

MAKING CHURCH HISTORY IN ROME:
FR. JACOB KRIJS, APOSTOLIC VICAR PETRUS CODDE
AND THEIR ANTI-JESUIT NETWORKING MISSION

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1. Introduction

The subtitle of my contribution to this conference should be read as a question: did Father Jacob Krijs (1673-1724) and apostolic vicar Petrus Codde (1648-1710) during their stay in Rome indeed create a network for anti-Jesuit action? Was it their intention to do so, and, if this is indeed the case, did they succeed in their efforts? In short: did they write church history during their stay in Rome? These questions arose during my research into the diaries of Jacob Krijs, a young priest who accompanied apostolic vicar Petrus Codde on his journey to Rome and stayed with him for almost three years. After their return Krijs became a parish priest at St. Odulfus in the Oude Teertuinen, the port area of Amsterdam. He was a correspondent for the *Missions Étrangères*, who had their headquarters in Paris, while their missionaries are based in South East Asia. Around 1723 he was closely involved in the election and consecration of Cornelis Steenoven (1661-1725) as Archbishop of Utrecht.

Before I proceed to an analysis of Codde's stay in Rome, I would like to make some preliminary remarks in order to clarify the background of Codde's journey. First I will give you a very brief summary of the relations between the apostolic vicars and the Jesuits in the Dutch Republic during the 17th century. After that I will introduce to you the diaries of Krijs, as these are the main source of the information I want to share with you today.

1.1 Apostolic vicars and Jesuits in the Dutch Republic

In 1699 the apostolic vicar Petrus Codde was invited to come to Rome, ostensibly to venerate the graves of the apostles and celebrate the jubilee of 1700. In reality, however, he was summoned in order to defend himself and his clergy against accusations of Jansenism. These accusations had culminated in the *Breve Memoriale*, a publication presented to several foreign ambassadors at the peace conference of Rijswijk near The Hague in 1697.¹

Such accusations by the apostolic vicars and their Dutch clergy were not new, nor were their defenses. During the 17th century allegations were delivered to Rome, mainly by Jesuits and other regular clergy, who were in conflict with the apostolic vicars. In the first decades of the century, apostolic vicar Sasbout Vosmeer (1548-1614) already complained repeatedly about their misbehavior and he managed to come to an agreement with the provincial leader of the Jesuits, Florentius de Montmorency (1580-1659). This agreement, known as the *Articuli* of 1610, was renewed by Vosmeer's successor, Philip Rovenius (1565-1651) in the *Concordia* of 1624 and for this purpose Rovenius had travelled to Rome in 1623. The agreement, sanctioned by the recently established congregation *De Propaganda Fide* and by Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini, 1568-1644, elected Pope in 1623), stipulated with how many and in exactly which places regular clergy like the Jesuits were allowed to work in the Dutch Republic. By an other agreement, the so-called *Concessionibus Ephesinae* of 1652, Rovenius' successor Jacobus de la Torre (ca. 1608-1661) provided the Jesuits to work in eleven parishes that had not been mentioned in Rovenius' *Concordia*. During the government of one of Rovenius' successors, Johannes van Neercassel (1626-1686), mutual allegations lingered and in 1670 the apostolic vicar had to travel to Rome to defend his orthodoxy and policy.² Pope Clement X (Emilio Altieri, 1590-1676, elected Pope in 1670), although himself certainly no Jansenist, was impressed by the Dutch apostolic vicar because of his theological knowledge, refined manners

1 On this *Breve Memoriale*, see: Pontianus Polman, *Het Breve en het Prolixum Memoriale*. In: *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*. Derde reeks, deel VIII. 's-Gravenhage (Staatsdrukkerij) 1954, 186-225; Mathieu G. Spiertz, *Achtergronden van het Breve Memoriale, een geruchtmakend anti-jansenistisch geschrift uit 1671*. In: *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 26 (1984), 180-207.

2 On Van Neercassel and his journey to Rome, see: Dick Schoon, *Geloof dat recht doet aan God en mens*. Johannes van Neercassel (1626-1686) en de doorwerking van zijn spiritualiteit in de oud-katholieke traditie. In: *Trajecta. Religie, cultuur en samenleving in de Nederlanden* 23 (2014), 145-168.

and eloquence. After signing the Formulary of Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, 1599-1667, elected Pope in 1655) – which condemned five propositions said to be taken from Jansenius' *Augustinus* as heretical in the sense meant by the author – by which Van Neercassel proved his orthodoxy, he could successfully return home. The *Concordia* of 1624 still had to be observed. The Jesuits were not allowed to have more people or places than stipulated in that agreement and they had to ask the local secular for permission in case they wanted to administer the sacraments.

Unfortunately, Van Neercassel's successor Petrus Codde was not as lucky as his predecessor. The outcome of his journey to Rome is well known: during his stay he was suspended as apostolic vicar in 1702 and replaced by his former helper but known sworn enemy Theodorus de Cock (1650-1720), one of the contributors to the *Breve Memoriale*. After he had returned home, Codde's suspension was made permanent by his deposition in 1704. Negotiations between representatives of the Holy See and the Dutch clergy, who protested the measures taken against Codde as being contrary to canon law and unjust to his person, yielded no lasting results. Some twelve years after Codde had died in 1710, the Dutch *Cleresie* – as the supporters of Codde had come to be called – elected Steenoven as Archbishop of Utrecht in 1723 and had him consecrated by the French missionary bishop Dominique-Marie Varlet (1678-1742).

Overseeing the consequences of the suspension and deposition of Codde, it already becomes clear that the Dutch delegation made church history in Rome. The question, however, is to what extent were they not just involuntary objects of the Roman measures taken against them, but also active agents of their own fate? This question can be answered by taking a closer look at their stay in the Eternal City.

1.2 The diaries of Krijns

Up until now little is known about the details of Codde's stay in Rome. He himself kept a diary, but the entries are often very terse. He only mentions the names of the people he met on a certain day, and many days his sole comment is *Aedibus non sum egressus* – “I didn't leave the house.” Here four diaries of Father Jacob Krijns, preserved in the archives of the Amsterdam parish church, are more helpful.³ Krijns accompanied the apostolic vicar as a kind of secretary. He had received a sound theological education in Louvain, was well acquainted with the theological debates of his time and with the allegations against the Dutch clergy, he liked books and scholars, and he had a solid knowledge of Latin along with decent penmanship.

In the first diary he gives an account of the journey to Rome. The already strong political tensions between France and Spain that had given rise to several wars during the 17th century led to the War of the Spanish Succession after the death of the childless Spanish king Charles II on November 1st, 1700, just after Codde and his company had left for Rome. King Louis XIV saw a chance to expand his power by connecting or even uniting the crowns of Spain and France. Other countries feared the impact of this looming French hegemony on the European continent and combined their forces in a Grand Alliance under the leadership of the Austrian emperor. In Italy the Papal States under Pope Clement XI, influenced by his French cardinals, chose the side of France by acknowledging the new King Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV. Furthermore, the Pope pursued a policy of benevolent neutrality. In order to avoid potential battle areas in Northern France and Northwest Italy, Codde and his company traveled via Brussels through the German countries, crossing the Alps in Bavaria, and then went on through Austria and Italy to reach the Eternal City. Krijns' diary provides the reader with many observations on the towns they visited, the guesthouses where they stayed the night – most of them dirty, according to the fastidious Dutchman –, the condition of the roads – the crossing of the Brenner Pass, in particular, proved to be nearly fatal to the apostolic vicar – and the appearance and habits of the people, especially the women, they encountered along the way.

In Krijns' second diary, entitled *Mora in Urbe*, he gives the reader a day-to-day account of Codde's sojourn in Rome. From this diary we learn whom the apostolic vicar paid visits and who visited him, which cardinal received him (and which one did not) and how many times Codde and his companions went to the Vatican in order to reach a papal audience.

In this second diary Krijns also describes the numerous trips he and his friends made to churches and archeological sites in Rome and the surrounding areas.

The third and, for our purposes, most interesting diary is called *Audientiae et quae in eis gesta*. As this title indicates, Krijns gives an account in this diary of the conversations Codde had with the cardinals and Pope Clement X. He also makes a reconstruction of the interrogations of the apostolic vicar by a special committee of ten (later three) cardinals, which was installed to investigate the imputations against him. From these reports it becomes crystal clear that the secretary of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, Carlo Agostino Fabroni (1651-

³ For biographical details on Krijns, see: Dick Schoon, Jacob Krijns (1673-1724). Correspondent voor de *Missions Étrangères*. In: Lidwien van Buuren en Peter-Ben Smit, eds., *Meester in Kerk en Recht. Vriendenbundel voor Jan Hallebeek bij zijn 25-jarig jubileum als docent kerkelijk recht* [Publicatieserie Stichting Oud-Katholiek Seminarie, afl. 50]. Amersfoort/Sliedrecht (Stichting Oud-Katholiek Seminarie/Merweboek) 2013, 171-186.

1727), was Codde's most determined enemy. Although not being a cardinal and therefore formally not a member of the committee, Fabroni appeared during the interrogations to preside over the meeting, as well as serving as its secretary and as Codde's prosecutor, while the cardinals seem to have been only a passive audience.

Krijs also kept a fourth diary, in which he noted what happened in the Dutch Republic after the suspension of Codde and the nomination of De Cock, based on information gathered from letters that were sent to him and his companions from home.

There even is a fifth diary, not by Krijs this time, but most probably by a man named Benedictus de Wael († 1709), one of Codde's other companions of whom we know nearly nothing. De Wael's diary provides virtually the same information as Krijs' journal.

For whom were these diaries written? Of course Krijs wanted to remember himself what had happened. But considering his good education at the University of Louvain, which itself during the 17th century had sent several delegations to Rome to defend its interests against attacks by the Jesuits and had them recorded in comprehensive reports, Krijs must have been aware that sooner or later his diaries could be used to write the history of Codde's case. In fact this happened later during the 18th century, when Gabriel Dupac de Bellegarde (1717-1789) wrote his *Histoire abrégée de l'Église Métropolitaine d'Utrecht*, first published in 1765, which was to become a standard work for the next centuries.⁴ For this history Dupac made use of Krijs' diaries, as is clear from small annotations in Krijs' manuscript. Dupac wrote the titles of the diaries and numbered the pages.

These preliminary remarks having been made, let us now turn to Codde's stay in Rome.

2. Codde in Rome

Codde's company in Rome consisted of four Dutch clergy: Franciscus Groenhout (1653-1714), parish priest in Noordwijk and canon of the diocesan chapter of Haarlem; Theodorus Doncker (1670-1731), parish priest in Amsterdam, who served as Codde's secretary; Cornelis Steenhoven (1661-1725), a former student of the Propaganda in Rome, who was a parish priest in Amersfoort and, as noted, would go on to become Archbishop of Utrecht in 1723; and our own Jacob Krijs. Then there were two further unknown laymen, Benedictus de Wael and Willem van Campen, who most likely served as advisors to Codde; and finally several servants, a man named Anthony, Michael la Raison and the designer and painter Gerard Rademaker. Codde's group, then, included ten members altogether.

They arrived in Rome on December 11th, 1700, stayed there for more than two years (835 days, to be precise) and left on April 3rd, 1703. They resided in a rented house near the dwellings of the *Padre della Missione*, the Lazarists, which was located on the Montecitorio, next to the palace that serves today as the see of the Italian Parliament. On Monday, March 13th, 1702, part of the house collapsed during a heavy storm and two weeks later they moved to a private house they rented, located in the Via del Pavone, nearer to the Vatican. The bishop and the priests said their mass every day, first at the church of the Lazarists or in the neighboring nunnery, and later at the church of the Oratorians Santa Maria della Vallicella, better known as the Chiesa Nuova. Here they said mass by preference in the chapel with the relics of St. Philip Neri (1515-1595), the founder of the congregation of the Oratory.⁵

During their stay in Rome, Codde received numerous visitors. Almost every day one or more friends came for coffee in the morning and often stayed for lunch, while others came for tea in the afternoon and stayed for dinner. An inventory of these friends gives us an impression of the network of Codde and his friends. Of course several of these friends were Dutch or Flemish citizens residing in Rome, but most of them were French and there were even some Italians. I start my inventory with Codde's two main theological advisors, the secular priest Louis-Paul du Vaucel (1640-1715), Codde's agent in Rome, and the Dominican friar Norbert Delbecque (1651-1714).

2.1. Codde's main advisors: Du Vaucel and Delbecque

Louis-Paul du Vaucel (or Walloni as he is always called) was born in Normandy in 1640, started studying law

4 Gabriel Dupac de Bellegarde, *Histoire abrégée de l'Église Métropolitaine d'Utrecht*, principalement depuis la révolution, arrivée dans les sept Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas, sous Philippe II, jusqu'à l'an 1784. Utrecht (Vander Weyde) 1765. A second edition was published in 1770 and a third, with corrections and additions based on notes by Dupac, in 1852. On this last edition, see: Dirk J. Schoon, *Van Bisschoppelijke Cleresie tot Oud-Katholieke Kerk. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Nederland in de 19^{de} eeuw*. Nijmegen (Valkhof Pers) 2004, 236-237.

5 On the Oratory of Neri in Rome, see: Carlo Gasbarri, *L'oratorio romano dal Cinquecento al Novecento*. Roma (d'Urso) 1963; Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la congregazione oratoriana: storia e spiritualità*. Three volumes. Brescia (Morcelliana) 1989.

but then changed to theology in 1665 under the influence of friends of Port-Royal.⁶ He became a theological advisor to Nicolas Pavillon (1597-1677), the reforming bishop of Alet, and supported him and his colleague François-Étienne Caulet (1610-1680), bishop of Pamiers, against King Louis XIV in the regalia struggle.⁷ This earned him wide acclaim in Rome, especially from the reform-minded and anti-Jesuit popes Innocent XI (Benedetto Odescalchi, 1611-1689, elected Pope in 1676) and Innocent XII (Antonio Pignatelli, 1615-1700, elected Pope in 1691), the powerful secretary of the Latin breves Agostino Favoriti (1624-1682) and his pupil Lorenzo Casoni (1645-1720).⁸ Due to these solid connections, his thorough of theology and canon law legal and his prudent behavior, Du Vaucel was sent to Rome in 1683, where for more than 20 years he acted as an agent for the defenders of Augustinianism, anti-regalism and anti-Jesuitism in France, the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch Republic. In order to obtain information on ongoing theological and diplomatic matters, Du Vaucel frequented most of the important congregations in Rome, such as those of the Augustinians, the Dominicans and others, while he mainly dwelled in the Oratory of St. Philip Neri at the Chiesa Nuova, which was known as the “Port-Royal of Rome”.⁹ He also had easy access to the Apostolic Palace – in the Vatican during summer, at the Quirinal in the winter – and also to the houses of learned and Augustinian-minded cardinals such as Leandro Colloredo (1639-1709), Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700) and Philip Howard of Suffolk (1629-1694). During his 20-year tenure in Rome, Du Vaucel witnessed the city’s changing theological climate, where, after the brief reign of Pope Alexander VIII (Pietro Vito Ottoboni, 1610-1691, elected Pope in 1689), his successor Clement XI (Giovanni Francesco Albani, 1649-1721, elected Pope in 1700) favored the Jesuits. He was guided in this by the above-mentioned Carlo Agostino Fabroni, the all-powerful secretary of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. In his determination to eradicate Jansenism and secure the rights of the Holy See, he was responsible not only for the suspension and deposition of Codde in 1702 and 1704, but also, in 1713, for the condemnation of Quesnel’s *Reflexions Morales* by the Bull *Unigenitus*. In this changing climate even the indefatigable Du Vaucel saw no possibilities to continue his job properly and he left Rome in the autumn of 1703, only a few months after Codde and his company had left. After some years in Padua, Ascona and Milan, he was unexpectedly struck dead on his way to the Dutch Republic in Maastricht in 1715.

The other main theological advisor of Codde in Rome was the Dominican friar **Norbert Delbecque** (or d’Elbecque, 1651-1714).¹⁰ Born in Braine-le-Comte in the Southern Netherlands, he had studied in Louvain and Rome, had been prefect in the convent of the Dominicans in Douai and had also lived for some time in the monastery in Herzogenrath, Limburg. Just before Codde arrived in Rome, Delbecque had been sent there to become *socius* to the master of the order, Antonin Cloche (1628-1720). He was made a member-theologian of the Casanate foundation at the Dominican basilica Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which inherited not only the library of Cardinal Casanate, consisting of some 25,000 volumes, but also a legacy of 80,000 *scudi* to promote theological learning. Delbecque himself published several treatises on the question of divine grace and human free will, which all were firmly based on the works of St. Augustine and St. Thomas and directed against the laxist moral teachings of the Jesuits. He returned to the Southern Netherlands in 1707, where he served as *regens primarius* of the faculty of theology at Louvain until 1712. He died two years later. It was Delbecque who brought Codde into contact with several other Dominican scholars in Rome.

6 On Du Vaucel: Bruno Neveu, *La correspondance Romaine du Louis-Paul du Vaucel (1683-1703)*. In: Actes du colloque sur le Jansénisme, organisé par l’Academia Belgica, Rome, 2 et 3 novembre 1973 [Bibliothèque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique, fascicule 64]. Louvain (Publications Universitaires / Éditions Nauwelaerts) 1977, 105-184; Régine Pouzet en Henri Schmitz du Moulin, *Du Vaucel, Louis-Paul*. In: Jean Lesaulnier en Anthony McKenna, eds., *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*. Paris (Honoré Champion) 2004 [further referred to as DPR], 379-381. His letters to Codde in: HUA 86-1, 364-369.

7 On Pavillon: Régine Pouzet, Pavillon, Nicolas. In: DPR 796-799. On Caulet: Jean Lesaulnier, Caulet, François-Étienne. In: DPR 237-239. In 1673 King Louis XIV extended the *droit de régale* to all dioceses of France. Only Pavillon and Caulet protested against what they considered an attack on ecclesiastical freedom and in 1677 they both appealed to Rome. Several popes unsuccessfully issued briefs against the pretensions of the French king. On this topic: Aimé-Georges Martimort. *Le gallicanisme de Bossuet*. Paris (Cerf) 1953, 347-350, 428-442; François Bluche, *Louis XIV*. Paris (Fayard) 1986, 442-447. Abundant documentation Du Vaucel collected on this topic in: HUA 86-1, 787-788.

8 On Favoriti: Rosario Contarino, Favoriti, Agostino. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [further referred to as DBI] 45 (1995). On Casoni: Giuseppe Pignatelli, Casoni, Lorenzo. In: DBI 21 (1978). www.treccani.it [last seen October 20th, 2015].

9 Neveu, op.cit., 124.

10 On Delbecque: R. Coulon, Delbecque. In: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (dir. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, E. Amann), tome 4-1 (1924), col. 244-245. For his correspondance with Quesnel: Joseph A.G. Jans, *La correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel*. Tome II: Index analytique, I, 248.

2.2 Wider networks

In order to describe the wider network of the people Codde and his companions met in Rome, we will distinguish them by nationality. In doing so, we are able to identify a Flemish, a French, an Italian and a Dutch network. As we will see, these differences in nationality were overcome by the common struggle against the Jesuits.

2.2.1 The Flemish connection

Among the first who made their compliments to Codde on his arrival in Rome were the two brothers **Backx**, **Joannes Ignatius** (sometimes also Ignatius Johannes, 1650-1726) and **Rombaut** (c. 1650-1703), both born in Mechelen.¹¹ The latter, Rombaut, had been canon of the Cathedral of Antwerp since 1679. His name had circulated for a while as a candidate for the vacant see of Den Bosch, but because of the suspicion of Jansenism he was dismissed. The first of the two Backx brothers, Joannes Ignatius, was a Norbertine (Premonstratensian) canon and since 1682 superior of the Premonstratensians in Rome. Here he accompanied Johannes Libertus Hennebel (1652-1720), when this Louvain professor came to Rome in 1694 to defend the interests of the university against the growing influence of the Jesuits and the hostile attitude of the Archbishop of Mechelen, Humbert-Guillaume de Precipiano (1627-1711, elected Archbishop in 1689).¹² In 1691 De Precipiano had introduced a stricter version of the already anti-Jansenist Formulary of Alexander VII, which all candidates for ordination to holy orders had to endorse. Through the efforts of Hennebel, in 1694 a formal papal pronouncement was obtained, by which the addition of De Precipiano was forbidden and nobody in the Southern Netherlands was to be bothered whether or not the condemned propositions actually could be found in Jansenius' *Augustinus*. Hennebel stayed in Rome for eight years and had just left when Codde arrived.¹³ His opinion in relation to the subscription of the Formulary of Alexander VII served as a model for Codde. Like the Louvain professor, Codde had also not been willing to accept the document with an addition like that of De Precipiano.

Partly by the name of P Codde's friendship with the Premonstratensians may date back to earlier experiences during his years as a student in Louvain (1667-1672). During these years the various Roman condemnations of Jansenius' book, namely the papal bulls *In eminenti* (1642-1653), *Cum occasione* (1653) and *Ad sanctam beati Petri sedem* (1656), still met with resistance from the Belgian councils like the Privy Council, the Supreme Council and Council of Brabant. These councils considered the Roman pronouncements lacking the royal *placet* as interfering with national interests. Not only Jansenist bishops were members of these councils, but also the abbots of some powerful Premonstratensian monasteries in the Southern Netherlands.

Other clergy from the Southern Netherlands Codde met in Rome came from the independent Pays de Liège, part of the Holy Roman Empire. In Codde's time it was governed by prince-bishop Joseph Clement of Bavaria (1671-1723), a real collector of diocesan sees – and their revenues – as he was not only Archbishop of Cologne but also occupied the sees of Liège, Regensburg, Freising and Hildesheim. In the political constellation of the late 16th century, the prince-bishop inclined towards the French King Louis XIV and therefore pursued an anti-Jansenist policy, which brought him into trouble with his diocesan chapter and the Spanish Southern Netherlands. The diocesan seminary of Liège, considered a satellite of the theological faculty of Louvain because the professors were traditionally drawn from Louvain alumni, came under attack by the Jesuits, who

11 On the Backx brothers, see: Émile Jacques, *Les années d'exil d'Antoine Arnauld (1679-1694)* [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, fascicule 63]. Louvain (Presses Universitaires / Éditions Nauwelaerts) 1976, passim; Tans (*supra* footnote 9), 84. On Rombaut Backx: Eugène Coemans, *Bakcx, Rombaut*. In: *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* tome 1 (1866), col. 608. Cf. Michel Nuttinck, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Zeger-Bernard van Espen. Un canoniste janséniste, gallican et régalien à l'Université de Louvain (1646-1728)*. Louvain (Publications Universitaires) 1969, 159, 204.

12 On Hennebel, see: Edmond H.-J. Reussens, *Hennebel, Jean-Libert*. In: *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, tome 9 (1886-1887), col. 68-71; Lucien Ceysens, *Lettres de Jean Opstraet, professeur à Louvain, à son collègue Jean Libert Hennebel, en mission à Rome (1694)*. In: *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 55-56, Bruxelles / Rome (Institut historique) 1985-1986, 167-206. Documents on Hennebel's stay in Rome in: HUA 86-1, 784 and 785.

On De Precipiano, who in 1691 introduced an anti-Jansenist oath, which all candidates for ordination to holy orders had to subscribe to: Lucien Ceysens, *De Precipiano, Humbert-Guillaume*. In: *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* 2 (1966), col. 699-710.

13 Krijs notes in his *Mora in Urbe* on 17 February 1701: 'We just learned, that Mr. Hennebel arrived in Brussels.' On several occasions in 1701 Krijs delivered letters of Hennebel to Pierre Lambert Ledrou, bishop of Porphyria and papal sacristan in the Vatican, and to father Hyacinth of St. Bernard, papal theologian in the Gesù Maria.

were supported by the prince-bishop in Cologne and the Archbishop of Mechelen.¹⁴ In 1699 they succeeded in having a new anti-Jansenist president nominated at the seminary, who immediately dismissed three of the professors. To defend their position and the rights of the seminary, two of the expelled professors went to Rome: **Henri Denys** (1657-1717), who had lectured in theology at Liège for nineteen years, and **Arnould Deschamps** (?-?), professor of philosophy. In Rome they were joined by two canons of Liège Cathedral, who represented the secular clergy: a man by the name of **Bourdon** († 1713) and **Bavo de Wasoul** (?-?).¹⁵ Denys, Deschamps and Bourdon became close friends of Codde and his companions and visited them almost every day. Six years after Codde's return to the Dutch Republic, Deschamps still lived in Rome, where he was arrested by the Inquisition in 1710 and brought to the Castel Sant'Angelo.¹⁶

Through his contacts with these Flemish friends Codde was well acquainted with the political and ecclesiastical problems in the Southern Netherlands. The acceptance of the Formulary of Alexander VII with or without additions seemed to be the main problem, but the underlying issue was the growing influence of the Jesuits on theological education in Louvain and Liège.

With this observation, we now turn our attention to the friends coming from France.

2.2.2 The French connection

Codde and his company met several clergy who originated from France and who can be divided into two groups. First, there are those who had fled to Rome in order to avoid imprisonment – or worse – by the French government due to their theological and political opinions. These clergy mainly came from the southern parts of France, where the resistance against the regalist policy of King Louis XIV, supported by his Jesuit confessor François d'Aix de La Chaize, (1624-1709), had been strong.¹⁷ All of them were close friends of Du Vaucel. The second group of French clergy consisted of members of the *Missions Étrangères* in Paris, who were delegated to Rome to defend their policy against the Jesuits.

14 On this topic: Lucien Ceyskens, "L'affaire du Séminaire de Liège" d'après l'historien janséniste Gabriel du Pac de Bellegarde (1786). In: *Annuaire de la commission communale de l'Histoire de l'Ancien Pays de Liège III* (1947), 663-763. Michel van Meerbeeck, "L'affaire du Séminaire" dans les luttes entre jansénistes et antijansénistes. 1697-1700. In: *Le Grand Séminaire de Liège, 1592-1992*. Liège (Dricot) 1992, 69-78.

15 On Denys, Deschamps and Bourdon, see: Tans (as *supra* footnote 9) I, 251-252 (Denys), 253 (Deschamps); Louis Jadin, *Relation des Pays-Bas de Liège et de Franche-Comté avec le Saint-Siège d'après les "lettres di vescovi" conservées aux Archives Vaticanes (1566-1779)* [Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome]. Bruxelles / Rome (Academia Belgica) 1952, 341 (Bourdon). Émile Jacques, *Les années d'exil d'Antoine Arnould (1679-1694)* [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, fascicule 63]. Louvain (Publications Universitaires / Éditions Nauwelaerts) 1976, 502 (Deschamps). Michel van Meerbeeck, Ernest Ruth d'Ans "patriarche des jansénistes" (1653-1728). Une biographie [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, fascicule 87]. Louvain / Bruxelles (Universiteitsbibliotheek / Nauwelaerts) 2006, 207 (Denys).

16 Cf. letter of Pasquier Quesnel to M. Schort, September 12th, 1710: "On a mis, à Rome, à l'Inquisition deux vertueux ecclésiastiques de nos amis, sans qu'on sache pourquoi. L'un est M. Maille, Français exilé pour l'affaire des Filles de l'Enfance; l'autre un monsieur Deschamps, Liégeois, chassé par les jésuites du séminaire de Liège." In: Albert le Roy, *Un janséniste en exil. Correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel, prêtre de l'Oratoire, sur les affaires politiques et religieuses de son temps, publiées avec des notes.* Two volumes. Paris (Perrin) 1900, II, 308, cited by Lucien Ceyskens and Joseph A.G Tans, *Autour de l'Unigenitus. Recherches sur la genèse de la Constitution*. Leuven (University Press / Peeters) 1987, 493.

17 On the regalist affair, see: Bruno Neveu, *Érudition et religion aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle*. Préface de Marc Fumaroli. Paris (Albin Michel), 1994 ***.

2.2.2.1 Anti-regalists from Southern France

The main person Codde and his companions met with any regularity was the secular priest **Louis Maille** (1657-1738).¹⁸ He had been a professor of church history at the seminary of Aix-en-Provence, when in 1689 he was exiled for seven years, due to his anti-regalist and Jansenist sympathies. In Rome he became a theological advisor to the Dominican cardinal Philip Thomas Howard (1629-1694) and he started teaching church history at Sapienza University. Maille's close friend was the Dominican **Antonin Massoulié** (1632-1706), whose career in his hometown Toulouse had been troubled due to his alleged Jansenism. He was called to Rome by the master-general of his order, Antonin Cloche, and he became inquisitor of Toulouse and consultor of the Holy Office.¹⁹ Massoulié's town was **Amable de Toureil** (or Toureille, ?-1719), who specialized in canon law and was a good friend of Quesnel. Around 1711 he was arrested in Rome, undoubtedly because of these suspect contacts. He was imprisoned for eight years and died only two months after he left his place of ordeal.²⁰ Yet another anti-regalist theologian from Southern France was **Henri Disnemartin Dorat** (1638-1701), archpriest of Dax, who had been sent to Rome in 1678. Codde visited him a few months before he died in July 1701.²¹

With these people from the southern parts of France our attention is drawn to the anti-Jesuitism in this region. I already mentioned the anti-regalist policy of bishops such as Pavillon and Caulet, which brought them into conflict with the king and his powerful confessor, but also great credit in Rome. Another aspect of this anti-Jesuitism in Southern France became manifest in attempts for church reform. One of these was the establishment of the *Institut des Filles de l'Enfance* in Toulouse in 1662.²² Jeanne Juliard de Mondonville (1624-1703), the widow of a counselor at the Parliament of Toulouse, founded (with the support of Pavillon) a boarding school for girls who did not want to marry or enter a convent.²³ Her initiative was successful and new houses were soon established in several towns in Southern France. Due to Madame de Mondonville's relationship with Pavillon and other people connected with Port-Royal, the *Filles de l'Enfance* were suspected of Jansenism, and although all the members signed the Formulary of Alexander VII, the king had the houses closed down in 1686 and Madame de Mondonville was exiled to Normandy, where she died in 1703.²⁴ Krij's diaries did not mention her, but we can assume that her French compatriots must have been aware of her sad fate.

As noted, the Dominican friar Nobert Delbecque, one of Codde's main theological advisors, brought the apostolic vicar into contact with other Dominicans, some of whom came from France. To name but one: **François-Jacques-Hyacinth Serry** (1659-1738), originally from Toulon, had been theological advisor to Cardinal Altieri and consultor of the Holy Office, and in 1700 occupied the prestigious chair in theology at the University of Padua. Like Delbecque, he was a member of the Casanate foundation. Just before Codde and his company arrived in Rome, his history of the *congregationes de auxiliis* had anonymously been published in Louvain, where it provoked a counter-history written by the Antwerp Jesuit Livinius de Meyere (1655-1730).²⁵

18 On Maille, see: Anthony McKenna, Régine Pouzet and Henri Schmitz du Moulin, Maille, Louis. In: DPR 707-708. Cf. HUA 86-1, 353-356: copies of 366 letters of Codde to Maille, 1703-1710; HUA 86-1, 371-373: 273 letters of Maille to Codde.

19 On Massoulié, see: Anthony McKenna, Massoulié, Antonin. In: DPR 726-727.

20 On Toureil, see: Anthony McKenna, Toureil, Amable de. In: DPR 978.

21 On Dorat, see: Anthony McKenna, Pamiers, ville de. In: DPR 776-778. A friend of Dorat's was a man named Carlos, who visited Codde and Krij's very regularly.

22 Cf. Anonymus, *Histoire de la Congrégation des Filles de l'Enfance de Notre Seigneur J.C., établie à Toulouse, en 1662, & supprimée par ordre de la Cour en 1686*. Two volumes. Amsterdam (Compagnie) 1754.

23 On Mondonville, see: Jean Lesaulnier, Mondonville, Jeanne Juliard, dame de. In: DPR 740.

24 Arnauld published in 1687, assisted by Du Vaucel, a defense of the *Filles de l'Enfance* entitled: *L'innocence opprimée par la calomnie, ou l'histoire de la congrégation des Filles de l'Enfance de Jésus* (s.l., 1687) with a *Suite de l'innocence opprimée* (Toulouse, 1691). Cf. DPR 1126; Jacques (*supra* footnote 14), 446-447.

25 Serry's book was entitled *Augustinus le Blanc* [F.J.H. Serry], *Historia congregationum de Auxiliis divinae gratiae sub summis pontificibus Clementae VIII et Paulo V libri quatuor ... autore Augustino Le Blanc* (Leuven 1700). In reaction to the history of De Meyere from 1705, Serry published, now under his own name, an enlarged edition of his own history in 1709: *Historia congregationum De auxiliis divinae gratiae sub summis pontificibus Clemente VIII et Paulo V in quatuor libros distributa et sub ascitio nomine Augustini le Blanc Lovanii primum publicata: nunc autem magna rerum accessione aucta; insertisque passim pro re nata, adversus nuperos oppugnatores, vindicationibus, asserta, defensa, illustrata. Cui praeterea accedit liber quintus, superiorum librorum Apologeticus, adversus Theodori Eleutherii eodem de argumento Pseudo-Historiam. Auctore et defensore F. Jacobo Hyacintho Serry, ord. praed. doctore Sorbonico, et in Serenissimae Reipublicae Venetae Academia Patavina theologo primario*. (Antwerpen 1709). On Serry and De Meyere, see: M.M. Gorce, Serry, François-Jacques-Hyacinthe. In: DTC 14-2 (1941), col. 1957-1963; Jean Carreyre, Meyer ou Meyere, Liévin de. In: DTC 10-2 (1929), col. 1631-1634.

2.2.2.2 Delegates of the Missions Étrangères

The second group of French clergy consisted of members of the *Missions Étrangères de Paris*.²⁶ This congregation of secular clergy was established in the mid-17th century with its headquarters in Paris to build churches in French overseas territories, first in South East Asia and China and later also in Canada and the Middle East. The difficult missionary work in these areas was coordinated by apostolic vicars nominated by *De Propaganda Fide*. They were consecrated bishops in *partibus infidelium*, who got into serious trouble with rivaling missionaries, especially the Jesuits. This trouble concerned what was known as the Chinese rites of the veneration of Confucius and the honoring of the dead.²⁷

The question of the Chinese rites was brought to Rome to be sentenced and the *Missions Étrangères* delegated, among others, **Nicolas Charmot** (1665-1714), who had been a missionary in several provinces of the Chinese empire. His aim was to obtain a condemnation of the Jesuit opinion. Charmot had arrived in Rome in 1696 (or early 1697) and would remain there until his death in 1714. Having been one of Codde's correspondents in 1699, Charmot was among the first to welcome the Dutch apostolic vicar on his arrival in Rome and he would be one of the last to say goodbye to him in 1703.²⁸

In the meantime a former colleague of Charmot, **Artus de Lionne** (1655-1713) arrived in Rome too. Thanks to the efforts of Charmot, the *Propaganda Fide* had appointed De Lionne apostolic vicar of the new diocese in Sichuan, China, in 1696. Not long after his consecration in China as Bishop of Rosalia in 1700, he came back to Europe. He arrived in Rome on March 10th, 1703 to stay with Charmot and a week later Krijns paid him a visit.²⁹

The third member of the *Missions Étrangères* in Rome was **Marin-Charles Labbé** (or, as Krijns writes, L'Abbay, 1648-1723). He came from Brittany and had worked in Cochinchina (the present-day Vietnam). In 1697 he had been nominated bishop of Tilopolis and assistant to the apostolic vicar of Cochinchina. He arrived in Rome in 1698 and published several treatises on the Chinese rites.³⁰ Like Charmot he became a regular visitor of Codde and his friends. The efforts of the representatives of the *Missions* to obtain a condemnation of the Chinese rites were reinforced when Pope Clement XI consecrated **Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon** (1668-1710) as bishop with the title "patriarch of Antioch" on December 21st, 1701, a ceremony attended by Krijns and his friends.³¹ Six months later, De Tournon was nominated apostolic visitor of the missions in China and South-East Asia. He went there in 1703 in order to obtain a stricter observance of decrees of the Holy See from the years 1645 and 1656, by which the Chinese rites had been condemned in a general sense. The members of the *Missions Étrangères* welcomed the instruction of De Tournon, which they considered a confirmation of their own position. In November 1704 their joy was even greater, as Pope Clement XI issued a decree that prohibited the Chinese rites.

One of the reasons for the friendship between Codde and the delegates of the *Missions Étrangères* in Rome was their shared opposition to the Jesuits. Just as the apostolic vicars of the *Missions* were hampered in their functioning in Asia by the Jesuits, so too was their Dutch colleague. However, this competition was rooted in a disagreement on the nature of the local church. Though the emerging churches in Asia differed in many ways from the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic, all of them were governed by apostolic vicars nominated by the *De Propaganda Fide* in Rome. The question was how these churches and their leaders had to be looked upon. Were they just branches of the Roman church and therefore submitted to the central church authorities in Rome, as the Jesuits thought? Or were they relatively independent churches with the apostolic vicar serving as the local bishop, the *ordinarius*? The latter vision undoubtedly was shared by Codde and his Dutch clergy, and perhaps also by the directors of the *Missions Étrangères* in Paris, as they focused on the establishment of diocesan seminaries in Asia to train indigenous candidates for the priesthood. This focus on seminarian education relates the struggle on the Chinese rites with the battle over the Formulary of Alexander VII, as this was fought in Louvain and Liège in the Southern Netherlands.

Krijns seemed to be well aware of this important role of the *Propaganda Fide*. With mild indignation, he

26 Cf. André Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des Missions-Étrangères*. Three volumes. Paris (Téqui) 1894, reprint Paris (Missions Étrangères) 2003.

27 On the Chinese rites, see: J. Brucker, *Rites (chinois)*. In: DTC 2-2 (1932) col. 2364-2391.

28 On Charmot, see: [www. http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-biographiques/charmot](http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-biographiques/charmot) [last seen October 20th, 2015]. Cf. HUA 86-1, 335-344: letter of Charmot to Codde, December 27th, 1699.

29 Krijns, *Mora in Urbe* on March 17th, 1703.

30 *Lettre de M. Marin Labbé nommé par le Saint-Siège évêque de Tilopolis, et coadjuteur au Vicariat apostolique de la Cochinchine, au Pape, sur le certificat de l'Empereur de la China, et sur la nécessité de condamner sans délai toutes les superstitions chinoises*. (Antwerp 1702); *Récit abrégé de la dernière persécution de la religion chrétienne dans la Cochinchine, par un missionnaire de ce royaume-là*. (Paris 1702).

31 De Tournon was created a cardinal and was nominated patriarch of Antioch in the consistory of 1 August 1701. On his involvement in the Chinese rites, see: Launay (*supra* footnote 24), I, 466-480.

mentions in his diary the treatment of yet another missionary-bishop, **Laurens Elias Mutton** (also Mouton, 1647-1708). He was born in Aat in the Southern Netherlands and had joined the discalced Carmelites. In 1693 he had been nominated bishop of Isfahan in Persia and had been elevated to the episcopacy in 1696. After working for several years in his diocese, Mutton arrived Rome in 1702 for unknown reasons and visited Codde and his companions regularly. Krijs mentions his first visit to the Vatican in the following way:

“When he [Mutton] went for the first time to the papal chapel where all the cardinals were, he took his place among them in the pews. All were astonished, for he only wore the habit of his congregation and no sign of his episcopal dignity whatsoever. As he was told to go and sit elsewhere, he again chose a seat that did not seem due to him. Eventually the master of ceremonies approached him, asking who he was and where he came from. He told him that he came from Persia and that he was the bishop of that country’s capital. The master told him to take his place among the bishops and asked him: “Where are your episcopal garments?” “I do not possess any” he answered, “and I never did. I have been a bishop for eleven years and I have never had the adornment attached to that dignity, no crozier and no miter. I am just a poor monk and nobody has given me such things. When I was consecrated, the Holy Congregation [the Propaganda Fide] promised me many things, but I only once received 100 scuti. So please forgive me if I do not know the right rubrics or do not wear episcopal garb.”³²

The person who told Krijs this story suspected that this bishop had behaved like that perhaps deliberately, in order to obtain papal attention and in that way financial support as promised by the Propaganda Fide. The Pope indeed gave orders to Fabroni, the secretary of the Propaganda Fide, to provide Mutton with a residence and necessary living expenses. Fabroni lodged him at the dwellings of another poor bishop and gave him seven scuti a month, out of which Mutton had to pay one priest and a servant. The messenger who told Krijs this story had been appalled by Fabroni’s behavior and had exclaimed: “Does he think himself God, that he can treat bishops in this unworthy way?!”

The contacts of Codde with the Flemish clergy involved him in matters concerning the acceptance of the Formulary of Alexander VII and the growing influence of the Jesuits on theological education in Louvain and Liège. His contacts with the French did the same in yet other areas of anti-Jesuit action: the question of anti-regalism and Jansenism in Southern France and the competition in missionary areas, focusing on the Chinese rites. Krijs’ diaries do not reveal what Codde himself thought of these questions, but the frequent, sometimes almost daily, meetings with the outspoken enemies of the Jesuits suggest that he shared their opinions.

2.2.3 The Italian connection

Let’s turn to Italy now. Here the Papal States were surrounded in the northwest by the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, ruled by Cosimo III (1642-1723), and in the south by the kingdom of Naples under the disputed rule of the new king of Spain Philip V (1683-1746), the grandson of Louis XIV.GD

2.2.3.1 Friends from Tuscany and Naples

To start with the first, Codde could count on the support of the Grand Duke. In 1667 and 1669 **Cosimo III** had on two occasions visited the Dutch Republic.³³ In Amsterdam he had met the apostolic vicar Johannes van Neercassel, who made such a good impression that three years later, on his own visit to Rome, Van Neercassel was allowed to stay in Cosimo’s Roman residence, the Villa Madama.³⁴ On their way to Rome, Codde and his company stayed in Florence for several days, where they met Cosimo and his court. Codde had several audiences with the Grand Duke and the company visited several churches.³⁵ To advocate Codde, the Grand Duke later wrote a letter to Fabroni.³⁶ In Rome, Cosimo’s agent, Count **Antonio Maria Fede** (1649-1718) visited Codde to make sure he lacked nothing.³⁷ In Florence they also met **Antonio Magliabecchi** (1633-1714), Cosimo’s celebrated librarian. The impression this man made on Krijs is worth quoting:

32 Krijs, *Audientiae* on May 20, 1702.

33 Cf. Godefridus J. Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo de’ Medici prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669)*. Journalen en documenten. Amsterdam (Johannes Müller) 1919; Lodewijk Wagenaar, ed., *Een Toscaanse prins bezoekt Nederland. De twee reizen van Cosimo de’ Medici 1667-1669*. Amsterdam (Bas Lubberhuizen) 2014.

34 Reinier R. Post, *De apostolische vicaris Johannes Neercassel naar Rome, 1670-1671*. In: *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome, tweede reeks, deel IV. ’s-Gravenhage (Algemeene Landsdrukkerij) 1934, 97-132, here 115.*

35 Krijs, *Dagboek van de reis* on December 2nd-5th, 1701.

36 Krijs, *Audientiae* on August 11th, 1702.

37 Krijs, *Mora in Urbe* on January 14th, 1701.

“He is tall man, his clothes are very dirty and he always carries a stone barrel, in which, as he told me, he burned more than one hundred of his robes and a slightly smaller number of pants. He is about 65 years old and started studying at the age of 30. Until that time he was a lace-maker. He really knows everything about literature and books. At home he has more than 40,000 books, purchased from his own resources or given to him as gifts by the authors. They are arranged in no particular order; everything is mixed up. His whole house (we have seen it) is so full that there is hardly an area of three feet that is not completely cluttered. But if you ask for something, he knows where to find it. Even if something is shown to him, only from the outside he can tell you what it is and what it is about. He doesn't have any family or assistants, but really lives like Diogenes.”³⁸

A clergyman from the kingdom of Naples was a nobleman, **Alessandro Riccardi** (1660-1729), who is mentioned over 150 times in Krijs' diaries as a guest of Codde and his companions.³⁹ Very little is known about him, except that he later became a librarian at the Imperial Library of Vienna and wrote several letters to Krijs.⁴⁰

2.2.3.2 Bookshops and scholars

The love of books and theological literature Magliabecchi apparently manifested and Riccardi must have shared brings us to one of the favorite pastimes of Codde and his friends during their stay in Rome: their visits to bookshops. Krijs mentions bookshops on the Corso and at the Piazza Navona.⁴¹ Another one was called *Il Corvo*, ‘The Raven’, on the Piazza Pasquini.⁴² Krijs also mentions two French librarians by name: l’Huillier and Crozier, who both made return visits to their undoubtedly good customers.⁴³ Several times Krijs purchased books and sent them home to Holland; unfortunately he does not mention any titles. These visits to booksellers were not without danger, becomes evident from the fact that Krijs on several occasion mentions persons who were put to prison because of their literary of political activities. This happened on May 26th 1701 to the Spanish Franciscan Francisco Diaz de San Buenaventura (1652-1728), who had published a pamphlet on the investiture in the Kingdom of Naples, and a day later to someone had been talking too openly about Spain in one of the coffehouses on the Piazza Navona.⁴⁴ For these reasons Codde and Krijs always went incognito or in plain clothes when they visited bookshops.

The love of books also becomes apparent from the visits Krijs made to the libraries in Rome. On December 29th, 1700, only two weeks after Krijs' arrival in Rome, the oratorian **Alessandro Bussi** (ca. 1653-1728), canon of Santa Maria Maggiore and brother of the internuntius of Brussels, took him for a tour of the Chiesa Nuova. Here he showed him not only the chapel where St. Philip de Neri used to pray, but also the library of the oratorian convent.⁴⁵ A few months later Krijs was introduced by Delbecque to the public library of the late cardinal Casanate, which was still under construction in the monastery at Santa Maria sopra Minerva.⁴⁶ In the following weeks Krijs and his friends visited the Angelica library of the Augustinians, the Franciscan library at Trinità dei Monti, the library of the Collegio Urbano and, finally, the Vatican library, where the librarians **Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni** (1657-1712) and **Giovanni Battista de Miro** (1656-1731) showed them their treasures.⁴⁷ The

38 Krijs, *Dagboek van de reis* on December 3rd, 1701.

39 Krijs only notes that Riccardi is of noble birth and comes from Naples.

40 Cf. Ignaz Franz von Mosel, *Geschichte der kaiserliche königliche Hofbibliothek zu Wien*. Wien (Beck) 1835, 112-115. Krijs' archives contains two letters from 1714 and 1720 from Alessandro Riccardi, tax officer of the kingdom of Naples, secret chamberlain and in 1723 imperial librarian in Vienna.

41 Krijs mentions visits to bookshops on June 7th, October 13th and 18th, November 14th, December 5th, 9th, 12th and 20th, 1701; February 4th, March 4th, April 4th, 23rd and 27th, November 3rd, 5th and 29th, 1702; January 17th and 22nd, and February 5th, 17th and 23rd, 1703. Krijs *Mora in Urbe* on these dates.

42 Krijs, *Mora in Urbe* on June 7th, 1701 and April 27th, 1702.

43 I could not find any information on l’Huillier. Jean Crozier, “celebrated bookseller in this city”, died November 6th, 1716, cf. *Nouvelles Littéraires, contenant ce qui se passe de plus considérable dans la République des Lettres*. Tome V, première partie, Janvier, Février, Mars. La Haye (Henri du Sauzet) 1717, 121. Crozier edited with his colleague Jean Thioly in Lyon one of the travel guides Krijs used on his wanderings through Rome: [François-Jacques Deseine], *Description de la ville de Rome, en faveur des étrangers, divisée en trois parties. La première contient l'explication des antiquitez. La seconde est la description des églises, palais, ... La troisième est la relation du gouvernement & des ceremonies*. par F.D.P. Lyon: Jean Thioly, 1690; second edition 1699.

44 Krijs, *Mora in Urbe* on May 26th and 27th, 1701.

45 Krijs, *Mora in Urbe* on December 29th, 1700.

46 Krijs, *Mora in Urbe* on February 8th, 1701.

47 Krijs, *Mora in Urbe* on February 18th, March 7th, April 8th and June 1st, 1701. Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni (1657-1712) was a church historian and functioned from 1684 until his death as one of the librarians of the Vatican. The Benedictine Giovanni Battista de Miro (1656-1731) was an assistant to Muratori and, under Pope Innocentius XII, became consultor and qualificator of the Holy Office. From 1698 until 1711 he served as assistant librarian of the Vatican library.

visits to these libraries offered a good opportunity to meet other learned theologians.

2.2.3.3 The cardinals and the pope

Of course Codde also visited the cardinals, seeing some thirty of them during the first two months of his stay in Rome. He made several visits to some of them, especially **Tomasso Maria Ferrari** (1649-1716) and **Sebastiano Antonio Tanara** (1650-1724), of whom Codde hoped they were well disposed towards him. On his second round, during the last months of 1701, he brought his defensive writings to all ten cardinals of the committee for Dutch affairs, which had to investigate the allegations against him and his clergy. Towards the end of his stay a third round followed, this time to say goodbye.

Codde also met regularly with Fabroni, the secretary of both the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* and the committee of cardinals for Dutch affairs. During Fabroni's absence from Rome from July until November 1702 – which coincided with the announcement of Codde's suspension and, according to Krijs, was due to his treatment of both cardinal De Tournon and Codde – his substitute **Antonio Banchieri** (1667-1733) received the Dutch delegation frequently.

Krijs is well-informed about cardinal **Gaspere Carpegna** (1625-1714), thanks to one of the cardinal's servants, a Mr. **Visch** (?-?) from Amsterdam. Visch frequently visited Codde and his friends and provided insights into the meeting of the cardinals, which was subject to secrecy.⁴⁸ Another regular guest of Codde was **Giovanni Carlo Aneto** (?-?), a singer in the papal choir.⁴⁹ As he appears about 270 times in Krijs's diary *Mora in Urbe*, he seemed to have been part of the family. He brought a colleague with him, the renowned **Pasqualino**, and Codde and his friends went out to listen to their performances.⁵⁰

Codde had thirteen audiences with Pope Clement XI: the first directly after his arrival and the Pope's ascension to the throne in December 1700, six in 1701, only three in 1702 – the year of his suspension – and only two in 1703. From the notes of Krijs it becomes clear that the Pope was very ambivalent in his behavior. He provided Codde and his company with food, a little money and the use of a papal carriage. But when it came to the questions at stake, he adopted an evasive attitude. When presented with Codde's complaints about the crude way in which he was treated by Fabroni, he only expressed his regrets and said that he was not able to go against him. When Codde finally received permission to return home, the Pope gave him his blessing.

During the last eighteen months of his stay in Rome, Codde frequently visited cardinal-state secretary **Fabrizio Paolucci** (1651-1726), trying to obtain permission to return home. The cardinal, however, seemed reluctant to grant this permission, for he was not sure whether Codde would accept his suspension. On the other hand he also feared the States of Holland, which threatened to exile all the catholic priests from the Republic. Due to Paolucci's hesitation it took Codde a whole year to achieve his purpose.

From these visits it becomes clear that Codde did not really have many powerful Italian friends. He supposed that some of the cardinals were well disposed towards him and even the Pope received him very warmly on several occasions. But during the whole of his stay in Rome he only made three rounds to visit the cardinals and only three of them returned his visits. All the others, though they received him with hospitality, showed little interest and – as Krijs notices – they hardly read the writings in the archbishop's defense. Codde's other contacts in Rome included mainly scholars and book lovers – itself already a cause for suspicion in the Papal States. They received their news from servants of the cardinals or the singers in the papal chapel.

2.2.4 The Dutch connection

The last group I would like to mention briefly are the Dutch who stayed in Rome, including businessmen or tradesmen and students from the Netherlands who stayed in the Collegio Urbano of *De Propaganda Fide*.

An example of a successful businessman was **Cornelis de Meyer** (ca. 1640-1702) from Amsterdam. He was a hydrological engineer, who in 1680 was invited to come to Rome to improve navigation on the River Tiber. In December 1700 he paid Codde a visit, as did his sons who came to Rome in 1702 after their father had died. A certain Mr. **Sonnenbergh** (?-?), also from Amsterdam, brought Krijs letters from his sister Maria Gerarda Krijs (1667-1706).

⁴⁸ Krijs mentions Visch 71 times in *Mora in Urbe* and 28 times in *Audientiae*. I was not able to identify him.

⁴⁹ I have found no further details about him.

⁵⁰ During Codde's stay in Rome there were two castrati who together were called the Pasqualini. The first one was **Pasquale Betti** (Pasqualino, Pasqualini, ca.1685-1752) from Lucca, singer in the papal chapel, who after a stay at the Portuguese court in Lisbon was appointed 'soprano sopranummerario' at the papal chapel. The other one was **Pasqualino Tiepoli** (1670-1742), who as a member of cardinal Ottoboni's train performed the works of his resident composer Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier (?-1700). Shortly after 1701, both Pasqualini entered into the service of Philip II (1674-1723), Duke of Orléans, and brought Italian music styles to the French court. With thanks to Enrico Ruggieri in The Hague and Dr. Giancarlo Rostirolla in Rome.

On several occasions Codde and his friends visited the college for students of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, known as the *Collegio Urbano*. As one of the complaints against Codde consisted of his supposed discrimination of the Roman students in favor of those coming from Louvain, we can imagine that the population of the *Collegio Urbano* was not very well disposed towards the apostolic vicar. As Krijns's mentions, the students paid their compliments to Codde on his arrival to Rome in December 1700 and January 1701.⁵¹ These ties seemed to have been strong that year: the students visited Codde on several other occasions and he and his company visited the college to attend theological debates.⁵²

A year later, however, relations slowly deteriorated. Fabroni had given Codde's defensive writings to father **Liberius a Jesu** (1646-1719), prefect of the students in the *Collegio Urbano*, who found proof of Jansenism in these documents.⁵³ The president of the college clearly was opposed to Codde. He forbade the students their customary visit to their bishop at Carnival or the beginning of Lent. Some of them defied the ban, visiting Codde at Easter.⁵⁴ One student, **Joannes van Veenroy** (1680-1714), served as the president's secretary. He handled the correspondence with Codde's opponents in the Dutch Republic and translated Dutch anti-Codde pamphlets into Latin.⁵⁵ At the end of 1702 another student, Van Beusecom, warned a Dutch nobleman returning home to be careful in choosing friends other than the Jesuits, because all those who supported Codde were under suspicion. Even his fellow students in Rome avoided any further contact with the apostolic vicar.⁵⁶ Indeed, in January 1703 the students did not appear to wish the apostolic vicar a happy new year and they only saw each other again when Codde came to say goodbye. Not all the members the college's faculty were against him: the esteemed **Giovanni Patrizzio** (1636-1708), emeritus professor and former president of the college, was a regular guest of Codde.⁵⁷

3. Conclusion

Based on this extensive list of contacts Codde and his companions had during their stay in Rome, we now can turn to the questions I mentioned in my introduction and attempt to answer them.

Did Codde and Krijns really make church history? By compiling detailed information on their stay in Rome, the progress of the case against Codde, the examinations led by Fabroni, the meetings of the cardinals and the audiences granted by the Pope, Krijns certainly did so. But did they also constitute a network for anti-Jesuit action? The answer is: no, not really. With the help of his theological advisors, Codde wrote his defenses only to repel the attacks made against him and his clergy by the Dutch Jesuits and their allies.

Although Codde and Krijns did not constitute a network for anti-Jesuit action, they became more deeply involved into the alreadybecame deeply existing opposition against the Jesuits, which becomes apparent from their contacts: with the Flemish clergy, connections towho defended the rights of the University of Louvain against the growing influence of the Jesuits; with the anti-regalist clergy from Southern France, who opposed the absolutist strategy of King Louis XIV and his Jesuit confessor; with the delegates of the *Missions Étrangères* from Paris, who tried to obtain a papal condemnation of the Chinese rites; and with the Dutch students of the *Collegio Urbano*, who represented the next generation of priests to work in the Republic.

Their common interest was to counteract the growing influence of the Jesuits, especially with regard to two issues. Firstly, this concerned the field of theology and morality, which they wanted to be based on a stricter interpretation of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, as they considered this the traditional teaching of the Church. And secondly, they opposed the tendency to centralize ecclesial authority in the Holy See at the cost of the rights of local churches. In this respect they advocated the position of the apostolic vicar as bishop ordinary.

Through their contacts with sympathizers in Rome, Codde and his companions were strengthened in their policy. By defending what seemed to them the genuine catholic teaching on divine grace and human

51 Krijns, *Mora in Urbe* on December 30th, 1700 and January 26th, 1701.

52 Krijns, *Mora in Urbe* on June 5th, 1701 and September 3rd, 1702. On the first date an Armenian student defended his thesis in the presence of the cardinals Coloredo, Rubini, Sacripante, Noris, Paolucci and Bichi; on the second one the Dutch student Romerburgh did the same in presence of the cardinals Rubini, Noris and Ottoboni.

53 Krijns, *Audientiae* on April 6th, 1702. Liberius had become prefect at the end of 1699. According to Du Vaucel, father Liberius was esteemed by the Dominicans at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Tans II, 626.

54 Diary of De Wael, p. 3. Krijns, *Mora in Urbe* on September 13th, 1702; *Audientiae* on September 17th, 1702. During the debate of September 17th, 1702 a student by the name of 'Haselenb.' passed his exams in philosophy. I have not been able to identify this student.

55 Krijns, *Audientiae* on October 30th, 1702 and December 1st, 1702.

56 Krijns, *Audientiae* on November 21st, 1702.

57 On Pastrizio, see: Tomislav Mrkonjic, *Il teologo Ivan Pastric (Giovanni Pastrizio), 1636-1708: vita, opere, concezione delle teologia, cristologia*. Roma 1989. Idem, Pastrizio, Giovanni. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 81 (2014), ***.

free will, not obscured by the (semi-)pelagianism and laxist moral teaching of the Jesuits or the ultramontane triumphalistic Catholicism of the later Counter-Reformation, Codde and his companions continued the strategy for rebuilding Catholicism in the Dutch Republic, thus under a protestant government, as started by his predecessors Rovenius and Van Neercassel. Their ideal was a Catholic Church based on the rules and regulations of the Council of Trent in its reforming phase, with a central strong position of the local bishop. Although – and because of – being a minority church under a government that favored Protestantism, the Church in the Republic had to consist of well-educated and therefore self-confident members, clergy and laity, who knew their Bible and catechisms and who celebrated the Eucharist and the other sacraments in a sober, but earnest and serious way.

This 17th and early 18th-century strategy for church building or church reform did not prove to be very successful in the end. Especially after the devastations of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, ultramontane Catholicism became predominant during the 19th century, culminating in the papal dogmas on infallibility and universal jurisdiction of the First Vatican Council in 1870. Nevertheless, the call for church reform never completely abated and the ideal of returning to the sources of the Christian tradition and the simplicity of the ancient church under a neutral, indifferent or even hostile government can still inspire Christians today, as the churches in Western Europe seem to become minority churches or even disappear altogether. In this respect the church history Codde and his company made in Rome can still provide us with a model for how to confront challenges that perhaps appear new to us, but which are in fact inherent to the Christian faith of all times.