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UITGEGEVEN ONDER DE HOGE BESCHERMING VAN Z. M. DE KONING DOOR HET KONINKLIJK BELGISCH GENOOTSCHAP VOOR NUMISMATIEK MET DE FINANCIËLE HULP VAN HET MINISTERIE VAN NATIONALE OPVOEDING EN NEDERLANDSE CULTUUR EN HET MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE ET DE LA CULTURE FRANÇAISE

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BRUXELLES BRUSSEL
Hubertus Goltzius (1526-1583) printed and published his C. *Julius Caesar* in Bruges in 1563. An important part of this book consisted of a long list of people (978) he visited and in whose coin-cabinets he worked during his two trips through Europe between 1556 and 1560.

In the introduction to this list he mentioned the fact that his book was based on research work in the coin-cabinets of the most important people of the Renaissance world. With this he gave his book an enormous authority in itself because he was the first to base a numismatic book on such a large scale of actual fieldwork. Perhaps that’s one of the reasons why his numismatic knowledge was hardly ever greeted with serious scepticism until the very end of the 18th century by Joseph von Eckhel, the Austrian numismatist, in his *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* (2). From that date onwards almost nobody ever used his book for numismatic references. But in the numismatic world a lot of scholars still remember and mention the gigantic « Grand Tour » done by Hubertus Goltzius in the middle of the 16th century. Nobody ever thought about the possibility that this « Grand Tour » could have been a make-up or even a cover-up for his lack of actual experience with ancient coins.

In the 19th century, F. V. Goethals mentioned and praised the trip in his *Histoire des Lettres*, etc. in 1842 (3), Constant Serrure reprinted the list as an appendix to his account of the de Ligne

collection in 1847 (4) and even in the 20th century Victor Tourneur wrote an article in the Revue belge de numismatique just before the Great War (5) about the coin collection of Laevinus Torrentius. In the introduction to that article he mentioned the fact that Hubertus Goltzius examined all the coin-cabinets of Belgium and the rest of civilized Europe (sic) during his «numismatic pilgrimage». But he regretted the fact that Goltzius left us nothing about the real importance of those coin-cabinets and that he gave no indication about their contents (6).

Putting all things together and having analysed Hubertus Goltzius’ life and works we became a bit suspicious about the fact whether he really visited all those people and worked in their coin-cabinets. As a case-study we decided to check on one town and on the people he claimed to have visited there. Deliberately we choose a rather easy one: Douai.

Douai which once belonged to the Spanish Netherlands and which is now in France, seemed us an appropriate case to work on. The four people he visited there had, according to Goltzius, a close relationship with the legal faculty of the university of Douai, because he gave them all the title of «Iuris Uttriusque Doctor» and three of them he called «Legum Professor». They were: Joannes Vendvilius, Joannes Ramus, Boethius Epos and Hadrianus Peussius (7).

From his diary, which we found in the Precious Books Department of the Royal Library Albert I in Brussels (8), we were able to pinpoint his visit to Douai between the 5th November 1560, the day on which he left Paris and the 14th November 1560, the day he arrived back in Bruges. That Hubertus Goltzius

(4) C. P. Serrure, Notice sur le cabinet monétaire de S. A. le Prince de Ligne, Gand, 1847, p. 391-431.
(5) V. Tourneur, La collection Laevinus Torrentius, in RBN, LXX, 1914, p. 281-332.
(6) Tourneur, op. cit., p. 285: «Malheureusement nous sommes fort peu documentés sur l’importance réelle de ces cabinets. Goltzius, qui nous a livré les résultats de ses recherches, ne nous a fourni aucun détail particulier sur les sources auxquelles il a puisé».
(7) H. Goltzius, C. Iulius Caesar, op. cit., f. ccv.
(8) H. Goltzius, Calendarium Historicum, Frankfurt/Main, 1557, on 5th November 1560: «Im jar 1560 zoch ich wider von Paris durch Easqua, Clermont, Beauvais, Amiens, Arras, Duairum, Courtrais und widerom zum Brug». 
passed Douai on his way back from Paris to Bruges seems obvious. It was the end of the normal route. But was he able to visit those four professors between the 5th and the 14th of November 1560 and work in their coin-cabinets?

The university of Douai.

The foundation of the university of Douai is part of the religious, political and educational history of the Low Countries. When Philips II of Spain created the university of Douai in 1562, the Reformation was already fully embracing the Low Countries and he was prepared to do everything that was in his power to defend true Roman catholicism. In 1559 he got the permission from the Holy Chair to create fourteen new bishopries and a university in Douai with as only purpose the conservation and maintenance of the «true» religion. The university of Louvain was Flemish and the universities of France accepted too many Germans who were already carriers of the protestant «disease». All he needed was a French speaking university under his control near the French border in order to preserve the catholic faith. The necessity of a French speaking university in the Low Countries was already discussed nearly thirty years before the accession to the throne of Philips II (1556) by the French speaking provinces of the Low Countries. But nobody felt its necessity because all the teaching at the existing universities in Europe was in Latin and the Reformation had still to come. When Philips II came to the throne, the religious and political situation had completely changed. The Reformation was very active within the Low Countries and he felt the need to react against it. So, at that time several factors coincided and worked together to urge the need for a new university somewhere near the border between France and the Low Countries.

Next to several towns in the Walloon country, i.e. Tournai, Mons, etc., the magistrates of Douai had asked Charles V, the Roman Emperor and father of Philips II, for a proper university within their city walls. But then the time wasn’t ripe for it and the university of Louvain was strongly opposed to any newcomer within its territory. It took Douai some thirty years before its wish was fulfilled and in the end it was Philips II himself, in the
name of the catholic faith, who took up again the idea and ordered new negotiations with the magistrates of Douai. What only seemed of local importance in 1531 became suddenly a national issue for the Low Countries in 1562, Douai was still an unspoilt French speaking catholic city within the Low Countries and Philips II wished to use it as a cornerstone for his religious policy.

National interest based on a religious background was the only real reason for establishing a university in Douai. The catholic university of Douai was granted its licence by a Papal Bull of Pope Paul IV on 1st August 1559. Antonius Perrenot, better known as Cardinal Granvelle, Viglius the Frisian, president of the Privy Council, and Philippi Nigri, chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, were ordered by Philips II not only to establish the new bishopries but also to found the new university of Douai. But the sudden death of Pope Paul IV on 18th August 1559 prevented the expedition of the Papal Bull and it was his successor Pope Pius IV who sent off the Bull on 6th January 1560. But as travelling was very difficult and time consuming in those days, it was only after 17th March 1560 that Philips II received the Papal Bull (9).

In the meantime the magistrates and people of Douai were not officially informed of the Papal and Royal initiatives and they only received the Papal Bull officially near the end of 1561. The official Letters Patent for the founding of the university of Douai were signed by Philips II in Madrid on the 19th January 1562 and according to Cardon (10) it is only from April 1562 onwards that the actual organisation of the university started. The town representatives Pierre Mallebranque and Jacques de Bonmarchiet left Douai some days after 16th May 1562 and they went to Brussels. Their main purpose was to contact some professors of the university of Louvain and to persuade them to come to Douai, and they were also prepared to pay good money for them. They met severe obstruction from the magistrates of Louvain and from the rector of the university who even protested to Viglius. The representatives of Douai were able to contract Jean Vendeville for 500 florins a year, Jean Ramus accepted for 500 florins too and Epo Boethius was prepared to come for 300 florins to teach Canon Law and In-

(10) G. CARDON, op. cit., p. 166.
stitutes. For the faculty of theology they were able to persuade Richard Smith, former professor of Oxford. Those four main professors were of great help to choose other collaborators. Vendeville and Ramus were very fond of Adrian Peussius, a lawyer from Malines, who accepted to give one lecture a day for a fee of 300 florins a year. Next to him Jean Rubus or Dubuisson, a licentiate in theology from the theologian faculty of Louvain, accepted for 200 florins, Jean Cospeau Montois, professor of Greek and Latin, was prepared to do it for 200 florins too and Jean Petreius, medical doctor, asked 300 florins a year for two lectures a day or 200 florins a year for one lecture a day. The last to accept for 200 florins a year was Jean Ferrarius.

Those people were prepared to start the university of Douai. Next to their salary they also received generous contributions towards housing. After the difficult process of appointing the new professors, which took almost 2 months (May and June 1562), the representatives of Douai and Viglius reached an agreement concerning the opening date of the university on the 5th October 1562.

Because Hubertus Goltzius only claimed to have visited four professors of the university of Douai we shall now try to examine more closely who those people were and where they lived during that period.

Joannes Vendevilius, Iuris U. Doctor and Legum Professor (11,12,13).

Jean Vendeville was clearly the most important of the professors of the legal faculty of the university of Douai. He was probably born in Lille on the 24th June 1527 or in Sainghin-en-Mélantois the 27th June of the same year. After a short spell as councillor for Artois he became canon of St Peter's in Lille and took his doctorate in both laws at the university of Louvain on 27th August 1553. He was immediately offered a professorate at the same university. His role in the creation of the University of Douai was very im-

(11) H. GOLTZIUS, C. Iulius Caesar, op. cit., l. ccv.
(12) G. CARDON, op. cit., p. 367-381.
(13) P. COLLINET, L'Ancienne faculté de droit de Douai (1562-1793) (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, Tome IX, Mémoire No 25), Lille, 1900, iii p. + 200 p., p. 84-75.
portant. He is the author of the « Premier project et sommaire de la Rémontrance » which was for Philips II the main reason to take up again the initiative, left by the magistrates of Douai some years earlier, to found a new university in Douai to defend the « True Catholic Religion ». Jean Vendeville’s life was totally dedicated to the defence of Roman catholicism and that was the main reason he accepted a post in Douai in 1562. He also played a very active role in introducing the Jesuits to Douai. But the religious troubles in the Low Countries forced him out of Douai in 1578. The university of Paris offered him a chair but he refused it because he thought that the Sorbonne was too reluctant in conferring academic degrees. When his wife, Anna Roelofs, died, he immediately became a priest and he was consecrated bishop of Tournai in 1588. He died on the 15th October 1592 and was buried in the cathedral of Tournai.

His secretary Nicolas Loes, later bishop of Senlis, left us a book about his life : « De vita Joannis Vendeville » which was printed in Douai in 1598. Most of the works of Jean Vendeville i.e. « Commentarius de Principiis et Oeconomia librorum Iuris Canonici » and « De Principiis et Oeconomia librorum Iuris Universi ad proemium Pandectarum » were only published posthumously by Andreas Valerius.

Hadrianus Peussius, Iuris U. Doctor and Legum Professor (14,15,16).

Adriaan Peussius or Putsius was born in Geraardsbergen in Flanders and at the time he was asked to become professor of civil law at the legal faculty of the university of Douai he was a lawyer in Malines and only a licentiate in both laws. He was in fact the first to receive a doctorate in both canon and civil law from the new university of Douai on 11th September 1565 according to the archives of the university of Douai (17). He left Douai on 13th June 1584 to become a Councillor of the Sovereign Council of Malines. He died in Malines on 12th April 1601.

(14) GOLTZIUS, C. Iulius Caesar, f. ccv.
(15) G. CARDON, op. cit., p. 387.
(16) P. COLLINET, op. cit., p. 87.
(17) Archives of the university of Douai : Book CC. f. 106ro + vo.
Joannes Ramus, Iuris U. Doctor and Legum Professor \((18,19,20)\).

Jan Ramus or Tack was born in Goes (Zeeland) on 28th February 1535. After reading and teaching literature (Latin literature of course) in Vienna (Austria) he received the title of doctor in both canon and civil law at the university of Louvain on the 13th October 1559 where he stayed on to teach civil law. In 1562 he left Louvain for Douai but three years later he went back. Due to the religious troubles he left Louvain again for Dôle (France) where he died on 25th November 1578.

Among his books we cite: «Oeconomia sive Dispositio Regulorum utriusque Iuris », published in Louvain in 1557 and again in Cologne in 1592. And « Commentarii methodici ad Regulas J.U. in IV libb. », « Item tractatus de Analogia Iuris et Facti » and « Et Oratio Apologetica pro Iurisprudentia ». These last three were published in Louvain in 1641 by Andreas Valerius.

Boethius Epos, Phrisius, I.U. Doctor and Professor \((21,22,23)\).

Epo Boethius or De Boodt called himself Rordahusanus Frisius because he was born in Roordahuizen near Leeuwarden in Frisia in 1529. After his studies in Paris, Cologne and Louvain he became professor of Greek literature in Louvain and Annecy (France) where he probably met Calvin. It was in 1560 in Toulouse that he became doctor in both canon and civil law. When Jerome of France asked him to come to Douai in 1562 he was professor at the university of Louvain. He is the only one of the original professors of the university of Douai who stayed that long in that city. In fact he stayed there until his death on 15th November 1599.

He was also the most laborious of all his colleagues at the university of Douai. He wrote an extensive amount of books about philosophy, history and law of which we cite: « Commentarii novem Testamentarii » published in Douai in 1581 and « Heroicarum et Ecclesiasticarum Quaestionem libri VI » and « de Iure sacro,
vel principiorum iuris pontificii libri III both published in Douai in 1588 by Joannis Bogardi from Louvain.

Conclusion.

The university of Douai and especially the legal faculty of that university were only factually and officially established in 1562. We presume that Hubertus Goltzius, during his stay in Rome from 14th August until 27th September 1559 and again from 17th December 1559 until 4th May 1560 had gathered some knowledge about the Papal Bull of 1st August 1559 signed by Pope Paul IV. We are quite sure that Hubertus Goltzius was in Rome during that period not only from his own diary (24) and from the account of his «Grand Tour» in his C. Iulius Caesar (25) but we also found more factual material: F. Weege has discovered Goltzius’ name with the date 1559 in graffiti on the walls of the Golden House of Nero in Rome (26). But when he passed Douai between the 5th and the 14th November 1560 there was nobody in that city who had the faintest idea who would become professor of the legal faculty of the university because the talks about that only started well into 1562. And there we are with the answer to the question: «Was Hubertus Goltzius able to visit the four professors he mentioned in his list for Douai in November 1560?». The answer is NO, it was impossible. First because there was no university in Douai in 1560 and secondly the people he mentioned were not in Douai in 1560! But how was it possible then for Hubertus Goltzius to publish the names of those professors in his C. Iulius Caesar? The answer to that is very simple. His C. Iulius Caesar was only published well into 1563 (September!) and the account of his «Grand Tour» was separately printed with another series of signatures (from aa to cc). So Hubertus Goltzius only established his list concerning Douai (and the other cities?) after

(24) GOLTZIUS, Calendarium Historicum.
(25) GOLTZIUS, C. Iulius Caesar, i. aat-ccv.
5th October 1562, the founding date of the university, and some time before September 1563, the date on which his book about the coins of C. Iulius Caesar was completely finished. Next to that we also want to mention that Hubertus Goltzius gave Adrian Peussius, a lawyer from Malines, the title of Iuris U. Doctor which he only got in September 1565 in Douai!

Taking into account the actual facts we dare conclude that Hubertus Goltzius never met those four professors of the legal faculty of the university of Douai, in Douai between the 5th and the 14th of November 1560!

Going back to his famous list of 978 numismatists in whose coin-cabinets he gathered the information for his even more famous books about ancient coins we can but express our greatest doubt about its accuracy and reliability. We dare presume that Hubertus Goltzius knew a lot about the educated people of the Renaissance world thanks to this travels and that he was very anxious to sell his books. So in order to please as many people as possible and to make sure that they would buy his books he printed their names (what an honour!) in his book on coins of C. Iulius Caesar. In fact we are definitely sure that he faked the Douai entry of his list and perhaps even more.