

HIERONYMUS FREDERIKS († 1558): HIS CORRESPONDENCE  
WITH KAREL VAN GELRE AND ALBERT HARDENBERG<sup>1</sup>

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This article deals with relationships, elucidated in a previous contribution in this journal on the Evangelical Groningen steward Hieronymus Frederiks (†1558). The reader is referred to that article.<sup>2</sup>

The present contribution contains the edition of three letters. The first is Dr. Hieronymus' letter of April 18, 1544, to the former Stadtholder of Groningen, Junker Karel van Gelre († 1570), the bastard son of the Duke of Gelre, in which the *rentmeester* destructively criticised the Davidjorist doctrine, notably as laid down in David Joris' *Twonderboek* (1543). Karel had presented it to Hieronymus for assessment. It was this letter that, ultimately, caused the sentence and execution of the Deventer Davidjorist Joriaen Ketel in August 1544. Moreover, it marks the turn in Hieronymus' initially friendly relationship with Joris' son-in-law and representative, Nicolaas Meyndertsz. van Blesdijk. The latter passed the epistle down in his refutation of Frederiks' indictment, the *Billijcke verantwoordinge* of 1547, published in 1610.<sup>3</sup>

The other two are held in manuscript by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The first, of October 20, 1548, by Hieronymus' former fellow townsman and friend, the gifted Bremen cathedral preacher Albert Hardenberg (ca. 1510-1574), sheds new light on the relationships between the steward and the Groningen burgomaster Reiner Garmes and reformational circles. Their services were called upon to settle the inheritance matter of Hardenberg's wife, a former Groningen beguine, in which both the Groningen and Bremen Councils risked to get involved. Moreover, this letter reflects the

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr R.H. Bremmer Jr. (Leiden), Dr E.P. Meijering (Leiden), Dr E. Rabbie (The Hague), and Dr J. Trapman (Leiden) for their remarks and suggestions. Abbreviations in the notes correspond to G. Müller, ed., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie: Abkürzungsverzeichnis* (Berlin/New York, 1994<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> W. Janse, "The Groningen steward Hieronymus Frederiks (†1558): A fragment of his lost prophecy 'Vaticinium postremi temporis'?", in *NAKG/DRCH* 75-2 (1995): 216-234.

<sup>3</sup> Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 220, 224f.

precarious politico-economic state of affairs of the Hanseatic city of Bremen.

Finally, Hieronymus' letter of March 15, 1557, to Hardenberg, documents the former's pivotal position in the Groningen clandestine reformed community and his good relations with prominent promoters of the reformation such as Christoffer van Ewsum, Count Christoph of Oldenburg, and Tido von Inn- und Knyphausen. Moreover, it shows both Hieronymus' familiarity with the subtleties of the Lutheran Eucharist christology as well as his commitment to reformed Protestantism in East Friesland and Northern Germany. Each of the letters is preceded by a summary.

*Hieronymus Frederiks (Groningen) to Karel van Gelre (n.p.), April 18, 1544<sup>4</sup>*

#### Summary

[1] May I have a picture of your coat of arms and device so that I can order the stained-glass window you insisted on? It will be given a most honourable place, viz. in the hall. [2] Reading your copy of David Joris' *Twonderboeck* troubled me because of its terribly obscure and confused style. Yet, thanks to the Lord I was able to see through it and to trace its outlines, as I promised, [3] partly owing to contacts with some protagonists of this sect, who intruded on me with great ostentation of devotion but to whom I gave the lie, as their false doctrine obliterates Christ's glory and the apostolical doctrine. Should the antichrist in person have to be expected, Joris it will be, since the antichrist could not possibly preach a more dreadful heresy. [4] The basic principle is the demand of spiritual self-annihilation. Even matrimony is prohibited. Their doctrine of fasting and wailing creates a varnish of devotion under which yet the most serious errors since the apostolical age are covered up. [5] While, initially, Joris poses as God's chosen herald through whom the complete truth will be revealed, he ends up claiming to be the Holy Spirit himself. In him God's

<sup>4</sup> In C.M. van Bleesdijck, *Billijcke verantwoordinge ende eenvoldighe wederlegghinghe Nicolaes Meynerts. van Bleesdijck, op eenen schellasterighen brief door doctorem Hieronimum Wilhelmi, der stadt Groeninghen rentmeester, etc. tegens die heylsame leere D.J. aan weylant Joncker Karel van Gelder, Stadtholder etc. gheschreven, ende overghesonden den 18. aprilis in 't jaer 1544* (n.p., 1610), 102<sup>b</sup>-105<sup>a</sup>. Publication by courtesy of the Amsterdam University Library. On this letter, see S. Zijlstra, *Nicolaas Meynderts. van Blesdijk. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Davidjorisme* (GHB 99) (Assen, 1983), 78f., 81, 83-91.

revelation should have gained the stage of manhood, after that of infancy in Moses and that of youth in Christ. As Christ abrogated Moses, Joris should have abrogated Christ, being God's eternal truth, the king and heir of the earth and kingdom come. [6] The Old Testament prophecies should have been fulfilled only partly in the incarnate Christ, Jesus, but fully in the spiritual Christ, the promised righteous Branch David Joris. Thus he applies all the prophecies to himself, "the king from the north", committing the letter-worship for which he blames others. [7] The man of lawlessness of 2 Thess. 2 could not commit a more blatant blasphemy. The whole world should recognize the horrifying temptation of this sly devil. [8] His followers endeavoured to win over Melanchthon, Bucer, and A Lasco, dissimulating doctrinal consensus, whereas under the pretence of true worship they dice, carouse, and fornicate. [9] We commend the outcome to the Lord, who has cautioned us for false prophets and false Christs, exhorting us to yearn for his glorious future.

[102<sup>b</sup>] Copie Vanden Sendt-brief Doctors Hieronimi Wilhelmi, aen Ioncker Kaerl van Gelder<sup>5</sup> gheschreven, ende by desen voorgaanden Tractaet deur Nicolaum Meynaerts van Bleysdijck punctuelijck beantwoort.

[1] Mynen Dienst ende goetwillicheyt te vooren: Edele Erenfeste ende besondere gonstige Lieve Joncker: So U.E. my so ernstlijck aengestreden, van begin mijns timmerens, oock noch laetstmael, doen U.E. tot Groeninghen weren, om een Venster-stede te bekleen, hebbe sulcx niet dorven versetten, dan U.E. die opperste des eerlijcksten Rumes, te weten des Saals, toe-gheschreven: Begheert U.E. die Wapene ende

<sup>5</sup> As stadtholder of Groningen and Drenthe from 1530 to 1535, Junker Karel van Gelder dealt gently with the Anabaptists. Compromised by his connections with them, he was replaced and escaped to Danzig for a time. See J. de Hullu, *Bescheiden betreffende de Hervorming in Overijssel 1: Deventer (1522-1546)* (Werken uitgegeven vanwege de Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis 20) (Deventer, 1899), index; P.G. Bos, "De Groningsche Wederdooperswoelingen in 1534 en 1535", in *NAKG* 6 (1909): 1-47; K. Huizenga, *Groningen en de Ommelanden onder de heerschappij van Karel van Gelder (1514-1536)* (Groningen/Den Haag, 1925), 86f.; *NNWB* 10 (1937): 447; A.F. Mellink, *De Wederdopers in de noordelijke Nederlanden 1531-1544* (Groningen, 1954; repr. Leeuwarden, 1981), 15 and index; idem, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de Reformatie te Groningen", in M.G. Buist *et al.*, eds., *Historisch bewogen. Opstellen over de radicale reformatie in de 16e en 17e eeuw, aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. A.F. Mellink bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar in de sociaal-religieuze geschiedenis aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen* (Groningen, 1984): 143f., 146; Zijlstra, *Bledijk*, index; Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 225.

Byschrift my daar toe voegen wollen, om tselve mit den anderen voort veerdich te laten maecken.<sup>6</sup>

[2] i.<sup>7</sup> Ick dancke den Edelen ende Erentvesten Joncker grootlijck van aengehekeerder vlijt ende moeyte des Boecks halven van Da. Jor.<sup>8</sup> Ende hoewel ick etlijcker-wyse beswaart sy gheweest mit myne gescheften, so heb ick doch byneffens die selve daghelijcks noch alle vlijt aengekeert, als my eenige vryheyt gebeurde, in den selven te lesen. Ende is my seer swaer gevallen, om die groote donckerheyt ende doortoghene listicheyt des schryvens, dat verstant des ghedichts ende sins te vaten: ii. Ende so ick [103<sup>a</sup>] U.E. ghelovet hebbe, den gront ende hooft-stucken, soo ick die erinnert werde, over te schryven: soo dat Volck deses blinden aenvancks sich duncken laten, niemant moghelijck te wesen, sonder haer duydinghe ende uitlegginghe eenich verstant haerder Leere te moghen vaten. Nochtans moet ick den Heere des danck ende lof seggen, die my geener harer listigher verleydinge heeft verholden laten wesen.

[3] iii. Dit heb ick niet alleen van mijn ghissinghe of uutwendige begrijp der Schrift, dan ock uut etlijcke deser Secten Voorvechters tegenwoordelijck bevonden: soo haerder etlijcke hier aen geset, ende vele listicheyts ende schynende heylicheyts aen my ghebruyckt hebben:<sup>9</sup> ende dat mit verhelinge ende verduysteringe aller booser vervoeringhe der hope onses salicheyts in Christo Jesu onsen Heeren, ende der heylsamer Leere der Apostolen. iiii. Waer ick dan sulckx uut desen Boecke aen heur gespeurt, heb ick-se daer mede logen gestraft, dat sy mit hare verleydinghe ende valsche Leere, die eere Christi Jesu, onses Heeren ende Salichmakers, ende die Leere des Geloofs in hem aen ons bewesen, geheel verdruckt, vernielt ende vertreden werde: als

<sup>6</sup> Details are lacking. On stained-glass windows in the sixteenth-century Northern Netherlands in general, cf. J.A. van der Boom, *Monumentale glasschilderkunst in Nederland* ('s-Gravenhage, 1940), esp. 217-221; idem, *Ontwikkeling en karakter der oude monumentale glasschilderkunst* (Amsterdam, [1944]).

<sup>7</sup> The marginal Roman numerals i. up to and including xxiii., by which Blesdijk divided Frederiks' letter into sections, are included in the text.

<sup>8</sup> David Joris, *Twonderboeck* (1543) (n.p., 1551). Karel had passed on to Hieronymus the copy, which Joriaen Ketel had given him: Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 224. On David Joris, see particularly Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*; idem, "David Joris en de doperse stromingen (1536-1539)", in Buist *et al.*, eds., *Historisch bewogen*: 49-66; G.K. Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524-1543* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1990); and Zijlstra's and Waite's contributions in *MQR* 62 (1988): 249-256; *DoBi NR* 12-13 (1987): 81-106; *DoBi NR* 18 (1992): 11-37, 141-144; *DoBi NR* 19 (1993): 191-218.

<sup>9</sup> I.e., Blesdijk himself: Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*, 76-78, 85f.; Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 220, 224.

dat oock in der waerheyt is. v. Ick derf U.E. wel koenlijck toeschryven: soo wy anders een persoonlijck Antichrist verwachtede sijn,<sup>10</sup> dat dese D.J. die selfde sijn sal, of ten weynichsten, dat die selfde gheen krachtiger of gheweldigher Erdom onder een schijnsel van heylicheyt sal kunnen voorstellen, als dese: Twelck U.E. uut dese navolgende Hoofdstucken also te sijn, klaarlijck wert bevinden.

[4] vi. Den gront haers aenvancks is, een yede[103<sup>b</sup>]ren te voorderen tot een uutwendich leven: niet alleen alle uutwendighe boosheyt ende sonde acht te nemen, dan voor al den inwendighen mensch, in alle syne gedachten, sinnen ende begeerten te bedwingen, sich selfs uut te gaen, alle sinlijckheyt te sterven, puyr ende reyn te werden in aller eenvoldicheyt ende liefde. vii. Sy komen oock so verre, dat sy alle gebruyck Mannes ende Vrouwes goeder echt, tegen die Leere des Apostels Pauli totten Corintheren 7. [, 2-5, 9] tot nootdruft ende krancheyt des vleysches, verbieden: willen hebben, dat men alle vleyschelijcke beweeghenissen dooden ende afsterven sal. Dan went sich die Vrouwe ende Man alderheylichst ende vuyrichst tot God bernende<sup>11</sup> bevinden, sullen-sy sich alsdan tot die Ehe voegen, op dat sy heylighe Kinder moghen teelen.<sup>12</sup> viii. Haer Leere van vasten ende weenen is so veele, dat sulcks een over-uut grooten schijn van heylicheyt an sich heeft, daer sy die eenvuldige vrome Luyden veele mede bedrieghen. ix. Dit is den eersten aenvanck, daer voort-aen onder sodanen Heylighen schijnsel, die aldergrootste vervoeringhen bedeckt werden, die sint der Apostolen tijt geweest sijn.

[5] x. In't beginsel is hy seer bedeckt, sich verstellende als den God sonderlinge verkoren ende gesant heeft, dat men hem hooren ende ghelooven sal allenckskens voorwaert meer ende meer. xi. Dat in dese laetste Tyden die volkomen Waerheyt ende kentenisse Godes door hem sal aen den Dach gebracht werden,<sup>13</sup> door den Geest des wijsheys, des verstants ende des raats Godes,<sup>14</sup> als van eeuwichheit by Godt gheweest, allenckskens noch meer ende meer. xii. Ten lesten, so hy voor[104<sup>a</sup>]heen aangewesen heeft, dat alle openbaringhe Godes tot den mensche dryederley te geschieden stonde, ware door Mosen in God geopenbaert, als die Vader inder kindsheyt der Menschen: door Christum Jesum als die Soon in die jongelincheit der Menschen:

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 1 John 2, 18 and 22.

<sup>11</sup> Bernen: to burn.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 7, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. John 16, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Isa. 11, 2.



door hem nu ten derden, als die Heylige Geest in die volcomen manheyt. Ende gelijck Moses ende die wet opholden most in hare leeringe, doe Christus Jesus quam, also most nu opholden Christi ende der Apostolen Leere, ende die syne most aenghenomen werden, als die beste ende alleen volcomen, die eeuwich blyven solde. xiii. Hy komt oock ten laetsten daer toe, dat hy sich schrijft te wesen die derde Persoon Godes, die heylighe Gheest, die Godes eeuwighe Waerheyt is, herkomende vanden Vader door den Soon,<sup>15</sup> die derde Persoon Godes: die Coninck ende Erfheer deser Werlt ende des toekomenden beloofden Rijcks in die stede Godes,<sup>16</sup> etc. mit veele der ende dierghelijcke grouwel, sich in die stede Godes ende Christi als God settende.<sup>17</sup>

[6] xiiii. Hier toe misbruycken sy alle Prophetien, welcke die Heere Christus Jesus ende die Apostolen gevoert hebben op den eenighen gheboren Soon Godes onses Heeren selfs:<sup>18</sup> dat hy alles tot sich trecket, seggende, dat sodane Prophetien voor-heen op den Vleyschelijcken Christum Jesum vleyschelijck, sijn in een deel ghebruyckt in onvolkomenheyt: overst op hem volkomelijck ende mit rechter eygenschap behooren, als den Waerachtigen beloofden Geestelijcken Christum, ende als die beloofde David, *Germen Iustum*.<sup>19</sup> xv. Also buyght hy den Spreuck Mosis op sich vanden Propheet den men hoo[104<sup>b</sup>]ren solde [Deut. 18, 15].<sup>20</sup> Item die Prophetie Jacobs over Judam van den beloofden Messiach [Gen. 49, 10]. Item wat in die Prophetie Jesaie staet van Christo, ende van David *Germine iusto*:<sup>21</sup> Inghelijcks in Ezechiele, Hieremia ende alle andere Propheten.<sup>22</sup> xvi. Ende hoewel hy ende synen aenhanck alle d'anderen niet dan voor Letterknechten achten ende versmaden, blijkt nochtans claarlijck, dat hy ende die synen op sodanen letterlijcken verstant staen, ende haer eygen saecken willen mit die uutwendighe Letter ende Boeckstaef beweren, als, om dat hy David heet, daeromme is die Prophetie over al van David *Germine Iusto* op hem gesproken. Item anders: waer een Coninck uut den Noorden

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the "Symbolum Constantinopolitanum", in *DH*, \*150: "Et in Spiritum Sanctum, (...) qui ex Patre Filioque procedit".

<sup>16</sup> Apparently, Frederiks borrowed these concepts from Adam Pastor's *Dit zijn de articulen van David Joris leer* (1542): Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*, 87, cf. 37-43.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. 2, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Luke 24, 27; 24, 44; John 1, 46; 5, 39 and 46; Acts 8, 35; 26, 22f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. 1 Chron. 17, 11-14; Ps. 132, 17; Jer. 23, 5; 33, 15; Zech. 3, 8; 6, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Acts 3, 22f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Isa. 9, 5f.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ezek. 34, 23f.; 37, 24f.; Jer. 23, 5; 30, 9; 33, 15; Amos 9, 11; Zech. 3, 8; 6, 12.

opstaen sal,<sup>23</sup> duydet hy op sich: want hy uut desen noortschen landen gheboren is, te weten uut Hollant.

[7] xvii. Met desen grooten onghehoorden grouwel, kan Ick niet anders afnemen, dan als Ick voor-heen gesecht heb,<sup>24</sup> so wy noch eenen Antichrist in eyghener Persoon hebben te verwachten, desen selven dien te wesen. Want hoe kan eenich Kint der verdervinghe (daer Paulus 2. Thessal. 2 [, 3-4] van seght) grouwelijker in Godes stede sittende, Christum Jesum als onvolkomen verschynende, sich selfs die derde Persoon Godes makende, in sodanigen hoogen grouwel meer verschynen, als dese doet? xviii. Aldus waer het noodich, dat yederman dese groote vertogen groulijcheyt te kennen quame, voor die gantsche Werlt aen den Dach ghebracht werde: op dat een yeder, die van desen listigen Duyvel wert angevochten, byneffens den verkeerden schijn van Heylicheit, die groote ende grousame verleydinghe in-saghe. Ende so Ick noch een tijt[105<sup>a</sup>]lanck dat Boeck behouden mocht, wolde ick onderstaen, die selve bedeckte ende onbekende grouwelen aen den Dach te brengen.<sup>25</sup>

[8] xix. Etlijke van dese Secten hebben gheweest by Philippum Melanthonem:<sup>26</sup> gheloof oock by Bucerum,<sup>27</sup> insgelijcks by den Heeren van Lasco:<sup>28</sup> dan over-al gaen sy mit gedeckte gecontrafeytede Logenen omme. xx. Sy nemen aen, als of sy overeen droeghen mit den Evangelisschen in haer Leeringe ende Articulen van Doope, Nachtmæl, Overicheyt, etc.<sup>29</sup> dan inder waerheyt, soo is't hen niet dan een spot. xxi. By desen wert nochtans eensdeels van hare vervoe-ringhe inghesien, dan niet in't volkomen, so ick uut etlijke Missiven verneme.<sup>30</sup> xxii. By den anderen (dat is, *Bucerus* ende *Melanthon* sampt die gheheele Werlt) schuylen-sy,<sup>31</sup> ende sijn heel onbekent, doen al

<sup>23</sup> Isa. 41, 25.

<sup>24</sup> In section v.

<sup>25</sup> Evidently, Frederiks did not implement this plan.

<sup>26</sup> See Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*, 90f.

<sup>27</sup> Blesdijk and Joriaen Ketel appeared at the Regensburg Disputation in 1541, where the latter made an abortive attempt to interest Bucer in Joris, presenting a number of his booklets: Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*, 20f.; Waite, *Joris*, 164.

<sup>28</sup> On the correspondence culminating in the debate of January 22, 1544 between Joris and A Lasco, see H. Dalton, *Johannes a Lasco. Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands* (Gotha, 1881; repr. Nieuwkoop, 1970), 235-239; C.W.A. Willemse, "De briefwisseling tussen David Joris en Johannes a Lasco", in *DoBi* NR 4 (1978): 9-22; Zijlstra, *Blesdijk*, 64-75, cf. 92.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. W.E. Keeney, *The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice from 1539-1564* (Nieuwkoop, 1968).

<sup>30</sup> Unknown.

<sup>31</sup> Bucer advocated a semirigid approach of the Anabaptists, consisting in con-

wat een ander wil, dobbelen, droncken-drincken, hoereren, etc. Item alle valsche Godes-dienst, op dat sy niet bekent, maer verholten blyven mogen.

[9] xxiii. Wat hier noch uut rysen wert, moeten wy den Heere opgeven, die ons voor-heen gewaarschout heeft, voor die valsche Propheten ende den valschen Christen:<sup>32</sup> verbeydende door lijdsaemheyt die Heerlijcke Toekomst onses Heeren Jesu Christi, tot verlossinge van allen Boosen: die uwe E. met uwe E. Huysvrouwe ende Huysgesin<sup>33</sup> tot salicheyt gesont ende starck moet sparen: Datum Groeningen, den 18. Aprilis, Anno 1544. U.E. altijt willige Dienaar: *Hieron.*

Alsus heeft Doctor Hieronimus van Groeninghen gheschreven aen Joncker Kaerl Bastert van Gelre: Oircont etc. *N. Secretarius der Stadt Deventer.*

*Albert Hardenberg (Bremen) to [Hieronymus Frederiks] ([Groningen]), October 20, 1548<sup>34</sup>*

#### Summary

[1] Even though I have not written you since I left you for security reasons, I did not forget you. Thank you for sending me your regards through Nicolaus Petrus time and again. In view of the profit I made from your manifold advice and assistance in the past, I hereby implore you to advise me once more. [2] As sole daughter, my wife Truytje Syssinge, formerly beguine, has a title to her child's portion, in any case to what her father gave her during his lifetime. Despite

versation, education, and coercion; cf. C. Krieger/M. Lienhard, eds., *Martin Bucer and sixteenth century Europe. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (28-31 août 1991)* 2 (SMRT 53) (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1993): 603-634. Melanchthon pursued a harder line, cf. J.S. Oyer, *Lutheran Reformers against Anabaptists. Luther, Melanchthon and Menius and the Anabaptists of Central Germany* (The Hague, 1964), 140-178.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Mat. 24, 24.

<sup>33</sup> On Karel's family, see A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* 7 (Haarlem, n.d.): 85.

<sup>34</sup> BSB München, Clm 10359, no. 22. Publication by courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. No. 22 is superscribed by another (Camerarius'?) hand: "Scripta ad D. Hieronymum Friderici". The plural "scripta" seemingly refers to no. 23 as well, which contains Hardenberg's letter to [Reiner Garmes], November 10, 1548, and is an extract of no. 22; see *infra*, note 47. Both letters are incorrectly dated and addressed by J.V. Pollet, *Martin Bucer. Études sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pays-Bas, l'Électorat de Cologne et l'Allemagne du nord avec de nombreux textes inédits* 2 (SMRT 34) (Leiden, 1985), 192.



written demands her mother refuses to hand over anything, whereas neither the monastic rules nor your laws thwart my wife as an unprofessed sister, do they? Shall I write to the Groningen Council myself or ought the Bremen Council to do this? Or shall I send an executor and order for attachment of Groningen property, if need be? I am willing to do so, although it is risky and, moreover, the emperor endangers our commercial ties with Groningen. [3] Please, give your view on the enclosed letter to burgomaster Garmes on that subject, and receive, for your information, these copies by my wife, to whom I have committed myself by promise. Do not let your public office stop you: I am not getting at the town of Groningen. Moreover, I promise secrecy to you. My old friend Garmes will help me, I assume, unless perchance he stands surity for Groningen creditors to Bremen and fears a confusion of interests. [4] Besides, I ask your permission to deposit with you—because the emperor's indignation, if not a blockade, hangs over Bremen—the remainder of the gold and the silver the Cologne Elector donated to me, in order to provide for my wife in case she would be left a widow. I shall send an inventory with specification of the beneficiaries in case both of us should pass away. [5] Please, give me the advice I asked for and render me this service. A swift answer will make me overcome my bashfulness to write you. At the instigation of Karel and Nicolaus Petrus I have now disrupted my silence. I could write you more frequently, if you should so desire. Awaiting your reply I hold back my letter to Garmes. [6] Although threatened vehemently, Bremen rejects the Interim persistently and unanimously. [7] I put myself and my cause in your hands.

[1] *Salutem dicit. Reverende vir. Quod hactenus ad te non scripserim, partim meo pudori partim tuis occupationibus<sup>35</sup> adscribi debebit. Semper tamen tui et sancte quidem et sedulo memini, vel apud Deum in precibus meis vel apud bonos viros, quos mihi contigit videre plurimos a tempore quo vos (urgente necessitate salutis meae) reliqui.*<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Frederiks occupied the positions of clerk and steward of the town of Groningen and the Groningen *Ommelanden*: Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 217f.

<sup>36</sup> Threatened by the Court of Brabant in Brussels, Hardenberg left the Cistercian Monastery in Aduard, near the town of Groningen, by the end of 1542 or early in 1543, in order to study theology in Wittenberg. Only in the December of 1544 he shortly returned to his native district to settle domestic matters: W. Janse, *Albert Hardenberg als Theologe. Profil eines Bucer-Schülers* (SHCT 57) (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1994), 14f., 21.

Tamen quando Nicolaus Petrus, vetus meus congerro in scholis,<sup>37</sup> tuis verbis me semel et iterum salutavit—frequens enim huc mercatum proficiscitur—putavi et offitium esse mei, et te pro candore tuo perpetuo, gratiam daturum si tandem silentium meum rumperem. Neque sane temere id neque de nihilo, sed urgente caussa, non tam gravi atque mihi alioqui hoc tempore necessaria. Queram enim ex te consilium, quod ut optimum mihi des et oro te et obtestor per communem fidem nostram. Confido autem id mihi salutare fore quod tu unus dabis, cuius nimirum olim mihi et consilia et auxilia<sup>38</sup> quoque profuisse mihi memini.

[2] Scis,<sup>39</sup> ornatissime virorum, mihi in Domino ductam uxorem Gertrudem Sissingiam,<sup>40</sup> olim Beginam (liceat ita vocare) in Coemiterio Minorum.<sup>41</sup> Quod autem filia sit unica parentum suorum, deberetur illi ex hereditate non contemnenda dos, aut certe ea videbantur ei servanda quae pater vivus illi donaverat, maxime quia natura illius Coenobii et accipiat et reddat hereditatem.<sup>42</sup> Et professio nulla sit seria,<sup>43</sup> quandam ineptam istis postremis annis addiderunt superstitiosulae, sed quae nihil ad rem incommodet. Admonita a filia mater per literas nihil unquam respondit, preterea et horribiliter

<sup>37</sup> Presumably, Hardenberg attended the municipal school in Groningen, the *St. Maartensschool*. He received additional training in the convent of the Groningen house of the Brothers of the Common Life during ca. 1517 to 1527: Janse, *Hardenberg*, 6f. Nicolaus Petrus acted as messenger between Groningen and Bremen: see Hardenberg to [Reiner Garmes], November 10, 1548, *infra*, note 47.

<sup>38</sup> Further particulars are lacking.

<sup>39</sup> To this section, cf. B. Spiegel, *D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg. Ein Theologenleben aus der Reformationszeit* (Seperat-Abdruck aus *Brj* 4 (1868)) (Bremen, 1869), 102.

<sup>40</sup> On Truytje Syssinge (†1580), whom Hardenberg married in 1547, see Janse, *Hardenberg*, 14f., 98, 505. A Lasco's correspondence with her and her brother Frans, between July 1543 and June 1547, in A. Kuyper, ed., *Joannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita* 2 (Amstelodami/Hagae-Comitum, 1866): 557-602, *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> The designation "Grey Friars Churchyard" (*Minderbroederkerkhof*)—referring to a convent, see "illud Coenobium" in the next sentence—could point to the *Vrouw Menolda* or the *Vrouw Sywen convent*, which as two of the three Groningen beguine houses were situated on the *Minderbroederkerkhof* near the *Minderbroederklooster*; see A.K. Vos, "Het Vrouw-Menolda- en het Vrouw-Sywenconvent in Groningen", in *Groningsche Volksalmanak* 1937: 34-56 (henceforth *GV*); W.J. Formsma *et al.*, eds., *Historie van Groningen. Stad en Land* (Groningen, 1976), 161, 372. The address of A Lasco's letter of August 16, 1543 to Truytje, "'t eerste Baghynehoff te Groningen" (Kuyper, *A Lasco Opera* 2: 562), could allude to the *Vrouw Menolda convent*, which was the older one, see G.J. ter Kuile Jr., "Uit de archieven van het Vrouw Menoldis-en het Vrouw Sywen-Convent", in *GV* 1943: 191f.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Vos, "Het Vrouw-Menolda- en het Vrouw-Sywenconvent", 36f.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. J.A. Feith, "Uit het leven der Jufferen op 't Broerkerkhof", in *GV* 1910: 16-24.

debachatur. Quem dederat pater, ipsa vi occupat, de quibus tamen nobis signatae litterae patris. Tu si circumstantias caussae expendas, intelliges aliam esse huius rationem quam est Monialium et Sororum professorum, quibus fortasse municipalia vestra nihil concederent.<sup>44</sup> Nobis nostra deberentur, quae non modo non solvuntur, et pessime etiam devovemur et nullis non diris obiicimur. Iam non scio ecquid ex usu sit ut ad Senatum vestrum de hac re scribam, aut ut hic Bremensis Senatus meo nomine scribat, mittamque aliquem caussae huius exequutorem, cui si negetur ius, ut agam hic de arestandis bonis Groningensium donec mihi satisfiat. Videbitur id fortasse durius plenumque periculi, sed mihi tamen hoc tempore esset facillimum, et nisi aliud tibi videatur, ego fortasse ita deliberabo. Urget enim uxor cui a Deo tutor constitutus. Vix negare esse equissimam potero, vix etiam debuero. Ut autem adficiamus hortantur haec tempora, quibus nos alioqui in indignatione Caesaris vix videmur diu vestrorum commertiis usuri, nisi Deus interveniat.<sup>45</sup>

[3] Scripsi et Consuli Germero<sup>46</sup> de hac re quas tamen et tibi mitto literas,<sup>47</sup> ut si probes tradas, sin iudicabis aliud: premas. Mitto autem eas

<sup>44</sup> In the current literature on the contemporary Groningen law of succession this matter is not elucidated; cf. R.H. Bremmer Jr., *A bibliographical Guide to old Frisian Studies* (North-Western European Language Evolution, Suppl. 6) (Odense, 1992), s.v. succession. Only the Langewold and the Emsig law of succession provide for the general provision that the inheritance which has been brought into the monastery, falls to it; see K. von Richthofen, *Friesische Rechtsquellen* (Berlin, 1840), 376: "§ 32. Dit is oock vreesche landrecht, dater geen monnik of nonne mach loue [=bequest] en ernisse ontfangen van oeren wertlicken vrenden; en daer enmach oock geen monnik of nonne louen [=bequeath] en erven op oeren wartlicken vrenden; an dat kloester sal bliven dat selve guet, dat he daer in gebracht heft", respectively W.J. Buma/W. Ebel, eds., *Das Emsiger Recht* (Altfriesische Rechtsquellen. Texte und Untersuchungen 3) (Göttingen, 1967), item C V 76.

<sup>45</sup> As one of the founding members of the Schmalkald League of 1531 cherishing its independence in ecclesiastical and political affairs, Bremen defied the threat of the ban after the emperor's defeat of the League in 1547 and resolutely opposed the implementation of the Augsburg Interim of May 1548; cf. H. Lucke, *Bremen im Schmalkaldischen Bund 1540-1547* (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der freien Hansestadt Bremen 23) (Bremen, 1955); H. Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Franzosenzeit (1810)* (Bremen, 1975), 229f.; Janse, *Hardenberg*, 35-41.

<sup>46</sup> Supposedly, Hardenberg referred to Reiner Garme(n)s, who, in reality, acted as *hoofdman* (member of the *hoofdmannenkamer*, the main provincial court of law) in 1548, and was burgomaster of Groningen in 1537-1538, 1541-1542, 1545-1546, and 1549-1550; see U. Emmius, *Series consulum, eorumque, qui ante eos consulari potestate fuere in civitate Groningana, ab anno MCCLX ad praesens hoc temporis digesta* (...) (Groningae Frisiorum, 1605), 39-41, 54.

<sup>47</sup> BSB München, Clm 10359, no. 23: Albert Hardenberg (Bremen) to [Reiner Garmes] ([Groningen]), November 10, 1548: "Salutem dicit. Reverende vir. Quod

copias scriptas manu uxoris, ex quibus intelliges quid nobis iuris, at autem (?) offeratur iniuria. Nam horum omnium ingratiis quidem datur. Quod ferrem, si modo liceret illis non hostibus uti. Et si quid hic carnis sese miscet, quod equidem vix estimem, id tamen videtur fides quam uxori dedi absorbere et eluere. Mi praeclare, da hic consilium quod iudicabis optimum. Neque remoretur te fides obstricta civitati vestrae,<sup>48</sup> neque enim ego contra civitatem cogito, neque preter equum et debitum postulare mihi videor. Omnia vero quae de hac re ad me, tacita et sepulta erunt, si quid tamen dignaberis scribere. Consul Germerus olim mihi amicus fuit,<sup>49</sup> neque hactenus existimo illum a me alienum, nisi quod intelligam illum iussisse fidem pro his, qui pecuniam nostrae urbi mutuarunt. Nolit ille fortasse fieri huius rei mentionem, ne hi nostri pecuniae tantum detrahant quantum ad me istinc redire iure deberet, si mater uxoris ex fide ageret cum filia.

[4] Iam et aliud est quod te interrogem. Scis nos expectare Caesaris, si non obsidionem, certe indignationem, in qua vel hodie sumus gravissima, et variam cogimur expectare.<sup>50</sup> Non alia tamen quam volet eternus Deus, qui omnia moderatur pro suo arbitratu, gravissima tamen nisi ea avertat Deus. Iam<sup>51</sup> ego quiddam habeo mihi reliquum

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ad te hactenus non scripsi, partim tuis, partim meis occupationibus, tum et periculis his temporibus, et huic meo abiectissimo vitae generi, quod tale est, ut vix istic vir bonus possit agnoscere mei memoriam, adscribes. Tui tamen semper soleo amanter meminisse et apud Deum in precibus meis et apud bonos viros, quos plurimos mihi videre contingit ex eo tempore, quo a vobis abfui. Ne nunc quidem ausus fuam te interpellare, nisi me Nicolaus Petrus, qui huc in mercatum venit, me tuis verbis salutasset et ad scribendum animasset, et quod (tuo consilio olim in gravibus rebus usus) expertus sim bonum successum, cuperem etiamnum eodem uti. Est (quam nosti mihi ductam uxorem) filia Rodolphi Sissinghe, que non tantum a matre spernitur propter mutatum vitae genus, sed impotenter etiam proscinditur convitiis maternis et quae dederat vivus pater omnia interceptit. Patior eam hactenus, sperans futurum ut rectius de animo suo cogitet. Quo vero nulla amplius spes. Non scio ecquid non me deerat, iure meo uti. Possum fortasse nunc rationem invenire, ut quae ad me cedent, solverentur, si non (?) maiorum (MS.: maiores) turbat (?) timorem. Et interim illa non dotem modo, quae vero filiae deberetur (quae nullis votis astricta fuit), sed et ea quae pater legavit, retinet. Utor autem tuo consilio, vir optime. Si putabis temptandum extremum, id fecero. Sin aliam habebis rationem, eam mihi parti cupiam. Si noster Nicolaus literas habeat, ad me facile pervenient. Non nunc tuam pietatem pluribus onustabo. Si vero intelligam te meas non dedignari, tum vel singulis mensibus te lucrificiam. Ex Brema, 10 Novemb. 1548. Tuus ad omnia, Albertus Hardenbergus, Ecclesiastes Bremensis". Publication by courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. Cf. the present letter to Frederiks, [5].

<sup>48</sup> See note 35.

<sup>49</sup> Specifics are unknown.

<sup>50</sup> See note 45.

<sup>51</sup> To the following lines, cf. Spiegel, *Hardenberg*, 104.

ex donis meritissimi principis mei Electoris Coloniensis,<sup>52</sup> quod primis mensibus statui nondum insumere propter uxoreulam, si contingat eam mihi fortasse manere superstitem.<sup>53</sup> Velim proinde hoc, per fidelissimum virum quem mecum habeo domi,<sup>54</sup> ad<sup>55</sup> te mittere, parum quiddam in auro, parum itidem in argento, quo illa me mortuo possit tantisper vitam sustentare, donec Deus illi rationem aliquam demonstraret. Ut autem huius urbis pericula sunt, malim hoc istic esse quam heic. Neque habeo nunc quemquam mihi istic, neque cuius olim salubriora consilia neque promptiora officia viderim atque tua. Velim itaque tuae sanctissimae fidei ea concredita quae mihi ex magnis parva supersunt. Modo tu digneris tuam interponere fidem et diligenter nobis ac tacite ea conservare. Adscriberem tunc tibi singularum rerum formas, et quo illas pervenire velimus si contingeret nos ambos hic defungi ante restitutionem. Et quicquid preterea huc attineret.

[5] Duo te rogavi, Domine, ne deneges mihi. Prius consilium est, posterius offitium. Utrumque tibi ex equo facile. Itaque de bonitate animi tui confisus, expectabo responsum quam celerrimum. Hoc quoque addam. Si tu voles ferre literas meas meque inter tuos adhuc esse numeratum, dabo operam ut et frequenter scribam, et diligenter quoque pro οὐδέποτε mea. Scribunt ad me multi magni viri idque non raro, ex quibus sepe audio quod tu fortasse non gravatim audires, etiamsi ego nihil sum, ea [quae] tibi omnia faciam communia.<sup>56</sup> Et revera optavi semper mihi occasionem iustam dandam ad te scribendi, sed, quod initio scripsi, absterruit me pudor, quem ita mihi nunc aut diminues aut excuties si rescribes quam diligentissime. Non debetis

<sup>52</sup> From the spring of 1544 to the end of 1546 Hardenberg served Hermann von Wied, Elector-Archbishop of Cologne, as theological advisor, translator and preacher in the latter's abortive attempt to reform the Cologne electorate: Janse, *Hardenberg*, 16-29. Von Wied abdicated in January 1547. On him, see in particular Pollet, *Martin Bucer* 1, 96-234; 2, 33-162; G. Vogler, "Hermann von Wied", in H.J. Hillerbrand et al., eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* 4 (New York/Oxford, 1996): 271f.

<sup>53</sup> Truytje outlived her husband by six years and died childless in 1580, see note 40. As to their continuous financial embarrassment: Janse, *Hardenberg*, 98 note 66.

<sup>54</sup> Unknown.

<sup>55</sup> MS.: ad vos qui cogitante brevi) ad.

<sup>56</sup> This statement cannot be documented by the available Hardenberg correspondence (85 letters up to October 20, 1548). Frederiks is mentioned only once, in a different context, by A Lasco (Emden) in his letter to Hardenberg (Aduard) of December 29, 1540, in Kuyper, *A Lasco Opera* 2: 553: "et proinde te rogo, ut libros meos (...) ad Doctorem Hieronymum transmittas, is iam ad me facile illos porro remittet".



neque de silentio neque fide mea dubitare. Nuper me rogavit noster Carolus,<sup>57</sup> ecquid ad te sepe scriberem. Negabam. Addam causam verecundi animi mei. Eam ille detestari ac hortari ut fidenter ad te [scriberem]. Idem nunc Nicolaus Petrus<sup>58</sup> mihi suasit. Itaque iacio aleam, quae si bene cadat, iam reliquum liber ero. Litteras, quas ad Consulem paravi,<sup>59</sup> hic retineo donec tu mihi respondeas. Non debes mea causa cuiusquam malam gratiam inire. Tamen potes dare fidele consilium et servare ad fideles manus quod tibi mittam, siquidem illud in curam suscipere voles.

[6] Nos hic videmur nobis in Domino satis constantes.<sup>60</sup> Omnium una vox: Moriatur anima nostra morte iustorum [Num. 23, 10]. Et illud: Melius est incidere in manus hominis, quam derelinquere legem Dei nostri [Dan. 13, 23]. Ut enim Interimiosum illum libellum<sup>61</sup> urbe donemus, id certe facere nulli possumus, neque vox una hactenus audita de eo amplectendo. Interim minae gravissimae, sed in Deum citius quam in nos, siquidem ipsius est causa, non nostra. Sed de eo alias.

[7] Valebis, vir omnium mihi longe charissime, cui uni mea et ipsum me, in Deo, concredo. Uxor, sine contentione contentissime mecum vivens, in Domino te salutatur. Raptim ex Brema 20 Octobris 1548. Tuus ad omnia. Albertus Hardenbergus servus servorum Dei, in Evangelio Jesu Christi.

*Hieronymus [Frederiks]<sup>62</sup> (Groningen) to Albert Hardenberg (Bremen), March 15, 1557<sup>63</sup>*

### Summary

[1] I have always had an uneasy feeling about that bias in respect of the Lord's Supper. My fears paralyze me as I see the increasing stupidity and tyranny of certain people. I cannot imagine that such a

<sup>57</sup> Unknown.

<sup>58</sup> See note 37.

<sup>59</sup> See note 47.

<sup>60</sup> See notes 45 and 50.

<sup>61</sup> Nickname of the Augsburg Interim state regulations of May 1548, also ridiculed by Hardenberg as the "Interitus", see Hardenberg to A Lasco, August 12, 1548, in BSB München, Clm 10359, no. 20.

<sup>62</sup> Not Hieronymus [Besolt] (*sic*), as is suggested in the *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (...) 2/1 (Monachii, 1874; repr. Wiesbaden, 1968), 208. Besold was a Protestant minister in Nuremberg.

<sup>63</sup> BSB München, Clm 10359, no. 29. Publication by courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

doctrine and phraseology—*i.e.*, on ubiquity—which are totally unknown to the early church find a ready reception with the well-grounded believers among your acquaintances. [2] Neither Praedinius nor myself can comply with your request to combat this neology for pressure of work. Besides, once left, I would shrink from resuming my severe offices to the godly here in Groningen, unless the Lord would confer through it more freedom on them. [3] In consultation with Christoffer van Ewsum I propose to recrate through Count Christoph of Oldenburg and Tido von Knyphausen some wise men from the southern Low Countries, including the highly qualified Gerard Mortaigne. If you agree, he will get to Groningen in order to assist you, after consultation, against Westphal. [4] As to your wife's inheritance matter I can only report that our burgomaster, initially, disallowing the solicitor to summon the defendant, has permitted him to do so by now. [5] According to the latest news, France moves up. We place all our hopes in the treasury of England. The military operations in Italy pass off deplorably: an all-out war hangs over the Kingdom of Naples. The Margrave [Albrecht Alcibiades] appears to have died. I suspect the administration to be passed on to a decemvirate. [6] May the Lord protect his church and help you.

[In dorso:] Pietate et Doctrina Clarissimo viro D. Albarto Hardenbergo Ecclesiae Bremensis Doctori Theologo primario Domino et fratri charissimo. Bremae.

[1] Admodum mihi suspecta fuit semper acerba illa et parum Christiana contentio nimisque pertinax illud de Coena Domini semel conceptae opinionis retinendae studium.<sup>64</sup> Atque utinam vanum sit vaticinium metusque meus, qui me tanto amplius tenet modo quanto indies magis magisque video quorundam arrogantem inscitiam tyrannidemque crescere.<sup>65</sup> Neque persuadere mihi possum quemquam istic

<sup>64</sup> *I.e.*, the attitude of the Gnesio-Lutheran Bremen preacher Johann Timann († February 17, 1557) and his supporters in the conflict surrounding Hardenberg on the Lord's Supper, especially the ubiquity of Christ's body, provoked by the publication of Timann's *Farrago sententiarum consentientium in vera et catholica doctrina de coena Domini* (...) (Francoforti, 1555). On this controversy, see particularly: H. Engelhardt, *Der Irrlehreprozess gegen Albert Hardenberg (1547-1561)* (Frankfurt a. M., [1961]); Th. Mahlmann, *Das neue Dogma der lutherischen Christologie. Problem und Geschichte seiner Begründung* (Gütersloh, 1969), 44-61; M. Schröder, "Erinnerung an den Bremer Abendmahlsstreit um Albert Hardenberg", in *HosEc* 11 (1978): 13-34; Janse, *Hardenberg*, 45-89, 123-127, 181-252.

<sup>65</sup> This might refer to the Stadtholder's threat in 1556 to "conduct an *inquisitie*"

esse vere pium et prudentem virum, qui aliquo saltem eruditionis nomine sacrarumque rerum peritia eluceat, cui ista doctrinae ratio et ignotus plane primitivae ecclesiae loquendi modus<sup>66</sup> placere possit, ut omittam doctissimos quosque verum ex diametro.<sup>67</sup>

[2] Cum hisce loquendi docendique formis pugnare Dr Regnero<sup>68</sup> vero et me, aut alterutro nostrum, quod cupis, non video quomodo ulla ratione possit fieri, cum neuter a suo munere vel unum diem urbe abesse possit.<sup>69</sup> Tederet profecto me tantae meae servitutis, nisi manifeste viderem Dominum sua bonitate hoc meo ministerio<sup>70</sup> piis hic largiri, ut nunc quidem res sunt,<sup>71</sup> insperatam libertatem et quietem.

[3] Ne tamen omnino desimus et tantae rei et tuae item voluntati, communicatis consiliis cum Domino Christophoro Eusumano<sup>72</sup> visum

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in Groningen, unless effective steps were taken by the burgomasters against the sectaries (A. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London/Ronceverte, 1990), 168). Alternatively, it alludes to the action of the Groningen municipality in February 1557—under threat of intervention by Brussels—against the schoolmaster Derck Paesschen for disseminating heterodox views (J.J. Woltjer, "Van Katholiek tot Protestant", in Formsma *et al.*, eds., *Historie van Groningen*: 215), or to the expulsion from Groningen Frederiks had to fear, as he had refused to have his child baptized according to the Catholic rites (Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 223). As to the deteriorating circumstances for Protestantism in Groningen in 1556-1558, see *idem*, 222-224.

<sup>66</sup> *I.e.*, on ubiquity.

<sup>67</sup> Notably, the lawyer Daniel von Büren (1512-1593), a former student of Melancthon and burgomaster of Bremen, who finally, in a popular movement in January 1562, led Bremen away from Lutheranism; cf. C. Rottländer, *Der Bürgermeister Daniel von Büren und die Hardenbergischen Religionshändel in Bremen (1555-1562). Ein Beitrag zur Bremischen Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1892); O. Veeck, "Daniel von Büren der Jüngere", in *Brj* 25 (1914): 184-189; Schwarzwälder, *Bremen* 1, 241-252; Janse, *Hardenberg*, 90 and index.

<sup>68</sup> Regnerus Praedinius (ca. 1510-1559), principle of the *St. Maartensschool* at Groningen, like Frederiks a spokesman of the Groningen reformism and a friend of Hardenberg: F. Postma, "Regnerus Praedinius (c. 1510-1559), seine Schule und sein Einfluss", in F. Akkerman *et al.*, eds., *Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489) and Northern Humanism* (BSIH 40) (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1993): 291-324; Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 219f., 222. Praedinius' university degree is surprising, since it is not known that he obtained his doctorate.

<sup>69</sup> As to Praedinius, cf. the previous note; as to Frederiks, see note 35.

<sup>70</sup> This confirms the suggestion that Frederiks held the position of—or at least acted as—elder of the Groningen reformed congregation: Janse, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 224 note 45.

<sup>71</sup> See note 65.

<sup>72</sup> Christoffer van Ewsum (1524-1583), member of the States of *Stad en Lande* and a protagonist of the reformation, lived in the East Frisian Jennelt seigniory and also owned domiciles in Groningen (*Boteringestraat*) and Emden (*Kirchstrasse*). His position made him the obvious intermediary in this affair. On him, see F. Ritter, "Eine Ostfriesische Lutherreliquie. Der Jennelter Junker Christof von Ewsum", in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu*

nobis fuit, si res celeritatem postulet, intercessoribus Domino Christophoro Comite Oldenburgo<sup>73</sup> et D. Tidone Kniphusio<sup>74</sup> designari aliquos pios et eruditos viros Transamasanae ditionis<sup>75</sup> atque inter illos nominari D. Gerardum Mortangne,<sup>76</sup> nobilem Flandrum, virum sane etsi aetate non magna, exercitatione tamen singulari, studio et eruditione sic pollentem in iis similibusque controversiis, ut merito illum annuerandum selectis ad tale certamen viris censeam, ad hoc constantia et longanimitate claris, ut si grandior aetas adsit cum magnis viris

Emden 20 (1920): 126-144; M. Hartgerink-Koomans, *Het geslacht Ewsum. Geschiedenis van een jonkers-familie uit de Ommelanden in de 15e en 16e eeuw* (Groningen/Batavia, 1938), 125, 136f., 142, 310-321; F.U. Ros, *Rennenberg en de Groningse Malcontenten* (Assen, 1964), index; Formsma et al., eds., *Historie van Groningen*, 220; G.N.M. Vis, *Cornelis Cooltuyn (1526-1567). De vader van de Hollandse reformatie* (Zeven Provinciën Reeks 10) (Hilversum, 1995), 37, 49f.

<sup>73</sup> As senior of the Bremen chapter, Count Christoph of Oldenburg was patron of its cathedral preacher, Hardenberg. Christoph actively supported his protégé and promoted the Reformed case. On him, see W. Storkebaum, *Graf Christoph von Oldenburg (1504-1566). Ein Lebensbild im Rahmen der Reformationsgeschichte* (Oldenburger Forschungen 11) (Oldenburg, 1959), esp. 184-188; Janse, *Hardenberg*, index.

<sup>74</sup> Tido von Inn- und Knyphausen (1500-1565), an East Frisian nobleman: W.J.J.C. Bijleveld, "Het geslacht von Innhausen und Knyphausen in de Nederlanden 1645-1884", in *GV* 1935: 136; U. von Alvensleben, *Die Lütetsbürgers Chronik. Geschichte eines friesischen Häuptlingsgeschlechts* ([Dortmund, 1955]), 52-54; W. Deeters, "Innhausen und Knyphausen", in *Biographisches Lexikon für Ostfriesland 1* (Herausgegeben im Auftrag der Ostfriesischen Landschaft von M. Tielke) (Aurich, 1993): 197. Through his wife Eva von Rennenberg (1518-1579), whom he married in 1546, Tido was acquainted with Hardenberg as early as 1547: L. Peters, *Wilhelm von Rennenberg (†1546). Ein rheinischer Edelherr zwischen den konfessionellen Fronten* (Schriftenreihe des Kreises Viersen 31) (Kempfen, 1979), 148-153. By the end of 1564 or early in 1565 Tido called him as minister to Sengwarden: Janse, *Hardenberg*, 15, 97.

<sup>75</sup> For the most recent overviews, see G. Janssens, "'Verjaagd uit Nederland': Zuidnederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw. Een historiografisch overzicht (ca. 1968-1994)", in *NAKG/DRCH* 75 (1995): 102-119; G. Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation. Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 114/1) (Baltimore, Md./etc., 1996).

<sup>76</sup> Gerard Mortaigne, a humanist scholar from Ghent, arrived at Emden in 1555, where Utenhove asked him to participate in the republication of his Dutch translation of the New Testament. He was appointed elder in 1557. On him, see W. de Boer/F. Ritter, "Briefe zur ostfriesischen Reformationsgeschichte. I. Die Briefe des bremischen Rektors Johannes Molanus aus den Jahren 1557-1577", in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden* 20 (1920): 226f.; A.A. van Schelven, *Kerkerauds-Protocolen der Nederduitsche vluchtelingen-kerk te Londen 1560-1563* (Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap 3, 43) (Amsterdam, 1921), 137f.; J. Decavele, *De dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1529-1565)* 1 (VVAW.L 37: 76) (Brussel, 1975), 96-98 and index; A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), index; Janse, *Hardenberg*, 74 and index; idem, "Hieronymus Frederiks", 221f.



comparandum putem in iis certaminibus, quae ad sacras res pertinent. Quod consilium nostrum si tibi probabitur,<sup>77</sup> Groningam veniet, collatisque consiliis de omnibus Westphali<sup>78</sup> argumentis et si quae sint eius generis alia, singulatim constituet.<sup>79</sup>

[4] De uxoris tuae rebus<sup>80</sup> hactenus nihil scribere potui, quod procurator<sup>81</sup> causae ipsius diu abfuerit in Brabantia. Porro ante ipsius abitum

<sup>77</sup> Hardenberg supported Hieronymus' intention with a request of his own to, presumably, the Emden consistory for Mortaigne's assistance, asking to have Mortaigne propagate the "Zurich" Eucharistic doctrine not too vigorously; see [Hardenberg] to [the consistory of] Emden, [after March 15, 1557], in BSB München, Clm 10351, no. 26, 93<sup>r</sup>: "Salutem dicit. Ita queso facite, viri clarissimi, conferte argumenta cum Mortanga, ut in tempore vel ipse adsit vel saltem collecta sua ad me mittat. Nam videntur ex inopinato huc accelerari ut me opprimant. Agunt enim nunc cum Rege Daniae et Duce Augusto (qui in Holsatia congressum habent) ut illi suos adiungant vicinarum civitatum contionatoribus. Aderunt et Morlinus et Illiricus cum Westphalo. Tamen multi iudicant rem totam in spongiam abituram, quod ego Domino Deo permitto. Oporteret autem D. Mortangam admonere, ut non nimium dure et rigide Tygurinorum sententiam propugnaret. Nam illam non poterimus obtinere, nisi contingat prius excuti illis ubiquitatem et consubstantiationem".

<sup>78</sup> On the role of the Gnesio-Lutheran controversialist Joachim Westphal (1510-1574) in the Bremen conflict on the Eucharist (1555-1561) and the Second sacramentarian controversy (1552ff.), respectively, see H. von Schade, *Joachim Westphal und Peter Braubach. Briefwechsel zwischen dem Hamburger Hauptpastor, seinem Drucker-Verleger und ihrem Freund Hartmann Beyer in Frankfurt am Main über die Lage der Kirche und die Verbreitung von Büchern* (AKGH 15) (Hamburg, 1981), 49-51 and index, s.v. Timann; Janse, *Hardenberg*, index, and A. Pettegree, "The London Exile Community and the Second Sacramentarian Controversy, 1553-1560", in idem, *Marian Protestantism. Six Studies* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History) (Hants/Brookfield, 1996): 55-85.

<sup>79</sup> It might be deduced from Mortaigne's letter to [Jan] Utenhove of April 11, 1557, in J.H. Hessels, ed., *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum 2: Epistulae et Tractatus cum Reformationis tum Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Historiam Illustrantes (1544-1622)* (Cantabrigiae, 1889): 59-62, which includes information on Frederiks, that the latter actively contacted Mortaigne. Seemingly, the plan was not carried out in the end since the Bremen Council abandoned the dispute on a charge of partiality, passing the Hardenberg case on to the Colloquy of Worms in September 1557: Janse, *Hardenberg*, 74f.

<sup>80</sup> See above, Hardenberg's letter to Frederiks, October 20, 1548. From Hardenberg's letter to Petrus Medmann, burgomaster of Emden, of August 8, 1556, it would appear that Hardenberg's mother-in-law had died and that her son handled her affairs; see BSB München, Clm 10351, no. 35, 156<sup>v</sup>: "Campensis [i.e., of Gerhard thom Camp] opera volo uti ad Hieronimum [Frederici] in causa uxoris meae, quam cum fratre [i.e., Frans Syssinge] habet. Domino Deo causam illam ut et alia mihi longe graviore, permittam. Nihil intulimus in mundum, neque quid efferre poterimus [1 Tim. 6, 7]. Quanto tempore hic ero, habeo quo vivam. Postea etiam Deus (qui dives est) victum dabit". On the Emden elder Thom Camp, see Janse, *Hardenberg*, index.

<sup>81</sup> Possibly, the town syndic, a legal public servant acting as *stadsadvocaat*, comparable to the Pensionary in the towns of Holland. Since 1548 Herman Abbring



itemque a reditu aliquoties illi a Consule<sup>82</sup> negata petitio vocandi in ius adversarium. Tandem vero nunc impetrata venia decrevit primo quoque tempore ius prosequi.

[5] De novis rebus quae hic feruntur: Certum hoc, bellum maximum a Gallo parari,<sup>83</sup> nostris rebus plane affectis ne dicam deploratis.<sup>84</sup> Omnis spes in Angliae thesauro;<sup>85</sup> Italicae res pessime eunt. Recuperrata a pontifice Ostia, tum item pleraeque urbes captae, bellum certumque (?) a Roma depulsum Neapolitano Regno totum imminere.<sup>86</sup> Quic-

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(†1558), a doctor in secular and ecclesiastical law, had been carrying out the office: A.T. Schuitema Meijer, *Historie van het archief der stad Groningen* (Groningen, 1977), 33-35, 37, 66; Mellink, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 147, 149f., 152.

<sup>82</sup> Ufko Ufkens held the office of burgomaster in 1551, 1552, 1556, and 1557; Emmius, *Series consulum*, 41f. Supposedly, he was the father of Popko, advisor of stadtholder George de Lalaing, Count of Rennenberg, 1577-1581: Ros, *Rennenberg*, index.

<sup>83</sup> In the war of Henry II of France against the Empire—flared up in 1552 and brought to an end, finally, at Cateau-Cambrésis in February 1559—the Truce of Vaucelles of February 1556 was violated, as by his intervention in Italy François de Guise provoked war at January 31, 1557; cf. F. Lot, *Recherches sur les effectifs des armées françaises des Guerres d'Italie aux Guerres de Religion 1494-1562* (BGEPEH) (Paris, 1962), 151-171; F.J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France 1547-1559* (Durham, N.C./London, 1988), 146-217.

<sup>84</sup> On the conflict about the (war) taxes and on the economic crisis, which plagued the Netherlands in 1557, cf. K. Verhofstad, *De regering der Nederlanden in de jaren 1555-1559* (Nijmegen, 1937), 80-182, and P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, "Juichkreet of uitroep van wanhoop? De herinnering aan het duurtejaar 1557 in twee Groninger kerken", in *Groninger Kerken* 10 (1993): 137-143.

<sup>85</sup> Her marriage to Philip II in July 1554 implicated Mary Tudor, queen of England from 1553 to 1558, unwillingly in the Habsburg-Valois struggle. Philip saw his involvement with England, particularly after the failure of his dynastic hopes, "primarily as a base and a source of supply for his perpetual struggle against France": D.M. Loades, "Philip II and the government of England", in C. Cross et al., eds., *Law and government under the Tudors. Essays presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge on the occasion of his retirement* (Cambridge etc., 1988): 191. Although the king's financial plight was far worse than Mary's, the £ 65,000 of free money in the Exchequer in 1557 was in no way enough to support the cost of war, which was an estimated £ 30,000 a month; see D.M. Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565* (J. Black, ed., *British History in Perspective*) (London, 1992), 66f. In May 1557 Mary declared war on France, but lost her last French possession, Calais, in January 1558; cf. D.M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor. Politics, government, and religion in England, 1553-1558* (London, 1991<sup>2</sup>), 316-321.

<sup>86</sup> Attempting to recover his family's homeland, the Kingdom of Naples, won by Spain in the Italian Wars, the violently anti-Habsburg Paul IV, elected to the papacy in 1555, concluded an offensive alliance with the king of France in the autumn of 1556 for the purpose of partitioning it between himself, his family and one of the king's sons. When the Duke of Alba occupied Ostia and the south of the papal state by the end of 1556, François de Guise intervened, attacking Naples at April 5, 1557. Paul's aspirations were to be thwarted, in the end, when Alba

quid hoc pecuniarum corradī undiquaque potest, id totum consumitur Italico bello. Marchionem<sup>87</sup> aiunt enim periisse morbo idque maximo aulae Burgondicae gaudio; alii aliter de illo narrant. Appetere nunc illum dominum puto quo commutato pedum regno imperium ad decemviros transferatur, hoc est ad decem cornua et digitos pedum decem.<sup>88</sup> Sed Dominus diriget ista suo arbitrio. Interim vero id precemur, ut condonatis iniquitatibus et conservet ecclesiam suam adversum tyrannidem malorum omnium.

[6] Optima queque mihi persuadens de tua constantia, supervacaneum puto consolationem in ista tua persecutione<sup>89</sup> apte uti. Dominus tuebitur causam suam ipsam. Precor ut tibi adsit suo Spiritu, teque confirmet ad ipsius gloriam, tuam ecclesiaeque salutem. Amen. Groningae, 15 Martii 1557. Tuus totus Hieronymus.

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marched into Rome at the end of August 1557. See F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* 2 (Paris, 1976<sup>3</sup>), 252-264; E. Cochrane, *Italy 1530-1630* (J. Lirshner, ed., Longman History of Italy) (London/New York, 1988), 40f.; Baumgartner, *Henry II*, 179-198.

<sup>87</sup> Supposedly, the violent Margrave Albrecht Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1522-1557). A former ally of Charles V, he was involved in the pact Elector Moritz of Saxony concluded with Henry II of France in the Treaty of Chambord of January 1552, so as to block Charles' path to the Low Countries. Being crushed, however, by Moritz in the second *Markgräflerkrieg* in 1553, the Margrave fled to France, proscribed by the Empire. When seeking new allies, he died at his brother-in-law's, the Margrave of Baden, in Pforzheim at January 8, 1557. Cf. E. von Guttenberg, "Albrecht Alcibiades, Markgraf von Brandenburg-Kulmbach", in *NDB* 1 (1953): 163; K.E. Born, "Moritz von Sachsen und die Fürstenverschwörung gegen Karl V.", in *HZ* 191 (1960): 18-66.

<sup>88</sup> *Ignoramus*. In view of Frederiks' familiarity with the tradition of apocalypticism this might be an allusion to Daniel's dream of the four beasts in Dan. 7 (cf. 7, 23f.: "The fourth beast is a fourth kingdom that will appear on earth. It will be different from all the other kingdoms and will devour the whole earth, trampling it down and crushing it. The ten horns are ten kings who will come from this kingdom") and to the revelation of John on the beast with the seven heads and the ten horns in Rev. 17 (cf. 17, 12f.: "The ten horns you saw are ten kings who have not yet received a kingdom, but who for one hour will receive authority as kings along with the beast. They have one purpose and will give their power and authority to the beast"). The ten horns refer to satanic state powers to be defeated by the Most High and the King of kings.

<sup>89</sup> See note 64.