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Looking for justice: execution spectators and the Revolt in the Low Countries, ca. 1520-1585

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Appendix 1 Biographical Notes on the Principal Chroniclers Consulted

Chronicler	City	Religion	Occupation	Language	Years
Herbaren van Amstel van Mijnden (ca. 1500-1566)	Utrecht	Catholic	Nobility	Dutch	1296-1553
Gasparus De l'Agarge	Zalt-Bommel	Catholic	Clergy (chaplain)	Dutch	1574-1575
Antwerpsch Chronykje	Antwerp	Catholic	Government	Dutch	1500-1574
Utrecht chronicle	Utrecht	Catholic	Government (Court of Utrecht)	Dutch	1566-1576
Anonymous sister Mariënborg	s-Hertogenbosch	Catholic	Clergy (nun)	Dutch	1566-1575
Pasquier de le Barre (ca. 1520-1568)	Tournai	Reformed	Government (prosecutor)	French	1500-1567
Hendrik van Biesten	Amsterdam	Catholic	Clergy (orator)	Dutch	1534-1574
Willem Boonen (ca. 1548-1618)	Leuven	Catholic	Government (clerk)	Dutch	0-1594
Joost Buyck (1505-1588)	Amsterdam	Catholic	Government (mayor, alderman)	Dutch	1534-1535
Cornelis van Campene (1516-1567)	Ghent	Catholic	Government (alderman, mayor)	Dutch	1566-1567
Philip van Campene (before 1548- after 1585)	Ghent	Catholic	Government (Council of Flanders)	Dutch	1567-1585
Cornelis Claesz	Zierikzee	Catholic	Government (mayor)	Dutch	1575-1576
Adelbertus Cuperinus (1500-1560)	s-Hertogenbosch	Catholic	Clergy	Dutch	1184-1579
Jacobus Epinooy alias Pladijs	Elverdinghe	Catholic	Farmer	Dutch	1555-1579
Pierre Gaiffier (1543-1595)	Namur	Catholic	Government (Council of Namur)	French	1566-1568
Joachim Goyemans / Jean Laloux	Valenciennes	Catholic	Unknown	French	1562-1579
Godevaert van Haecht (1546-1599)	Antwerp	Lutheran	Artisan (painter/panel maker)	Dutch	1565-1574
Augustijn van Hernighem (ca. 1540- after 1617)	Ypres	Catholic	Government (bread/corn auditor)	Dutch	1562-1595
Pieter Joossen (before 1566-1626)	Middelburg	Reformed	Artisan (carpenter)	Dutch	1557-1620
Antoine de Lusy (1478-1536)	Mons	Catholic	Nobility (courtier)	French	1505-1536
Maria Luyten	Weert	Catholic	Clergy (nun)	Dutch	1442-1587
Wouter Jacobsz Maes (ca. 1521-1595)	Amsterdam	Catholic	Clergy (prior)	Dutch	1572-1579
Mahieu Manteau (ca. 1542-after 1598)	Lille	Catholic	Artisan (silk producer)	French	1030-1656
Christiaan Munters (1504-1555)	Kuringen	Catholic	Clergy (chaplain)	Dutch	1529-1545
Jan de Pottre (1525-1601)	Brussels	Catholic	Merchant	Dutch	1549-1602
Nicholas Soldoyer (ca. 1524-after 1570)	Tournai	Catholic	Artisan (beer porter)	French	1566-1570
Arent Toe Boecop	Zutphen	Catholic	Government (mayor)	Dutch	1555-1573
Marcus van Vaernewijck (1516-1569)	Ghent	Catholic	Government (alderman)	Dutch	1566-1568
Willem Janszoon Verwer (1533- before 1595)	Haarlem	Catholic	Government (lawyer)	Dutch	1572-1581
Jan van den Vivere	Ghent	Catholic	Government	Dutch	1301-1632
Josse de Weert	Antwerp	Catholic	Government (substitute bailiff)	Dutch	1097-1595
Willem Weijds (1547 - after 1618)	Brugge	Catholic	Artisan (tailor)	Dutch	1571-1584

Table 9.1 Overview of principle chroniclers consulted.

Jhr. Herberen van Amstel van Mijnden (ca. 1500-ca. 1566) was a younger son in the noble family of Amstel van Mijnden and lived in Utrecht. His text is, unlike the other chronicles, not so much a coherent chronological history, but more of a collection of memories, written down not long after the events took place. His account is interesting, because it is quite personal—he describes, for example, in much detail his own experience of the outbreak of plague in Utrecht in 1529, including his own sickness and recovery. He writes extensively about heresy executions taking place in Utrecht in the 1530s. Especially interesting is his account of how he personally engaged in disputes with religious dissidents. The original autograph is kept in the State Archives of North Rhine-Westphalia, in the Westphalia Department in Münster. This autograph was edited and published in 1888 by Samuel Muller, but the first pages of the manuscript were missing. These pages were recovered in the beginning of the twentieth century in the archive of the Heereman family (which was related to the Amstel van Mijnden family) in the Castle of Surenburg in Westphalia. The missing part was published in 1923 by J.C.J. Kleijntjens.¹³⁸¹

Gasparus de l'Agarge was a priest and court chaplain for Gilles van Berlaymont (1545-1579), baron of Hierges, the stadholder for the King of Spain in several provinces in the years between 1572 and 1578. De l'Agarge joined Berlaymont on his military expedition through the Low Countries in 1574-1575, and he was present during the siege of Zalt-Bommel and the Battle on the Mookerheide. As his account is focused on this military expedition, his interest in executions is rather limited, but it contains several interesting passages about the author's perspective on (military) justice. The original manuscript is lost but a copy is kept in the Bibliotheca Publica Latina in the University Library of Leiden. This account was published in 1925 by H. Huybers.¹³⁸²

The chronicler of the *Antwerpsch Chronyckje* is still unknown, although historians have speculated about the identity of the author of this sixteenth-century manuscript. The chronicle is written from the perspective of a Catholic supporter of the regime. As noted by later editors of the work, the author had a special interest in executions, especially for heresy. He recorded a total of 386 executions. Although the chronicle covers the years between 1500 and 1574, the author most likely started recording contemporary events from ca. 1550 onwards. This chronicle forms part of a larger cluster of interrelated chronicles. Antwerp knew an important tradition of chronicling (and collecting chronicles). The text of the *Antwerpsch Chronyckje* was used and copied by later chroniclers, most notably Geerard Bertrijn (1648-1722). An edition of the *Antwerpsch Chronyckje* was made by Frans van Mieris and Gerard van Loon in 1743 and was published

¹³⁸¹ Münster, State Archive NRW department Westphalia, W 002 / Msc. II ("Kindlingersche Sammlung"), Nr. 127: Memoiren des Herberen van Mijnden über die Geschichte der Familie van Mijnden 1296-1552. Muller, "Gedenkschriften van Jhr. Herberen van Mijnden" J.C.J. Kleijntjens, 'Gedenkschrift van Jhr. Herberen van Aemstel van Mijnden ende van Ruwiel, *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 44 (1923), 231-35.

¹³⁸² Leiden, University Library, Bibliotheca Publica Latina, no. 265: *Gaspari de l'Agarge Diarium. L'Agarge, De Blokkade van Zalt-Bommel.*

by Pieter vander Eyk in Leiden. In 1845, Franciscus Godfridus Ullens made a new edition, which was published by J.P. van Dieren in Antwerp.¹³⁸³ The location of the original manuscript is unknown.

The anonymous author of the **Utrecht chronicle** covers events taking place in Utrecht in the years 1566-1576. The anonymous author was a Catholic inhabitant of Utrecht; he most likely held a post in the city's government and had access to official documents. Hajo Brugmans, who edited and published the chronicle in 1904, suggested that the author might have been a councilor in the Council of Utrecht. The author had a particular interest in criminal justice and executions and recorded many sentences in detail. In total, the author recorded 106 cases of capital punishment. The author copied and included many official documents in his chronicle. The editor left out many of these parts in the 1904 publication.¹³⁸⁴ I could not trace the original manuscript.

A **sister from the Franciscan convent Mariënborg** in 's-Hertogenbosch in Brabant authored this chronicle, which covers the period 1566-1575 and focuses on the Iconoclast Fury and the subsequent troubles. The author emphasizes many miraculous events during the Iconoclasm. She was a convinced supporter of the regime (including the duke of Alba). She was, however, critical about soldiers—although she also emphasizes their pioussness. In total, 49 executions are recorded in the chronicle. Unsurprisingly, the author has most attention for executions related to religion and the punishment of iconoclasts in 's-Hertogenbosch. She also records in some detail the executions of clergy in the rebel provinces after 1572. The original manuscript is kept in the Royal Library of the Netherlands. The account was edited and published in 1931 by H. van Alfen.¹³⁸⁵

Pasquier de le Barre (ca. 1520-1568) was a public prosecutor and historian from Tournai. De le Barre started his public service career in 1545 as a clerk for the deans of the guilds of clothmakers. In this capacity, he had access to archival documents, which he extensively used for his chronicles. From 1559 onwards, he was appointed in the name of the King as the public prosecutor in the bailliage Tournai and its surroundings and was tasked with keeping order and the prosecution of heresy in his jurisdiction. De le Barre's interest in

¹³⁸³ *Antwerpsch chronykje*, F. G. Ullens, ed., *Chronycke van Antwerpen, sedert het jaer 1500 tot 1575: gevolgd van eene beschryving van de historie ende het landt van Brabant, sedert het jaer 51 vóór tot 1565 na J.C.* (Antwerp: J.P. Van Dieren, 1845); Geeraard Bertrijn, *Chronijck der Stadt Antwerpen toegeschreven aan den notaris Bertrijn Geeraard*, ed. Gustave van Havre (Kockx, 1879); Floris Prims, "De Kronijken van Antwerpen," *Antwerpsch Archievenblad III*, no. 1 (1926); Guido Hendrix, "Franciscus Godefridus Ullens ontmaskerd: Kennismaking met de ware auteur van het Antwerpsch Chronykje," *VRB Informatie* 24 (1994). See also the description of the chronicle in the database of Chronicling Novelty: https://chroniclingnovelty.github.io/corpus-documentation/chronicles/1574_Antw_Ano2/

¹³⁸⁴ Brugmans, "Utrechtsche kroniek over 1566-1576."

¹³⁸⁵ The Hague, Royal Library, 131 H 20: *Kroniek door een zuster in het klooster Mariënborg (Ulenborch) te 's Hertogenbosch; 1566-1576. Kroniek eener kloosterzuster*, Kuijpers, "O, Lord, Save Us from Shame'."

capital punishment seems to have been mainly due to his interest in martyrs: He was himself Reformed. He was arrested for his role in the troubles in 1567 and executed in Vilvoorde, close to Brussels, in the fall of 1568. De le Barre authored several manuscripts. He wrote a chronicle of Tournai, which was divided into two parts: The first covered the mythical origins of his hometown Tournai in the fourteenth century and was mostly copied from other, published chronicles. The second part, starting with the birth of emperor Charles V, concerned what he himself referred to as 'our times'. This chronicle consisted of a combination of events copied from other chronicles and events he experienced himself, and was most likely written in 1563, with a description of the year 1564 added later. Most importantly, De le Barre wrote a chronicle covering the years 1565-1567, often referred to as his *memoires*, which was based solely on his own experiences around the Iconoclast Fury in Tournai. I consulted the second part of his *chronique* and his *memoires* for this study. All original manuscripts are kept in the State Archives of Belgium in Tournai. The manuscript covering the years 1565-1567 was edited and published together with Soldoyer's account covering the same period in 1859-60 by Alexandre Pinchart. The second part of his chronicle of Tournai was edited and published in 1975 by Gérard Moreau. In 1989, Charlie Steen published a modern English translation of the works of De le Barre covering the years 1559-1567.¹³⁸⁶

Hendrik van Biesten was orator of the Franciscans in Amsterdam. His chronicle covers mainly the period of the Anabaptist uprising in Amsterdam during the years 1534-35, which is similar to Joost Buyck's account (see below), and the period between 1566-1574. He recorded 190 executions in his text and had much attention for the executions of heretics and rebels. He also authored "a song on the year 1572", published by Willem Jacobsz in Amsterdam in the same year, celebrating the fact that Amsterdam remained loyal to the regime while the rest of Holland turned rebellious. In 1578, after the Alteration of Amsterdam, he was banished from the city together with many other clergy members. However, he returned to the city shortly after and remained an active proponent of Catholicism there for several more years. Two versions of his text survive. One covers the period from 1534-1567 and was edited and published in 1866-1868 by Joseph Alberdingh Thijm. Another version runs until 1574 and was published by the same editor in 1869.¹³⁸⁷

¹³⁸⁶ Tournai, State Archives, Manuscripts, 38 /1 F° 3 : Pasquier de le Barre, Le premier livre des Cronicques de la noble ville et cité de Tournay, de sa fondation à 1500 ; F° 141 : Pasquier de le Barre, Le second livre des Cronicques de la noble ville et cité de Tournay, de 1500 à 1564 ; 38 /2 : Pasquier de le Barre, Recueil par forme de memoires des actes et choses plus notables quy sont advenues es Pays Bas et especiallement en la ville et cité de Tournay (.). *Mémoires de Pasquier de le Barre et de Nicolas Soldoyer*; Barre, *Le journal d'un bourgeois de Tournai*; Charlie R. Steen, *The Time of Troubles in the Low Countries. The Chronicles and memoirs of Pasquier de le Barre of Tournai 1559-1567*, Renaissance and Baroque Studies and texts 1 (New York, Bern etc.: Lang, 1989); Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635*, 205..

¹³⁸⁷ Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Ms. 17907-8: *Anteijkeningen op de geschiedenis binnen en omtrent Amsterdam* (1564-1567); The Hague, Royal Libray of the Netherlands, 128 E 24 : Hendrik van Biesten, *Stukken betreffende de geschiedenis van*

Willem Boonen (ca. 1548-1618) was a chronicler from Leuven. He was a scribe in the *register*, the city's audit office, and as such responsible for recording the city's account books. He was also active as a historian and archivist and wrote several historical accounts. His chronicle on Leuven starts with 'the beginning of times', but is contemporary from ca. 1566 onwards, and covers the years up until 1594. The chronicle was never published but circulated widely among the ruling elite of the city. Boonen was not particularly interested in executions, but his account contains a few detailed descriptions of executions taking place in Leuven. Although a Catholic and loyal to the government, he was extremely critical about an execution carried out on the orders of the Duke of Alba of a mayor of the town of Leeuwe. The original manuscript is kept in the city archives of Leuven. His chronicle was published in 1880 by Edward van Even.¹³⁸⁸

Joost Buyck (1505-1588) was an influential member of the Amsterdam ruling elite. He was alderman and mayor for many years. From the 1550s until the 1570s, he would be a well-known member of the faction of Catholic hardliners who ruled the city. He was deposed as mayor during the Alteration of Amsterdam in 1578. Because of his support for the royal regime, he went down in (Protestant) historiography as somewhat of a traitor. When he authored his account of the Anabaptist uprising of 1534-1535, however, he had just started his public career—in 1532, he had a seat in the alderman's bench for the first time. He recorded the uprising and its legal repression in his private magistrate book. His later position towards heresy prosecution can very well be understood from his experience with the repression of anabaptism. In the 1530s, the crackdown on religious dissent had proved very successful in Amsterdam, both in terms of the restoration of religious homogeneity in the urban community, and for Buyck's own public career. Whereas other magistrates were blamed for being too lenient, Buyck would rise to great power. Buyck's account circulated widely and was copied often. The original magistrate book is kept in the Amsterdam city archives. Buyck's account was edited and published in 2016 by J.W.J. Burgers.¹³⁸⁹

Cornelis van Campene (1516–1567) started recording his chronicle in 1566; his brother **Philip** (before 1548–after 1585) continued after Cornelis' death in November 1567. Cornelis was a wealthy cloth merchant from Ghent and held various government posts: he was guild dean, seated in the aldermen's bench, and was mayor. Cornelis was a convinced Catholic and very critical about the Calvinist influences in his city. Philip continued his brother's chronicle until 1585. As Philip was a lawyer in the Council of Flanders, his insider's perspective is very valuable. He was very critical of the legal

Amsterdam; 1534-1574. "Antekeningen, gedaen van Broer Hendrik van Biesten"; "Vervolg der anteykeningen van Broer Hendrik van Biesten."

¹³⁸⁸ Leuven, City Archives, Archive of the Ancien Regime, nr. 40: Willem Boonen, Een cort verhaal oft memoriebeeck van de hertoghen van Brabant, van de ouderdom der stadt Loven, van de seeven oude originele geslachten der selver stadt ende haere Sinte - Peetersmannen bedeylt in vier deelen oft capittelen. Boonen, *Geschiedenis van Leuven*.

¹³⁸⁹ Amsterdam, City Archives, 15030, 1744 : *Handvesten, privilegiën, keuren en ordonnantiën van Amsterdam, 1523 – 1535*. Buyck, *Nieuwe maren*. See this edition for a detailed overview of the surviving manuscripts.

procedures implemented by the Council of Troubles. Cornelis and Philip recorded a total of 444 executions. The chronicle contains several very interesting personal details. Another brother, Jan van Campene, was active in the Reformed community, and banned by Alba in 1568. Philip tried to intervene on his behalf but to no avail. The autograph of the first part of the diary, covering the years from 1566 until 1572, is kept in the University Library of Ghent, and was published in 1870 by Frans de Potter. The second part of the diary of the period 1572-1585 only survives as a Latin translation. A Dutch translation of this Latin translation (which is also kept in the University Library in Ghent) was made by J.P. van Male and has been published in 1839 by Ph. Blommaert, who thought the Latin version the original.¹³⁹⁰

Cornelis Claes was identified by editor J. Pot as the author of the account of the siege of Zierikzee, which took place in 1575-1576. His name is not mentioned in the manuscript itself. Cornelis Claes was mayor of Zierikzee during the siege. His account of the siege is interesting, as it includes several personal details about his relationship with the leaders of the *geuzen* army in the city. During the siege, he and the other magistrates get attacked by the rebel leader Ruijghaver, and Cornelis Claesz is severely wounded. The manuscript was kept in the State Archives in Middelburg but has probably been lost. The chronicle was published in 1929 by J. Pot.¹³⁹¹

Albertus Cuperinus (ca. 1500-ca. 1560) was a chronicler from 's-Hertogenbosch, who together with Willem Molius (ca. 1500-ca.1565) and Peter van Os (ca. 1469-1542) established a chronicling tradition in this city. All three were members of the clergy. His chronicle started in the year 1184 and is contemporary from ca. 1533 onwards. It runs until 1558. Various manuscripts of the chronicle circulated in 's-Hertogenbosch. One of the copies was continued by an anonymous contemporary until 1579. Cuperinus and the anonymous other hand were mostly interested in executions related to the rise of heresy. There are 63 executions recorded in this chronicle. The chronicle and its continuation were edited and published in 1846 by C.R. Hermans, together with several other chronicles relating to the history of 's Hertogenbosch.¹³⁹²

Jacobus Epinooy or Pladijs (ca. 1525-after 1580) was a *landsman* (agrarian) from Elverdinge, a small village in West-Flanders, close to Ypres, and is one of the very few writers who lived in a rural setting. He was *buitenpoorter* of Ypres, meaning that he had the juridical status of a burgher but resided outside the city walls. His chronicle covered the years between 1555-1579. The West-Flemish countryside was hit exceptionally hard by the

¹³⁹⁰ Ghent, University Library Ghent, BIB.G.000028: *Dagboek Betreffende De Geschiedenis Van Gent, 1566-1571*; Ghent, University Library Ghent, BHSL.HS.0103: *Dachregister van geschiedenissen van de stede van Ghendt, 1566-1585*; *Dagboek van Cornelis en Philip van Campene*; Kempenare, *Vlaemsche Kronijk of Dagregister*; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635*.

¹³⁹¹ Pot, "Verhaal van het beleg voor Zierikzee (1575-1576) door Cornelis Claes."

¹³⁹² "Tweede vervolg op de kronyk van Aelbertus Cuperinus" <https://www.bossche-encyclopedie.nl/personen/cuperinus,%20albertus.htm>. See for an overview of the surviving manuscripts the edition of Hermans.

disturbances and violence caused by soldiers and rebels alike. In the winter of 1566/67, Pladijs' land and house were ravaged and pillaged by soldiers under command of the Count of Egmont. Pladijs filed a complaint with the Ypres magistrate to recover his possessions, in which he succeeded. In a report of the Ypres magistrate for the Count of Egmont about the conduct of his soldiers, which was published by archivist Diegerick in 1876, Pladijs was described as a good catholic, not suspected of any insubordination. Pladijs also recorded the terror instigated by the *bosgeuzen* in the winter of 1568-69, as well as the disturbances caused by the freebooters at the end of the 1570s. He recorded 24 executions. His chronicle ends with the remark that he himself was captured and ransomed in the fall of 1579. The location of the original manuscript is unknown. The chronicle was edited and published in 1863 by the *Annales de la société d'émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre*.¹³⁹³

Pierre Gaiffier (1543-1595) held several legal and government posts in Namur: He was collector of the *balliages* Samson, Beaufort, and Wasseige and was a legal practitioner in the Council of Namur. He was member of the aldermen's bench of Namur several times from 1577 onward, and mayor from 1580. He recorded 21 executions in total. He recorded many summonses by the Council of Troubles, but his chronicle ended before the executions under the regime of Alba started. The original manuscript is kept in the State Archives of Belgium in Namur. The chronicle was edited and published by Alphonse Verheyden in 1954. The editor left many parts out, mostly copies of documents, placards, and published letters.¹³⁹⁴

The chronicles of **Joachim Goyemans and Jean Laloux**, two inhabitants of Valenciennes living in the sixteenth century, were copied by Pierre-Joseph le Boucq in 1699. The chronicle covers the years 1562-1579. Apart from their names, nothing is known regarding the original authors. *Écuyer* Pierre Joseph Le Boucq (1663-1705) was a historian from Valenciennes. He was related to Simon le Boucq (1591-1657), another important chronicler from the same city. Even though the chronicle only exists as a late seventeenth-century copy, it is valuable, as the chronicle lists in detail the many executions taking place in Valenciennes in the aftermath of the troubles. In total, 163 executions are recorded. Le Boucq's copy of the chronicles was published in 1864 by A.-P.-L. de Robaulx de Soumoy.¹³⁹⁵

¹³⁹³ Pladijs, "Chronike van Elverdinghe"; Isidore-Lucien-Antoine Diegerick, *Mémoire justificatif du magistrat d'Ypres sur les troubles religieux, arrivés en cette ville, en 1566 et 1567*, 4 vols. 3 (Bruges: Impr. de A. de Zuttere, 1876), 260–64. See also an annotated transcript of the edition: *Chronike van Elverdinghe, 1555-1579 door Jacobus Epinoy, alias Jacob Pladijs, landman*, ed. N. Boussemaere (VVF-Afdeling Ieper-Diksmuide, 2011).

¹³⁹⁴ Namur, State Archives, Fonds de Gaiffier-de Lévisgignen, 399 : Relations, placards, ordonnances, lettres, etc. concernant les troubles aux Pays-Bas, notamment dans la région Lille-Valenciennes.,1565-1567. Verheyden, "La chronique de Pierre Gaiffier (1566-1568)."

¹³⁹⁵ *Histoire des troubles*.

Godevaert van Haecht (1546-1599) authored a well-known chronicle of Antwerp during the troubles which has been used extensively by historians of the Reformation. His chronicle covers the years between 1564 and 1574. Van Haecht offers a unique perspective on the erupting crisis in the Low Countries. As a Lutheran, he was critical towards both the heresy prosecution by the central government, and the emerging radical militant Calvinism. For example, Van Haecht greatly condemned the Iconoclast Fury of 1566. Moreover, Van Haecht did not belong to the political elite and did not hold any administrative positions. He was registered as a painter in the Saint Luke Guild, but his primary activity was the making of wooden panels used by artists. He started his chronicle at the age of eighteen. In 1570-1571, Van Haecht stayed in Paris; his brother took over chronicling in this period. He was primarily interested in news and often reflected on the trustworthiness of information. He had a lot of attention for executions—especially those for heresy. In total, Van Haecht recorded 488 executions. The original manuscript is kept in the Antwerp City Archives. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, this manuscript was relatively unknown, but this changed with the edition by Robrecht van Roosbroeck, published in 1929-1930.¹³⁹⁶

Augustijn van Hernighem (ca. 1540-after 1617) was a Catholic burgher from Ypres. He held several public offices, such as bread- and corn auditor, and corporal in the civic militia. Van Hernighem was part of the rhetorician chamber and included several poems in his chronicle. Van Hernighem started his chronicle with the explicit goal of recording executions, which he counted in the margins. He kept chronicling over a period of 33 years, and his work consists of seven separate books. In total, he recorded 287 executions, often very detailed. Books 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7 are kept in the State Archives in Kortrijk; Book 4 is kept in the University Library of Ghent. Book 3 is lost. Parts of this chronicle have been edited and published. In 1864-1867, F. Van de Putte published the second, fifth, and sixth book, but the transcription contains many errors. In 1978, Alphons Verheyden published the first book. For this study, I have consulted the (digitized) autographs and Verheyden's edition.¹³⁹⁷

Pieter Joossen (?-1626) was a carpenter from Middelburg. In his chronicle, he recorded events taking place between 1557 until ca. 1620. He wrote retrospectively about heresy executions taking place in and around Middelburg during his childhood years, which made a huge impression on him. His account is also informative for the *geuzen* invasion into Zeeland in 1572. He signed his chronicle as Pieter Joossen *Altijd Recht Hout*, which refers to both his love for truth and his occupation. His chronicle was published in 1909

¹³⁹⁶ Antwerp, Felixarchief, PK#106: Kronijk van Godevaert van Haecht, 1565-1574. Haecht, *Kroniek over de troebelen*; Prims, "De Kronijken van Antwerpen."

¹³⁹⁷ Kortrijk, State Archives, Fonds Goethals-Vercruyssen, ms. 296: *Beschrijving der stad Yper*, part 1, 2, 5-7; University Library Ghent, BHSL.HS.3700: *Kroniek van Vlaanderen en Brabant*; Augustijn van Hernighem, *Nederlandsche historie 1572-1591*, 2 vols. 1 (Gent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1864); Hernighem, *Eerste bouck*; Victor Fris, "La Chronique d'Ypres d'Augustin van Hernighem (octobre 1562-juillet 1595)," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire. Académie royale de Belgique* 85, no. 1 (1921). Digitized manuscripts available on <https://kronieken.transkribus.eu/document/352387>

by Robert Fruin. The editor does not mention the location of the original manuscript and I have not been able to locate it. The Middelburg city archives were severely damaged during the Second World War, so it is most likely lost.¹³⁹⁸

Antoine De Lusy (1478-1536) was originally from Burgundy, France, where he made a career in the service of Phillibert de Veyre, a *courtier* at the court of the Dukes of Burgundy. After De Veyre's death, De Lusy settled in Mons, where he married into the local elite and started his journal, which covers the period from 1505 until 1536. De Lusy's diary was international in scope. He mainly wrote about war, international politics, and royal marriages. Yet, De Lusy had a special—and very local—fascination for capital punishment. He added a special appendix to his chronicle where he listed all the justice days taking place in Mons chronologically, entitled *justice cryminelle*. Here, he recorded 150 public executions. De Lusy described the executions in a matter-of-fact style. He was mostly interested in the crimes, the profile of the criminal, and on whose authority punishment was carried out. The original manuscript is kept in the State Archives of Belgium in Mons. De Lusy's diary was edited and published by A. Louant in 1969.¹³⁹⁹

Maria Luyten was a sister in the Maria-Wijngaard convent in Weert. She was probably from Weert, as her father lived there and passed away during the plague epidemic of 1568. Although the chronicle starts with events as far back as 1442, it is contemporary from 1542 onwards. Luyten's chronicle is a very valuable source for the events during Iconoclasm in Weert and the emergence of Protestantism in the area. Luyten's interest in executions was limited to the executions of the members of the high nobility in Brussels in 1568 on the orders of the Council of Troubles. She was mainly interested in the aftermath of the execution of the Count of Horne, as the main residence of the Horne family was close to Weert. Despite him being sentenced for sedition, Luyten remains a loyal supporter of the "good and virtuous" count. Luyten's chronicle, of which only copies survive, was continued by other authors. One of these copies was edited and published in 1875 by C. Creemers and J. Habets.¹⁴⁰⁰

Wouter Jacobsz Maes (ca. 1521-1595) was prior of the Emmaüs convent in Stein and the Regulierenklooster in Gouda. Originally from Gouda, he escaped to Amsterdam after rebels took over the city in 1572. Here, he kept a diary covering the years 1572-1579. His diary is extremely detailed and used extensively by historians. He is less interested in executions than in the violence and injustices done unto his fellow clergy members under the rebel regimes in Holland. He had an extensive network among the clergy in many

¹³⁹⁸ *De kroniek van Pieter Joossen Altijt recht Hou.*

¹³⁹⁹ Mons, State Archives, Collection des manuscrits, AEM.16.015 – 357 : Antoine de Lusy, *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Mons*, sixteenth century. Lusy, *Le Journal*.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Luyten, *Kronijk uit het klooster Maria-Wijngaard*; Ruud van den Berg, 'Nederweert en Weert aan de vooravond van de tachtigjarige oorlog. Een analyse van de kroniek van Maria Luyten uit Weert, 1442-1570', in: Alfons Bruekers red., *Nederweerts verleden, doorsneden land* (Nederweert 1989) 75-108." Luyten, Maria, in: *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. URL: <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Luyten> [13/01/2014]

towns in the Low Countries and was very well informed about recent developments. After the Alteration of Amsterdam in 1578, Maes left the city and moved via Leiden to Montfoort. At the end of his life, he moved back to Gouda. The autograph of the diary is kept in the University Library of Nijmegen. The diary was edited and published in 1959-60 by Isabella van Eeghen.¹⁴⁰¹

Mahieu Manteau (ca. 1542-after 1598) was a Catholic inhabitant of Lille. Not much is known regarding his life. In 1598 he was active in organizing the celebrations for the peace treaty between Philip II and Henry IV of France. In one of the plays or *tableaux vivants* staged throughout the city, Manteau played the allegorical role of the Duc du Lac. Manteau might have been a member of the rhetorician's chamber. Manteau recorded 197 executions. His focus was mainly local, but he recorded in detail the executions in Valenciennes in 1568. His chronicle only survived as a seventeenth-century copy, made by fellow chronicler Pierre Ignace Chavatte (ca. 1633-ca. 1693), who was a *sayetteur* (silk producer) from Lille. According to Chavatte's biographer Alain Lottin, Manteau might have been a silk producer as well. Chavatte's copy of Manteau's chronicle is kept in the Bibliothèque National de France. The chronicle was edited and published in 1911 by Eugène Debièvre.¹⁴⁰²

Christiaan Munters (1504-1555) was a chaplain from Kuringen, a village close to Hasselt, situated in the prince-bishopric of Liège. He started chronicling at the age of 25 and his text covers the years from 1529 until 1545. The Munters family was part of the Kuringen elite and stood on good terms with the Prince-Bishop. His brother Marsilius was bailiff of Kuringen, and his other brother Joris was as a priest responsible for comforting many condemned patients at the stake. Christiaan was a sharp observer of the rise of the Reformation and had a fascination for heresy executions, which were a novelty in his lifetime. He recorded a total of ca. 168 executions, among which 92 for heresy. The original autograph is kept in the Royal Library of Belgium. The diary was edited and published in 1971 by J. Grauwels.¹⁴⁰³

Jan de Pottre (1525-1601) was a merchant from Brussels and became a member of the merchant guild in 1564. His chronicle, which covers the years 1549-1602, mainly focuses on the prices of grain and other merchandise, and on events influencing those prices. De Pottre was also *caritaatmeester* (poor relief master) in the Saint Nicholas church in Brussels. He was a convinced Catholic and loyal to the government. He blames the troubles—including the high taxes and the damage done by the soldiers—on the heretics

¹⁴⁰¹ Nijmegen, University Library, Hs 228: *Diary of Brother Wouter Jacobsz Dagboek van broeder Wouter Jacobsz*

¹⁴⁰² Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 24089 : *Chroniques générales des choses mémorables. Copie du livre Mahieu Manteau, augmenté de plusieurs choses de par moi Pierre-Ignace Chavatte., after 1600. "Chronique de Mahieu Manteau"; Alain Lottin, Chavatte, ouvrier lillois. Un contemporain de Louis XIV, Science (Paris: Flammarion, 1979).*

¹⁴⁰³ Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. II 1593: Chrétien Munters, *Account of the events of 1530 to 1545. Munters, Dagboek van Gebeurtenissen.*

and iconoclasts. In 1576, he became city councilor. In the years between 1575 and 1585, when the city was under Calvinist rule, he organized clandestine Catholic services in his home, led by his son Jan, who was a priest. De Pottre's interest in executions is quite selective. He seems to have been more interested in other collective public events, like processions and joyous entries. In total, De Pottre describes 60 executions. The autograph manuscript is kept in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels. It was published in 1861 by Jules de Saint-Genois, Belgian archivist, historian and librarian of the university library of Ghent.¹⁴⁰⁴

Nicolas Soldoyer (ca. 1524–after 1570) was a beer porter from Tournai. He kept a chronicle for the period 1565-1570. He was a militant Catholic and was very negative regarding heretics and Protestants, whom he called “the devil’s minions.” Soldoyer was extremely interested in capital punishment. From 1568 onwards, his diary reads like a record book of every execution carried out in Tournai. In total, he listed 187 executions, and often records the last dying words of the person at stake. A manuscript copy containing notes by Soldoyer’s son until 1584 is kept in the State Archives of Belgium in Kortrijk. The chronicle was edited and published in 1859-60 by archivist Alexandre Pinchart, in one volume together with the chronicle of Pasquier de le Barre.¹⁴⁰⁵

Arent Toe Boecop was part of the ruling elite of Kampen and came from an influential Guelders family. He was mayor of Kampen during the takeover of Willem van den Bergh in 1572. His chronicle, which only survives as a seventeenth century copy, runs from ca. 1555 until 1573, but contains entries on other years as well. Toe Boecop did not write extensively about executions, but his account is interesting as he commented on what he perceived as juridical transgression under the rebel regime installed by Van den Bergh. The seventeenth-century copy of the account was published in 1860 by J. de Lange.¹⁴⁰⁶

Marcus van Vaernewijck (1516-1569) wrote one of the most detailed and well-known chronicles consulted here. Vaernewijck was a rhetorician, historian, and magistrate from Ghent. Reportedly, he might have been active as a wine merchant. The Vaernewijck family belonged to the ruling elite of Ghent. Marcus himself held various positions within the city’s administration. In 1563 he was responsible for the poor relief in his city, in 1564 he was sitting on the alderman’s bench, and in 1566 he was officer in the night watch and auditor of the city’s corn reserves. Moreover, in the same year, he was tasked with reporting on religious tensions in his hometown. Still, he most likely started his chronicle for his own personal use, and there are no indications that it was meant as an official report. Given his occupations, however, it is not surprising that Vaernewijck had a sharp eye for detail regarding (heresy) executions and their audiences. He recorded a total of 271 executions. Although Vaernewijck was part of the regime, he was also critical. Like many

¹⁴⁰⁴ Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. 15885: Jan de Pottre, *Account of the events in the Low Countries [1549-1602. Dagboek van Jan de Pottre.*

¹⁴⁰⁵ Kortrijk, State Archives, Fonds Goethals-Vercruysse, 293 : Nicolas le Soldoyer, *Troubles de Tournai. Mémoires de Pasquier de le Barre et de Nicolas Soldoyer*, Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635*, 205.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Uittreksels uit het dagboek van Arent toe Boecop.*

other chroniclers, he was outraged by the behavior of the Army of Flanders. His chronicle runs from 1566 until November 1568, when he fell sick with the plague. He passed away shortly after. The autograph of Vaernewijck's diary is kept in the University Library of Ghent. It was published in 1873 by F. Vanderhaeghen.¹⁴⁰⁷

Willem Janszoon Verwer (1533-before 1595) belonged to a prominent Haarlem family. He was active as a lawyer at the Haarlem court and was regent in several charitable institutions. Later, he became a brewer. He started his chronicle (which he himself termed "memory book") in 1572, after the *watergeuzen* took over Den Briel and Haarlem turned rebellious. Verwer was a Catholic and loyal to the Habsburg government and as such very worried by the rebels' takeover. The account gives detailed information about the siege of Haarlem in 1572-73 and the internal tensions in the city. 45 executions are recorded in the chronicle (this excludes the many military executions taking place after the Army of Flanders besieged and reconquered the city). Verwer himself never held a post in the town government, but his father, Jan Verwer, was alderman and mayor several times. He was imprisoned during the siege in 1572. The account runs until 1581, by which time Haarlem had become a Reformed city. In 1579, his diary was used as evidence in a legal case, when Verwer was summoned as a witness in a conflict regarding the testament of one of the rebel soldiers who defended the city against the Army of Flanders in 1573. The original manuscript is kept in the archive of the Dutch Province of the Dominican Order, managed by *Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven*. Verwer's memory book was edited and published in 1973 by J. Temminck.¹⁴⁰⁸

Jan van den Vivere was only one of the authors of the *Chronijcke van Ghendt*. The other authors are unknown. Based on the chronicle we know that Van den Vivere was an eyewitness during the Ghent rebellion of 1539-1540. The information regarding the Iconoclast Fury and its aftermath (1566-1567) and the Ghent Republic (1578-1584) were probably recorded by other contemporary eyewitnesses. Van den Vivere most likely held a post in the government. Although Van den Vivere (and the other authors) were interested in executions—in total 166 executions are recorded in the chronicle—it is remarkable that almost no executions were recorded for the year 1568, the absolute highpoint of execution chronicling. Van den Vivere's text was related to but does not correspond completely with the collection of the Ghent *memorieboeken* (memory books). The memory books were essentially registers of the names of elected aldermen, which were kept from the late medieval period onwards as a form of institutional record keeping.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ghent, University Library of Ghent, BHSL.HS.2469: *Van die beroerlicke tijden in die Nederlanden / Marcus Van Vaernewijck*. Vaernewyck, *Van die beroerlicke tijden*; Koen Lamont, *Het wereldbeeld van een zestiende-eeuwse Gentenaar Marcus van Vaernewijck: Een ideeën- en mentaliteitshistorische studie op basis van zijn kroniek, Van die Beroerlicke Tijden*, Verhandelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent XXX (Ghent, 2005).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Land van Cuijk, Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven, AR-P012, 3714: *Memoriaalboek van Willem Jansz Verwer uit Haarlem, 1572-1581*. Verwer Janszoon, *Memoriaelbouck*; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635*, 205-6.

From the fifteenth century onwards, these memory books were increasingly copied by private individuals, and from the sixteenth century, they contained more and more entries on contemporary events. Like the memory books, De Vivere's chronicle starts in 1301. There are two versions of the *Chronijcke van Ghendt*: one runs until 1578, which is kept in the University Library of Ghent, another one until 1632, which is part of the archive of the family Villain XIII, kept in the Wissekerke Castle in Kruikebeke. The latter was partly edited and published by F. De Potter in 1885. Unfortunately, the editor left out significant parts.¹⁴⁰⁹

Josse de Weert was a chronicler from Antwerp. There is some confusion about the identity of this author. The author wrote two chronicles, under the name N. [Nicolas] de Weert: the first one runs from 1097 to 1565, and the second one from 1566 to 1595. Charles Piot identified the author as Josse or Jodocus de Weert (ca. 1560-1625), who was pensionary of Antwerp between 1595 and 1624, and the publisher of several neo-Latin and Dutch collections of poems. However, it is more likely that the author of these chronicles was actually his father, also called Josse. Although the chronicle covers a large period, the focus is on the 1580s, when autobiographical details become more apparent from the text. De Weert occupied several administrative positions. In 1582, he became substitute *drossaard* in the jurisdiction of Borgerhout, Kiel, and Wilrijk, all in close proximity of Antwerp and comments several times on his activities. From his writings, he seems to be a political and religious moderate. Although Catholic, he supported William of Orange and was devastated by the death of his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon in 1582. He was quite interested in executions and describes 158 in his chronicle. The original manuscript is lost. In the late eighteenth century, the Brussels historian Georges-Joseph Gérard copied both parts of the sixteenth century original: both copies are kept in the Royal Library of the Netherlands in The Hague. In 1879, Charles Piot published the first part of De Weert's chronicle, based on Gérard's copy.¹⁴¹⁰

¹⁴⁰⁹ Vivere, *Chronijcke van Ghendt*; Jozef Scheerder, "La "Chronycke van Ghendt" de J. van de Vivere et autres annotateurs," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 35, no. 3 (1939); Jozef Scheerder, "De handschriften van Gentse kronieken en memorieboeken bewaard in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent," *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 30, no. 1 (1976); Bruaene, *De Gentse memorieboeken als spiegel van stedelijk historisch bewustzijn (14de tot 16de eeuw)*. A first attempt at publishing the memory books was made by P.C. Van der Meersch in 1852-1861.

¹⁴¹⁰ The Hague, Royal Library, 71 C 13: Judocus de Weert, *Chronycke van Nederland*, besonderlyck der stad Antwerpen; 71 C 36: Judocus de Weert, *Chronycke oft journal van het gene in de Nederlanden en namentlyck tot Antwerpen is voorgefallen ten tyde der troubelen*. Weert, "Chronycke van Nederland"; Floris Prims, "De Middeleeuwse Kronijken van Antwerpen," *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1936. Stijn Bussels, *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power. The triumphal Entry of Prince Philip of Spain Into Antwerp*, Ludus 11 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012). Several remarks in the chronicle itself point toward the author being the father of Jodocus de Weert (ca. 1560-1625). In 1585, the author writes that his son,

Willem Weydts (1547–after 1618) was a tailor from Bruges. He was—according to his own chronicle—born in 1547 and married Margaryte van Noppe in 1573. They had seven children. Weydts started his chronicle during the Calvinist Republic and covered the years from 1571 until 1584. As a Catholic, he was outraged about the Calvinist takeover in his city. At the same time, he regarded the Spanish soldiers as his enemies. He recorded in third person his own confrontations with the Calvinist regime. In 1582, he was—according to his chronicle—falsely accused of sedition and imprisoned. His interest in executions was selective—he described, for example, the accusations and burnings of monks in Bruges for sodomy in 1578 and the execution of the attempted murderer of William of Orange in 1582. In total, he recorded eleven executions. Apart from the account of the Calvinist regime in Ghent, the manuscript contains several poems, and an account of his travels to Spain as a young man, where he stayed from 1564 until 1571. Back in Bruges, he started recording events in his hometown. The original manuscript is kept in the College of the Josephites in Melle. The part related to the Calvinist takeover was published by Emile Varenbergh in 1869. Roland Willemyns published Weydt's poems in 1969 and the account of his travels to Spain in 1970.¹⁴¹¹

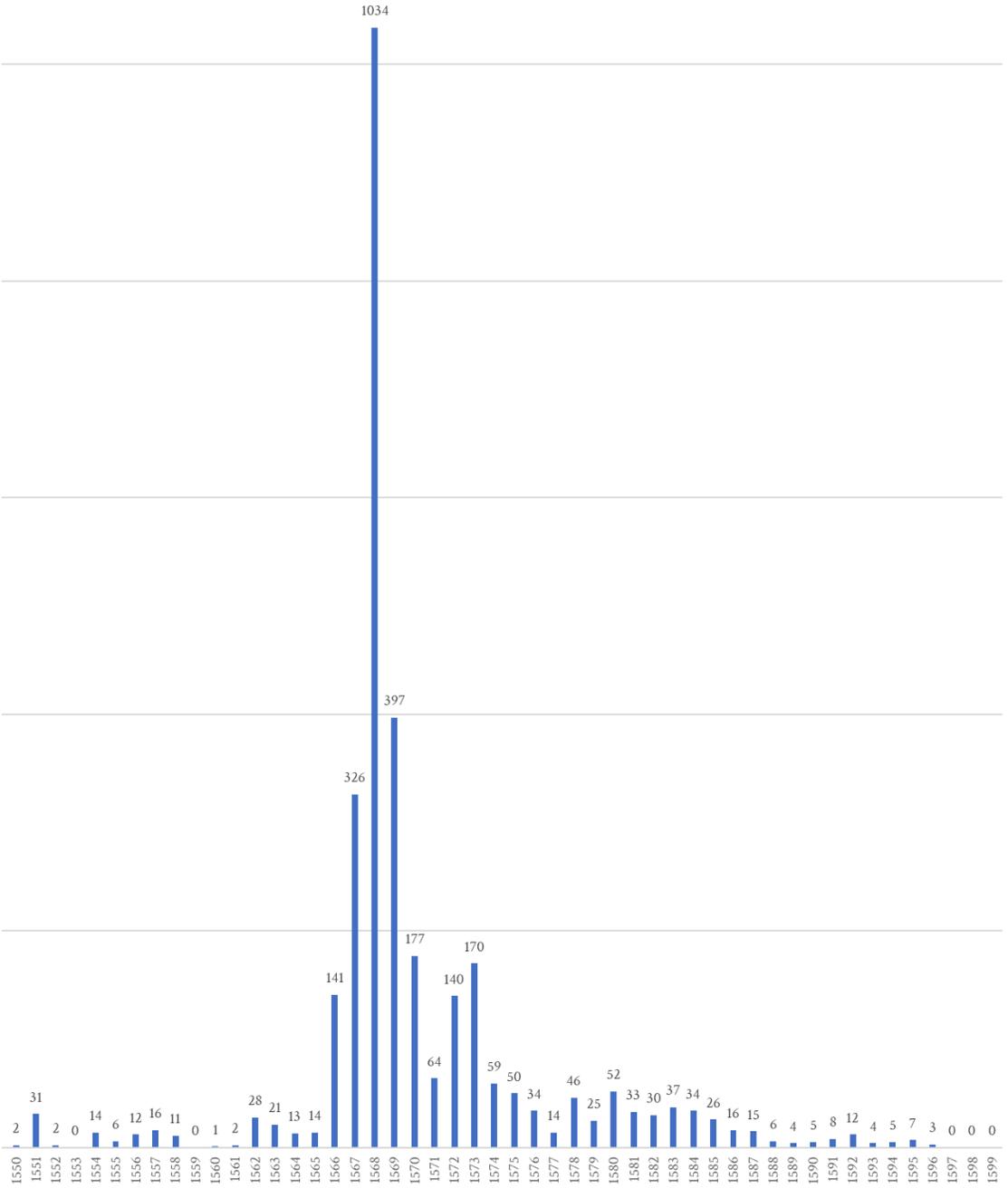
Jodocus de Weert, leaves to Cologne for his studies – this refers to De Weert the younger, the later pensionary. Moreover, Piot thought De Weert was married twice – first to Catherine Wyse, and later to Catherine Ayala – but it is more likely that De Weert the elder was married to Catherine Wyse, and Catherine Ayala was the wife of De Weert the younger. In the chronicle we learn that Catherine Wyse's father dies in already in 1543, which means she must have been born before that year and was more than 20 years Josse de Weert the pensionary's senior. It is more likely that she was in fact his mother.

¹⁴¹¹ Weydts, *Chronique Flamande 1571-1584*; Roland Willemyns, "Een teruggevonden handschrift van de 16de-eeuwse Brugse kroniekschrijver en 'Poëet' Willem Weydts," *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde (nieuwe reeks)*, 1969; Roland Willemyns, "De Spanje-reis (1564-1571) uit het 16de-eeuwse Weydts-hs," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire. Académie royale de Belgique* 136, no. 1 (1970).

Appendix 2 *The Execution Recording Pattern*

Recording Pattern of Executions in Chronicles





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Brief et veritable discours, de la mort d'aucuns vaillants et glorieux martyrs, lesquels on à fait mourir en Angleterre, pour la foy & religion catholicque, l'an passé de 1600. et semblablement aussi en ceste presente année de M.D.C.I. Ensemble une responce à

- la fin, sur quelques livrets calomnieux & imprimeries publiées par les Jeux, contre nostre debonnaire Seigneur, l'archiduc Albert, touchant une anabaptiste, n'agueres justiciée à Bruxelles.* chez Hyerosme Verdussen, sur le Cimitiere nostre Dame, aux dix Commandemens, 1601.
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