis van Nederland in de middeleeuwen*, II (Utrecht-Antwerpen 1957), 2-18.

¹⁰⁸ C.Eubel, *Hierarchia* (note 5), I, 460.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 491.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 113.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, II, 253.

and acknowledged Sweder as the legitimate bishop of Utrecht¹¹². Rudolph asked for a re-examination of the question, but before matters had gone that far Sweder of Culemborg died at Basle on September 22, 1433.

Playing it safe, Pope Eugene appointed Rudolph again bishop of Utrecht on October 16. The opposing party, acting in belief that Sweder had been the legitimate bishop of Utrecht, considered the diocese as being vacant. In February 1434 twelve canons, assembled at Dordrecht, elected Walraven of Meurs bishop of Utrecht. The election was confirmed by Walraven's brother, the archbishop of Cologne¹¹³.

Furthermore, Walraven appealed to the Council to which Rudolph also was summoned. Eugene IV transferred the Council to Ferrara in 1437, but the rebellious councilfathers continued to assemble at Basle, and two years later they dethroned the Pope. On November 5, 1439 they elected Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who was living as a hermit at Ripaille on Lake Geneva. He took the name of Felix V, was crowned on July 24, 1440, and is the last antipope in history¹¹⁴. Before his coronation, Felix V created on April 12, 1440 five cardinals among them Walraven of Meurs, who declined the honor, because he was unable to gain possession of his diocese and seems never to have received the cardinal's hat¹¹⁵.

Along with Walraven of Meurs, James Lisse, prior of the Austin Friars at Dordrecht, had come to Basle. On October 1, 1440 he was admitted into the Council¹¹⁶.

¹¹² J. Gill SJ, *Constance et Bâle-Florence* (Paris 1965), 140-141.

¹¹³ According to J. Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil 1431-1449. Forschungsstand und Probleme* (Köln-Wien 1987), 110, the diocese of Utrecht was represented by 29 participants. For many years the Utrecht electoral question was a political affair of the first degree (*ibidem*, 191). "Am 3. Mai 1436 entschied das Konzil in der Utrechter Bistumsangelegenheit zu gunsten der vom Kapitel vollzogene Postulation des... Walram von Mörs mit der beigegeführten Erklärung, dass dem (vom Papst am 10. Dezember 1432 providierten) Rudolf von Diepholt kein Recht auf das Bistum zustehe", K. Eubel, "Die durch das Basler Konzil geschaffene Hierarchie", *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 16 (Rom 1902), 269-286, here 278. For the Council of Basle see further: *Concilium Basiliense. Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Concils von Basel*, I-VIII (Basel 1896-1936), and C. J. Hefele - H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, VII, 2e partie (Paris 1916), 924-1100.

¹¹⁴ Eubel (note 5), II, 92. On April 7, 1449 Felix abdicated and was made cardinal of Sabina by Pope Nicholas V. He died on January 7, 1451 (*ibidem*, 9, 11). See for him: *Amadée VIII - Félix V, premier duc de Savoie et pape 1383-1451* (Actes du colloque château de Ripaille à Thonon-les-Bains, 23-26 oct. 1990), éd. B. Andermatten et A. Paravicini Bagliani (Lausanne 1992).

¹¹⁵ Eubel, *Römische Quartalschrift* (note 113), 273.

¹¹⁶ "Sabbati prima octobris 1440. In congregacione generali incorporati fuerunt medio juramento: frater Jacobus Liess prior conventus Dordracensis ordinis sancti Augustini Trajectensis diocesis...", *Concilium Basiliense* (note 113), VII: Die Protokolle des Concils

In June 1441 Felix V appointed him titular bishop of Tripolis and suffragan of Utrecht¹¹⁷. Just like Walraven of Meurs - who renounced his claim to the See of Utrecht in 1448 and became bishop of Münster in October 1450, dying there in 1456¹¹⁸ -, James Lisse was unable to function as suffragan of Utrecht. Whether ordinations and consecrations were performed by him is unknown. He must have died soon, as we know from a document, dated April 9, 1443¹¹⁹.

In the municipal archives of Dordrecht three copy-books of acts (1403-1532) are preserved. In the second volume (1425-1469) there is a transcript of a document, dated June 13, 1442. On this date a number of letters, dealing with a house belonging to James Lisse, were ordered by the judges to be transcribed into the register¹²⁰. In one of the letters, dated January 16, 1434, eleven members of the Augustinian community declare to have given the said house to James, the prior, and his heirs. The Augustinians committed themselves to celebrate a yearly mass for him and the inhabitants of his house. Moreover to light a candle on his grave in which also his parents lie, and that on the Monday after the feast of St. James (July 25). The grave, under a big blue stone, was located immediately in front of the entrance to the choir of the church¹²¹. This letter was pierced by another under James Lisse's hand and seal, dated May 15, 1439. And so, we may suppose that James Lisse found his last resting-place there.

1440-1441, hrsg. von Hermann Herre (Basel 1910), 256.

¹¹⁷ "Im Juni 1441 wurde der Augustiner Jacobus Liss zum Titularbischof von Tripolis befördert unter Anweisung einer jährlichen Pension auf die Einkünfte des Bistums Utrecht, woraus hervorgeht, dass er dort als Weihbischof fungieren sollte; dies wird ihm aber nur in dem beschränkten Maasse möglich gewesen sein, als der Erwählte desselben, Walram von Mörs, in dessen Besitz gelangen könnte", Eubel, *Römische Quartalschrift* (note 113), 283; Eubel, *Hierarchia* (note 5), II, 256, note 2; 276.

¹¹⁸ Eubel, *Hierarchia*, II, 194, 253.

¹¹⁹ "Int jaer XLII des dinxdages voer palmen IX daghe in aprilte [= April 9, 1443]... heeren Jacop Liss bisscop van Tripolis wijlen eer prior van den Augustijnen cloester bynnen der stede zaligher ghedachte..." J.L. van Dalen, "Het Klooster en de Kerk der Augustijnen te Dordrecht", *BBH* 26 (1901), 1-46, here 26.

¹²⁰ Dordrecht, Stadsarchief I, Inv., no. 14, fol. 194r-v (= no. 2289). I would like to thank Mr. J. Alleblas of the Dordrecht archives, who kindly sent me photocopies of it.

¹²¹ "Dese memory sal alle jaer ghedaen worden met een bornende waskaersse opten grave des priors sijde voer die optrede daer op dees tijt eenen groten blauwen sarck op leyt ende des voerghenoemden priors ouders in begraven leggen ende toebehoert ende dat jaerghetyde voerscr. salmen doen des maendaghes na Sinte Jacobs dach". See also P.A. Henderikx, *De oudste bedelordekloosters in het graafschap Holland en Zeeland* (*Hollandse studies* 10). Dordrecht 1977, 118, 142; *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht* (note 94), 329.

CONCLUSION

Since James Lisse was appointed suffragan of Utrecht by the antipope Felix V and never functioned as such, we may indeed say that Adrian of Appeltern is, to date, the only Augustinian suffragan of Utrecht.

Eindhoven (Pays-Bas)

Alberic DE MEIJER O.S.A.

APPENDIX 1

Adrianus de Appeltern, bishop of Sebaste, consecrates two altars in the church of the monastery of St. Elisabeth at Rugge, and changes the patrons of the other altars. July 28, 1504.

Het zy aan alle menschen, zoo tegenwoordige als toekomstende, bekend dat in 't jaar 1504, den 28 July, de eerw. Vader in *Christus*, Heer *Adrianus*, by Gods genade Bisschop van Sebaste, en in 't Bisschoppelijke de algemeene Vikaris van ... Heer *Fredericus* Bisschop van Utrecht, in onze kerk twee outaaren heeft ingewijdt: Het eene staat aan de zuidzijde, het tweede aan de noordzijde, en zijn beidegaar in rang de allerleste aan de westzijde. Het eerste aan de westzijde staande, heeft hy ingewijdt ter eere van den Almogenden Godt, van de HH.Maagden en Martelaressen, *Agnes*, *Barbara*, *Appolonia*, *Lucia*, *Dorothea*; en van alle de HH.Maagden onzes Heere *Christus*. De vijf gemelde Maagden waren te voren tot Patronessen van andere outaaren gewijdt (of aangesteld) geweest; maar vermits ons inzicht was de Patroonen der outaaren te veranderen, te verplaatzen, en te vermenigvuldigen: en uyt zijn antwoord verstaan hebbende dat het geoorloft was: zoo hebben wy de voornoemde HH.Maagden doen inwijden (tot Patronessen) en van de andere altaaren op dit outaar doen overbrengen. En op de gemelde outaaren hebben wy, gelijk beneden aangewezen zal worden, andere Patroonen doen stellen. Het andere outaar heeft de voorn. Bisschop ingewijdt ter eere van de HH.Abten *Bernardus* en *Benedictus*; van de HH.*Franciscus* en *Antonius*; en ter eere van alle HH.Abten en Monniken. En hy heeft geordoneert dat de wijding van deze twee outaaren geviert zoude worden op het wy-feest van onze kerk en van onze andere outaaren: te weten op den Zondag na O.L.Vrouwe bezoeking. En op dat

dezelve outaaren met behoorlijke eerbewijzingen bezocht, en van de Christene geloovigen geduurig geëert mogen worden, heeft hy, zoo aan de inwoonders als aan de buiten-luiden uyt godvruchtigheid herwaart koomende, die de gemelde outaaren op het Wy-feest, en op ieder feest van alle de Patroonen der voorn. altaaren, bezoeken, en 'er het Gebed des Heere of een ander godvruchtig gebed voor leezen, indien zy in staat van genade zijn, achtervolgens Gods barmhertigheid en zonderlinge genade-gunst, verleent 80 dagen afaats: te weeten 40 dagen wegens den Bisschop van Utrecht, en noch 40 op zyn eigen gezag: dewelke verdient konnen worden op het feest der wijdinge, en op ieder feest van de Patroonen der gemelde outaaren. Noch heeft hy aan alle de ledematen van dit Klooster, ieder dag, verleent 20 dagen afaats, of afslag van de opgeleide boetplegingen, zoo dikwils zy de voornoemde outaaren, met de zelfde godvruchtigheid als boven zullen bezoeken.

En nademaal de Bul van den eerw. Vader in *Christus*, Myn Heer *Matthias* Bisschop van Biduanen, noopende het wijden van de Kerk en de outaaren voornoemd, duidelijk uytdrukt aan welke (Heiligen) zoo wel de Kerk als de outaaren toegewijdt zyn; zoo hebben wy, ten einde de nakomelingen niet ongerust of twyfelmoedig mogen zyn over de rechte Patroonen der altaaren, goedgevonden by geschrift na te laten, wat eene verandering, verplaatzing, en vermenigvuldiging, dat 'er in de Patroonen der outaaren is geschiedt. In de Bulle van *Matthias*, Bisschop van Biduanen, staat aangetekend dat het hoofd-outaar ter eere van den almogenden Godt, van de H.Maagd *Maria*, en van de H.weduwe *Elizabet*, Patronesse des Kloosters en der Kerke, ingewijdt is. Maar op ons verzoek heeft de eerw. Vader in *Christus*, de Heer *Adrianus*, boven vermeld, als hy de twee voorgemelde outaaren wijde, het H. *Kruis* van 't outaar, dat nu het altaar van de HH. *Martinus*, *Willebrordus*, en alle HH.Belijders genoemd word, overgebracht op het hoofd-altaar; en heeft geordoneert dat het hoofd-outaar voortaan ook het outaar zoude zyn van 't H.*Kruis*. Het outaar van S.*Augustinus* en S.*Apollonia* zal volgens zijne ordonantzie voortaan den naam hebben van het outaar der vier Kerkleeraaren, *Augustinus*, *Gregorius*, *Hieronimus*, *Ambrosius*. En de H.*Elizabet* heeft hy verplaatst op het nieuwe altaar van alle heilige Maagden: 't welk hy ook haar ter eere heeft gewijdt. Het outaar van de HH.*Stephanus*, *Laurentius*, *Hieronymus*, *Lucia* en *Dorothea* heeft hy geschikt ter eere van de HH.Martelaaren *Stephanus*, *Laurentius*, *Cornelius*, *Bonifacius*, *Vincentius*, en *Sebastianus*: en den H.*Hieronymus* heeft hy eene plaats aangewezen op het outaar van S.*Augustinus*: doch de HH.*Lucia* en *Dorothea* heeft hy geplaatst op het altaar van alle HH.Maagden: 't welk hy ook haar ter eere heeft gewijdt. Het outaar van den H.Geest, en van S.*Catharina*, heeft hy geschikt voor de

Heiligen, dewelke eerst op S.*Martinus* altaar geplaatst waren: en die hy hen van daar heeft verplaatst. Het outaar van de H.Maagd heeft hy geschikt voor de H.weduwe *Anna*, de moeder der H.Maagd, voor S.*Josef*, haren Bruidegom, en voor alle de heilige vrienden (bloedverwanten) van *Christus*. Het outaar van de HH.Apostelen *Petrus* en *Paulus* en van S.*Agnes*, heeft hy geschikt voor de HH.*Petrus*, *Paulus*, *Andreas*, *Jakob* den Meerdere, en voorts voor alle de HH.Apostelen van *Christus*. En de H.*Agnes* heeft hy overgebracht op het nieuwe altaar der HH.Maagden, 't welk hy ook haar ter eere heeft ingewijdt. Het outaar van den H.*Andreas*, en van S.*Maria Magdalena*, heeft hy geschikt voor de HH.*Maria Magdalena*, en haare zuster *Martha*; en vorders voor de H.weduwe *Monica*, en voor alle heilige weduwen en ongetrouwde vrouwen. En S.*Andreas* heeft hy op het altaar van alle de HH.Apostelen overgebracht. Het outaar van S.*Lucas* en S.*Barbara* in het Kapittelhuis, heeft hy geordoneert dat voortaan het outaar zal zyn van de HH.Evangelisten *Matthaeus*, *Marcus*, *Lucas*, en *Johannes*: en de H.*Barbara* heeft hy op het altaar der HH.Maagden gebracht: 't welk hy ook haar ter eere heeft ingewijdt. Het outaar in het Koor, 't welk *Martinus* by Gods genade Bisschop van Magionne ter eere van het H.*Kruis*, van de HH.Belijders *Martinus*, *Willibrordus*, en *Bernardus*, en van alle heiligen, wel-eer had ingewijdt¹²², heeft hy geordoneert dat voortaan het altaar zal zyn van de HH.Bisschoppen en Belijders, *Martinus*, *Willebrordus*, *Nicolaus*, *Servatius*, *Hubertus* en *Eligius*, en van alle de HH.Belijders van *Christus*. Het H.*Kruis* heeft hy overgebracht op het hoofdoutaar: Alle de Heiligen op het outaar van den H.*Geest* en S.*Bernardus* op het nieuwe outaar, 't welk 't zijner eere, en ter eere van meer andere Heiligen, is ingewijdt. Dit alles heeft de voornoemde Heer *Adrianus*, na het inwijden van de twee outaaren, gedaan: houdende zyn Bisschoppelijke gewaad aan, en gaande van 't eene outaar naar het andere. En met de Patroonen heeft hy insgelijks de aflaten verplaatst; dewelke zoo op het feest der Kerk-wijdinge, als op hunne feestdagen, verleent waren geweest. Dit hebben wy op de Bulle van den Heer *Matthias* schriftelijk willen nalaaten: op dat daar over geene ongerustheit of twijfelmoedigheid mogt voorvallen.

Van Heussen-Van Rijn, *Oudheden en gestichten van het rechte Zuid-Holland en van Schieland* (Leiden 1719), 319-323.

¹²² Martinus de Campina, de Blijja OCist, bishop of Majo and suffragan to Sweder of Culemborg, bishop of Utrecht. He consecrated this altar on July 27, 1433, Weijling (note 3), 219-225, here 220.

APPENDIX 2

Adrianus de Appeltern, bishop of Sebaste and suffragan of Utrecht, declares to have consecrated the chapel, the cemetery, and some altars at Zoeterwoude and also altars in the chapterhouse of the Knights of St. John at Haarlem, granting indulgences of 40 days. He also saw the bull of Pope Innocent VIII for the Knights of St. John and confirms the indulgence, mentioned in it. June 1, 1505.

Adrianus de Apelter, Dei et apostolice sedis gratia Episcopus Sebastensis ac reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Fredrici Marchionis Badensis, eadem gratia episcopi Trajectensis, in pontificalibus Vicarius generalis, universis et singulis presentes literas inspecturis Salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Quanto frequentius fidelium mentes ad devotionis opera inducimus tanto salubrius eorum animarum saluti providemus. Cupientes igitur ut ecclesia, altaria una cum cimiterio per nos, opitulante Dei clementia, cum solempnitatibus in talibus fieri congruis et consuetis, dedicata et consecrata, ecclesia vero sive capella in Soeterwou, in honore gloriose virginis Marie de Victoria, Sancti Panthaleonis et Johannis Baptiste, Altaria vero in eadem capella predicta situata, in honore Sanctissime virginis Marie de Victoria, Panthaleonis, Johannis Baptiste, Katharine Virginis, Agnete et Elisabeth Vidue, cujusquidem dedicationis dies dominica post Assumptionis Marie celebrabitur. Altaria vero in domo capitulari domus hospitalis Sancti Johannis in Haerlem situata, una cum ejusdem domus jamdicte ampliacione cum similibus solempnitatibus predictis, per nos, eadem Spiritus¹²³ sancti gratia cooperante, in honore gloriose virginis Marie de Victoria, Sancti Panthaleonis martiris, Johannis Baptiste, Jheronimi, Sebastiani et Anthonii, cujusquidem dedicationis dies dominica post festum Sancti Jheronimi celebrabitur, debitis honoribus frequententur et venerentur; Omnibus vero penitentibus et confessis qui dictam ecclesiam seu capellam in Soeterwouda et altaria, omnibus festivitatibus Pasche, Penthecoste, omnium Sanctorum, natalis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, Epiphanie, Circumcisionis, Cinerum, Parascheves, Ascensionis Domini, venerabilis Sacramenti, devotionis causa visitaverint et flexibus genibus, tres orationes dominicas et totidem salutationes angelicas legerint ac omnibus festivitatibus gloriose virginis, omnium apostolorum, martirum, confessorum, evangelistarum, ac per eorundem festorum octavas, Nec non

¹²³ The text erroneously has *supra*.

qui luminaria ornamenta, libros, calices, vel qui in eorum testamenta aut extra, aurum vel argentum aut aliud quodcunque clenodium ad hujusmodi cappelle, altarium ac domus hospitalis reparationes, conservationem et manutenentionem et divini cultus augmentationem, donaverint, legaverint donarique procuraverint, Etiam qui missis, sermonibus et omnium divinarum horarum solempnitatibus, in eadem capella celebratis, lectis seu cantatis presentes interfuerint, aut qui eadem divina celebraverint ac celebrari curaverint, Etiam qui cimeterium seu ambitum devotionis causa visitaverint et circuierint, pro Christi-fidelium animabus orando, quotienscumque premissa vel aliquid premissorum adimpleverint, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus, auctoritate confisi, quadraginta dies indulgentiarum de injunctis eis penitentiis, misericorditer in Domino relaxamus. Preterea ad clausulas, in bulla ordinis Sancti Johannis a Sanctissimo Domino nostro Innocentio papa octavo, pie recordationis, concessa et emanata, cujusquidem transscriptum sanum, integrum, non vitiatum neque cancellatum, vidimus ac legimus, indulgentiam sic ut premititur, impertimur et concedimus, Et precipue ad clausulam: Qui predictas de novo constructas ecclesias seu cappellas vel altaria earum in die habite victoriae predictae a primis vesperibus vigilie usque ad occasum solis diei festivitatis ejusdem devote visitaverint. - In cujus rei testimonium et omnium fidem presentes literas sigilli nostri appensione jussimus et fecimus communiri. Datum anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo quinto die prima Junii.

C.J.Gonnet, "Sint Panthaleon, patroon van de kapel te Zoeterwoude", *BBH* 2 (1874), 209-210.

APPENDIX 3

Philippus Rovenius, Archbishop of Philippi, Vicar Apostolic in Holland, grants a 50 day indulgence to those who will pray the Litany of Loreto before the statue of the Blessed Virgin in the church of the Beguinage at Haarlem. February 7, 1639.

Philippus Dei et Apostolicae sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Philippensis, et per Confoederatas Belgii Provincias, atque Trans Isulanae

partes vicarius apostolicus, Praepositus Aldensaliensis, omnibus hasce literas visuris Salutem in Domino.

Ea quae pietati et devotioni fidelium fovendae et augendae conducunt par est ut speciali favore prosequamur. Cum itaque in nupera nostra visitatione in mense Septembri Anno 1638 Harlemi facta depraehenderimus in Oratorio, seu Ecclesia curiae Begginarum ejusdem oppidi quandam antiquam et piam imaginem Beatissimae Virginis Dei genetricis Mariae, quondam ab Adriano Episcopo Sebastensi et Suffraganeo Ultrajectensi Anno 1505 2^o Junii, consecratam, eandemque plurimis miraculis a Deo ad invocationem Beatissimae Virginis honoratam: Rogati sumus ut pro augmento devotionis eorum qui preces suas coram dicta Sancta Imagine, Deo et Beatissimae Matri Virgini Mariae offerunt, dignaremur quosdam favores et gratias spirituales concedere: Itaque de divina misericordia confisi, et speciali insuper autoritate et facultate a Sanctissimo D.N.Domino Urbano Papa Octavo accepta muniti, benigne concessimus et concedimus per praesentes, ut quicumque coram dicta Sacra Imagine Beatissimae Virginis, Dei genetricis Mariae Litanias Lauretanis devote recitaverint, aut iisdem dum leguntur in dicto Oratorio pie interfuerint, quinquaginta dierum Indulgentiam et remissionem quoad poenas peccatis suis debitas secundum formam Ecclesiae consuetam consequantur, idque toties quoties hoc praestiterint in statu gratiae, vel cum synchero dolore de peccatis suis, Praesenti concessione in perpetuum valitura.

In fidem praemissorum hasce literas sub nomine et sigillo nostro consueto expediri fecimus. Ultrajecti die septima Februarii Anno Millesimo Sexcentesimo trigesimo nono, Pontificatus S.N.Domini Urbani Papae Octavi Anno decimo sexto.

Phil. Archiep. Philippen. Vic. Aplic.

Ex mandato Illustrissimi Domini

Jod. à Moock

Secretarius.

F.Allan, *Geschiedenis en Beschrijving van Haarlem*, II (Haarlem 1877), 636-638.