Jacob van Zuden and the early fourteenth century expansion of the Hospitallers in the bishopric of Utrecht

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Abstract

The principal character in this paper is Jacob van Zuden, commander of the Hospitaller chaplains convent of Utrecht in the first two decades of the 14th century. During his administration six new dependent Hospitaller houses were founded in the bishopric of Utrecht, the most important of which was the convent of Haarlem. The question to be dealt with is how this impressive expansion was realized in a period when the military orders had come under severe criticism. The answer is sought in analyzing the role of Van Zuden in the setting up of the various preceptories. He was not a rich patron by himself, but, having been appointed papal collector and administrator of crusade money, he could make use of the crusade enthusiasm that appears to have been still vivid in the Northern Low Countries after 1291. He also seems to have gathered some capital in his additional function as auxiliary bishop of the bishop of Utrecht. More important though were his activities as councilor and creditor of three major territorial lords. He performed some administration tasks for the count of Holland and loaned him, as well as the prince-bishop of Utrecht and the count of Guelders, substantial sums of money. As he was rewarded with both interest and favors, he turned these towards his own projects, bending the situation so that all parties could be pleased.

The Hospitallers are known to have founded a central convent in the northern Netherlands at an early stage, in the cathedral city of Utrecht. The Dutch scholar Johanna Maria van Winter even holds that they were already there in 1122, which would imply that the Utrecht Catharijneconvent was the oldest Hospitaller settlement north of the Alps. Whether or not


2 Johanna M. van Winter, “Les seigneurs de Sainte-Catherine à Utrecht. Les premiers Hospitaliers au nord des Alpes,” in Autour, 239-46. The hypothesis is based on an episcopal privilege for the citizens of Utrecht and Muiden wherein seven named Jerosolimitani are presented as witnesses. According to Van Winter these brothers (?) were the first Hospitallers at the place because the wall mentioned in the text ran across the later property of the Catharijneconvent: Oorkondenboek Sticht Utrecht I, ed. Samuel Muller and Arie C. Bouman
this was the case, it has been archaeologically established that the brethren of St John had a large monastic complex with a hospital in the north part of the town in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The members of this Utrecht convent were priests and lay brothers, devoting themselves to worship and the care for the sick. Knight brothers were never to be seen here.

Curiously enough for such an early settlement, the Catharijne convent did not succeed in founding daughter-houses up to the beginning of the fourteenth century. There is no explanation for this as of yet, but it is highly possible it is connected to the abovementioned tradition of nursing. The enthusiasm with which the public throughout Europe had supported the hospital care of the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order in the West had diminished strongly after 1250. This was partly because the military orders increasingly had to give precedence to their fighting tasks, which were greatly valued by nobility but less by the urban elites, and partly because many urban communities started preferring their own hospitals which were easier to control by them. The commandery of the Teutonic Order that arose in Utrecht in 1231, not very far from the Catharijne convent, and which also focused on nursing the sick at first, rapidly changed course because of these reasons. In the 1260s and 1270s it characterized itself as a support centre for the battle for the Holy Land and Prussia, which culminated in multiple acquisitions and the foundation of several new dependent establishments of the order.

Given these data, it is extraordinary that in the first three decades of the fourteenth century no less than six new dependent commanderies were created by the older but non-knightly Catharijne convent. In 1307 there is the first mention of Sint-Jansdal, also known as ’s Heerenloo, near Ermelo; 1310 witnessed the foundation of the Haarlem convent of St John;


in 1317 the commandery of Ingen in the Betuwe starts to appear in sources; in the same year, the Benedictine nunnery of Werendike on the isle of Walcheren was converted into a new Hospitaller nunnery; in 1318 the foundations were laid for a commandery in Middelburg; and in 1326 a Hospitaller house was established in Oudewater in the heart of the county of Holland.  

This expansion is even more remarkable if we take into consideration that at the same time the military orders were suffering from a decrease in sympathy in Europe, being blamed for the loss of the Holy Land after the fall of Acre in 1291. Although they tried their best to establish new bridgeheads in Palestine to continue their battle against the Mamluks, they had little success in doing so, which – at least in part – induced the French king in 1307 to arrest the Templars, accuse them of heresy and seize their goods. How then, in these troubled times, was it possible for the Hospitallers in the diocese of Utrecht to realize such an extension of their houses and property?

In our quest for finding an answer, the intriguing figure of Jacob van Zuden stands out. In the years 1309-31, he was commander of the Catharijneconvent, and in 1312 he was appointed auxiliary bishop to the bishop of Utrecht. In addition, he played an important political and administrative role as member of the inner council of the count of Holland. Thus far, the activities of this energetic man have only been described for the episcopal part of his career; his role as promoter for the Order of St John however, has never been analyzed. This is what we wish to explore further in this article. After a brief summary of his life and deeds in general, we will focus on his role in founding the Haarlem convent. Afterwards, his efforts in supporting the other Utrecht Hospitaller settlements will be discussed and special attention will be given to the mysterious last will he drew up in his deathbed. Finally, we shall try to unravel how he gained access to the necessary means to set up the new houses.

An Impressive Career

Jacob van Zuden was born as Jacob van Denemarken. He belonged to a family owning land in the western part of the prince-bishopric of Utrecht, the so-called Nedersticht. Nothing substantial is known about his ancestors, apart from the fact that they did not belong to the

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10 Johannes F.A.N. Weijling, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de wijbisschoppen van Utrecht tot 1580* (Utrecht, 1951), 129-44.
prominent *ministeriales* of the Nedersticht and therefore had not played a role in the large scale land reclamation enterprises that were developed in the region in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is certain that he had a sister, Wonne, and a brother, Johannes, whose son of the same name married the noble-born Clementina van Zuilen in 1328. At that particular occasion, Jacob van Zuden gave his nephew the farmsteads Groot and Klein Denemarken under Demmerik at Vinkeveen, which was the apparent reason for his remarkable name.11

It is unknown when he joined the Hospitallers. When he appears in the annals for the first time in 1309, he is presented as commander of the Catharijneconvent, the successor of Diederik van der Aa.12 In 1318 he is mentioned not only as commander, but also as former rector of Zaamslag, in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen.13 This might suggest that he had been active as parish priest before he entered the order, but this is not very probable. The St-Martin church of Zaamslag was situated in a part of the diocese where Van Zuden did not have many connections. There is the hypothesis of Van Zuden acquiring the pastoral office and its rewards via the Templars through their abolition in 1312, when their goods and rights were handed over to the Hospitallers after a series of trials,14 because the Templars possessed an important commandery there.15 This suggestion however, is not plausible either, since there is no mention in any source that the Templars of Zaamslag were in possession of the patronage of the local parish church. Therefore, the most obvious explanation is that Jacob van Zuden was appointed pastor temporarily when he was already an auxiliary bishop, for example as a means of extra income as collateral for a credit loan.

His promotion to auxiliary bishop in 1312 by the Utrecht bishop Guy of Avesnes, was extremely important for the rest of his career. As a Hospitaller he was the first regular clergyman who was allowed to assist the Utrecht prince-bishop in performing his religious tasks. He was inaugurated by the pope as titular bishop of Zuda – a diocese *in partibus*

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11 Weijling, *Wijbisschoppen Utrecht*, 130. Denemarken (Denmark) was one of the fantasy names that had been given – probably by Utrecht canons – to some recently reclaimed peat districts in this region, like Spengen (Spain), Pertengen (Bretagne) and Kockengen (Cocagne). Rob Rentenaar, *Vernoemingsnamen. Een onderzoek naar de rol van de vernoeming in de Nederlandse toponymie* (Amsterdam, 1984), 108.


infidelium – on the Greek isle of Siros,\textsuperscript{16} which was then under Muslim rule, a location where he could never really exercise his office. As auxiliary bishop he travelled the whole diocese of Utrecht to consecrate churches, altars and cemeteries. The sources imply he spent a lot of time on this role in the first five years after 1312, in addition to handling Hospitaller business.

In 1317, shortly after the death of Bishop Guy, he was named a member of the – at that point still quite informal – council of Count Willem III of Holland-Hainault, who was a nephew of Bishop Guy. It is not impossible that Guy had recommended Jacob van Zuden to the count, since Jacob was entrusted by the latter with the administration of the Holland possessions in Amstelland and Woerden in 1318-19. Of old, these districts had been under Utrecht rule, but Willem’s father, Count Jan of Holland-Hainault, had confiscated them in 1301 and had consigned them to his younger brother Guy, who had not yet been appointed bishop by then. After Guy’s death in 1317, Count Willem III got Amstelland and Woerden back and incorporated them definitely into his county. It was up to Jacob van Zuden, who had grown up a few miles south to Amstelland, to claim the fines in both districts and bear the responsibility for the entire financial administration.\textsuperscript{17} Furthermore, as a political advisor to the count, he often attended the issuing of charters by the count, especially in the years 1320-22.\textsuperscript{18} In addition, he took care of several difficult issues, by himself or in cooperation with others. For example, he supervised the drafting of a new regulation for the maintenance of the great dike encircling Westfriesland in the years 1318-1320.\textsuperscript{19}

All the while his influence on Guy of Avesnes’ successor, Bishop Frederik van Sierck (1317-22), increased. At the recommendation of Count Willem III, who wholly dominated the newly appointed and encumbered by debts prelate, Van Zuden was included in the bishop's council in 1318.\textsuperscript{20} Furthermore, he also had some political influence in the county of Guelders. In 1320 he stepped in as advisor of the son of Count Reinald I, who ruled the county after he imprisoned his father.\textsuperscript{21} But Van Zuden still wanted more. The well-informed contemporary chronicler Willem Procurator describes extensively the candidature of van Zuden for bishop, a position which was opened after the death of Frederik van Sierck in

\textsuperscript{16} Konrad Eubel, Hierarchia catholica Medii aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum, vol. 1 (Münster, 1913), 467, 550, 552, 554-55.
\textsuperscript{17} De rekeningen der graven en gravinnen uit het Henegouwsche Huis, ed. Homme J. Smit, vol. 3 (Utrecht, 1939), 144-45; after 1324, Jacob van Zuden administered only the possessions of the count in Amstelland.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 133-34.
\textsuperscript{21} Berkelbach van der Spreenkel, Regesten, no. 449; see also Weijling, Wijbisschoppen Utrecht, 142.
1322.22 His nomination was supported by Count Willem III, who even led a small army into Utrecht at the eve of the election. However, the electoral college of canons was not intimidated and showed its anti-Holland and anti-auxiliary bishop sentiments – Van Zuden was reproached for greed and a lack of scholarship – by voting en masse for the provost of the cathedral chapter, Jacob van Outshoorn. Of a total of 44 votes only two were placed in favor of Jacob van Zuden, to the fury and dismay of the count and his protégé.23

When the newly chosen bishop fell ill shortly after the election, and died before his inauguration, Van Zuden decided to try again. Willem Procurator does not comment very positively on this course of action. According to him, the auxiliary bishop acted rashly by sending messengers to the Curia before the bishop was deceased. Via a confidant he persuaded the Holy Father (Pope John XXII) to take away the right of appointment from the Utrecht chapter and give it to the Curia. He expected they would support his nomination after some do ut des. However, Count Willem had started lobbying for another candidate, Jan van Diest, provost of Cambrai. This was probably because he realized Van Zuden had too little support in Utrecht. Van Zuden, unaware of the count's actions, travelled to the count who resided in Hainault to ask for his support once more. When he was informed of the bad news, according to Procurator he was “… sad because of his need for earthly goods and his lust for conquest; […] they saw him return smaller than when he left.” 24

After this debacle, Van Zuden appeared less at the count's court. Still, Willem III continued to seek Jacob's advice and support his order, while under the rule of the new bishop Jacob remained as an auxiliary bishop. His network and wealth turned out to be enough to have influence on the political developments in Holland and the prince-bishopric of Utrecht for the remainder of his life, as well as contributing to the growth and blossoming of his order. In 1325 he advised the count on the Dordrecht staple rights.25 At the request of Jacob van Zuden, the count donated a piece of land to the Hospitallers for the construction of a

22 Willem Procurator, Kroniek, ed. and trans. Marijke Gumbert-Hepp (Hilversum, 2001), 279; compare Johannes de Beke, Chronographia, ed. Hettel Bruch (The Hague, 1973), 82b. Willem Procurator, Kroniek, 279; cf. Johannes de Beke, Chronographia, 82b. Procurator, who was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Egmond when he composed his chronicle, can be identified as “… heer Willem Coppen zoen, des heren cappellaen van Brederode [chaplain of the Lord of Brederode].” As such he is mentioned in two charters concerning matters in which Van Zuden was involved as well: in 26 December 1314 and 14 January 1316. Hollands Archief, Kloosterarchieven Haarlem, inv.nos. 5-1 f. 59r (1314), and 5-2 f. 185 (1316). He therefore must have known him well. On the fiasco of Jacob van Zuden’s candidature, see also Weijling, Wijbisschappen Utrecht, 134-36.

23 Regnerus R., Post, Geschiedenis van de Utrechtse bisschapsverkiezingen (Utrecht, 1944), 91.

24 Willem Procurator, Kroniek, 296-97.

cemetery near their local chapel in Oudewater in 1326. In the same year he expanded the base endowment of the house of St John in Middelburg by transferring the *jus patronatus* of the Westmonster church. Two of their priests would be entrusted with the care of the souls from then on. The count withheld the right to reverse this decision, but promised to pay a yearly sum of 150 pounds to the Hospitaller houses of Middelburg and Haarlem as a means of compensation should he decide to do so. In short, Van Zuden and his enterprises were assured of the count's sponsorship right till the very end.

It is an open question as to in what extent the count’s support to the Hospitallers was also inspired by the crusading tradition of his family. It cannot be denied that both the Avesnes family and the Holland dynasty (to which the Avesnes branch of Willem’s grandfather, Jan, was connected in the middle of the thirteenth century, and whose counties his father Jan II took over after the death of the young Count Jan I of Holland in 1299) had an impressive track record in crusading and in favoring the military orders. Willem’s great-great-grandfather, Jacques of Avesnes, the “most courageous knight of Flanders,” had earned fame as army commander in the Third Crusade and had died in the battle of Arsuf in 1191. And Willem’s great-uncle Walter had participated in the Fifth Crusade and had afterwards given a lot of money to the Templars to help them build the enormous castle of *Atlit (Chastel Pèlerin)* near Haifa. The fact that Willem’s grandfather, Bouchard, married Margaret of Constantinople, daughter of Count Baldwin VI of Flanders and emperor of Constantinople, added enormously to the prestige of his family. Bouchard and his son Jan I and Baudouin of Avesnes are known to have patronized the Templars in Hainaut, whilst Floris of Hainaut, a younger son of Jan I and Aleid van Holland, had pursued a fighting and crusading career in Italy and the Levant after 1277, which he ended in 1296 as prince of Achaea through a marriage with Isabelle of Villehardouin. In the tradition of the comital family of Holland, he, his mother Aleid, his brother-in-law Count Floris V, and his father, the

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32 Mol, “Vechten of verplegen?”, 35. He will have been the Florent of Holland [N.B. not the count of the same name!] who accompanied Countess Alice of Blois on her little crusade of 1287: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (London, 2005), 203, 213.
Roman King Willem II of Holland, were all benefactors of the Teutonic Order.\textsuperscript{33} The previously mentioned Count Jan of Hainault, who was to become Count Jan II of Holland, continued his father’s and grandfather’s sponsoring tradition in 1300 by confirming the rights of the Templars to the feudal relief payments for all his fiefs in the county of Holland.\textsuperscript{34} It is striking, however, that neither the Avesnes nor the Holland family had a special relationship with the Hospitalers. The records of the Hospitalier commandery of Haute-Avesnes, for instance, do not mention gifts or privileges given to them by any of the ancestors of Willem III.\textsuperscript{35} We suppose therefore that apart from his political and financial reasons to help Jacob van Zuden and his Hospitaliers, the count especially sympathized with them because they were really making some preparations for a new crusade to free the Holy Land to which his family had been committed for a long time.

About Van Zuden’s relations with the order’s hierarchies, we can be brief. As will be pointed out later on, Jacob van Zuden was active in 1319 as sub-collector of dues and contributions in one of the German priories. Apart from this, he does not seem to have played a role on a higher level within the order’s province of Alamania, to which the convent of Utrecht and its members belonged.\textsuperscript{36} This extensive province constituted a complex and divergently structured unit in comparison to the other main districts of the Hospitalers in France, Spain, Italy and England.\textsuperscript{37} It consisted of no less than five priories, in which much room had to be given to local arrangements. The Master and the central convent tried hard, especially in the first decades of the fourteenth century when they were in sore straits for money, to strengthen the control over the “Alamanian” commanderies and bailiwicks (Balleien or groups of commanderies) that were thought to be too independent.\textsuperscript{38} It would go too far to analyze the exact position of the Utrecht bailiwick and its preceptors within the organizational structure of the province. Suffice it to say that Jacob van Zuden as a priest had no chance to reach a high administrative rank as prior, preceptor generalis or magnus

\textsuperscript{33} Mol, “Vechten of verplegen?”, 35-38. At least two bastards of the Holland family found a place as knight brother in the Teutonic Order in the years 1260-80: ibid., 36.
\textsuperscript{34} Jacques Vey, L’Ordre du Temple en Flandre et dans la Belgique impériale (Leuven, 1955), 54.
\textsuperscript{35} Charles d’Héricourt, Titres de la commanderie de Haute-Avesnes antérieurs à 1312 (Arras, 1878).
\textsuperscript{36} Within this province, the Utrecht group was subordinate to the prior of Germany, whose priory – also bearing the name of Alamania – covered roughly the territory of present-day Germany and the Netherlands. In the early fourteenth century, this priory was temporarily split up into two units: Low Germany and High Germany, with Utrecht of course belonging to the former: Van Winter, Sources, 17-21.
\textsuperscript{37} See the excellent, pioneering article of Anthony Luttrell, “The Hospitaller Province of Alamania to 1428,” in Ritterorden und Region – politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter, ed. Zenon H. Nowak (Torun, 1995), 21-42.
\textsuperscript{38} For instance in 1312 when they entrusted the Italian Paolo de Modena with the area of Brandenburg, which consisted of Saxony, of Mecklenburg, of the March of Brandenburg and of Thuringia, which then of course caused resentment among the leading German brethren within it; Luttrell, “Province of Alamania,” 33-34.
preceptor, since these offices were reserved for (mainly German) knight brothers from prominent noble families. His playing ground was and could only be the circle of priest-brother houses within the prince-bishopric of Utrecht and the counties of Holland, Zeeland and Guelders. As long as he managed to pay his dues in time to the prior, he was like many other order’s dignitaries in Alamania “king in his own realm”, provided he had the support of his chapter and the secular rulers in the region.

Haarlem: The Foundation of the House of St John and the Takeover of the Lazarite Convent

So how did Jacob van Zuden operate in promoting his order in the northern Netherlands? His first – and at the same time his greatest – enterprise was the foundation of the house of St John in Haarlem, which was completed in several phases. A lot is known because the archives of the Haarlem house were handed down relatively intact. In particular, a four-part cartulary offers room for detailed research, especially for the period of establishment.

The foundation can be regarded as the result of an intensive collaboration between Jacob van Zuden and Gerard van Tetterode, a canon of the chapter of St Mary in Utrecht. Gerard van Tetterode belonged to a family of lesser nobles with landed property in the southern part of Holland and the surroundings of Haarlem. In 1310 he transferred a housing complex in Haarlem to the commander of the Catharijneconvent in Utrecht and added more possessions to finance a series of memorial masses. Within a few days, all formalities were taken care of.

It was a swift and well-planned operation. On 17 July both the memorandum of association and its episcopal confirmation were issued. A day later Gerard van Tetterode authorized his brother to transfer his possessions in Haarlem and Monsterambacht to the new foundation. On 20 July the bishop asked the local authorities in Haarlem and Monsterambacht to place these possessions under their protection. A day later the first brothers of St John appeared in Haarlem, probably originating from Utrecht. In addition, on 25 July Gerard's brother Simon van Tetterode strengthened the base dotation of the new

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39 As can be deduced from the all the names of dignitaries given by Luttrell, “Province of Alamania,” passim.
40 Noord-Hollands Archief at Haarlem, Kloosterarchieven Haarlem, nos. 5, 1-4 [cited hereafter as Cartularium].
41 The foundation charter is edited in Cornelis J. Gonnet, “De commanderij van St. Jan,” in Geschiedenis en beschrijving van Haarlem, van de vroegste tijden tot op onze dagen, ed. Francis Allan, vol. 2 (Haarlem, 1874), 249-386, at 256; for the confirmation charter, see Cartularium 5-1 f. 3v.
42 Cartularium 5-1 f. 14v.
43 Cartularium 5-1 f. 15.
44 Willem Procurator, Kroniek, 247.
house with an additional fourteen acres of land. Even though the name of Jacob van Zuden does not appear in the documents, there is no doubt he was involved in his capacity as commander of Utrecht from the beginning of the project. Gerard van Tetterode, already old and weak when he transferred his possessions to the foundation of the convent of Haarlem, died on 27 October the same year. He probably missed the inauguration of the convent. He died too early to be buried there.

Van Tetterode's donation constituted a small foundation, but a lot more was needed. Van Zuden immediately started searching for expansion possibilities and found these in a merger with the existing Lazarite convent situated in the south of the city. It was founded in 1307 by Willem van Egmond, member of an important noble family. In 1309 the pope had extended them a privilege; this included permission to collect alms and to preach once a year in every parish church. In 1310 Willem van Egmond bequeathed extra money to the convent in his will, as well as his armor, clothing and a number of beds with blankets. His small wooden bowl was bequeathed to the commander Menso. Rather than a material importance, this donation had an emotional value. The bowl indicates a common past of Willem and Menso, who perhaps used it to share meals while on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Maybe they were in Akko together before 1291, and were impressed by the Lazarites’ work in their hospital. They could not have been inspired much in the Netherlands, since the Order of St Lazarus did not have any establishments there, apart from a poorly documented commandery in Subburchdike. We only know for certain that Willem's great-grandfather visited the Holy Land at least once.

In the same year of 1310, business went awry for the Haarlem brothers of St Lazarus. When one of them visited the new headquarters in France, at the castle of Boigny near Orléans, he was not received with open arms. On the contrary, he was ordered by Grand Master Thomas de Sainville to lay down his habit at once. Sainville even threatened him and his fellow brothers to be excommunicated if they continued to dress as Lazarites. Their convent was founded without his knowledge and consent, and he could not allow them to

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45 Cartularium 5-1 f. 15.  
46 Willem Procurator, Kroniek, 247.  
49 Ibid., 390-91. On Willem II, lord of Egmond, see Adriaan W.E. Dek, Genealogie der heren en graven van Egmond, (The Hague, 1958), 11. Willem died on 2 or 3 July 1312 and was buried in Egmond. His wife passed away in the same year.  
50 It was situated near Kats in Zeeland, and was supposedly swallowed by the sea in 1540: Michael Schoengen, Monasticon Batavum II, de Augustijnsche orden (Amsterdam, 1941), 40-41.  
51 Dek, Genealogie van Egmond, 9.
continue to exist. We can only guess as to why the Grand Master was so harsh and rejective. In this period of time – the process against the Templars was currently ongoing – he possibly found himself in a difficult position. Just like the other military and hospital orders, the Lazarites had to find new tasks and functions, something which would not prove very successful in the end.\textsuperscript{52} As for the Haarlem convent, the rejection by Sainville meant its temporary end. The bishop of Utrecht ordered his local provisor and deacon of Kennemerland, magister Gerard, to look into the matter, but he too concluded that the commandery was founded on insufficient legal grounds.\textsuperscript{53}

Willem van Egmond was taken aback but refused to give in. On 7 May 1311 he confirmed all his donations and declared he wanted to continue his foundation by either having the brothers join another order or by transforming the convent into a collegiate chapter.\textsuperscript{54} In both cases the community would continue the church services and assure him and his wife of salvation for eternity. However, when Willem died in 1312 the problems had not been resolved. Nothing is known of the negotiations at that time, but eventually Willem's brother Wouter transferred all the convent's possessions to the Hospitallers. At the same time Jacob van Zuden gave Wouter the usufruct of some of these possessions.\textsuperscript{55} He also assured him he need not worry about the memorial services for his deceased brother; the Hospitallers would take care of those. From their Liber Memoriarum it can be inferred they kept that promise.\textsuperscript{56} Commander Menso and other former Lazarites moved to the house of St John. Later a certain Menso, who lived in the convent, is named in several testaments.\textsuperscript{57}

The takeover of the Lazarite convent can be described in modern terms as a “win-win” situation. All parties gained benefit from it. The refusal of the Lazarite Grand Master to acknowledge the establishment of Willem van Egmond and brother Menso brought trouble to the convent as well as the founder’s family. By Van Zuden’s deal the future existence of the brothers was guaranteed, salvation for Willem van Egmond and his wife was certain, the material base of the Hospitaller convent was strengthened, and the Egmond family was assured – at least temporarily – of a part of their old possessions.

\textsuperscript{53} Gonnet, “Klooster van St. Lazarus,” 392-94.
\textsuperscript{54} Cartularium 5-1 f. 19v; \textit{Groot Charterboek van Holland en Zeeland}, 2:117; Gonnet, “Klooster van St. Lazarus,” 394-95.
\textsuperscript{55} Cartularium 5-1 f. 20v, and 45v (both charters were issued on 12 December 1312).
\textsuperscript{56} Noord-Hollands Archief, Kloosterarchieven Haarlem, no. 189, f. 32.
\textsuperscript{57} See Willem Procurator, \textit{Kroniek}, 247. Menso is named in the undated last will of Alveraed van Koudekerke: Cartularium 5-2 f. 211v, and in the testament of Simon van Tetterode from 1316: ibid., f. 28v. A brother Menso also appears in the Liber Memoriarum of the Haarlem house of St John: Noord-Hollands Archief, Kloosterarchieven Haarlem, no. 189, f.4 and 20v.
Further Fundraising for the Haarlem House of St John

The income yielded from the possessions of Gerard van Tetterode and Willem van Egmond was not enough to finance the construction of the prestigious church and the convent buildings Jacob van Zuden envisioned. Little by little he bought houses and land in the area of the first Hospitaler establishment in the north of the city until he had obtained enough space to start a large construction. The chronicler Willem Procurator states – this time with admiration – how Van Zuden had a *regalis aula* constructed, which was completed in 1316. In 1317-18 the church and the adjoining courtyard were taken into use. The church remains intact to this date. The convent developed into the most important religious house of Haarlem. It would pass the older Frisian commandery of Sneek in wealth and even challenged its mother convent in Utrecht.

In its early days, an important motive for the donators of the Haarlem convent was the ability to utilize donations to buy off the vows they made to aid the Holy Land. In 1315 a Haarlem beguine named Bartrade donated her share of a part of “Kruisland” (cross land) to Jacob van Zuden. The Hospitallers, or *Sint-Jansheren* as they were called in Dutch, became proprietors, but as long as Bartrade lived they had to give her its yearly income for her to distribute amongst the poor. After her death the convent would take over this act of charity. However, should there be another crusade, the Hospitallers were supposed to calculate the land’s worth and give this sum to the crusaders. So, in the first decades of the fourteenth century, Kruisland had a special status. It was meant to contribute to a future crusade. Years later, when the enthusiasm for crusades had died down and its goal became vague, the meaning and function of Kruisland were contested. Therefore, in 1355, some inhabitants of a village close to Haarlem made a statement on another piece of Kruisland situated in their parish. They declared that its proceeds bought shoes for the poor and that the land was excluded from taxes because of its special status.

When Bartrade made her donation, Jacob van Zuden was named *collector* of money for the commutation of crusade vows, and of the possessions belonging to the Holy Land in the diocese of Utrecht, in name of the Holy See. From this can be inferred that Van Zuden also had another task. The pope had ordered him to collect sums to finance a new crusade. In
the count of Holland requested his subjects to aid Van Zu den in accomplishing this goal.⁶²

It seems Van Zu den was already occupied with this in 1311. When Elisabeth van Heukelom, a noblewoman of Heemskerk, dictated her last will in 1311 she allowed 50 pounds of her capital to be used for the Holy Land. Jacob van Denemarken, at that time not yet bishop of Zuda, had to make sure the money would actually be used for that purpose.⁶³ He was one of the executors of her testament and in this capacity was to make sure to distribute 150 pounds among the poor. Another noble lady, Alveraed van Koudekerke, member of the Brederode family, bequeathed on her deathbed 20 pounds for the funding of a new crusade. Until that time, the convent of Haarlem would hold the money.⁶⁴ This was quite natural, since which organization was better suited to manage the Kruislanden (cross lands) or money for crusades than a military order such as the Hospitallers? There are several similar mentions and Kruisland stipulations transmitted from the first decade after the fall of Acre, referring to both the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order.⁶⁵ They can all be found in testaments from the early fourteenth century, solely from women belonging to noble or patrician families.⁶⁶ Apparently women were more likely to give money or lands for the liberation of the Holy Land than men. Perhaps this is logical, since women were not allowed to participate in the crusades themselves. The same is true for parish priests. They could not abandon their flock for an armed pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. For two of these priests, testaments have been found with donations aimed towards a new expedition to liberate the Holy Land.⁶⁷

What happened to all these gifts when it became apparent a new crusade was not going to be organized in the near future? It seems likely to assume they were put to use for

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⁶² On 14 January 1316: Cartularium 5-2 f. 185.
⁶³ Cornelis J. Gonnet, *Vier parochiën in de middeleeuwen. Heemskerk, Beverwijk, Zoeterwoude en Hazerswoude* (Haarlem, 1881), 4-6.
⁶⁴ *Item do et lego pro cruce mea viginti libras quas fratres Sancti Johannis baptiste in Haurlem sibi reservabunt quousque commune fuerit passagium transmarinum et tunc easdem per suos fratres fideliter transmittent in subsidium Terre Sancte*, undated, probably 1315 or later: Cartularium 5-2 f. 211v.
⁶⁵ For the Teutonic Order, see the donation charters of lady Olent van Noordwijk (1293) and Beatrix, wife of Simon van Twistrate: *Archieven der Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde, balie van Utrecht*, ed. Jan J. de Geer tot Oudegein 2 vols., (Utrecht, 1871), nos. 281 and 303.
⁶⁶ “Kruisland” is named in the testament of Cille Eggaird from 1301, Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Abdij Leeuwenhorst, charter of 22 March. In the last will of the beguine Pieternelle van der Zande, Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Abdij Rijnsburg, no. 519, a bequest is recorded from 10 pounds *pro redemptione victoriosissime crucis*. Similar donations are found in the testament of Margaretha, the wife Amilius, bastard of Johannes Adelberti: Noordhollands Archief, The Hague, Abij Egmond, no. 3 f. 56v-57; in the last will (1312) of the beguine Glorie, Historisch Archief Westland, Archief van de Heilige Geest te ‘s-Gravenzande, no. 74, and in the testament (1323) of a certain lady Godelt, ibid., no. 31.
⁶⁷ For instance, in the testament from 1322 of Florens, parish minister of Hillegom: Cartularium 5-2 f. 195; and in the will of Nicolaes called Egghelijn, chaplain in Purmerend, from 1326: ibid., 5-1 f. 43v.
convent practices, or were even combined with the regular finances of the convent. Whether that actually happened under Jacob van Zuden's guidance remains unclear. But as a collector, he did prove to be able to collect large sums of money and to manage them properly for the good of his foundation in Haarlem.

Naturally, money and goods were also donated to the Haarlem Hospitallers because of reasons other than the crusades. A lot of land and money was donated for the foundation of the chapels or the celebration of annual memory masses in the new church. Several benefactors named van Zuden as their executor, such as the abovementioned Elisabeth van Heukelom. Van Zuden knew them personally and they put their trust in him.68

A special category of benefactors transferred all of their possessions to the convent; in exchange they would receive a sum of money annually. In most cases these were women without the protection of a father or husband. Some of them (but not all) were named as associated members.69 These women often stated that their reasons for joining the convent had a religious nature. However, care and protection will have been part of their motivations. After all, widows and orphans were vulnerable groups in the Middle Ages. They could use all the protection they could get, and would gladly accept the protection of a powerful order such as that of St John with its influential member Jacob van Zuden.

Some other benefactors were employed by the count. The oldest known, Diederik van der Wale, was master of Count Willem III's house. He donated land to the Catharijneconvent in Utrecht as early as 1303. However, as soon as the convent in Haarlem was established, he transferred his gift to the new house. As a side note, at the time of his death he had accumulated quite some debt, including with Van Zuden.70

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68 In 1322 he was appointed executor of Hildegond, a Haarlem patrician’s daughter and wife of Jacob van Bakenesse: Cartularium 5-1 f. 44v. Two years later Van Zuden acted as executor of the last will of Theodericus, parish minister of Oudorp, ibid., 5-1 f. 127.

69 In 1312 Beatrix, daughter of Nicolaus de Rollant, was admitted as consoror: Cartularium 5-2 f. 241v; the same goes for Clara, stepdaughter of the late Johannes Hanneboyn; in the same year she gave her donation pure et simplice propter deum: ibid., 5-3 f. 350; likewise as consoror was admitted in 1314 Ghertrude de Staten, who had been lady-in-waiting of the noblewoman Aleidis Uterwijk (a sister of Alveraad van Koudekerke, and thus also belonging to the Brederode family): ibid., 5-1 f. 43; in the same year Katerine, widow of Hugo Baertradenz, joined the order, not as consoror however but as soror: ibid., 5-1 f. 43; in 1318 it was accorded with Haseciaen, daughter of Jan van Zaenden, that if she wished she could live in the convent or even would be admitted to the order: ibid., 5-2 f. 266; in 1320 Gheertruit Moelnaersdochter, widow (?) of Gerijt Snider, was received into the order, together with her cousin Hugo: ibid., 5-1 f. 38; in 1324 Aechte, dochter van Katrina uter Wije: ibid., 5-1 f. 43v-44.

70 About his offices and family relations: Hans M. Brokken, Het ontstaan van de Hoekse en Kabeljauwse twisten (Zutphen, 1982), 222-23. He gave his first donation in 1303 “… for his sins and the salvation of the souls of his parents”: Cartularium 5-1 f. 29. The second gift was done at his deathbed in 1310: ibid., 5-1 f. 15v. His debts then amounted to 200 pounds: ibid., 5-1 f. 56.
Van Zuden used influential local connections when he was raising funds for the convent. Two wealthy inhabitants of Haarlem stood out. The knightly Willem ver Baartenzoon was the first to be appointed to purchase real property and to accept donations in the name of the convent. In some cases he was also involved in validating donation charters. Just as Jacob van Zuden and Diederik van der Wale, he too served the count of Holland as a public servant. He administered the count’s possessions in Kennemerland and Westfriesland for some time and was also responsible for collecting taxes in these areas.

Together with Jacob he designed a new system of contributions for the maintenance of the great dike encircling Westfriesland in 1320 and took care of the necessary measuring of the lands that could be taxed for this purpose. The other was magister Gerard Mensenzoon, rector of the Haarlem parish school and deacon of Kennemerland. The bishop had asked him to investigate the legitimacy of the foundation of the St Lazarus convent. By declaring it unauthorized he paved the road for the takeover by the Hospitallers. Was it coincidental that shortly after, Van Zuden promised him a yearly income of ten pounds? And that this income would be provided through a piece of land which earlier was the property of the Lazarite convent?

It must have been a reward for Gerard’s help in the negotiations with the Egmond family. In 1315 magister Gerard donated land to the convent of St John to aid in the liberation of the Holy Land. In the period between 1312 and 1322 he was involved in issuing no less than fifteen donation charters or certificates of land transfer in favor of the convent, as either witness or co-sealer. In 1322 he was appointed pastor of Haarlem and he donated enough land to the Cistercian nunnery of Leeuwenhorst for four nuns to get by.

The primary profit for the Haarlem convent came from the good relations between van Zuden and Count Willem III, who had a particular fondness for the convent. The count gave the Hospitallers the jus patronatus of three parish churches: of Heemskerk, in 1319,

71 At six occasions he bought landed property or accepted gifts for the convent: in 1312, Cartularium 5-3 f. 346v and 5-3-f. 348; in 1315: ibid., 5-2 f. 162; in 1317: ibid., 5-2 f. 290; in 1321: ibid., 5-1 f. 38 (bezit); in 1323: ibid., 5-2 f. 290. He sealed deeds in 1315 (of Simon van Tetterode): ibid., 5-1-f. 25, and in 1318: ibid., 5-2 f. 162.
72 Rekeningen graven van het Henegouwsche huis, introduction, 139-41. He is also mentioned in the Liber Memoriarum of the convent, together with his brother: Cartularium no. 189 f. 51.
73 Beenakker, Van Rentersluze tot strijkmolen, 16.
74 Cartularium 5-1 f. 25; see also Marjan Copray, “De bezittingen van de commanderij van Sint Jan te Haarlem vanaf haar oprichting tot 1460; in het bijzonder het grondbezit buiten de stad” (unpublished Master thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1976), 14.
75 Cartularium 5-1 f. 33v.
76 1312: Cartularium 5-2 f. 241v; 1313: ibid., 5-3-f. 349v; 1314: ibid., 5-1 f. 3; 5-3 f. 347; 5-3 f. 349v; 5-1 f. 43; 1315: ibid., 5-1 f. 81v; 5-3 f. 351; 5-2 f. 241v; 5-1-f. 25; 1316: ibid., 5-2 f. 185; 5-3 f. 350; 1318: ibid., 5-2 f. 162; 1320: ibid., 5-1 f. 38; 1322: ibid., 5-2-f. 195.
77 Geertruida de Moor, Het cisterciënzerinnenklooster Leeuwenhorst in de Noordwijkse regio (1261-1574) (Hilversum, 1994), 304.
78 Gonnet, Vier parochiën, 8.
and of Hazerswoude and Zoeterwoude in 1328.\textsuperscript{79} In 1320 he donated a substantial amount of land in the vicinity of Haarlem.\textsuperscript{80} Furthermore, around 1325 he transferred the rights of his feudal relief for all his vassals in Holland to the convent; this right was formerly in the hands of the Templars of the commandery Te Brake near Alphen in what is currently Noord-Brabant. This house was occupied by the Hospitalers after the disastrous disbandment of the Templar order in 1312, but they had not been allowed to keep this lucrative source of income, much to their dismay.\textsuperscript{81} A final gift of the count was his abolishment of feudal obligations still resting on property bought or donated to the convent. He declared these as “free property.”\textsuperscript{82} With the help of these comital favors, Van Zuden managed to ensure the beginnings of a prosperous future for the Haarlem convent.

The Takeover of a Benedictine Nunnery in Werendike and the Foundation of a New Commandery in Middelburg

Outside of Haarlem, Jacob van Zuden can be found acting as Hospitaller “developer” in Walcheren, Zeeland. Around 1200, the Utrecht Catharijneconvent possessed some property near Koudekerke, but the Hospitalers never settled there. It was Jacob who took the initiative in founding new commanderies. On 25 September 1313 he took care of a piece of land of about 20 acres with a “huisinghe” (house) in Kerkwerve near Domburg,\textsuperscript{83} which he was allowed by Willem III to keep for life, free of land taxes and water board contribution.\textsuperscript{84} It is quite possible he housed brothers there immediately, even if this is not verified. Jacob probably acquired the complex earlier from the count, in exchange for services offered.

In 1317 there was a sudden opportunity to expand this “huisinghe” in Kerkwerve to a sizable Hospitaler convent. The prioress and the convent of the Benedictine nunnery Porta Coeli (Gate to Heaven) in Werendike, a small parish near the west of the island of Walcheren, had asked the count for support because they were unable to support themselves

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 157-58.
\textsuperscript{80} Koene, “Tussen Gracht en Hout,” 120-21.
\textsuperscript{81} Theodorus van Riemsdijk, De tresorie en kanselarij van de graven van Holland en Zeeland uit het Henegouwische en Beyersche Huis (The Hague, 1908), 16.
\textsuperscript{82} In 1316 for the land that Van Zuden had bought in Monster: Cartularium 5-1 25v; in 1317 for rents in Haarlem: \textit{ibid.}, 5-2 f. 290. In the same year a certain IJsbrant Willemsz van Rinneghem founded a series of masses in the convent church, to be financed with property for which he had manage to acquire an exemption of feudal burdens from the count, who in return then had asked to be mentioned in the masses: Gonnet, \textit{Vier parochiën}, 155.
\textsuperscript{83} In the literature the later Hospitaler convent of Kerkwerve on Walcheren is often mistakenly identified with the village Kerkwerve on the isle of Schouwen.
\textsuperscript{84} Robert Th. Fruin, “Grondbezittingen der abdij van Echternach op Walcheren,” \textit{Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde, ser. 3}, 6 (1892): 291-306, at 298-99: In Coldekirk. Elelmus filius Reineri habet ... in terra Hospitalium unam et dimidiam [mensuram]. We thank prof. Peter Henderikx for drawing our attention to this passage.
any longer. Like many women convents in Holland and Zeeland, it was founded in the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1249 it had acquired a privilege by the Roman King Willem II of Holland: he gave the sisters a piece of dune land and exonerated them from all comital burdens for about 200 acres of land. This does not mean they had that amount of land at that time; it was more a license for future property that was still to be acquired. From a later confirmation of the mentioned privilege it was assessed that they did not acquire more than 70 acres. This was not a lot. No wonder the community, consisting of eight nuns and two novices (but without a provisor), called for help from the count in Middelburg.

The first solution the count and his council (including Jacob van Zuden) thought of was to merge them with the Benedictine nunnery of Rijnsburg in Holland, which followed the same order and had the same privileges. This might have seem a clever plan, since the richly endowed abbey of Rijnsburg was in the possession of a large curitis of more than 500 acres near Oostkapelle in Walcheren, 15 kilometers east of Werendike. The idea was to move the sisters of Porta Coeli to Rijnsburg and to have the Rijnsburg lay brothers who were attached to the grange in Oostkapelle, exploit their remaining possessions. This is how it was mentioned in a certificate from 14 April 1317: both sister communities were to form a consociatio with one another. However, it did not take long before the initiators of the merger realized the Rijnsburg nuns would never agree. There is no documented reply from them, but it is not very hard to imagine the noble Holland ladies refusing to merge with the lowly born poverty-stricken sisters from Zeeland, who could not bring anything of value to the community in terms of money and goods.

Following these events, Jacob van Zuden presented an alternative idea. He declared he was willing to take in the sisters of Werendike in his own order of the Hospital, to merge their possessions with his in Kerkwerve, and to transfer them there. On April 26, only twelve days after the previous idea was launched, the new certificate was decreed by Willem III. The sisters were promised that their number would be maintained (at ten) and they would not be replaced by brothers. This promise was kept. In the few documents pertaining to this

89 Ibid., 183-4. We think that at the end of the passage ...moniales et sorores mutarentur in fratres, following the promise that the number of nuns will be kept at ten, the word non is missing. Otherwise the promise would not have made sense.
nunnery there is always mention of a population of eight to twelve sisters, guided by a priest commander.\footnote{In 1367 the house counted \textit{II priester, II leyen, VIII suster}; Karl Borchardt, “Soll-Zahlen zum Personalstand der Deutschen Johanniter vom Jahre 1367,” \textit{Revue Mabillon}, n.s. 14 (2003): 83-114, at 100. In 1495 it was occupied by two chaplains and twelve sisters \textit{... que legunt omnas horas canonicas}; van Winter, \textit{Sources}, 453.}

The Order of St John did not have a special branch for women at this time.\footnote{Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson, “Introduction: A Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,” in \textit{Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages}, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2006), 3.} Their hospitals in the Holy Land do seem to have had sisters and female personnel hired for nursing poor and sick pilgrims. Furthermore, wealthy ladies were accepted into several houses in the West as \textit{donatae or familiares}, who supported the enterprises of the brotherhood with their membership. These are usually marked as \textit{sorores or consorores} in sources. Some of them we already mentioned in the section discussing the development the Haarlem house of St John. Their status could include material property such as houses near or connected to the convent. But real communities of Hospitaller sisters under the rule of a chosen prioress or abbess were scarce in Western Europe. Some could be found in Italy (Genoa and Pisa), Aragon (Sigena), Catalonia (Alguaire), Southern France (Beaulieux and Fieux in Cahors) and England (Buckland). These were mostly noble or even royal foundations which were forced upon the order by their respective protectors. There is a possibility Jacob van Zuden knew one of these houses through his network, but as an auxiliary bishop who frequently visited the northern part of the Utrecht diocese he was probably better acquainted with the (for the order of the Hospital) exceptional organization of houses in the Frisian area, which were almost all occupied by brothers as well as sisters.\footnote{Johannes A. Mol, “The Hospitaller Sisters in Frisia,” in \textit{Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages}, 179-208. Regrettably, these female Frisian communities are ignored in the recent books by Myra Bom, \textit{Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades} (Basingstoke, 2012), and Jonathan Riley-Smith, \textit{The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070-1309} (Basingstoke, 2012), 105-07.} The richest of these, the commanderies of Warffum and Wijtwerd, developed long before 1300 into convents of singing nuns which had a prioress, but were under the guidance of a priest commander. It appeared that a nunnery was connected to the Utrecht Hospitaller priest convent of Sneek in the same fashion. The other Frisian houses, however, held small communities of lay sisters who did have their religious routines, wore the cross on their habits and considered themselves proper sisters of St John. In this context, the idea of incorporating a female convent in the Utrecht bailiwick was not that unusual.

Again, the incorporation provided a solution which pleased all parties. The sisters of \textit{Porta Coeli} received guidance from qualified clergymen and were assured of the care and
judicial protection of a respected military and hospital order. In addition, they were given more property to assure their future wellbeing. On 1 October 1317 the count gave them permission to expand their property from 70 to 200 acres, which was in agreement with the privilege given to them by Roman King Willem II of Holland.\footnote{Cf. note 86.} They probably realized this expansion immediately; according to a certificate (date unknown) the house of St John of Kerkwerve received exemption of land tax over 180 acres which were bought with the permission of the count by the bishop van Zuden, and for another 16 acres of which 8 lay in front of the gate of Kerkwerve.\footnote{The charter, from the Middelburg city archive, was lost in the German bombardment in May 1940; a summary is given in Johannes de Stoppelaar, Inventaris van het oud archief der stad Middelburg 1217-1581 (Middelburg, 1882), no. 12, p. 5. The dating of the piece, on 8 April 1300, cannot be correct since Jacob van Zuden had not yet been appointed as auxiliary bishop at that time.} This means Jacob van Zuden must have obtained an extra 106 acres for the convent, in addition to the 70 acres in Werendike and the 20 acres he acquired as fief in Kerkwerve earlier.

In the meantime, he searched for and found a possibility for the order to obtain a pied-à-terre in Middelburg. As we already noted above he received in his capacity as head of the Hospitaller commanderies in Utrecht and Zeeland on 5 March 1318 a parcel surrounded by a moat in Middelburg to do with as he pleased.\footnote{Groot charterboek Holland en Zeeland, 2:180. The editor of the Groot charterboek, Frans van Mieris, dates the charter mistakenly at 1317.} It was situated near the orchard which the count had given the commander earlier. Peter Henderikx, expert on the medieval history of Zeeland, is quite sure this was the former Gravenhof (the count’s courthouse), east of the Gravenstraat.\footnote{Peter Henderikx, “Kerk en kerkelijke instellingen,” in Geschiedenis van Zeeland vol. 1: Prehistorie – 1550, ed. Paul Brusse and Peter Henderikx (Zwolle, 2012), 165.} It was used as an order house, but also retained its old function: if the count and his court were to visit the city, the Hospitallers were obliged to accommodate them.

This is how Jacob van Zuden won a double victory. As councilor of the count he solved a problem for the Walcheren elite who housed their daughters in the convent of Werendike. They must have been pleased that the newly transferred Kerkwerve convent would generate more income and would have a stronger position overall which would guarantee its survival. This was also beneficial for the count, who appreciated a good standing with his vassals and was willing to invest in this by bestowing fiscal privileges and transferring his lodging house in Middelburg to the Hospitallers. This means Jacob van Zuden not only founded a new center in the capital of Zeeland, but he also acquired a fully-fledged women’s convent in Zeeland for a relatively low sum. Perhaps this sum was too low, because according to a notice in the cartulary of the Haarlem Hospitallers the women did
abscond from their house in Kerkwerve in 1330. It took some force to retrieve them and have them behave as proper nuns. This was successful in the end, judging by the head count from 1367 where there is mention of a population of two priests and eight nuns. As a side note, the convent would never become truly rich: they had a total property of about 216 acres with an income of 1160 guilders in 1540.

Other Projects in Nijmegen, Ingen and Utrecht

In 1328, the count of Holland praised Jacob van Zuden as an ardent promoter of the holy service, especially in Utrecht, Nijmegen, Ingen, Oudewater, Haarlem, and Middelburg. Next to Kerkwerve – oddly enough not in this list – Haarlem, Oudewater and Middelburg have been discussed to some degree in this article. So what did our protagonist achieve in Nijmegen, Ingen, and Utrecht?

The case was quite clear for the commandery in Nijmegen. Jacob van Zuden was listed as beneficiary for this house, established before 1196. In 1310 he was temporarily the commander of the convent. Around 1320 he allegedly expanded the convent buildings.

The rural establishment of Ingen, situated in the Guelders region known as the Betuwe, originated from the transfer of the *jus patronatus* of the parish church to the Catharijneconvent by the Utrecht bishop in 1248. In 1310 this donation of the Ingen parish ministry was confirmed by the bishop of Utrecht. From 1317 on, when Van Zuden confirmed a yearly donation of twelve pounds by the count of Guelders, a small group of Hospitaller brothers was always connected to the church. Two years later, Van Zuden successfully defended the property of the house after it had been plundered in a military attack by the count of Guelders on the bishop of Utrecht. Cattle were stolen and wheat was burned in the fields. By sinking his teeth firmly into the law, Van Zuden succeeded in claiming a large sum

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97 Cartularium 5-1 f. 57.
98 Cf. note 90.
100 Gonnet, *Vier parochiën*, 157-58 (here Ingen is mistakenly read as Meghen).
105 Berkelbach van der Sprengel, *Regesten*, nos. 428 and 436.
of money as compensation from the count, the bishop, and the village of Lienden, which had been involved in the raid.

Without question, Van Zuden managed the main house of Utrecht well. In a statement of 1388 of the Utrecht city council on the management of the Catharijne hospital it was explicitly declared that the house had fared well under Van Zuden's guidance.\textsuperscript{106} His commitment to the Haarlem house resulted in the favor of beneficiaries situated in and close to Haarlem. The ladies Alveraed van Koudekerke and Hillegond Jakobs wyf van Bakenesse both donated a fine bed with appurtenances to the hospital of the Catharijneconvent.\textsuperscript{107}

One last illustration of Jacob’s characteristic resourcefulness to please all parties and simultaneously benefit his own order is the story of the acquisition of two well-endowed chantries in the Catharijneconvent.\textsuperscript{108} These were founded by Count Willem III in 1323 for the daily celebration of requiem masses for the Utrecht Bishop Willem Berthout van Mechelen, who had died in 1301 in a battle against an army from Holland. The masses were created by the count to reconcile with the influential noble family of the deceased prelate. One chantry was founded in the cathedral church, where the deceased bishop was ultimately buried. The other was founded in the church of St Catharine, where his body remained at first. Each of the chantries was paid the large sum of 25 pounds a year. However, the count withheld the right to choose his own chantry priests. For the Catharijneconvent this was no problem, since it was decided long before that the serving priest would always be a Hospitaller. But the cathedral chapter disagreed; they wanted to execute the \textit{jus patronatus} of the chantry in their own church. The count refused, and in 1327 decided to place the second chantry in the church of the Catharijneconvent as well.

It is very likely that Jacob van Zuden came up with the idea of transferring the second chantry. This can be viewed as the third example of a win-win situation! The count kept his promises to the Mechelen family by donating money for extensive memorial services, but was probably relieved not to be dealing with the anti-Holland Utrecht cathedral chapter anymore, and the Catharijneconvent yearly received an extra 50 pounds.

\textsuperscript{106} Weijling, \textit{Wijbisschoppen Utrecht}, 143.
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Item do et lego in Traiecto conventui Beate Katherine quinque libras ad petanciam. Item hospitali ibidem ad usus pauperum meliorem lectum meum ex toto ordinatum et meliores vestes meus: Cartularium 5-2 f. 211v-212, (c. 1315); Voert besettic den armen toet Sente Katrinen tUtrecht een bedde ende datter toe behoert met een paer slaplaken ende met ore deken (Furthermore I give the poor at St Catherine’s in Utrecht a bed with sheets and blankets): ibid., 5-1 f. 44v (1322).}
A Dramatic Demise

On 11 October 1331 Van Zuden asked a notary to draft a document which could be considered as a codicil, an addition to his final will and testament (which has not survived). He stayed in his private house in Haarlem at the time. This sounds a little strange at first: why was he not residing in the infirmary or in another part of the monastery? However, perhaps it is possible he was staying in a separate house on the terrain of the convent of St John, for example in the old house of the founder Van Tetterode.

But the really strange part was the absence of a member of the order when the codicil was drafted. The witnesses were stated as Hugo Mensozoon who was prior of the abbey of Egmond, Jacob’s nephew Jan van Denemarken, some other laymen, and two of Van Zuden's confidants: his chaplain Sander van Heukelom and Jacobus Scriptor. Sander van Heukelom was notary and priest. He served the chantry which was founded earlier in the Utrecht cathedral church by the count. The countess of Guelders had favored Sander in the past, which makes the assumption probable that he was related to the well-known Guelders noble family Van Heukelom. This means he was related to Elisabeth van Heukelom, lady of Heemskerk. As regards Jacobus Scriptor's past: his ancestors possessed land which was confiscated after the sensational murder of Count Floris V of Holland in 1296, because apparently one of them had been involved. At the request of Van Zuden, Count Willem III returned all former family possessions to Scriptor.

Van Zuden declares in a rather apologetic fashion that he only left the convent of Haarlem the money he had earned as auxiliary bishop, the sum of which he calculates at 800 pounds. He then continues with a wish: should the brothers of the order not respect his final will and testament, the bishop should take the Haarlem house and all its possessions to transform it into a secular chapter. He adds a tearful plea to the bishop to act according to his wishes.

Several days later Van Zuden’s condition had worsened, but he did manage to make some additions to the codicil. These lack the dramatic tone of the previously drafted part. He leaves the bishop all the books he had acquired and used after his reign, and bequeaths him his best auxiliary bishop ring. Apart from the people present at the drafting of the first part of the codicil, this time three members of his own order were present: the Hospitaller prior of

111 Ibid., 256.
Haarlem, the *dispensator* (manager of affairs) of the Utrecht Catharijneconvent, and van Zuden’s confessor.

So how should this remarkable dual document be interpreted? How could the testator despair about the future of the Haarlem convent, which prospered like never before thanks to the continuously supply of money and goods? And why does the tone of the addition differ so much from the previously drafted part of the codicil? It seems Jacob was facing a form of resistance from his own brothers – the members of the Catharijneconvent – against the independent material course of the house of St John in Haarlem. They were most likely afraid their own convent would receive too little because of all the money and property flowing towards Haarlem to maintain Jacob’s pet project. There are some indications to support this. We already saw Diederik van der Wale transfer a long-term donation from the Utrecht house to the Haarlem one. The brothers in Utrecht could also have concluded that the money Van Zuden had gathered as auxiliary bishop – plus all the other riches he had attained in the service of the count – were not his personal property and were not his to distribute at will. Since Jacob van Zuden was commander of St Catharine’s first and foremost, they could have maintained that his money belonged to their convent.

This resistance must have been acknowledged and overcome with the added clauses in the codicil a few days later. It appears Van Zuden had to gather all his strength to negotiate the proper destination of his riches with the *dispensator* of Utrecht. Shortly afterwards he passed away and was buried in the center of the choir of the Haarlem house of St John: a place of honor fit for a fellow founder, builder and first commander of the convent.

**Financial Genius?**

The 800 pounds were not all Jacob had invested in Haarlem up to that time. It was more likely the sum he had not spent yet at the time of drafting his testament. He must have had access to much larger sums in the years between 1310 and 1320. Due to a lack of data in the archives of the Catharijneconvent there is no way to say whether he gathered the capital for these finances from margins of the Utrecht house, which does seem rather likely. We start to see him as a Hospitaller investor in 1317, but he was then acting in the name of the Haarlem convent when he gave a 200-pound loan to his previously mentioned benefactor Diederik van der Wale and the children of the lord of Wateringen.\textsuperscript{112} From the terms and conditions it appears two pieces of land were used as guarantee, and Jacob and the Haarlem house of St

\textsuperscript{112} Cartularium 5-3 f. 351v-352.
John earned 20 pounds yearly from its proceeds until the debt was paid. This means there was an interest rate of 10%, perfectly acceptable in that time for long-term loans.\textsuperscript{113}

Significant for his reputation as Hospitaller money-gatherer is an official message from Grand Master Fulco de Villaret, staying at Arles in April 1319, in which he was ordered to pay no less than 3000 florins to the Grand Master’s chargé Paolo de Modena, vice prior of Saxony, of Thuringia, of the March of Brandenburg and of Mecklenburg (Slavia), as a pay-off for a lien consisting of silverware and jewels, which the prior of Venice gave to a banker from Florence.\textsuperscript{114} The pay-off consisted of contributions and subventiones (subsidies) which Van Zuden collected or had yet to collect, probably from Hospitaller houses in the above-named German territories, because the bailiwick of Utrecht could only be summoned to pay a small portion. The Grand Master, who was in dire need of money, would have known about the ability of his fellow brother in Utrecht to advance large sums in cash.

Of further interest are the surviving texts about the credit he gave to the bishop of Utrecht. In 1318 he loaned Frederik van Sierck 1200 pounds tournois, which gave him – next to the position of auxiliary bishop – also the bishop's regular ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Friesland with the subsequent right to the income gained through fines.\textsuperscript{115} A smaller, new loan of 200 pounds followed in 1320. In 1323 bishop Jan van Diest declared to have received no less than 2100 pounds from his auxiliary bishop as part of an 8000-pound loan, granted to him by the various collegiate chapters in Utrecht. The pay-off had to come from the income of the “Gruithuis” in Utrecht. In 1326, when the bishop had to take on new loans with the “gruit” as lien – Henric van Leeuwenberg was amongst the lienees – it was decided that Jacob van Zuden was allowed to gather his outstanding debt from this: 450 pounds.\textsuperscript{116} This was not the total Jacob van Zuden was allowed to reclaim from Jan van Diest. The survey of past payments and debts of the bishop in the same year show that the latter owed him 2200 pounds.\textsuperscript{117} On 12 December 1329 Van Zuden was named first on a list of prelates and knights who lent the bishop 6000 pounds with his burrows and income on this side of the IJssel as lien. Jacob must have made a lot of profit in his role as moneylender. Because of the emergent nature of the loan, the interest rates skyrocketed: Weijling estimated the Lombards

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Sources} Van Winter, \textit{Sources}, 29-30.
\bibitem{Weijling91} For the following notes see Weijling, \textit{Wijbisschoppen Utrecht}, 132-33 and 137-38.
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid., 48-49.
\end{thebibliography}
calculated a 30% interest rate.\textsuperscript{118} Jacob was not in the position to ask for these percentages, but he seemed to repeatedly have asked for favors which enabled him to increase his fortune over time. The income for the profession of auxiliary bishop cannot be calculated for Jacob van Zuden, but can be for his successor Johannes van Skopje (over the years 1334/35): a yearly sum of 1000 pounds minus 200 in expenses.\textsuperscript{119}

The auxiliary bishop also sponsored the count of Guelders. In 1323 Reinald, son of the count, declared that his father borrowed 100 pounds in small tokens from him which he would return.\textsuperscript{120} Not much is known about his loans to Count Willem III van Holland. However, we can assume the count used Jacob's financial services often. For example, in 1322 Van Zuden loaned him (together with the lord of IJsselstein and some others) 585 pounds for the repairs of the dike near Nierwaart north of Breda, which the count promised to pay back.\textsuperscript{121} In later years Jacob often vouched for the count’s loans from others.\textsuperscript{122} This suggests Jacob’s capital strength was a reason for the count to hire him in the first place – and that the comital support of Jacob’s Hospitaller projects should be partially regarded as returning the favor. After all, public servants in key positions such as bailiff were supposed to be able to finance projects of the count. As provincial superior of a well-to-do convent, auxiliary bishop and collector of crusade money – in 1311 we saw Elisabeth van Heemskerk donate a sum of 50 pounds meant for the box of the “great indulgence” – he must have had quite some cash available which he could temporarily use for other purposes at least from as early as 1310. In 1314 it is quite obvious that the plea of the count to his subjects to financially aid the auxiliary bishop as a crusade collector was issued with the thought of benefiting from the gathered fortune himself. In addition, the interest Jacob calculated would not go to Van Zuden personally – which could be considered as exorbitant profit – but because he was part of the clergy it would go to the convents under his guidance. This money was not completely lost in the sense that it generated a steady supply of favor towards the count, his county, and Christianity in general. As a member of the clergy, who vowed poverty after all, Jacob appeared to have been very creative with the pecunia flowing in his direction. His codicil shows he thought he was allowed to personally decide the (religious) destination of his income from his position as auxiliary bishop. Maybe he did not even think this money

\textsuperscript{118} Weijling, “Testament uit 1331,” 70.
\textsuperscript{120} Gelders Archief, Arnhem, Archief van de commanderij van St. Jan te Arnhem, no. 634; Loeff, Archief der commanderij, regest no. 48.
\textsuperscript{121} Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, Regesten, nos. 505 and 524.
\textsuperscript{122} Weijling, Wijbisschoppen Utrecht, 140-41.
was private property, but saw it as capital which he was to guide towards the Order of St John.

**Conclusion**

The main focus has been on the remarkably fast expansion of the Hospitallers in the northern Netherlands in the first two decades of the fourteenth century, when the military orders in general were under heavy criticism. In the diocese of Utrecht, however, these could still count on the support of the public after the fall of Acre. This is less strange than it may seem at first. The crusade movement had only started to play a prominent role here after 1187, when Jerusalem had fallen and Christianity had to act to liberate the Holy Sepulchre.123 Five failed crusades later and the loss of the last stronghold in the Holy Land in 1291 did not end this. On the contrary, soon after there was a call for a new crusade to Palestine. Many crusade donations in the county of Holland and the prince-bishopric of Utrecht showed the people's desire for this. The Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order benefited, since they were the logical choice in managing the money.

The fact that this did not lead to new daughter foundations in the Teutonic Order but did with the Hospitallers demonstrated that the spectacular expansion of the Order of St John in the diocese of Utrecht should be attributed firstly to Jacob van Zuden. As a competent convent superior and financial manager he became auxiliary bishop of bishop Guy of Avesnes and his successors Frederik van Sierck and Jan van Diest, and served Count Willem III of Holland-Hainault and the count of Guelders as councilor and administrator. In addition, he often acted as one of their primary moneylenders.

Extending credit to princes was a hazardous occupation in this time when counts, bishops, and kings had not yet realized the transfer of their demesne states to tax states. It could, however, also be very profitable. Jacob seems to have been quite successful with this. The details of his financial operations are unclear, but we can suspect he used capital of the Catharijnecönvent, the crusade funds he managed, and his income as a auxiliary bishop. It is certain that he gained much by getting rewarded with favors towards his own projects. Apart from that, he proved himself a clever businessman who could bend the situation so that all parties were pleased. Even when his Utrecht fellow brothers reproached Jacob in his deathbed.

for his lavish investments in the Haarlem house of St John, the order was still the biggest beneficiary. It was because of Jacob van Zuden that the Order of St John, with the old Utrecht Catharijneconvent as its center, could boast the same importance and radiance in the northern Netherlands as its younger but faster-developed competitor, the Teutonic Order with its bailiwick of Utrecht.