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Participative Government in Holland in the Early Sixteenth Century. Claude Carondelet's report on dyking the Zijpe Estuary (1509)

Introduction

This article contains transcripts [now] of six early sixteenth century documents in Middle-Dutch, together with translations into English, comprising the following:

1. A plan dated 1 December 1509 for dyking the estuary of the Zijpe in West-Friesland, which was proposed by Claude Carondelet, Privy Councillor to Charles (V) of Habsburg;
2. A minute of a formal meeting of the local council (*vroedschap*) at Leiden, held on 7 December 1509 to discuss the plan;
3. A summons (*dagvaartbrief*), dated 28 June 1510, from the stadholder of Holland, Count Jan van Egmond, to the *vroedschap* of Leiden requiring them to send deputies to a diet (*dagvaart*) at The Hague to discuss repair of the dyke at Spaarndam;
4. A further summons, dated 9 July 1510, from the stadholder to the *vroedschap* at Leiden, to attend a diet at The Hague to discuss the legal conflict between the water authority (*Hoogheemraadschap*) of Rijnland on the one hand and the cities of Haarlem, Leiden and Amsterdam on the other.
5. A mandate, dated 18 May 1511, from the stadholder to the chief courier of the Court of Holland (*Hof van Holland*), authorizing him to announce and publicize a forthcoming diet, planned for 24 May 1511 at The Hague, at which the wishes of the regent, Margaret of Austria, concerning the dyke at Spaarndam would be made known.
6. A further summons dated 28 April 1515, from the stadholder to the magistrates of Leiden, calling on them to attend a diet at the Hague to discuss the costs of dyke repairs.

In common with other modern states the Netherlands has institutions of government at several levels. At national level parliament and ministries have their centre at The Hague. Throughout the land provincial and municipal bodies have their seats of local government in provincial assemblies and city and town halls. But in addition to these two, the Netherlands has a third layer of government; the *waterschappen* or regional water authorities, the members of which are appointed nowadays by popular vote. These are bodies with powers of taxation, and their task, to put it colourfully, is to make sure the citizens can keep their feet dry. More generally, the *waterschappen* of the Netherlands have to care for the quantity and quality of surface waters, for

the maintenance of dunes, dykes and embankments, and for related environmental questions.¹

One of the oldest such institutions still functioning, the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland, the district surrounding Leiden, has a history going back eight centuries and more.² But for a brief period at the beginning of the 16th century its fate as an independent institution of local government lay in the balance. Between them, nature in the form of a series of flood disasters, and Emperor Maximilian I and his advisers combined almost to reduce the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland to an instrument of central government. Events surrounding the suspension from function of the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland for a brief period in 1510 demonstrate how the early modern Burgundian-Habsburg state, a centralizing power, recognized that limits were set to its power of governing. Supporting documents presented here reveal directly and indirectly certain factors which were decisive for emerging popular representative bodies in the Low Countries, probably the most important factor being a tradition of problem-solving through negotiation.³

Floods have been of great historical importance in the Netherlands.⁴ The first two decades of the 16th century were marked by an unprecedented series of natural disasters in Holland and neighbouring regions which were caused by tides and storms destroying the coastal dunes and dykes. Three of those locations within Holland are described here. They are, first, the stretch of dunes which once existed on the North Sea coast near Petten, and which because of tidal effects were particularly threatened. This area included the estuary called the Zijpe which

¹ S. J. Fockema Andreae, 'Embanking and drainage authorities in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages', *Speculum: a Journal of Medieval Studies*, XXVII (1952) 158-167; Anon., *Monsters van Rijnland. Acht eeuwen droge voeten en schoon water* (Museum Boerhaave: Leiden, 1996).

² *Heemraad* is the title given to members of the board of directors of the water authorities; Milja van Tielhof and Petra J. E. M. van Dam, *Waterstaat in Stedenland. Het hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland voor 1857* (Utrecht, 2006); W. H. Tebrake, *Medieval Frontier; Culture and Ecology in Rijnland* (Texas University Press, 1985); L. Giebels (ed.) *Waterbeweging rond Gouda van c. 1100 tot heden. Geschiedenis van Rijnlands waterstaat tussen IJssel en Gouwe* (Leiden, 1988); G. P. Van de Ven (ed.), *Leefbaar laagland. Geschiedenis van de waterbeheersing en landaanwinning in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1993); L. Giebels (ed.), *Zeven eeuwen Rijnlandse uitwatering in Spaarndam en Halweg. Van beveiliging naar beheersing* (Leiden, 1994); H. Van der Linden, 'De Spaarndam in het kader van Rijnlands ontstaan' in: L. Giebels (ed.), *Zeven eeuwen Rijnlands uitwatering in Spaarndam en Halweg*, pp. 13-28. For current information about the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland see, e.g., its website.

³ W. P. Blockmans, 'Representation since the thirteenth century' in C. Allmand (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1998) Vol. VII, c. 1415 - c. 1500, pp. 29-64. See also my unpublished doctoral thesis: J. P. Ward, *Cities and States of Holland. A participative system of government under strain* (Leiden, 2001), and Proposition 6 there: *The so-called 'Polder Model' of government in the Netherlands is at least five hundred years old*, p. 431.

⁴ D. A. van Heyst, 'Aantekeningen omtrent de gevolgen van zware stormen tusschen 1500 en 1825 voorgekomen, etc.', *Rapporten en mededelingen van den Rijkwaterstaat*, No. 6 (The Hague, 1916); S. J. Fockema Andreae, *Schets van Zuid-Hollandse watersneden in vroeger tijd* (Voorburg, 1953); M. K. E. Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden en rivier-overstromingen in Nederland; Storm surges and river floods in the Netherlands*, Vol. II 1400-1600 (Assen, 1975); J. Buisman, *Duizend jaar weer, wind en water in de Lage Landen*, to date 5 Vols. (Vol. 5, Franeker, 2006). Following a dyke failure at Wilnis near Utrecht in August 2003 the water authorities were held responsible by some people and came under criticism, and the efficacy of the system of *heemraadschappen* came into question once more.

has long since been dyked in⁵; then the dyke between Haarlem and Amsterdam where most of the surface water from Rijnland was discharged into the Zuyderzee through sluices at Spaarndam and Halfweg; and finally the High Rhine dyke stretching along the river Rhine from near Leiden in the west towards Woerden and a location to the north-east of Gouda on the border with Utrecht. In the first decade and a half of the 16th century seas and rivers inundated much of Holland for more than a year. Large tracts of Rijnland were permanently under water, and the salt water of the Zuyderzee stretched almost as far south as Gouda so that for a brief period the High Rhine dyke formed a coastline of Holland.

The cities and towns of Holland at this period were administered by colleges of magistrates forming the local court (*gerecht*) and fulfilling a number of functions. The hierarchy was led by the sheriff (*scout*) responsible for keeping law and order, who was usually a nobleman and whose office was by royal appointment. There followed then one or several burgomasters or mayors, and several aldermen (*scepenen*) who took their places by processes of co-option. The day to day administrative affairs of Leiden, for example, were managed by the sheriff, four burgomasters and eight aldermen. These thirteen men formed jointly the magistrature, and jointly they were responsible for keeping law and order locally, for matters pertaining to public health and safety, for the regulation and control of trade, local industry, commerce and taxation within Leiden, local defence and public security in times of war, and more besides. The *vroedschap*, or local council, was made up of present and past members of the magistrates court, but from city to city it was limited in numbers by privileges granted in the past by the counts of Holland and their Burgundian-Habsburg successors. At Leiden, for example, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the *vroedschap* consisted of forty members. Resolutions and decisions within the *vroedschap*, if not unanimous, were passed by a majority vote.⁶

Diets of the cities and States of Holland (*Staten van Holland*), which were held most frequently at The Hague, were presided over by the stadholder Jan van Egmond or his nephew and deputy Floris van Egmond⁷, or on a few occasions by the regent Margaret of Austria or

⁵ A. Huet, *De zeekeringen aan den Hondsbossche en bij Petten* (Amsterdam, 1866). There were no longer any dunes at Petten in 1866; *Ibidem* p. 3. The earliest coast defences at Petten had been ordered by Philip I in 1502 but they were not completed until 1506.

⁶ For studies of the local councils (*vroedschappen*) see D. E. H. De Boer, 'Die politische Elite Leidens am Ende des Mittelalters; eine Zwischenbilanz' in: H. Schilling and H. Diederiks (eds.), *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland; Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des europäischen Bürgertums im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Cologne, 1985), pp. 85-109; J. W. Marsilje et al. (eds.), *Uit Leidse bron geleverd; studies over Leiden en de Leidenaren in het verleden, aangeboden aan drs. B. N. Leverland bij zijn afscheid als adjunct-archivaris van het Leidse Gemeentearchief* (Leiden, 1989); A. J. Brand, *Over macht en overwicht; Stedelijke elites in Leiden (1420-1510)* (doctoral thesis, Leiden, 1996).

⁷ Jan van Egmond (1438-1516), Count, Lord of Baer, Purmerend, Hoochwoude and Aartswoude, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, etc. was stadholder in Holland 1483-1516; P. C. Molhuysen and P. J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Vol. 8, columns 333-334. Floris van Egmond (c. 1470-1539), Count of Buren and Leerdam, Lord of Ysselstein, Maartensdijk etc., *ibidem*, columns 324-325. Floris van Ysselstein is named as *Stadthouder generael* in NA inv. no. 2193, f. 27v, and in the city accounts, *passim*. For the title '*Stadthouder General van Hollant*' which Floris van Egmont used, see GA Dordrecht, Old archive inv. no. 2, letter no. 121; *Bronnen*, p. 309; compare A. S. De Blécourt and E. M. Meijers (eds.), *Memorialen van het Hof (den Raad) van Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland, van den secretaris Jan Rosa* (Haarlem, 1925), where Floris is not listed as stadholder of Holland. At different times Floris was appointed stadholder in Guelders and in Friesland.

Emperor Maximilian I himself⁸. Only the six largest cities of Holland, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Gouda and Amsterdam had the right to vote at the diets. This they did together with the nobles of Holland who jointly had a single vote. Decisions were taken on a majority vote, notwithstanding objections sometimes by dissenters within the *vroedschappen* who appealed to older privileges. Although in Holland consensus was generally an aim of government, that did not preclude inter- and intra-city rivalries.⁹ There was a perception within the cities of Haarlem, Leiden and Amsterdam that at the diets of the cities and States of Holland the votes of at least four of the large cities were, or ought to be, required for a decision to be carried. However, in certain matters, particularly on taxation, the other three cities and the nobles sometimes sided with the central government, and this caused tensions.

The small towns of Holland were much more numerous than the six large cities, but although they were invited to send deputies to The Hague they did not have the right to vote at the diets. The only, at that time, small town for which a series of records, the resolutions of the *vroedschap*, is still extant was Rotterdam. The *vroedschap* there numbered forty members, as at Leiden, but the relationship between the six large cities of Holland and the smaller, neighbouring towns in the more immediate surroundings was that of patron and client. That becomes apparent when sources describing the diets of the cities and States of Holland are studied in detail.¹⁰

Sources used here were the financial accounts and minutes of the local councils (*vroedschappen*) of Haarlem and Leiden, together with other documents in the city archives, and the government's accounts of subsidies or *aides* (*beden*) and extra-ordinary *aides* (*omslagen*) at The Hague.¹¹ Items related to diets of the cities of Holland on the subject of the dykes were collated, together with incidental observations and remarks on weather conditions which were made by officials and messengers during their journeys. Such remarks were by no means recorded routinely, and so their occurrence in the accounts in order to explain messengers' delays

⁸ For studies on the central government see A. Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden unter Maximilian I und Karl V* (Leipzig, 1909); M. Baelde, 'Edellieden en juristen in het centrale bestuur der zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden (1531-1578)', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 80 (1967) 39-51; M. Baelde, 'De Geheime Raad, coordinator van de centralisering in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden' in: A. M. van Aelst (ed.), *Cultuurgeschiedenis in de Nederlanden van de Renaissance naar de Romantiek; Liber amicorum J. Andriessen, S.J., A. Keersmaekers, P. Lenders, S.J.*, (Louvain and Amersfoort, 1986), pp. 59-70; J. D. Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg Rule, The formation of a Body Politic* (Berkeley, 1990); J. G. Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan; Studies over Holland en Zeeland in de late Middeleeuwen* (Louvain, 1995).

⁹ M. 't Hart, 'Intercity rivalries and the making of the Dutch State' in: C. Tilly and W. P. Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and States in Europe A.D. 1000 to 1800* (Boulder, 1994) pp. 196-217; M. J. van Gent, 'Pertijelike Saken'. *Hoeken en Kabeljauwen in het Bourgondisch-Oostenrijkse tijdperk* (Leiden, 1994).

¹⁰ For archival sources to the diets of the cities and States of Holland previous to 1544 see: W. Prevenier and J. G. Smit (eds.), *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der dagvaarten van de Staten van Holland vóór 1544*, Part I, 1276-1433, The Hague, 1991. This is Vol. 201 of the series Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicaties (RGP) published by the Institute for Netherlands History (ING) at The Hague, and it contains an introduction to the Diet Project. It is (to be) followed by further volumes up to Vol. VI for the years 1506-1515.

¹¹ Contractions used below are NA: National Archives, The Hague; Rek.Rek.: Rekeningen van de Rekenkamer/Accounts of the Chamber of Accounts; GA: Gemeente Archief/Municipal Archives; SA I: Secretaries' Archives no. I; Tres.rek.: Tresoriers Rekeningen/Treasurers' Accounts.

and detours can be taken as good evidence of unusual weather and travel conditions.¹²

A map (Van Heyst, *loc. cit.*) gives an impression of the geography of this area of northern Holland at about the beginning of the 16th century. The wide expanse of the Zuyderzee was open to the North Sea, but its waters were held back by the great circle of dykes in West-Friesland called the Ring Dyke which protected West-Friesland from the salt water, and by the dykes along the southern shore of the Zuyderzee protecting Rijnland and the centre of Holland.¹³ Water from the River Spaarne which flows through Haarlem discharged itself through sluices at Spaarndam.

Storms and floods in Holland have been the subject of several studies, most recently those of Gottschalk and of Buisman (*loc.cit.*). A conclusion reached by Gottschalk based on a wide variety of historical sources was that the storm floods of 1507, 1508 and 1509 formed a distinct climax, with a peak around 27th September 1509.¹⁴ But the storms which occurred on 14 October and 11 November 1508 were already quite dramatic and destructive. Events at that time provide evidence of political forces which were active in Holland, and the participative nature of government in the Low Countries.

Following the storm of 14 October 1508 the government's concern was acute. It announced in a letter to Emperor Maximilian that, most exceptionally, the stadholder was unable to attend the current diet at Gouda because he had gone to inspect the dykes in Friesland and to supervise relief.¹⁵ Then in September 1509 another devastating flood occurred when dykes in Waterland, to the North of Amsterdam, and the dyke at Spaarndam broke again. A diet on the subject of the broken dykes in Waterland was held at Amsterdam on 25 September 1509. The fact that the salt water from the Zuyderzee penetrated right into Leiden was a cause for extreme concern both by the government and the water authorities (*Hoogheemraadschap*) in Rijnland.¹⁶ On 3 October 1509 Simon van Assendelft, Haarlem's pensionary, met together with other deputies in The Hague to discuss the dykes, and a proposal was made to hold a further diet in

¹² NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 340, fo. 227, 7 Feb. 1506; Ibidem fo. 241, 10 August 1506; NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 340, fo. 241v-242, 13 August 1506; Ibidem, fo. 243, 22 August 1506; NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 340, fo. 255v, 2 Oct. 1506; Ibidem fo. 265, 17 Nov. 1506; GA Leiden, SA I inv.no. 586, fo. 38, 19 March 1507; NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 342, fo. 164v, 3 Dec. 1508; NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 343, fo. 211v, 6 April 1509; Ibidem fo. 233, 24 Sept. 1509; Ibidem fo. 238, 6 Nov. 1509; fo. 241, 7 Dec. 1509; *Bronnen*, pp. 9, 140, 165.

¹³ J. J. Schilstra, *In de ban van de dijk:: de Westfrie Omringdijk* (Hoorn, 1974, repr. 1975); J. J. J. M. Beenakker, 'Dijken in het Noorderkwartier van Noord-Holland: de Westfrie Omringdijk', in: J. J. J. M. Beenakker et al. (eds.), *Holland en het water in de middeleeuwen: Strijd tegen het water en beheersing en gebruik van het water* (Hilversum, 1997), pp. 41-55. Jacob van Deventer's map of the same area, published in 1542, is reproduced in J. T. Bremer, *De Zijpe. Bedijking en Bewoning tot omstreeks 1800* (Schoorl, 1985), Vol. 1, p. 14.

¹⁴ Gottschalk, *Stormvloeden*, Vol. II, p. 358.

¹⁵ '... overmits dat den voirs. stadthouder trecken moet in Vrieslant ende Amsterlant omme aldair te helpen voirsien die dijcken van den lande die inne gebroecken zijn.', NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 342, fo. 180-180v, dated 18 Oct. 1508; *Bronnen*, p. 120.

¹⁶ '... daerbij dat water van de Zuerzee kompt doer alle tlandt tot an die een zijde van der stede van Leyden, binnen Leyden ende an den Rijndijck ...', Old Archive of the Hoogheemraadschap Rijnland at Leiden, inv. no. 1430, dated 5 Oct. 1509; cf. *Bronnen*, pp. 167-168.

Amsterdam to discuss repairs.¹⁷ Deputies from Leiden, Delft, Gouda, Rotterdam and Schiedam were present, together with members of the water authorities from Rijnland, Delfland and Schieland. The presence of representatives of districts lying so far south in Holland indicates the extent of the damage, and the concern of local administrators there.

They concluded that although the trouble caused by the water was greater than within living memory, with winter approaching it would be impossible to remedy it quickly. That meant in effect that the Rhine dyke from then onwards had to fulfill the function of the sea dyke. One of the main points which was discussed, therefore, was the strengthening of the Rhine dyke at Bodegraven.¹⁸ Work to be done on the dyke at Bodegraven in October 1509 provides some technical details about the Rhine dyke. The inspection by city deputies and the water authorities led to a specification that the dyke was to be made twelve feet broad (c. 3.8 meters) at the base, to be kept six feet broad at the crown as it already was, and to be raised two and a half feet (about 0.8 meter) above the highest water mark.¹⁹

Then on 15 October a diet was held at The Hague where the far-reaching decision was made to send the Advocate of Holland and a delegation from the six large cities of Holland to the regent, Margaret of Austria, at Mechelen to ask for help.²⁰ The government's response to the situation was swift. Shortly afterwards Emperor Maximilian appointed Claude Carondelet and

¹⁷ GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1509-1510, fo. 20-20v, dated 25 Sept. 1509; `... ter dachvaert in den Hage ... Item om te versien tegens die groote overvloedinge van den grooten waterimbreck van dijcken etc. ... is mede geraemt te houden dachvaert binnen Amsterdamme optie reparacie van den ingebroocken dijcken etc.', GA Haarlem, Ibidem fo. 20v, dated 3 Oct. 1509; GA Leiden, SA I, inv. no. 589, fo. 48-48v, dated 3 Oct. 1509; *Bronnen*, pp. 165-167.

¹⁸ Archive of the Hoogheemraadschap Rijnland at Leiden, inv. no. 1430, dated 5 October 1509; GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 589, fo. 48-48v, dated 3 Oct. 1509; *Bronnen*, pp. 167-168.

¹⁹ `Ende hebben die voors. gedeputeerden den dijck van Bodegraven of tot Lynschoterdijck toe besteedt onder an te leggen XII roeden voeten ende boven VI roeden voeten te blijven, ende te hoogen boven thoochste watter dat geweest is II½ roede voeten etc.', GA Leiden, SA I, inv. no. 589, fo. 44, dated 8 Oct. 1509; *Bronnen*, p. 168. For an estimate of repairs to the Rhine dyke at Woerden, GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 1263, fo. 59, fo. 60 and fo. 62, dated 9 Oct. 1509. Vierlingh in his later treatise on dyke construction described how a dyke of 12 feet in height should be made up to 14 feet to allow the ground to be stamped firm and to allow for later subsidence; J. De Hullu and A. G. Verhoeven (eds.), *Andries Vierlingh, Tractaet van Dijckagie* (The Hague, 1920), p. XXXVI. For the unit of length 1 foot equal to 0.314 m. see J. M. Verhoeff, *De Oude Nederlandse Maten en Gewichten* (repr. Amsterdam, 1983), p. 69.

²⁰ `Ende is voort geraemt dat uut elck van den groten steden een gedeputeerde mitten advocaet van den lande reysen soude an mijn genadige vrouwe omme te verthoenen die groete onverwinlicke scaden van nyeux geschiet van den watre ...', GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1509-1510, fo. 21v-22, dated 15 Oct. 1509; *Bronnen*, p. 170. Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) was daughter to Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519), sister to Philip I (1478-1506), who was king of Spain and Count of Holland, and aunt to the (later) Emperor Charles V (1500-1558); see J. De Iongh, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk; Regentessen der Nederlanden I* (Amsterdam, 1941, English transl. 1953); L. Gorter-Van Royen, 'De regentessen van Karel V in de Nederlanden. Beeld en Werkelijkheid', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 110 (1997) 169-179; J. Strelka, *Der Burgundische Renaissancehof Margarethes von Österreich und seine literarhistorische Bedeutung* (Vienna, 1957); U. Tamussino, *Margarete von Österreich. Diplomatin der Renaissance* (Graz, 1995). For Emperor Maximilian I: H. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I: das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, (5 Vols. Munich, 1971-1986). For the Advocates of Holland see P. Fölting, 'De landsadvocaten en raadpensionarissen der Staten van Holland en West-Friesland 1480-1795: Een genealogische benadering', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconografisch Bureau* (The Hague, 1973), Vol. 27, pp. 294-343.

Roland le Fevre as royal commissioners to take control of dyke and water affairs in Rijnland. On or about 13 November 1509 the chairman Claude Carondelet, Bailiff of Amont, Privy Councillor and Chamberlain to Charles (later Charles V) of Habsburg, the emperor's grandson, presented his first commission to an assembly in diet at The Hague. Two weeks later a draft of Carondelet's plan for securing Holland against the sea water was ready.²¹ It is with that draft plan and the crisis which followed in the water authority of Rijnland that the present publication is concerned.

Claude Carondelet's report on the Zijpe estuary

Carondelet concluded that the most endangered location on the coastline of West-Friesland at that moment was the estuary of the Zijpe, lying north of Alkmaar and a little east of the North Sea coastline at Petten. At that time the Zijpe was open to the sea and the shoreline was not protected by dykes. The advice of the commissioners was that the Zijpe should be dyked, and they foretold the great 'inconveniences', a euphemism found frequently in the sources, which might result if the work were not carried out. Carondelet thought that if the sea broke through the coastal works at Petten and if the estuary of the Zijpe was subjected to the influence of tides and currents simultaneously from both the north and the west then the whole northern part of West-Friesland would be fatally endangered. If the Frisian or Ring dyke collapsed or the district called Geestmerambacht were inundated the dyke at Spaarndam would be unable to hold the water back, and the sea water which then would come right up to the Rhine dyke would place it in danger of collapsing. The result would be inundation of 'the whole other part' of Holland.

The commissioner's report contains an unusual passage which appears to relate the effect of water on the Spaarndam and Rhine dykes with the inundated areas or lengths of West-Friesland and Rijnland:

*'... want indien den Vriesen dijk oft Geestmeerambocht inginghe, tzeewater commen zouden tot aen den Rijndijk alszoe den dijk van Sparendamme dat niet keeren en soude moghen, ende alsoe Rijnlandt veel langer is dan tvoirs. quartier van Westvrieslandt, zoe soude ontwijfelick den voirscreven Rijndijk niet te houden wesen, waarbij tgheheele ander quartier van Hollandt daeran volgende ghescepen waere verloren to gaen ...'.*²²

²¹ *'... sijn aldair gecommen de tresorier generail [Roland le Fevre] ende de bailliu van Amont ende hebben geopent hoirluyder commissie omme te voirsien ter reparacie van den ingebroken dijcken ende andere gebreken in den lande wesende ...'*, GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1509-1510, fo. 22, dated 13 Nov. 1509; *'... te oversien tconcept van den commissarijssen van boven ende van den Hove van Hollant, dairop te delibereren ende antwoirde weder inne te brengen etc.'*, GA Haarlem, Ibidem fo. 22-22v, dated 27 Nov. 1509; *Bronnen*, pp. 172, 173. Claude Carondelet is almost always referred to simply as the Bailiff of Amont in sources in Holland. For a biography of Claude Carondelet (1467-1518), Bailiff of Amont, see A. J. M. Kerckhoffs-De Hey, *De Grote Raad en zijn functionarissen 1477-1531; Biografieën van Raadsheren* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 35-36, and for his brother Jean who inspected the dykes in Holland in 1515, *ibidem*, pp. 41-42. For the family Carondelet see H. Cools, *Mannen met Macht. Edellieden en de Moderne Staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse landen (1475-1530)*, (Zutphen, 2001), pp. 52-53.

²² GA Leiden, SA I, inv. no. 383, fo. 70-72v, dated 1 Dec. 1509; *Bronnen*, pp. 174-175.

`... since if the Frisian Dyke or Geestmerambacht were to fail the seawater would come right up to the Rhine Dyke because the dyke at Spaarndam would be unable to withstand it, and because Rijnland is much longer than the aforementioned quarter of Westfriesland then undoubtedly the aforementioned Rhine Dyke could not be held, whereby the whole other quarter of Holland would subsequently be liable to be lost ...'.

The remark 'because Rijnland is much longer than the aforementioned quarter of West-Friesland' appears to reflect a belief which goes back to Archimedes' time or further that the pressure exerted by a body of water depends on its mass or volume. This led to a paradox, now called the Hydrostatic Paradox, which was solved by Simon Stevin (1548-1620) when he showed that the hydrostatic pressure at a given depth of water depends only on the depth, not on the extent of the lake or sea.²³

Carondelet proposed together with his plan to dyke the Zijpe the following financial arrangement; one third of the costs to be met by the communities protected by the proposed dyke by a tax to be levied on their land areas which were called the *morgentalen*, one third to be paid by the States of Holland, that is by the merchants and patricians in the cities mainly, by a tax which was based on their wealth, referred to as the *schiltalen*, and one third by the prince, Charles of Habsburg. In compensation for these latter two contributions new land falling inside the dyke was to be owned half by Charles and half by the States of Holland.

The council (*vroedschap*) of Leiden discussed the proposal on 7 December 1509. Eighteen members were present, somewhat fewer than the more usual number of 22-25 members. Their conclusion was that something ought to be done but it must not cost them much. On the question of finance, the council proposed two alternatives to Carondelet's notion of three shares equally divided between the dyke communities, the cities and the government. The first was that Charles should bear all the costs, using the current *bede* (subsidy) for that purpose, and keep all the new land for himself. The second alternative was that Charles should free his subjects from the current *bede*, let them pay the costs of dyke construction and allow them to keep the new land, but with the proviso that they should be responsible for future maintenance and repair of the dykes.

If neither of their proposals proved acceptable to the commissioners then the magistrates of Leiden were willing to pay a small contribution based on the land tax (*morgentalen*), but not on the wealth tax (*schiltalen*).²⁴ This meant effectively that it would be paid by the landowners and country people of Holland who were liable, not by the city people or the nobility. At this time too the government reviewed the legal position about the ownership of new land which might be created. Vincent Corneliszoon, Privy Councillor and treasury official in Holland, went to Brussels taking documents relating to dyking and land creation in Holland stretching back for

²³ E. J. Dijksterhuis (ed.), *The Principal Works of Simon Stevin, Volume I, General Introduction Mechanics* (Amsterdam, 1955), pp. 484-501, especially pp. 490-493; M. De Reu, G. Vanden Berghe and G. Van Hooydonk, *Simon Stevin 1548-1620* (Ghent, 1998), pp. ; S. Gaukroger and J. Schuster, 'The hydrostatic paradox and the origins of Cartesian dynamics', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 33A (2002) 535-572, pp. 539f.

²⁴ 'Ende indien dese II condicien niet en souden moegen gebueren, om ymmer tlandt te beschermen ende te verstaen tot reparacie van den dijcken, soe is men tevreden een sekere cleyne somme te vinden opte morgentale ende niet opte schiltaelen.', GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 383, fo. 76v, dated 7 Dec. 1509; *Bronnen*, p. 176.

60 years, and experts (e.g. Aernt Loufsz at Geervliet) were consulted on the feasibility of the work in the early months of 1510.²⁵

Despite preparatory work done at this time the Zijpe was not dyked in until much later (1597).²⁶ Part of the reason may have been the fear, or the perception, by the local authorities and investors that the new land (*polder*) to be created behind the dyke might have little commercial value. The dunes in the area were constantly on the move, driven along by the prevailing westerly winds, and any new land which might be formed was threatened with submergence under the drifting sand. Even attempts which were made in the early 1550's by Jan van Scorel and his associates like Nicolaus Nicolai, Receiver General of the subsidy (*beden*) in Brabant, failed because of technical difficulties.²⁷

Carondelet returned to Holland in April 1510. He was armed with a new commission, the details of which at first he kept secret. He inspected the dykes personally several times and visited sites at Petten and the Zijpe together with the local authorities in order to estimate the work involved in maintaining and dyking them. Exploratory work was carried out to determine 'if there were any clay [for dyke foundations] under the sand, and where the dyke should best be made'.²⁸

On or about 26 May 1510 the dyke at Spaarndam broke once again. There is no evidence of a storm at this time, unless it were a sudden violent squall, to explain the renewed failure of the dyke. It had been repaired shortly before, so inadequate workmanship may be inferred. This time, with his authority increased by his second but still secret commission, Carondelet stayed until the work of repair was completed. Dyke repairs were carried out expeditiously. Jacob Pijnszoon and Vincent Corneliszoon went to the regent Margaret at Brussels on 12 June to report on the state of the dykes.²⁹ Repairs were completed by August of

²⁵ '... zeker declairacien van den octroyen zedert LX jairen harwairts omme te bedijcken in de lande van Holland, Putte, Voirne ende Zeelant, mitsgaders copie auctentijck ...', NA Rek.Rek. inv. no. 343, fo. 196, undated. A preceding item on f. 195 is dated 18 Nov. 1509; NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 344, f. 195, Ibidem fo. 197; Ibidem fo. 197v; Ibidem fo. 198; Ibidem fo. 199; GA Haarlem, Vroedschapsres. 1501-1516, fo. 164v; *Bronnen*, p. 182.

²⁶ J. Belonje, *De Zijpe en Hazepolder: De ontwikkeling van een waterschap in Holland's Noorderkwartier* (Wormerveer, 1933), pp. 1-3; H. Lambooi, 'Henk Schoorl en de geschiedenis van de Hondsbossche Zeewering' in: *Dr. Henk Schoorl. Spoorzoeker der Sedimenten*, Veertiende Uitgave Kring van 'Vrienden van de Hondsbossche' (Edam, 1988), pp. 7-13.

²⁷ Bremer, *De Zijpe*, p. 19. Apart from offices in the service of Charles V, Mr Nicolaus Nicolai was the Neo-latin poet Grudius; J. P. Guépin, *De Drie Dichtende Broeders Grudius, Marius, Secundus in brieven, reisverslagen en gedichten*, 2 Vols. (Groningen, 2000). On the Zijpe see Vol. II, Section 6.1.5., pp. 689-694. I thank Prof. Dr. C. L. Heesakkers for information on Grudius' identity and his participation in the dyking plan. For a biography of Grudius (Nicolaus Nicolai), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Vol. 10 (Leiden, 1937), columns 306-307.

²⁸ '... aldair eenige Zeelanders hemluyden op dijcken verstaende mede waeren. Ende worde gedolven op diversche plecken offer eenich cley onder tsandt was ende wair men den dijck best leggen soude etc.', GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1509-1510, fo. 25v-26, dated 5 April 1510; *Bronnen*, p. 182; '... mijnen heere den bailliu van Amont ende eenige cleyne steden van Westvrieslant, commende van den Vriesendijck ende van der Zijpe...', GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1509-1510, fo. 40v, undated but after 10 April 1510; *Bronnen*, p. 188 (see also footnote 2 there).

²⁹ NA Rek.Rek. inv. no. 344, fo. 179v-180v, dated 14 April 1510; Ibidem fo. 181, dated 5 June 1510; Ibidem fo. 181v, dated 12 June 1510.

that year.³⁰

Crisis in Rijnland

New diets were held at The Hague and at Amsterdam early in July 1510 which were called on Carondelet's initiative.³¹ Other participants were Count Jan van Egmond the stadholder, deputies from Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam and Gouda, and government officers, Jacob Ruysch and Abel van Coulster who were members of the Council of Holland (*Raad van Holland*).³² After discussions about the dyke at Spaarndam, followed by a visit to the site by Carondelet and members of the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland, it was at Amsterdam on 7 July 1510 that a climax in the crisis and a dramatic confrontation of Carondelet with the members of the *Hoogheemraadschap* took place. This meeting led to their suspension from office, and a charge of negligence was made against them.

Believing themselves unassailable in their legal rights members of the *Hoogheemraadschap* challenged Carondelet to reveal the details of his commission, although he had warned them that he would then be obliged to carry out his instructions to the letter. Among the consequences which Carondelet had hoped to avoid, the *Hoogheemraadschap* was suspended from office and its members formally charged with neglect of duty.³³ That this personal confrontation with the *Hoogheemraadschap* was not Carondelet's wish nor that of the government is plain from the fact that the document suspending them from office is dated 2 April 1510, three months before Carondelet put it to effect in July. It is also apparent from an entry in the account books at The Hague that the government's aim was, even then, to be conciliatory. Carondelet was enjoined to work amicably towards a common purpose (*eendrachticheyt*) with

³⁰ GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 387, fo. 28, dated 7 Aug. 1510. A year later, in Oct. 1511, the dyke showed new signs of strain and was 'ruptured and sunk down' (... *geschoert ende gesoncken ...*), reflecting again probably the quality of the repair work. A letter from the government threatened the magistrates of Leiden with confiscation of goods in order to meet the costs; GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 383, fo. 102v, dated 27 Oct. 1511; *Bronnen*, p. 265.

³¹ For a diet at The Hague, GA Haarlem, Tres.rek. 1509-1510, fo. 29v, dated 1 July 1510; *Ibidem*, f. 30, undated. For diets at Amsterdam '... *ten scrijven van den bailiu van Amont ...*', *Ibidem*, fo. 30, dated 8 July and fo. 30-30v, dated 10 July 1510; *Bronnen*, pp. 198,199.

³² NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 344, fo. 182-182v, dated 3 July 1510; *Bronnen*, p. 197. For Abel van Coulster, *Bronnen*, p. 535; see also Smit, *Vorst en Onderdaan*, p. 572.

³³ A copy of Carondelet's second commission dated 2 April 1510 is bound with other documents concerning the magistrates of Leiden and the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland in: GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 1263, fo. 71. For printed versions of documents in the series *Oud Vaderlandsche Rechtsbronnen* see Vol. III/15: *Rechtsbronnen der Vier Hoofdwaterschappen van het Vasteland van Zuid-Holland (Rijnland, Delfland, Schieland, Woerden)*, (Utrecht, 1951), where there are texts of the following: the suspension from office of the water authority of Rijnland (dated 2 April 1510); the water authority's protest at their dismissal (8 July 1510); the dyke ordinance for Rijnland of Emperor Maximilian (26 June 1511); formal recognition of the newly appointed water authorities by the landowners (*ingelanden*) of Rijnland (23 November 1515), etc. For Carondelet's (Van Amont's) controversial meeting on 7 July 1510 with the water authorities of Rijnland at Amsterdam see S. J. Fockema Andreae, *Het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland, zijn recht en zijn bestuur van den vroegsten tijd tot 1875* (Leiden, 1934), p. 127. For a description almost *verbatim* of Van Amont's altercation with the water authorities, *ibidem*, p. 127-128, where GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 1207 is cited as source.

some members of the water board. Jan Boudijnszoon, a Councillor in the Court of Holland, went to Carondelet at Amsterdam on 12 July 1510 in order 'to instruct him that he should call together some of the members of the water authority so that the work of dyke repair could be carried out in unanimity'.³⁴ The remark reveals by inference, however, that there were factions within the *Hoogheemraadschap*, some members of which were believed to be amicable and acceptable to the government.

But members of the water authority responded to the charge of negligence made against them by accusing the magistrates of the three cities, Haarlem, Leiden and Amsterdam of slander and insult. The magistrates at Haarlem and Leiden retracted and apologized. Amsterdam proceeded in the case with the aim of achieving a High Court ruling on how the costs of dyke maintenance were to be met, costs which had been incurred in the recent past, and any which would be incurred in the future.³⁵ The final result of the legal proceedings was the government ordinance or regulation of 26 June 1511 relating to the dykes of Rijnland, their management and financing, which was to be effective for six years. Representatives of the cities of Haarlem, Leiden and Amsterdam as major land owners (*Hoofdingelanden*) in the region were empowered to participate in the management and affairs of the water authority, instead of as previously the village headmen of the surrounding countryside. Leiden proposed as a gesture of moderation and conciliation that new nominee commissioners should be acceptable (*niet suspect*) to the water authorities and others in Rijnland, and that old rights and privileges should be respected.³⁶

Events which led to the appointment of Carondelet as commissioner to supervise the repair of the dykes in Holland have been evaluated in different ways. Dee (1876) believed that the *Hoogheemraden* were unjustly treated when they were accused of negligence, and he implied that they were powerless in the face of the natural forces which overwhelmed Rijnland at that time.³⁷ Fockema Andreae (1934) argued about the legality of the measures taken against the members of the water authority for Rijnland, and concluded that the government acted from its position of strength. On the question of the measures enunciated later in the dyke ordinance of 1511 he considered that the measure was based on 'bidding and negotiating' (*loven en bieden*), and that clear principles to justify the government's actions against the *Hoogheemraadschap* were lacking.³⁸

But what led the government to act so quickly in appointing Carondelet, following the

³⁴ '... tonderwijzen dat hij eenige van den heemraden van Rijnlant bij hem zouden roupen omme twerck van den dijckaedze te bet mit eendrachticheyt zijn voirtganck te hebben ... ', NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 344, fo. 182v-183, dated 12 July 1510; *Bronnen*, p. 199.

³⁵ Fockema Andreae, *Hoogheemraadschap*, p. 129.

³⁶ '... des sel men navolgen an onse genadige vrouwe om te hebben commissarissen den heemraeden ende den Rijnlanders niet suspect. Angaende enighe geldinghe sel men volgen an mijn genadige vrouwe dat tselve uutgaen sel nae ouder manieren ende rechten ... ', GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 383, dated 7 Aug. 1511; draft resolution on a loose page; *Bronnen*, pp. 251-252; Fockema Andreae, *Hoogheemraadschap*, pp. 124-143, pp. 131-132.

³⁷ C. H. Dee, *Een crisis in Rijnland* (Leiden, 1876), pp. 9, 11, and 18-20.

³⁸ 'Bepaalde beginselen, duidelijke omschrijvingen zijn ver te zoeken', Fockema Andreae, *Hoogheemraadschap*, p. 130.

appeal from the major cities of Holland in October 1509? Was it the desire, perhaps, of a centralizing government to take permanent control of the work of the *Hoogheemraadschap*? Several possible reasons present themselves to explain the speed with which the government acted, but a probable and sufficient reason for the government's prompt action in appointing the commissioner is that the government's own financial interests were threatened. There was the question of the *bede* which had been agreed in 1509 and which was due to be renewed in 1511. Although the proposal made in the Leiden *vroedschap* on 7 December 1509 to use the money from the *bede* to meet the costs of the dyke repairs came after Carondelet's appointment as commissioner, it may have been an obvious thought in peoples' minds at that time, with general support in Holland. The *vroedschap*'s proposal to use the *bede* may then have influenced the government in the three months leading up to the formulation of Carondelet's second commission, dated in April 1510, and to the suspension from office of the members of the *Hoogheemraadschap* in July 1510 when Carondelet finally and under pressure revealed its contents to them. The Leiden council meeting on 2 May 1510 referred to the broken dykes and to a recent outbreak of the plague, and asked to be excused paying the next installment of the *bede* in advance of it being due, the so-called *anticipatie*.³⁹

The quarrel with the water authorities, their suspension from office and the government's intervention had some long term effects. From that time onwards a commissioner of the Court of Holland and a member of the Chamber of Accounts had to be present at the audit of accounts of the water authority, and the dyke levies had to be agreed mutually with the major land owners, who now included the cities of Haarlem and Leiden.⁴⁰ But although the failures of the water board's current members were evident and needed the firm hand of the commissioner Carondelet to correct them central government was unable in the longer term to work without their organization, the *Hoogheemraadschap*. By the ordinance of 1511 some new members and representatives of the cities of Haarlem and Leiden were appointed to the board of the water authorities but the reformed *Hoogheemraadschap* retained its structure, duties, rights and privileges much as before.

There is no evidence that the central government took any other measures to assume permanent control of the dyke and water management. It was perceived in government that the dyke affairs were best left locally in the hands of the people most directly affected by them. However, the crisis had its positive effects. Carondelet's incisiveness was felt and appreciated locally, and it was after the repairs in 1510 that for the next few years the dykes remained fairly stable. There is no doubt that Leiden's magistrates approved of the commissioner's firm actions. After the resolution of the political crisis and the repair of the Spaarndam dyke in August 1510 the magistrates even proposed that he should be given more powers of administration over the dykes elsewhere, and they voted him a gratuity for his good work which he had carried out 'at so little cost'.⁴¹

³⁹ GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 383, fo. 77-77v, dated 2 May 1510; *Bronnen*, pp. 186-187.

⁴⁰ M. H. V. van Amstel-Horák and R. W. G. Lombarts, *Regestenboek van het hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland. April 1253-oktober 1814* (Leiden, 1992), pp. xv-xvi; cf. also *Regest* no. 82, p. 25.

⁴¹ '... ende dat dese selfde commissaris mede mach hebben macht om toesicht tot andere dijcken omme ten anderen plaetsen, ende dat men tselve mede sel reporteren mit danderen steden an mijn genadige vrouwe, dat die commissaris weder sal comen om de voirs. saicken, ende dairtoe enighe te deputeren. Item om den ghoede naersticheyt die de commissaris gedaen heeft ende die dicke soewel gemaict is mit soe cleyne cost, dat men wel behoirt te gheven den commmissaris een gratuyteyt'. GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 383, fo. 81, dated 27 Aug. 1510;

On the matter of costs generally, it is not possible to obtain a quantitative estimate of the total damage done by the floods in the years 1508-1510. There is an estimate of the losses to property of the monastery at Egmond following damage to the dunes at Petten in September 1509, which was put at 'more than 600 guilders', but this may simply mean a large amount of money.⁴² However, the qualitative picture is not lacking in expressions like 'great and inestimable burden, wailing, desolation, damage, and sorrow which, God help us, has overtaken this country because of the dykes breaking'.⁴³ Effects of present day floods remain the same.

Participative government; four letters of the stadholder

In considering the government's actions a distinction should be made between the two commissions which Carondelet received, one towards the end of 1509 when he came to Holland for the first time in the dyke affairs, and the second commission which he had when he came in the following spring of 1510. His second commission represented a hardening of the government's attitude towards the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland, and it was this which led to the crisis of authority. Apart from the government's financial interest, there was the wish to resolve the personal crises and the severe split which existed between members of the *Hoogheemraadschap*, magistrates, councillors and landowners of the communities in Rijnland. At a time when Holland was seriously threatened by wars both from without and within its borders solidarity was needed in the community, not division.⁴⁴ Carondelet's first commission may have aroused resentment in the members of the water authority. Certainly, following his open confrontation with the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland at Amsterdam on 7 July 1510 the quarrel between him and the civic authorities on the one hand and the *Hoogheemraadschap* on the other had caused public scandal and actions for libel. It was against this situation that the stadholder Count Jan van Egmond had to take action, as two letters from him in quick succession show.

The letters, signed by secretaries to the Court of Holland (*Hof van Holland*), summoning the deputies to diets are in the style characteristic of others of the period.⁴⁵ They show the

Bronnen, p. 201. Carondelet was given a present of 25 pounds Flemish (150 pounds of 40 groats) by Leiden in recognition of his work. The accounts for 1510 are lost, but the present is recorded in an entry made by the *vroedschap* in 1517 since this item (among others) was not audited in 1510; GA Leiden, SA I, inv. no. 383, fo. 241v-242, dated 25 Sept. 1517.

⁴² J. Hof, *De abdij van Egmond van de aanvang tot 1573* (The Hague, 1973), p. 135. The term '600' (*sescenti*) also means 'countless' or 'innumerable'; C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin dictionary* (Oxford, repr. 1951), pp. 1684-1685.

⁴³ E.g. '... ende voirt van de groete laste, jammer, desolacie, scaede, verdriet dat God betert desen landen overgaet mits den inbrecke van den dijcken ...', NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 343, fo. 234-234v, dated 5 Oct. 1509.

⁴⁴ Holland at that time was under attack on land from Charles of Guelders (the war of Guelders) and at sea from pirates and French freebooters like Jean Chaperon *alias* Jan Kaproen; J. P. Ward, 'King James IV, Continental Diplomacy and the Guelders War', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 83 (2004) 70-81.

⁴⁵ J. P. Ward, 'A selection of letters, 1507-1516, from the Guelders war', *Lias. Sources and Documents relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*, 29 (2002) 125-151.

workings of a participative system of government in which the central authorities tried to cooperate as closely as possible with representatives of local government for the common good. The stadholder's letters demonstrate directly and indirectly for Holland five factors which, Blockmans proposed, were decisive for an emerging popular representative body (*volksvertegenwoordiging*) in the late medieval to early modern period: the relative strength of the ruling dynasty, physical and geographical factors affecting communication and travel (in the present case specifically within the Low Countries), social and economic structures within the political system, community strength in the face of external threats and challenges such as wars and floods, and most importantly a tradition of problem-solving through negotiation.⁴⁶

In the first letter, dated 28 June 1510, the stadholder called on Leiden to send deputies to a diet at The Hague on 1 July because the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland had complained about the repair of the dyke at Spaarndam. The stadholder wished to discuss with Leiden and other cities which he had summoned how the repairs could best be carried out. Haarlem attended the diet and Leiden most probably did so too (the accounts as sources for 1510 are lost). Then on 3 July the stadholder, officials from The Hague, delegates from the water authority Rijnland and from Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam and Gouda visited the broken dyke at Spaarndam.⁴⁷

After the crisis of 7 July at Amsterdam the second diet letter from the stadholder to the magistrates is dated 9 July and summoned them for 11 July. It begins: 'Since it has come to our knowledge that debate, doubts and differences of opinion have resulted in appeals and other actions against the commission given by our gracious lords [Emperor Maximilian and Charles (V)] aforementioned to the Bailiff d'Amont ...'. The stadholder's wish was that 'with God's help' the deputies of Haarlem, Leiden and Amsterdam together with the members of the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland at the diet would agree amicably and by common consent that the commissioner might complete the work which he had been sent to do. Transcripts of these documents, with others, are given in full below, together with translations.

On 10 July, probably in preparation for the diet which was to be held the following day at The Hague, 21 members of the court and council of Leiden held a meeting with local landowners, clergy and representatives from the countryside and the land-owning religious communities in the area, but the resolution book contains no other minutes, nor information about the discussions or any decisions taken. This suggests that there was no consensus at the meeting. On the same day the council at Haarlem met to consider Carondelet's wish for an advance of 1500 Rhine guilders to cover costs of closing the hole in the dyke at Spaarndam. They refused his request.⁴⁸ The next day (11 July) deputies from Haarlem were again present at The Hague together with Carondelet, but this time Leiden and Amsterdam failed to send

⁴⁶ W. P. Blockmans, 'Representation since the thirteenth century' in C. Allmand (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1998) Vol. VII, c. 1415 - c. 1500, especially pp. 36-37.

⁴⁷ GA Haarlem, Tresoriersrek. 1509-1510, fo. 29v., dated 1 July 1510. The Leiden accounts for this period are lost. For the visit to the dyke see NA, Rek.Rek. inv. no. 344, fo. 182-182v, dated 3 July 1510; *Bronnen*, pp. 196, 197.

⁴⁸ GA Leiden, SA I, Vroedschapsres. inv. no. 383, fo. 78v; GA Haarlem, Vroedschapsres. fo. 56, both dated 10 July 1510.; *Bronnen*, p. 198. The sum Carondelet asked for, 1500 Rhine guilders equal to 1500 pounds of 40 groats, was equivalent to about 8,600 man days at a wage of 7 groats/man/day; cf. P. J. E. M. van Dam, 'Gravers, ofzetteren en berriedragers. Werkgelegenheid aan de Spaarndammerdijk omstreeks 1510', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, 18 (1992) 447-474.

representatives.⁴⁹

The third letter is a warrant of command dated a year later and it presages the imperial dyke ordinance of 26 June 1511. It is addressed to the head of the courier service at the Court of Holland in The Hague, and it reveals other details of participative government at local level: prior consultation with the local judiciary in the communities, information to be given by proclamation in public to 'all those inhabitants of Rijnland who may be affected or concerned' about the dykes, and a call to attend the forthcoming diet at The Hague to which they too or their legal representatives were summoned. This document appears to be of higher status than the two letters referred to above which were written on paper. The warrant is on parchment, and it still bears part of the stadholder's seal which is affixed to a strip cut into the parchment.⁵⁰ Although the diet which took place at The Hague on 23 May 1511 was overshadowed entirely by problems of defence, on 26 May another diet was held to discuss maintenance of the dykes, at which deputies from Rijnland, Leiden, Amsterdam, Sloten, Sloterdijk, Osdorp and Spaarnwoude were present.⁵¹

The fourth letter presented here is in the style of other diet letters from the stadholder to the magistrates of Leiden. It concerns costs made by the *Hoogheemraadschap*, and is firm and to the point. A significant detail is that one sentence, 'we order you to convey the same [requirement to attend the diet] to the landowners within your jurisdiction that they may come too', is underlined. When this was done and by whom, is unknown, but the underlining appears to be contemporary with the letter, and its effect is to highlight once more the consultative process.

A conclusion reached from this study of the floods and the dyke crises 1509-10 in Holland is that they caused divisions not only between but within the authorities in Holland which were affected by them. In this situation the Habsburg-Burgundian government's intervention by appointing Claude Carondelet as commissioner to take direct control of the dyke repairs can only be viewed as a necessary and positive step to solving the crisis. Armed with imperial mandates Carondelet overawed local factions and reconciled their quarrels and their particular interests, and he cleared up the administrative mess in a few short months.

However, Carondelet's mission at that time was the limit of the government's intervention. In the day to day technical, fiscal and legal affairs of managing and maintaining the dykes the government recognized that they were best left in the hands of those people who had the longest experience of them. Intervention by the government only became necessary when the effects of the floods had reached such proportions that the problems they caused exceeded the managing abilities of the *Hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland.

⁴⁹ '... steden van Leyden ende Amsterdam, die nyet en compareerden ...', GA Haarlem, Tresoriersrek. 1509-1510, fo. 30v, dated 11 July 1510; *Bronnen*, p. 200.

⁵⁰ Van Amstel-Horák and Lombarts, *Regestenboek Rijnland* (Leiden, 1992), p. 21. The original size of the parchment letter, inv. no. OAR 9513/65, is 41 X 14 cm. It is illustrated in Ward, *LIAS*, *loc. cit.*, p. 54; *Bronnen*, pp. 239-240.

⁵¹ GA Leiden, SAI, Tresoriersrek. inv. no. 590, fo. 35 v., dated 26 May 1511; *Bronnen*, p. 240.

1. Draft plan for dyking the Zijpe estuary proposed by commissioners appointed for dyke affairs in Holland and submitted to the States of Holland, 1 December 1509

GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 383, fo. 70-72v.

Naedat de heeren de commissarissen⁵² mijns genadichs heeren geordineert upte visitacie van den dijcken van Hollant ende Vrieslandt, die mits den groten storm ende vloed die gebuerde in september lestleden, zeere gebroken, duervloeyt ende verdorven zijn, deselve dijcken metten gedeputeerden van den steden ende andere van desen lande ter plecken gesien, gevisiteert ende onder andere tot preservatie van denselven lande gevonden hebben, dat indien de Zijpe niet bedijct en worde, dattet geen hoipe en ware die dijcken nu te repareren in toecomenden tijden te moghen onderhouden bij diversche redenen, twelck deselve commissarissen die gedeputeerde van den lande alhier in den Haghe vergadert wesende upten eersten in decembrij XV/C negen te kennen gegeven hebben, verthoendende onder andere die grote inconvenienten die bij gebreke van derselver dijckaetze van der Zijpe den geheelen lande van Hollant upcommen souden moghen, want indien den Vriesendijck oft Geestmeerambocht inginghe, tzeewater commen zouden tot aen den Rijndijck alzo den dijck van Sparendamme dat niet keeren en soude moghen, ende alsoe Rijnlandt veel langer is dan tvoirs. quartier van Westvrieslandt, zoe soude ontwijfelick den voirscreven Rijndijck niet te houden wesen, waerbij tgheheele ander quartier van Hollandt daeran volgende ghescepen waere verloren te gaen, mit meer andere middelen daertoe dienende, begherende aen denselven gecommiteerden van den steden ende landen te willen hoeren heurluyder gedeputeerde ende andere die ter plecken metten voirs. commissarissen geweest hadden, ten eijnde dat zij concluderen wilden of deselve Zijpe van noode ende prouffitelicke bedijct waere dan niet, ende daerup huerluyder opinie ende meeninghe te verclaren.

Daerup deselve gecommiteerde van den steden ende landen upten II/en in decembry daeran nae langhe communicatie ende deliberacie bij hemluyden gehouden, den voirs. heeren commissarissen voer antwoerde geseyt hebben, hoe dat zij upte selve materie wel gelet hadden ende bevonden wel nae heure opinie als particuliere personen, dat deselve dijckaitze, indien zij doenlick waere ende stede houden mochte, prouffitelicken ende oirbaerlicken waere tot preservatie van den geheelen lande van Hollant, sonder dat zij tselve seggen ofte verclaren wilden staetsgewijs alsoe zij daerof gheen last en hadden, mair wilden gaerne daerof elcx int zijne rappoert doen ende volcommen antwoerde brenghen.

Twelck gehoert bij den voirs. commissarissen, zoe is den voirs. gecommiteerden van den Staten noch geseyt geweest als dat zij wel bevoelden dat zij van deser materie niet gefurnie[r]t en quamen, waerbij zij wel tevreden waeren dat elcx int zijne thuys vertoghe, doende goet rappoert van tguendt dat zij gesien ende gehoert hadden, verclarende de inconvenienten ende scaeden die bij gebreecke van derselver dijckaetze aenstaende zijn, ende de prouffijten, beschermenisse, preservatie ende welvaert, die bij tbedijcken van dien den geheelen lande toecoemen zoude moeghen, ende dat zij daerof overbrachten een corte finale antwoerde.

Die voirscreven commissarissen seyden hem oeck dat boven alle de concepten dier waeren ende diversche besoucken gedaen, daerbij bevonden was dat deselve Zijpe dijckelik ende houdelick waere, zoe souden zij nochtans terstont senden in Zeelandt ende elders omme eenighe notable mannen, hem dijckens verstaende, omme te reyssen upte selve Zijpe ende te besoucken ende duersien hoe ende in wat manieren tselve best doenlick waere, ende souden oick laten

⁵² Printed in *Bronnen*, pp. 174-175. The commissioners were Claude Carondelet and Roland le Fevre; see fn. 21 above and *Bronnen*, pp. 533 and 551.

weten den voirs. steden den dach wanneer deselve luyden upte Zijp wesen zouden ten eynde dat, indient heurluyder goet dochte, zij heure gedeputeerden aldaer oick mede sonden, omme de voirscreven materie te hoeren, aen te sien ende de gerechte waerheit daerof te weten.

Nietmin en sullen daerup heure finaale antwoerde niet delayeren alsoe men den tijdt wel behouft, ten eynde dat, indient bevonden worde oirbaerlick ende doenlick te wesen, dat men terstont int werck treden mochte ende indien men die contrarie bevindt, dat ment geheel ende al laten leggen mach ende adviseren andere middelen daermede men de landen preserveren sal moghen, hetzy bij hoogingen, breete van dijcken ofte anders, dat ongelijck meer costen soude dan de voirs. Zijp te bedijcken, mits de grote lencte ende veelheyt van dijcken ende twerck dat zeer qualick in veel plaetzen te gecrigen is.

Ende omme tijdt in dese materie te winnen, updat de voirs. gecommiteerde van den steden vulcommen rappoert doen mochten ende te beter ende finaelden antwoerde brenghen, zoe hebben de voirs. heeren de commissarissen hemluyden geopent ende te kennen gegeven heurluyder concept omme te fineren ende te vinden die penningen die men tot deser dijckaedze van der Zijp behouven soude, ende dat gedeelt in drie deelen gelijk hiernaer volcht.

Eerst teerste derdendeel van den penningen dattet selve costen soude up die van Geestmerambocht, Drechterlandt, die Noorderkoggen, Waterlandt ende alle andere die bij deser dijckaetze bescermt zouden worden, ende dat upte mergentalen elcx naer zijn qualiteyt.

Tanderde derdendeel upt gemeen landt van Hollandt, alsoe zij int generael daermede gebaet wesen zouden, dat men ommeslaen soude upte schiltalen.

Ende tderde ende leste derdendeel soude voldoen myne genadige heere omme die preservatie wille van zijnen landen, luyden, demeynen ende heerlicheyden.

Waervoer mijne voirs. genadige heere hebben soude deen helft van den lande binnen deselve dijckaedze vallende, ende tgemeen landt van Hollandt, die totter voirs. dijckaedze gecontribueert zullen hebben, dander helft.

Welcke concept hier gestelt is up correctie updat de voirs. gecommiteerde tselve duersien ende wel ende int lange daerup communiceren moghen, ten eynde dat zij adviseren of zij eenich beter weten omme deselve penningen te vinden tot minder quetse van den gemeenen lande, ende hierof op al te brengen heurluyder finale antwoerde tusschen dit ende den thienden dach van desen tegenwoirdiger maent van decembri.

* * *

After the Lords Commissioners of our gracious lord [Emperor Maximilian I] appointed to inspect the dykes of Holland and Friesland, which because of the great storm and flood which occurred in September last [1509] are very broken, breached and ruined, have seen and inspected them together with deputies from the cities and with other persons of this province (*land*), among other points they concluded that if the Zijpe were not to be dyked that for various reasons there would be no hope of maintaining those dykes in the future which require to be repaired now. The same commissioners have given various reasons to the deputies of the States meeting here in The Hague on 1 December 1509. They described among other things the great inconveniences which might befall the whole of Holland by omitting to dyke the Zijpe, since if the Frisian Dyke or Geestmerambacht were to fail seawater would be able to come right up to the Rhine Dyke because the dyke at Spaarndam would be unable to withstand it; and because Rijnland is much longer than the aforementioned quarter of West-Friesland then undoubtedly the afore-mentioned Rhine Dyke could not be held, whereby the whole other quarter of Holland would subsequently be liable to be lost. They added further means of evidence, requesting the selfsame deputies of the cities and States of Holland to listen to their [own] deputies and other persons who had

visited the sites together with the above-named commissioners, so that they themselves might conclude whether or not the selfsame Zijpe needed to be dyked, and to what advantage, after which they could declare their opinions and intentions.

Thereupon the same deputy commissioners from the cities and States of Holland on 2 December, the day following, after long discussions and deliberations held among themselves, gave the lords commissioners as an answer that they had studied the said matter well and concluded in their opinions as private persons that the said dyking, if it were feasible and could be carried out, would be profitable and advantageous for the preservation of the whole province of Holland, without themselves wishing to declare or say the same in an official capacity (*staetsgewijs*) because they had no mandate for that, but each of them wished to report back to their home cities and then bring a full answer.

When the above named commissioners had listened, they replied to the said deputies of the States that they understood that they had come insufficiently informed about the matter, whereupon they [the lords commissioners] were satisfied enough that each of them should return home, give a good report of what they had seen and heard, to explain the inconveniences and the damage which was imminent if the dyking were left undone, and the profit, protection, preservation and wellbeing which the whole country would receive if it were to be dyked, and that they were to bring back a short, final answer.

The above-said commissioners also said to them that besides all the plans which there were, and after numerous visits, it had been concluded that the selfsame Zijpe could be dyked and be durable, and so they would send at once into Zeeland and elsewhere for some experts, men with understanding of dykes, to travel to the same Zijpe and to visit and inspect how and in what manners the work could best be done, and they would inform the cities of the date when those people would be at the Zijpe so that if they themselves thought it good they could send their [own] deputies there to hear the aforesaid matter, to view it [the site] and to know the full truth of the matter.

Nonetheless they [the cities] should not delay their final answer because time is needed in order that, if it should be found favourable and feasible, that the work should be began at once, and if on the contrary it was decided that it should be abandoned entirely and they advised other means whereby the country could be preserved, either by heightening or broadening the dykes or otherwise, that would cost disproportionately more than to dyke the above-said [Zijpe], because of the great length and number of dykes and the work[force] that is very difficult to get in many places.

And in order to gain time in the matter, so that the above-said deputies of the cities could report fully and so better to bring a final answer, therefore the above-named lords commissioners revealed to them their plan for financing and finding the money which would be needed for dyking the Zijpe, and which now follows here in three paragraphs.

Firstly, the first third-part of the money that the work would cost, [to be levied] on the people of Geestmerambacht, Drechterland, the Northern Koggen, Waterland, and others who would be protected by the dykage, [based] on the land tax, everyone according to his station.

The second third-part on the Common Land of Holland because in general it would benefit, [to be based] on the wealth tax.

And the third and last third-part would be paid by our gracious sovereign [Charles] for the sake of preserving his lands, his people, domains and estates.

For that our aforesaid gracious sovereign would receive one half of the land falling within the dyking, and the Common Land of Holland, which would have contributed to the dyking, the other half.

The draft plan has been written here for [amendment or] correction so that the above-said deputies can examine it and then discuss it thoroughly and at length, so that they can advise whether they know any better plan for finding the money, with less [disadvantage or] injury to the Common Land, and to bring their final answer about this matter between now and the 10th day of the present month of December [1509].

2. Minute of a council (*vroedschap*) meeting held at Leiden⁵³

7 December 1509; GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 383, fo. 76v

VII decembri anno IX [- - -].

Is geopent bij monde van mr. Willem Sijmonsz., burgermeester, tghene dat den committeerden van den steden geopent is geweest in den Hage bij den commissarissen ons genadichs heeren aengaende die dijckaedze van den Zijp, ende tconcept van denselven commissarissen, twelck in geschrifte overgegeven ende gelesen worde, om hierop mede te hebben davijsse van den vroescip, om dat weder in te brengen in den nasten dachvaert die men hierop houden sel in den Hage, dwelck concept principalick roerde III punten: ten eersten oft o[r]bairlick wair den Zijpe te bedijcken, ten anderden oft doenlick wair, ende ten derden wair men die penningen vinden soude om mede te dijcken.

Opt eerste is gestemmt dattet oirbarlic ende profitelick ware, opt anderde is gestemmet, alsoe die van der vroescip hiervan ghene kennisse en hebben ende oick die plaetse niet gesien en hebben, soe stellen dit tot kennisse van denghenen die uut Zelandt commen sullen, ende andere ontrent die plaetse gelegen ende dairvan kennisse hebbende. Opt derde is gestemmet dat indien men bevindt dattet doenlick is, zoe is tbegheren van den gerecht ende vroescip dat mijn genadige heere tselfde landt bedijct tot sijne laste, mits an hem nemende alle tlandt dat men van nyeuwes bedijcken soude ende dairtoe die lopende bede, of dat mijn genadige heere een ijgelick ontlast van der bede, achtervolgende die consente voirtijts gedaen, ende die van den lande te ghoede laet alle tvoirs. inbedijcte landen huer profijten daarmede te doen, ende dairof versekere tiegen allen anderen die souden willen pretenderen enich recht an tselve landt, die van den lande sullen up die condicie die dijcken annemen te maken. Ende indien dese II condicien niet en souden moegen gebueren, om ymmer tlandt te beschermen ende te verstaen tot reparacie van den dijcken, soe is men tevreden een sekere cleyne somme te vinden opte morgentale ende niet opte schiltaelen.

* * *

7 December 1509 [then follow the names of 18 members present⁵⁴].

In opening, Master Willem Sijmonsz., burgomaster, announced what had been said to the deputies at The Hague by the commissioners of our gracious lord concerning the dyking of the Zijpe, and the plan of the same commissioners which was submitted in writing and read out in order to get the advice of the council (*vroedschap*) so that it could be submitted at the next diet to be held in The Hague. The plan concerned principally 3 points; firstly, whether it was advantageous to dyke the Zijpe, secondly, whether it was feasible, and thirdly where the money

⁵³ Printed in *Bronnen*, pp. 175-176.

⁵⁴ For the composition of the *vroedschap* about this time see A. J. Brand, *Over macht en overwicht. Stedelijke elites in Leiden (1420-1510)*, (Leiden, 1996).

was to be found to pay for the dyking.

On the first point it was voted to be advantageous and profitable; on the second point it was voted that since the council had no [expert] knowledge and members have not seen the site that this should be left to the experience of those who are coming from Zeeland, and others with knowledge of the place and its suitability. On the third point it was voted that if it is found to be feasible, then the court and council [of Leiden] desire that our gracious lord should dyke the land at his own cost, and at the same time take all the land which is to be newly dyked, and he should use the current subsidy (*bede*) for the work. Or that our gracious lord should free everyone from paying the subsidy, [being paid at present] in agreement with the consent given earlier, and leave to the States all the above-mentioned dyked land to use profitably and to safeguard it against all who might pretend to have any right to the selfsame land, and under these conditions the members of the States will undertake to make the dykes. And if these 2 conditions should be unacceptable for protecting the land and to meet the repair of the dykes then the council is satisfied to provide a small sum of money levied on the land tax scales and not on the wealth tax.

3. From the Count of Egmond, stadholder, and the Council to the magistrates of Leiden summoning them to a diet concerning the repair of the dyke at Spaarndam⁵⁵

28 June 1510; GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 1263, fo. 80; letter bound in.

[Adres:] Eerbaeren onsen bijzonderen goeden vrunden, den schout, burgermeesters ende gerecht van Leyden.

Die grave van Egmonde, heere tot Baer etc., stadhouder generael va[n Holland]⁵⁶, die Raede ons alder genadichsten heeren des keysers van Roome, ende hertog[e Karel onsen] erfachtigen heere, eertshertoge van Oistenrijck, prince van Spangen [etc.], ten saecken van Hollant, Zeellant ende Vrieslant, eerbaere bijzondere goede [vrunden].

Alsoe die heemraeden van Rijnlant up huyden an ons clachtich gecomen zijn ende hebben ons verthoent van den lasten ende inconvenienten die gec[omen] ende gevallen zijn in den dijck tusschen Sparendam ende Aemsterdam, [soe]dattet van grooten nooden is daer anders inne te voorsien of dattet ge[scepen] waere tgeheele lant riende te blijven, soe ist dat wij an u[luyden] scriven, lasten ende bevelen vanwege ons voors. genadige heren dat ghy uwen gedeputeerden in goeden notablen getale zendt alhier in den Haghe, hem verstaenden van materie van dijckaege up manendage naestcomende [1 juli], des savonts in den herberge, mit volcommen macht, niet jegenstaende ende datter des sanderen daechs Onser Vrouwen Visitaciendach is, daer wij eenige andere steden mede bescreven hebben omme mit malcanderen te helpen communi[ceren], raiden ende sluyten hoe ende in wat manieren men tzelve gat overgae[n] vorsien ende daerinne remedieren sal mogen, alsoe de saecke haeste be[geert] ende men tzelve mit alder macht overvallen moet, alsoet laet int jaer wort, ofte anders zijnder gescepen meerder inconvenienten inne te commen

⁵⁵ Printed in *Bronnen*, p.196.

⁵⁶ The right hand side of the letter has crumbled, with loss of some of the text. For Jan van Egmond (died 1516), Count, Lord of Baer, Purmerend, Hoochvoude and Aartswoude, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, etc. see: P. C. Molhuysen and P. J. Blok (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1912), Volume 8 columns 333-334, and fn. 7 above.

Eerbaere bijzondere goede vrunde, hiervan en zijt in geene gebreecke. Onsen Heere God zy mit u.

Gescreven in den Hage opten XXVIII/en dach in junio anno XV/C ende thiene.

[getek.]

C. Dam

* * *

[Address:] To the honourable, our especially good friends the scout, burgomasters and court of Leiden.

The Count of Egmond, Lord of Baar etc., Stadholder General of Holland, the Council of our most gracious lord the Emperor of Rome, and of Duke Charles, our hereditary lord, Archduke of Austria, Prince of Spain etc., acting in the affairs of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, honourable, especially good friends. Because the senior officials [*heemraden*] of the water authority of Rijnland have come to us today complaining and revealing to us the problems and the inconveniences caused by and coming from the dyke between Spaarndam and Amsterdam, so that there is great need otherwise to make provisions there or else it seems that the whole country will be inundated, therefore we write to you, charging and commanding you by the authority of our gracious lords named above that you send your deputies in good and notable number here in The Hague, people with an understanding of dyke matters, next Monday [1st July 1510], to be at the inn in the evening with a full mandate, despite the fact that the next day is [a church feast day] the Visitation of Our Lady, where we have written to some of the other cities to be present in order to communicate with each other, to advise, to reach a conclusion and to provide for how the hole in the dyke can be filled and repaired, because the matter requires speed and we have to overcome it with all our might, because it will soon be too late in the year, and otherwise more trouble can be expected to arise from it. Honourable, especially good friends, do not fail in this matter. Our Lord God be with you.

Written at The Hague, 28th June 1510.

[signed:]

C. Dam⁵⁷

4. From the Count of Egmond, stadholder, and the Council to the magistrates of Leiden summoning them to a diet to discuss the dyke repairs⁵⁸

dated 9 July 1510; GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 1263, fo. 81, letter bound in.

[Adres:] Eerbaeren, onsen bijsonder goeden vrunden, den burgermeesteren ende gerechte der stede van Leyden.

Die grave van Egmonde, heere tot Baer etc., stadthouder generael ende anders die Raide ons genadichs heeren des keysers van Romme ende hertoge Karel van Oistenrijck, prince van Spaengen etc., ende ten zaken hueren genaden landen van Hollant, Zellant ende Vrieslant,

⁵⁷ Klaas Dam in *Bronnen*, p. 535.

⁵⁸ Printed in *Bronnen*, p. 200.

eerbaeren bijsonder goeden vrunden.

Alsoe tot onsen kennisse gecommen is dat debat, questie ende geschille valt bij diversche appellacien ende anders uptie commissie verleent bij onsen genadigen heere voers. den bailliu van Amont ende van eenige steden van derwaertsover ende omme diezelve ter neder te leggen mit vruntscappe ende dat die procedueren omme den dijcken van Sparendam te repareren vredelijcken gedaen moeghen worden bij den voers. bailliu commissarijs, daertoe wij bij onsen voers. genadigen heere gelast ende bevolen zijn denzelven bailliu te assisteren, zoe hebben wij an hem gescreven ende versocht dat hij commen wille bij ons alhier in den Hage up mergen avont off up overmorgen, des donredaichs [11 juli], goets tijts voer middage zoe die saicke haest begeert, ende hebben hem gedenunchiert dat wij den gedeputeerde van Haerlem, Leyden ende Amsterdam alsdan mede bescreven hebben alhier te commen mitgaders den heemraders van Rijnlant, waeromme wij an u scrijven, ordonneren ende bevelen vanwegen ons voers. genadigen heeren dat ghij uwe gedeputeerde bij ons zeyndt alhier in den Hage ten dage voers. omme te communiceren van der materie van der dijckaige voers. ende daerinne te helpen concluderen dattet selfde werck eendrachtelijcken ende bij gemeen accordt bij den voers. commissarijs te werck gestelt mach worden, twelck wij hopen bij der hulpe van Godt dat goet te doen zal zijn, ende hiervan en zijt in geen gebreken.

Eerbaeren bysonder goeden vrunden, Ons Heere Godt zij mit u.

Gescreven in den Hage den IX/e dach in julio anno XV/C ende thien.

[getek.]

B. d'Assendelft

[Address:] To the honourable, our especially good friends, the burgomasters and court of the city of Leiden.

The Count of Egmond, Lord of Baar etc., Stadholder General, and furthermore the Council of our gracious lord, the Emperor of Rome, and of [Arch]Duke Charles of Austria, Prince of Spain etc., acting in committee in the affairs of their graces' counties (*landen*) of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, honourable, especially good friends.

Since it has come to our knowledge that debate, uncertainty and differences of opinion have resulted in numerous appeals and other legal actions against the commission given by our gracious lord afore-named to the Bailiff d'Amont, and from some cities within the province (*derwaertsover*), therefore in order to resolve these differences in friendship and to ensure that the procedures of the aforementioned Bailiff for repairing the dyke at Spaarndam should go ahead amicably, for which we have been commanded by our above named gracious lord to assist the same Bailiff, we have written to him, requesting him to come to us here in The Hague tomorrow evening or the next day, Thursday [11th July 1510], in good time before midday because the matter is urgent, and we have also announced to him that we have written to the deputies of Haarlem, Leiden and Amsterdam to come here together with the officials (*heemraden*) from the water authorities of Rijnland. Therefore we write to you, ordering you on behalf of our aforementioned gracious lord that you should send your deputies here to The Hague on the day named in order to communicate on the matter of the above mentioned dyke and to help reach a conclusion, so that the said work can be undertaken by the above named commissioner in unanimity and by common agreement, which we hope can be achieved successfully with God's help.

Do not be negligent in this matter, honourable, especially good friends, and may our Lord God be with you.

Written at The Hague, 9th July 1510.

[signed:]

B. d'Assendelft⁵⁹

5. From the Count of Egmond, stadholder, and the Council of Holland, authorizing the senior courier of the Court to publicize a forthcoming pronouncement of the regent Margaret of Austria at the Hague concerning the dyke at Spaarndam⁶⁰

18 May 1511; Hoogheemraadschap Leiden, Old Archive, inv. no. 9513/65.

Die grave van Egmond, heere tot Baer etc., stadhouder generael, die president ende anders die Raide des keyzers van Romen ende des eertshertoghen van Oistenrijk, prince van Spaengnen etc., gecommiteert ten saicken heurer genaden landen van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslandt, den eersten gezworenen bode exploitiere van der Camere van den Raide in Hollandt hierop versocht, saluyt.

Alzoe bij zekere brieven van onse genadige vrouwe ons geordonneert ende bevolen is te voorsien op tstück van der dijckage tusschen Aemsterdamme ende Sparendamme ende dairtoe te doen roupen alle dingelande van Rijnlant ende andere die dese saicke roeren ende aengaen mach, soe yst, dat wij u ontbieden, lasten ende bevelen, dairtoe committerende mits desen, dat ghij van stonden aen trect binnen der steden van Haerlem, Leyden, Aemsterdamme ende anders daer dattet van noode wesen sal, ende aldair vanweghen ons aldergenadichsten heeren bij u roupende den officier van der plecken oft noodt zij bij openb. edicte ter plecken dair men gewoonlicken is publicatien te doen, dach beteyckent alle dingelanden van Rijnlandt ende andere die dese zaicke van dijckage aenleven ende aengaen mach, te commen oft ghemachticht te senden alhier in den Hage up vridage naestcommende [23 mei], omme des anderen dages te hooren openen die beliefte ende wille van onse voers. genadige vrouwe aengaende ende roerende die voers. dyckage. Van des te doen gheven wij u volcomen macht ende speciaal bevel. Ontbieden dairomme ende bevelen allen officieren, justicieren, dienaren ende ondersaten ons voers. aldergenadichsten heeren dat zij u in dit doende, tot uwen versoucke doen alle hulp ende bijstant zonder des te laten in eeniger wys op alle tgundt dat zij heuren voers. genaden toeren duchtende zijn ende dairtegens verbueren moeghen, ons certifierende wes ghij hierinne gedaen sult hebben ende u wedervaeren sal wesen.

Gegheven in den Hage onder tsignet hier angehanghen upten XVIII/en dach in meye int jaer ons Heeren duysent vijfhondert ende elf.

By mynen heeren den stadhouder generael, den president ende Raede van Hollant, Zeelant ende Vrieslant

[getek.]

Jan Heynricxz.

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⁵⁹ Barthout van Assendelft in *Bronnen*, p. 529.

⁶⁰ Printed in *Bronnen*, pp. 239-240.

The Count of Egmond, Lord of Baar etc., Stadholder General, the President, and furthermore the Council of the Emperor of Rome and of the Archduke of Austria, Prince of Spain etc., acting in committee in the affairs of their graces' counties of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, to the First Sworn Courier employed in the Chamber of the Council of Holland appointed hereto, greetings.

Since we have been ordered by certain letters of our gracious lady [the regent Margaret of Austria] to make provision in the matter of the dyke between Amsterdam and Spaarndam and to summon all those inhabitants of Rijnland and any others who may be affected and concerned by this matter, therefore we summon, charge and order you, commissioning you by this letter to travel to the cities of Haarlem, Leiden, Amsterdam and elsewhere necessary, and there in the name of our most gracious lord [Emperor Maximilian I] to call together the officials in charge of those places, or otherwise if necessary to do so by public edict at places where it is usual for such announcements to be made, to summon all those inhabitants of Rijnland and others who may be affected and concerned by the matter of the dyke to come themselves or to send their attorneys here to The Hague next Friday [23 May 1511] in order to hear announced on the next day the pleasure and wishes of our aforementioned gracious lady concerning and touching on the above-named dyke. In order to do this we give you complete power and special command. We call on and command all officials, justiciars, servants and subjects of our aforesaid most gracious lord that at your request they should give you all help and assistance in carrying this out, without neglect of duty in any way, lest they should fear the anger and sanctions of our gracious lordships. You will certify to us what you have done in this matter and what you experienced.

Given at The Hague under the signet here appended on 18th May 1511 by my lords, the stadholder general, the president and Council of Holland and Friesland.

[signed:]

Jan Heynricxz.⁶¹

6. From the Count of Egmond, stadholder of Holland to the sheriff, burgomasters and aldermen of Leiden concerning a diet at The Hague to discuss with the Water Authorities [Hoogheemraadschap] and landowners the costs of dyke repairs dated 28 April 1515.⁶²

GA Leiden, SA I inv. no. 1263, fol. 174, letter bound in.

[Adres:] Eerbaren, onsen bijzonderen goeden vrunden, schout, burgermeesteren, scepenen ende raide der stede van Leyden.

Die grave van Egmont, heer tot Baer etc., gouverneur, ende anders die Raide ons genadichs heeren, prince van Spaengen, eert[s]hertoge van Oostenryck etc., gecommiteert ten zaicken zijnre genaden landen van Hollant, Zeelant ende Vrieslant, eerbaere, bysondere goede vrunden, wij zenden u hierinne een copie van een staetken ons geleverd by den hooge heemraeden van Rijnlant, ende ordonneren, lasten ende bevelen van wegen ons genadichs heeren dat ghij tzelve staetken wel ende int lange visiteert ende deursiet ende, tinhouden van dien mit malcanderen communiqueert ende daerup ripelick gedelibereert, schickt alhier bij ons in den Hage zekere uwe gedeputeerde up Meydach naestcomende [1 mei], savonts in die herberge, geïnstrueert ende gelast ende volmachticht omme mitten anderen ingelanden ende heemraeden van Rijnlant

⁶¹ Jan Hendriksz in *Bronnen*, p. 548.

⁶² Printed in *Bronnen*, p. 518.

daer up te opinieren, adviseren ende concluderen alzo men bevinden sal tot oirbaer ende proffyte van den lande dienende, u woerts ordonneren dat ghij tzelve insinueert den ingelanden binnen der stede van Leyden ende anderswaert binnen uwe bedrive geseten, ten eynde dat zij mede mogen comen ende geen ignorancie daer of prentenderen, u beteyckenende dat by gebreke van den noncomparanten men even veel procederen ende in die voers. saecken concluderen sal alzo men bevinden sal daertoe te dienen ende behoeren. Eerbaere, onse bysondere goede vrunden, ons Heere God zij met u.
Gescreven in den Hage, den XXVIII/e dach in april, anno XV/C ende XV.

[getek.]

Claesz.

[Address:] To the honourable, our especially good friends, the sheriff, burgomasters, aldermen and council of the city of Leiden.

The Count of Egmond, Lord of Baer etc., Gouvernor, and furthermore the Council of our gracious lord, Prince of Spain, Archduke of Austria etc, commissioned in the affairs of his grace's provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, honourable, especially good friends, we send you herewith a copy of a financial statement [*staetken*] delivered to us by the water authorities of Rijnland, and we order, charge and enjoin you on account of our gracious lord to read and to examine closely and well the same financial statement, and when you have communicated with one another about its contents and discussed it thoroughly that you send certain of your deputies to us at The Hague on 1 May following, to be at the inn in the evening, instructed, charged and with a full mandate, in order to give an opinion, to advise and to reach a conclusion with the other landowners and water officials of Rijnland, as shall be proper and profitable for the service of this land. Furthermore, we order you to convey the same directly to the landowners situated within the city of Leiden and elsewhere within your jurisdiction in order that they may come too and not pretend to have no knowledge of it. We inform you that in the absence of those who do not attend, [the diet] will proceed and reach a conclusion in the aforesaid matter as shall be found to be necessary and appropriate. Honourable, our especially good friends, the lord our God be with you.

Written at The Hague, 28 April 1515.

[signed:]

Claesz.⁶³

[Remark: the underlining in the original appears to be contemporary with the letter.]

⁶³ Hendrik Klaasz in *Bronnen*, p. 544.