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Church, Landscape, and Power in ‘Holland’ West Frisia up to the Middle of the Eleventh Century

*The Bishop, the Count, and the Development of the Parish System in Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare**

▼ **ABSTRACT** Recent research has shown that since the middle of the tenth century, the bishop of Utrecht had a leading role in the introduction and expansion of the parish system in the central Frisian districts east of the Vlie. In this study it is defended that he also played a significant role in Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare, the area that since the late eleventh century was to be called Holland. Here as well, the demarcation of parishes and the establishment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction took place between 950 and 1025, a relatively short period which can nevertheless be regarded as formative, especially when one considers that, at the same time, the large-scale reclamation of the adjacent peatbogs began. Unlike in Central Frisia, where due to the lack of a strong comital power the bishop had to cooperate with local aristocrats, in Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare the expansion of ecclesiastical power was realized with the support of the count, whose family appear to have had large estates at her disposal since the Viking period. This supports the assumption that despite a multitude of similarities between the Frisian areas on both sides of the Vlie, there were also fundamental and ancient differences, certainly with regard to the way in which regional power could be derived from land ownership.

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▼ **KEYWORDS** landscape history, parish formation, high middle ages, Holland, bishopric of Utrecht

New research into the origins of the oldest parish churches in the northern Dutch provinces of Friesland and Groningen showed that the bishops of Utrecht and Munster had introduced and further developed the territorial parish system in Central and East *Frisia* since the middle of the tenth century.¹ They seem to have proceeded in a systematic way while precisely demarcating parish areas and giving old and new mother churches a central role in the organization of pastoral care, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and ecclesiastical taxation. Whereas in Carolingian times the churches functioned as individual missionary centres, they now were forged together and incorporated into districts. In this process, the distribution of the oldest parish churches was not only adapted to the inhabited areas but also to the potential of the adjacent peat bogs, which were on the brink of being reclaimed on a large scale. For the realization of their plans, the bishops worked together with the nobility or, more specifically, with powerful men on a regional and local level. There are no indications that the counts in the Central and East Frisian districts or *pagi* between Vlie and Ems were intensively involved in this development. Compared to the situation in *Frisia* between Vlie and Zonnemare, which would bear the name 'Holland' after about 1050, this is remarkable (Map 1). It is known that in this larger part of West Frisia the indigenous comital Gerulfingian family exerted a prominent influence on the formation of the ecclesiastical infrastructure. In the literature, the role of the count has even been portrayed as one of leadership, at the expense of the work of the bishop of Utrecht. In this context, two issues need to be addressed in this essay. The first is the question of whether, and if so when and how, the bishop introduced and further developed the territorial parish in this Western part of *Frisia* as well. The second is how to explain why the counts of West Frisia, in contrast to those in Central and East Frisia, were able to play a central role in the development of the parish system.

The development of the early parish system in Holland has not yet been well studied in all its aspects. It is known that the oldest churches that were founded by Willibrord and his monks came to his abbey in Echternach and that, in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, these, together with new daughter churches that arose from them, were usurped by the count who eventually handed over most of them to his own monastery in Egmond.² As far as the

1 Gilles J. de Langen and Johannes A. Mol, 'Church Foundation and Parish Formation in *Frisia* in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. A Planned Development?', *The Medieval Low Countries. An Annual Review*, 4 (2017), 1-55.

2 Cornelis Dekker, 'De vorming van aartsdiakonaten in het diocees Utrecht in de tweede helft van de 11^e en het eerste kwart van de 12^e eeuw', *Geografisch Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Nieuwe Reeks, 11 (1977), 339-60, here p. 343; Erik H. P. Cordfunke, 'Het kerkenbezit van de abdij Egmond in de 12de eeuw', in *Het klooster Egmond:*



Map 1. The outline of Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare in reference to present day Holland. Map by Saartje de Bruijn, Province of Fryslân.

bishop is concerned, we know that in the Carolingian period he, too, founded several central churches in West Frisia, which gave birth to daughter churches after some time. We also know that, already in an earlier stage, the count and some aristocrats built chapels on their domains. How and when all these places of worship were taken up in an overarching system has so far remained underexposed. It would have been a gradual process, yet one that was unguided.³ Literature even gives the impression that the count and the bishop were arguing with each other for control over the West Frisian parish churches early on, obviously because possession of them was a source of income and power for both parties. It should be borne in mind, however, that the tension between the two lords intensified only in the second decade of the eleventh century when, in a series of *pagi* or counties, the bishop was charged with secular power by the king, thus becoming a competitor to the count. For the second half of the tenth century, however, we should not assume such a conflict of interest.

This contribution offers an exploration of the development of the network of parish churches in 'Holland' West Frisia up to the middle of the eleventh century in order to test, in part, the 'systematic Frisian model'. The sub-questions to be answered are: Which churches were present around 850, 1000, and 1050? Who were their owners? How can their function and place in relation to power be explained? To this end, attention is first paid to the development of the landscape. After having identified the oldest central churches and their first daughters, we examine the possible role of the bishop in (re)founding these churches. In order to explain the dominant position of the count of Holland West Frisia as church lord, we then zoom in on the presence and location of large clusters of comital landed property and the relationship that can be observed between comital landed property, the oldest royal domains, and the earliest church foundations. We will also briefly discuss the information that the mission churches provide us with about the pre-Frankish age of the domains. Finally, we will briefly examine the consequences of our findings for our view on the ecclesiastical developments in Frisia between Vlie and Ems, the area from which we approach Holland West Frisia.

According to the approach we followed in our Central and East Frisia research, we again combine text study and archaeology with the application of spatial visualization in GIS. The basic data consists of information on the oldest churches as buildings, data from early charters, data on dated saints' ordinations, and, above all, spatial information on parish boundaries, church property, and comital landed property. Essential is the reconstruction of the earliest territorial mother parishes by 'undoing' the filiation of the younger

hortus conclusus, ed. by Jurjen (G.N.M.) Vis (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), pp. 145-66, here pp. 146-52; Kees Nieuwenhuijsen, *Strijd om West-Frisia. De ontstaansgeschiedenis van het graafschap Holland* (Utrecht: Omniboek, 2016), pp. 154-58.

3 Marco Mostert, 'De kerstening van Holland (7^e tot 12^e eeuw)', *Holland, historisch tijdschrift*, 25 (1993), 125-55, here p. 133.

parishes, by following the process back in time. The sections on the location and development of the comital domains are based on written sources and relevant literature. Both the survey of the ecclesiastical development and that of the origin and development of comital landed property are intended to be no more than a preliminary result of a model-based approach and a starting point for further research.

1. The Landscape of Holland around 950

For a low-lying coastal landscape such as the Holland West Frisian one, it is eminently true that its shape over time was strongly determined by humans and their reclaiming activities. Drainage, for example, made the dunes vulnerable to wind erosion, leading to sand drifts,⁴ and the peat soils sensitive to subsidence and increased water flow in natural and man-made watercourses.⁵ Sometimes nature was able to recover from human intervention; in other cases, human intervention would have a lasting effect. Around 950, a part of Holland West Frisia had already been brought under cultivation.⁶ What did this landscape look like then?

1.1 Kennemerland, Rijnland, and Maasland North of the Meuse River

If we first focus on the central coastal districts of Kennemerland, Rijnland, and Maasland north of the Meuse, we can conclude that at this time they consisted of a continuous and long inhabited series of old beach barriers (mostly) covered with dunes (Map 2). This complex was made up of narrow parallel sandy ridges, partly separated from each other by shallow peaty valleys. On the east side, this 'geestland' bordered on a series of extensive peat bogs, of which the largest part lay still un-reclaimed around 950. The beach barrier complex and the peat area were intersected by two important rivers and their clay deposits, namely, the Oude Rijn (Rhine) and the Meuse. The adjacent peat bogs drained into these rivers and their tributaries. Up to the north, the IJ had also been such a river, but its estuary had silted up in late Roman times, after which the outflow of the nearest peat bogs went in the opposite direction, streaming since then into lake Almere.

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- 4 Menno F.P. Dijkstra, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas. Landschap en bewoning tussen de 3^e en 9^e eeuw in Zuid-Holland, in het bijzonder de Oude Rijnstreek* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2011), p. 153 ff.
 - 5 Peter C. Vos, *Origin of the Dutch Coastal Landscape: Long-term Landscape Evolution of the Netherlands during the Holocene, Described and Visualized in National, Regional and Local Palaeogeographical Map Series* (Eelde: Barkhuis, 2015), pp. 82-97.
 - 6 Harm Jan Pierik, Esther Stouthamer, Tim Schuring and Kim M. Cohen, 'Human-caused Avulsion in the Rhine-Meuse Delta before Historic Embankment (The Netherlands)', *Geology*, 46 (2018), 935-38.



Map 2. The West Frisian districts between Vlie and Zonnemare around 950. Map by Saartje de Bruijn, Gilles J. de Langen & Johannes A. Mol, Province of Fryslân/Fryske Akademy.

To understand the eastern demarcation of the Holland West Frisian coastal *pagi*, it is helpful to take a brief look at the borders between the local catchment areas in the peat area. It then becomes clear that the eastern border of the Kennemerland district can be drawn over the border between the peat reclamation regions under Schagen, Schoorl, and Heiloo on the one hand, and those from Medemblik and its surroundings on the other hand. This means that the district border followed the former major watershed, which ran to the south between the reclamations under Limmen and Velsen in the west and those of the Zeevang and Waterland in the east. There, the boundary would have extended to the IJ. To the south of the IJ, the Kennemerland boundary followed a watershed as well. Here, it coincided with the boundary between the reclamations that were carried out from the Amstel river, and the reclamations under Haarlem and around Sloten, the latter of which were still counted under Velsen.⁷

The other district borders also followed watersheds. The border between Kennemerland and Rijnland, for example, ran across the beach barrier complex between Haarlem and Hillegom, the northern part of which drained into the Spaarne, a tributary of the IJ, while the southern part saw its water flow to the south in the direction of the Oude Rijn. The eastern border of Rijnland followed the western border of the catchment area of the Aar River, which flowed into the Oude Rijn near Alphen aan de Rijn. The boundary then crossed the Oude Rijn to continue to run to the south along the east border of the catchment area of the Rotte, here also acting as the eastern boundary of the Maasland district.

Finally, the landscape development of Maasland is interesting in more than one way. It shows that the peat reclamations carried out in Roman times had a considerable and durable impact on the landscape. To the north of the Meuse, these reclamations led to subsidence, which made the area vulnerable to flooding by the sea which entered from the Meuse and its tributaries and deposited layers of clay. Thereafter, peat began to grow again and by the year 800, the peat bogs had more than recovered: with good reason Peter Vos sketches Maasland to the north of the Meuse at that time as a vast peat bog, situated behind the beach barrier complex in the northwest and the clay banks along the Meuse in the southwest.⁸ After the start of the high-medieval

7 For recent insights into the function of the Amstel as a peat river discharging into the IJ: Jerzy Gawronsky, 'Ontstaan uit een storm: De vroegste geschiedenis van Amsterdam archeologisch en landschappelijk belicht', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 109 (2017), 54-91, here pp. 79-84. *Contra* Chris de Bont, *Amsterdamse boeren. Een historische geografie van het gebied tussen de duinen en het Gooi in de middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), pp. 149-56.

8 Vos, *Origin of the Dutch coastal landscape*; for the formation and disappearance of peat bogs in Central Delfland see Jean Paul Bakx, 'Midden-Delfland: Lage Abtswoudsepolder', *Archeologische Kroniek Zuid-Holland*, 43 (2011), pp. 17-18. See also Epko J. Bult, 'De hof van Delft', in *Graven in Holland. De hoven van de Hollandse graven tot het eind van de 13e eeuw in vergelijkend perspectief* (= special issue of *Westerheem* 2014), ed. by Tim de Ridder, Epko J. Bult and Elco Beukers, pp. 126-59, here pp. 128-29 (not a bog, but an older shrub forest with a soaking wet soil).

reclamations, the process of artificial drainage, subsidence, flooding, and the deposition of clay started all over again. Especially in the twelfth century, the floodings locally had an erosive effect on the reclaimed peat lands.⁹ At that time, the riverbank zone along the Meuse was also affected, as were the peat areas south of the river.

1.2. Texel, Wieringen, and Medemblik

The reconstruction of the landscape in the northernmost part of Holland West Frisia around 950 is a difficult task. The topic requires special attention. At some point during the Middle Ages the sea broke through the row of dunes south of Texel at three places causing extensive land loss and, in the process, wiping out most of the data needed to place these landscape developments in time with some accuracy. The recent palaeo-geographical maps made by Peter Vos show for the period around 800 an already broken coastline north of Petten and, further to the east, a wide Zuiderzee: a situation that hardly differs from the image for the late Middle Ages.¹⁰ There are, however, a few objections to such an early fragmentation of the northern West-Frisian districts of Texel and Wieringen, which lead us to propose an alternative development.

In developing our model, we build on the insights of the same Peter Vos.¹¹ It is crucial to us that, in his opinion, in Roman times the West-Frisian bogs situated north of the catchment area of the IJ drained their water into the Wadden Sea via the Rekere and the Vlie. These bogs lay protected to the North Sea by a thin row of dunes, which had, in the course of time, moved somewhat to the east but as such had always persisted.¹² Thus, until the later Roman period, the coastline south of Texel was still closed, which means that, at that time, there were no precursors of the later estuaries Zijpe, Heersdiep,

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- 9 Tim de Ridder et al., 'Vlaardingen: Holy Ziekenhuis', *Archeologische kroniek Zuid-Holland*, 42 (2012), 31-35. See also: Tim de Ridder, 'De hof van Vlaardingen', in *Graven in Holland. De hoven van de Hollandse graven tot het eind van de 13e eeuw in vergelijkend perspectief* (= special issue of *Westerheem* 2014), ed. by Tim de Ridder, Epko J. Bult and Eelco Beukers, 160-75: the inundations of 1134 and especially that of 1163 resulted in the deposition of a clay layer and the necessity of recovery (pp. 163-64); compare, for the surroundings of Delft: Bult, 'De hof van Delft', pp. 130-31: flooding from the beginning of the twelfth century leads to the deposition of a clay deck and to reclamation. For the situation near Rotterdam: mound elevations with habitation in the tenth or eleventh century under a twelfth-century clay deck (erosive covered, but already deserted): Anne-Lise H.L. Vredenburg and Patrick H.J.I. Ploegaert, 'Rotterdam: Markthal', *Archeologische Kroniek Zuid-Holland*, 42 (2011), 28-30.
- 10 Peter C. Vos and Sieb de Vries, *2e generatie paleogeografische kaarten van Nederland (versie 2.0)* (Utrecht: Deltares, 2013), www.archeologiein nederland.nl [accessed 13 May 2018]. Compare Jos M. Bazelmans, Menno Dijkstra and Jan de Koning, 'Voorspel. Holland in het eerste millennium', in *Geschiedenis van Holland*, vol. 1, ed. by Timo de Nijs and Eelco Beukers (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), pp. 20-168, here p. 25.
- 11 Vos, *Origin of the Dutch coastal landscape*.
- 12 For the Roman period, see also Henk Schoorl, *De Convexe Kustboog*, vol. 1: *Het westelijk Waddengebied en het eiland Texel tot circa 1550* (Schoorl: Pirola, 1999), pp. 18-20.

and Marsdiep.¹³ On either side of the side arm of the Vlie, Vos reconstructs deposits of clay, which partly covered peatlayers and were formed from the Vlie. These deposits ran from Texel and Wieringen to Schagen and from Wieringen to Medemblik and beyond.

As mentioned, more to the south, around the IJ, after the silting up of the old estuary at Castricum in late Roman times, the water from the adjacent peat bogs no longer flowed into the North Sea directly but rather flowed indirectly via lake Almere and the Vlie. The fact that Almere became connected to the Vlie was the first step in the creation of the Zuiderzee, but only a step, as we will elaborate. Vos, though, dates the breaking up of the North Sea coast above Schoorl and the formation of a large Zuiderzee as early as the eighth century.¹⁴ We see no reason to go along with this. An important argument against Vos's view is that north of Schoorl, around 900/50, there were still extensive peat bogs that were only lost in the following centuries. If, around 800, the sea had already direct access to this vulnerable landscape via three breaches, the adjacent peat bogs would certainly have disappeared as early as that.¹⁵ However, a series of donation notes in favour of the abbey of Fulda show that in the early ninth century both the *pagi* of Wieringen and Texel still had numerous settlements with 'more' or 'moor' as suffixes to their names.¹⁶ For the Wieringen *pagus*, clear archaeological evidence has been found in today's Wieringermeerpolder for the existence of even high medieval peat settlements, which were only washed away in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁷ For this reason, Stefan Molenaar, Carla Soonius, and Dolf Bekius recently made critical comments on the prevailing view that most of the peat bogs between Texel, Wieringen, and West Frisia had already been lost before the year 1000.¹⁸

Given the above, and although it is risky to reconstruct the landscape around 950, we want to sketch most of the peat bogs of northernmost

13 Vos and De Vries, *Paleogeografische kaarten*.

14 Compare Henk Schoorl, 't Oge. *Het Waddeneiland Callensoog, ca. 1250-1614* (Hillegom: Historische Vereniging Holland, 1979), p. 8. Schoorl dates these breakthroughs after 1100.

Compare Johannes C. Besteman, 'North-Holland AD 400-1200; turning tide or tide turned', in *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands*, ed. Johannes C. Besteman, Jurjen M. Bos and Anthony (H.A.) Heidinga (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990), pp. 91-120, here pp. 94-96, who speaks about dilatation in the tenth century.

15 See for instance Schoorl, 't Oge, especially illustration 1.

16 *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland* (hereafter cited as OHZ), vol. 1, ed. by Anton C.F. Koch (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970), nrs. 13, 23 and 25 (donations from the second half of the ninth century); compare Herre Halbertsma, *Friesland's oudheid. Het rijk van de Friese koningen, opkomst en ondergang* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2000), p. 193.

17 Jasper Leek, 'Door de zee verzwolgen. Een nieuwe archeologische benadering van de verloren middeleeuwse nederzettingen in de Wieringermeer aan de hand van het onderzoek van dr. Wouter Cornelis Braat' (unpublished bachelor thesis Saxion Hogeschool Deventer, 2016).

18 Stefan Molenaar, Carla M. Soonius and Dolf Bekius, *Noord-Holland Laagland. De archeologie van een landschap in 7 lagen*. Raap-rapport 1838 (Weesp: Raap, 2009), map Appendix 6.

West Frisia and the salt marsh on both sides of the Vlie-arm between Texel and Wieringen for the period around 950 as Peter Vos does for the period around 100 AD. Of course, this landscape is sketched in broad lines, and we do not mean to say that between 100 and 950 AD the landscape was not subject to change. It may be assumed, for example, that during that time the clay/peat boundary shifted, sometimes inland due to an increase in marine influence and the deposit of new clay layers, and sometimes in the opposite direction due to a decrease in marine influence and renewed growth of the peat bog.¹⁹

The debate on the genesis of northernmost Holland West Frisia was largely determined by the mention of the *Maresdeop* in donation notes of the abbey of Fulda, as well as by the indication *insula* for Texel in the property register of St. Martin's Church which was compiled in Utrecht after the Norman period.²⁰ Some want to deduce from this that this *Maresdeop*, like the present Marsdiep, separated Texel from the rest of Holland West Frisia. But things are not as simple as that. A closer look at the first mention of *Maresdeop* shows that it cannot be equated with the current Marsdiep because, around 800/50, it was called a river or watercourse (*fluvius*) that flowed in or along the Wieringengouw.²¹ Therefore, we see it as a border river separating the districts of Texel and Wieringen from each other. Originally, this river would not have flowed into the North Sea, but would have been connected to a Vlie-arm.²² Apparently, the name *Maresdeop* later became Marsdiep, possibly at the moment when a gully coming in from the location of the present Marsdiep made contact with the main gully of the *Maresdeop*-Vlie system, or else somewhat later when the Marsdiep system became dominant.

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- 19 Compare, for example, the situation in Zuid-Holland, where after the Roman period peat growth started again on a large scale: Vos, *Origin of the Dutch coastal landscape*, pp. 75-76. For early medieval peat formation and the early medieval reclamation of the recently formed peat bogs in the surroundings of Sneek in Central Friesland, see *Opgraving Sneek-Harinxmaland. Van vlaknederzetting in een veengebied tot afgetopte terp onder een kleipakket*, ed. by Marco Bakker, Gilles J. de Langen and Tineke Sibma, Grondsporen, 36 (Groningen: GIA, 2018). For the situation around Schagen: Cees Koot, *Een archeologische opgraving in het plangebied Schagen-Lagedijk, gemeente Schagen*, Zuid-Nederlandse Archeologische Notities, 261 (Amsterdam: VUhb's Archeologie, 2011) p. 6 and p. 41.
- 20 *Het oudste cartularium van het Sticht Utrecht*, ed. by Samuel Muller Fzn. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1892), pp. 53-138; Dick P. Blok, 'Het goederenregister van de St.-Maartenskerk te Utrecht', *Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Naamkunde te Leuven en de Commissie voor Naamkunde te Amsterdam*, 33 (1957), 89-104. The word *insula* is also used in the encompassing property formula of the famous royal charter of 948 in favour of the Utrecht church for which the property register served as a basis: *OHZ*, vol. 1, no. 55. However, there are no other names associated with this.
- 21 *OHZ*, vol. 1, no. 8.
- 22 Cf. Henk Schoorl, *Zeshonderd jaar water en land: bijdrage tot de historische geo- en hydrografie van de Kop van Noord-Holland in de periode 1150-1750* (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1973), p. 31. Contra Jan K. de Cock, 'Veenontginningen in West-Friesland', *Westfriese Oudheden*, 12 (1969), 154-71, here pp. 156-58.

What the landscape situation was like before that time is difficult to determine given all the later erosion, which means that the origin of the Marsdiep cannot yet be dated to a certain century. Based on the fact that around 900 Texel was called an island, we have to assume that at that time the Marsdiep already existed and was connected to the Wadden Sea. Some have assumed that the germ of the Marsdiep is much older and must be sought in an estuary of a river that already in Roman times drained the local peat bogs into the North Sea.²³ But since Vos's reconstruction of a closed row of dunes, this is no longer its only possible origin.

The Marsdiep was certainly not a district boundary because the settlement *Callinge*, for which the new name Callantsoog was mentioned only in the thirteenth century,²⁴ situated south of this current estuary, was considered to be part of the Texel district until well into the late Middle Ages.²⁵ The fact that the Marsdiep did not function as a district border does not say much, but the renaming of Callinge is important in this context. It leads us to follow Peter Vos and to explain the origin of the present Marsdiep as well as the genesis of the estuaries Heeresdiep and Zijpe, which were broken into the coastline somewhat further to the south by coastal erosion, a process that became all the more dangerous as the hinterland continued to subside, as a result of the ongoing peat reclamations. An eleventh- or even early twelfth-century date for the Marsdiep gully connecting to the *Maresdeop*-Vlie system is probable.²⁶ The same date applies to the genesis of the Zijpe if we note that the first (later flooded) church of Petten in the ninth century was built in a place near the coast south of the later Zijpe,²⁷ a foundation that bears little relation to an already ongoing erosion process induced by a major breakthrough. Results from recent research at Het Torp near Den Helder, which may speak for a wider environment, show that in the tenth century the salt marsh within the 'new' situation (within the *Maresdeop*-Vlie system

23 See for example Molenaar, Soonius and Bekius, *Noord-Holland Laagland*.

24 Rudi E. Künzel, Dick P. Blok and J.M. Verhoeff, *Lexicon van Nederlandse toponiemen tot 1200* (Amsterdam: P.J. Meertens-Instituut, 1989), pp. 200-01.

25 In an account of the vicar of the bishop from 1408 a 'capell(a) int Oge partium Taxalie' is mentioned: *De indeeling van het bisdom*, vol. 1: *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der kerkelijke rechtspraak in het bisdom Utrecht in de Middeleeuwen*, ed. by Samuel Muller Hzn. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1906), p. 184.

26 For the idea that even in its initial form the Marsdiep may have originated around this time see Arent D. Vos, *Onderwaterarcheologie op de Rede van Texel. Waarde stellende onderzoeken in de westelijke Waddenzee (Burgzand)*, Nederlandse Archeologische Rapporten, 41 (Lelystad: Spa Publishers, 2012), pp. 37-41 and the there cited version of Cees de Jager and Willem J. Kikkert, *Van het Clif tot Den Hoorn. De geschiedenis van het zuiden van Texel, van de oudste tijden tot de verwoesting van Den Horn en het ontstaan van Den Hoorn* (Den Burg: Nauta Boek, 1998); as well as that of Jan Buisman, *Duizend jaar weer, wind en water in de Lage Landen*, vol. 1 (Franeker: Van Wijnen 1995), pp. 348-50, pp. 360-62, pp. 392-93.

27 Dick P. Blok, 'De Hollandse en Friese kerken van Echternach', *Naamkunde*, 6 (1974), 167-84, here p. 174, calls Petten (as *capella*) a younger foundation, not dependent on any other church, which in 1063 became a '[...] mother church although still without children'.

with a Marsdiep entering from the west) was still building up, with peat bogs in the vicinity.²⁸ It should also be considered that a further coastal break up only after 1000 fits in much better with the results of recent studies on landscape development in Southwest Friesland,²⁹ the Northwestern part of Overijssel,³⁰ Schokland in the current Noordoostpolder,³¹ and Amsterdam,³² which show that the Zuiderzee underwent a considerable expansion only in the twelfth century, long after the high-medieval peat reclamations had started. From this perspective, it is quite possible that the gully that evolved into the Marsdiep-system was not very old around 900. We take the lead of Menno Dijkstra and Jan de Koning when they draw Texel, around 750, as an island and the Marsdiep- and the Maresdeop-Vlie system then still being separated by a tidal flat.³³

In short, around 950, the old *Maresdeop* was part of a system of waterways between the Rekere and the Vlie.³⁴ This representation, with a Vlie-arm that was a district boundary as well, also coincides with the fact that before the turn of the millennium, Texel and Wieringen were separate *pagi* with their own adjoining peat bogs – and were also ruled by different lords. In 985, for example, the Gerulfingian Dirk II exercised comital authority over Maasland, Rijnland, Kennemerland, and the Texel district, but he had no

28 Wouter Roessingh, *Den Helder-Statenhoff 51. Een archeologische opgraving op de middeleeuwse terp 'Het Torp'*, ADC Rapport, 4059 (Amersfoort: ADC, 2018). Although it may not be synchronous, the similarity with the development of the area around Workum on the other side of the Vlie is striking. Compare Gilles de Langen and Hans Mol, 'Een heilige in It Heidenskip. Een volmiddeleeuwse ontginning onder de klokslag van Sint Ursula', in: *Fragmenten uit de rijke wereld van de archeologie. Opgedragen aan Ernst Taayke bij zijn afscheid als beheerder van het Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot in Nuis*, ed. by Annet Nieuwhof, Egge Knol and Jeroen Schokker (Groningen: Vereniging voor Terpenonderzoek, 2018), pp. 173-86.

29 De Langen and Mol, 'Een heilige in It Heidenskip'.

30 Johannes A. Mol, 'De middeleeuwse veenontginningen in Noordwest-Overijssel en Zuid-Friesland: datering en fasering', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*, 14 (2011), 46-90; Dennis Worst, *Middeleeuwse veenontginningen in het land van Kuinder en Linde* (Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, in prep. 2021).

31 Yftinus van Popta and Gerard Aalbersberg, 'Onbekend maar niet onbemind: terpen en terponderzoek in de Noordoostpolder', in *Van Wierhuizen tot Achlum. Honderd jaar archeologisch onderzoek in terpen en wierden*, ed. by Annet Nieuwhof (Groningen: Vereniging voor Terpenonderzoek, 2016), pp. 129-40.

32 Gawronsky, 'Ontstaan uit een storm', pp. 74-77. Gawronsky refers to Buisman, *Duizend jaar weer*, pp. 348-50, pp. 360-62, and pp. 392-93, who at his turn relies on Elisabeth (M.K.E.) Gottschalk, *Stormvloed en rivieroverstromingen in Nederland*, vol. 1: *De periode vóór 1400* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), pp. 80-94. Bazelmans, Dijkstra and De Koning, 'Voorspel', p. 28, place the creation of Almere as the successor of Flevomeer in the eighth century as a result of increasing tidal action in the Vlie, after which eventually the Zuiderzee came into being.

33 Ibidem, map on p. 25.

34 Considering the transition from the name to the later estuary, it is obvious that the *Maresdeop* at least coincided with the northern part of the Vlie-arm between Texel and Wieringen: Jan K. de Cock, 'Veenontginningen', pp. 156-58.

control over Wieringen and Medemblik.³⁵ According to the well-known charter from that year, Dirk II had fiefdoms in North Kennemerland and Texel, including a concentration near *Kin(t)leson* or Keins,³⁶ a hamlet just north of Schagen. These goods were assigned to him by the king as allodial property. Apart from what he owned or used in the Texel and Maasland districts,³⁷ part of these goods is geographically referred to as being situated between two rivers (*flumina*), the *Medemelacha* and the *Chinnelosara gemarchi*. Many assumptions have been made about the identification and location of these watercourses. Since the *pagus* Wieringen and the Medemblik region, which as a royal crown domain may have been split off from Wieringen in the eighth century, fell to other lords, we believe that the purpose of the further marking here was to indicate the possibly disputed boundary in the peat bogs between Kennemerland, on the one hand, and the Wieringen district and Medemblik, on the other.³⁸

The *Medemelecha* can then be regarded as the Middenleek, and its catchment area as being a part of the Medemblik territory. The *Chinnelosara gemarchi*, which can be interpreted as the mark along the mouth of the river Kinne,³⁹ would, in that case, be the boundary between Kennemerland and the Wieringen district. We now explain the situation in such a way that in 985 the count was granted rights in Kennemerland up to the Middenleek and Kinne rivers or, more specifically, up to the Middenleek catchment area and not beyond the mouth of the Kinne. The peat bog that discharged its water via the Middenleek did not belong to Kennemerland. However, where the watershed, and therefore the boundary, lay exactly may have been an important issue when reclamations were advancing it from both sides. We are inclined to seek it on the east bank of the Rekere/*Maresdeop*, just north of Keins.⁴⁰

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- 35 *OHZ*, vol. 1, no. 55. In 985, Medemblik was under the authority of Count Ansfried on behalf of the king: *OHZ*, vol. 1, no. 54. In view of the water courses along which Wieringen and Medemblik were situated, these territories were more 'Utrecht' than 'Holland', because they could best be reached from the Vlie, the Almere, and the Vecht. The name Westflinge used in the tenth and eleventh centuries can therefore be qualified as 'Utrecht'.
- 36 Jan K. de Cock, 'Kinlosun', *Naamkunde*, 12 (1980), 201-05. Künzel, Blok, and Verhoeff, *Lexicon*, p. 207, locate this *Kinleson* around Medemblik. This, however, is impossible because the sources place it once explicitly in the Texel district (*in pago Tyesle*) and another time in Kennemerland (*Kinhem [...] in eodem pago*).
- 37 No property is mentioned in Rijnland, presumably because the comital goods had been allodial there already for some time.
- 38 An indication of the border between Kennemerland and Texel made little sense because there was no ambiguity about Count Dirk II's exercise of authority there.
- 39 Künzel, Blok, and Verhoeff, *Lexicon*, p. 207; *kine would have the meaning of creek.
- 40 This is different from what we suggested in our earlier, concise version of this article in *Holland* – where we suggest the possibility that the *Chinnelosara* would have formed the border between Texel and Kennemerland: De Langen and Mol, 'Kerk, macht en ruimte in Holland', p. 266.

1.3. Maasland South of the Meuse

Directly to the south of the Meuse, the situation is somewhat similar to that to the north of Kennemerland. There, too, in the tenth century, lay a vast peat bog behind a narrow row of dunes, between Ouddorp (or Westvoorne) in the southwest and Oostvoorne in the northeast to be precise. This row of dunes was also once broken through, at what is presently Haringvliet, in all probability not before the tenth century.⁴¹ Upstream of the Meuse, at the mouth of the Widele (later called Bernisse), which drained its own peat bog, the emporium of Witla was situated until 836. In the southwest, near Ouddorp on Goeree, there was also an extensive settlement that was rather agricultural in nature. There, we have to look for the core of the royal villa *Sunnimeri*, mentioned in 985, which Count Dirk I was assigned then in allodial possession.⁴² In this case, it was bordered on the south side by the watercourse of the same name, the *Sunnonmeri* or Zonnemare, which separated the Maasland district from the most southern Frisian pagus of Scheldeland located on both sides of the Scheldt and consisting of Scaldis (roughly Schouwen) north of the Scheldt and Walcheren and Beveland south of it.⁴³ Unlike the peat bogs in the Maasland district,⁴⁴ the peat layers in this Frisian Zeeland area seem to have been largely washed away or covered by clay layers during the late Roman period, making the largest part of this district a permanent clay land landscape under great marine influence.

The eastern boundary of the southern peat area of the Maasland district is difficult to indicate.⁴⁵ It would have run on the east side of the later seigniority Putten, along the man-made connection between the Meuse and the Striene, the river that took the water of the West-Brabant rivers such as the A, the

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- 41 We follow here the view of Vos, *Origin of the Dutch coastal landscape*, p. 85. Compare C. Hoek, 'De heren van Voorne en hun heerlijkheid', in *Van Westvoorne tot St.-Adolfsland. Historische verkenningen op Goeree-Overflakkee*, ed. by H.C.R. Ariele (Ouddorp: De Motte, 1979) pp. 115-45, here pp. 118-24. See also the maps IV, V and VI (early Middle Ages) in Peter A. Henderikx, *De beneden-delta van Rijn en Maas. Landschap en bewoning van de Romeinse tijd tot ca. 1000* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987).
- 42 Mentioned in a charter of 776: *OHZ*, vol. 1, no. 5. For the location we base ourselves largely on Peter A. Henderikx, 'Vroege middeleeuwen', in *Geschiedenis van Zeeland*, vol. 1: *Prehistorie-1550*, ed. by Paul Brusse and Peter Henderikx (Zwolle: WBooks, 2012), pp. 61-79, here p. 67.
- 43 The southern border of this most southern (Zeelandic) Frisian *comitatus* or *pagus* was the *Sincfal*, mentioned in the *Lex Frisionum*, which according to Verhulst was an estuary near the mouth of the current Westerschelde: Adriaan Verhulst, 'Historische ontwikkeling van het kustlandschap', *Vlaanderen*, 49 (2000), 135-38.
- 44 On his recent map, Vos made the south side of this southern Maasland part of the marine salt marsh landscape of the Scheldt region as early as around 800. This, however, is not compatible with the presence of the aforementioned *villa Sunnimeri* under Ouddorp: Vos, *Origin of the Dutch Coastal Landscape*, p. 85.
- 45 For the course of the rivers and their flow we follow Henderikx, 'Vroege middeleeuwen', and not Vos, *Origin of the Dutch Coastal Landscape*.

Dintel, and the Mark in a south-westerly direction into the Scheldt. However, data for further localization is completely lacking because twelfth-century floods completely changed the landscape here.⁴⁶ North of the Striene-Meuse connection, the district boundary would have crossed the Meuse running east of Poortugaal and Pernis, given the fact that those parishes were originally part of Putten.

1.4. Recapitulation

In summary, we can say that Holland West Frisia consisted of four connected coastal districts: Texel, Kennemerland, Rijnland, and Maasland, of which the last three, just like the district of Scheldeland located further to the south, each consisted of the parts on either side of a stream. In Kennemerland, these were the areas north and south of the silted up IJ. The districts of Rijnland, Maasland, and Scheldeland stretched on both sides of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt, respectively. Apart from those on the inland banks along these rivers, almost all settlements around 950 were located on the continuous beach barriers and dunes, as well as on the Pleistocene heights of Texel and Wieringen.⁴⁷ At that time, most of them certainly had existed for several centuries. The peat bogs generally remained untouched until they were systematically drained and taken into cultivation. In the late seventh and early eighth centuries, peat bogs were used agriculturally on a small scale at most, mainly in the vicinity of the older settlements.⁴⁸ It was only in the late eighth and early ninth centuries that colonists started to move into the peat bogs, trying to make a living on demarcated and drained strips of land that were allotted to them in certain places, such as Schagen, Texel, Wieringen, and Medemblik.⁴⁹

46 Karel A.H.W. Leenders, *Van Turnhoutervoorde tot Strienemonde. Ontginnings- en nederzettingen-geschiedenis van het noordwesten van het Maas-Schelde-Demergebied (400-1350)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1996), p. 67.

47 Bazelmans, Dijkstra and De Koning, 'Voorspel', p. 25. See more in detail for Zuid-Holland (Rijnland and Maasland): Dijkstra, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas*; for recent information on Noord-Holland (Kennemerland and Texel): Jan de Koning, 'De betekenis van Noord-Holland binnen vroegmiddeleeuws Frisia', *It Beaken*, 74 (2012), 3-31.

48 Dijkstra, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 94; De Koning, 'De betekenis van Noord-Holland', p. 18 (also on isolated findings in the peat areas). In the vicinity of Medemblik, even in the late Carolingian period, peat reclamation remained close to the coast: Josje van Leeuwen, *Middeleeuws Medemblik: een centrum in de periferie. Archeologisch onderzoek naar de (vroeg)middeleeuwse handelsnederzetting en het oudste regionale centrum van West-Friesland in de periode 675-1289*, West-Friese Archeologische Rapporten, 61 (Hoorn: Gemeente Medemblik, 2014), pp. 169-73.

49 Besteman, 'North Holland AD 400-1200', p. 101 and p. 103. Initially, these reclamations were limited to the edges of the peat bogs. Further research is needed to clarify whether and to what extent the early medieval reclamations anticipated the large-scale colonization of the peatlands. In Friesland, a gradual transition can no longer be ruled out: *Opgraving*

2. The Oldest Churches in West Frisia up to 850: A Dual System

The Christianization of the Frisian lands followed their step-by-step integration into the Frankish Empire. Missionaries such as Willibrord and Boniface were still protected by Frankish soldiers on their expeditions through areas which had not yet been converted.⁵⁰ Equally important for their success was that they were supported in every way possible by the Frankish rulers for the foundation of sanctuaries and mission centres. The church of Velsen is known to have been built on or near a royal estate, the *villa* Adrichem.⁵¹ In addition to the king, there were indigenous nobles who supported the arrival of the Christian church with donations, hoping to build a close relationship with the new authority.

The oldest churches founded or acquired by Willibrord or his assistants under Frankish authority were Vlaardingen, Oegstgeest, Velsen, and Heiloo (Map 3).⁵² Vlaardingen at least was assigned by the missionary in his so-called last will to Echternach, the abbey from which he had engaged collaborators and where he also breathed his last breath in 739. Afterwards, Echternach acquired more churches in the coastal area, among others, in Petten, in Holwerd (in Central Frisia), and on the islands of Terschelling and Ameland.⁵³ From the West-Frisian churches of Echternach, before the Norman period, daughter chapels were certainly founded: the St. Adalbert's Church of Egmond, for example, which was transferred by King Charles the Simple to Count Dirk I in 922 for the benefit of his newly founded nunnery in Hallem, was a daughter of Heiloo. As far as Rijnsburg is concerned, archaeological research suggests that a church was founded there in the late eighth century.⁵⁴ In view of the later claim of Echternach, it would have been established as a daughter of Oegstgeest, a slightly older church and also owned by the abbey.

After 719, in addition to the four above mentioned 'classical' mother churches of Willibrord, mission centres were established at the same time, which came under the care of Utrecht's St. Martin's Church. One such old centre was the church of Den Burg at Texel, of which the already mentioned

Oldeboorn-Warniahuizen. Onderzoek aan een verstoorte middeleeuwse huisterp in het Boornedal, ed. by Marco Bakker, Gilles J. de Langen and Tineke Sibma, Grondsporen, 48 (Groningen: GIA, 2019).

50 Boniface, for instance, was accompanied on his last mission by 50 *armigeri*: Marco Mostert, 754: *Bonifatius bij Dokkum vermoord* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), pp. 46-47; Johannes A. Mol, 'Kerstening van Friesland', *Benedictijns Tijdschrift*, 66 (2005), 61-71.

51 *OHZ*, vol. 1, nos 3 and 4 (719<>739).

52 For the following, see Kaj van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken. Munsters en kapittels in het bisdom Utrecht 695-1227* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002), pp. 74-76. Compare Blok, 'Hollandse en Friese kerken van Echternach'.

53 Paul N. Noomen, 'De goederen van de abdij van Echternach in de Friese landen', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*, 2 (1999), 7-37.

54 Dijkstra, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, pp. 123-26.



Map 3. Churches founded in West Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare before 850. Map by Saartje de Bruijn, Gilles J. de Langen & Johannes A. Mol, Province of Fryslân/ Fryske Akademy.

property register of Utrecht's St. Martin's Church says that it was served with chapels c. 870 by a priest called Sibrand with two *fratres*.⁵⁵ Because Wieringen also largely consisted of royal estates, it would have had a church in Hippolytushoef, not much later than Velsen. Early Utrecht churches from before 857 include Naaldwijk (*Holtsele*), Valkenburg, Beverwijk, Limmen, and Medemblik.⁵⁶ It can be assumed that the historically known emporium Witla located on the south bank of the Meuse also had a church. This trading centre disappeared as a result of erosion by the sea, possibly as early as the ninth century. The adjacent Geervliet, which can be considered as the first daughter of Witla, belonged to Utrecht, which is the reason to assume that the church of Witla was Utrecht's as well.

In this way, we find in West Frisia, just like in Central Frisia, episcopal proprietary churches and churches linked to monasteries between and next to each other from the very beginning. For all these places of worship, the question arises as to how we should imagine their original layout. Just because they were founded in an area that was not yet Christianized, we cannot assume that they had already defined districts. For a long time they must have been simple wooden missionary churches with, as in Texel, a group of priests, some of whom regularly went into the countryside with travel altars to minister to converts and centres where saints were venerated, children were baptized, and the deceased were buried in the vicinity of important relics. The late tenth-century *Vita Adalberti* in the church of Egmond offers a nice picture of the missionary function: the author reports that besides Christians, this church was visited by pagans and frequently provided with offerings.⁵⁷ Initially, the parish consisted of the converts around the sanctuary, with a wider circle of interested parties.

The composition of such churches probably already developed in the early ninth century in the direction of territorialisation, in part thanks to the payment of tithes, which had been compulsory in the Empire since 779.⁵⁸ However, the early tithes system was linked to persons rather than to their precisely defined (land) possessions.⁵⁹ For that reason alone, the northwestern part of the Netherlands would not have had a closed spatial parish system at all around 850.

⁵⁵ Van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken*, p. 120.

⁵⁶ See section 5 below.

⁵⁷ 'Vita Sancti Adalberti Confessoris', ed. by Jurjen (G.N.M.) Vis, in *Egmond en Berne. Twee verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen*, ed. by Piet H.D. Leupen et al. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1987), pp. 1-86, here pp. 54-55.

⁵⁸ Josef Semmler, 'Zehntgebot und Pfarr-Termination in karolingischer Zeit', in *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hubert Mordek (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1983), pp. 33-44.

⁵⁹ Brigitte Meijns, 'Het ontstaan van de Brugse parochies tijdens de vroege middeleeuwen: nieuwe inzichten bij een oud vraagstuk', *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge*, 152 (2015), 3-82, here pp. 22-27.

3. Parish Division and Demarcation after the Viking Period

There is no doubt that the temporary reign of the Vikings Rorik and Godfrey – who, between c. 850 and 885, received a large part of West Frisia from the king in fief in order to defend it against other Vikings – led to a dislocation of the ecclesiastical infrastructure during which churches were destroyed and church land was lost. We catch a glimpse of this from the *Vita Adalberti* where it is stated that the church of Egmond was attacked on more than one occasion by the *Nordmanni* and subsequently had to be renovated with great difficulty.⁶⁰ The Viking threat in 857 prompted the bishop to move his seat from Utrecht to Odiliëberg, and later to Deventer – in itself a clear sign of his weakened position. As a result, the still functioning churches in the coastal area could hardly count on the support of the bishop and his staff. The early tenth-century property list of the Utrecht church makes it clear that much of St. Martin's land had been taken out of his grasp, and that this was attributed not only to Norsemen but also to indigenous lords, such as Count Gerulf, who were active as rulers under and after Godfrey in the western coastal regions.⁶¹ Early attempts of the bishop to regain his lost possessions seem to have had little success, which can in part be explained by the fact that, for a time in the second quarter of the tenth century, the count in Holland West Frisia and the bishop each recognized a different king. As far as the abbey of Echternach was concerned, if the church of St. Martin had to incur many losses, this would apply *mutatis mutandis* to her as well.

The question then is when and how the recovery of the Church in the Frisian districts started and to what extent the bishop contributed to it. A turning point was whether, around 920, Bishop Balderik could settle back in Utrecht. This long-lived bishop – he died in 975 – is known as the great innovator of the diocese because he developed many church building activities in Utrecht and stimulated the cult of many saints.⁶² It is assumed that he first focused his attention on the renovation of the central churches in Utrecht itself and those of the parish churches in the nearby river area. Only in the next phase would he have tackled the churches in the West and North. Around

60 About Rorik himself, of course by 'miraculous' instigation of the saint, it is reported that at some point he had a little church dug out that was covered by dune sand: '*Vita Sancti Adalberti*', ed. by Vis, Cap. 12.

61 Peter A. Henderikx, 'Het cartularium van Radbod', in Peter A. Henderikx, *Land, water en bewoning. Waterstaats- en nederzettingsgeschiedenis in de Zeeuwse en Hollandse delta in de Middeleeuwen, Keuze uit de verspreide opstellen*, ed. by Bas van Bavel, Gerrit van Herwijnen and Cees L. Verkerk (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), pp. 257–62.

62 Rolf Grosse, *Das Bistum Utrecht und seine Bischöfe im 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), pp. 22–27; Van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken*, pp. 164–201.

the middle of the tenth century the restoration and expansion of the parish system would have started there.⁶³

There is reason to believe that from that time onward, both old and new parishes were demarcated. In addition to the introduction of the tithe system, two developments have contributed to this. Firstly, the reclamation of the peat bogs in Central and West Frisia, with the allocation of new tithes in it, required measurement and delimitation of both the new and the old land.⁶⁴ Even more important seems to have been the introduction of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, about which we are informed indirectly by the Synodical Law (or Statutes) of Frisia between the Vlie and the Lauwers River.⁶⁵ This legal text, the oldest elements of which date from the late tenth century and which will go back to a model that has also been used elsewhere in the diocese,⁶⁶ outlines an already completed system with parish ban in which everyone is a Christian and belongs to a specific place of worship to which they pay their tithes. Within this system, the Church had to ensure that all members complied to its standards and commandments, which included punishing offenders.

The central figure in this jurisdiction was the bishop. He was the bearer of the ban and had the power to impose fines. In principle, he organized the jurisdiction in a synod (*seend*) or church meeting in the main church of the district. He was supported in this by a regional ecclesiastical authority: the land dean. The district of the dean, the deanery, originally coincided with the *pagus*. As the situation in Drenthe and Central Frisia shows, however, there was more than one synodal church in each district. Often the oldest independent mother churches served as such.⁶⁷ The bishop travelled through his diocese every four years to administer justice there; in between, he left justice to the local land dean. From the beginning of the twelfth century, a list has been preserved in which the circumambulation for all parts of the diocese has been

63 Perhaps the start can be determined more precisely in 948, the year in which King Otto I confirmed the Utrecht church in her goods between Dorestad and the sea; precisely the vast area in which much had been lost: *OHZ*, vol. 1, no. 34. Compare Henderix, 'Cartularium Radbodi', p. 251.

64 It should be borne in mind that these reclamations were already initiated on a large scale in the late ninth century: Johannes C. Besteman and Ton (A.J.) Guiran, 'De middeleeuwse bewoningsgeschiedenis van Noord-Holland boven het IJ en de ontginning van de veengebieden. Opgravingen in Assendelft in perspectief', in *Rotterdam Papers*, vol. 5, ed. by Marco C. van Trierum and Harold E. Henkes (Rotterdam: Commissie Archeologisch Onderzoek Rotterdam, 1986), pp. 183-212.

65 De Langen and Mol, 'Church Foundation', pp. 16-20; Jan Hallebeek, 'The Gloss to the *Saunteen Kesta* (Seventeen Statutes) of the Frisian Land Law', *The Legal History Review*, 87 (2019), 30-64, here p. 59.

66 Maria P. van Buijtenen, *De grondslag van de Friese vrijheid* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953), p. 148. For the text edition, see *Westerlauwersches Recht I. Jus Municipale Frisonum*, 2 vols, ed. by Martina Tragter-Schubert and Wybren J. Buma (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 178-79.

67 See for Holland the provision for the new parish Houweningen with respect to her mother church Slidrecht in 1105: *OHZ*, vol. 1, no. 93.

handed down.⁶⁸ This would certainly date from the middle of the eleventh century. For our region it concerned the districts or deaneries of *Holland*, *Maselant*, and *Westflinge*, of which the first, which undoubtedly refers to Rijnland, had to be visited in the first year, and the last two in the second year.⁶⁹ In this system, it could not be otherwise that all parish churches – whoever they belonged to – had already come under the sole authority of the bishop before 1000.⁷⁰ For Holland West Frisia this meant that agreements had to be made with the abbey of Echternach and other important church owners in order to 'fit' everything together.

Did this process provoke resistance at the abbey of Echternach and similar monasteries equipped with parish churches? We do not have a lot of data on this. Some friction, however, does appear from the divide agreement between Bishop Willem of Utrecht and the abbot of Echternach signed in 1063 dealing with the possession of his five 'Holland' mother churches (including Petten) and their daughters.⁷¹ From this it can be deduced that the churches owed taxes to the bishop for the visitation (*circatus*), altar gifts (*oblaciones*), and the keeping of the seend (*servitium*).⁷² They also had to contribute to the building, consecration, and demarcation of daughter churches. From the text it cannot be deduced how old the concerned agreements were at the time. The conflict was not so much between the bishop and the abbey as it was between the bishop and the count, who together had been engaged in a political struggle for power since the beginning of the eleventh century. According to the bishop and the abbot, from around the beginning of the eleventh century, the counts had usurped a large number of parish churches of Echternach with corresponding revenues. The agreement with the abbot was therefore mainly intended to bind the count.

At first sight one is inclined to deduce from this that in Holland West Frisia the Utrecht bishop could only begin the incorporation of the Echternach and

68 Van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken*, pp. 208 and 316.

69 *Annales et notae S. Mariae Ultraiectenses*, ed. by L. Weiland, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, 15-2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), p. 1304. Compare Kaj van Vliet, 'Driehonderd kaarsen in een snoekenbek: bijzondere notities op een fragment van een elfde-eeuws missaal uit de Utrechtse Dom', in *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* 2018, pp. 6-21. Westflinge would have included Kennemerland, Texel, Wieringen, Medemblik, the Zeevang, and Waterland, all of which, in the period 1164-1101, were temporarily under the secular rule of the prince bishop of Utrecht.

70 If this system already existed in Westerlauwers, Friesland around 1000, there is no reason to think that it still had to be built up west of the Vlie at that time: see, in this respect, the wavering Dekker, 'Vorming aartsdiakonaten', p. 341.

71 OHZ, vol. 1, no. 84. About this charter: Regnerus R. Post, *Eigenkerken en bisschoppelijk gezag in het diocese Utrecht tot de XIIIe eeuw* (Utrecht: Instituut voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis, 1928), pp. 54-61.

72 On the nature of these contributions, see Jan Kuys, *Kerkelijke organisatie in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht* (Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers, 2004), p. 132. Interestingly, the *servitium* had to be paid to the provost of the cathedral here, which means that the bishop had indeed already delegated part of his jurisdiction to him: Dekker, 'Vorming aartsdiakonaten', p. 343.

comital parishes in his diocesan organization and jurisdiction well after 1000. However, in our view it is much more likely that he was able to obtain the cooperation of the count and the abbot just before that date, when he had not yet manifested himself as a competitor for the count's secular authority and all three still had a common interest in the demarcation process. That this process was already far advanced for the seend in the central part of the diocese of Utrecht around 1018 is clearly illustrated by the report of the famous chronicler Alpertus Mettensis about adulterous Tiel merchants, who only wanted to come before the court if they were accused by their wives.⁷³

In short, even though there are hardly any specific mentions of synodal churches in West Frisia,⁷⁴ there is no doubt that, just like in Central Frisia, they already existed around the year 1000 and had demarcated daughter churches at that time.

4. Mother and Daughter Churches around 1000 and 1050

In the Frisian areas between Vlie and Ems we saw that the fabric of the synodal district consisted mainly of episcopal proprietary churches and a number of churches of royal abbeys such as Echternach, Prüm, and Werden, each with her oldest daughters. In Holland West Frisia, in addition to episcopal churches and churches of Echternach, we also find churches of the count (with his proprietary monastery of Egmond as main administrator since the early eleventh century) as centres of dependent parish networks. If we want to map these three groups for Holland West Frisia,⁷⁵ we have to try, starting from the parish boundaries of around 1550, to eliminate the youngest and younger daughter churches back in time and thus reconstruct the early parishes of 1000 with their earliest daughters of 1050.⁷⁶ This 'rolling back' of the filiation process is done on the basis of toponymical and archaeological information and data about the patron saints, the size of the parish areas, the course of the boundaries, and the location of church property. However, it is not as simple as that. Each mother church complex deserves a separate explanation. In the following overview, going through the *pagi* or districts from north to south,

73 Alpertus Mettensis, *De diversitate temporum*, ed. by Hans van Rij (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1980), pp. 80–81.

74 An initial survey only provides data for Oudorp under Alkmaar: *Verslagen van kerkvisitatiën in het bisdom Utrecht uit de 16^{de} eeuw*, ed. by Frans A.L. van Rappard and Samuel Muller Fzn. (Amsterdam: Müller, 1911), p. 481. See also the information on Sliedrecht in n. 65.

75 See the table with the mission-, mother-, and early daughter churches for Holland in Appendix 1.

76 For this end, we gratefully used the GIS dataset of Rombert Stapel, based on, among other things, the parish map of Samuel Muller Hzn. e.a. in vol. 6 of the *Geschiedkundige Atlas van Nederland*, ed. by Anton A. Beekman (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1920).

and on the basis of an extensive selection of sources and literature, we briefly discuss the various old proprietary church areas (Map 4).⁷⁷ However, this is done with the disclaimer that many allocations still need to be further tested against the regional archaeological and church-historical literature.

4.1. *Texel, Wieringen, and Medemblik*

Let us start with the churches of the Texel district, including Vlieland. On the north side of the island of Vlieland in the high Middle Ages, a St. Willibrord church existed, which did not belong to the abbey of Echternach and whose origin escapes us. On the much larger region of Texel with its Pleistocene hill landscape, around which peat settlements used to be situated, there were before the Norman period at least two churches founded by the Utrecht church on royal property, one third of which belonged to her.⁷⁸ These must have been those of Den Burg (St. Sixt) and Oosterend (St. Martin). Witnessed by her larger parish area, Den Burg must have been the oldest. It is questionable whether Den Burg's consecration to St. Sixt also dates back to that period or whether it can be placed later in time, in the late tenth century – as can be assumed for Sexbierum in Barradeel (Westergo) – and can then be linked to a re-consecration, rebuilding, and/or relocation of the oldest church.⁷⁹ The St. Boniface church of De Waal, which was split off from Oosterend, could date from the first half of the eleventh century. For *Callinge* (the present Callantsoog), in the southern part of the Texel district, where in the early tenth century Count Dirk I had at least 28 farmsteads at his disposal,⁸⁰ we are also inclined to adopt an early church. Unfortunately, little is known about its first chapel, except that it belonged to Echternach and was eroded by the sea.⁸¹

77 This is based on an extensive selection of sources and literature, including the above-mentioned studies by Blok, Cordfunke, Van Vliet, and Elizabeth den Hartog, *Kerken van Holland* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2002). Furthermore, we made use of: Jan G.C. Joosting and Samuel Muller Hzn., *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der kerkelijke rechtspraak in het bisdom Utrecht in de middeleeuwen*, vols 1 and 2: *De indeeling van het bisdom* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1906/1915); and André M. Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken en kapellen in de Middeleeuwen ca. 720-1200* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005).

78 Van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken*, p. 76; Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, p. 119, p. 154. The patronage rights to the Texel churches (incl. Vlieland) were sold in 1276 by the Utrecht *ministerialis* Gijsbrecht van Amstel to the Frisian regular canons abbey of Ludingakerke with permission of the bishop.

79 The relics of St. Sixt were said to have been donated by Pope Leo IV to Empress Irmengard, wife of Lothar I, who had them transferred to the women's monastery of Erstein in Alsace in 850: Erich Kettenhofen, 'Sixtus II', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, vol. 10 (Herzberg: Traugot Bautz, 1995), cols 578-82.

80 According to Jan K. de Cock, 'Bijdrage tot de historische geografie van Kennemerland' (Groningen, 1965), p. 46.

81 Numan *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, p. 121: The consecration of the later church to St. John the Baptist is uncertain; it may not have applied to the first church either.



Map 4. The earliest parish territories with their central mother churches and eldest daughter chapels in West Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare c. 1000. Map by Saartje de Bruijn, Gilles J. de Langen & Johannes A. Mol, Province of Fryslân/Fryske Akademy.

There is little doubt about which was the oldest church in Wieringen. According to the property list of St. Martin's church of Utrecht, before the Norman period two thirds of the king's estates on this island came into the possession of the Utrecht church via the king. The list refers to a church in *Alvitlo* (Elft), a neighbourhood within the parish area of Hippolytushoef.⁸² According to the course of the parish boundaries, Oosterland (St. Michael) can be considered as the first daughter and Stroe (St. Willibrord) as the second. After the eleventh century, the church of Hippolytushoef belonged to the Collegiate Chapter of St. Mary in Utrecht.

Although little is known about its functions before the Carolingian period, it is generally thought that during the eighth century Medemblik was already the centre of a large reclamation area of its own.⁸³ The church consecrated to Sts Boniface and Martin was a proprietary church of Utrecht, as evidenced by its transfer by the bishop to his Cathedral Chapter in 1118.⁸⁴ The gift document mentions a *villa que Medenblec dicitur*. An early daughter was certainly the St. Werenfrid church of Wervershoof, which was acquired after 1132 by the St. Odulf abbey of Staveren, when the latter was transformed from a collegiate chapter into a Benedictine abbey.⁸⁵ As daughters of Medemblik serving the peat bog reclamations under the auspices of the Utrecht Cathedral Chapter, several new churches were established, many of which were dedicated to St. Martin. Because of the size of the parish – from which other territories seem to have been split off – the oldest, possibly dating back to around 1000, could be that of Bovenkarspel.⁸⁶

4.2. Kennemerland (Schagen, Petten, Schoorl, Heiloo, Limmen, Velsen, and Haarlem)

Schagen, located on the east side of the Rekere River, with its northwest-southeast running early peat settlement of Oude Niedorp, used to belong to Kennemerland. The oldest patron saint of the church is unknown: he or she was replaced in the late Middle Ages by the then immensely popular St. Christopher.⁸⁷ An origin as a Utrecht proprietary church is obvious

82 Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, p. 37, p. 138.

83 Van Leeuwen, *Middeleeuws Medemblik*, pp. 207-08; Johannes C. Besteman, 'The Pre-urban Development of Medemblik: From an Early Medieval Trading Centre to a Medieval Town', in *Medemblik and Monnickendam: Aspects of Medieval Urbanisation in Northern Holland*, ed. by Anthony (H.A.) Heidinga and Herman H. van Regteren Altena, Cingula, 13 (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 1-30.

84 Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, 145.

85 Johannes A. Mol and Kaj van Vliet, 'De oudste oorkonden van het Sint-Odulfusklooster van Staveren', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*, 1 (1998), 73-134, here p. 120.

86 Compare Besteman and Guiran, 'Middeleeuwse bewoningsgeschiedenis'.

87 On the basis of annual market days, it is assumed that either Peter or Mary Magdalene was the old patron saint, but this is methodically not justified. Compare Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, p. 165.

because Schagen certainly did not belong to Echternach. This does apply to the St. Willibrord church of Petten, whose first settlement was lost to the sea.⁸⁸ In the church lists of Echternach from 993-1046, above the name *Petheim* is written *capella*. This designation as a chapel may indicate that unlike the other Echternach churches, it had not succeeded in creating early daughters.

South of Petten we find the Utrecht complex of Schoorl. The St. John the Baptist church of Schoorl can be designated as the mother, with the parish of Bergen (St. Peter and Paul) to the south as one of her early daughters. On the other side of the Rekere, situated under the villa *Scorlewalt*, the three eastern peat reclamation parishes Oudkarspel, Noordscharwoude, and Zuid-scharwoude were situated.⁸⁹ All these five churches are mentioned in the charter of 1094 in which the bishop handed them over to his Utrecht Chapter of St. John.⁹⁰ Witness her patron saint St. Martin, Oudkarspel must have been the oldest daughter in the peat. The St. Peter's chapel of Zuid-scharwoude or *Sudrekercka* was logically her earliest daughter, while in Noordscharwoude (alias *Bernardeskercka*), we identify a later granddaughter, founded by a wealthy landowner. The question is whether both Scharwoude's had already been established before 1050.⁹¹ For Oudkarspel and Bergen this can be assumed, given their old patrocina. For Schoorl as a mother church we think of a foundation in the second half of the tenth century.⁹²

South of Schoorl stretched the large Echternach district around the church of Heiloo, which was founded at the time of Willibrord or shortly thereafter.⁹³ In a church list of Echternach from before 1000, the word *mater* is written above the name *Heilingloh*.⁹⁴ The most important early daughter foundation was undoubtedly the St. Adalbert's chapel of Egmond,⁹⁵ which was donated in 922 by the West Frankish king Charles the Simple to Count Dirk I, who then ensured that the saint's bones were transferred to the church of his new nunnery near Hallem or Egmond Binnen. There has been some discussion about this donation in the literature. Could the said King Charles

88 Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, p. 165.

89 De Cock, *Historische geografie Kennemerland*, pp. 213-20.

90 OHZ, vol. 1, no. 90.

91 The St. Ursula church of Warmenhuizen would be a later split off daughter of Oudkarspel.

92 Before the Norman period, the Utrecht St Martin's Church had a lot of goods in Schoorl, Hargen, Aagtdorp, and Bergen.

93 'Vita Sancti Adalberti', ed. by Vis, p. 45. On the church of Heiloo: Den Hartog, *Kerken van Holland*, p. 179. Its Willibrord-patrociniun suggests that it has been founded or rededicated after Willibrord's death.

94 Blok, 'Kerken van Echternach', p. 173.

95 Or possibly 923. The dating is not quite certain. See Nieuwenhuijsen, *Strijd om West-Frisia*, pp. 34-37.

have had this church of Echternach at his disposal?⁹⁶ Nowadays, most experts consider the charter in which it is recorded to be genuine.⁹⁷ In addition, an insight that has gained ground is that King Charles was able to donate the church of Egmond because after the fall of Echternach's lay abbot Giselbert in 920, he, as new *custos et rector*, was entitled to use the goods of the *mensa abbatialis* for rewarding loyal vassals such as Count Dirk.⁹⁸

Other early daughters of Heiloo, mentioned in some Echternach church lists from the period 993-1048, were Alkmaar, Oudorp (*Aldenthorf*), Vronen, Schermer, Mijzen, and Wognum.⁹⁹ The latter three were places of worship in the peat region and would date from shortly before 1048. Oudorp, on the other hand, which, like Alkmaar, had St. Lawrence as its patron saint and possibly formed a unity with Alkmaar earlier, can be considered the oldest of the group. Situated on an old dune ridge and part of a large royal domain ('Vronen'), but also close to the stream that opened up the peat bogs east of Alkmaar, it seems to have taken on the role of mother of the peat reclamation parishes there. The consecration to St. Lawrence, whose worship began in the second half of the tenth century under the impulse of the Ottonian kings, may date back some time before 1000.

Just south of Heiloo there was another church of Utrecht, St. Martin of Limmen. As such, it appears in the Utrecht property list and thus certainly dates from (far) before the Norman period.¹⁰⁰ The church was handed over by the bishop to his Utrecht Collegiate Chapter of St. Mary in 1108. Early daughters included St. Pancras's church of Castricum and the somewhat younger St. Mary's church of Uitgeest.¹⁰¹

With Velsen we have captured the oldest church of Kennemerland. We already mentioned that it was established in the early eighth century on or near the villa *Adrichem*, an extensive royal domain between the *Velisana* stream (the IJ) and the sea, which was donated to Willibrord by the Frankish majordomo Charles Martel. Oldest daughters were Beverwijk (St. Agatha), alias *Bevorhem*, and Heemskerk (St. Lawrence), alias *Heimiskerke*, plus Assendelft. The former, according to the Utrecht St. Martin's property list,

96 Doubts are uttered by Dick P. Blok, 'Holland sinds Gosses, de vorming van het graafschap opnieuw bezien', in *Holland in Wording. De ontstaansgeschiedenis van het graafschap Holland tot het begin van de vijftiende eeuw*, ed. by Dick E.H. de Boer, Erik H.P. Cordfunke and Ferdinand W.N. Hugenholtz (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), pp. 9-26.

97 OHZ, vol. 1, no. 28. Compare 'Vita Sancti Adalberti', ed. by Vis, p. 4.

98 Peter-Alexander Kerkhof, 'In Hecmunda loco vocato' (unpublished essay Bachelor Seminar 'Monasteries and Society', Leiden University, 2008).

99 Blok, 'Kerken van Echternach', pp. 175-76.

100 See the text in Appendix 5 to Dijkstra, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 483. Dekker, 'Vorming aartsdiakonaten', p. 343. Dekker believes that Limmen and Schoorl were previously separated from Heiloo but does not give a source for this.

101 Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, p. 121, states that Castricum was under Heiloo. This is not likely because this church is missing in the Echternach church lists, which is also a reason not to assign it to Velsen.

was donated to the Utrecht church by a wealthy lady and certainly predates the Viking era – if we may assume continuity or restoration afterwards. The latter could have been founded by a local nobleman (*Hemezo*) and brought under the authority of Velsen.¹⁰²

Interesting is the church of the early peat reclamation settlement of Assendelft,¹⁰³ which was briefly discussed earlier. The dating of the wood of the oldest church and two coffins found next to the church gives reason to date the foundation of the church in the second half of the tenth century. This corresponds to the consecration to St. Odulf, whose cult was strongly stimulated by Bishop Balderik around 970.¹⁰⁴ The choice of this patron saint suggests a collaboration between Echternach and Utrecht because Assendelft, as the daughter of Velsen, belonged to the abbey. This case shows that the construction of this church, just like that of Oldeboorn in Central Frisia,¹⁰⁵ took into account the potential of the peat bogs. Assendelft had, in the same way as the above mentioned Oudorp, to serve as a springboard and starting point for the ecclesiastical opening up of a series of new peat settlements. The same applies to the St. Pancras church of Sloten, which, together with Spaarnwoude, also appears in an Echternach list from the period 993-1049.

Finally, a difficult case concerns the Saint Bavo of Haarlem. Haarlem figures on one of the Echternach lists as the daughter chapel of Velsen. However, the charter text of 1063 lacks the chapel, suggesting that it had been ‘taken over’ by the count of Holland well before that time.¹⁰⁶ Presumably, the Haarlem chapel was part of the count’s manorial estate, which already existed in the middle of the tenth century.¹⁰⁷ In any case, after having become ‘independent’ around 1000, it covered a large territory, from Heemstede to Spaarnadam, and also became the mother of daughter churches in the peat region east of Haarlem (Nieuwerkerk, Rietwijk, and Aalsmeer). For this reason, we view the Haarlem parish as a separate mother church district.

4.3. *Rijnland (Oegstgeest, Valkenburg, Noordwijk, and Leiderdorp)*

Going further south we reach the Rijnland district. Near the mouth of the Rhine we find two old mother churches: one north of the stream, Oegstgeest

102 Bert Koene, Jan Morren and Fred Schweitzer, *Midden-Kennemerland in de Vroege en Hoge Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), pp. 75-81.

103 Numan, *Noord-Hollandse kerken*, 119.

104 Reitze J. Stöver, *De Salvator- of Oudmunsterkerk te Utrecht: stichtingsmonument van het bisdom Utrecht* (Utrecht: Clavis, 1997), pp. 65-66.

105 De Langen and Mol, ‘Church Foundation and Parish Formation’, pp. 37-40.

106 Cees L. Verkerk, ‘Vlaams-Hollandse connecties in de 10^e eeuw. Relieken van St. Bavo, Egmond en de Hollandse graaf’, *Holland, historisch tijdschrift*, 29 (1997), 1-17, here p. 15.

107 André M. Numan, ‘Een verblijfplaats van de graven van Holland in Haarlem’, in *Graven in Holland. De Hoven van de Hollandse Graven tot het eind van de 13e eeuw in vergelijkend perspectief* (= Special issue of *Westerheem*), ed. by Tim de Ridder, Epko Bult and Eelco Beukers, 58-71.

(or *Kerkwerve*), belonging to Echternach, the other one south of stream, belonging to Utrecht (Valkenburg). For the church of Oegstgeest it is thought that it was already founded in the first half of the eighth century, though its consecration to Willibrord itself suggests, just like for the church of Heiloo, that it was founded or rededicated soon after this missionary's death in 739. It had Warmond (St. Mathias) as an early daughter, plus the churches of the three peat reclamation villages (Leimuïden, Rijnsaterwoude, and Esselikerwoude), all dating from around 1050.

About the church of Valkenburg it can be briefly mentioned that it was located within the former Roman castellum, which was excavated by Albert Egges van Giffen between 1941 and 1953.¹⁰⁸ In any case, there once stood a very early tufa construction, dating from the early eighth century, in the vicinity of a burial ground from about the same time. It is not certain if the tufa building was preceded by a wooden one. The patron saint is not known, but it is assumed that it was St. Mary. The church of Valkenburg had Wassenaar (St. Willibrord) and Voorschoten (St. Lawrence) as her early daughters.

North of Oegstgeest, and separated from it at an early stage, stood the old church of Noordwijk, dedicated to St. Iero, with her early eleventh-century daughters Voorhout (St. Bartholomew)¹⁰⁹ and Sassenheim (St. Pancras).¹¹⁰ In the Echternach visitation lists, she is referred to as a mother church. According to the so-called Egmond Gospel Notes (*Evangelie-aantekeningen*), Noordwijk came into the hands of the count early on or was even founded by him and Echternach together and then transferred to Egmond before 988 (by Count Dirk II, who died in that year).¹¹¹

Southeast of Oegstgeest and Warmond was the count's St. Pancras church of Leiderdorp, of which it is unknown whether it was ever connected to Oegstgeest. She seems to have been the mother of a group of daughter churches of her own, including Zoeterwoude. That she was older than St. Peter's of Leiden, originally a chapel at the count's manorial complex, is clear from the fact that her parish area stretched on both sides of the river and Leiden only took a small 'bite' from it on the south side of the Oude Rijn. St. Pancras is known to have been fervently venerated by Bishop Balderik and his family and was therefore also strongly promoted from Utrecht.¹¹² We meet him in all

108 Numan, 'Een verblijfplaats van de graven van Holland', pp. 256-65, 282. Compare Elizabeth den Hartog, *Kerken van Holland* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2002), pp. 39-42.

109 Bartholomew is an interesting saint because his cult was started at the Ottonian court towards the end of the tenth century. The comital church of Delft was likewise dedicated to him. Cordfunke, 'Kerkenbezit van Egmond', pp. 148-49, points out that Count Dirk II maintained close relations with that court, but this also applies to the bishop of Utrecht.

110 Blok, 'Kerken van Echternach', p. 175.

111 August H. van Berkum, 'De vijf Hollandse kerken van Sint Willibrord', in *Egmond tussen kerk en wereld*, ed. by Jurjen (G.N.M.) Vis (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), pp. 29-65, here pp. 59-60; Cordfunke, 'Kerkenbezit Egmond', p. 146.

112 Stöver, *De Salvatorkerk te Utrecht*, pp. 72-73.

parts of the diocese, from Haaksbergen in Twente and Emmen in Drenthe, to Oldeboorn in Central Frisia, usually in episcopal proprietary churches from the last quarter of the tenth century or the first half of the eleventh century. We think also of the already mentioned church of Castricum. The fact that, apart from the chapels and churches founded by the count (Sassenheim for example), Echternach churches were also dedicated to this saint (Vronen and Sloten), does not contradict a connection with Utrecht. After all, relics could also have been made available to them by the bishop or his chapters in Utrecht.¹¹³

The church of Rijnsburg cannot be placed unequivocally. It can be assumed that it was rebuilt in the tenth century, within the fortifications that the Gerulfingen had built around the settlement in the late ninth or early tenth centuries. Seen against the background of early comital foundations in Noordwijk and Leiderdorp in Rijnland and Alphen aan de Rijn just outside the old Frisian district border, as well as the early donation of the church of Egmond to the count, it is likely that the church on this Gerulfingen location came to the count at an early stage or was even in his possession at the time of its restoration in the tenth century. At some point during the tenth century, during a re-consecration that may have occurred in connection with its rebuilding, the Church would have been given St. Lawrence as its new patron saint.

4.4. Maasland (Monster, Naaldwijk, Maasland, Vlaardingen, Rotte, Geervliet, and Ouddorp)

If we continue along the Holland West Frisian churches further south along the coast, we first arrive at the St. Machutus church of Monster of *Masamuthon* (Maasmuiden). This place of worship, situated on the southwestern tip of the beach barrier complex, had an extensive parish area in the Middle Ages as mother church of 's-Gravenzande, Eikenduinen, The Hague, and Scheveningen. Kaj van Vliet is right to refer to her as a foundation of Count Ansfried, established by him on *fief* goods he had received from the king.¹¹⁴ This was not a comital foundation but a 'private' one because, at that time, Ansfried certainly did not have any comital rights in Maasland.¹¹⁵ Ansfried seems to have turned it into a minster church and handed it over to the Utrecht church when, or shortly after, he was appointed bishop of Utrecht. The church of Monster then passed into the hands of the Utrecht St. Paul's abbey, which exchanged its patronage rights with the count for the church of Alphen aan de Rijn in 1273.¹¹⁶

113 When checking the saints of 'secondary' Echternach parish churches, it appears that there is no mention of devotions specific to this abbey.

114 Van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken*, pp. 199-201.

115 This *contra* Van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken*, pp. 199-201.

116 *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland*, vol. 3, ed. by Jaap G. Kruisheer (The Hague: Van Gorcum, 1992), nos 1635 and 1636.

On the northern bank of the Meuse estuary, the church of *Holtsele*, which can be identified with Naaldwijk,¹¹⁷ came into existence before the Viking era.¹¹⁸ The church appears as an episcopal foundation in the Utrecht property list of St. Martin.¹¹⁹ Wateringen (John the Baptist) was a late daughter church.¹²⁰ The old parishes of Rijswijk (Boniface) and Voorburg (Martin), which adjoin them to the north, are also considered daughters of *Holtsele*.

The church of Maasland (Mary Magdalene), with its daughter churches Schipluiden and De Lier, which were split off from her in the thirteenth century, is seen as one of the oldest foundations in the eleventh-century deanery of *Maselant*, which was divided in the thirteenth century into *Delflandia* and *Schielandia* with the addition of *Zuuthollant*.¹²¹ The fact that the count was traditionally the owner of it is evidenced by the fact that he donated her to the Teutonic Order in 1241.¹²² Because the consecration to St. Mary Magdalene does not indicate an older age, and because we find more traces of a manorial estate on the southwest side (on the 'Hofdijk') than in the middle of the current village area, it is quite conceivable and even probable that the oldest church settlement was located more to the southwest and was eroded during one of the storm floods of the twelfth century. In that case, the current village centre with its church will only date from shortly before 1200. It seems to us that the parish of Delft, which originally connects to the catchment area of the river Lier, was an early, if not the oldest, daughter of the first church of Maasland. The origins of Delft as an agricultural peat reclamation settlement in a comital context can be dated back to the middle of the eleventh century.¹²³ It is obvious that her church also dates from that time, especially since her patron saint St. Bartholomew was popular with the count shortly after 1000 (see the church of Voorhout mentioned above).

For a long time, discussion has been going on about the proprietary church district of Vlaardingen. The church has always been known as the oldest in Southern Holland, namely, the *ecclesia in pago Marsum, ubi Mosam intrat in mare* (the church in the district of Marsum, where the Meuse flows into the sea), which, according to Willibrord's so-called testament from 726, was personally donated to the missionary by a clergyman named Heribald.¹²⁴ Although the name Vlaardingen only appears in the eleventh century, this

117 Künzel, Blok and Verhoeff, *Lexicon*, p. 186.

118 Bult, 'Hof van Delft', p. 128.

119 Dijkstra, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 482.

120 Muller, *Indeeling van het bisdom*, vol. 2, p. 266.

121 Muller, *Indeeling van het bisdom*, vol. 2, p. 262.

122 OHZ, vol. 1, no. 38.

123 This is witnessed by the donation of nineteen farmsteads by Count Floris I to Egmond: Gerrit Verhoeven, *De derde stad van Holland. Geschiedenis van Delft tot 1795* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2015), pp. 18–20. See also Bult, 'Hof van Delft'.

124 *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland*, vol. 2, ed. by Jaap G. Kruisheer (The Hague: Van Gorcum, 1986), no. 608.

ecclesia can be linked to it on the basis of the charter of 1063 in which it is said that, next to a number of other mother churches, it had been usurped by the count; however, according to the bishop, it was once Utrecht property shared with Echternach.¹²⁵ In the so-called *Gravenregister* in the Egmond *Liber Sancti Adalberti*, it is mentioned that Count Arnulf donated the church to Egmond, which must have taken place before his death in 985. This is doubted by Dick Blok because, if the church had really come into the hands of Egmond at that time, the bishop would not have been able to claim it from the count.¹²⁶ The archaeologist Tim de Ridder identifies the church of Heribald with the predecessor of the Grote Kerk, located on the western bank of the Vlaarding stream, which would have been artificially raised at the end of the tenth century.¹²⁷ The consecration of the church of Vlaardingen to St. Willibrord can, of course, only date from after his death. Early daughter churches of Vlaardingen, probably dating from around 1000, were Kethel (*Harga*) and Overschie.

Identifying the oldest church of the Rotte area is difficult. The church that first appeared in 1028 on the property donated by Bishop Adelbold to the Utrecht abbey of St. Paul was, until recently, always identified with that of Hillegersberg.¹²⁸ The latest archaeological research, however, locates the settlement Rotte along the lower stream of the river of the same name, near Rotterdam's St. Lawrence church.¹²⁹ Kralingen (St. Lambert) and Hillegersberg (St. Hillegonda) would then be considered early daughters.¹³⁰

South of the Meuse, Geervliet,¹³¹ the centre of the later deanery of Putten, could have been the successor of the lost church Witla. The second centre was undoubtedly Ouddorp on Goeree, alias Westvoorne, dedicated to St. Martin. It formed the centre of the thirteenth-century deanery of *Somerlant* (later the

125 Peter A. Henderikx, 'The Lower Delta of the Rhine and the Maas. Landscape and Habitation from the Roman Period to c. 1000', *Berichten ROB*, 36 (1986), 477-599, here p. 484.

126 Blok, therefore, assumes that Vlaardingen, together with daughter churches Kethel (*Harga*) and Overschie, only arrived at Egmond under Dirk V: 'Churches of Echternach', p. 179. This is not very plausible because we know from the chronicle of Alpertus of Metz that, around 1000, the Dutch count (Dirk III) was already busy with the expansion of his power in the region of Vlaardingen; such a development also required investments in the ecclesiastical system.

127 De Ridder, 'De hof van Vlaardingen', pp. 166-67.

128 OHZ, vol. 1, no. 76. See the introducing synopsis, in which the publishers explicitly identify the *ecclesia* Rotta mentioned in the certificate text with Hillegersberg.

129 Patrick H.J.I. Ploegaert, 'Rotterdam: kerkhof Laurenskerk', *Archeologische Kroniek Zuid-Holland*, 48 (2017), 40-41, with reference to Ton (A.J.) Guiran and Marco C. van Trierum, 'Op zoek naar de nederzetting Rotte uit de 8e-12e eeuw; nieuwe vondsten en inzichten', in *Boorbalans 6. Bijdragen aan de bewoningsgeschiedenis van het Maasmondgebied*, ed. by Arnold Carmiggelt, Marco C. van Trierum and Dieke A. Wesselingh (Rotterdam: BOOR, 2010), pp. 13-50.

130 However, it remains difficult to explain that the parish area of the St. Lawrence church was so much smaller than the territories of Hillegersberg and Kralingen.

131 Muller, *Indeeling van het bisdom*, vol. 2, p. 230.

deanery of the lordship of Voorne), which included the islands of Goeree, Overflakkee, and Voorne at that time.¹³² The historian-archaeologist Cees Hoek relates this *Somerlant* to the villa *Sunnimeri*, mentioned in 985 and situated in (southern) Maasland, which Count Dirk II then received from the king.¹³³ In this case, we are probably dealing with a foundation realized by the king in cooperation with the bishop. Via the count, the villa and the church would have eventually come into the hands of the lords (viscounts) of Voorne. Oostvoorne (St. Lambert) would be the oldest daughter church in Ouddorp.

4.5. Recapitulation

If we try to understand the pattern of all the church foundations of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, we notice that it built on the Carolingian structure with its relatively numerous missionary churches established between 700 and 850. In both periods, the position of the bishop appears to have been important. After the Carolingian period, Utrecht remained dominant in the districts of Texel and Wieringen (including Medemblik) and even expanded in Kennemerland and Maasland with the foundation of new centres under Schagen, Schoorl, Monster, Rotte, and Ouddorp. In the second half of the tenth century, all mother parishes and their churches – whether belonging to Utrecht, Echternach, or the count were forged together in one diocesan system. The programmatic line for this was already designed by the Carolingians, including the introduction of tithe payments. In the post-Viking era, the system could be designed territorially instead of being limited only to groups of people. It is possible that this program was strongly stimulated at the level of the Empire by the Ottonian kings.¹³⁴ In the time of King Otto I and his successor, the bishop of Utrecht had extensively facilitated many foundations of counts and abbeys alike with church dedications, relics, and organizational facilities. In other words, there had been intensive cooperation, at least after 950.

5. Comital Power and Large Landownership

Notwithstanding this revaluation of the episcopal role, in the end we cannot avoid underlining the count's dominant position as proprietary church owner in Holland West Frisia. Unlike in Central Frisia, for which it cannot be demonstrated that its counts were active as important church founders, after c. 950 the successive counts of West Frisia had very actively stimulated

¹³² Muller, *Indeeling van het bisdom*, vol. 2, pp. 220–22.

¹³³ Hoek, 'Heren van Voorne', pp. 124–29.

¹³⁴ Compare Van Vliet, *In kringen van kanunniken*, pp. 165–68.

the expansion of the parish network in their territories. We are talking about the Gerulfingians Dirk II and Arnulf I, who ruled the (later called Holland) Frisian districts of Maasland, Rijnland, Kennemerland, and Texel in the second half of the tenth century. It seems that with regard to the church foundations, they worked closely with the bishop. The bishop, for his part, even though in Central Friesland he worked together with the (small) regional nobility, would certainly not have avoided cooperation with the counts of Holland and West Frisia. How should we explain this difference? If we leave aside the fact that these West Frisian counts later strengthened their position enormously by taking over Echternach churches, the main factor would have been that, unlike the men who on behalf of the king exercised authority in the areas east of the Vlie, they were able to dispose of large domains, parts of which they could contribute in favour of their churches. For the churches of Alkmaar, Haarlem, Leiden, Alphen, Delft, and Maasland, for example, we already saw or suspected that they were erected on or near comital manorial estates. Although for a number of other churches that can be regarded as comital, such as Noordwijk and Leiderdorp, this connection between church and estate is less obvious, the question may be asked about the size and location of the count's largest landed estates and the influence that was exerted from there on the ecclesiastical power landscape.¹³⁵

A first impression of the importance of this large land ownership can be obtained by briefly following the earliest patronage in Kennemerland and the Texelgouw of the family monastery of the Gerulfingians: the Benedictine abbey of Egmond. Traditionally, the founding date is fixed at 922, the year of the donation of the St. Adalbert church by King Charles the Simple to Count Dirk I for his new nunnery in *Hallem* (Egmond Binnen). It could be suggested that it is an *ante quem* date because, according to the *Vita Adalberti*, it was a *sanctimonialis* or nun called Wilfsit who induced Count Dirk to take care of the transfer of Adalbert's bones there; she would have had an interest in the transfer if she herself was already a member of the convent.¹³⁶ But it is possible that this is too farfetched. Further research by Johanna Maria van Winter has revealed that a nun of the same name, Wilfsit, lived in the convent of Essen where, shortly afterwards, a certain *Gerulfus iuvenis* – perhaps an early deceased grandson of Count Gerulf – was commemorated in the prayers. This opens up the possibility that the Wilfsit mentioned in the *Vita Adalberti* did not stay in a West Frisian monastery around 922 at all, but was only remotely involved

135 Here we follow the tracks of Jan Besteman and Menno Dijkstra. In his essays, 'The pre-urban development of Medemblik', 6, and 'North Holland AD 400-1200', pp. 104-06, Besteman explained the connection between the presence of royal property, central settlements and early churches for North-Holland. Dijkstra further elaborated on this connection in his dissertation, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 289, for the oldest churches in Zuid-Holland, with the conclusion that these arose on extensive property complexes near an administrative centre of the church founder.

136 'Vita St. Adalberti', ed. by Vis, pp. 56-57.

in the developments in Egmond.¹³⁷ The new nunnery immediately got a solid material foundation in the form of agricultural property complexes. In the *Gravenregister*, a short history of the first counts supplemented by notes about their donations, it is said that Count Dirk I and his wife Geva donated nine farmsteads in Vronen, two in Alkmaar, and half of their goods in *Callingen* (the later Callantsoog) to support their foundation of the nunnery.¹³⁸ This must have been in addition to what the sisters had received earlier or simultaneously in Hallem itself. It is, after all, unthinkable that a convent could start without having a substantial manorial estate and dependent farmsteads used by serfs at its disposal.

From this information it can be deduced that Count Dirk was already well off for some time in Kennemerland and the Texel district, i.e., in territories that in the Viking era were still under the authority of Rorik and Godfrey. In all probability, that was not already the case for very long. We know from Dirks' father Gerulf that under Godfrey – whom he had served as a count – and also shortly after his death, he had his base in Rijnland. This follows from the description of the goods, situated between the Rhine and *Suithardishaga* (= the border with Kennemerland), which King Arnulf donated to this Gerulf in 889 as also situated *in comitatu ipsius* in 889.¹³⁹ It is our conviction that by this *pagus* only Rijnland could have been meant. A short time later, Gerulf would have been trusted by the king with the power to rule Kennemerland and Texel, for which he would have been provided by him with fiefs and allodial possessions formerly possessed by Godfrey. In the later tenth-century donations to Egmond by Dirk III and his wife Hildegard, we see a reflection of the fact that the comital landed property complexes lay concentrated in Kennemerland and Rijnland: six farmsteads in Schagen, eleven under Hargen near Schoorl, two in Egmond next to the monastery, eight near Rinnegom, and the churches of Noordwijk and Voorhout with tithes.¹⁴⁰ In the next century, many dozens of farmsteads from the count were added.

Egmond (alias *Hallem*) was undeniably an extremely important landed property complex, which, in the period 850-85, was in the hands of the Vikings

137 Luit van der Tuuk and Johanna Maria van Winter, 'Rondom Egmond: Denen en West-Friezen in Kennemerland', *Holland, historisch tijdschrift*, 39 (2007), 276-98, here pp. 294-95; Erik H.P. Cordfunke, *De abdij van Egmond. Archeologie en duizend jaar geschiedenis* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2010), pp. 56-57.

138 'Liber Sancti Adalberti', in *Fontes Egmundenses*, ed. by O. Oppermann, Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap (Utrecht: Kemink, 1933), pp. 66-94, here p. 68.

139 OHZ, vol. 1, no. 21. Kees Nieuwenhuijsen, 'Het ontstaan van het graafschap Holland. Twee oude bronnen opnieuw bezien', *Holland, historisch tijdschrift* 50 (2018), 216-25, here p. 221, is right to point out that at least two place names from the charter have been identified with certainty in Rijnland. For other places, Henderikx, among others, has made suggestions for both (North) Holland and the Betuwe, but these do not seem to us to be at all certain.

140 'Liber Sancti Adalberti', ed. by Oppermann, pp. 68-69; compare J. Hof, *De abdij van Egmond van de aanvang tot 1573* (Haarlem: Historische Vereniging voor Zuid-Holland, 1973), pp. 414-16.

Rorik and Godfrey and, before those years, belonged to Carolingian counts who had received it in fief from the king. It was situated close to a *portus* at the location where the IJ had flowed into the North Sea before it had silted up; a *portus* which was apparently still in use in the Viking period as a transfer station.¹⁴¹ Under Dirk I, but perhaps earlier, there was a fortification nearby, witnessed by the presence of a named *comes urbanus* or viscount. On the basis of the information about the later exploitation by the monks, we can further conclude that on the relatively wide sandy ridge on which the monastery came to be established, there were at least two manorial estate complexes (*villae*), with dozens of dependent *mansi* exploited by serfs, which were handed over by the count to the abbey in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁴²

At the same time, we find a similar comital or royal manorial complex of seventy to eighty farmsteads used by serfs on the sandy ridge of Vronen-Oudorp.¹⁴³ At the end of the tenth century, the abbey of Egmond also received a number of *mansi* from the count: nine, to be precise.¹⁴⁴ Because the count kept his core possessions intact for a long time and a mapping from 1531 has been preserved, these possessions turn out to be partly reconstructible.¹⁴⁵ On the basis of this later material, it can be assumed that the count received from the king a massive block of landed property situated within the territories of the later villages Oudorp, Sint Pancras, Koedijk, and Broek op Langendijk. It is suspected that in an earlier period, the *mansi* 'De Groote Hoeve' and 'De Lutteke Hoeve', which are mentioned in fourteenth-century accounts of the count but were then used by individual leaseholders, have together formed the central manorial farm of this estate.¹⁴⁶

This brings us to the *curtis* or manorial estate as the ideal typical form of exploitation of large landownership in the Carolingian era.¹⁴⁷ The classical

141 'Vita St. Adalberti', ed. by Vis, Cap. 10.

142 These were the *villae* of Rinnegom and Arem: Petrus A. Meilink, *Het archief van de abdij van Egmond*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1951), p. 54 ff. Illustrative of the size of such a villa is the list of 201 Rinnegom 'keurmedigen' who were released from Egmond's serfdom in 1264. Together, they would have operated about eighty to ninety farmsteads: Johan P. Gumbert, 'De keurmedigen van Rinnegom', in *Het klooster Egmond: hortus conclusus*, ed. by Jurjen (G.N.M.) Vis (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), pp. 45-60.

143 Already spotted by De Cock, *Historische geografie Kennemerland*, pp. 203-05.

144 The abbey disposed of them in the twelfth century by selling and exchanging them: Jan Hof, *De abdij van Egmond van de aanvang tot 1573* (Haarlem: Historische Vereniging voor Zuid-Holland, 1973), p. 425.

145 Jo P. Geus, *De vroomlanden bij Alkmaar*, vol. 1 (Capelle aan de IJssel: Jo P. Geus, 1986).

146 Gerard Alders and Constance van der Linde, *Het Vroner kerkhof te Sint-Pancras, gemeente Langedijk. Archeologisch onderzoek naar een middeleeuwse begraafplaats aan de Bovenweg. Voorlopige conclusie* (Alkmaar: Cultuur Compagnie Noord-Holland, 2011), pp. 49-50.

147 Much has been written about this. As an introduction, see the older narrative at Bernard H. Slicher van Bath, 'Hoven op de Veluwe', *A.A.G. Bijdragen*, 11 (1964), 13-78, and Adriaan Verhulst, 'Het sociaal-economische leven tot circa 1000: landbouw', in (*Nieuwe Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 1, ed. by Dick P. Blok et al. (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1981), pp. 165-83. For recent literature, see Jean-Pierre Devroey and Alexis Wilkin, 'Early

format is that of the bipartite manor, the most important part of which consisted of a central farmstead and a large associated complex of arable and pasture land (the *demesne*, *reserve*, or *vroonland*), which was exploited with bonded labourers. The second, complementary part consisted of a series of individual farms, inhabited and worked by serf peasants and their families, who had to make annual payments in kind to the lord in return for their use of the farms and were often obliged to carry out regular work on the *demesne*. They constituted a judicial circle on their own, presided by the lord of the manor or his local 'manager', the meier or reeve. However, not every manor had such a dual character. Some were only the centres of dependent farmsteads. In these cases, there was always a barn on the fenced off grounds next to the administrator's or reeve's housing for collecting the duties of the serfs. When secular large landowners were still travelling past their manors to arrange management and to consume the products offered, there was always a representative accommodation for the lord in which he and his retinue could be received with due honour. This space was often linked to a modest hall in which court sessions could be held and guests could be welcomed. These spaces also served as inns for high-ranking gentlemen, as gathering and storage places, and as centres for administrative activities.

There remain discussions about the extent to which the manorial system spread beyond the Carolingian core areas between the Loire and the Rhine. However, it is certain that before 1100, north of the Rhine there were many manors serving as crystallization points of large landownership and the exercise of power. If we confine ourselves to the discussed areas of Texel, Kennemerland, Rijnland, and Maasland and, following Menno Dijkstra's example, place the manors in Holland West Frisia that are known from literature on a map,¹⁴⁸ it is striking that the West Frisian counts had a considerable number of manors with associated clusters of dependent *mansi* at their disposal (Map 5).¹⁴⁹ Many of these units appear to have been located on the sandy backbone of Holland West Frisia: on the beach barrier complex stretching from Monster to Petten.

These manorial estates deserve further investigation. Some of them date 'only' from the late Carolingian or early Ottonian period. Others, which were founded before the Viking period, seem to have been further developed and

Medieval Land Structures and their Possible Impact on Regional Economic Development within the Low Countries. A Comment on "Manors" in Bas van Bavel's *Manors and markets*, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*, 8 (2011), 90-102.

148 Dijkstra, *Rondom de mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 291 (concerning only the districts Maasland and Rijnland).

149 Based, i.a., on the data from Izak H. Gosses, *Welgeborenen en huislieden. Onderzoekingen over standen en staat in het graafschap Holland* (Groningen: Wolters, 1926), and Johan Ph. de Monté Verloren, 'Hoven in Holland', in *Opstellen aangeboden aan prof. jhr. dr. D.G. Rengers Hora Siccama* (Utrecht: De Vroede, 1942), pp. 107-57; Meilink, *Archief abdij Egmond*, vol. 1; and Jakob C. Kort, *Het archief van de graven van Holland 889-1581*, vol. 1: *Introduction* (The Hague: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1981).



Map 5. Traces of manorial estates in West Frisia between and Zonnemare, originally belonging to the count of Holland or the bishop of Utrecht. Map by Saartje de Bruijn, Gilles J. de Langen & Johannes A. Mol, Province of Fryslân/Fryske Akademy.

extended in the tenth and eleventh centuries by reclaiming activities.¹⁵⁰ The available data concerning the earliest church foundations and property donations after Charles Martel's seizure of power in West Frisia, however, suggest that the most extensive and concentrated complexes were the continuation of pre-Frankish possessions.¹⁵¹ These must have been units that had been taken over by Charles Martel from earlier Frisian rulers through conquest or inheritance. Parts of some of them were transferred by him and his successors to the Utrecht church and various abbeys, while the rest of these complexes remained royal property that could be given as *res de comitatu* to counts in fief. Parts of this remaining royal property were then temporarily placed in the hands of the Vikings Rorik and Godfrey, after which a further selection of it was made available to the Gerulfingians.

If this image is correct, in Holland West Frisia the developments were highly influenced by a 'path-dependence' that stretched back to at least Merovingian times. Already at that time, because of the domanial power structure, the situation differed from that in the Frisian clay districts east of the Vlie with their more egalitarian power distribution. Apparently, the West-Frisian beach barrier complex as a connecting element functioned as an excellent 'highway' with stations where a ruler could stay temporarily and along which he could bring in men and means to exercise power and influence both on the secular and ecclesiastical terrain.

6. Epilogue: Church and Power in West Frisia from a Central Frisian Perspective

The starting point for our study of Frisian ecclesiastical developments up to the beginning of the eleventh century was the observation we made earlier that the high medieval churches that facilitated ecclesiastical justice between Vlie and Ems as centres of synodal districts were mainly episcopal proprietary churches. Parish churches of abbeys were in the minority and comital churches were even absent, which underlines the bishop's dominant position regarding the development of the parish system during the tenth century and the establishment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction immediately following.

At first glance, the situation in Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare seems to be different. In this region, the parish churches of the abbey of Echternach occupied a central position. Here, also, the count played an

¹⁵⁰ Werner Rösener, 'Zur Struktur und Entwicklung der Grundherrschaft in Sachsen in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit', in *Le grand domaine aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne – Die Grundherrschaft im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Adriaan Verhulst (Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit, 1985), pp. 173–207, here pp. 192–93.

¹⁵¹ On this possible continuity see also Besteman, 'North Holland AD 400–1200', p. 104, p. 107. Besteman thinks of confiscation. However, it cannot be excluded that the rights and possession of the last Frisian *rex* Redbad after his death in 719 came to the Pippinids by inheritance through his daughter Theudesinde.

important role as church founder and church lord. Nevertheless, our survey shows that within such a power relationship with a dominant count, which we also know for Flanders,¹⁵² the bishop could still be a prominent figure in the establishment and expansion of the parish system: just like east of the Vlie, he founded his own churches in Holland West Frisia, which were to function as mother churches. In the second half of the tenth century he also supported the (re)consecration of parish churches owned by the count and the abbey of Egmond. This alone points to a far-reaching cooperation – one that is even more reflected by the success the bishop achieved when, around 1000, he succeeded in incorporating the tenth-century mother churches of Frisia between Vlie and Zonnemare in delineated districts for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

This observation – that in Holland West Frisia at least, during the second half of the tenth century, the bishop and the count had been working together in founding churches – is of value for our view on the functioning of the bishops in Frisia between Vlie and Ems. In our study of the restoration and expansion of church power shortly after the Viking era, we saw the bishops working mainly with different groups of local nobles. On the basis of that picture, one could draw the conclusion that the bishops competed with the counts and possibly also with a number of abbeys in the development of the ecclesiastical apparatus. The analysis of the West-Frisian situation now allows us to reject such a competition as improbable: also, in the Frisian districts east of the Vlie during the second half of the tenth century, the bishop of Utrecht would have made agreements with the count and several abbeys in the restoration and expansion of the Church and the establishment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Incidentally, the West-Frisian developments confirm our view that the establishment of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the entire diocese of Utrecht should be dated around 1000.

This presumed cooperation makes it all the more remarkable that the counts in Frisia between Vlie and Ems remained absent as church lords. Building on our observation that the establishment of most of the oldest churches in West Frisia was related to the presence of originally royal land ownership – but where in the case of the mother churches between Vlie and Ems, this relationship can only be substantiated in a few cases – we would like to assume that the rulers who exerted comital rights between Vlie and Ems did not have, or had to a much lesser extent than their West-Frisian colleagues, clusters of landed estates from which they could make a church foundation possible. In any case, there was no such systematic link as there was in the coastal region between Vlie and Zonnemare, which raises the question of whether or not an essential and original, or at least pre-Frankish, difference existed between ‘Holland’ Frisia and the Frisian lands east of the Vlie.

152 Brigitte Meijns, *Aken of Jeruzalem? Het ontstaan en de hervorming van de kanonikale instellingen in Vlaanderen tot circa 1155*, 2 vols (Louvain: Universitaire Pers, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 298–303.