

# Hendrik van Cuyck (Henricus Cuyckius)

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## General context

### *Culemborg*

Culemborg, the town where Hendrik van Cuyck was born, was situated in the Seventeen Provinces, ruled by Emperor Charles V. The Seventeen Provinces originated from the Burgundian Netherlands. Mary, the last Duchess of Burgundy, married Maximilian I of Habsburg, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1477, and the provinces were acquired by the House of Habsburg on her death in 1482. Their grandson, Charles V of Habsburg, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Spain, eventually united all seventeen provinces under his rule, the last one being the Duchy of Guelders, in 1543. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1549 determined that the Provinces should remain united in the future and inherited by the same monarch. Therefore, Charles V introduced the title of 'Heer der Nederlanden' (Lord of the Netherlands). Only he and his son could ever use this title. After Charles V's abdication in 1555, his realms were divided between his son, Philip II of Habsburg, King of Spain, and his brother, Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor. The Seventeen Provinces went to Philip II.

### *Culemborg and Lady Elisabeth*

Elisabeth of Culemborg (1475-1555) was the daughter and rich heiress of Jaspar, lord of Culemborg and Hoogstraten. Her mother was Johanna, daughter of Anthony "the great bastard of Burgundy", who was a natural son of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (Anthony was legitimized in 1485). Elisabeth became lady-in-waiting to her niece Margaret of Austria.

Elisabeth first married John of Luxemburg in 1501. The marriage remained childless. After his death in 1508, she married Anthoine de Lalaing, who served in the households of Philip the Handsome and Charles V and in 1522 became stadtholder (local ruler, representing the king) of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland. After his death in 1541 his widow Elisabeth spent most of her time in Culemborg.

When the Jesuit priest Arnoldus Hezius arrives in Culemborg in the summer of 1555 he is confronted with a dramatic situation. On Sundays most of the men were getting drunk instead of going to church. The few people who attended mass were chatting the whole time and not paying attention to what the priest was saying. Except for a few women no one was doing penance for their sins. Divorce and concubinage were of daily occurrence. Eager to change this situation, Hezius started preaching, every Sunday, in the church and in the castle. He preached in a most captivating way and very soon more and more people came to listen. Hezius had to hear confession almost every day and the

inhabitants of Culemborg developed a devotion for the Holy Sacrament. Lady Elisabeth was content with these developments, being a very pious woman herself. In 1532 she and her late husband had already founded a guesthouse for elderly people and a house for the poor. After the arrival of Hezius she had the palatial chapel redecorated in a most splendid way. She also decided to build a new chapel in honour of the Holy Sacrament.

Elisabeth died in her castle in Culemborg on 9 December 1555, in the afternoon, between 4 and 5, sitting in a chair. Until her last breath, her mind stayed clear and she could make arrangements. After her death, a servant was sent to Utrecht to fetch lead for the coffin, but he could not cross the Lek because of the ice, so he had to return home. Her body was transferred to Hoogstraten to be placed in a grave in the church, next to her husband Antoine de Lalaing. The funeral took place in Hoogstraten, but memorial services were also held in Culemborg. There and in the surrounding villages, the bells rang for one hour every day during thirty days. Around 15 January 1556 a small heart shaped chest was brought in a solemn procession to the church of Saint-Barbara in Culemborg. 84 candles were burning in the church and money was given to friends, family, brides to be, poor people, nuns, students, etc.

Elisabeth left a lot of money for the poor and mainly for the poor children. Two orphanages were founded: one in Culemborg (for 48 children) and one in Hoogstraten (for 12 children). Jan Deys made a beautiful altarpiece for the chapel of the orphanage in Culemborg, depicting Elisabeth and her two husbands.

In 1556, according to Lady Elisabeth's last wishes, the building of the new chapel in the church started. She had asked Hezius and her *rentmeester* Jan van Cuyck – Hendrik's father – to promise her that they would see to it that the chapel would be built. And so it happened. On the north side of St. Barbarachurch, next to the choir, on the spot where the old sacristy used to stand, the chapel for the adoration of the Holy Sacrament arose. The chapel was finished in December 1556 and is inaugurated a few months later by the assistant bishop of Utrecht Nicolaas van Nieuwlandt. The total building cost was 650 guilder (*gulden*). The ornaments costed 100 guilder. Jan Deys was asked to paint an altarpiece. For this he received 69 guilder. Jan van Cuyck took care of the accounts and payments regarding Elisabeth's last will and inheritance.

### *Protestant sympathies in Culemborg*

Count Floris of Pallant, a grandson of Jan van Pallandt and Anna van Culemborg (sister of Elisabeth), became the new count of Culemborg. He was only 18 years old and preferred to stay in Brussels instead of Culemborg (he had a beautiful palace in Brussels, called 'The House of Culemborg'). Jan van Cuyck continued his duties as receiver general of the new count. During the first ten years or so little changed in the small town. But it was clear that more and more people became interested in the religious reform movement. Floris was clear on this point: he was a loyal catholic and asked the same from the Culemborg people. Forbidden books were confiscated and burned. Heretics were arrested and trialed. But Floris was not very intelligent and extremely mouldable

by people in his entourage: his friend Henry of Brederode, his wife Elisabeth von Manderscheid (a Lutheran lady he married in 1564) and the Calvinist mayor of Culemborg Bauwen Andriaensz. It is likely that the many disputes and fights among the catholic canons of St. Barbara also convinced Floris to learn more about the Protestant Reformation.

King Philip II was very much opposed to the Protestant teachings of Martin Luther, John Calvin and the Anabaptists and to suppress Protestantism he had promulgated extraordinary ordinances, called placards. Because of their severity these placards caused growing opposition among the population, both Catholic and Protestant. The placards were seen as breaches of the constitutional privileges of the local authorities and the civil liberties of the people. For that reason local authorities regularly protested against the placards and the way they were implemented in 1564 and later years. That these protests were systematically ignored and the placards stringently enforced only helped intensify the opposition. This unrest motivated the Brussels government to send Lamoral, Count of Egmont, to Spain to plead for relaxation of the ordinances. Philip replied negatively and this led to a gathering of some members of the lesser nobility in Brussels at the house of Floris, Count of Culemborg, in December 1565. There, they drew up a petition containing a protest against the enforcement of the placards. The draft was widely circulated and gathered a large number of signatures. On 5 April 1566, a long procession of 300 signers of the petition walked through Brussels to the palace of the Regent Margaret of Parma. There Brederode read the petition aloud to the Regent, who became very agitated. In the petition the nobles, who presented themselves as loyal subjects of the king, asked to suspend the Inquisition and the enforcement of the placards against heresy. After the Regent had promised to forward the petition to the king, the petitioners returned home.

A few weeks later Floris arrived in Culemborg and immediately the Protestants asked permission to celebrate their religious services in one of the chapels or churches. And the catholics presented a petition asking him to maintain the placards and severely forbid any Protestant service. The conflict between Protestants and Catholics became acute and Floris had to come up with a solution. He renovated a part of the castle and turned it into a large room with benches, chairs and a pulpit. Protestants from far away came to Culemborg to listen to the sermons of the Protestant preachers. Culemborg became an important centre of Protestantism with preachers developing activities in the surrounding region and citizens organising or participating in the iconoclastic fury in Asperen, Vianen and Utrecht. By 1 September 1566 Floris gave the Protestants permission to use the chapel of the Guesthouse for their services. Two weeks later the iconoclasts started their destructive work in the churches and chapels of Culemborg and the neighbouring villages. Count Floris van Pallant joined them and actively participated in the fury. The churches were then redecorated with white walls and all images of saints were taken away, but the Catholics were allowed to use them for their religious services; the Protestants kept on using the Guesthouse chapel.

The situation was chaotic, but the king made preparations to suppress the Protestant rebellion. Floris left Culemborg and travelled around: Witthem, Werth, Wertherbruch, Gennep, Aachen, Cologne (where his son was born). He stayed in touch with his hometown and administered the town from abroad.

On 22 August 1567 the 3rd Duke of Alba arrived in Brussels at the head of a powerful army and replaced Margaret of Parma as head of the civil jurisdiction. He decided that the local nobility was in open rebellion against the king and supported the new Protestant teachings. A few days later, on 5 September 1567, Alba established the "Council of Troubles", popularly known in the Netherlands as the "Court of Blood," to prosecute those responsible for the riots of 1566.

On 24 January 1568 Floris and other nobles were accused of rebellion against the king. Two men were sent to Culemborg to confiscate the count's possessions and start an investigation; eventually Floris was banned. Several other citizens were also brought to trial and punished. The Count was replaced by Robert van Lynden and later by Don Alonso Lopez de Gallo. A Spanish garrison was stationed in the city. They left in November 1576, after the signing of the Pacification of Ghent. This was a declaration by which the northern and southern provinces of the Low Countries put aside their religious difference and united in revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs. It called for the expulsion of Spanish troops from the Low Countries, the restoration of provincial and local prerogatives, and an end to the persecution of Calvinists or anyone else for religious reasons. The religious clauses of the pacification implicitly recognized the right of the largely Calvinist provinces of Holland and Zeeland—the centres of the military resistance—to order their own house as long as they did not attempt to advance their faith beyond their borders. The Catholic (i.e. southern) provinces, on the other hand, were to leave their Protestants unmolested.

Count Floris returned to Culemborg. He arrived on 23 January 1577. The Spanish soldiers left the town in February. Nobody knew what would happen. At first Floris seemed to respect the Pacification and allowed the Catholics to hold services and processions. The citizens were happy and thus all rejoiced when Floris's son was born on 28 May. Floris, however, invited Calvinist preachers to his castle and organized Protestant services. Anyone from Culemborg who wanted to attend these services was very welcome. Slowly but steadily the situation started to change. The Protestants who had been forced to leave the town in the 1560's returned home and reclaimed their confiscated possessions. Some of these men entered the city council.

By the beginning of 1578 Floris forbade Catholic processions and demanded that every citizen would swear an oath against Don Juan, the Catholic governor of the Low Countries. At that time a lot of Catholics probably left town. In April 1578 the count's household was forced to attend the Protestant service in the castle on Sundays. This means that the citizens were free to choose, but the members of the count's household were not. From July onwards Roman Catholic services in the Church of Saint-Barbara

were forbidden and the *papen* (Catholic priests and monks) were asked to leave the town.

What became of Jan van Cuyck, Floris's receiver general, in those years? The van Cuyck family was known as a very catholic family. It is certain that Jan van Cuyck had a very good reputation and he certainly had not been involved in the rebellion in the 1560's; he also never attended a Protestant service at that time. But what happened when the count's household and administrators were forced to attend protestant services in the castle? How did Jan react? We don't know. We only know that on 27 July 1578 a new *rentmeester* appears. It is Dirck van Hattem, who participated in the iconoclastic fury in Culemborg in 1566.

Floris van Pallant died on 29 September 1598. His successor Floris II was much more tolerant towards Catholicism. By that time, the van Cuyck family had left town.

### *The Netherlands*

In order to better understand Hendrik van Cuyck's way of thinking, we should not only consider the Culemborg situation but also the general political context of that time. As we explained before, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Protestantism rapidly gained ground in northern Europe. Dutch Protestants, after initial repression, were tolerated by local authorities. By the 1560s, the Protestant community had become a significant influence in the Netherlands, although it clearly formed a minority then. The Catholic King Philip II considered it his duty to defeat Protestantism. In 1568 the Netherlands, led by William I of Orange, revolted against Philip II because of high taxes, persecution of Protestants by the government, and Philip's efforts to modernize and centralize the devolved-medieval government structures of the provinces. This was the start of the Eighty Years' War.

In 1579 a number of the northern provinces of the Netherlands signed the Union of Utrecht, in which they promised to support each other in their defense against the Spanish army. The treaty was a reaction of the Protestant provinces to the 1579 Union of Arras, in which the southern provinces declared their support for Roman Catholic Spain. This was followed in 1581 by the Act of Abjuration, the declaration of independence of the provinces from Philip II. Following the Act of Abjuration (1581), the declaration of independence of the Northern provinces from Philip II, the Southern Netherlands remained under Spanish rule. In the early seventeenth century, there was a flourishing court at Brussels, which was under the government of King Philip III's half-sister Archduchess Isabella and her husband, Archduke Albert of Austria.

The Union of Utrecht is regarded as the foundation of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces or Dutch Republic, which was not recognized by the Spanish Empire until the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. The Republic of the United Provinces was officially recognized in the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and lasted until French revolutionary forces invaded in 1795 and set up a new republic, called the Batavian Republic.

The republic was a confederation of seven provinces, which had their own governments and were very independent, and a number of so-called Generality Lands. These latter were governed directly by the States-General (*Staten-Generaal* in Dutch), the federal government. The States-General were seated in The Hague and consisted of representatives of each of the seven provinces.

The provinces of the republic were, in official feudal order: the duchy of Guelders (*Gelre* in Dutch), the counties of Holland and Zeeland, the former bishopric of Utrecht, the lordship of Overijssel, and the free (i.e. never feudalised) provinces of Friesland and Groningen. In fact there was an eighth province, the lordship of Drenthe, but this area was so poor it was exempt from paying confederal taxes and, as a corollary, was denied representation in the States-General. Each province was governed by the Provincial States, the main executive official (though not the official head of state) was a raadspensionaris. In times of war, the stadtholder, who commanded the army, would have more power than the raadspensionaris.

After the Peace of Westphalia several border territories were assigned to the United Provinces. They were federally-governed Generality Lands (*Generaliteitslanden*). They were Staats-Brabant (present North Brabant), Staats-Vlaanderen (present Zeeuws-Vlaanderen), Staats-Limburg (around Maastricht) and Staats-Oppergelre (around Venlo, after 1715).

In theory the stadtholders were freely appointed by and subordinate to the states of each province. However in practice the princes of Orange-Nassau, beginning with William the Silent, were always chosen as stadtholders of most of the provinces. Zeeland and usually Utrecht had the same stadtholder as Holland. There was a constant power struggle between the Orangists, who supported the stadtholders and specifically the House of Orange-Nassau, and the Republicans, who supported the States-General and hoped to replace the semi-hereditary nature of the stadtholdership with a true republican structure.

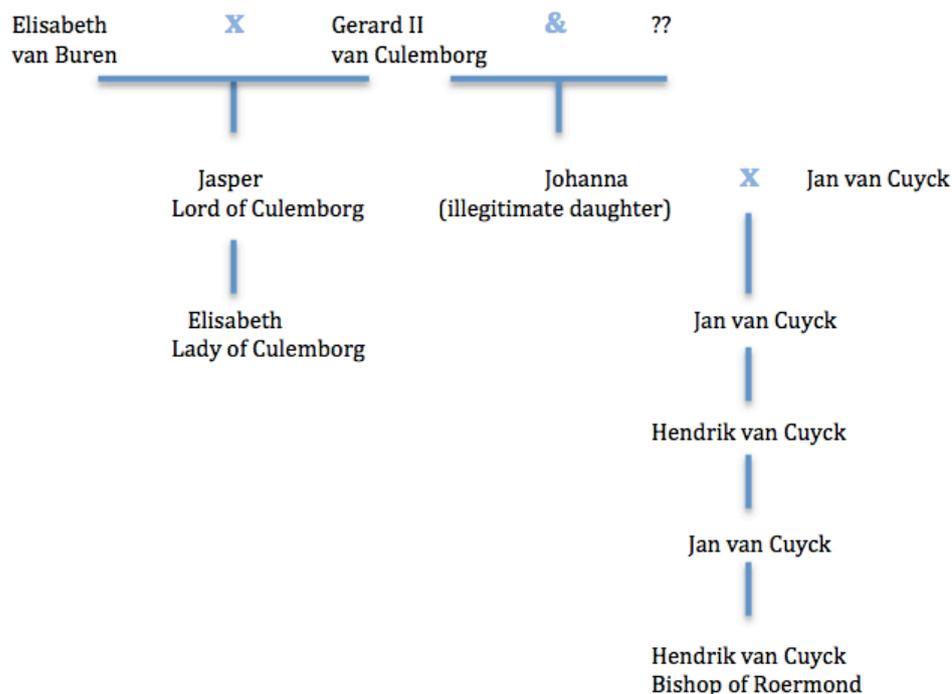
From an economic perspective, the Republic of the United Provinces completely outperformed all expectations. This period is known in the Netherlands as the Dutch Golden Age. The Dutch dominated world trade in the 17th century, conquering a vast colonial empire and operating the largest fleet of merchantmen of any nation. The County of Holland was the wealthiest and most urbanized region in the world.

In the Union of Utrecht Holland and Zeeland were granted the right to accept only one religion (in practice Calvinism). Every other province had the freedom to regulate the religious question as it wished, although the Union stated every person should be free in the choice of his personal religion and no person should be prosecuted based on his or her religious choice. In practice, Catholic services in all provinces were quickly forbidden and the Reformed Church became the "public" or "privileged" church in the Republic. The extent to which different religions or denominations were persecuted depended much on the time period and regional or city leaders.

Many Protestant craftsmen and rich merchants migrated to the United Provinces. Due to its climate of intellectual tolerance the Dutch Republic attracted scientists and other thinkers from all over Europe. Painting, architecture, sculpture and literature were blossoming.

### Youth and education

Hendrik van Cuyck was born in Culemborg in 1546. He was the son of Jan Hendriksz. van Cuyck (+ 1482) and Hillegont (Hilligen) van Zelck. The van Cuyck family was an important family in Culemborg with many members serving as mayor, alderman, churchmaster, etc. In 1545, just before Hendrik was born, his father Jan became *rentmeester* or receiver general of Elisabeth, lady of Culemborg. In fact the Culemborg and Cuyck families were related: Jan's great-grandfather had married Johanna of Culemborg, an illegitimate daughter of Elisabeth's grandfather.



The van Cuyck family was a very catholic family. The events in Culemborg in the years 1545-1555 will certainly have influenced the young Hendrik. There is no doubt that Hendrik van Cuyck, being 9 years old at that time, was impressed by the preaching of Hezius, the processions with the Holy Sacrament and the other ceremonies. There is no doubt that the van Cuyck family participated in the impressive ceremonies following Lady Elisabeth's death. These events certainly must have moved Hendrik as a child.

At a young age Hendrik van Cuyck was taught reading and writing in the vernacular language. Then he was sent to Utrecht where he attended St. Jerome's (*Hiëronymusschool*). This was a very famous Latin school founded by the Brethren of the Common Life (Modern Devotion) in 1474. Hendrik must have been between 10 and 12 years old (in 1556-1558) when he first arrived in Utrecht. Those were the last years of the well-known headmaster Georgius Macropedius (1487-1558), humanist and Latin playwright, who had transformed St. Jerome's into the most famous school in the country.

Hendrik continued his studies in Leuven, first at the Jesuit college and consequently at the University. This university, Founded in 1425 by Pope Martin V, was the oldest, largest and most renowned university in the Low Countries at that time. The four pedagogies of the Arts Faculty (the Lily, the Falcon, the Fortress, and the Pig) provided food and living accommodation for the students, who also took most of their classes there. Hendrik was registered in the college of the Lily in 1563. His brothers Cornelius and Alardus joined him there. Hendrik studied philosophy and graduated as *primus* in 1566. After that he continued at the university and studied theology.

### **Early career and works**

Hendrik was an ambitious young man. During his studies in Leuven he stayed in touch with friends and relatives in his hometown. When in 1566 the Catholics in Culemborg presented Count Floris of Pallandt with a petition asking him to maintain the placards issued by the King of Spain and to severely forbid any Protestant service in the churches, Hendrik tried to help them. The petition was signed by seventy citizens, among them Gosen van Cuyck, Jan van Hardenbroeck and Coenraet Suermont, all three related to Hendrik van Cuyck. Hendrik's father Jan, however, did not sign the petition, probably out of caution: as receiver general he was in the service of the count. Maybe Jan was afraid that signing the petition would get him into trouble? Or as an employee of the count he may have found it unethical to sign. Anyway the document was sent to Hendrik in Leuven and he had it printed as a pamphlet entitled *Nieuwe tijdinghe van die van Culenborch. Item. Die Supplicatie van die adelen Raet ende der borgheren van Culenborch. Gedruet int jaer 1566*. By doing this Hendrik wanted this local document to become publicly known. Petrus Cunerus, dean of Leuven, approved the pamphlet to be printed and sold on 9 June 1566. We don't know if the publication of the petition had any influence on the events in Culemborg.

After his brilliant studies in philosophy and theology Hendrik taught at the University (first ethics and later theology). In the mean while he also acted as a teacher for the canons of St. Martin's church. In 1585 he obtained a doctorate in theology. He served as *Rector Magnificus* in 1581 and again in 1588. By 1592 he was a canon and dean of the church of St. Pieter and no less than chancellor of the University. Hendrik became vicar general of the diocese of Mechelen for the district of Leuven. The vicar general was the

principal deputy of the bishop of a diocese for the exercise of administrative authority and exercised the bishop's ordinary executive power over the entire diocese. Hendrik also became official (judge) of the archdiocese and papal and royal censor of books. He approved, for example, a book of Justus Lipsius. Lipsius was persuaded that only one religion – Roman Catholicism – should be allowed in a State. His contention pleased Hendrik van Cuyck, whose official and weighty judgement is given on the first leaf of *Adversus Dialogistam: Censura quae de una religione apologetice scripsit I. Lipsius ex Auctoris ipsius confessione et totius deisceptationis filo, de orthodoxa, catholica et Romana (quae una et sola vera est Religio) scripta esse testificor. Lovanii, IX calendas Septembres, 1593. Henricus Cuyckius, D. Petri Louvanii Decanus, Academie Cancellarius et Pontificius as Regius librorum Censor*. Hendrik van Cuyck testified that Lipsius was testifying to the orthodox, catholic and Roman religion which, one and alone, is the true one.

When the Archbishop of Mechelen Joannes Hauchin died on 5 January 1589, King Philip II of Spain appointed the English Cardinal William Allen as his successor, but the pope never confirmed this and the Episcopal See remained vacant. Hendrik van Cuyck, vicar general and highest official in the diocese, acted as bishop *ad interim* until Mathias Hovius was appointed in 1596.

## **Roermond**

The diocese of Roermond was created by Philip II in 1559. He reorganised the Dutch dioceses the following way: Utrecht became an archdiocese and together with the suffragan dioceses of Haarlem (central and North Holland), Middelburg (Zeeland), Deventer (Overijssel and Gelderland), Groningen (Groningen) and Leeuwarden (Friesland), they would form the northern ecclesiastical province of Utrecht. Roermond and 's-Hertogenbosch became part of the southern ecclesiastical province of Mechelen.

In 1562 king Philip II designated William Lindanus for the newly erected See of Roermond, and the following year, on 4 April, he was consecrated in Brussels by Cardinal Granvelle. He was, however, unable to enter his diocese until 11 May 1569. The erection of this bishopric had caused displeasure throughout the Low Countries, especially in the country of Guelders, of which Roermond was a part: where every act of the royal authority excited defiance. The Protestants were dissatisfied with the appointment of Lindanus, who was a staunch defender of the Catholic faith. The new bishop began at once to reform his diocese, assisted in person at the Provincial Synods of Mechelen (1570) and of Leuven (1573) and carried out the Contrareformation laws and regulations of the Council of Trent. In 1572, he was obliged to flee for several months from Roermond to the south of the Low Countries; on his return to his see, he defended vigorously the properties of the Church against the civil authorities. The Protestants also obliged him to flee on several occasions. In 1578, he travelled to Rome and Madrid in order to obtain justice against the chapter of Maastricht, which had refused to execute the regulations concerning the episcopal endowment, and to confer with the Pope and the king upon the measures necessary for the safeguarding of the

Faith in the Low Countries. Returning to Roermond, with the help of Philip II, he founded the royal seminary or college at Leuven, for the education of young clerics. Lindanus went to Rome again in 1584 to treat of the interests of his diocese and of the state of the Church in the Low Countries and in Germany. His work in Roermond was brought to a close by his elevation to the See of Ghent, where he began his new episcopal duties on 22 July 1588. He died there three months later on 2 November.

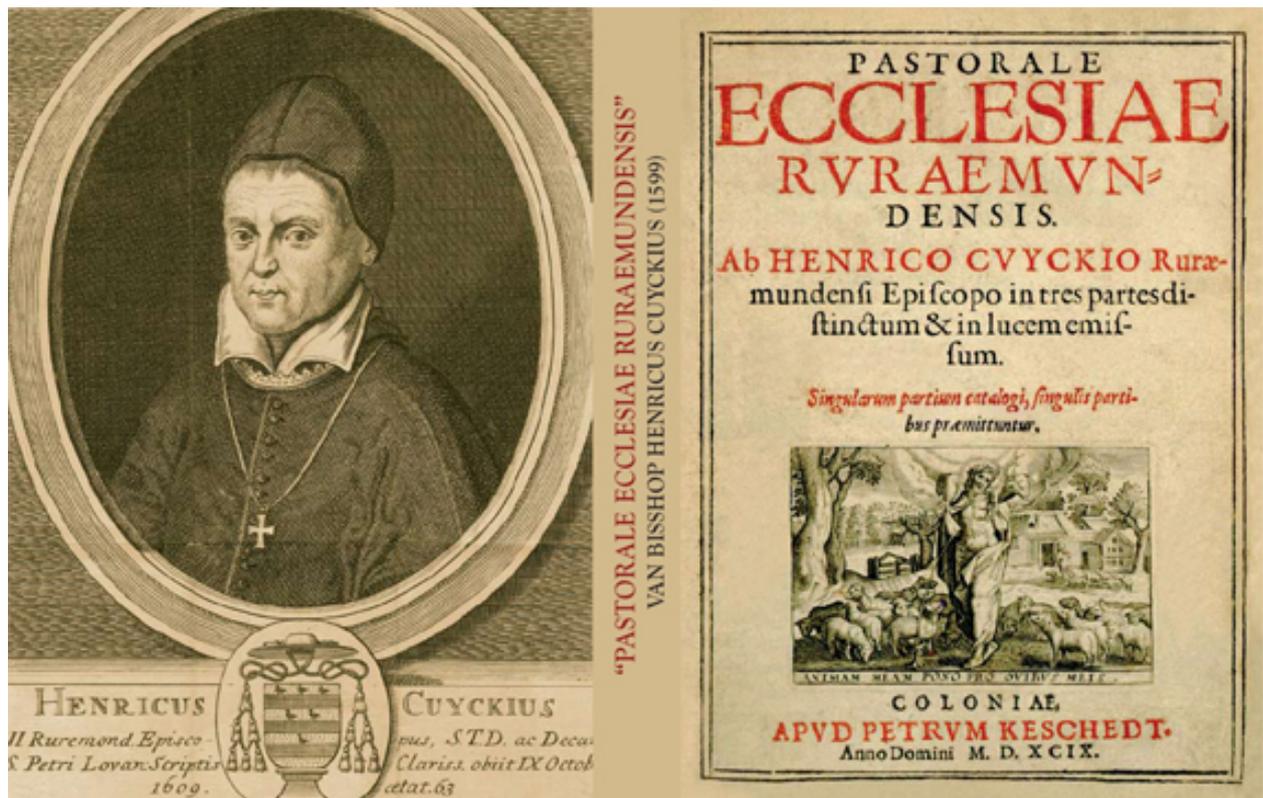
Already in 1590 King Philip II wanted Hendrik van Cuyck to become bishop of Roermond, but the latter was very reluctant to accept this. Hendrik knew that the newly created diocese of Roermond was a difficult and unstable working area. The people were poor and the war had left many traces. Moreover Hendrik was archbishop *ad interim* of Mechelen at that time. Only after a new archbishop was appointed several years later Hendrik van Cuyck finally accepted to become bishop of Roermond and on 30 July 1596 Mathias Hovius, the new archbishop of Mechelen, anointed him in St. Peter's church in Leuven. As device Hendrik chose: *Da gloriam Deo* (Give honor to God). He used the coat of arms of the Cuyck family.

Hendrik arrived in Roermond on 9 August 1596 and was welcomed there by the town's clergy and magistrate. As device for his seal he chose: 'Non est mirum eos qui a Christo eiusque ecclesia praecisi sub protestate diaboli sunt de malo semper in peius inruere' (One should not be surprised that those who have left Christ and his Church and are in the power of the devil only go from bad to worse).

The situation in the diocese of Roermond was lamentable. In 1598 he wrote: *Hier in de omgeving is het met alle dorpen en vlekken treurig gesteld. Ik heb alles verwaarloosd, verwoest en onverzorgd gevonden, én in zake van godsdienst, én in het beheer van kerk- en armengoederen, van broederschappen en andere stichtingen. De pastoor van Straelen klaagde mij dat het H. Vormsel al in geen 25 jaar meer was toegediend; een dergelijke klacht ontving ik van Wachtendonck, Erkelenz en Valkenburg, waar in 18 of 19 jaar niet gevormd was. Het is de bedoeling dat elk dekenaat elke twee jaar wordt bezocht. Ik ben nu twee jaar verder en ben nog niet overal geweest.* He found that many of the priests had concubines, a lot of the parishioners were married unlawfully and many illegitimate children were born. People were poor and suffering from the consequences of the war. The economy was bad and it had been raining so much that it damaged the crop. Hendrik van Cuyck believed that all this was a punishment from God because of the sins of the people: heresy and witchcraft.

It was Hendrik's intention to change the situation and on 2 September he issued a decree for the clergy with instructions and guidelines about pastoral care. A year later the *Pastorale ecclesiae Ruraemundensis* was published with instructions about the sacraments, consecration and liturgy. This manual for priests was based on the *Pastorale* for Mechelen that was published a few years earlier, but the two books differed in a significant way. Hendrik van Cuyck introduced many texts – mainly to be used in sermons and sacramental liturgy – in the vernacular, which means he was aware of the

fact that it was extremely important the people would in fact understand what the priest was saying.



Next to this Hendrik also founded a school where priests could receive proper training. It was a modest seminary but throughout the seventeenth century it languished and never had more than eight students. For the education of lay men he wanted to install a Jesuit college, but this was only accomplished after his death.

On the occasions of the Jubilee Year 1600 he went on pilgrimage to Rome (the Jubilee Year is the year at the end of seven cycles of shmita (Sabbatical years), and according to Biblical regulations had a special impact on the ownership and management of land in the Land of Israel). He wrote: *Also de Paus van Romem alle christenen tot de pelgrimage des gulden jaers is opwekkend, heeftet my raedsaem gedocht die ondersaeten onzes bisdoms met myn exempel voor te gaen, biddende Godt almachtig, dat my dese pelgrimage ende oock 't geheel bisdom tot zalicheyt mag strecken ende voorts oock my recommandeerende in uwer aller gebed.* Together with an English priest Hendrik was arrested in Neustadt (Bavaria) and kept prisoner for several days by the protestant government. He finally arrived in Rome on 10 November 1599 and stayed there until Februari 1600. While being there he asked the pope to enlarge the diocese of Roermond, but this never happened. The pope gave him relics to take back home.

He continued to fight against Protestantism, married priests and other malpractices and wrote many letters and treatises, some of whom were extremely sharp. He also wrote a catechism for children and visited all the parishes in his diocese on a regular bases.

On 8 December 1607 Hendrik van Cuyck sent to the Holy City the slim volume of his *De Novi Testamenti sacrificio sermones xx*, published at Leiden in 1604. Although the *nuncio* had denounced Cuyck's book, his appeal to the pope for correction, accompanied by a declaration of his readiness to submit, did the trick. Paul V ordered Robert Bellarmine – Cuyck was well known to Bellarmine – to look into the work secretly. In the discretion of the Holy Office a number of *male sonantia* were noted and then passed on to the author so that he might emend his errors. The censure sent to Hendrik van Cuyck was explanatory and its aim was to provide him with guidance on the official interpretation of the mass. Elaborating on arguments in his eighth *Controversia* on the sacraments and, especially, his tenth *De sacrificio missae*, Bellarmine answered the questions raised by Cuyck in the preface of his book, about how to construe the distinction between the *actus conservandi* and the *actus oblationis* drawn at the Council of Trent. As censor he mainly played a didactic role instructing Cuyck about the doctrines of the faith.

In 1609 Hendrik van Cuyck became ill, he went for treatment to Spa and to Aachen, but he died shortly after in Roermond on 9 October 1609. He had become 63 years old.

## Works

Apart from the works already mentioned, the following writings are also worthwhile mentioning.

- In 1578 Hendrik van Cuyck edited the work of Saint John Cassian (c. 360 – 435 AD), a Christian monk and theologian celebrated in both the Western and Eastern Churches for his mystical writings. Cassian is noted for his role in bringing the ideas and practices of Christian monasticism to the early medieval West. Several early editions of the writings of Cassianus exist, but they were all very faulty. Far superior to all these was the edition published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp in 1578, edited by Hendrik van Cuyck. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Cardinal Carafa, and its full title is the following: *D. Ioannis Cassiani Eremitæ Monasticarum Institutionum libri IIII. De Capitalibus vitiis libri VIII. Collationes SS. Patrum XXIII. De Verbi Incarnatione libri VII. Nunc demum post varias editiones ad complurium ms. fidem a non paucis mendarum milibus incredibili labore expurgati: id quod ex subiectis ad calcem castigationibus facile cognosci poterit: additis etiam ad quædam loca censoriis notationibus, et obscurarum vocum ac sententiarum elucidatione, un a cum duobus Indicibus locupletissimis. Accesserunt quoque Regulæ SS. Patrum ex antiquissimo Affliginiensis monasterii ms. codice desumptæ. Opera et studio Henrici Cuyckii Sacræ Theologiæ Licentiati. Cuyck's work was supplemented, also at Carafa's desire, by Petrus Ciacconius, a priest of Toledo, who died in 1581, before it was ready for the press. A new edition was, however, published at Rome in 1588 *ex Edibus Dominicæ Basæ*, in which the notes and emendations of Ciacconius were embodied.*
- Hendrik van Cuyck charged Hendrik Boxhorn, who was his antagonist, with falsely pretending to be of the family of the Boxhorns. In 1596 he published an *Epistola paraenetica* in which he exhorted Boxhorn to return into the pale of the Church.

Boxhorn answered that he would by no means return to a church which was so much corrupted. Hendrik van Cuyck renewed his exhortation and was answered in a work entitled *Anti-Cuyckius*, printed at Leiden in the year 1598.

- *Panegyricae orationes septem. Argumenta versa pagina exhibebit. Addita est: paraenetica in Henricum Bochorinck, catholicae religionis desertorem* (Leuven, 1596). Collection of seven essays by Hendrik van Cuyck, including one defending the need for censorship of the press. Van Cuyck praised the essential role of writing within the history of Christian learning, but argued that the invention of printing by Johannes Gutenberg had resulted in a world infected by “pernicious lies”. Van Cuyck particularly singles out the writings of Martin Luther and Jean Calvin, the Talmud, and the Qu’ran, as well as Erasmus of Rotterdam. Van Cuyck also lamented that “prohibited” books were what printers and booksellers profited from most.
- *Ad Mauritium comitem Nassavium paraenetica epistola* (Leuven, 1601). With this letter he tried to convince prince Maurits of Nassau to embrace the catholic faith. Also published in German: *Ermanungschreiben an den hochgeborenen herren Graf Moritzen von Nassaw* (Ingolstadt, 1600).

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