

# Lottery Participants Pioneering with Lottery Rhymes

*Motives behind the Rhyming Practices in the 's-Hertogenbosch Lottery of 1506*

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## **Abstract**

In 1506, 's-Hertogenbosch staged a lottery of prizes. Although its medieval citizens were familiar with urban performances, this European phenomenon was new to them. Meticulous archival records provide a detailed view on this event, particularly a complete and intact lottery register that includes all the names of the ticket buyers as well as a small number of rhymes. This thesis has researched these rhymes and the lottery participants behind them in order to reveal the motives involved in this rhyming practices. The results of the research in this thesis show that the rhyming practice in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 was still in its infancy, and not yet being influenced by the chambers of rhetoric. Rhymers, mostly belonging to the upper (middle) class, were motivated to rhyme by their desire to win the biggest prize in the lottery. Additional motives for rhymers to record their rhymes were the display of wealth and influence, the representation of their families and of their knowledge and erudition before an urban audience. The latter was reflected in the Latin *prosen*, inspired by the Bible and other religious texts, used by literate citizens working in the secretary of the municipality, in educational positions or in religious institutions.

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## Introduction

On Saturday 16 May 1506, Henrixken van der Donck, widow of Jannen Ghysselen, purchased twenty lottery tickets for a lottery organized by the city government of 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>1</sup> She paid for her tickets not with money, but with a receipt provided by the municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>2</sup> The municipality owed her interest on her loan to the city, but did not have the financial means to pay her. Henrixken exchanged the value of her interest into twenty chances to win a prize. Along with her name, she registered her lottery tickets with a short rhyme, written in Middle Dutch:

'Op dese dicht/Henrixken in den Engel  
hedde gerne tgroot lot metten hengel  
ende en mach zy niet dat  
verlene huer God een watervat'.<sup>3</sup>

In this rhyme she associated herself with her residence *den Engel*, which was located on the market square in 's-Hertogenbosch, and expressed her desire to win the biggest prize (*tgroot lot*) in the lottery. If that was not to be, she invoked God to grant her a water jug.<sup>4</sup> Why did Henrixken have a rhyme recorded on her tickets in a lottery register?

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<sup>1</sup> This city can be indicated by two names: 's-Hertogenbosch and Den Bosch. This thesis will use both names.

<sup>2</sup> The number of lottery tickets that Henrixken Ghysselen purchased was registered in the city account of 's-Hertogenbosch of 1506/07. See 's-Hertogenbosch, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch (EH), Oud-administratief Stadsarchief (OSA), inventory number 1363 (See Appendix I). The archivist ROGER ADRIAAN VAN ZUIJLEN has edited the city accounts of 's-Hertogenbosch in three parts, see: *Inventaris der archieven van de stad 's-Hertogenbosch, chronologisch opgemaakt en de voornaamste gebeurtenissen bevattende. Stadsrekeningen van het jaar 1399–1800*, ed. by R.A VAN ZUIJLEN, 3 vols ('s-Hertogenbosch 1863–1866). Unfortunately, his edition of the Den Bosch city accounts is incomplete. For instance, the names of the ticket buyers that are listed in the city account of 1506/07 are not mentioned in the edition of VAN ZUIJLEN (see *Inventaris der archieven*, I, pp. 109–111).

<sup>3</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>r</sup> (see Appendix II).

<sup>4</sup> The biggest prize in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 appeared to have been one of the silver jugs, as we will see later on in this thesis. Other prizes were silver mugs, bowls, water jugs and spoons. See 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363.

Her main motive for doing so, though she might have had several, cannot be deduced from the lottery register itself. This archival record was not created for narrative reasons but for the municipality to keep an accurate documentation in the annual city account retroactively. Several options deserve reflection if we are to come closer to Henrixken's motive(s) for using a lottery rhyme.

The hope of material gain seems the most obvious motive, but as this would have been applicable for all ticket buyers, it explains the participation in the lottery as such but not her use of a rhyme. A similar explanation lies behind the exchanging of her interest into lottery tickets. As a creditor of the municipality, Henrixken apparently accepted this opportunity to at least have a chance to regain some of her money. However, many participants supported this 'debt-for-luck swap' of the municipality without rhyming.<sup>5</sup> The lottery register includes around 2000 names of ticket buyers, of whom 231 had a rhyme recorded. The presumption that the requirement of written skills on the side of the participants formed a barrier is also unlikely, because the rhymes were written down by a clerk, assigned by the municipality to record all purchases of lottery tickets.

Another of Henrixken's motives could have been the wish to present herself before a large audience. She must have known that her rhyme would be shouted out loud twenty times, once for each ticket, during the drawing of the lottery six months later on a stage on the market square of 's-Hertogenbosch, near her residence, presumably amidst a crowd of spectators. Could the rhyming practice of Henrixken then be interpreted as merely a playful act intended to entertain an urban audience? In my opinion this would reflect a simplified view of medieval urban life and its social dynamics. Closer research of Henrixken's identity reveals that she was one of the wealthiest citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch. Her late husband had

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<sup>5</sup> The term 'debt-for-luck-swap' was coined by JEROEN PUTTEVILS in his article 'The Lure of Lady Luck: Lotteries and Economic Culture in the Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Low Countries', in *Random Riches: Gambling Past & Present*, ed. by M. Zollinger (London/New York 2016), p. 63.

been educated in Leuven and had held the public offices of treasurer (*rentmeester*) and alderman. Henrixken's son Ghysbert was about to follow in his father footsteps as he would become treasurer in 1508.<sup>6</sup> The family Ghyselen was also related to another affluent family in 's-Hertogenbosch; the brother-in-law of Henrixken's late sister Katharina was Jan Claes van den Broeck, a wealthy clothier (*lakencoper*) who was assigned by the municipality as lottery broker (*lootmeester*) for the lottery of 1506.<sup>7</sup> This identification shows that Henrixken's involvement was more than that of just an anonymous lottery participant. She belonged to an economic and political urban elite that were closely related to each other and desired to consolidate their own position, as well as to safeguard it for their descendants.

This thesis is about the rhyming practices in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506. The case of Henrixken Ghyselen shows three things. First, it reveals that the use of rhymes in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 was an intentional act of cultural behaviour. It was not mandatory to register with a rhyme. Secondly, the rhymes were possibly motivated by the belief that they would influence the lottery's outcome. Thirdly, that the identity of the rhymer might reveal a different or additional motivation for this rhyming practice.

In order to gain insight into the rhyming practices in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506, the research in this thesis focusses on two central questions: The first research question is, *what* did lottery participants rhyme? With what kinds of short texts did they record their lottery tickets and what possible motives do these rhymes reflect? Did they express the hope of winning the biggest prize in the lottery, just as Henrixken van Ghyselen, or did they refer to other themes such as jests or, more seriously, criticism of a city government in decline due

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<sup>6</sup> ANTON SCHUTTELAARS, *Heren van de Raad. Bestuurlijke elite van 's-Hertogenbosch in de stedelijke samenleving, 1500–1580* (Nijmegen 1998), pp. 303 and 462 (81 and R21).

<sup>7</sup> The late sister of Henrixken Henricx van der Donck alias vande Nuwenhuys was Katharina Henricx vande Nuwenhuys. Katharina was married to Wouter Claes van den Broeck, brother of Jan Claes van den Broeck. Wouter had been furrier (*bontwerker*) and alderman in 1474. He died in 1489. See *De Grafzerken van de Sint-Jan te 's-Hertogenbosch*, ed. by HARRY TUMMERS and JAN VAN OUDHEUSDEN, 4 vols ('s-Hertogenbosch 2010), III, pp. 292–93. See also SCHUTTELAARS, p. 454 (R9).

to its defaulting on interest payments? The choice of language in these rhymes might be helpful in this determination: most of them appeared in Middle Dutch, but some were in Latin. The second research question is, *who* were the lottery participants behind these rhymes? Can all of these rhymers be identified, considering the limited data in the lottery register about them? Were they wealthy citizens, just as Henrixken van Ghyselen, or, is it also possible to identify rhymers from a lower socioeconomic class? And does the identification of the rhymers reveal a different or additional possible motivation for this rhyming practice, for instance a form of self-representation in the urban community of ‘s-Hertogenbosch? These are the questions to which this thesis seeks to provide answers.

Systematic research of both rhymes and rhymers provides an in-depth insight into the rhyming practice and the motives behind it in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506. How can we further interpret the research results of this thesis? How to place them in a wider historiographical context of medieval urban history? Because of the limited scale of this thesis, I cannot delve deeply into this matter.<sup>8</sup> Instead I have focussed on a specific historiographical problem in the field of urban history, signalled by Andrew Brown and Jan Dumolyn. This is whether particular features of ‘urban culture’ can be distinguished in the medieval town. Applied to this thesis, the question is: Can the cultural practice of rhyming in the Den Bosch lottery be considered as distinctly ‘urban’?

In exploring possible answers to this question, however, I have been confronted with several difficulties regarding the concept of urban culture. According to Brown and Dumolyn, what exactly makes an urban culture ‘urban’ is more often implicitly rather than explicitly

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<sup>8</sup> For a recent overview of urbanization and urban historiography of the Low Countries see BRUNO BLONDÉ, MARC BOONE and ANNE-LAURE VAN BRUAENE, ‘City and Society in the Low Countries: Urbanisation and Urban Historiography’, in *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100–1600*, ed. by BRUNO BLONDÉ, MARC BOONE and ANNE-LAURE VAN BRUAENE (Cambridge 2018), pp. 1–21. This book was written in the framework of a long-term programme dedicated to urban history. Another contribution in this framework has been *Medieval Urban Culture*, ed. by ANDREW BROWN and JAN DUMOLYN (Turnhout 2017).

addressed.<sup>9</sup> In their attempt to concretize the concept of medieval urban culture, three problems become clear. First, they admit that ‘urban’ as a category cannot be separated completely from other categories such as ‘rural’, ‘noble’, ‘princely’ and ‘ecclesiastical’. These categories had a mutual interdependence according to Brown and Dumolyn. Secondly, they stress that the term ‘urban culture’ may suggest a uniformity that did not exist. Within towns there could be a great diversity of experiences and tensions between different social groups or localities.<sup>10</sup> Finally, they emphasize the difference in scale of towns. Some towns were more ‘urban’ than others; for instance, if they were located in a densely urbanized region, or their social and economic networks of exchange were more intense and varied, such as in metropolises like Bruges and Ghent.<sup>11</sup> The following step, determining the characteristics of a distinctive medieval urban culture, turns out to be even more difficult. According to Brown and Dumolyn these characteristics include a densely built urban space with particular types of architecture and material culture, a specific way of living and working, a high degree of social diversity among groups, professions and skills and a higher tempo of interaction and communication.<sup>12</sup> This set of characteristics, however, which form a framework that provides a rough basis to define urban culture, still seems too generally formulated to use in the determination of certain phenomena as typically ‘urban’, such as a lottery. Hence, the concept of medieval urban culture is too problematic and Brown and Dumolyn’s general framework is less suitable to assess one specific cultural phenomenon, such as the rhyming practice in medieval lotteries.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> ANDREW BROWN and JAN DUMOLYN, ‘Medieval Urban Culture: Conceptual and Historiographical Problems’, in *Studies in European Urban History 43 (1100–1800). Medieval Urban Culture*, ed. by ANDREW BROWN and JAN DUMOLYN (Turnhout 2017), p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> IDEM, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> IDEM, pp. 20–21.

<sup>12</sup> IDEM, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> The concept of medieval urban culture might have been useful for Brown and Dumolyn’s aim to offer a ‘totalizing’ view on the medieval city as they have done in their history of medieval Bruges. See ANDREW BROWN and JAN DUMOLYN, *Medieval Bruges, c. 850–1550* (Cambridge 2018).

Other recent studies on medieval ‘urbanity’ proved more helpful in my attempt to place medieval lotteries and their rhyming practices in a historiographical context, for instance studies on urban spaces and networks, on urban literacy and on urban performance.<sup>14</sup> These studies generate various constructive approaches to the case study of the Den Bosch lottery, such as: In what material and symbolic urban spaces was the Den Bosch lottery organized and to what extent do the lottery rhymes reflect elements of these spaces, for instance specific street names, names of urban residences or institutions? How can the urban network involved in the organization of the lottery, both inside as outside the city, be assessed? What kind of urban literacies were reflected in lottery and rhyming practices? How can the drawing event of the lottery be considered as an urban performance and what role did the chambers of rhetoric play in this performance? With these questions, this thesis will reflect on the research results of the rhyming practice in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 in a wider historiographical context.

In researching the rhyming practices in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506, I hope to contribute scholarly knowledge in the fields of cultural and urban history in a variety of ways.

This case study enlarges our knowledge about the cultural history of late medieval ‘s-Hertogenbosch and the sociocultural behaviour of its citizens. With the previously unresearched combination of sources —a city account with a complete lottery register— new elements are added to the city’s early sixteenth-century history.

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<sup>14</sup> See ALBRECHT CLASSEN, ‘Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Historical, Mental, Cultural, and Social-Economic Investigations’, in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. by ALBRECHT CLASSEN, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture Series, 4 (Berlin 2009), pp. 1–145; *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, ed. by ROBERT STEIN and JUDITH POLLMAN (Leiden 2010); MARC BOONE and MARTHA HOWELL, ‘Introduction’, in *The Power of Space in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Cities of Italy, Northern France and the Low Countries*, ed. by MARC BOONE and MARTHA HOWELL (Turnhout 2013), pp. 1–19; ETHAN MATT KAVALER and ANNE-LAURE VAN BRUAENE, ‘Introduction’, in *Studies in European Urban History 41 (1100–1800). Netherlandish Culture of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by ETHAN MATT KAVALER and ANNE-LAURE VAN BRUAENE (Turnhout 2017), pp. IX–XVI.

Furthermore, up until now, research on medieval lotteries has focussed on the lottery event itself and the rhymes which were recorded, whereas this research aims to analyse these rhymes in combination with the layer of the ‘agents’ behind these rhymes, the lottery participants. This adds depth to our view on the rhyming practices in lotteries.

This detailed study also contributes to specific knowledge about early lotteries in the Low Countries. Most scholarly knowledge has been gathered on lotteries held from the second half of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth century when they evolved into state lotteries.<sup>15</sup> Researching a lottery in the early period from c.1440 to 1550 provides a unique window into the pioneering phase of using lottery rhymes. It also yields an adjustment of some existing research results concerning medieval lotteries.

Finally, interpreting the research results in this thesis in the context of recent approaches in medieval urban history will contribute to the broader historiographical debate on the distinctive nature of medieval cities and provides directions for future research of medieval lotteries.

The methodological design of this thesis will be elaborated later in this chapter, after the following short historiography of medieval lotteries.

Urban lotteries were extremely popular in late medieval Europe. In the Low Countries alone, at least 261 lotteries were held from the first documented lottery in Bruges in 1441 up until the end of the sixteenth century, according to Jeroen Puttevils’ calculations.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> The development towards the organization of the first state lottery is described by KAREL BOSTOEN. See ‘Het getal der sterren. Willem Kersseboom en de opzet van de Generaliteitsloterij’, *Spiegel Historiael*, 36 (2001), pp.168–172. See also ANNEKE HUISMAN and JOHAN KOPPENOL, *Daer comt de Lotery met trommels en trompetten! Loterijen in de Nederlanden tot 1726* (Hilversum 1991), p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> PUTTEVILS, ‘The Lure of Lady Luck: Lotteries and Economic Culture in the Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Low Countries’, in *Random Riches: Gambling Past & Present* (London/New York 2016), ed. by MANFRED ZOLLINGER (London/New York 2016), p. 63. This number roughly corresponds with the number SOPHIE RAUX has determined in her research, namely 270 lotteries in the period from 1500 to 1608. See *Lotteries, Art Markets and Visual Culture in the Low Countries 15th–17th Centuries* (Leiden 2018), p. 40.



In the nineteenth century, Gerrit Adriaan Fokker was the first in the Netherlands to dedicate a monograph to this widespread phenomenon.<sup>17</sup> On the basis of extensive archival records, he described the development of the Dutch lotteries from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Apart from a small number of articles written on this subject during the twentieth century, the next monograph on lotteries, by Anneke Huisman and Johan Koppenol, appeared in 1991.<sup>18</sup>

Although Huisman and Koppenol praised Fokker's work by identifying it as the standard work on Dutch lottery culture, they considered his Christian-moralizing perspective, which judged the influence of lotteries as harmful, to be outdated.<sup>19</sup> They wanted to describe lotteries as part of popular culture in Peter Burke's terms, that is, the culture of the non-elite.<sup>20</sup> Their aim was to inspire more research on the phenomenon. In their monograph they sketch the overall development of lotteries from the fifteenth century up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, structured along various themes such as the origin of lotteries, the relationship of lotteries with the chambers of rhetoric and lottery rhymes. Their monograph, however, does have some flaws. They only describe one lottery in detail, the lottery of Leiden of 1596, a case which cannot be considered as representative for early lotteries.<sup>21</sup> Although the organization of the Leiden lottery showed many similarities with lotteries held in the early

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<sup>17</sup> GERIT ADRIAAN FOKKER, *Geschiedenis der Loterijen in de Nederlanden. Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten der Nederlanders in de XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup>, en XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuwen* (Amsterdam 1862). In France it was JULES CORBLET who published a study about lotteries in 1861. In Belgium the archivist LOUIS GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN published several studies in the period 1867–1870 about medieval lotteries in Bruges.

<sup>18</sup> ANNEKE HUISMAN and JOHAN KOPPENOL, *Daer compt de Lotery met trommels en trompetten! Loterijen in de Nederlanden tot 1726* (Hilversum 1991). Some of the twentieth-century articles on lotteries include ANNE HALLEMA, 'Volks- en rederijkerspoezie bij 16<sup>de</sup>-eeuwsche stadsloterijen. De traditie der middeleeuwen handhaaft zich of keert in anderen vorm terug. Een bijdrage tot de cultuurgeschiedenis der stad 's-Hertogenbosch', *De Nieuwe Gids*, 54 (1939), pp. 304–318; JANNIS WILLEM MARSILJE, 'De eerste stadsloterij in Leiden', in *Uit Leidse bron geleverd. Studies over Leiden en de Leidenaren in het verleden*, ed. by JANNIS WILLEM MARSILJE and PIET DE BAAR (Leiden 1989), pp. 148–162; DICK DE BOER and KAREL BOSTOEN, 'Sorte non sorte. De deelname van de Leidse elite aan de Gasthuisloterij in 1596', in *Vermaak van de elite in de vroegmoderne tijd*, ed. by JAN DE JONGSTE, JULIETTE RODING and BOUKJE THUIS (Hilversum 1999), pp. 218–240.

<sup>19</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> IDEM, p. 8. See PETER BURKE, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 1978).

<sup>21</sup> See HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, pp. 35–51 and pp. 56–61.

period of 1440 to c.1550 in the Low Countries, it was of a completely different scale.<sup>22</sup> Also, the combination of the lottery with a festival of rhetoric had not occurred earlier. Finally, they dedicate little attention to lotteries as an international phenomenon.<sup>23</sup> Despite these flaws, they have succeeded in their goal of encouraging more research on the topic of lotteries, because several scholars have acknowledged the potential of this research subject since.

More recent scholarly contributions come from the scholars Dick de Boer, Jeroen Puttevils and Sophie Raux.<sup>24</sup> Their work yields insight into the development and organization of lotteries. The first lotteries in the 1440s up to those in the first decades of the sixteenth century were mainly organized by municipalities in order to amortize city debts and/or to (re)construct urban fortifications. The success of these public lotteries also led to an increase of the number of private lotteries in this period, but were considered illegal by Philip the Good, and later on by his successors Charles V and Philip II. They all tried to restrict these, in their view, deceitful and fraudulent lotteries.<sup>25</sup> After the coming of the Reformation in 1517, churches and religious institutions benefited the most from the organization of lotteries, apart from militia guilds and schools. From the second half of the sixteenth century until the

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<sup>22</sup> To give an indication of the difference in scale, in the first-held lottery in Leiden in 1504 lottery brokers had sold 29,000 tickets. According to the acquired concession to organize a lottery, the drawing would take seven days and nights, although data in the city account indicated a period of eleven days and nights. See MARSILJE, pp. 152–53. In the Leiden lottery in 1596 a number of 281,232 tickets were sold, which took fifty-two days and nights to be drawn. See HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, p. 50.

<sup>23</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, pp. 18–20.

<sup>24</sup> DE BOER, ‘Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture in the Low Countries 1440–1640’, in *The Low Countries: Crossroads of Cultures*, ed. by TON J. BROOS, MARGRIET BRUYN LACY and THOMAS F. SHANNON (Münster 2006), pp. 57–76; Idem, ‘Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture’, in *Urban History 41 (1100–1800). Netherlandish Culture of the Sixteenth Century: Urban perspectives*, ed. by ETHAN MATT KAVALER and ANNE-LAURE VAN BRUAENE (Turnhout 2017), pp. 271–293; JEROEN PUTTEVILS, ‘The Lure of Lady Luck: Lotteries and Economic Culture in the Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Low Countries’, in *Random Riches: Gambling Past & Present* (London/New York 2016), ed. by MANFRED ZOLLINGER (London/New York 2016), pp. 57–71; IDEM, ‘Invoking Fortuna and Speculating on the Future’, *Quaderni Storici*, 52 (2017), pp. 699–726; SOPHIE RAUX, *Lotteries, Art Markets and Visual Culture in the Low Countries 15th–17th Centuries* (Leiden 2018).

<sup>25</sup> DE BOER, ‘Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture’, p. 275; PUTTEVILS, ‘The Lure of Lady Luck’, pp. 62–63; RAUX, pp. 16–25.

beginning of the seventeenth century, hospitals, orphanages, and institutions for the elderly were the main beneficiaries of the financial gains provided by the lotteries.<sup>26</sup>

Besides the more general development of lotteries, Puttevils emphasized the financial and commercial aspects of lotteries. He considered gambling as part of the financial markets, in which organizers competed with each other to set up lotteries that generated maximum profits.<sup>27</sup> In a subsequent study he researched the attitudes of lottery organizers and participants towards the future, fortune and risk in lotteries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>28</sup> On the basis of financial accounts Puttevils concludes that lottery organizers, who could gain a profit or suffer a serious loss, did not make profit prognoses. However, he argues that lottery organizers did produce explicit statements concerning the future, not pertaining to the revenue to be collected but to what they would do with that revenue.<sup>29</sup> He noticed another absence in the documents produced by lottery organizers and government officials, namely references to divine providence or God. In contrast, in the rhymes of ticket buyers in the Den Bosch lottery of 1562/64 he found many such references.<sup>30</sup> In combination with this thesis's research results, his research offers an interesting (future) opportunity to sketch the development of 's-Hertogenbosch lotteries held in the sixteenth century.

De Boer analysed the lotteries in their cultural context as literature, but he recognized that the visual arts and drama were also involved. He placed lotteries in the context of the public urban festivities by focussing on the performance of the drawing event. According to him, the use of rhymes or so-called *prosen* on the lottery tickets gave a festive, theatrical impulse to the drawing of the tickets; after all, the rhymes were read aloud from a stage during the drawing. De Boer also relates the lotteries to the chambers of rhetoricians who

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<sup>26</sup> DE BOER, 'Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture', pp. 275–76.

<sup>27</sup> PUTTEVILS, 'The Lure of Lady Luck', p. 62.

<sup>28</sup> PUTTEVILS, 'Invoking Fortuna and Speculating on the Future', pp. 699–726.

<sup>29</sup> IDEM, p. 709.

<sup>30</sup> IDEM, p. 710 and pp. 715–18.

used the same lottery stages for their poetry contests, accompanied by professional urban musicians playing instruments.<sup>31</sup> De Boer rightly stresses that the lottery rhymes were a ‘big hit’ during the drawing: by the end of the sixteenth century, non-rhyming *prosen* on lottery tickets had almost disappeared.<sup>32</sup> His research, however, is mainly focussed on lotteries from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards; it does not give insight into the pioneer phase of the use of rhymes.

Sophie Raux regards lotteries in the Low Countries from the perspective of art history and the history of material and visual culture. Her research addresses the circulation, distribution and promotion of prizes —art objects and luxury goods, varying from fine silverware and jewels to paintings and textiles— which could be won in lotteries held by civic or religious institutions or by commercial dealers. Although she dedicates attention to the origin of lotteries in the fifteenth century, her corpus of evidence, consisting of lottery posters and art objects, originates from the middle of the sixteenth century until the seventeenth century.

Taken together, medieval lotteries have been researched from various approaches in the fields of economic and financial history, cultural history and art history. Even though the early period of lotteries has received some attention in these studies, they mostly focus on the period from the mid-sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the lottery phenomenon was at its zenith.<sup>33</sup> In this thesis the main focus is on the early period of lotteries, which I consider the period from the 1440s, when the first lotteries were organized, until c. 1550.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, a systematic analysis of the ticket buyers who thought up lottery

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<sup>31</sup> DE BOER, ‘Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture’, p. 64 and DE BOER, ‘Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture’, p. 278.

<sup>32</sup> DE BOER, ‘Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture’, pp. 66–67.

<sup>33</sup> The number of lotteries greatly diminished after 1618, which has been attributed to the influence of the Synod of Dordrecht held in 1618–1619. Lotteries were not formally banned during this synod, but the games of chance were condemned in later synods. See HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, pp. 66–68; DE BOER, ‘Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture’, pp. 71–73.

<sup>34</sup> The definition of ‘an early period’ with regard to lotteries differs. PUTTEVILS includes the fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries in the early history of lotteries in the Low Countries. See PUTTEVILS, ‘Invoking Fortuna and

rhymes and *prosen* in these early lotteries is lacking. The research of this thesis wants to fill this gap. The methodological design of this thesis will be argued below.

The most ideal research design for this thesis would involve a large research corpus of city lotteries in the Low Countries, during the period from c. 1440 to 1550. Although De Boer recently pled for a major source-edition in the form of a large database, this has yet to be realized.<sup>35</sup> While such a database would certainly have value, this thesis is limited in time and scope. Thus, a large research corpus of city lotteries is not achievable here. Nevertheless, selecting one city lottery held in this early period and researching its data in depth may also provide answers to the aforementioned central questions and contribute to directions for new research.

For this thesis, the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 is researched. Several arguments support the choice for this particular lottery. With regard to lotteries held in the period of c. 1440 to 1550 in the Netherlands, those of 's-Hertogenbosch have received little scholarly attention, even though the city organized two lotteries in this period, namely in 1506/07 and in 1521/22.<sup>36</sup> The most obvious lottery to select for this research is the earlier of the two, held in 1506/07. This lottery is unresearched and might provide us new knowledge about the pioneer phase of the rhyming practices in lotteries.

A methodological argument that supports research into this particular lottery is the excellent access to multiple primary sources. The key source for the research in this thesis is a

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Speculating on the Future', p.719. And, as we will see later on in this thesis, EVELYN WELCH considers the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as an early period. See EVELYN WELCH, 'Lotteries in Early Modern Italy', *The Past & Present*, 199 (2008), p.76.

<sup>35</sup> DE BOER, 'Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture', p. 272.

<sup>36</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch organized a third lottery in 1562/1564, which was researched by LUCAS VAN DIJCK. See LUCAS G.C.M. VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Loterij 1562–1564* (Sermoyer 2003).

Existing case studies of early lotteries in the Netherlands are, for instance, on the lottery in Middelburg in 1554, see FOKKER, pp. 16–42 and the lottery in Leiden in 1504, see MARSILJE, pp. 148–62 and PUTTEVILS, 'The Lure of Lady Luck', p. 67.

lottery register. This archival record, created in 1506 by Henrick die Bye, municipal clerk, is still complete and kept in the city archive of 's-Hertogenbosch (See Appendix III). Besides this lottery register, the city account of 's-Hertogenbosch of 1506/07 has proven a valuable source as well, serving as a 'shadow' source to determine the date of origin of the lottery register. Its data also enabled me to analyse the organization of the lottery in detail.

Unfortunately, other primary sources relating to the lottery, for instance individual lottery tickets or a list of prize-winning lottery participants, are not available for 's-Hertogenbosch.

The Den Bosch lottery of 1506 is researched with both quantitative and qualitative methods. As indicated previously, the lottery register includes around 2170 names of buyers who together purchased approximately 28,000 tickets. Around 10% of these buyers, some 231 persons, also registered a lottery rhyme or *prosen*. Both names and rhymes were transcribed from the lottery register. The quantitative analysis of the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 includes an overview of the total lottery population, as well as a deeper analysis of the 231 rhyming participants. For the latter, a data file was constructed which includes all rhymes and *prosen*, the names of the rhyming participants, the number of purchased tickets and means of payment.

The qualitative research includes an analysis of the rhymes and the identification of the rhymers. The rhymes are subjected to a discourse analysis which enabled further categorization of the mottos that were used, varying from holy invocations to non-religious themes. The rhyming participants could not be identified on the basis of the lottery register alone; other primary sources and secondary literature had to be consulted as well. Sixteenth-century 's-Hertogenbosch has already been intensively researched by several scholars whose political, socioeconomic and cultural studies of the city and its inhabitants

have enabled a prosopographical analysis of the rhyming lottery participants. This has resulted in the creation of various social profiles.<sup>37</sup>

The structure of this thesis is as follows. The first chapter will start by giving insight into medieval lotteries as a European phenomenon in the period c. 1440–1550. Lotteries developed in urban trade centres in the Low Countries, Northern Italy, today's German-speaking part of Switzerland, Alsace and Southern Germany. Evidence material of European lotteries shows that lotteries required organizational power; different stages in the preparation of a lottery until the drawing of the tickets will be described. Because the rhyming practice in lotteries forms the core part of this thesis, this will receive special attention in this chapter. The origin and development of the rhyming practice will be discussed, as well as studies of rhymes and rhymers.

Chapter Two will research the 1506 lottery of 's-Hertogenbosch in detail. It will start with positioning late medieval 's-Hertogenbosch in the duchy of Brabant as context for the lottery of 1506. The city chronicle of Peter van Os forms the narrative prelude to the analysis of the lottery which is based on the city account of 1506/07. As will be demonstrated, the income and expenses contained in this primary source consist of much valuable information about the event and the lottery buyers. An important exception to this are the rhymes and *prosen* used in the lottery of 1506. These data are only included in the lottery register of Henrick die Bye.

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<sup>37</sup> Essential studies to search for qualitative data on lottery buyers are: M. A. NAUWELAERTS, *Latijns school en onderwijs te 's-Hertogenbosch tot 1629* (Tilburg 1974); TRIX JACOBS, *Justitie en politie in 's-Hertogenbosch voor 1629* (Assen/Maastricht 1986); ANTON SCHUTTELAARS, *Heren van de Raad. Bestuurlijke elite van 's-Hertogenbosch in de stedelijke samenleving, 1500–1580* (Nijmegen 1998); ALPHONS VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Het notariaat in Stad en Meijerij van 's-Hertogenbosch tijdens de Late Middeleeuwen (1306–1531)* (Amsterdam 1998). In separate appendices of his book, BICHELAER added biographical notes, in this thesis to be referred to as *Biographical notes*; JORD HANUS, *Tussen stad en eigen gewin. Stadsfinanciën, renteniers en kredietmarkten in 's-Hertogenbosch (begin zestiende eeuw)* (Amsterdam 2007); *De grafzerken van de Sint-Jan te 's-Hertogenbosch*, ed. by HARRY TUMMERS en JAN VAN OUDHEUSDEN ('s-Hertogenbosch 2010); LUCAS G. C.M. VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap. Biografie van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch 1318–2012* (Zutphen 2012).

As indicate before, this lottery register is the key source used in this thesis. The re-dating of this register, its structure and its content are elaborated in the third chapter. From this register the lottery buyers who had their tickets recorded with a rhyme or *prosen* are transcribed and distilled to a data file of 232 rhyming lottery participants. The methodology used in the research of this data file and the difficulties I encountered are also described.

In Chapter Four the first central research question will be addressed: What rhymes were recorded in the lottery register? The discourse of the lottery rhymes and the language in which these were recorded are researched and categorized.

Chapter Five presents the results of the analysis of the lottery participants behind the rhymes. First, quantitative data will be addressed which demonstrates how many rhyming participants were involved in the lottery, the number of tickets sold and the monetary value they represented. This is followed by a prosopographic analysis of these persons categorized into various social profiles. This chapter ends with bringing the rhymes in relation to their users which might reveal more to us with regard to the motive(s) behind the rhyming practices in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506.

From the previous two chapters certain patterns might be deduced with regard to the Den Bosch lottery and its rhyming practice. These which will be reflected on from several recent approaches in medieval urban history, involving themes as urban space and networks, urban communication and urban performance.

This thesis ends with conclusions that can be drawn from the case study of the ‘s-Hertogenbosch 1506 lottery and formulates new directions for further research.



# 1                    **Lotteries in Europe c. 1440–1550**

Medieval lotteries were a European phenomenon. Important commercial trade centres were breeding grounds for the development of lotteries. Cities where these early lotteries were held can be located in three European areas, namely the Low Countries, Northern Italy, today's German-speaking part of Switzerland, Alsace and Southern Germany. On the basis of early lotteries, it will be demonstrated that lotteries were urban events which required organizational power. The different stages in organizing a lottery will be described and compared for a few different European cities. The rhying practice in lotteries will receive special attention.

## 1.1.    The Lottery of Prizes: An Event in Three European Areas

Modern scholarship of the past three decades is ambiguous about the origin of lotteries and the spread of this phenomenon in Europe. Where and when exactly the first lotteries took place in Europe cannot be unraveled in scholarly literature. For here, it suffices to make two remarks.

Firstly, important commercial trade centres such as Venice and Bruges were breeding grounds for the development of lotteries. Because of their frequent trade relations the development might have had a parallel course. Lotteries started in urbanized and economically commercial regions as the precondition for a lottery to take place was sufficient organizational power either by a public or a commercial party.

Secondly, most of the lotteries mentioned in this thesis refer to lotteries of prizes, a format that was developed in the course of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> In this format a certain

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<sup>38</sup> The first lotteries originated in the thirteenth century when locations for market stalls were allotted. In the course of the fourteenth century lotteries developed into a format in which favourable local urban positions were allotted, such as the urban office of 'scroder'. According to HUISMAN and KOPPENOL the office of 'scroder' indicated the monopoly of the transport of barrels of wine, beer, oil and other heavy goods that were subjected to tax. An article of MARC BOONE explains the term 'scroder' in more detail. *Scroders* worked on a *scroderije*,

number of lots were created and sold for a certain amount of money, and against which one or more prizes in money or goods could be won. This lottery format enlarged the group of potential ticket buyers by attracting citizens from other cities as well.

The preparation for these lotteries of prizes required time, money, effort and organizational skills from citizens. It proceeded in different stages, from obtaining a concession to organize a lottery through its promotion and ticket sales to the final drawing event. Explaining these stages provides a better understanding of the case study of the Den Bosch lottery later in this thesis. In the subsections that follow I will expand upon them on the basis of early lottery evidence from the Low Countries, Northern Italy, today's German-speaking part of Switzerland, Alsace and Southern Germany.

### 1.1.1. The Granting of a Concession

In the parts of the Low Countries that were ruled by the Burgundian ruler Philip the Good (1419-1467) this preparation often, with some exceptions, started from the mid-fifteenth century with the request by municipalities for a concession to organize a lottery.<sup>39</sup> This concession had to be formally granted in a charter. In this way Philip the Good maintained control over the financial situation in the cities. It also enabled him to benefit from the lotteries because municipalities had to transfer a part of the lottery profit to him.<sup>40</sup>

As for Northern Italy, Evelyn Welch describes a variable situation with regard to ducal assent. She mentions for instance the patrician Raffaele de' Neri who received a concession to organize a lottery in Milan in 1468 in exchange for 2000 lire, which was used to complete

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often located outside the city walls, to load and unload goods from ships. See BOONE, 'Van 'portus monialum' naar 'scroderie buten bachten Biloke', *Stadsarcheologie Bodem en Monument in Gent*, 12 (Ghent 1988), p. 11. Boone also refers to the Middle Dutch noun 'scrooien' which means the carrying of barrels ((*Het*) *versjouwen van vaten, meer bep.: (het) op- en afladen en vervoeren ervan door ze op ladderbomen voort te rollen*). See *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek (MNW)* <<http://mnw.inl.nl/>> [accessed 17 June 2020].

<sup>39</sup> One of the exceptions was the lottery in Utrecht held in 1464.

<sup>40</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, p. 15.

repairs to the city's town hall.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile in Venice it lasted until 1522 before a state monopoly over the lottery was created which led to high profits for the urban treasury.<sup>42</sup>

According to Jean-Dominique Delle Luche, lotteries in Southern Germany, Alsace and today's German-speaking part of Switzerland were organized for supporting the militia festivals for which the permission of the Roman emperor was not required.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, these municipalities did keep control over the organization of the lotteries in order to regulate the competition between cities.<sup>44</sup> The number and size of the lotteries were decided at the regional level so as to guarantee success for every city.<sup>45</sup>

### 1.1.2. The Subcontracting of Lottery Brokers and Promotion of the Lottery

The next step in the preparation of the lottery was its promotion. Publicity was a key element in stimulating lottery sales and printing played an important part in their success, as Welch notes.<sup>46</sup> Municipal governments in the Low Countries as well as in Northern Italy subcontracted lottery brokers —so called *lootmeesters* in Middle Dutch or *sensali* in Italian— for this task. As for the lottery in Venice of 1522, Welch explains that the brokers collected the prizes, distributed publicity and sold tickets in return for a fixed percentage of the price or occasionally up to fifty percent of the proceeds.<sup>47</sup> She refers to the diary of the contemporary historian Marin Sanudo, in which he enumerated the prizes of the Venice lottery. These prizes

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<sup>41</sup> EVELYN WELCH, 'Lotteries in Early Modern Italy', *Past & Present*, 199 (2008), pp. 81–82.

<sup>42</sup> IDEM, p. 84. Welch continues with describing lotteries in other Italian cities, such as Rome and Florence. Lotteries in these cities took place at the end of the sixteenth century, which does not fall within the scope of this research.

<sup>43</sup> JEAN DOMINIQUE DELLE LUCHE, 'La Fortune Du Pot. *Les Loteries Municipales en Allemagne (XVe-XVIe Siècles): Divertissement collectif, prestige municipal et concurrence urbaine*, *Revue Historique*, 687 (2018), p. 558. DELLE LUCHE notices that lotteries with the motive of making a profit were only rarely organized and not before the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>44</sup> IDEM, p. 583.

<sup>45</sup> IDEM, p. 559.

<sup>46</sup> WELCH, p. 86.

<sup>47</sup> IDEM, p. 85.

varied from cloth and paintings to jewels and horses, which were displayed in the streets of Venice in order to promote the lottery.<sup>48</sup>

Marsilje described the activities of the brokers for the lottery in Leiden of 1504.<sup>49</sup> The municipality of Leiden appointed three brokers, affluent men who could boast of an impressive administrative career. These men received money from the municipal government of Leiden to spend on the prizes.<sup>50</sup> The prizes were silver objects such as jugs, cups and bowls, ordered from goldsmiths in Antwerp.<sup>51</sup> At the beginning of the sixteenth century these goldsmiths were renowned for their artistic skill.<sup>52</sup> Subsequently, to promote the lottery, copies of the granted concession were printed and a lottery poster was designed. On this poster the lottery was announced with its regulations and the prizes to be won were depicted (for an example see Appendix IV). The brokers coordinated the distribution of the printed concession and the lottery posters by sending out city messengers. The brokers' account reports rewards to city messengers from Leuven, Douai, Lille, Axel, Dordrecht, Saint-Omer and Gorinchem. This varied range of cities illustrates the wide area in which the lottery was promoted.

As for the municipal lotteries organized in the German-speaking areas, their promotion was approached differently. The host city that organized the shooter's guild festival invited other cities for this event with a letter of invitation, a so-called 'Schützenbriefe'.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> WELCH argues, however, that in the lotteries held between 1522 and 1530, tangible objects were quickly replaced with property or, most popularly, with annuities drawn on state revenues such as taxes, levies and duties. See WELCH, p. 98.

<sup>49</sup> MARSILJE, pp. 149–51.

<sup>50</sup> The brokers kept a special account of their activities, which is still kept in the archive of Leiden. See Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, inventory number 985. MARSILJE has specified all expenses made for the lottery which are also registered in this brokers' account. The income items are lacking, however, which results in an incomplete view of the lottery's finances.

<sup>51</sup> MARSILJE, p. 151.

<sup>52</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, p. 38.

<sup>53</sup> DELLE LUCHE, p. 556.

### 1.1.3. The Buying and Registration of Lottery Tickets

After all preparations had been made, the selling of lottery tickets could start. Tickets were sold during a limited period of time at certain public spots in the cities where the lottery was promoted. In the case of Northern Italy, Welch illustrates this with an example from the lottery in Milan in 1448. Tickets for the games of chance cost a ducat and were sold from a banking outlet under the town hall over a two-month period from January to February; they were registered in a 'libro della lotteria'.<sup>54</sup> Welch notices, however, that participants in the lottery did not have to come to the city to buy their tickets thanks to the network of ticket-sellers.<sup>55</sup> A similar system of local collectors was applied in the Leiden lottery of 1504 for selling tickets in Mechelen, Antwerp, Bergen op Zoom and Utrecht.<sup>56</sup>

To get a grip on the scale of the lottery as an event and its buyers, it is interesting to consider the number of participants and how many tickets they purchased. This kind of information can be found by researching lotteries at the case level if evidence is available, but it still proves difficult to grasp, as the following cases illustrate.

With regard to the lottery of Milan in 1522, the number of lottery tickets sold remains obscure. Welch notices that 'hundreds and sometimes thousands of tickets were sold off to the general public at the relatively affordable sum of around 2 ducats'.<sup>57</sup> The participants mostly remain unknown as well, though the diary of Marin Sanudo provides us with some information. Welch translates his diary passage as follows: 'many women have put in money in the said lottery, so that all run to put in a little in order to have a lot, because they see that with one ducat they can win 100 gold ducats and those pearls that are worth 180 ducats'.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> WELCH, p. 80.

<sup>55</sup> IDEM, p. 98.

<sup>56</sup> MARSILJE, p. 151.

<sup>57</sup> WELCH, p. 84.

<sup>58</sup> IDEM, p. 105.

Later on, with regard to the winners in the lottery, Sanudo distinguished two categories, patricians of his own class and the poorest members of the community. Amongst the latter he singled out fruit-sellers, porters, gondoliers and dyers. This indicates that Venetians of all ranks purchased tickets, though Welch stresses that in the early 1520s primarily members of the city's patrician families invested in lotteries because of the high price of tickets.<sup>59</sup>

As for the lottery in Leiden in 1504, the number of tickets sold is clearer than for the lottery in Milan, but an exact determination is not possible for either of them. Marsilje reconstructed a number of 41,510 lottery tickets based on the brokers' account. This account, however, was limited in only registering the expenses of the lottery. Marsilje assumes that the income of the lottery was kept in a private account which is not available.<sup>60</sup> The price of a lottery ticket differed, dependent on how it was purchased. Participants who paid for a ticket with cash were charged one *stuver*. It is important to notice, however, that the granted concession allowed buyers to pay for lottery tickets with arrears on debts as well. For older arrears, from before 1497, participants had to pay four *stuvers* per ticket, otherwise twelve *stuvers* per ticket.<sup>61</sup> On the basis of an incomplete lottery register, Marsilje has calculated that 20% of the tickets were paid for with cash and 80% with a receipt of their debit of interest on the municipality (*achterstellen*). Leiden, Haarlem, Leuven and, as we will see, 's-Hertogenbosch, was a city placed under the guardianship of its Burgundian ruler because of its great debts. On top of that these cities could no longer meet their interest payments on the loans they had closed with creditors. They were bankrupt.<sup>62</sup> As concluded by Marsilje, the high investment of participants in the lottery seemed not due to their desire to gamble, but foremost an indication of how little trust they had that they would ever receive their interest

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<sup>59</sup> IDEM, pp. 105-06.

<sup>60</sup> MARSILJE, p. 154.

<sup>61</sup> IDEM, p. 150.

<sup>62</sup> IDEM, p. 156.

payments from their municipality.<sup>63</sup> Hence, the lottery of 1504 was a great financial success, in the first place for the municipality of Leiden. With regard to the profile of the participants in the Leiden lottery, Marsilje is mostly silent. He notices that lottery buyers registered their ticket by name or —when they wished to remain anonymous— by a *prosen*.<sup>64</sup> According to him these options were mutually exclusive. Research into the lottery of ‘s-Hertogenbosch demonstrates otherwise; this will be elaborated in the next section.

As for the number of sold tickets in the lotteries in the aforementioned German-speaking areas, Della Luche determines them by estimation. As noticed earlier, he argued that municipalities did not aim to gain a profit, they only wanted to have the expenses of their prizes covered. On the basis of source information about the costs of the prizes and the price per ticket Della Luche has calculated the minimum number of tickets sold. For example, at Würzburg in 1472 the first-place prize had a value of twenty Florins, the total number of prizes to be won was thirteen and the price per ticket was six pennies. He concludes that a minimum of 2500 lottery tickets must have been sold.<sup>65</sup> Unless Della Luche is in possession of other information about the value of the thirteen prizes which he does not disclose, his calculation is not well founded. More generally he notes that the indicated price per ticket varied between two and eight deniers (pennies) depending on the particular city and the year of the lottery’s organization. The price was within reach for all workers because it corresponded to the daily income of a building craftsman, according to Della Luche.<sup>66</sup> He reasons that this opened the possibility for everybody to participate in the lottery: men, women and children, young and old, from near and far, noble or not, laymen or cleric. Contrary to the Low Countries, he remarks, there was no hindrance, even for the poorest

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<sup>63</sup> IDEM, p. 159.

<sup>64</sup> IDEM, pp. 151-52.

<sup>65</sup> DELLA LUCHE, p. 565. He considers one Florin equal to 120 deniers.

<sup>66</sup> IDEM, p. 565. Della Luche notes that comparison between the cities is difficult due to the different currencies.

citizens, in buying lottery tickets.<sup>67</sup> However, he does not substantiate his statement with source evidence on the participants. He refers to rare registers kept in archives, especially the register of the lottery of Zurich of 1504, but these were not included in his research.<sup>68</sup> Della Luche does notice that participants used lottery proverbs.<sup>69</sup>

From the case studies of lotteries in Milan, Leiden an Würzburg, it can be concluded that the number of tickets sold in these lotteries can only be determined by estimation. It varied from a few thousand to more than forty thousand tickets, also depending on the profit motive of the lottery. The price of a lottery ticket from the abovementioned lotteries is difficult to compare due to the different currencies. It appears that in most lotteries, tickets were affordable to every citizen. A remarkable aspect of the lotteries in the Low Countries was that people could purchase lottery tickets not by spending money but by converting the value of their debit of interest from the municipality into lottery tickets. Finally, none of the case studies focusses specifically on the participants in the lottery and their use of lottery rhymes, except for some anecdotal evidence.

After the buying and registration of lottery tickets, the final preparations for the drawing could begin. As for Leiden, we are well informed of what preparations took place before the drawing. They included the collecting of all lottery registers from all participating cities. The names and lottery rhymes of the lottery buyers were written on individual tickets, which were put in one basket. Another basket was filled with the same number of tickets, nearly all blank, together with a limited number of tickets on which a prize was written. A large stage was also built for the drawing. This had to be at a central location in the city centre capable of hosting the large audience that would assemble for this event.<sup>70</sup> Whether the

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<sup>67</sup> IDEM, p. 564.

<sup>68</sup> IDEM, p. 579.

<sup>69</sup> IDEM, p. 580.

<sup>70</sup> MARSILJE, pp. 151–52.



drawing of the lottery took place in a similar way in other cities will be described in the following section.

#### 1.1.4. The Drawing of Lottery Tickets: An Urban Spectacle

The drawing of lottery tickets was a large urban event which went on several days, non-stop day and night. The lottery in Leiden in 1504 took seven days according to the concession. A large number of people were involved, as Marsilje explains on the basis of the brokers' account: 'Magistrates, lottery brokers and other prominent citizens of Leiden were present. For the drawing on stage, nineteen persons worked in shifts. Three of them were appointed to take the lottery tickets from the basket, three others had the task of reading aloud the names or the rhymes and another three persons spoke out whether the drawn ticket had a 'prize' or a 'not'. Six persons, also working in shifts, strung the drawn tickets to a cord on which they were bundled together. The remaining four persons did not have a specific task; they were multi-deployable'.<sup>71</sup>

In Northern Italy drawings seem to have followed a similar course. Welch describes the lottery in Milan of 1448 as follows: 'Once the lottery had been closed [...], the numbered tickets would be placed in one barrel; blanks, along with seven tickets bearing the numbered prizes, would be placed in another. In a deliberate reference to the republic's commitment to their patron, Saint Ambrose, the draw was to take place on a raised platform in the square outside the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio [...]'.<sup>72</sup> According to Welch, the draws themselves were dramatic pieces of theatre that usually took place in ecclesiastical spaces. She explains that these sacred settings encouraged a belief in the event's probity and, on a more practical level, they had adjacent squares that could accommodate large crowds.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> IDEM, p. 152.

<sup>72</sup> WELCH, p. 80.

<sup>73</sup> IDEM, p. 86.

Della Luche also characterizes the drawing of lottery tickets as an urban spectacle. He refers to the lottery of Munich in 1504 where the organizers increased the tension by planning the drawing at the end of the shooter's guild festival. Just as Marsilje, Della Luche stresses the long duration of the drawing. In the case of the lottery in Augsburg in 1509, the drawing of twenty-one prizes lasted two months. According to Della Luche, everything was done to enlarge the urban spectacle. Houses located around the drawing scene were rented to spectators so they could maintain their view of the decorated stage where someone who, after drawing a ticket, cried out 'Nichts!' or 'Was!' to a large public audience, accompanied by trumpet music.<sup>74</sup> Recommendation letters for certain criers point out that this spectacle required skilled performers: persons who were literate, experienced in communicating in a public setting and who possessed endurance.<sup>75</sup>

In sum, the analysis of the stages in the organization of early lotteries in several European cities demonstrates that they required a high level of organization. Municipalities had to mobilize political support, create promotional material, set up a sales network and an adequate system of registration, and prepare the urban event of the drawing.

Comparison of individual lotteries demonstrate similarities between the lotteries in Milan, Venice and Leiden in the arranging of a concession. The lotteries in Basel and Zurich deviated in the preparation as they were organized in support of the shooter's guild festivals.

The buying and registration of lottery tickets took place in all the aforementioned cities, but its scale cannot be determined in all cases, neither with regard to the number of tickets nor to the number of ticket buyers. Finally, the drawing of the lottery tickets proved to be an urban spectacle in all cases, although its duration varied from several days to months.

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<sup>74</sup> DELLE LUCHE, p. 578.

<sup>75</sup> IDEM, p. 579.

A specific cultural element in the urban event of the drawing was the use of lottery rhymes. The text of these rhymes was registered when participants purchased their lottery ticket and was proclaimed to the audience by a crier during the drawing. In what follows, I will discuss this important element of lotteries which forms the core of this thesis.

## 1.2. The Use of Lottery Rhymes and *Prosen*

First, I will discuss the origin and development of the use of lottery rhymes, which will be followed by the content of the rhymes and their rhymers. It is important to remark from the outset that a comparison on this subject between early lotteries in the Low Countries, Northern Italy and today's German-speaking part of Switzerland, Alsace and Southern Germany is not possible. In the last two areas the rhyming practice existed, but the evidence brought forward by the aforementioned scholars Welch and Delle Luche is mostly anecdotal. Therefore, I will focus primarily on the contributions of Dutch scholars. Because the evidence material of rhyming practices in early lotteries is scarce, I have included some lotteries of the second half of the sixteenth century.

### 1.2.1. The Origin and Development of the Rhyming Practice

Huisman and Koppenol argue in their monograph that the origin of the rhyming practice is unclear. Strictly speaking, according to them, lottery rhymes as such had no use at all. Participants were registered by their name when buying lottery tickets and that was sufficient information for clerks to find them when they had won a lottery prize.<sup>76</sup> Yet, the use of lottery rhymes developed during the sixteenth century to the extent that 85% to 90% of the tickets

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<sup>76</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, p. 90.

were accompanied by rhyming texts.<sup>77</sup> How did this rhyming practice become so ubiquitous in lotteries?

Huisman and Koppenol date the beginning of the rhyming practice to 1446, the year of the oldest collection of lottery *prosen* from the lottery in Bruges, although they conclude that in the mid-fifteenth century there was not yet a ‘prosenculture’.<sup>78</sup> Of the winning list of participants in the lottery of Bruges in 1446, 35% contained some sort of a *prosen*, most of them not even a rhyme; only 10% of the list contained a real rhyme. According to Huisman and Koppenol, this had not changed much by the beginning of the sixteenth century. There had only been a slight growth in the use of lottery rhymes: somewhat more than 10% of the participants used them. It was in the course of the sixteenth century that lottery *prosen* became a genre according to Huisman and Koppenol. More and more people start using the lottery rhymes to ventilate their private situation, an opinion about religion or a joke.<sup>79</sup> They argue that the use of lottery rhymes was motivated by the wish to entertain the audience during the drawing of lottery tickets. The drawing of thousands of lottery tickets would be a long, boring event if only names were read aloud.<sup>80</sup> In my view entertainment alone does not cover the motive of the rhyming practice in lotteries. This thesis’s research aims to reveal a wider palette of motives.

De Boer supports this idea of entertainment as the reason for the development of the rhyming practice and provides another argument along these lines, which he labels as the ‘Dutch solution’. He argues that the growing number of participants in lotteries at the end of the fifteenth century in Italy led to another, more mathematical approach in which only winning lottery numbers were drawn. The solution in the Netherlands, he argues, was different. Due to legislation, every ticket buyer had the right to have his or her ticket drawn.

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<sup>77</sup> DE BOER, ‘Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture’, p. 279.

<sup>78</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, pp. 91–92.

<sup>79</sup> IDEM, pp. 95–97.

<sup>80</sup> IDEM, p. 90.

Because the format of the lottery could not be changed, around 1500 the choice was made instead to change the nature of the texts to be read, according to De Boer. He claims that the personal data of the lottery ticket owner were no longer recited. While this information remained carefully registered in the volumes of the lottery collectors, only the special text on the lottery ticket, a lottery rhyme or *prosen*, thought up by the buyer, was to be read at the drawing. De Boer assumes that already around 1500, rhymes or non-rhyming *prosen*, completely replaced the reciting of administrative data during the drawing of the tickets, as if these data were mutually exclusive. In a model he shows the growing share of rhyming *prosen* which, according to him, covered 80–90% of all *prosen* around 1600. De Boer relates this growth in the use of rhymes to the cooperation of the lotteries with the chambers of rhetoricians.<sup>81</sup>

De Boer's assumption will be refuted by the evidence from the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 presented in this thesis. Approximately 2000 lottery buyers were registered by their names and sometimes with additional personal information such as their family status, their profession and their place of residence. Only a small minority of lottery buyers registered themselves by their name and a lottery rhyme or *prosen*, and a handful of buyers stayed anonymous, only using a rhyme or *prosen*. Hence, the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 proves that the use of rhymes progressed far more gradually than De Boer assumes. The Den Bosch lotteries that followed after 1506 also support my view. In the Den Bosch lottery of 1521/22, which was researched by Anne Hallema, names were still not fully replaced by rhymes, as he notices that 'a great number of the tickets was registered with the names of the buyers, while many other tickets invoked God or saints or were registered by an immoral rhyme'.<sup>82</sup> Even

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<sup>81</sup> DE BOER, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture', p. 64; DE BOER, 'Fun, Greed and Popular Culture', pp. 278–80.

<sup>82</sup> HALLEMA, 'Volks- en rederijkerspoezie bij 16<sup>de</sup>-eeuwsche stadsloterijen', p. 308.

Lucas Van Dijck's edition of the register of the lottery of 1562/64 shows not only rhymes and *prosen* among the 9338 entries but also many with only a name.<sup>83</sup>

Taken together, no definitive statement can be made about the origin of the use of rhymes or *prosen*. The development of the rhyming practice started in the middle of the fifteenth century, experienced a gradual growth during the first half of the sixteenth century, and thanks to the influence of the chambers of rhetoric, reached its zenith at the end of the sixteenth century.

### 1.2.2. The Content of Lottery Rhymes and *Prosen*

In his nineteenth century study, Fokker argued that the word *prosen* had its origin in eleventh-century church songs. According to him the text of these songs was composed from verses consisting of a certain number of syllables from which the last words rhymed. He mentioned four main *prosen* in the liturgy in the Roman Catholic Church: For the celebration of the Holy Sacrament, for Easter, for Pentecost and for the requiem.<sup>84</sup> Apart from the word *prosen*, a connection between church hymns and lottery texts seems far-fetched.

The aforementioned Hallema also argues that the word *prosen* originated from church hymns but he does not provide evidence; the texts of the hymns do not correspond with the lottery texts he mentions in his article.<sup>85</sup> According to him, in the texts used by ticket buyers in the Den Bosch lottery of 1521/22, God or his saints were invoked from their religious belief that it would increase their chance of winning the lottery. However, at the same time, as already noted, he characterized many rhymes and *prosen* as immoral which he attributed to a lack of education. In his article, he gives an anthology of rhymes, that is to say a selection of

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<sup>83</sup> VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Loterij 1562–1564* (Sermoyer 2003).

<sup>84</sup> FOKKER, pp. 182–83.

<sup>85</sup> HALLEMA mentions 'Lauda Sion Salvatorem, Lauda ducem et pastorem, etc' as the text for the mass for the Holy Sacrament; 'Veni sancte spiritus, Et emitte coelitus, Lucis tuae radium, etc' for Pentecost; 'Victimae Paschali laudes' for Easter; 'Dies irae, dies illa, Sol vet saeculum in favilla, etc' for the requiem. See HALLEMA, pp. 307–08.

rhymes which met his standards of decency. In this selection he omits rhymes such as ‘A shit roast in your throat’ (*Eenen stront gebraden in u kele*) and ‘What will have Marteken shit pot’ (*Wat sal hebben Marteken schijtpot*).<sup>86</sup>

On the basis of the oldest *prosen* collection of Bruges in 1446, Huisman and Koppenol conclude that most rhymes contain invocations to God and numerous saints, possibly in order to influence fate, while other rhymes had the character of a proverb or a personal motto. The use of proverbs and personal mottos in sermons and literature may possibly have influenced the content of lottery *prosen*, according to Huisman and Koppenol.<sup>87</sup> They refer to a few rhymes of the Leiden lottery in 1504 and the Den Bosch lottery in 1521/22 to argue that little had changed in the content of rhymes since 1446.<sup>88</sup> The Reformation also had its influence on the rhymes, as Huisman and Koppenol recite a rhyme used in the lottery of Delft in 1563 which reflects criticism of the Catholic Church.<sup>89</sup> The lottery of Leiden in 1596 is the most commonly referred to, with all kinds of examples, and although this lottery falls far outside the research period of this thesis, it touches on an interesting aspect of the rhyming practice. Huisman and Koppenol argue that, because of the illiteracy of many lottery participants, rhymes or *prosen* in this Leiden lottery demonstrated characteristics of oral folk poetry: an endless variation on familiar themes and much repetition.<sup>90</sup> As we will see, the rhymes used in the Den Bosch lottery will demonstrate similar characteristics.

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<sup>86</sup> IDEM, pp. 309-13. HALLEMA copied the exact rhymes included in the edition of VAN ZUIJLEN of the city account of 1521/22, except these ones. VAN ZUIJLEN also found them objectionable. He did not write these rhymes in full. Instead, he wrote: ‘Een str.nt gebraden in u kele’ and ‘Wat zal hebben Marteken Sch.tpot’. See *Inventaris der archieven*, I, p. 363. These rhymes are included in the city accounts of ’s-Hertogenbosch of 1521/22, see EH, OSA 1377.

<sup>87</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, p. 93.

<sup>88</sup> IDEM, p. 93. It should be noted that HUISMAN and KOPPENOL refer to a few rhymes used in the Den Bosch lottery of 1521/22 while these rhymes originate from the lottery held in 1506 (*Molleken verwacht een geluckich rolleken*, see ’s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 191<sup>v</sup> and *Die vyff kinderen Agnes vanden Zande hadde gerne tgroot lot in haer hande*, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>89</sup> IDEM, p. 96.

<sup>90</sup> IDEM, p. 97. A century later this oral poetry was replaced by written poetry, some including twenty lines, thus HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, see pp. 100-01.

Taken together, Huisman and Koppenol illustrate their views on the rhyming practice from 1446 to 1726 with references to many examples of rhymes. However, because of this large timespan their research only allows a global insight into the rhyming practice; it does not reflect a systematic and detailed view of it. Nor does it refer to the rhymers themselves.

De Boer, who focusses on lotteries from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, does not share the same view on rhymes as Huisman and Koppenol. He considers the rhymes as textual treasures of popular poetry in the Netherlands. He notices three things. First, according to him the rhymes are rooted in the medieval practice of rhyming proverbs. He argues that rhymes were not only orally dispersed but also carved on various material objects, for instance on mugs, tiles and jars.<sup>91</sup> As such they were a constitutive part of the moral subconscious of the Low Countries, according to De Boer. Secondly, he notes that the degree of literacy was relatively high in the urban milieu during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. Thirdly, he refers to the creation and circulation of brochures and booklets, containing examples of rhymes that could serve new buyers, as a suggestive, inspirational aid.<sup>92</sup> In my opinion, the views of Huisman and Koppenol and De Boer on the character of rhymes can co-exist. Because of the enormous number of rhyming lottery participants and their social diversity in lotteries at the end of the sixteenth century, their rhymes could have been inspired by both oral and written poetry.

The themes to which De Boer refers are anti-Catholic feelings, the political situation of the rebellious Netherlands against the Spaniards and the poverty among participants, based on lotteries in Delft (1563), Bruges (1555) and Leiden (1596). Rhymes also seem related to the aims of the lottery according to him. As the lottery of Leiden in 1596 was organized to gather money for charity, participants' rhymes often referred to the theme of civic obedience,

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<sup>91</sup> DE BOER, 'Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture', pp. 284–85.

<sup>92</sup> DE BOER, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture', p. 67.



with keywords such as modesty, charity, and good faith.<sup>93</sup> But, as De Boer emphasized, although there was a majority of politically correct *prosen* in which lot-buyers expressed their hope and good intentions, a large minority contains anti-clerical, rebellious, obscene or insulting messages.

In sum, the content of rhymes evolved from the beginning of their use until the end of the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the rhyming practice, invocations to God and various saints were ubiquitous in rhymes; other inspiration might have come from rhyming proverbs or were personal mottos. In the course of the sixteenth century the lottery rhymes start to reflect social developments such as poverty and the Reformation. This section also provided a small window into rhymes at the end of the sixteenth century, which seemed to be inspired from both oral and written folk poetry.

Although Welch only mentions anecdotal evidence of rhymes in her article, she suggests a categorization of rhymes which corresponds largely with the above-mentioned mottos in rhymes. She distinguishes between four categories: a prayer or holy invocation; a reference to the ticketholder's poverty or worthiness; an indication of the good deeds to which the money would be put; or, finally, a silly but memorable motto or rhyme.<sup>94</sup> This categorization seems helpful and will be used as a basis for the analysis of lottery rhymes in the Den Bosch lottery in 1506 in Chapter 4.

### 1.2.3. Lottery Rhymers

So far little attention has been devoted to lottery participants in general, and to the 'agents' behind the rhymes or *prosen*, the rhyming lottery participants. Most references to (rhyming) participants are anecdotal and assume a broad representation of society. Let us look at three

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<sup>93</sup> DE BOER, 'Fun, Greed, and Popular Culture', p. 282.

<sup>94</sup> WELCH, p. 103.

detailed studies of lotteries, which include references to (rhyming) lottery participants: the Leiden lottery of 1504, the Den Bosch lottery of 1562/64 and the Leiden lottery of 1596.

The Leiden lottery of 1504 was researched by Marsilje, and later on by Puttevils. Whereas Marsilje did not include any systematic research on the participants in general, nor on rhymers specifically, Puttevils's research did throw some light on the lottery participants. From the incomplete lottery register he interpreted quantitative data of the lottery buyers with regard to their number, gender, their place of residence and their payments of estate tax.<sup>95</sup> He concludes that of the almost 1400 buyers, 56% were males, 38% were females.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, 39% of the ticket buyers were citizens of Leiden, while the rest resided in other cities such as Antwerp, Haarlem, Delft and Dordrecht. By matching the lottery register with fiscal registers, he found seventy cases which demonstrated that the most-taxed citizens also purchased more lottery tickets, mainly by converting debt arrears into lottery tickets.<sup>97</sup> Although Puttevils did a systematic analysis of the lottery participants, it was limited in scope. His quantitative analysis is based on the data from an incomplete lottery register and was primarily related to medieval urban finances. But more importantly, his study does not provide information specifically about the rhymers in the Leiden lottery of 1504.

The Den Bosch lottery of 1562/64 has been researched in detail by Van Dijck, for which he edited 9338 rhymes of participants. Although his analysis is focussed on the rhymes, some remarks about the rhymers are made. He assumes a broad representation of participants in the lottery, varying from 'humanists, musicians, artists, poor, blind and outcasts'.<sup>98</sup> The only names he mentions are from the lottery buyers with the largest number

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<sup>95</sup> PUTTEVILS researched the nearly 9000 tickets purchased by close to 1400 lottery participants in the incomplete lottery register which included participants up to the letter M. See PUTTEVILS, 'The Lure of Lady Luck', p. 67.

<sup>96</sup> He mentions nothing about the rest of the participants (6%). Maybe they could not be identified as male or female because they only registered by a rhyme. Part of this group might also be identified as institutions instead of persons, such as churches, convents or guilds.

<sup>97</sup> IDEM, p. 67.

<sup>98</sup> VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Loterij 1562–1564*, p. 3.

of purchased tickets, including the guild of the Old Arch, the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady, Mozes Doorn –the chamber of rhetoric– and some individual citizens.<sup>99</sup>

The last lottery to closely examine with regard to its rhymers is the Leiden lottery of 1596. Because almost 90% of the participants rhymed in this lottery, a further selection of rhyming participants is unnecessary. Huisman and Koppenol refer specifically to this lottery in their monograph and note that everybody participated: ‘young, old, poor and rich, the eelsellers and greengrocers, but also students and professors of the Leiden university’.<sup>100</sup> De Boer makes a more general qualification: according to him, 8000 participants are registered as buyers of 80,000 lots, encompassing a broad representation of society in Leiden.<sup>101</sup> In another article, however, written by himself and Karel Bostoen, the role of the elite in the Leiden lottery of 1596 is emphasized.<sup>102</sup> Despite the methodological problems that De Boer and Bostoen experienced in their research, they reach two interesting conclusions.<sup>103</sup> First, many of the political and financial elite seemed to have wished to remain anonymous during the drawing of the tickets, for many of them registered their rhymes only with their initials.<sup>104</sup> Secondly, many rhymers belonging to the academic elite, mainly students of the university of Leiden, used *prosen* in Latin, inspired by authors from Classical Antiquity or the Bible.<sup>105</sup> De Boer and Bostoen consider their *prosen* not only motivated by the pursuit of intellectual entertainment, but also to astonish the audience during the drawing event of the lottery with texts that were considered intellectual in their own circle of people.<sup>106</sup> Apparently, the wish

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<sup>99</sup> IDEM, p. 16.

<sup>100</sup> HUISMAN and KOPPENOL, p. 43.

<sup>101</sup> DE BOER, ‘Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture’, p. 67.

<sup>102</sup> DE BOER and BOSTOEN, pp. 218–40.

<sup>103</sup> Methodological problems they signalled were: A source which has not been fully edited and researched yet which made systematic research impossible; the problematic definition of ‘elite’ because different kinds of elite groups can be distinguished; the problematic identification of rhymers, because many rhymers only registered with their initials. See DE BOER and BOSTOEN, pp. 219–20.

<sup>104</sup> IDEM, pp. 225–26.

<sup>105</sup> IDEM, p. 232.

<sup>106</sup> IDEM, p. 236.

for self-presentation was not ubiquitous but certainly present among a selective group belonging to the academic elite of Leiden.

Taken together, systematic research of rhymers in lotteries has been limited and methodologically problematic. The main reason for this is the impossibility of identifying the rhymers in the archival sources. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, most of the rhymers seemed to register themselves mainly with their rhyme or *prosen* and no longer with their name, or at most with their initials. Early lotteries do offer this research possibility because most of the rhymes were registered along with the names of rhymers. To learn about the persons behind the rhymes might generate interesting results, as demonstrated above. However, no systematic, qualitative research of rhymers in early lotteries seems to have been executed up until now. It is time to introduce the case study of 's-Hertogenbosch.

## 2 The Lottery of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1506: A Case Study

In the first chapter, lotteries held between c.1440 and 1550 in various cities in Europe were compared. From this chapter onwards the lens is moved from Europe to the Brabantine city of 's-Hertogenbosch, whose city government organized a lottery in 1506. To understand the research results presented later in this thesis, it is important first to sketch the context of late medieval 's-Hertogenbosch around 1500 and to analyse the lottery's organization. Two sources allow us to get a detailed understanding of the lottery's organization and the persons involved, namely the urban chronicle of Peter van Os and the city account of 1506/07.

### 2.1 's-Hertogenbosch around 1500, Border Town under Habsburg Rule

To place 's-Hertogenbosch in the late medieval context around the year 1500, I will discuss some pivotal characteristics such as its political and territorial position, its size, and the military and financial challenges facing the city and the social community, which consisted of various groups and institutions.<sup>107</sup>

Founded at the end of the twelfth century, 's-Hertogenbosch became —along with Brussels, Leuven and Antwerp— one of the chief towns in the duchy of Brabant by the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>108</sup> The historical territory of the duchy of Brabant coincides with what today is the largest part of the province of Noord-Brabant, the three Belgian provinces of Flemish Brabant, Walloon Brabant and Antwerp, and the Brussels-Capital Region. It was surrounded by the duchy of Guelders, the duchy of Cleves, the counties of Holland and

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<sup>107</sup> For a more complete medieval urban history of 's-Hertogenbosch, see PIETER KUIJER, *'s-Hertogenbosch. Stad in het hertogdom Brabant ca. 1185–1629* (Zwolle/'s-Hertogenbosch 2000). The recently published study *Stad op de schop. 40 jaar archeologisch onderzoek in 's-Hertogenbosch*, ed. by RONALD VAN GENABEEK, EDDIE NIJHOF and FREDERIKE SCHIPPER (Woudrichem 2019), includes a large part of the medieval urban history of 's-Hertogenbosch based on archaeological evidence.

<sup>108</sup> The oldest charter of the city's privileges is not dated, which led to discussion by the scholars H.P.H. CAMPS and RAYMOND VAN UYTVEN, and later on by STEURS as well, about the exact date of the city's foundation. See: GEERTRUI VAN SYNGHEL, *Actum in camera scriptorum oppidi de Buscoducis. De stedelijke secretarie van 's-Hertogenbosch tot ca. 1450* (Hilversum 2007), pp. 14–16.

Zealand, the counties of Flanders, Hainaut and Namur, and the prince-bishopric of Liege (see Appendix V).

On a smaller scale, 's-Hertogenbosch was the main city of the Bailiwick (*Meijerij*), located in the north-east part of the duchy of Brabant.<sup>109</sup> (see Appendix VI). When focussing on 's-Hertogenbosch alone, there was a difference between the territory within the city gates and the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch. This *Vrijdom* included the villages Den Dungen, Hintham and Orthen and the two outskirts Het Reut and Vranckenhofstadt, which were located outside the southern city gate, the Vughterpoort. Everybody who was born or baptized in the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch was considered a citizen (*poorter*) of the city.<sup>110</sup>

A map of urban centres in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century shows that 's-Hertogenbosch was a medium-sized town compared to Antwerp, Brussels and Leuven. At the same time, it was one of the largest cities of the Northern Low Countries together with Utrecht and Dordrecht (See Appendix VII). More specific information about the demographic development of 's-Hertogenbosch in the sixteenth century is offered in Schuttelaars's study.<sup>111</sup> The *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch included an estimated population of 17,600 in 1496 and of 21,800 in 1526.<sup>112</sup> Assuming a linear growth, the estimated population in 1506 within the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch was approximately 19,000 citizens.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> The duchy of Brabant was divided into four areas: the area of Antwerp, of Brussels, of Leuven and of the *Meijerij* of 's-Hertogenbosch. The *Meijerij* in turn consisted of four parts: the quarter of Oisterwijck (main city: Oisterwijck), of Kempenland (main city: Eindhoven), of Peelland (main city: Helmond) and of Maasland (Main city: Oss).

<sup>110</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, pp. 19–20.

<sup>111</sup> IDEM, pp. 46–76.

<sup>112</sup> IDEM, pp. 46–52.

<sup>113</sup> Besides the register of hearth counts, the citizen book (*poorterboek*) also enables us to picture the growth of the city's population. On the basis of this source, SCHUTTELAARS argues that 's-Hertogenbosch reached the peak of its urban growth in the periods 1471–81 and 1501–11. In these periods 57 and 56 new citizens (*poorters*), respectively bought the citizenship of 's-Hertogenbosch each year. However, this number does not reflect the total number of immigrations to the city of 's-Hertogenbosch. Not everybody who came to live in the city of 's-Hertogenbosch wanted to become a *poorter*. See SCHUTTELAARS, pp. 52 and 68.

From 1430 the duchy of Brabant was part of the Burgundian-Habsburg Empire, which consolidated around 1500.<sup>114</sup> Philip of Habsburg, alias ‘the Fair’ (1478-1506), was duke of Brabant since the death of his mother Mary of Burgundy in 1482 but it was not until 1494 that he was inaugurated as duke. He showed specific interest in ‘s-Hertogenbosch, as it was the closest military stronghold near the northern border with the duchy of Guelders. The never-absent threat of the Guelders, which manifested itself in continuous skirmishes and looting, resulted in a declaration of war on 24 September in 1504, proclaimed by Philip the Fair himself in ‘s-Hertogenbosch, which was followed by a siege of Arnhem and the surrounding villages in 1505. This time, the military confrontation ended successfully for Philip, and a peace treaty was signed with Charles of Egmond, duke of Guelders.

Besides the military challenges, ‘s-Hertogenbosch had been confronted with financial problems. To end the financial crisis in the city the municipal government decided in 1499 to install a council of six good men (*zes goede mannen*) with far-reaching authority.<sup>115</sup> Philip the Fair had agreed to this council and gave the city a so-called letter of state and delay (*brief van state ende atterminatie*).<sup>116</sup> This charter enabled the city to solve her financial problems over a period of eight years. During this period citizens of ‘s-Hertogenbosch were relieved from their personal liability for the city debts. Merchants could continue their activities outside the city walls and the *Vrijdom* without the risk of being arrested. In this way the city was given the opportunity to clear her debts.

The already mentioned in-depth study by Hanus gives more detailed information about the urban finances of ‘s-Hertogenbosch. His study is important for this thesis because it is indirectly connected to the lottery of 1506. The council of six good men took a variety of

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<sup>114</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 84. See also *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100–1600*, ed. by BRUNO BLONDÉ, MARC BOONE and ANNE-LAURE VAN BRUAENE (Cambridge 2016), p. 11.

<sup>115</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 95. A list of names of all good men of ‘s-Hertogenbosch until 1547 is included in Appendix 5 in JACOBS, pp. 280–81.

<sup>116</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 95; ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1228. This charter was extended every time it reached the end of its term which *de facto* led to a term that lasted almost the entire sixteenth century. See HANUS, p. 19.

financial measures to generate income for the municipality in addition to the existing means of income such as the levying of excise duties on beer, wine and grain. The most effective measure was the introduction of a direct and personal tax, a so-called *gemene zetting*, of every citizen in the city on the basis of individual economic means. Another measure was the city government's exemption from paying annuity rents. The municipality had collected money from its citizens in the last decade of the fifteenth century, but could no longer pay the rents on these annuities (*lijff ende erfrenten*). With this exemption the city only had to pay her current debts and not the interest on arrears.<sup>117</sup> Last but not least, the council of six good men had figured out a cunning way to diminish the rents they had to pay after the exemption would end. They organized a lottery in which participants could buy lottery tickets not only with money, but also with the arrears on their annuities. In this way citizens could exchange their debit from the city—in the form of a receipt—for a chance of winning a prize. The measures of the council of six good men were succesful. They managed to diminish the city debt by more than half, from 113,000 guilders in 1500 to 55,000 guilders in 1507.<sup>118</sup>

Notwithstanding the power base of the council of six good men, they had to operate in a larger urban context in which various social groups and urban institutions were influential as well, such as craft and shooter guilds, confraternities, chambers of rhetoric, and charitable and religious institutions.

In addition to eighteen craft guilds, 's-Hertogenbosch counted four shooter's guilds: named the Old Crossbow (*de Oude Voetboog*), the Young Crossbow (*de Jonge Voetboog*), the Handbow (*de Handboog*) and The Cobs (*de Kolveniers*). Three important charitable institutions which distributed bread, clothes and shoes to the sick were the Alsmhouse (*Geefhuis* or *Tafel van de Heilige Geest*), the Hospice (*Groot Gasthuis*) and the Lepers house

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<sup>117</sup> HANUS, p. 19.

<sup>118</sup> IDEM, p. 10.



(*Leprozenhuis*). The first two were located in the city centre, close to the market square, whereas the last one was located outside the city because the risk of contamination.

Many confraternities resided in 's-Hertogenbosch, at least twenty-five in the fifteenth century according to Van Dijck. The Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady was founded in 1318 nearby Saint John's church and expanded into the largest and most prestigious one.<sup>119</sup> At the end of the fifteenth century the estimated number of brotherhood members was 14,000 to 15,000.<sup>120</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch was also home to five chambers of rhetoric, which performed plays during Christian feasts. Three of them were the guilds of Saint Catherine, Saint Barbara and Saint Agatha, the other two were named the Passionflower, which supposedly had a special relation with the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady, and Moyses' Bosch.<sup>121</sup>

These guilds, charitable institutions and confraternities were governed by a selective group of citizens, mostly affluent laymen with a high social status. The selection and assignment of citizens for positions of management in guilds and charitable institutions were controlled by the city government. These positions were mostly occupied by former aldermen, at least until 1530.<sup>122</sup> The two confraternities, the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady and the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament of the Dominican Order, were an exception to this as they were mostly led by religious clerics. Religious institutions that had a powerstructure of their own as well were Saint John's church, various convents and chapels, and the Beguinage. Saint John's church, which dominated the urban landscape of 's-Hertogenbosch was the only parish church for the citizens until 1569.<sup>123</sup> A chapter of thirty

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<sup>119</sup> At first only clerics were admitted to become members of the brotherhood, but this criterion was abandoned in 1371 resulting in an enormous growth in the number of members, both male and female, from 's-Hertogenbosch and other cities. See VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten. Geschiedenis van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwebroederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318–1973* (Tilburg 1973), pp. 74–75.

<sup>120</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 370.

<sup>121</sup> KUIJER, p. 232.

<sup>122</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 280.

<sup>123</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 25.

canons supported the bishop in praying and performing masses, and administering the Holy Sacraments.<sup>124</sup> It was the meeting place not only for the faithful urban population as a whole but also for particular urban groups such as craft guilds, militia guilds, chambers of rhetoricians and confraternities. These groups had their own altar to gather at in times of celebration or mourning.<sup>125</sup> Due to the influence of the Modern Devotion, a religious movement that arose at the end of the fourteenth century, an enormous growth of churches, convents and chapels took place in 's-Hertogenbosch. At the beginning of the sixteenth century 's-Hertogenbosch was home to sixteen convents, including the Beguinage.<sup>126</sup> The oldest convents of 's-Hertogenbosch were attached to mendicant orders, namely a Franciscan convent (*minderbroederklooster*) and a Dominican convent (*predikherenklooster*).<sup>127</sup> One of the largest chapels was the Saint Jacob's chapel funded by the brotherhood of pilgrims who travelled to Saint James of Compostella. This chapel was extended and evolved in the Saint Jacob's church. Other chapels were the Saint George's chapel and Saint Barbara's chapel.<sup>128</sup> Communities of semi-religious women in 's-Hertogenbosch were settled in the Large Beguinage (*Groot Begynhof*) as well as in the later-founded Small Beguinage (*Klein Begynhof*).

Taken together, medieval 's-Hertogenbosch around 1500 was a medium-sized town governed by a municipality consisting of affluent men, who also dominated ruling positions in guilds, the militia and charitable institutions. The city was located at the northern border of the Burgundian-Habsburg Empire, close to the duchy of Guelders. Besides the military confrontations with the duchy of Guelders, the municipal government had to cope with a

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<sup>124</sup> IDEM, p. 25.

<sup>125</sup> KUIJER, p. 174.

<sup>126</sup> AD VAN DRUNEN, 'Een wandeling langs de (verdwenen) kerken en kloosters van 's-Hertogenbosch uit de periode 1450–1629', in *Kloosters, Kronieken en Koormuziek. Cultuur in Bourgondisch 's-Hertogenbosch 1450–1629*, ed. by AD VAN DRUNEN, ERIC JAS en JAN VAN OUDHEUSDEN ('s-Hertogenbosch 1991), p. 13.

<sup>127</sup> VAN GENABEEK, 'Binnen de muren. De ontginning en de oudste infrastructuur in de stad 1200–1250', in *Stad op de schop*, pp. 141–42.

<sup>128</sup> VAN GENABEEK, 'Cleyne Rome Kloosters en kapellen 1350–1550', in *Stad op de schop*, pp. 326–27.

position of enormous financial debt. For the latter, a special council of six good men was installed with the approval of Philip the Fair, to intervene with various measures that would remediate the city's finances. The lottery of 1506 was one of those measures.

## 2.2. The Lottery of 1506 in the Sixteenth-Century Chronicle of Peter van Os

A contemporary narrative source for information about the lottery of 's-Hertogenbosch is the chronicle of Peter van Os. Van Os (1467/69-1542), who worked at the secretary of the municipality in 's-Hertogenbosch from 1483 until his death, composed a chronicle about the history of 's-Hertogenbosch and the duchy of Brabant in which the lottery of 1506 is included. According to the editors of the chronicle, Annemarie van Lith-Droogleever Fortuijn, Geertrui van Synghel and Jan Sanders, the chronicle was written between 1513 and 1515.<sup>129</sup> Peter van Os must have remembered the lottery quite sharply when writing his chronicle, since the event took place less than ten years earlier. In addition, he was involved as one of the participants in the lottery. He purchased eighteen lottery tickets as 'meester Peter van Os secretaris'.<sup>130</sup> In his chronicle he states:

In desen iair soe stelden op dese stat een loetinge om uuyt haren commer te doemen, welcke lotinge began met te doen op Sinte-Lenartsdach den VI<sup>ten</sup> novembris nae middach omtrent drie uren ende opten IX<sup>en</sup> dach novembris dairnae quamen uuyt die grote loten, te weten die VI silveren kannen, wert wesen VI<sup>C</sup> gulden, ende XII scalen, welke lotinge duerden tot op Sinte-Martensdach dairnae.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> *Kroniek van Peter van Os. Geschiedenis van 's-Hertogenbosch en Brabant van Adam tot 1523*, ed. by ANNEMARIE VAN LITH-DROOGLEEVER FORTUIJN, JAN SANDERS and GEERTRUI VAN SYNGHEL (Den Haag 1997), XVI.

<sup>130</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 192<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> *Kroniek van Peter van Os*, fol. 349<sup>r</sup>.

In his only and unfortunately limited reference to the lottery of 1506, the city secretary mentioned the city as organizer of the lottery and her motivation for doing so, namely to escape her misery (*om uuyt haren commer te comen*). This was followed by references to the duration of the drawing of the lottery tickets, and the prizes to be won and their value.

According to him the drawing of the lottery tickets lasted five days, from Saint Leonard's Day on 6 November until Saint Martin's Day on 11 November. Six silver jugs with a value of six hundred Rhinish guilders each and twelve silver bowls were the main prizes. To understand these elements in Van Os' short description a further elaboration is required.

The municipality was the organizer of the lottery because, as previously explained, it wanted to remediate the city's financial crisis. The lottery participants could purchase lottery tickets not only with money, but also with the arrears on their annuities. Buyers of lottery tickets made massive use of this option. The lottery of 1506 generated an income of 28,000 Rhinish guilders, although this had the character of an accounting trick instead of a cash-in. The value of all tickets exchanged for interest receipts, 29,458 Rhinish guilders, represented 97% of the value of all sold tickets, 30,529 Rhinish guilders.<sup>132</sup>

With regard to the second element in Van Os's text passage concerning the lottery in his chronicle, the prizes to be won, he mentioned only the main prizes: the six silver jugs and twelve bowls. However, there were more items to be won as the city account reveals, such as jewels, water jugs and spoons.<sup>133</sup> Peter van Os explicitly mentioned the value of six hundred Rhinish guilders for the six jugs. Compared to the annual average wage of a master mason of fifty-six to sixty-four Rhinish guilders, and thirty-five Rhinish guilders for a chief servant, a silver jug represented respectively two to three times the value of their annual wage.<sup>134</sup> The relative value for participants who earned less was even more favourable. Another aspect that

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<sup>132</sup> VAN ZUIJLEN, I, p. 111.

<sup>133</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363.

<sup>134</sup> HANUS, p. 49.

must be taken into account to assess the temptation to participate in the lottery is the price lottery buyers had to pay per ticket, which will be discussed in the next section.

The last element mentioned in Van Os's chronicle about the lottery was the drawing of the lottery tickets which lasted five days, from 6 to 11 November. This was shorter compared to the Leiden lottery of 1504, which had a duration of seven days.<sup>135</sup> However, the city account of 's-Hertogenbosch recorded around 33,000 sold tickets whereas in Leiden approximately 40,000 tickets were sold. This enormous number of names with the addition of some rhymes and *prosen*, which were proclaimed in one stream, rules out a continuously present audience that could listen and watch attentively for hours on end. Especially considering the season, in which daylight was short and weather conditions potentially unstable.<sup>136</sup>

It can be concluded that Peter van Os's chronicle is minimally enlightening concerning the lottery of 1506, with the exception of some factual information. Other parts of his chronicle, before and after the text passage on the lottery, are dedicated to political, military and formal legal issues. On the basis of these parts it is clear that the lottery was held in a turbulent period in the urban history of 's-Hertogenbosch. In 1506 the war against the duchy of Guelders had just ended, and also, just before the drawing of the lottery, the news must have reached the city that their duke, Philip the Fair, had died in Spain.

To learn about other aspects of the lottery in more detail, such as its organization, the marketing and promotion of the lottery and the drawing event, the city account of 's-Hertogenbosch of 1506/07 is a more valuable source. In the next section this source will be analysed.

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<sup>135</sup> See Section 1.1.4.

<sup>136</sup> With these variables, the duration of the drawing and the number of tickets sold, the average time it took to read the text on a lottery ticket aloud can be calculated. For 's-Hertogenbosch, the reading aloud of approximately 33,000 tickets had to be done in 120 hours. Assuming that the drawing went on twenty-four hours, this implies an average of 6600 tickets per day, 275 per hour and between four and five tickets per minute. A slightly lower average can be calculated for the Leiden lottery of 1504.

## 2.3. Lottery of 1506 in the City Account of 's-Hertogenbosch

The lottery of 1506 is included in the city account of 1506/07, both in the part concerning the income and that covering the expenses, and provides more detailed information about the event than one would expect from only brief account entries with amounts.<sup>137</sup> This information is important to include in this thesis, for it serves as a foundation for the research results presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

### 2.3.1. The Expenses of the Lottery of 1506: From Committees to Craftsmen

The expenses offer a window into the organization of the lottery and the helpers involved, its marketing and promotion, and the final event of the drawing of the lottery tickets.<sup>138</sup>

The folia with the summary of expenses start with activities relating to the preparation of the lottery. For eleven Rhinish guilders Willem van Thielt, secretary of the Council of Brabant, granted a sealed concession (*den mandamente*) for four years which allowed 's-Hertogenbosch to organize two lotteries for which interest, arrears and coins (*renten achterstellen ende gerede penningen*) could serve as deposit.<sup>139</sup>

With this concession the council of six good men (*zes goede mannen*) composed the arrangement (*ordinancie*) of how and which prizes lottery participants could win in the lottery. These six men, who can be considered the initiators of the lottery, which was held in order to remediate the city finances, were Jan Kanapart, Yewaen Kuyst, Frans Toelinck,

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<sup>137</sup> The city archive of 's-Hertogenbosch possesses an almost complete, continuous series of city accounts from 1496 until 1669, including the account of 1506/07. The accounts are kept annually from 1 October until 30 September (from Bamis to Bamis) and provide information about the various sources of income and expenses of the city. See 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363 and JOZEF HOEKX and VALENTIJN PAQUAY, *Inventaris van het archief van de stad 's-Hertogenbosch 1262–1810* ('s-Hertogenbosch 2004), p. 307.

<sup>138</sup> The expenses of the lottery (*uytgeven ter cause van der lotinge*) are accurately conveyed through a description of the activities that were executed, by whom and the payment that was given in exchange. Unfortunately, most accounting items are not dated (See Appendix VIII).

<sup>139</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363. When 's-Hertogenbosch actually decided to organize a second lottery, another sealed concession would cost six Rhinish guilders and one and a half *stuvers* for drawing up the concession by a clerk. This second lottery, however, was never organized within the period of the granted concession.

Wouter Oems Dirckszoon, Dirck Jan Arnt Egenszoon alias Scoercop and Jan van Hedel Jacobszoon. The sequence of these names, as displayed in the city account of 1506/07, seems to have represented the order of their importance. Jan Kanapart was the eldest and most experienced administrator, as he had been alderman six times in the period from 1474 until 1506, and in 1505 he combined the position of alderman and *goede man*.<sup>140</sup> He also held high offices in various urban institutions, as he had been dean of the confraternity the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady in 1504 and became dean of the Almshouse in 1506, a position he would hold until his death in 1513.<sup>141</sup> Ywan Kuyst and Frans Toelinck both started their career as a treasurer (*rentmeester*) and climbed up to alderman, an office that they had held several times until 1506.<sup>142</sup> Wouter Oems and Dirck Jan Arnt Egenszoon seemed to have represented the younger generation in the council of six men. They both held the office of treasurer for the first time in 1505.<sup>143</sup> Little is known about Jan van Hedel apart from that he was a salt merchant (*zoutkoper*). He died in 1506.<sup>144</sup>

With above-mentioned arrangement (*ordinancie*), Lambert Wouterszoon, a clerk, went to Antwerp for printing it on posters (*lootchartten*).<sup>145</sup> These posters had to be distributed and pasted at all open places, on city gates and church doors (*t'allen plaetsen poirten kerckdoeren*). The printer in Antwerp received fifteen Rhinish guilders for the printing and storage of the posters. A painter, 'Yoest die maelder', coloured the images of the coat of arms of *ons genedichsten heren van Brabant* and the city on the 300 *lootchartten* for three Rhinish

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<sup>140</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 227.

<sup>141</sup> IDEM, p. 272 and p. 467 (106).

<sup>142</sup> IDEM, p. 468 (113) and p. 479 (172).

<sup>143</sup> IDEM, p. 473 (R49) and p. 478 (R61).

<sup>144</sup> IDEM, p. 464 (R28).

<sup>145</sup> It is possible that 's-Hertogenbosch in 1506 did not have an operational printing house. According to KEES VAN DEN OORD, 's-Hertogenbosch had had a printing house at the end of the fifteenth century which was run by Gerard van der Leempt. However, it was uncertain if his wife continued his company after his death in 1491. Around 1500 the city was also home to a few bookbinding companies, such as the company of Laurens Hayen and that of Jan van Turnhout, which grew out to printing houses in the first half of the sixteenth century. See KEES VAN DEN OORD, *Twee eeuwen Bosch' Boekbedrijf 1450–1650. Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van Bossche boekdrukkers, uitgevers en librariërs voor het regionale socio-culturele leven* (Tilburg 1984), pp. 50, 52 and 62.

guilders. This ‘marketing material’ had to be distributed in various cities. The city account of 1506/07 refers to the expenses of 31.5 *stuvers* for Gerit van der Hellen, foot courier (*voetboede*), for his seven days of travel bringing the posters to Heusden, Gorinchem and Woudrichem. He was also sent to six or seven other cities in Brabant for forty-four *stuvers*, and to various cities in Holland, Utrecht and Gelre (*tot Schoenhoven ter Gouw Rotterdam Schiedam Delft in den Haigh Leyden Haerlem Amsterdamme Utrecht Arnhem Tiel ende Bomel*) for which he travelled sixteen days and earned three Rhinish guilders and twelve *stuvers*. Finally, Gerit van der Hellen delivered lottery posters to Breda, Bergen op Zoom, Antwerpen, Brussels and Mechelen. The foot courier did not only received a salary for travelling to these cities, but was also paid for pasting the posters on the aforementioned spots and for the material that this task required (*pappe ende andere gereetscappen*). Finally, he had to hand over letters that appointed the lottery brokers in these cities.

Up to this point, the concession for the lottery was arranged as well as the printing, painting and distribution of the lottery posters within a broad urban network, and the appointing of lottery brokers. The next challenge that awaited the organizers was the promotion of the lottery so as to induce as many people as possible to buy lottery tickets.

The best promotion possible was to show citizens the prizes they could win in the lottery, not only on a poster but also in reality. Activities meant to promote the lottery are also described in the city account. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, Yewaen Kuyst and Wouter Oems went to Antwerp, together with a goldsmith, to order the manufacturing of the silver prizes. They had bargained successfully, regarding the expenses in the city account of 1506/07.<sup>146</sup> These prizes had to be transported to ‘s-Hertogenbosch before Saint John’s

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<sup>146</sup> See ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363. The value of all the items together was measured on the basis of its weight, expressed in the contemporary measures of *marcken Troyes*. This measure was used to express weight for gold or silver, and was equivalent to eight ounces. The total weight of all silver items was 1366 ounces, which costed thirty-one *stuvers* and a half *oirt* each ounce. Instead of 2125 Rhinish guilders and sixteen *stuvers* (42,516 *stuvers* and three *oirt*) they paid 2058 Rhinish guilders six *stuvers* and three *oirt*. For ‘Troysch’ see MNW, <<http://mnw.inl.nl/>> [accessed 30 September 2020].



Day, in order to display them in public. The goldsmith in Antwerp, Jannen van Nymegen, would receive four Rhinish guilders and three *stuvers* for the transport from Antwerp to ‘s-Hertogenbosch and his daily sustenance in the course of his journey. Saint John’s Day was on 24 June. This date was probably not chosen coincidentally because in this period the annual Saint John’s fair in ‘s-Hertogenbosch took place, an event for which many people travelled to the city.

A few accounting entries refer to the craftwork that was required in displaying the lottery prizes. Tristram van Os, master of the craft of cabinetmaker (*schrijnmaker*), was paid forty-two *stuvers* for the delivery of wood for the construction of a cupboard to display the prizes in the front of the town hall, as well as nine and a half *stuvers* for the shelves on which the cupboard was placed at height.<sup>147</sup> A carpenter whose name is not mentioned, constructed the cupboard and was paid seven *stuvers*. It must have been a merry group of workers because the city account also recorded *the byer dat die gesellen droncken doemen die cast richten* for which they received one and a half *stuvers*.

A similar cabinet was manufactured in Antwerp according to the city account of 1506/07 to display the prizes. For the annual fair on 1 October (*Bamismerct*) the aforementioned Wouter Oems coordinated the transport over water of the prizes to Antwerp. For *die voirschreven juwelen wederomme tot Antwerpen in den bamismerct dair t openbairlick uutstont doen vueren* he only received a compensation for his stay in Antwerp. The rest of the expenses were spent on cranes that hoisted the boxes filled with prizes (*craengelt doen die kyste uutvuere*) and *wechgelt* in the port, and *perdegelt tAntwerpen*.<sup>148</sup> For pasting the lottery posters in Antwerp one *stuver* was allocated in the city account of 1506/07.

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<sup>147</sup> Tristram van Os is mentioned as master of *schrijnmakers* on a charter, dated to 8 August 1509. See H.B.M. ESSINK, *Inventarissen van de archieven der Bossche ambachts- en schuttersgilden 1327-1874*, inventory number 222.

<sup>148</sup> *Wechgelt* was the contribution for the maintenance of the road, a toll. See MNW, <<http://mnw.inl.nl/>> [accessed 29 September 2020].

An anonymous person received two *stuvers* for proclaiming the lottery. On a folium that appears later on in the city account of 1506/07 the costs for the return of the prizes from Antwerp to 's-Hertogenbosch were recorded as well. This accounting entry mentions that the return took place before the drawing of the lottery on 26 October. As will become clear later on, this date does not refer to the public drawing but to a private gathering at the city hall to determine which participants had the highest investment in the lottery.

It can be concluded that the promotion of the lottery in the network of cities participating in the lottery of 's-Hertogenbosch followed a similar course. Posters with the lottery regulations and prizes were posted at several public spots where most citizens passed by or gathered each day. Only in 's-Hertogenbosch and Antwerp were the prizes actually displayed to the public.

Already during the promotion of the lottery preparations were being made for the sale of the lottery tickets. The city account of 1506/07 recorded that 'Geerlick den screymeker' manufactured eight posters that indicated the sales locations of the lottery brokers. Thus, people who heard or read about the lottery, saw the prizes displayed on the market square and were interested in participating, were informed who was going to sell the lottery tickets and where. On the side of the lottery brokers, preparations were also made.

Lauwereijns, the bookbinder (*boeckbynder*), was paid twenty-seven *stuvers* to bind and cover (*voor bynden ende coffuturien*) seven register books (*lootboecken*) for the lottery brokers and the clerk, meester Henrick die Bye.<sup>149</sup> This number matches the number of the lottery brokers just for 's-Hertogenbosch alone. Their role will be further explained in the next section.

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<sup>149</sup> Although the surname of Lauwereijns is not registered, this might have been the earlier mentioned Laurens Hayen. According to VAN DEN OORD, this librarian had his bookbinding company situated across from the Latin school in the centre of s-Hertogenbosch. Presumably he started printing books from 1509 onwards. See VAN DEN OORD, p. 62.

For the sales of the lottery tickets a special room (*lootcamere*) was prepared with a table at which Henrick die Bye installed himself during twenty-three days, according the city account of 1506/07. The account item recorded that the clerk received twelve *stuvers* for each day, the servants and maids received together five *stuvers* for their services, a sum of fourteen Rhinish guilders and one *stuver*.

When exactly the sale of the lottery tickets started cannot be deduced from the city account of 1506/07. It might have started after the Saint John's fair at the end of June. The last day of the sales has been recorded as 26 October. This day is recorded as the moment on which part of the lottery brokers together with some legal officials (*sommigen van den here in den vierschaeren*) at the city hall decided which lottery buyer had purchased the most tickets (*als dmeeste inleggen opter stat huys met besloetenen brieven uuytghinck*). This implies that the investment in lottery tickets itself had been a competition as well, which was related to a prize. The city account of 1506/07 recorded fifty-one *stuvers* for the consumption of wine and other costs of the lottery brokers and the members of the *vierschaer* during their gathering.<sup>150</sup> It appears that Ywaen Kuyst and Lambert de Wolff were considered as representatives of the ruling political elite, respectively, in the council of six good men and the city government, in the organization of the lottery. In the same account entry the consumption of three *quarten* wine at the house of Henrick die Bye was recorded for six *stuvers*. According to this same entry, people who wanted to purchase a lottery ticket had to wait until midnight at his house. The queue must have been long.

In the meantime the sale of the lottery tickets in other cities must have taken place as well. The city account of 1506/07 recorded that foot messenger Gerit van der Helle travelled to *Schoenhoven, Utrecht, Goricum, Woricum ende Huesden* to collect the lottery investments,

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<sup>150</sup> This legal body included seven aldermen of the city and the magistrate (*hoighscoutet*). In 1506, the aldermen of 's-Hertogenbosch were Jan van Vladeracken, Ywaen Kuyst, Raas Raassen, Lambert de Wolff, Lambert Millinck, Gozewyn van den Broeck and Rudolf Noppen. Jan Heym was magistrate. See JACOBS, p. 269.

and Arnt van Empel to *Leeuwen, Loven, Mechelen ende Airschot*. This took them eight and nine and a half days, respectively, for which they were paid together three Rhinish guilders, nine *stuvers* and three *oirt*. Lottery brokers from other cities also sent their own messengers to bring the investments in the lottery to 's-Hertogenbosch.

After 26 October, the preparations could be made for the final drawing of the tickets which would take place in front of the city hall. A large scaffold was manufactured by carpenters. Gerit Otte Hollensoon, dean of the Saint Catherine guild, coordinated the construction of it. First a framework (*gereempt*) was assembled, on which various carpenters worked for several days. Furthermore, four craftsmen — 'Marten den tymmerman', 'Henrick aende Coepoirt', 'Wouter die tymmerman' and Goyart Noesse—, were paid for using 1489 *voet* shelves for roof boarding (*leydacx plancken aent voirschreven scavot besicht*) which were re-used in the city after the lottery (*ende voirts die lotinge gedaen zynde inden stat oirbaer verbesicht zyn*). The material required for this construction was delivered by Arnt van Bruekum, who was paid twenty-seven *braspenning* for twenty-seven spruce trees, 'Henrick die tymmerman' nine Rhinish guilders for making shelves of them, 'Arnt den smyt' thirty-three *stuvers* for the nails and ironwork (*van nagel ende yserwerck*). Finally, the scaffold was coated with canvas by 'Gerit op die tralie' for ten *stuvers* and painted by 'Yoest den maelder' for one *stuver*.

Another preparation for the drawing included the creating of 64,000 lots (*lootcedullen*), which were split in half. On half of the lots the names of the buyers were written, some with the addition of rhymes and *prosen* (*advysen ende prosen ende van meer andere scryften*). The other half contained blank lots, the *nyeuten*, and a few lots with prizes written on them. Ghysbert van Strathen delivered the paper required for the lots (*16 riemen pappiers*) for which he was paid seventeen Rhinish guilders and twelve *stuvers*. 'Claessen soen' received twenty-one *stuvers* for three and a half pounds of wax to seal all the lots. The

number of 64,000 seems to indicate that half of it – 32,000 – was the number of sold tickets. However, the side of the income of the lottery, which will be elaborated in the next section, shows a total of around 33,000 sold tickets.

For the lots that had to be written and folded several helpers were mobilized. Some wrote names and *adviesen* and folded, others wrote and read the *prosen* and the names. These helpers appeared to be all literate citizens. Jannen van Brugge, also to be found in charters as Johannes de Ponte, was a notary, as were the brothers Wouter and Peter van Balen. Henrick die Coninck was referred to in the account of 1512/13 of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady Henrick as a writer (*Henrick Coninck sriver in de hintamerstraet*).<sup>151</sup> Few archival records can be found referring to Meester Arnt Coelborner.<sup>152</sup> Dirck die Wolff was a son of Jan Jans die Wolff and had the position of clerk of the secretary of 's-Hertogenbosch since 1500 in which he assisted Peter van Os.<sup>153</sup> Lambert de Wolff, who was alderman of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1506, was his uncle.<sup>154</sup> Danelen van Vlierden was a son of Daniel Daniel Jans van Vlierden who held the position of alderman in Oirschot multiple times until his death in 1497. Daniel had been a clerk of the secretary of 's-Hertogenbosch, probably in the period from 1496 until 1501. In 1506 he controlled the Gatehouse (*Gevangenpoort*) in 's-Hertogenbosch as a warden and summoner of witnesses, but he also acted as notary witnessing his signature in a number of testaments. Later in his career he would hold the

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<sup>151</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Centrum (BHIC), Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap – index op ledenlijsten, inventory number 125, f319<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>152</sup> Meester Arnt Coelborner, also known as Coelberts in archival records, was registered in the member lists of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady as meester Arnt Cornelis Coelbertssoen. He paid entry money in 1504/1505 and his death debt in 1549/1550. See 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC, inventory number 124, f. 230<sup>r</sup> and inventory number 132, fol. 84<sup>r</sup>, respectively. His daughter Mechtelt and brother Willem are also registered as members of the brotherhood. No further information is available. His name also is found on a former slab in Saint John's church. See *Grafzerken*, I, p. 195. He does not seem related to Jacob Janszoon Coelborner. See SCHUTTELAARS, p. 455 (R11).

<sup>153</sup> VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, p. 644.

<sup>154</sup> IDEM, p. 642. Jan Jan Claes Jans die Wolff was married to Jenneken, daughter of Lambert Reyners van Berze and Magriet Jans Wall. They had two sons Reynier and Lambert. For Lambert die Wolff, see also SCHUTTELAARS, p. 482 (185). Jan also had a bastard son with Yda Arnt Jans, named Jan. The latter was the father of Dirck die Wolff.

position of master of the Anthony Hospice (*Anthonius gasthuis*) and the Large Hospice (*Groot Gasthuis*).<sup>155</sup> Jan de Wolff is not mentioned with his patronym in the expenses which complicates his identification. His name could refer to the son of Lambert de Wolff who was 13 to 14 years old at the time of the lottery.<sup>156</sup> Maybe his father, being an alderman and lottery broker, wanted to involve him in his activities. However, considering the purchase of 120 tickets in this name, it seems more likely that he was the affluent Jan de Wolf Claeszoon, who belonged to 's-Hertogenbosch's political elite, as he had been dean of the Sacramental Brotherhood in 1499 and would become member of the committee of six good men in 1508, 1509 and 1510.<sup>157</sup>

Finally, according the city account of 1506/07, the drawing of the lottery tickets started on Saint Leonard's Day (*op Sunte Lenarts dach doemen die lotinge nae middach begonst uuttegevenen*), which is also mentioned by Peter van Os in his chronicle. According to the latter, the lottery lasted until 11 November. This date is not mentioned in the city account of 1506/07. The accounting post for lanterns (*Lenart van Huesden voer drie lateernen int uutroepen van den loten*) indicates that the drawing also continued in the absence of daylight, but the city account of 1506/07 does not explicitly refer to a continuous drawing of twenty-four hours per day.

All lots were drawn from special baskets and the text written on them, was first read and then shouted out loud from the stage to the audience on the market square. It must have been a social atmosphere, for the city account of 1506/07 included a post of forty-one *stuvers* on the beer that was drunk on the lottery stage (*voer byer opt scavot in tyde van den*

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<sup>155</sup> VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, pp. 611–18.

<sup>156</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 481 (184).

<sup>157</sup> IDEM, p. 481 (R67).

*uutroepen der lotinge*), as well as the playing of music (*der statpypers die ten selven tyden speelden als enich lot uuytquam*) for which they were rewarded with eighteen *stuvers* each.<sup>158</sup>

According to the city account of 1506/07, Raessen Persoens received four Rhinish guilders for reading the lots. He was titled *magister artium* and *medicinae doctor* after his studies in Leuven and Paris and can be considered as one of the most learned citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch. In 1506 he also was alderman of 's-Hertogenbosch for the fourth time.<sup>159</sup> Letting Raessen Persoens execute this task of reading the tickets on stage must have given the drawing event the necessary cachet of respectability. It might also have had a practical aspect, namely that he could have translated the Latin *prosen*. However, it seems remarkable that he is the only one mentioned as reading the lots while the lottery took place continuously five days and nights. One would expect that he would be replaced once in a while, but the city account does not mention any other reader of lots.

Tristram van Oss and 'Adriaen Dircxsoen inde maen' earned thirty-six *stuvers* and four Rhinish guilders, respectively, for shouting out (*uutroepen*) these texts. As mentioned before, Tristram was a master cabinetmaker. The profession of Adriaen Dircxsoon remains obscure. They might have been selected for the shouting because of their voice and performing skills.

On the scaffold these drawn lots were strung together (*van aenrygen die cedullen nae oirdinancie als zy uutgelesen wordden*), so that people could check later on if their lot was

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<sup>158</sup> A total number of city musicians is not mentioned in the city account of 1506/07 but might be deduced from the accounting post. The total amount of this post was nineteen Rhinish guilders, which included the payment of 'Bruysten den cremer voer camfas' (eight *stuvers*), *maeltyt ende vertheert in cost ende dranck 12 quartern wyns* at the house of Willem Baeljart (thirty-five *stuvers*), *byer opt scavot in tyde van den uutroepen der lotinge* (fourty-one *stuvers*), *Adriaen van Hees voeren eenen pels die aen hadden die de loten uytlangde* (fifty *stuvers*) and *der statpypers die ten selven tyden speelden als enich lot uuytquam elcken 18 stuvers*. The expenses of all items except for the city musicians were 134 *stuvers*. All the city musicians together were thus paid 246 *stuvers*. With eighteen *stuvers* each, there might have been approximately twelve musicians. According to VAN DIJCK, 's-Hertogenbosch only had three official city musicians who combined a double task: the watch on the city hall tower and playing during urban processions. Maybe these three musicians were supported by other musicians, for example related to the militia guilds. See VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Stadspijpers. Muziekcultuur in een Brabantse hoofdstad, 1400–1650* ('s-Hertogenbosch 2014), pp. 6–7.

<sup>159</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 477 (158).

drawn. This task was executed by the earlier mentioned Henrick die Coninck and Wouter van Balen, by Jacop van Doerne, Jannes van Geldrop and Arnt Pasteybecker. The identity of Jacop van Doerne is difficult to elucidate.<sup>160</sup> Jannes van Geldrop was a goldsmith in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>161</sup> The surname of Arnt Pasteybecker seems to refer to his profession as pastry-cook which is confirmed by his registration as member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady in 1506/6 as Arnt die Cock de pasteybecker.

Willem Baelyart, Claes Watermael and Jannes van Baecx were rewarded for *die loten terciatim uuytlangende*. How to indicate this activity cannot be addressed with certainty. An option is that the string of tickets was hung on the lottery stage for a certain period of time. Possibly *terciatim* refers to Terce or Third Hour (*tercietijt*), a fixed time of prayer in the Christian liturgy, which is at nine o'clock in the morning.<sup>162</sup> The reason why this task was given to the three aforementioned men is unclear. Willem Baelyart was a servant of the city 's-Hertogenbosch according to the city account of 1506/07; he delivered messages to other cities by horse. Claes Watermael was registered as member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady in 1502/3 but his profession remains unknown. Jannes van Baecx was a knight and a renowned public figure, who had operated as *drossaard* of Gorichem since 1484 and was titled lord of Rosmalen in 1505.<sup>163</sup> In 1509, four years after the lottery, Emperor Maximilian of Austria assigned him as lower magistrate of 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Jacop van Doerne, widower of Yken Brugmans (daughter of Andries Mathys Brugmans) is registered in the Bosch protocol that registered inheritances in the period 1551–70. In his testament of 1561, part of his inheritance was assigned to meester Goyart Lombarts, rector of the Alms-house, and Goyart Cornelis, rector of the Hospice. See 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, Rechterlijk Archief (RA), inventory number 1846, fol. 120.

<sup>161</sup> He resided in the Kerkstraet and was registered in tax lists (*zettinglijsten*) of 1511–12 and 1512–13 for paying ten and thirteen *stuvers*, respectively. Apparently, his income in the previous years did not reach the level to be taxed. See *Zilver uit 's-Hertogenbosch. Van bourgondisch tot biedermeier*, ed. by JOS KOLDEWEIJ ('s-Hertogenbosch 1985).

<sup>162</sup> For 'tercietijt' see MNW <<http://mnw.inl.nl/>>[accessed 1 October 2020].

<sup>163</sup> For Jannes van Baecx, see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, 98<sup>r</sup> and OSA 1363. Also SCHUTTELAARS, p. 493 (B014).

<sup>164</sup> JACOPS, pp. 21 and 240; VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 55.



According to the city account of 1506/07 the total amount of expenses for the lottery was 2471 Rhinish guilders, two *stuvers* and three *oirt*.

In conclusion: The expenses of the lottery in the city account of 1506/07 have demonstrated that the preparation and execution of the lottery required money, and the time, effort and organizational power of its citizens. There were approximately 100 persons involved, mostly from 's-Hertogenbosch, varying from the political-administrative elite to the skilled craftsmen, and last but not least to the literate citizens. Aside from the expenses incurred, the city account of 1506/07 also includes much valuable data concerning the income-side of the lottery, which is described in the next section.

### 2.3.2. The 'Income' of the Lottery: from Lottery Brokers to Buyers

The part of the city account of 1506/07 that deals with income, consists of four interesting elements. First of these were the conditions for participation: One had to put in six *stuvers* cash per ticket or twenty *stuvers* per ticket when paying with arrears of the city with regard to their rents (See Appendix IX).<sup>165</sup> Thus, a ticket paid with a receipt instead of money was far more expensive for the buyer, though a good deal for the municipality. Compared to the Leiden lottery of 1504, the tickets of the Den Bosch lottery were far more expensive as ticket buyers in Leiden paid one *stuver* with cash for a ticket and four to twelve *stuvers* when exchanging for interest receipts.<sup>166</sup>

Secondly, the names of the lottery brokers both within and outside 's-Hertogenbosch were listed. They were Willem van Achelen, Claes Coenen, Jan Claes van den Broeck,

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<sup>165</sup> To this condition was added that prizes to win were printed on a poster (*carthen*) which were spread and posted on churchdoors, gates and other places. Furthermore, that special deals were to be made with the city of Mechelen and the count of Buren. In exchange for the arrears of the rents to Mechelen, 's-Hertogenbosch paid this city with 667 lottery tickets. The count of Buren received 750 tickets as a compensation for the damage done by 's-Hertogenbosch to Eindhoven in 1496. See 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363.

<sup>166</sup> See Section 1.1.3.

Lambrecht die Wolff, Pouwels Wynants, Lambrecht van den Boegaert and meester Henrick die Bye (See Appendix X).<sup>167</sup> The main task of the lottery brokers was to sell lottery tickets for money. Their position appears to have been a position of honour, as all these men belonged to the political-administrative and economic elite of 's-Hertogenbosch.

Willem van Achelen, Lambrecht van den Boegart and Lambrecht die Wolff had occupied the position of alderman before 1506.<sup>168</sup> Lambrecht die Wolff held the office in the year the lottery took place. Willem van Achelen was the son of a cloth dyer (*lakenverwer*) and was counted among the wealthiest persons of the city.<sup>169</sup> Lambrecht de Wolff also belonged to this group of wealthy citizens, although the economic basis for this position cannot be found in primary sources. Lambrecht van den Boegart was a producer of cloth (*drapenier*) and belonged to the wealthiest 10% of 's-Hertogenbosch. He would become rector of the Leppers house from 1515 until 1524. Claes Coenen was an apothecary, had been treasurer in 1502 and would be member of the council of six good men from 1508 until 1510. He was also *hoogweegmeester* of the bakers and responsible for the collection of the wine excise duty.<sup>170</sup> Jannen Claes van den Broeck was a cloth seller (*lakenkoper*) and related to Willem van Achelen. He was the brother of Rolof van den Broeck who was Willem van Achelen's brother-in-law.<sup>171</sup> Pouwels Wynants must have been a relative youngster among these elder men. He became father for the first time around 1521 to his son, Hieronymus Pouwels Wynants, who would become alderman of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1550 and 1558.<sup>172</sup> Henrick die Bye graduated after his studies in Cologne in 1485 and worked in several administrative jobs

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<sup>167</sup> The names of the ticket buyers to whom they had sold tickets with money are directly summed up under each individual lottery broker in the city account of 1506/07 and were recorded in alphabetical order with the number of tickets sold in exchange for money. From all lottery brokers, one folium has been included in Appendix X.

<sup>168</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 447 (3), p. 482 (185) and p. 451 (26).

<sup>169</sup> IDEM, p. 288; Willem van Achelen belonged to percentage group 1, which implied that he belonged to the highest 1% of taxpayers.

<sup>170</sup> IDEM, p. 456 (R12).

<sup>171</sup> IDEM, p. 454 (R9). Willem van Achelen was married to Jacoba van der Rullen. Rolof van den Broeck was married to Elisabeth van der Rullen, sister of Jacoba, both daughters of Wouter van der Rullen. See also HANUS, p. 77.

<sup>172</sup> IDEM, p. 482 (188).

and as a notary. As mentioned before, he became clerk of the committee of six good men in 1499.<sup>173</sup> With this position he followed in the footsteps of his father, Henrick die Bye *daude*.<sup>174</sup> His father was appointed city clerk (*ordinaris clerck* or *clerck van de rekeninghe*) in 1502, in which position his main task was to register the city account. Thus, father and son both might have played a prominent role in the administration of the lottery on the assumption that the old Henrick die Bye copied the register of his son in the city account of 1506/07. All lottery brokers were members of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady.<sup>175</sup> Willem van Achelen was appointed as dean of this confraternity in 1506.<sup>176</sup>

Along the same lines, the lottery brokers outside 's-Hertogenbosch are mentioned: Zeger Jacopszoon who sold tickets in Heusden; Jannen Hermanszoon from Mechelen who sold tickets in Mechelen, Breda, Brussels and Antwerp; Bastiaen van der Leyen and Christiaen die Hoymeker who sold tickets in Antwerp; Jannes van Bierbeke who sold tickets in Airschot, Amsterdam, Dordrecht and The Hague; Floris t'Zwynnen, secretary of Utrecht, who sold tickets in Utrecht; Jacop van Bleysweyck who sold tickets in Delft and Leiden; Cornelis Janszoon who sold tickets in Rotterdam; and Jacop Janszoon van Eyck who sold tickets in Haarlem, Gouda and Schoonhoven.<sup>177</sup>

Thirdly, a list followed of twenty-eight names of persons involved in the organization of the lottery and who agreed to be paid with lottery tickets (See Appendix XI).<sup>178</sup> This list includes the names of lottery brokers who can be regarded as subcontractors and show that the selling network was more intricate than it first appears.<sup>179</sup> However, Willem van Achelen and

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<sup>173</sup> VAN DEN BICHELAER, p. 149; VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, pp. 67–69.

<sup>174</sup> IDEM, *Biographical notes*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>175</sup> See VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, pp. 32, 114, 160, 209 and 843.

<sup>176</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 372.

<sup>177</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363.

<sup>178</sup> IDEM. Among them were Jacop Wouterszoon, a shoemaker who received thirteen tickets in exchange for the leather for the baskets and Rutger van Meyelsfort, who received one ticket for the sheet on the scaffold. Other persons mentioned on the list were half of the above-mentioned sixteen lottery brokers who in exchange for their services received lottery tickets, varying from one ticket to sixty.

<sup>179</sup> The above-mentioned lottery broker Jannen Hermanszoon from Mechelen subcontracted 'Jan van den Putte lootmeester tot Breda' and 'Pouwels Mechelman lootmeester tot Bruessel'. Jannes Bierbeke formed a selling

Lambrecht die Wolff were not included in this list, which demonstrates that lottery brokers were not obliged to be rewarded in tickets for their services. Taken together, the earlier mentioned number of approximately one hundred persons involved in the organization of the lottery, was in fact higher. The expenses of the city account of 1506/07 only covered the organizers involved who were paid with money, but not the ones paid with lottery tickets.

Finally, the buyers who purchased their tickets with interest receipts were registered under a separate chapter.<sup>180</sup> This was the largest group of buyers, 1280 persons of a total of 2034 buyers' names.<sup>181</sup> To document these buyers within such a structure, the clerk must have had access to a completed register of tickets buyers. The register of Henrick die Bye has proved to be this register, which will be elaborated in the next section.

The city account of 1506/07 closed with a total income generated by the lottery of 30,529 Rhinish guilders and eighteen *stuvers* and thus realized a 'net profit' of 28,058 Rhinish guilders and sixteen *stuvers* meaning that the city debt was decreased by this amount.

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network with 'die pennen met die brillen lootmeester tAmsterdamme', 'Michiel die brouwer lootmeester tot Dordrecht' and 'Frederick van Voirn lootmeester in den Haigh'. Jacop van Bleysweyck sold tickets in cooperation with 'Jan van Grieken lootmeester tot Leyden'. Jacop Janszoon van Eyck worked together with 'den lootmeester van Scoenhoven' and 'Gerit Heye lootmeester ter Gouwe'.

<sup>180</sup> IDEM.

<sup>181</sup> They were not only alphabetically registered on the basis of their first name. At the same time, it was structured on the basis of the number of tickets they purchased, although the dividing lines are not always clear. The clerk who wrote down all the ticket buyers started his list with people who bought at least thirty lottery tickets. This was followed by lottery buyers who bought at least ten tickets. After this, with some exceptions, lottery buyers were written down who subsequently bought ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three and two lottery tickets. Finally, the list ends with people who bought one lottery ticket.

## 2.4. Lottery of 1506 in Numbers

The city account of 1506/07 is displayed in numbers in the table below.

	Number of participants	Number of lottery tickets	Value of lottery tickets in Rhinish guilders (RG)/stuvers
Tickets in exchange for specific deals	2	1417	425 RG 2 <i>stuvers</i>
Tickets purchased with money			
<b>Registered by brokers (<i>lootmeesters</i>) from 's-Hertogenbosch</b>			
Willem van Achelen	8	13	3 RG 18 <i>stuvers</i>
Claes Coenen	111	195	58 RG 10 <i>stuvers</i>
Jannen Claesz van den Broeck	52	85	25 RG 10 <i>stuvers</i>
Lambrecht die Wolff	31	74	22 RG 4 <i>stuvers</i>
Pouwel Wynants	16	34	10 RG 4 <i>stuvers</i>
Hendrick die Bye	186	616	184 RG 16 <i>stuvers</i>
Lambrecht van den Boegart	34	46	13 RG 16 <i>stuvers</i>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>1063</b>	<b>318 RG 12 <i>stuvers</i></b>
<b>Registered by brokers (<i>lootmeesters</i>) from outside 's-Hertogenbosch</b>			
Zeger Jacobs of Heusden	32	70	21 RG
Jannen Hermansz of Mechelen	40	86	25 RG 16 <i>stuvers</i>
Bastiaen van der Leyen of Antwerp	28	86	25 RG 16 <i>stuvers</i>
Christiaen die Hoymeker of Antwerp			
Jannes van Bierbeke of Airshot	32	109	32 RG 14 <i>stuvers</i>
Florys tZwynnen of Utrecht	72	157	47 RG 2 <i>stuvers</i>
Jacop van Bleyswyck of Delft	82	308	92 RG 8 <i>stuvers</i>
Cornelis Jansz of Rotterdam			
Jacop Jansz van Eyck of Haarlem			
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>286</b>	<b>816</b>	<b>244 RG 16 <i>stuvers</i></b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>724</b>	<b>1879</b>	<b>563 RG 8 <i>stuvers</i></b>
Organizers paid with tickets	28	278	83 RG 8 <i>stuvers</i>
Tickets purchased with arrears registered by <i>Hendrik die Bye</i>	1280	29,458	29,458 RG
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2034</b>	<b>33,032</b>	<b>30,529 RG 18 <i>stuvers</i></b>

Table 1: Numbers of the lottery of 1506 in the city account of 1506/07

From Table 1 can be concluded that most of the lottery participants paid for their tickets with interest receipts, namely 1280 participants of a total of 2034 (63%). The number of lottery tickets sold with *quitancien van lyff- en erfrenten* covers almost 90% of all tickets.

Considered in monetary value, the tickets purchased with interest receipts represent 96% of the total sum. This implies that the selling of tickets for cash had not been a very profitable activity, and in fact that the income it had generated was almost negligible. Meanwhile, as noticed earlier, the income of the exchanged interest receipts had the character of an accounting operation diminishing the city debts on paper, rather than on creating monetary liquidity for the city.

However, the participants mobilized by the lottery, in and outside 's-Hertogenbosch, did not represent a paper reality. They had read or seen the *charten* pasted on church doors with images of the prizes and visited a lottery broker. Compared to the relatively small income generated by the tickets purchased with money (1.8%) a relatively high number of participants were involved (36%), although it may be evident that Henrick die Bye's job was the busiest in the months leading up to the drawing of the tickets. He registered all of the lottery participants who came to exchange their *quitancien* into (a) lottery ticket(s).

From a total population in the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch of approximately 19,000 citizens, the participation rate was around 10%. This relative participation number, however, would imply that every participant resided in 's-Hertogenbosch. A breakdown of participants by place of residence proves otherwise, as displayed below in Table 2.

	Number of participants of from the <i>Vrijdom</i> of 's-Hertogenbosch <sup>182</sup>	Number of participants from the <i>Meijerij</i> of 's-Hertogenbosch <sup>183</sup>	Number of participants from outside the <i>Meijerij</i> of 's-Hertogenbosch
<b>Tickets paid with money</b>			
<b>Registered by brokers (<i>lootmeesters</i>) from 's-Hertogenbosch</b>			
Willem van Achelen	8	0	0
Claes Coenen	89	2	20
Jannen Claesz van den Broeck	46	1	5
Lambrecht die Wolff	24	0	7
Pouwel Wynants	13	1	2
Hendrick die Bye	109	7	70
Lambrecht van den Boegart	32	0	2
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>Registered by brokers (<i>lootmeesters</i>) from outside 's-Hertogenbosch</b>			
Zeger Jacobs of Heusden	0	0	32
Jannen Hermansz of Mechelen	0	0	40
Bastiaen van der Leyen of Antwerp	0	0	28
Christiaen die Hoymeker of Antwerp			
Jannes van Bierbeke of Airschot	0	0	32
Florys tZwynnen of Utrecht	0	0	72
Jacop van Bleyswyck of Delft	0	0	82
Cornelis Jansz of Rotterdam			
Jacop Jansz van Eyck of Haarlem			
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>286</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>392</b>
<b>Tickets paid with arrears registered by Hendrik de Bie</b>	<b>1170</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1491</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>459</b>

Table 2: Number of participants divided into place of residence in the lottery of 1506

As for 725 participants who purchased their tickets with money, almost half were resident in the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch (321). The other part of the 725 participants resided outside the *Meijerij* of 's-Hertogenbosch and either came to 's-Hertogenbosch to purchase tickets (107)

<sup>182</sup> Citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch including the neighbouring areas outside the city walls, namely Den Dungen, Hintham, Orthen, het Reut and Vranckenhofstadt.

<sup>183</sup> The *Meijerij* consisted of four parts: the quarter of Oisterwijck (main city: Oisterwijck), of Kempenland (main city: Eindhoven), of Peelland (main city: Helmond) and of Maasland (Main city: Oss).

or purchased their tickets at lottery brokers in other cities located in Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Utrecht (286). It cannot be determined if these ticket buyers actually lived in these cities. An almost negligible part of the participants who paid with money were not citizens (*poorter*) of 's-Hertogenbosch, but resided in the *Meijerij* (11).

As for the 1280 participants who exchanged their *quitancien* for (a) lottery ticket(s) around 90% was resided in the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch. Only a small number of participants residing outside 's-Hertogenbosch can be addressed as creditor of the municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch (110 lottery participants including the *Meijerij* and outside the *Meijerij*).

On the basis of these numbers the conclusion can be drawn that not only was the lottery an urban event, but that its participants can also be qualified as urban. This qualification certainly applies to the buyers who paid for their tickets with receipts. Qualifying the cash-payers in the lottery who resided outside the *Meijerij* as urban citizens appears obvious, but cannot be done with certainty.

When looking again at the participation rate of 's-Hertogenbosch' citizens at the lottery of 1506, this number has to be adjusted to approximately 8%, namely 1491 lottery participants from a population of 19,000 citizens. This level of participation does not generate an 'imagined picture' of a thronging crowd in the streets of 's-Hertogenbosch lining up to purchase (a) ticket(s). This, however, does not imply that at the actual drawing of the lottery tickets there was not a crowd of people gathered. It is imaginable that many citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch wanted to experience the drawing of the lottery without having purchased tickets themselves.

In summary, with regard to the income of the lottery, the city account of 1506/07 provides detailed information about the conditions of the lottery, its structure of lottery brokers, and all



individual ticket buyers, in most cases including their first name, patronym and surname, and sometimes supplemented with information about their civic status, profession and place of residence. The structure of the city account also provides insight into different groups of ticket buyers. Buyers who paid for their lots with cash, buyers who purchased lots in exchange for the interest debt of the city and the lots in exchange for labour. However, as mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the city account did not include lottery rhymes and *prosen*, with exception of a few anonymous ticket buyers. Therefore, the city account of 1506/07 does not allow the research of this specific group of buyers.

The lottery register of city clerk Henrick die Bye does contain rhymes and *prosen*. From the seven lottery registers created for the lottery, only that of Henrick die Bye is still intact. This thesis regards this register as the key source to research the lottery buyers who had a rhyme or *prosen* written on their lottery ticket. The research design of this primary source is further elaborated in the next chapter.

### 3. The Lottery Register of Henrick die Bye

The lottery register of Henrick die Bye contains lottery data from both 1506 and 1521/22. Up until now, the register was considered as having originated in 1521/22, when the second lottery was held in 's-Hertogenbosch, and is dated as such in the archive inventory. However, on the basis of my own research of this archival record, it can be concluded that the register had already been created in 1506. This claim will be explained in this chapter. Furthermore, the structure, display and content of data in the register will be addressed. It will be demonstrated that the register contains the rhymes and *prosen* that the city account of 1506/07 omits. The chapter ends with the methodological justification of and difficulties of the research into these rhymers and their rhymes.

#### 3.1. The Re-dating of the Lottery Register

In the archive inventory of Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, written by the archivists Jozef Hoekx and Valentijn Paquay, the lottery register of Henrick die Bye is referred to as: 'Register waarin verkochte loten op eerste letter van de naam van de koper ingeschreven zijn, 1521-1522'.<sup>184</sup> However, on the basis of three indications, it can be concluded that the lottery register should have been dated fifteen years earlier.

The first indication can be found on the back of the parchment cover of the register, on which is written 'registre van den quitancien die op dee lotinge ingeleegt hebben/beginnende xxi aprilis anno sexto [nae paeschen]' and which is signed by 'Henrick Bye [innigher]'.<sup>185</sup> This text was written at the time of the creation of the register by the clerk himself, in which he mentioned the date of 21 April of year six. This can be interpreted as 21 April 1506. The other indication of the date is the addition of what might be read as 'nae paeschen'. This text

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<sup>184</sup> HOEKX AND PAQUAY, p. 400.

<sup>185</sup> See Appendix III.

on the cover has faded, making it difficult to read. If this interpretation is correct, the date of Easter in 1506 can be determined as falling on 12 April, which supports the addition ‘nae paeschen’.<sup>186</sup> Secondly, the division between the names of the ticket buyers of the lottery of 1506 and those of 1521/22 was clearly demarcated by Henrick die Bye when he started using the register for the second time fifteen years later in 1521 (See Appendix XII). The final indication for dating the register to 1506 is that the names of ticket buyers and the number of purchased tickets mentioned in Henrick’s register match up almost completely with the names and the number of purchased tickets mentioned in the city account of 1506/07. The codicological description gives a detailed overview of the folia which referring to the lottery of 1506 and those which refer to the lottery of 1521/22 (See Appendix XIII).

This incorrect dating of the lottery register has led to an erroneous display of data in some scholarly contributions. One of them is Van Dijk’s biography of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady, in which he described genealogical information for all members of the Brotherhood in the period from 1318 to 2012. In those descriptions he frequently refers to the rhymes or *prosen* used by members in the lottery of 1521/22, while many should have been dated to 1506 instead.<sup>187</sup>

Also, because of this confusion in dating the register, scholars might wrongly assume that the only extant lottery register from the beginning of the sixteenth century is the incomplete register from the Leiden lottery of 1504.<sup>188</sup> This might explain why the lottery of ‘s-Hertogenbosch of 1506 has received less scholarly attention until now. The re-dating of the

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<sup>186</sup> HERMANN GROTEFEND, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung* (Hannover 2007), p. 186.

<sup>187</sup> VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*. The incorrect dating of 1521 instead of 1506, with regard to the lottery of Brotherhood members or their family members was applied to Joffre Kathelyn weduwe Rolof de Bever, p. 98, Goessen van den Broeck, p. 159; Agnese Marten Monix, p. 186; Gertruyt huysvrouwe Martens van Campen, p. 187; Jan Jans van Erp and his wife Elisabeth van der Heyden, p. 282, Aleit Henrick Gecks dochter, p. 314; Jan Heyns, p. 396; Jan Monix, p. 551-552, Henrick Pelgrom, p. 603, Henrick Pelgrom alias Ketheler, p. 604, Herman Pelgrom alias Ketheler, p. 605, Yoest van Ouden, p. 599; Symon sone meester Gerit Symons, p. 694.

<sup>188</sup> Other complete sixteenth-century Dutch lottery registers date from 1521/22 (‘s-Hertogenbosch), 1562/64 (‘s-Hertogenbosch), 1563 (Gouda) and 1596 (Leiden). See VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Loterij 1562–1564*, p. 3.

lottery register opens opportunities for new research. With regard to the three lotteries in 's-Hertogenbosch in the sixteenth century, the long-term development of lotteries could be one such opportunity.

### 3.2. The Structure and Display of the Data in the Register

In order to analyse the data in the register of Henrick die Bye, it is important to understand how he has structured the register and what choices he made in how to display all of the data.

The lottery register is alphabetically structured by the first letter of the first names of the ticket buyers, and, in addition to their names, also contains the number of tickets they purchased. The register includes twenty-two letters.<sup>189</sup> The alphabetical order is marked by a tab with the appropriate letter written on it, on every first folium of that letter. These tabs would have facilitated Henrick die Bye in efficiently finding his way through the register when he had to write down the names of ticket buyers. He must of have estimated the number of folia he needed for certain letters, because the number of folia between the letters is not equal. For example, there are fewer folia appearing after the letter A than after the letter G.

Besides the names of ticket buyers, Henrick begins on each first folium with the dates on which several people bought their tickets, although he quickly ceases that practice. Nevertheless, from numerous examples it can be deduced that the names in the register have been listed in order of date. Although the clerk himself mentioned 21 April 1506 on the back cover of his register as its starting date, the earliest date on which he registered tickets was on 2 May 1506, namely the five tickets of Heilwich Huyskens.<sup>190</sup> In the case of the letter H, Heilwich Huyskens was followed by ticket buyers on 16 May, 22 June, 13 July, 18 July, [8 July], 11 August, 13 August, 21 August, 18 August, 18 September, 21 September, 7 October

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<sup>189</sup> Not all 26 letters of the alphabet are included in the register. The letters I, Q, U and V are omitted.

<sup>190</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

and 12 October.<sup>191</sup> With the exception of two dates, it can be stated that Henrick die Bye registered the names in chronological order.

Besides the first letter of the first name and the date, Henrick die Bye used another ordering principle. He underlined the number of lottery tickets bought by people who paid for their tickets with money. Sometimes the clerk summarized the total number of tickets purchased with cash (*in gelde*) and with receipt (*in quitancien*) per folium and wrote these numbers at the bottom of that folium, but he was not consistent in that.<sup>192</sup>

Finally, there are some strokes and short notes in the margin of the listed names in the register (See Appendix XIV). The strokes seem to have been used by Henrick die Bye to check if each ticket buyer had actually handed in his receipt of the rents in exchange for the lottery tickets. People might have registered at one moment, but did not return to the clerk to deliver the matching receipt. If this occurred, he did not put a vertical line through the horizontal line, but wrote *inleggen 0*. Another sign in the margin is the letter *b* (referring to the Latin *bis*?). This letter in the margin seems to have been used by Henrick die Bye when the particular ticket buyer was registered more than once, under other family names. He might have used this sign to facilitate the copying of names from the register to the city account. In quite a few cases, only one member of the family is included in the list of the city account with the mention of a total number of tickets, whereas in the register a division is made between all family members.

Summarized with regard to the structuring and display of the data in the lottery register, it can be said that Henrick de Bye has consciously used a number of ordering principles such as the alphabet, the dating of the registration and the means of payment. To facilitate the use of the register, he applied tabs and signs in the margin. Perhaps Henrick die

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<sup>191</sup> IDEM, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>192</sup> Henrick die Bye summarized the number of tickets paid with money and paid with receipts on fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup> (for the letter A), on fol. 225<sup>r</sup> (for the letter X), on fols. 232<sup>r</sup>–232<sup>v</sup> (for the letter Y) and on 235<sup>r</sup> (for the letter Z).

Bye overestimated the number of ticket buyers because many folia stayed unused for the lottery of 1506. This might be the reason why the clerk used the register for the second lottery in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1521/22.

### 3.3. The Content of the Data in the Register

As for the content of the data in the lottery register, one would expect the registration of the lottery participants who purchased their tickets from Henrick die Bye. However, the register not only includes buyers to whom Henrick die Bye himself sold tickets. Some other lottery brokers had their ticket buyers recorded in Henrick's register as well. Persons who purchased their tickets from Zeger Jacopszoon, a lottery broker from the town of Heusden, are included in the register of Henrick die Bye, as well as the ticket buyers from Jannen Hermanszoon, a lottery broker from Mechelen, and a part of the buyers from Jannes Bierbeke, a lottery broker from Airschot.

It's possible that these lottery brokers from outside 's-Hertogenbosch frequently visited the city, and it was ultimately more practical for them to register the tickets they sold directly with Henrick die Bye than to organize the registration themselves. Henrick copied the sales of these lottery brokers clustered on one or more folia; the names of these ticket buyers are not included in the alphabetical structure of the register.<sup>193</sup> This perfectly demonstrates the detailed level of the register of Henrick die Bye. Whereas the city account of 1506/07 includes thirty-two persons to whom Zeger Jacopszoon sold seventy tickets, the register of Henrick die Bye includes fifty-nine names for the seventy tickets.

Furthermore, besides the tickets which Henrick die Bye sold in exchange for money, he also registered all ticket buyers who paid for their tickets with receipts of their rents on

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<sup>193</sup> The sales of Zeger Jacopszoon, seventy tickets in total sold to fifty-nine buyers, are recorded on 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fols. 154<sup>r</sup>–155<sup>r</sup>; the sales of Jannen Hermanszoon, eighty-four tickets in total sold to forty-seven buyers, are recorded on fols. 141<sup>r</sup>–143<sup>r</sup>; The sales of Jannes Bierbeke are partially recorded on 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 156<sup>r</sup>.

arrears. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, this was by far the largest group of participants.

Almost 100% of the names in the city account of 1506/07 under arrears (*achterstellen*) match up with the names in the register of Henrick die Bye. This implies that of all the seven bound lottery registers, Henrick's register must have been by far the most extensive. The registers of the other six lottery brokers of 's-Hertogenbosch might only have included buyers who paid for their tickets with cash: 252 ticket buyers in total.<sup>194</sup> A possible explanation for this is that Henrick die Bye, in office as clerk of the council of six men, was the only person mandated to register the exchanges of receipts on rents for lottery tickets.

Despite the match between the register of Henrick die Bye and the lottery data in the city account of 1506/07, some differences can be detected as well. In Table 3 below an overview is displayed of the quantitative differences between the city account of 1506/07 and the lottery register.

What can be concluded from this table? The lottery register of Henrick die Bye covers fewer names of lottery participants who paid for their tickets with cash (342), compared to the city account of 1506/07 (724). The logical explanation for this is that the city account covers the names of all lottery participants to whom all lottery brokers, from both inside and outside 's-Hertogenbosch together, sold lottery tickets to for money. Still, because of the detailed registration, the number of 342 buyers in the lottery register is higher than the total number of buyers recorded in the city account of 1506/07 for Henrick die Bye, Zeger Jacopszoon, Jannen Hermanszoon and Jannes Bierbeke, which is 291.

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<sup>194</sup> See Table 2 in Section 2.4.

	Number of participants		Number of lottery tickets sold		Value of sold lottery tickets	
	In register Henrick die Bye	In city account of 1506/07	In register Henrick die Bye	In city account of 1506/07	In register Henrick die Bye	In city account of 1506/07
Lottery tickets sold for cash (6 <i>stuvers</i> each)	342	724	823	1,879	544 RG, 4 <i>stuvers</i>	563 RG, 8 <i>stuvers</i>
Lottery tickets exchanged for specific deals	0	2	0	1,417	0	425 RG, 2 <i>stuvers</i>
Lottery tickets in exchange for services in organization of lottery	14	28	78	278	23 RG, 8 <i>stuvers</i>	83 RG, 8 <i>stuvers</i>
Lottery tickets sold in exchange for <i>quitancien</i> (1 RG each)	1,874	1,280	26,850	29,458	26,412 RG	29,458 RG
SUM	2,230	2,034	27,751	33,032	26,979 RG, 12 <i>stuvers</i>	30,529 RG, 18 <i>stuvers</i>

Table 3: *Number of participants and purchased tickets in the 's-Hertogenbosch' lottery of 1506 in city account and lottery register of Henrick die Bye*

Meanwhile, the register contains more names of ticket buyers who purchased their lottery tickets with *quitancien* (1874) than the city account (1280). The explanation for this difference is the same as for the sales of tickets with money. The city account only mentions one family member, usually the head of the family, whereas the register makes a distinction between all participating family members.

With regard to the number of tickets purchased in exchange for *quitancien*, this should be equal in the city account of 1506/07 and the register of Hendrick die Bye. This is, however, not the case. The register of Henrick die Bye records 2608 fewer tickets sold with *quitancien* than the city account of 1506/07. Does this imply that besides Henrick die Bye, (an)other lottery broker(s) was registering lottery tickets paid with interest receipts? As concluded earlier, there is almost an 100% match between the names of ticket buyers in the register and the city account of 1506/07. However, there are two individual cases in which the number of sold tickets do not match, namely those of Gerit van Zantvoirt and Arnt Kempe. At first, the lottery register of Henrick die Bye included twenty-nine lottery tickets purchased by Gerit van



Zantvoirt but this was changed later on to *inleggen* 0.<sup>195</sup> Arnt Kempe is registered with fifty lottery tickets in his own name.<sup>196</sup> The city account of 1506/07 recorded for both men 2513 tickets and 2108 tickets, respectively, an extraordinary total in both cases.<sup>197</sup> It is unlikely that these men purchased this number of tickets personally for themselves. In that case, these totals would have been registered by Henrick die Bye. More likely is that these men also operated as lottery salesmen, making use of their own network, independent of the ‘official’ lottery brokers. A remarkable point is that they sold tickets in exchange for interest receipts. Apparently, Henrick die Bye might not have had an exclusive mandate from the council of six good men to register these tickets after all, although he registered more than 90% of them.

Still, it does not fully explain the difference between the register and the city account of 1506/07. The total tickets sold by the abovementioned men (4621) is more than the difference between the two sources (2608) can justify.

It can be concluded that the lottery register of Henrick die Bye covers 40% of all the lottery participants who purchased their tickets with money and nearly 100% of those who exchanged their interest receipts for tickets. Similar to how they were recorded in the city account, ticket buyers were registered by their first name, a patronym and a surname. On top of that the register provides, in many cases, additional information about these persons, such as their place of residence, profession, civic status and family relations. Most important, the register includes the rhymes and *prosen* by which the ticket buyers registered their purchase which enables the research into these specific ticket buyers. The methodology of this research will be explained in the next section.

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<sup>195</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>196</sup> IDEM, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>197</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363.

### 3.4. The Research Methodology

The first step in researching the rhyming lottery participants was to transcribe all folia of the register and distil their names and corresponding data from all participants in the register.<sup>198</sup> This resulted in a data file with 231 ticket buyers who used a lottery rhyme or *prosen*. The data file includes the names of the rhyming participants, the content of the rhymes or *prosen* they used and the language in which they were written, their gender, family status and family relations, profession and place of residence, the number of tickets they purchased and how they paid for them. What methods can be used to answer the first two central research questions of this thesis: With what kinds of rhymes did ticket buyers record their lottery tickets? And who were the persons behind these rhymes?

A first analysis of the content of the rhymes and *prosen* has led to a further distinction in what can be qualified as a rhyming sentence, a non-rhyming sentence and just a word. Subsequently, all lottery utterances are categorized in line with the division that Welch has distinguished. According to Welch, players thought they could influence the lottery's outcome by special pleading. In this pleading, she distinguished four categories of rhymes: a prayer or holy invocation; a reference to the ticketholder's poverty or worthiness; an indication of the good deeds to which the money would be put; or, finally, a silly but memorable motto or rhyme.<sup>199</sup> In the cases in which Welch's distinctions do not cover the rhymes used in the 's-Hertogenbosch lottery of 1506, another category is suggested. An additional aspect of the rhymes that will be researched is the language in which the rhymes

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<sup>198</sup> For this transcription I have used the data file of ANTON SCHUTTELAARS as a basis, to which he gave me access. This enabled me to check if the names of the city account matched with the names in the register which facilitated my research in this thesis enormously, for which I would like to thank Anton Schuttelaars. For the transcriptions of some Latin *prosen* I asked the support of Geertrui van Synghel. With her vast experience, she knew to decipher details of Henrick die Bye's script which in some cases led to surprising results. I would like to thank Geertrui for her support.

<sup>199</sup> WELCH, p. 103.

were written. Most of the rhymes were written in Middle Dutch, but some were written in Latin and one rhyme was in French.

With regard to the Latin *prosen* an extra text analysis has been executed. These were inserted in the database of the ‘Library of Latin Texts’ in order to find out their provenance.<sup>200</sup>

After an analysis of the rhymes was conducted, the rhyming participants were researched on the basis of the aforementioned data file. This file could not be completely filled in with all of the above-mentioned variables because complete information is not provided for every ticket buyer in the register. Nevertheless, the file enabled a quantitative analysis of the division of the rhyming participants into men, women and groups/institutions, and the number of tickets they purchased either with money or receipts. An analysis of civic status proved to be more difficult, as did the presence of other family members of the rhyming participants in the register. The latter, when it is possible to discern, simplified the determination of the civic status of the rhyming participant. The profession of rhyming participants is registered in a few cases. With regard to the place of residence, it mostly appears to have been registered for those ticket buyers residing outside the *Vrijdom* ‘s-Hertogenbosch.

A prosopographical analysis, also indicated as a collective biography, of the rhyming participants was only possible after identifying them.<sup>201</sup> For identifying the rhyming participants, the data file was insufficient. More detailed genealogical and biographical information was needed, which required the consultation of political, socioeconomic and cultural studies of late medieval ‘s-Hertogenbosch and its inhabitants.<sup>202</sup> Also, the search

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<sup>200</sup> The database of The Library of Latin Texts (LLT-A) contains 83 million Latin words, drawn from more than 4124 works that are attributed to approximately 1363 authors.

<sup>201</sup> See VAN DEN BICHELAER, p. 3; HANUS, p. 69.

<sup>202</sup> See above at n. 37.

engines of 'Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch', the municipal archive, and of 'Brabant Historisch Informatie Centrum', the regional archive of Noord-Brabant, were systematically used.<sup>203</sup>

Subsequently, on the basis of the most characteristic element of their identity, they have been categorized into six different profiles. These groups do not exclude each other, and in most of the cases they show an overlap. These six profiles are: rhyming participants as driving forces in the organization of the lottery, rhyming participants belonging to the political-administrative elite, rhyming participants with an explicit economic background, learned and literate rhyming participants, rhyming participants with a religious background and females, the only category based on gender.

### 3.5. Methodological Difficulties

In analysing research data from the lottery register of Henrick die Bye, I encountered some methodological difficulties.

With regard to the rhymes, the first difficulty was to determine which text additions could be considered as rhymes. A number of participants did not actually rhyme but added (a) non-rhyming sentence(s) or one extra word to their name, for example the name of a saint. In this research, I considered every rhyme which was registered as an addition to a participant's personal data as a rhyme, although they do not correspond to our present-day definition of a rhyme. Another difficulty concerning the rhymes was, even though Henrick die Bye's script was mostly perfectly legible, some particular instances proved difficult to transcribe. The final difficulty was the sometimes undecipherable meaning of rhymes.

The identification of rhyming participants generated other difficulties, which were mostly related to their traceability. Not all rhyming participants had registered with their complete name in the register. A complete name included three elements: a first name, a

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<sup>203</sup> <<https://www.erfgoedshertogenbosch.nl>> and <<https://www.bhic.nl/het-geheugen-van-brabant>>

patronym and a surname. In a number of cases one of these three elements was omitted. Some only registered with their first name and the addition of their residence or profession, such as ‘Aleit op die cruysstraet’, ‘Arnt in Willemans gasthuys’ and ‘Dirck die lepper’. Others did not register their patronym or first name, such as ‘Willem van Haren’ or ‘Goyart Peters dochter’. Problems with the spelling of names also occurred. Did ‘Jannes van Baexen’ in the register refer to Jan van Baecx or Jannes Bacx, who were two different persons? In this case the name of his wife was able to provide a definite answer, but without this extra data, identification would not have been possible. Finally, last names referring to a residence presented difficulties in digitally searching in archival records, such as ‘Willem Janszoon van Boxtel’ or ‘Heilken van Stiphout’. Search engines often select archival records from these towns, rather than the toponyms. In such instances, identification has to rely on other data in the lottery register, such as in the case of ‘Willem Janszoon van Boxtel’ (*die snyder in de Ridderstraet*).

A more fundamental methodological problem in the identification of the rhyming participants was that only a selective portion of them left traces in archival records, mostly affluent citizens. This implies the risk of filtering out the rhyming participants with a lower socioeconomic background. A similar problem applies to the women, who are also less visible in primary sources because they did not occupy public positions. Finally, persons with a religious background were officially not allowed to participate in games of chance. Whereas they could stay relatively invisible in the lottery when only registering their tickets with their name or with an anonymous rhyme, they were far more exposed when they participated with both their name and a rhyme or *prosen*. This might have influenced their representation in the data file of rhyming participants.

To place the research results of the rhyming participants in a larger context, they will be compared with the total population of lottery participants. Which is the better option, to compare the population of rhyming participants with the total lottery population in the city

account of 1506/7 or in the lottery register? Although the rhyming participants are extracted from the register, comparison with the total population of the city account of 1506/07 seems methodologically more sound. The city account of 1506/07 includes the most complete population: the participants who purchased their tickets with cash from the lottery brokers, by special agreements, with labour and with interest receipts. The lottery register of Henrick die Bye omits this completeness.

## 4 Rhymes and *Prosen* in the Den Bosch Lottery of 1506

To enable a systematic research of the rhymes and *prosen* of the Den Bosch lottery of 1506, they were distilled from the lottery register of Henrick die Bye according to the broadest definition possible, varying from one word to multiple sentences, either with or without rhyming words. This chapter presents the results of the first research question of this thesis: With what kinds of short texts did they record their lottery tickets? The discourse of the rhymes will be analysed, as well as the language in which they were registered. To get a deeper understanding of the rhymes, they are divided into different categories of mottos.

### 4.1. The Rhymes and *Prosen*: Definition and Discourse

Before diving deeper into the content of the rhymes, it is useful to provide a number of the rhymes distilled from the lottery register and to arrive at a narrower definition of the use of rhymes.

All rhyming participants in the lottery together registered 255 rhymes or *prosen*. With 231 rhyming participants, this implies that some participants used more than one rhyme. Among them was Hans Miner van Miltebrug who purchased three tickets and registered a different rhyme on each ticket:

‘Op dese dicht sunt Anna rust tot dueren ick hope dat groet lot sal my gebueren’

‘Het zy geluck oft ongeval het compt die eens hebben sal’

‘Ick ben een grot sot ick hoop te hebben tgroet lot’<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>.

Another rhymer who registered several rhymes was ‘Gerit sone Bernt Janssoon des trapenierders’. He registered eight tickets with his name alone, followed by four tickets with a different rhyme on each:

‘de selve op Sunte Barbara Sunte Jans te Bosch’

‘de selve op Sunte Peter inde Orthestraet’

‘de selve theilich sacrament Sunte Jans te Bosch’

‘de selve op onse lieve vrouw Sunt Jans’<sup>205</sup>

As emphasized earlier, not everybody had an actual rhyme written down according to the present-day definition of consisting of at least one sentence with a correspondence of sound between words or the endings of words. Analysing all written additions in the register beyond the personal data, such as name, profession or family relation, 110 cases can be qualified as an actual rhyme according to the above-formulated definition. In 117 cases, lottery participants used a short sentence that did not rhyme. In twenty-eight cases only single words, without a verb, were registered, mostly the names of saints. As for the language used in the rhymes and *prosen*, 28 were written in Latin, which will be elaborated in the following section, one in French and all the rest in Middle Dutch.

However, it appears that contemporaries did not consider a rhyme distinct from a *prosen*, dependent on the rhyming or non-rhyming character of it. In fact, they do not use the word ‘rhyme’ at all but instead indicate their written additions as *dicht* or as a *prosen*. So, the word *prosen* covers almost all additions, both rhyming and non-rhyming cases. The indication of rhymes and *prosen* in this thesis only reflects our present-day distinction.

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<sup>205</sup> IDEM, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>.



In analysing the 110 additions which can be qualified as actual rhymes, three things can be noticed with regard to their variety and the level of writing.

First, it becomes clear that not all rhymes were unique. Rhymes that were used multiple times in some variation or other included '[name and street] hed die tgroot lot en waer niet quaet', for instance:

'Arnt Monix in de Thorenstraet het groet lot en waet hem nyet quaet'

'Aleit Vuchts in de Kerckstraet hed diet tgroot lot en ware niet quaet'

'den cruysbruederen in den Vuchterstraet het groot lot di waer hem niet quaet'

'Lambert Arnts inde Colperstraet dat groet lot waet hem niet quaet'

Another commonly occurring rhyme was 'hedde gerne tgroot lot', for instance:

'al sonder spot soude gerne hebben tgroot lot'

'Jan Matheuszoon in den bere tgroot lot is zyn begere'

The rhyme 'hed die t groot lot en waer niet quaet' was often used because the word 'straet' (street) rhymed with the last word 'quaet' (wrong/bad) and expressed, somewhat obliquely, the opposite of rejection of winning the biggest prize. The rhyme 'hedde gerne tgroot lot' expressed more plainly the desire to win the lottery.

Using the same rhyme demonstrated a connection between rhymers who were registered separately on different folia in the register, dependent on the letter of their first name. An obvious connection was Matheus Kuyst with his servants Olifier and Sebastiaen. They all rhymed:

'die Gode sunt anna help [name] aen silveren kanne'<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> For 'Matheus Kuyst', see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 163<sup>r</sup>; for 'Olifier Matheus Kuyst knecht', fol. 189<sup>r</sup>; for 'Sebastiaen Matheus Kuyst maet', fol. 208<sup>r</sup>.

This could imply that Matheus had purchased tickets for his servants, although his ticket is the only one dated, to 10 July. It might also be possible that Olifier and Sebastiaen used the rhyme of their master as inspiration. In another case, using the same rhyme indicated a connection that was obvious in itself. The registration of ‘Die waerdinne inden hoeren ter gaude hedde gerne tgroot lot in hueren mouwe’ appears very similar to Gerit Gerits van den Goude who rhymed ‘hedde gerne tgroot lot in zynen mouwe’. Maybe their only connection was their residence, Gouda, which they both used for their rhyme but they might have been connected more closely, for instance as spouses.

Secondly, rhyme variants which did result in unique rhymes occurred when participants used their last name or residence as inspiration for their rhyme. The first variant was applied in nine rhymes:

Arnt Snoeck	hedt gerne tlot uuten hoeck
Willem Pausart	hadde gerne tgrote lot tot synen welvart
Yoest van Ouden	souder gernte tgroot lot behouden
Die vyf kynderen Agnes vanden Zande	hedden geern tgroot lot in hoer hande
her Gielis van den Nuwenhuys	compt thuys
Jan van den Eynde	wilt hem in der schilt van Dansick een lot seynden
Johannes de Balen	op dese dicht die van balen selle tgroot lot halen
Mechtelt Adriaens van Haeren	Maria ende Joseph willen huer bewaren
Henrick Henricx van Erp	neem wael een lot uuten perck <sup>207</sup>

Most of these rhymes hinged on winning the biggest prize. Mechtelt’s rhyme had a religious meaning, she sought protection from both Maria and Joseph. Jan van den Eynde’s reference is not as clear. Was he referring to Gdansk as his residence or to the family Dansick’s coat of

<sup>207</sup> For Arnt Snoeck, see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>; for Willemken Pausart, fol. 141<sup>v</sup>; for Yoest den Ouden, see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, fol. 232<sup>v</sup>.

arms? The second variant, participants who used their residence to rhyme, occurred in the following cases:

‘Margriet huysvrouwe Hubert Dircx int gulden cruys hedde die silveren kannen gerne thuyt’

‘her Gerit Vinck tot Leyden die wil tgrooten lot verbeyden’<sup>208</sup>

‘op dese dicht vergeet niet den esel van nederwesel’<sup>209</sup>

Other rhymers were creative with easily rhyming words, reflecting something of their identity: Beatrys Haigens, for instance, who rhymed ‘het is durste van hueren leven/god ende sunt andries moeten huer een goet lot geven’ and Goessen van den Broek who rhymed about his deceased brother ‘per frater mortuo/help god almeloe om een goet lot/zy syn vroe’.

Thirdly, most rhymes were short; only a few were of any length, such as ‘sHertoigenbosch een van den hoofsteden van al Brabant gheeft hem die u eerst den prys all in de hant’ and ‘Bartolus et Baldeus waren beyde zeer wyss gheeft Pagant de la Valle den hoigsten prys’.

Taken together, of all rhymes and *prosen* used in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506, less than half actually rhymed according to our contemporary definition. This brings the percentage of actual rhymes to approximately 5% when calculated on the basis of the lottery population as a whole. It can be concluded that the rhyming practice in Den Bosch at that time was in its infancy. This same conclusion can be drawn from the variety of rhyming and the level of the rhymes which can be qualified as mediocre at best.

The 117 sentences that did not rhyme had no particular writing style. Sometimes the same sentences were used repeatedly, as in the above-mentioned rhymes, such as ‘tgroot lot had hy gerne’, while some were more neutral utterances, for instance ‘wat sal hy hebben’ or

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<sup>208</sup> The verb *verbeyden* might refer to ‘verbeyen’ which signifies ‘waiting on or looking forward to’. See *MNW* <<http://mnw.inl.nl/>> [accessed 17 June 2020].

<sup>209</sup> For ‘Margriet huysvrouwe Hubert Dircx’, see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 164<sup>v</sup>; for ‘Maryke maet op Royeborch’, fol. 189<sup>r</sup>; for ‘her Gerit Vinck’, fol. 155<sup>r</sup>.

‘op dese prosen wat salt wesen’. Many of the non-rhyming sentences, as well as words alone, were invocations to God or a saint or saints.

#### 4.2. The Latin *Prosen*

The vast majority of the 255 rhymes were written in Middle Dutch; twenty-eight rhymes were written in Latin (See Appendix XV). The only exception to this was a rhyme registered in French by ‘Gabriel de Mera’ in which he expressed that the lottery was all about luck because there was only one prize to be gained while 10,000 persons participated:

‘il la prose c’est tout fortune car il y a dix mille contra une per g[abriel] de m[era]’<sup>210</sup>

The following overview consists of the rhymes in Latin with a translation.

<i>Prosen</i>	Translation	Originated in/ inspired by
Op dese dicht [ama] Christi nos regat	On this verse [the soul] of Christ rules us	? ;not found in database
Op dese prose super viam vincit veritas	On this verse the truth wins on the road	? ;not found in database
Op dese dicht faveat per fortuna secunda	On this verse let good fortune favor	Latin proverb?
Op dese prose semper pauperes habebitur vobiscum	On this verse the poor will always be with You	Matthew 26. 11
Regnum Dei intra vos est	The kingdom of God is within you	To be found in numerous religious texts. One of them is <i>De imitatione Christi</i> written by Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471)
Fortuna est sortis amica	Fortuna is a friend of luck	Latin proverb?
Fata regant hunc denarium quem sales Herentals	Lots rule this <i>denarius</i> which left Herentals?	Difficult to transcribe and decipher
Op dese prose unusquisque sorte sua contentus erit	On this verse everyone will be satisfied with his lot	<i>Epistulae</i> (182, p. 425, linea 8) by Petrus Venerabilis [..qui sunt contenti sorte sua..]
Op dese dicht gratia Dei sum id quod sum	On this verse I am what I am by God’s grace	1 Corinthians 15.10
Op dese dicht multos reges que ratio se rexit	On this verse you will rule many if reason rules you	Seneca, <i>Epistulae Morales ad Lucillum</i> , epist:37, par. 4: 116

<sup>210</sup> IDEM, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>.

Johannes Baptista	John the Baptist	Considered as a prophet and a saint in Christianity
Ut quisque stultissius ita sorte fortunatissius habetur	So every fool may thus turn out to be the luckiest	Latin proverb?
Op dese prose multi quidem currunt sed unus accipit bravium	On this verse many run but one receives the prize	1 Corinthians 9.24
Pro se et aliis adherentibus de pensione Henrici de Leeuw	For himself and others attached to Henrick de Leeuw	x
Op dese prose sperantes in Domino consolabuntur	On this verse if they believe in God, they will find consolation	Verse in the Medieval Latin versified life of the Virgin Mary. <sup>211</sup>
Quid prodest longi mensura incognita nervi	What is the profit of your unprecedented length of your long cock?	Latin proverb?
Op dese dicht soli Deo	God alone	To be found in numerous religious texts
O sacrum convivium [d]a nobis gaudium	O sacred banquet give us joy!	Line of a song during vespers. <sup>212</sup>
Pro pauperibus fori	For the poor of the market	x
Op dese dicht victrix doctorum katherina	On this verse Katherine conqueror of academics	Might refer to Saint Catherine (Catherine of Alexandria)
Op dese prose sic fata bearunt	On this verse thus the fate made blessed	Latin proverb/sermon?
[spot cruciferorum] Op dese prose stultorum infinitus est numerus	On this verse the number of fools is infinite	Ecclesiastes 1:15
Op dese dicht Domine in spe constituisti me	On this verse the Lord strengthens me in trust	Psalms 4:10
Ingeleeht op dese dicht tantum ergo sacramentum veneremur	Invested on this prose let us venerate on the Sacrament alone/Hence so greatly the Sacrament. Let us venerate.	Incipit of the last two verses of a medieval Latin hymn, attributed to Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) <sup>213</sup>
Op dese virginis ex merito dantur nunc optima castro	On this virgin, out of merit now given the best fortress [?]	Seems to reflect their own residence
Op dese prose libera nos Domine	On this verse save us Lord	Refers to sermons of Thomas a Kempis <sup>214</sup>
Tibi soli gloria	Glory to God alone	Refers to liturgical sermons <sup>215</sup>
Op dese dicht stulti fortunam habetur solent	On this verse fools tend to have good fortune	Latin proverb?

<sup>211</sup> According to the Latin Library of Latin Texts, this line is used in the Medieval Latin versified life of the Virgin Mary, written early in the thirteenth century (*Vita beatae virginis Mariae et Salvatoris rhythmica*, liber 1, caput 'Quod virgo Maria annuntiata fuit matri suae per angelum Raphaellem', vers 290).

<sup>212</sup> According to the Latin Library of Latin Texts, this is a line used in the antiphone 'Ad Magnificat', used by Thomas de Aquino (*Officium de festo corporis Christi ad vespas, antiphona ad 'Magnificat'*).

<sup>213</sup> According to the Latin Library of Latin Texts, this line originated from a Christian hymn, to be found in '*Officium de festo corporis Christi, ad primas vespas, hymnus 'Pange lingua'*', versus: 25, pag. 275, col. 2'.

<sup>214</sup> According to the Latin Library of Latin Texts, this line was used in various sermons of Thomas a Kempis.

<sup>215</sup> According to the Latin Library of Latin Texts, 'tibi soli gloria' is included in the sermons of Guerric of Igny, a Cistercian abbot of the Igny Abbey in France (*Cantici canticorum sermones cxx*; CM 18, sermo: 89, line 49).

About half of the rhymes in Latin have a religious character, referring to God, Christ or a saint. Although it cannot be determined with certainty which texts lottery participants used as inspiration for their *prosen*, some seemed to be inspired from the Bible or from earlier or contemporary religious texts. For instance, the verse ‘Regnum Dei intra vos est’ can be found in *De imitatione Christi* written by Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471) who was a member of the religious movement Modern Devotion. The Latin verse ‘Domine in spe constituisti me’ is included in Psalm 4:10 in the late fourth-century Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate. The Latin proverb, ‘stultorum infinitus est numerus’ is to be found in the Bible as well, in Ecclesiastes 1:15 and was used among others by Geert Grote in his work *Consilium de cura pastoralis*. ‘Tantum ergo sacramentum veneremur’ is the incipit of the last two verses of a medieval Latin hymn, attributed to Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). ‘Libera nos Domine’ and ‘Tibi soli gloria’ were sentences belonging to the liturgy and were used in sermons to sing.

The other half of the Latin *prosen* refers to non-religious themes, for instance fortune and luck, poverty, silliness and stupidity. Participants seemed well aware of the minimal chance they would have in winning the lottery. Delving deeper into the content of all rhymes has resulted in a further classification, which is addressed in the following section.

### 4.3. Categories of Rhymes

Welch, as mentioned in the first chapter, stated that the majority of lottery participants chose similar mottos suggesting that they could influence the lottery’s outcome by special pleading. She distinguishes four categories of rhymes: a prayer or holy invocation; a reference to the ticketholder’s poverty or worthiness; an indication of the good deeds to which the money would be put; or, finally, a silly but memorable motto or rhyme.<sup>216</sup> As we will see in this

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<sup>216</sup> IDEM, p. 103.

section, this categorization can also be applied towards the rhymes in the lottery of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1506. However, this categorization does not cover all rhymes. Other themes were used as well in rhymes, such as non-religious invocations and reflections of personal situations or wishes.

#### 4.3.1. Rhymes with Holy Invocations

To start with the first category, in almost 40% of all rhymes a holy invocation was uttered. In most of these cases God, Mary and Saint Anna were the subject of this invocation. A few examples of rhymes are:

‘God geve Hilleken Martens goet gevalle dat zy een half dosyn silveren scalen hebben sal’

‘God vermaight al dat zy tgroot lot hebben sall’

‘God wil hem geluck geve’

‘Onse heer God verleen meester Jan Borman ende fabryke een goet lot alsuck als hy hem gan’

‘Op dese dicht die my heeft gemaict nae synen genuegen die will my wat goets toevuegen’

‘God ende Marie ende die heilige sint Anna hedden gerne die silveren kunnen’

‘Op dese dicht die salige Anna helpe my aen een silveren kanne’

Saint Anna appeared to be a popular saint to invoke, probably because her name rhymed, more or less, with the main prize (*silveren kanne*) of the lottery. A religious motive for invoking Saint Anna, however, is also possible: a chapel in the Hinthamerstraat in ‘s-Hertogenbosch, near the market square, was devoted to Saint Anna.

Other saints were invoked as well in rhymes. A saint that must have played a major role for citizens in ‘s-Hertogenbosch was Saint John the Evangelist: the city’s most important church was named after him. His name is used in the following rhymes:

‘die gode Sint Jan help Matheus Kuyst aen een silveren kan’

‘help Sint Jan’

‘Op dese prose onse lieve vrouw ende sint jan geven den loedsmeester dat zy hem gan’

‘God ende sint Jan die verleen Reyner Geritszoon die vi silveren kunnen’

‘Sint Gertruyt ende Sint Jan ewangelist moeten huer vertroesten’

‘de selve op onse lieve vrouw sint Jans’

Participants from cities other than ‘s-Hertogenbosch seem to have invoked other saints. These include ‘meester Jan van Belle’ who rhymed with ‘God ende die grote heer Sinte Amant willen my verlenen tgroot lot inde hant’, Jasper from Mechelen with ‘Sunte Lysbet zal ons helpen’; ‘Jan Rillaert in den Zwaen’ with ‘God hebs deel ende die gode sint Daneel te Brussel’; and ‘Reyner Arntssoon eelenmaker tot Haerlem’ with ‘en will niet aflaten hy neemt God ende Sint Jacop te bathen dat hij een goet lot mach geraken’. However, it cannot be determined that rhymers were using particular saints in reference to their residence.

Other rhymes that referred to saints were:

‘maet vertroest zyn by sinten Peter ende Pouwels apostelen [priesters] van Roemen’,

‘Sint Jacop in Coempostelle moet hem troesten’

‘op dese dicht/beraet God ende die goede sint Gereon/dat groet lot sal hebben Jan de Wolff tot zyn verdien’

‘Stollanus ende Emerentiana sint Anna vader ende moeder dat sy Jenneken van Kerckhof behoeden’<sup>217</sup>

Rhymers sometimes invoked their saint with only a single word, which might have been a reference to a standard invocation at the time.

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<sup>217</sup> Stollanus and Emeretiana were referred to as the parents of Saint Anna.



Some examples are:

Christus Maria Anna Johannes Ewangelist et Jacobus

Johannes Baptista

Sint Anna

Ons lieve vrouwe Stiphout; die prediker kerk

S. Jeronimus

Ursula [saint]

Ende St. Jacop Wyntmolenberg

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#### 4.3.2. Rhymes on Poverty or Worthiness and Good Deeds

The second and third categories mentioned by Welch are represented only a few times in the lottery register, so they have been combined within this subsection.

*Prosen* referring to poverty are ‘op dese prose woude huer got gunnen dat sy aen dat grot lot konst geraken zy zoude huer uuten gasthuys make’ (on this prose that her God may grant her the biggest prize so that she could leave her almshouse), the Latin prose ‘pro pauperibus fori’ (for the market of the poor) and ‘op dese dicht helpt God de armen’.

A few references to good deeds were given: ‘God die will ons wel gelucks verlenen ick sal den arme mede delen/is hy groot of is hy cleyn’ (God will grant us luck, I will share with the poor/whether it is big or small) and ‘dit lot gheeft meester Henrick Eyckmans den grote gasthuys om God’ (this lottery ticket gives master Henrick Eyckmans the large almshouse for God). In cases of winning the lottery, both rhymers would spend the revenues on helping the poor.

### 4.3.3. Rhymes with Silly or Memorable Mottos

Rhymes that can be categorized as silly were not ubiquitous, but a few examples can be mentioned, for instance:

‘Heilken van Stiphout inden Rose haet gerne een lot in haer does’

‘Al sonder spot soude gerne hebben tgroot lot’

‘Op dese al is Aleit Geck een heyden zes kunnen soudén huer in korsten leyden’

‘Geset op dese dicht dat geluck is ront soe wael vallet in den aers als den stront’

‘Op dese dicht/den bolck is goet visch als hy nu wael gebotert is’

Some rhymes presumed a negative outcome, which must have been humorous during the drawing of the tickets, such as ‘het is beter yet dan’, ‘geluck off’ and ‘blijf geluck achter soe een heb ic’.

A few rhymes can be considered memorable, one referring to the desire for offspring by Joris Sampson and one to an unborn child:

‘op dese prose Marie maget reyne verleent my tgroot lot ofte een cleyne sampson’

‘op den ongeboren’

Later archival records reveal that Sampson’s request was honoured; he and his wife Engel Colen would become parents of a son and six daughters. On Sampson’s commission Jacob Cornelissoon van Oostzanen painted a triptych in 1518 which displayed Mary on the central piece with the baby Christ. On the left panel Joris Sampson himself was represented, together with Saint George and his deceased son. On the right panel his pregnant wife was represented with their six daughters, three of whom were deceased.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> JAN DIRCK DE KRUIJF, Jacob Corneliszoon van Oostzanen, geboren te Oostzaan ca. 1470-1533 (Oostzaan 2000). This catalogue consists of images of the paintings van Van Oostzanen, accompanied by a short description. Number ten consists of an image of the triptych on which Joris Sampson and his wife Engel Colen are displayed. This painting is part of the collection of the Museum for Religious Art in Uden, the Netherlands.

#### 4.3.4 Rhymes with Non-religious Invocations

The categories which Welch distinguished do not cover the themes of all rhymes and *prosen*.

There are numerous rhymes that expressed the hope of winning the lottery without divine or saintly help, such as:

‘op dese dicht die huer heeft gegheven maet hebben dat ewige leven’

‘creegh hy een lot dat waet schoen’

‘op dese prose het broecxken hed gerne tgroot lot uutten hoecxken’

‘op dese dicht waet dair wat ick hedis hier te bat’

‘op dese prose/een sotten van Erp ende treden Bosch bynnen soudon gerne tgroot lot gewynnen’

‘van den blauw cupen die soude gerne utten silveren suypen/woens in de drie coningen op die coeportbrug’

‘op dese dicht/mucht geluck soe syn tgroot lot quaeme in den camp myn’

‘En had ick niet des hebbe ick in myn hert trgroet verdriet’

Some rhymes were not related to winning the lottery at all, but reflected other wishes of participants, for instance happiness ‘op dese dicht geluck ende heyl dat waeyt in onse zeyll’ or becoming desirable to females (?) upon winning the lottery ‘op dese prose/wat brueckt Henrick Bull dat hy met zynen cull scoen herrtekens maikt dull.’

It can be concluded that in most of the rhymes and *prosen* the desire to win the biggest prize of the lottery is expressed. Most of them invoked God or other saints to increase their chances, but many of them uttered this desire without a religious invocation. A few rhymes went beyond the primary wish of gaining the biggest prize and revealed some humour or ambitions concerning what they would do if they won, such as the founding of an almshouse.

The inspiration for these rhymes and *prosen* is not easily to determine. Most of them show a variance on the theme of winning a prize and show much repetition. According to

Huisman and Koppenol, the use of proverbs and personal mottos in sermons and literature has possibly influenced the content of rhymes and *prosen*.<sup>219</sup> Proverbs can be defined as ‘shorty sayings in general use, stating a general truth or pieces of advice’. With a few exceptions, the rhymes of the Den Bosch lottery do not seem to contain traces of proverbs.<sup>220</sup> Traces of influence from, or references from the ‘s-Hertogenbosch chambers of rhetoric are neither visible. The Latin *prosen* found their inspiration mostly in the Bible and other religious works. Some *prosen* might be considered as Latin proverbs. Only a few rhymes can be qualified as sexually tinted.

Among the rhymes there is a total absence of critical reflection towards the city government, whom participants might have blamed for bringing the city to financial ruin. Nor do they include any criticism towards religious clerks, who would later become the target of uprisings in ‘s-Hertogenbosch under influence of the Reformation.

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<sup>219</sup> See Section 1.2.2.

<sup>220</sup> One of the exceptions is ‘het is beter yet dan..’ which preludes on not winning a prize. See ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>.

## 5 Rhymers in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506

In the previous chapter the rhymes used in the Den Bosch lottery in 1506 were analysed. This revealed that a majority of the rhymers shared the belief that using a rhyme would increase their chance of winning the biggest prize in the lottery. This chapter is aimed at identifying the rhyming participants. Quantitative research provides insight into the socioeconomic backgrounds of all the rhymers, their residence and gender. On the basis of the lottery register and secondary literature, some of the rhymers could be further identified. This resulted in the creation of various social profiles of these rhymers. Finally, data on both the rhymes and rhymers are combined, which reveals some additional motives for the rhyming practice in Den Bosch.

### 5.1. The Rhyming Participants in the Lottery of 1506 in Numbers

Table 4 below presents an analysis in numbers of the rhyming participants, displayed as a target group. The target group consists of individual persons, urban institutions, or entities including more than one person.<sup>221</sup> The numbers of the rhyming participants, as well as of the whole lottery population, are divided by the means of payment: in cash, in exchange for a special deal or service, or with receipts.

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<sup>221</sup> It is important to notice that in counting the number of rhyming participants, I have based my calculations on the registrations themselves. Thus, for instance, Ancelmus Teye, his wife Heilwich, son Elyaes and daughter Marie all registered on separate folia. They count as four participants in Table 4. An urban institution as the municipal secretary (*die scryffkamer*) has been counted as one participant. Entities including more than one person are still counted as one participant when only having one registration. For example, ‘die vyf kynderen Agnes vanden Zande’ or ‘Jans kynder van Maeren kerckstraet’ have all been counted as one participant. Of all the participants only one, ‘meester Henrick Ketheler’ (Pelgrom), purchased tickets both with money and with receipts.

	Number of lottery participants	
	TARGET GROUP in lottery register	TOTAL POP. in city account 1506/07
Lottery tickets sold for cash (6 <i>stuvers</i> each)	63	724
Lottery tickets exchanged for specific deals	0	2
Lottery tickets exchanged for services in organization of the lottery	0	28
Lottery tickets sold with <i>quitancien</i> (1 RG each)	168	1,280
SUM	231	2,034

Table 4: Number of rhyming lottery participants in the 's-Hertogenbosch lottery of 1506

This table reveals two things about the rhyming participants. Firstly, and as already stated before, of all the 2034 lottery participants, approximately 10% used a lottery rhyme or *prosen*. On the basis of the even more detailed analysis in the previous chapter, this percentage can be determined as even lower than 5%. Hence, it can be concluded that the rhyming practice was still a pioneering act for participants in the Den Bosch lottery. The 10% share of rhymers in the Den Bosch lottery was far lower compared to the lottery in Bruges in 1446, in which 35% of the participants registered with some sort of a *prosen*, a difference even more remarkable when it is taken into account that the percentage in Bruges was based solely on the list of prizewinners. The real number of rhyming participants in Bruges lottery would most likely have been even higher if all participants were to be included in the counting instead of only the prizewinners.

Secondly, when looking at the means of payment by the rhymers, it can be stated that a vast majority of the rhyming participants were creditors of the municipality. From the 231 rhyming participants, less than a quarter (63) paid with money and three quarters purchased their tickets with a receipt on their rents (169). The division between cash-payers and payers with receipts within the total lottery population in the city account of 1506/07 is 36% and 63%, respectively. It can be concluded that ticket buyers who paid with receipts were relatively overrepresented amongst the rhyming participants.

These creditors of the municipality were not automatically residents of the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch. In fifty-three of the 231 cases, 23% of all rhyming participants, a residence other than the *Meijerij* of 's-Hertogenbosch is explicitly mentioned in the register, usually Antwerp or Brussels. This is an equal percentage compared to the whole lottery population.

Of these fifty-three participants residing outside the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch, thirty-nine paid for their tickets with cash and fourteen with receipts. So, from all creditors of the municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch (169) around 8% (14) came from elsewhere, mostly Antwerp. Still, a vast majority of the rhyming participants were citizens of the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch who had invested their capital in public *lijffrenten* in the expectation of receiving a return on their investment during their lifetimes, and in the case of *erfrenten* during the lifetimes of their offspring. Unfortunately, instead of a return on their investment, they again injected money into the municipality in exchange for a chance in a lottery. The extent of this 'money injection' can be determined when considering the number of lottery tickets these rhyming participants had exchanged for their rents.

In Table 5 below, totals of the number of purchased tickets by all rhyming participants are presented.

	Number of participants		Number of lottery tickets sold	
	TARGET GROUP	TOTAL POP. In city account	TARGET GROUP	TOTAL NUM. in city account
Lottery tickets sold for cash (6 <i>stuvers</i> each)	63	724	250	1,878
Lottery tickets exchanged for specific deals	0	2	0	1,417
Lottery tickets in exchange for services in organization of the lottery	0	28	0	278
Lottery tickets sold with <i>quitancien</i> 1 RG each)	168	1,280	3,772	29,458
TOTAL	231	2,034	4,022	33,032

Table 5: The number of purchased lottery tickets in the 's-Hertogenbosch lottery of 1506

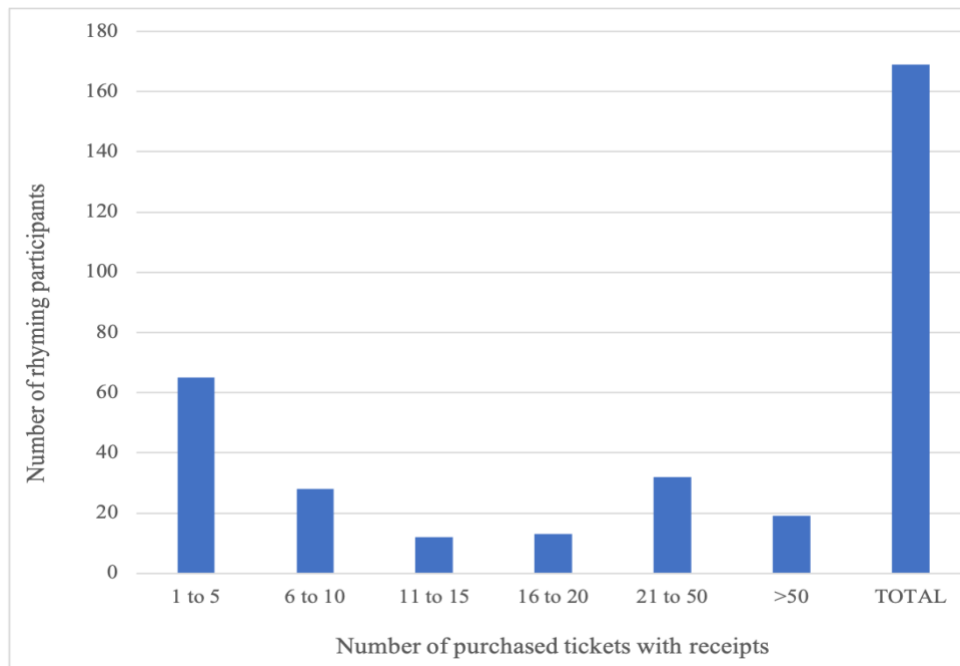
From this table an important conclusion can be drawn. The rhyming participants who paid with receipts, the creditors of the municipality, together invested 3772 Rhinish guilders in the lottery. This is an average of twenty-two Rhinish guilders, the price of twenty-two lottery tickets. This was a large investment considering the real wages at that time. Hanus refers to a master mason who earned an average annual wage of fifty-six to sixty-four Rhinish guilders, while servants had to run a household with thirty-five Rhinish guilders per year. He also mentions Henrick die Bye, the clerk of the lottery register, who earned forty Rhinish guilders per year for his activities on the committee of six good men. To become part of the political elite one had to receive at least one hundred Rhinish guilders from rents or to possess a capital of 1200 Rhinish guilders.<sup>222</sup> Considering the average investment of twenty-two Rhinish guilders in the lottery in relation to the size of the average income of above-mentioned professions, it can be concluded that these rhyming participants were elite residents of the *Vrijdom* 's-Hertogenbosch. However, two further remarks need to be made.

Firstly, this average expenses of twenty-two Rhinish guilders per ticket in exchange for the payment of rents is biased by outliers, meaning that a few buyers purchased an extreme number of tickets, which distorts the overall view. To determine this bias, a division of the purchased tickets has been analysed. The results of this analysis are demonstrated in the graphic below.

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<sup>222</sup> HANUS, p. 49–50.





*Graphic 1: Categories of purchased lottery tickets with receipts by rhyming participants in the 's-Hertogenbosch lottery of 1506*

The graphic shows that most of the 168 rhyming participants exchanged their receipt for one to five lottery ticket(s). Together sixty-five participants spent 160 Rhinish guilders on a maximum of five lottery tickets. This number sharply contrasts with the nineteen participants who purchased more than fifty lottery tickets a piece, and spent a combined total of 1781 Rhinish guilders on those tickets. Extreme spenders were private persons, such as ‘Claes van Delft doude’ (150 tickets), ‘die vyf kynderen Agnes van de Zande’ (140 tickets), ‘Jan de Wolf Claeszoon’ (120 tickets), ‘joffre Kathelyn weduwe Rolof de Bever’ (114 tickets) and ‘Marten van Campen’ (125 tickets), as well as two convents, ‘tconvent op Mariawater’ (185 tickets) and ‘tconvent op den Ulenborch’ (148 tickets). To compensate for this bias, it is more accurate to consider the median of all scores than the average. The median of the number of ticket purchases is 9.5 which means that half of the rhyming participants purchased less than 9.5 lottery tickets and half of them purchased more than 9.5 lottery tickets. Although this number is lower than the average of twenty-two lottery tickets, it still represents a value of 9.5 Rhinish guilders.

A second remark is that the rhyming participants who paid with receipts do not seem to deviate from the whole lottery population that paid with receipts with regard to the number of purchased tickets. All lottery buyers who paid with receipts (1280) spent together a total of 29,458 Rhinish guilders, an average of twenty-three Rhinish guilders per lottery participant. This average amount is biased as well. By not including the ten biggest spenders, the average number of tickets drops to eighteen Rhinish guilders.

Although these remarks give a slight nuance to the numbers, it still leads to the conclusion that the rhyming participants in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 were at least upper-middle-class members of the urban community. They had had the financial means at the end of the fifteenth century to lend money to the municipality in exchange for interest papers (*lijff ende erfrenten*) and again, in the lottery of 1506, they invested (part of) the interest on these papers in lottery tickets. This conclusion diverges from the ones reached by Huisman and Koppenol and Van Dijck mentioned in Chapter 1. They concluded that in the Den Bosch lottery in 1562/64 and the Leiden lottery of 1596, a broad representation of, mostly rhyming, ticket buyers participated.<sup>223</sup>

In Table 5, the sixty-three cash-paying rhyming participants are also displayed. Together they purchased 250 tickets, which represented a value of seventy-five Rhinish guilders, as the price per ticket with cash was six *stuvers*. These participants contributed financially an almost negligible share of 2% to the lottery compared to the participants with receipts. Their purchase, however, was completely voluntary; there were no financial strings attached with the municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch. Analysis of these cash-paying rhyming participants also reveals that they cannot be categorized as complete opposites of the elite members who exchanged their receipts for tickets. Among them were also affluent members of the city, such as 'meester Henrick ketheler', who had been treasurer in 1500 and member

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<sup>223</sup> See Section 1.2.3.

of the committee of six good men in 1504, and Symon van Couderberch, city secretary of 's-Hertogenbosch.

A final, more detailed, view of the 231 rhyming participants can be provided by a subdivision into gender, as displayed in the table below.

	Rhyming participants
Males	128
Females	66
Institutions or entities of >1 person	24
Anonymous	13
<b>SUM</b>	<b>231</b>

*Table 6: Division of rhyming participants by gender/other categories*

Of all the rhyming participants in the lottery of 1506, more than half were males and somewhat more than a quarter were females. Comparing the total number of female lottery participants to the total lottery population of the city account, the female share was 36%.<sup>224</sup> This share is somewhat lower than in the Leiden lottery of 1504, in which 39% of the 1400 ticket buyers was female, according to Puttevils's calculations.<sup>225</sup> It can be concluded that females in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 were underrepresented among the rhymers.

The rest of the rhymes were registered by institutions, such as guilds, convents and the Latin school, or by groups of people. In thirteen cases, the rhyming participants were anonymous, such as 'der gevangene inden Bosch' or 'twee joffren met twee knapen', or only registered by rhyme or *prosen*.<sup>226</sup> The latter cases were often formulated in Latin.

<sup>224</sup> This share is based on 748 female lottery participants on a total lottery population of 2034 participants. For a pure comparison, the number of 748, that is counted in the lottery register, should be compared to the total lottery population in the lottery register which in many cases includes all family members. This results in a female share of 33.5%; 748 compared to a total number of 2170 participants. However, this does not change the conclusion.

<sup>225</sup> See Section 1.2.3.

<sup>226</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fols. 212<sup>v</sup> and 141<sup>v</sup>.

To summarize: the *prosen* culture was still in its infancy in the lottery of ‘s-Hertogenbosch of 1506. One in ten participants of the total lottery population were pioneering in this respect, adding something to their personal data, which could be a rhyme, a non-rhyming sentence or simply a word. The vast majority of them were male members of the upper-middle or upper classes economically in the urban community of ‘s-Hertogenbosch, who exchanged their interest receipts for lottery tickets.

## 5.2. Identification of Rhyming Participants

From the data file of rhyming participants, it could be determined that at least fifty-six participants (24%) resided outside the *Vrijdom* ‘s-Hertogenbosch. Most of them proved too difficult to identify because these participants were registered with limited information, such as ‘Jasper te Mechelen’, ‘Die waerdinne in den hooren ter Gouw’ and ‘Laurens die porter d’ouwe’ from Brussels.

Despite this limitation, 104 of the 231 persons (45%) could be further identified on the basis of the register and/or in combination with secondary literature, although the level of identification varies. For some rhyming participants, extensive genealogical and biographical information could be retrieved. For others only limited information was available, for instance their profession and the name of the street where they lived.

On the basis of this prosopographic analysis, rhyming participants are classified into various social profiles which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. These profiles and the persons classified according to these these profiles are described in the following sections. Identifying the rhyming participants sometimes exposes a conspicuous absence of certain persons, which will be addressed as well.

### 5.2.1. Driving Forces behind the Lottery

The driving forces behind the lottery are considered to be the persons involved in its organization according to the city account of 1506/07, as described in Chapter 2.<sup>227</sup> Their involvement varied from a political-strategic level to a more operational level with executive duties. It can be concluded that ten of the 231 rhyming participants were directly involved in the organization of the lottery. Their number is a little higher (fifteen) when including rhyming family members of these organizers/helpers as well.

As a member of the committee of six good men, Frans Toelinck was involved at a high political level.<sup>228</sup> He had studied in Orléans in 1490 and had held several high public offices from the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>229</sup> Hanus classified him as one of the three most prominent men of 's-Hertogenbosch, as Frans Toelinck was also dean, twice, of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady and canon of the Chapter of Saint John's church.<sup>230</sup> Together with his wife Beelken he purchased twenty-one lottery tickets and added three rhymes.<sup>231</sup> It appears that the lottery was also a family event for them. Frans Toelinck's brothers, Peter and Gerit, both purchased an extreme large number of tickets in exchange for receipts, 263 Rhinish guilders in total, as did their mother Mechtelt van Molengrave, widow of Ghysbert Toelinck, who exchanged ninety-three tickets.<sup>232</sup> Mechtelt's maids, Metken and Jenneken, registered one ticket each, which were probably donated, with a rhyme.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> See Section 2.3.

<sup>228</sup> See Section 2.3.1.

<sup>229</sup> VAN SYNGHEL, p. 333; SCHUTTELAARS, p. 479 (172).

<sup>230</sup> HANUS, p. 41; SCHUTTELAARS, pp. 378 and 380.

<sup>231</sup> For Beelken see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>; for Frans, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>. See also *Grafzerken*, II, pp 314-17.

<sup>232</sup> Peter Toelinck was registered twice in the lottery register of 1506, see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 191<sup>r</sup> on which folium 'Peter Tolinck int Lam' is registered on 5 July and 'Peter Ghysbert Toelincxzoon' on 19 September. His mother Mechelt registered as 'Mechtelt weduwe Ghysbert Toelincx int Lam', fol. 164<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>233</sup> 'Metken Mechtelt Toelincx maet' was registered on 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 165<sup>v</sup>; Jenneken on fol. 97<sup>v</sup>.

Beelken's father Henrick Geroncx participated with a modest investment of only one lottery ticket, costing of six *stuvers*.<sup>234</sup>

Toelinck's companion in the committee of six good men in 1506 was Wouter Oems, who as previously noted can be considered as an important executive force behind the lottery through his arranging of the silver prizes in Antwerp. Despite this position and his wealthy background, Wouter Oems purchased a modest number of nine tickets with a rhyme.<sup>235</sup>

Beatrys van de Ekart, his wife, purchased three tickets in the lottery, but did not register a rhyme.<sup>236</sup> Gerit, his son, supported the lottery in 1506 by placing the silver prizes both in- and outside (*tsilverwerck tAntwerpen in ende buyten te setten*). For his labour he was rewarded with eight lottery tickets.<sup>237</sup> Other members of the family Oems who purchased tickets for the lottery were Wouter Oems' father Jan Oems and his mother Jutken, Wouter's brothers Gerit and Henrick, and his sister Mary. Several members of his wife's family also participated, namely her father Marcelis van Ekart, her brother Jan, who worked in the guild of furriers (*bontwerkers*), his wife Yoestken and their children Adriaen and Anna. Only Anna had a rhyme or *prosen* recorded.<sup>238</sup> Jan Marcelis had been member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady since 1476/77 and Anna would be admitted as a member in 1508/09.

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<sup>234</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363.

<sup>235</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 473 (R49). For his tickets, see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 216<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>236</sup> For 'Beatrys huysvrouwe Wouter Oems', see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363. She had her three tickets registered by Pouwels Wynants. Therefore her registration is only included in the city account of 1506/07 and not in the lottery register of Henrick die Bye. For Wouter Oems, see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 216<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>237</sup> His activities are registered in the city account of 1506/07, see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363 as were in the lottery register of Henrick die Bye, fol. 49<sup>v</sup> (*Gerit sone Wouter Oems viii loten per labor*).

<sup>238</sup> For Jan Oems and 'Jutken huysvrouwe Jan Oems' see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 97<sup>r</sup>; for 'Gerit sone Jannen Oems', fol. 49<sup>r</sup>; for 'Henrick Oems Janssoon ende Mechtelt syn huysvrouwe', fol. 68<sup>r</sup>; for 'Mary dochter Jannen Oems', fol. 165<sup>v</sup>; for 'Marcelis van Ekart cremer onder die langcameren', fols. 164<sup>r</sup> and 165<sup>r</sup>; for 'Jan Marcelissoon van Ekart bontwerker', fol. 92<sup>v</sup>; for 'Jan Marcelissoon van Ekart byt gulden cruys', fol. 97<sup>v</sup>; for 'Yoestken van Lyt huysvrouwe Jan Marcelissoon van Ekart', fol. 232<sup>r</sup>; for 'Adriaen sone Jan Marcelis van Ekart des bontwerkers', fol. 2<sup>r</sup>; for Anna, see 's-Hertogenbosch, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>.

Meester Jan van Nymegen, the goldsmith in Antwerp who manufactured the silver prizes, also decided to take a gamble in the lottery. He registered a rhyme on fourteen tickets which he paid with money.<sup>239</sup>

The person who registered the vast majority of all lottery participants and helped in writing the lots for the drawing was meester Henrick die Bye.<sup>240</sup> As keeper of the lottery register, he recorded his purchase of five tickets in his own register with a rhyme in Latin.<sup>241</sup> Apparently, Henrick considered the lottery as a family affair, with his entire family being involved. He purchased thirteen tickets in the name of his family, although none of these included a rhyme. His wife Lysbet, daughter of Henrick Goyaert Toppens, was registered for five tickets, and one ticket each was registered in the names of his four daughters, Anna, Jutte, Mary and Mechtelt and his three sons, Goyart, Frans and Henrick. Henrick also purchased one ticket for himself.<sup>242</sup> The only one who was not included was his daughter Jenneken. His wife must have been pregnant with her when the lottery tickets were being sold, because she was born in 1506.<sup>243</sup> His father, the old Henrick die Bye, received three tickets in exchange for his services, but did not rhyme.<sup>244</sup>

A similar registration task as Henrick die Bye performed in Den Bosch was fulfilled in Antwerp by Ancelmus Taye. Apparently, a number of citizens in Antwerp were creditors of the municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch. This included Ancelmus and his family, who together purchased eighteen tickets with receipts and a rhyme, as mentioned earlier. It might have been

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<sup>239</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 163<sup>r</sup>. See Section 2.3.1. Not to be confused with 'Jannen van Nymegen zeeldreyers op Vranckenhoffstat', see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 97<sup>v</sup>. A *zeeldreyer* was a ropemaker.

<sup>240</sup> See Section 1.2.3.

<sup>241</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>242</sup> For 'Lysbet huysvrouwe meester Henrick die Bye' see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 139<sup>v</sup>'; for 'Anna dochter meester Henrick die Bye' fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, for 'Jutte dochter meester Henrix die Bye' fol. 94<sup>r</sup>; for 'Mary dochter meester Henrix die Bye' and 'Mechtelt dochter meester Henrix die Bye' fol. 163<sup>v</sup>; for 'Frans sone meester Henrick die Bye' fol. 43<sup>r</sup>; for 'Goyart sone meester Henrix die Bye' fol. 46<sup>v</sup>; for 'Henrick sone meester Henrix die Bye' see fol. 68<sup>r</sup> and fol. 70<sup>r</sup> *propriem* (himself).

<sup>243</sup> VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 178.

<sup>244</sup> He did however share them with his wife Kathelyne (or Katheryne) and his (other) son Frans. See OSA 3001, fol. 71<sup>v</sup> for 'Henrick die Bye daude Henrickssoon, 'Kathelyne syn huysvrouwe, Frans sone meester Henrick die Bye iii per labor'.

Ancelmus Teye himself who purchased these tickets for his wife and children while these tickets were all dated to 21 September.<sup>245</sup> This is shortly before the prizes of the lottery were displayed in Antwerp for the annual fair (*Bamis merckt*).

Henrixken Ghysselen was the widow of Jan van Ghysselen. Her rhyme and profile have already been given in the introduction. According to Schuttelaars, Jan Ghysselen could be considered as one of wealthiest citizens on the basis of the income tax lists. Hendrixken Ghysselen supported the organization of the lottery by providing room for the lottery brokers in her house ‘den Engel’ at the market square (*voer huer huys dair die lootmeester hueren handel hadden*).<sup>246</sup>

Saint Catherine’s guild, presumably the previously mentioned chamber of rhetoric, coordinated the construction of the scaffold for the lottery and participated with twelve tickets and a rhyme.<sup>247</sup>

Among the rhymers we also find Jan de Wolf Claeszoon who helped with the writing and reading out of the lots. He participated with his wife Hadewich, four sons and four daughters in the lottery with 120 tickets and a rhyme.<sup>248</sup> Also taking part were ‘Adriaen Dirxsoon in de maen’, who helped with shouting out the text on the lottery tickets, and Henrick die Coninck, whose task it was to string all the tickets on a cord.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> For Ancelmus Teye, see OSA 3001, 2<sup>r</sup>; for his wife Heilwich van der Venne, 68<sup>r</sup>; for his son Elyaes, 40<sup>r</sup>; for his daughter Marie, 163<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>246</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 1363.

<sup>247</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 208<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>248</sup> For ‘Jan de Wolf Claeszoon’ see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 93<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Hadewich huysvrouw Jans de Wolf Claessoon’, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>; for ‘Claes sone Jans de Wolf Claessoon’, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Frans sone Jans de Wolf Claessoon’, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>; for ‘her Jan sone Jans de Wolf Claessoon priester’, fol. 93<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Wouter sone Jans de Wolf Claessoon’, fol. 215<sup>r</sup>; for Hadewich and Henrixke, both registered as ‘dochter Jans de Wolf Claessoon’, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>; for Beatrys and Belye, both registered as ‘dochter Jans de Wolf Claessoon’, 13<sup>r</sup>. Each one is registered with ten tickets, which results in a sum of 100 tickets. However, in the city account of 1506/07 Jan de Wolf Claessoon records 120 tickets, see OSA 1363.

<sup>249</sup> For Adriaen, see OSA 3001, f. 89<sup>r</sup>; for Henrick die Conick, f70<sup>v</sup>.



It can be concluded that those who helped with the organization and running of the lottery were only limitedly represented among the rhymers, considering the somewhat more than one hundred persons involved in its organization. Some of these persons belonged to the political-administrative elite, necessary for getting the lottery initiative off the ground. Others can be categorized as the learned and literate, necessary for a correct registering process of the lottery as well as a reliable and entertaining drawing of the lottery tickets.

Craftsmen who helped in the preparation of the lottery are absent in the list of rhyming participants, as well as all lottery brokers, with the sole exception of Henrick die Bye. The absence of the latter can be considered as remarkable as they were literate men who experienced more closely than anyone else the thinking and registration of rhymes by participants. Indeed, the most learned person in the lottery organization, Raes Raessen alias Persoens, of whom one might expect a rhyme, did not register one.<sup>250</sup>

### 5.2.2. The Political-Administrative Elite

I have defined the political-administrative elite as persons who held positions in the ducal administration such as magistrates, as well as affluent citizens who occupied positions in the municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch. As explained earlier, the size of a certain income or capital served as a condition to be eligible for these positions. Other influential positions in the city, to which aldermen were often assigned, were leading administrative positions in charitable institutions and confraternities, such as the Almshouse, the Hospice and the Brotherhood of Our Illustrious Lady. A total of thirteen members of the political elite could be identified

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<sup>250</sup> He did participate in the lottery, under various names. On 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 205<sup>r</sup>, he is registered as Raes Persoens with tickets from 'Heilwich dochter Jannen Aelbert van Cnoden' but this purchase is deleted. This is followed by another registration by someone else for him, which is not clear. Then, on 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 205<sup>v</sup>, he is registered differently eight times, with a total of thirty-five lottery tickets. The lottery register also includes his wife, 'Sophie huysvrouw meester Raes Raessen', with ten tickets, fol. 208<sup>v</sup> and his son, 'Pouwels sone meester Raes Raessen', fol. 192<sup>r</sup> and daughter, 'Eefsche dochter meester Raes Raessen', fol. 40<sup>r</sup> with ten tickets each.

among the rhymers in the lottery of 1506. Taken into account their rhyming relatives as well, a number of eighteen is represented.

From the ducal administration ‘Jan Monix scouteth in Pedelant’ was represented, he registered ninety lottery tickets.<sup>251</sup> Being the son of Jan Monix senior, he studied in Leuven and had been magistrate of Peelland since 1494. He had also been alderman of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1503. His first marriage was to Catharina van de Aelsvoirt, daughter of Goyaert van de Aelsvoirt and Christina de Wael.<sup>252</sup> She herself did not buy tickets but her family did, including her nephew ‘Gerit sone Lambert die Wael’, her widowed aunt Aleit and her sister Ydeken.<sup>253</sup> Jan and Catharina did have offspring but none of them are registered in the lottery. Only one other member of the Monix family can be traced in the lottery with a rhyme, which is Jan’s sister-in-law, ‘Janna dochter Rutgers van Haeren’. Janna was married to Arnt Jan senior Monix, who had been alderman of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1498 and 1505 and may have been magistrate of Kempenland at the time of the lottery.<sup>254</sup>

Analysing the political-administrative elite in ‘s-Hertogenbosch from among the rhyming participants, a division can be made between former leaders from an older generation and the more contemporary ones. To start with the first category, we find meester Henrick Eyckmans. He exchanged receipts of rents for thirty tickets with a rhyme.<sup>255</sup> After his studies

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<sup>251</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 93<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>252</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 473 (139). His second marriage was to Christina Potter vander Loo. From her or her family no tickets are registered. Possibly, this marriage took place after 1506.

<sup>253</sup> According to VAN DIJCK, the children from the first marriage of Gerit Ghysbert die Wael were Bartholomeus, Lysbeth and Lambert. Gerit was the son of Lambert (married to Aleit). Christina de Wael was the daughter of Gerit Ghysbert die Wael’s second marriage. Christina de Wael married Goyaert van Aelsvoirt and had two daughters, Catharina and Ydeken.

Thus, Catharina van Aelsvoirt and Gerit sone Lambert were nephew and niece, related through a shared grandfather. See VAN DIJCK, *Van Vroomheid naar Vriendschap*, p. 818.

For ‘Gerit sone Lambert die Wael’ see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>; for ‘Aleit weduwe Lambert die Wael’, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>; For ‘Ydeken dochter Goyarts vanden Aelsfort’, fol. 232<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>254</sup> For Arnt Jan Monix, see SCHUTTELAARS, p. 472 (133). Van Dijck also refers to the participation of Joanna van Haeren in the lottery, but he dates her rhyme incorrectly to the lottery of 1521 instead of 1506. See VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 552.

Furthermore, Van Dijck mentions that her husband Arnt Monix also participated with a rhyme in the lottery in 1521: this is incorrect as well. He confused Arnt Jan Monix with Arnt Goyaert Monix, the cloth seller.

<sup>255</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 69<sup>r</sup>.

in Leuven in 1476 he became alderman in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1493. His late brother Jan Eyckmans had also belonged to the political elite of the city, probably as dean of the furriers' craft and treasurer of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1502. His sister-in-law, 'Hadewich weduwe Jannen Eyckmans Want Geritssoon' and her daughter Agnese, participated in the lottery with forty-two lottery tickets each but without a rhyme.<sup>256</sup> Heer Lambert van den Heseacker can also be identified as an older member of the political elite. He registered himself as canon, had been dean of the cornbuyers guild in 1478, treasurer in 1486 and alderman of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1496.<sup>257</sup> He registered his six lottery tickets, purchased with money, with a rhyme.<sup>258</sup> Gerit van den Heseacker, presumably his brother, also participated in the lottery with a rhyme.<sup>259</sup> He purchased fifty tickets.<sup>260</sup>

More recent leaders were better represented in numbers among the rhyming participants, starting with Goessen van den Broeck, who was alderman in 1506.<sup>261</sup> He laid in twice, with sixty-four tickets for himself and with eighty-seven tickets and a rhyme for his deceased brother. No other family members participated in the lottery, except for his nephew Henrick vanden Broeck who was a priest, and purchased ten tickets.

Another current politician was Wouter Bolcx, a furrier who had been treasurer in 1482 and 1495, and member of the committee of good men in 1504.<sup>262</sup> He was a son of Jan Bolck and Heylwich Wouters van den Rullen and married to Elisabeth Goyart Cuypers. Together they had two daughters, Johanna and Heilwich, who would in the future both marry aldermen of the city, Jan Jans van Erp, mentioned here below, and Willem Jans Pijnappel,

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<sup>256</sup> For Hadewych see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 69<sup>v</sup>; for Agnese, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>. See also, VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>257</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 466 (102).

<sup>258</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 140<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>259</sup> VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 376.

<sup>260</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>261</sup> See Section 2.3.1. Also SCHUTTELAARS, p. 454 (40); VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 159.

<sup>262</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 452 (R7).

respectively.<sup>263</sup> Wouter Bolcx registered his thirty-nine lots with a rhyme.<sup>264</sup> It might have been his widowed mother-in-law, ‘Sophie van Nulant weduwe Goyart Cupers’, who purchased forty-one tickets without a rhyme.<sup>265</sup>

Another rhyming political elite member was Jan van Erpe who had been alderman of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1504.<sup>266</sup> He and his first wife, ‘Lysbet huysvrouw Jans van Erpe Janszoon’, can both be found in the lottery register under the letter J, but had different rhymes.<sup>267</sup> Together they purchased 150 tickets.<sup>268</sup> Lysbet can be identified as Elisabeth van der Heyden, daughter of ‘Gerit van der Heyden alias gelaesmaker’. After she became a widow of Marten van Elmpt, she was married to Jan van Erpe. After 1506, Jan van Erpe would become alderman again in 1512 and 1518 and hold several other public offices in the city, such as warden and lower magistrate.<sup>269</sup> Her family also participated with a large number of tickets in the lottery of 1506, but without rhymes. Her sister ‘Kathelyn dochter Gerits gelaesmakers alias van der Heyden’ purchased sixty tickets, as did her brother ‘Gielys gelaesmaker sone Gerits van den Heyden’.<sup>270</sup>

A companion of above-mentioned persons was Marten van Campen who had been alderman of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1496 and 1504. He was a sworn brother of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady and would become dean in 1509 and 1510. He was one of the richest citizens of ‘s-Hertogenbosch.<sup>271</sup> He purchased 125 lottery tickets and registered all with a rhyme.<sup>272</sup> His mother Agnese Marten Monix and his wife Gertruyt van Dommelen also

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<sup>263</sup> *Grafzerken*, II, p. 397.

<sup>264</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 215<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>265</sup> *IDEM*, fol. 208<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>266</sup> In the member list of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady she is mentioned as Lisbet Martens van Elmpt uxor in 1494/94. In 1509/10 and 1516/17 she paid the entrance money for her sons Jan van Elmpt and Frans van Elmpt.

<sup>267</sup> The aforementioned Johanna Bolcx was the second wife of Jan van Erpe Janszoon.

<sup>268</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 93<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>269</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 459 (65).

<sup>270</sup> For Kathelyn see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 116<sup>r</sup>; For Gielys, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>271</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 455. See also VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, pp. 186-87.

<sup>272</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 163<sup>r</sup>.

participated with fifty-three lots, as did his three daughters Luytgart, Lysbet and Sophie.<sup>273</sup>

They did not register their tickets with a rhyme.

Another influential rhymmer was Matheus Kuyst, the younger brother of Ywaen Kuyst who was one of the organizers of the lottery. Just like his brother, he belonged to the political elite of the city, as he had been alderman in 1498 and would be again in 1507.<sup>274</sup> Together with his wife Mary Kuyst, he participated in the lottery with forty tickets, each of which included a rhyme.<sup>275</sup> One ticket was also purchased for their daughter Mechtelt in cash, but without a rhyme.<sup>276</sup> All further purchases of the Kuyst family were widely branched out and together resulted in a large investment in the lottery. Matheus's brother Ywaen purchased 103 tickets, divided between himself, his wife and their eight children.<sup>277</sup> His other brother Claes Kuyst, from whom one would expect as a city secretary to have rhymed but did not, registered thirty-nine tickets in the register, also divided over his own family.<sup>278</sup> On the basis of Van Dijk's description of Claes Kuyst, his daughters Peterken and Lysbet, and son Henrick were still very young at the time of the lottery, namely five, six and seven years old, respectively. His son Frans was just born in 1506.<sup>279</sup> Claes must have purchased the tickets for them. Besides Ywaen and Claes, also a third brother of Matheus, Henrick Kuyst participated in the lottery. Henrick had been alderman in 1489, 1499 and 1503 and was a lower magistrate in 1506.<sup>280</sup> He participated on his own with thirty tickets, and with his brother Matheus for

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<sup>273</sup> For 'Agnese weduwe Arnts van Campen' see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>; for 'Gertruyt huysvrouwe Martens van Campen', fol. 48<sup>r</sup>; for 'Luytgart dochter Martens van Campen' and 'Lysbet dochter Martens van Campen', fol. 139<sup>r</sup>; for 'Sophie dochter Martens van Campen', fol. 208<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>274</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 468 (112).

<sup>275</sup> For Matheus Kuyst see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 163<sup>r</sup>; for joffre Mary Kuyst, fol. 164<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>276</sup> IDEM, fol. 165<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>277</sup> For 'Ywaen sone Henrick Kuyst' see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 232<sup>v</sup>; for his wife, 'Agnese wyff Ywaen Kuyst', fol. 5<sup>r</sup>; for their sons Doecus, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>, Gerit, fol. 49<sup>r</sup>, Henrick, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>, Jan, fol. 97<sup>r</sup> and for their daughters Hillegont, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>, Kathelyn, fol. 117<sup>r</sup>, Margriet, fol. 165<sup>v</sup> and Zeynsken, fol. 232<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>278</sup> According to the city account of 1506/07, meester Claes Kuyst purchased forty-five tickets. In the lottery register thirty-nine tickets are registered, divided between himself, 'meester Claes Kuyst secretaris', see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>; his wife, 'Mechtelt huysvrouwe meester Claes Kuyst', fol. 163<sup>r</sup>; their children, Jan, fol. 92<sup>r</sup>, Henrick, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>, Frans, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>, Lysbet, fol. 138<sup>r</sup> and Peterken, fol. 191<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>279</sup> VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 456. VAN DIJCK refers to their participation in the lottery of 1521 while this was the lottery of 1506. He omitted Lysbet.

<sup>280</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 468 (110).

twelve tickets, but without a rhyme.<sup>281</sup> Matheus also seemed to have generously donated five lottery tickets to both of his servants, registered as ‘Olifier Matheus Kuyst knecht’ and ‘Sebastiaen Matheus Kuyst maet’, and with the addition of a rhyme.<sup>282</sup>

Born around 1470, ‘meester Henrick ketheler Pelgrom’ was a relative youngster in the political-administrative arena. After his studies of Arts in Leuven in 1491, he became treasurer in 1500 and member of the committee of six good men in 1504. In his further career he would fulfil the position of alderman several times.<sup>283</sup> He would also serve as dean of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady.<sup>284</sup> He purchased twelve tickets with money and another ten tickets with receipts, and registered them both with the same rhyme in Latin.<sup>285</sup> His family was also fully involved in the lottery, although without rhyming. His widowed mother purchased no fewer than two hundred lottery tickets, which she appeared to have registered together with her similarly named granddaughter.<sup>286</sup> Henrick’s brother and sisters together exchanged lottery tickets for rent receipts worth forty Rhinish guilders.<sup>287</sup>

Rhymers whose political careers lay in the future were Jan Matheuszoon van Gunterslair and Yoenst van Ouden. Jan van Gunterslair would become alderman of ‘s-Hertogenbosch for the first time in 1514, and return to this position in 1518 and in 1522, the year of his death.<sup>288</sup> He married Margaretha, sister of Arnt Aertsen who would become

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<sup>281</sup> For ‘Henrick Kuyst onderscouteth, and Henrick Kuyst onderschouteth ende Mateus Kuyst zyn brueder’, see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>282</sup> IDEM, fols. 189<sup>r</sup> and 208<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>283</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 475 (148).

<sup>284</sup> *Grafzerken*, II, p. 230–31.

<sup>285</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>. His purchase should not be confused with the purchase of meester Henrick Pelgroms, who also participated in the lottery with 60 tickets, divided over himself, his wife Lysbet (Elisabeth Witmers) and their children.

<sup>286</sup> The 200 tickets are registered under ‘Lysbet dochter Herman Kethelers weduwe Dirck Henrick Pelgroms’. The name Lysbet refers to two persons, namely Elisabeth Coenen who was married to the late Dirck Henricx Pelgrom, as well as to Lysbet daughter of her son Herman Pelgrom alias Kethelaer. See ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 139<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>287</sup> For ‘Herman Dirck Henricx Pelgromszoon’ see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 69<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Margriet daughter Dirck Henricx Pelgromszoon’, fol. 163<sup>v</sup>; for ‘Kathelyn daughter Dirck Henricx Pelgromszoon’, fol. 116<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>288</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 462 (83); VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 347.

treasurer in 1511.<sup>289</sup> Jan's brother, meester Laurens van Gunterlair, also left a rhyme. He was a canon regular at Papenhulst in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>290</sup> Their mother, 'Heilwich weduwe Matheus van Gunterlair in den beer' participated with twenty tickets but no rhyme.<sup>291</sup> Yoest van den Ouden would become member of the committee of six good men from 1530 to 1538 and occupy the position of treasurer for three years.<sup>292</sup> At the time of the lottery, he was a young man in his twenties and about to become a parent, together with his wife Elisabeth Spyckers. He participated alone in the lottery with fifty-four tickets and two rhymes.<sup>293</sup>

Someone who can be classified as a member of the political elite, but not within 's-Hertogenbosch, was Floris (II) van den Dussen. He was a nobleman, lord of Dussen from 1496 until 1510, and alderman of Breda. He and his wife Joffre Barbara van den Dussen were both included in the lottery register with a similar short rhyme, expressing their forecast of a 'nyet' at the drawing (geluk off...)<sup>294</sup> Three tickets were also purchased in the name of their daughters, Frederick and Hillegont, but without a rhyme, as well as one ticket on the name of their servant Jacop Corneliszoon.<sup>295</sup>

In conclusion, the profiles of these rhyming men show that the lottery was supported by some of the former, but mostly by the current and future political elite of 's-Hertogenbosch. Their participation can be considered a show of support for the lottery. It also might have been a form of self-representation, demonstrating their belonging to the inner circle of the political elite, or even to a wider urban audience. They injected large sums of money into the lottery, although additional research would be required to determine the relative value of their

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<sup>289</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 448 (R3).

<sup>290</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 164<sup>r</sup>. He is registered in the accounts of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady. His death debt was paid in 1530/31.

<sup>291</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 70<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>292</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 474 (R54).

<sup>293</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 232<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>294</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>295</sup> For 'Frederick Floris dochter vanden Dussen' see IDEM, fol. 43<sup>v</sup>; for 'Hillegont dochter Floris vanden Dussen', fol. 69<sup>r</sup>; for 'Jacop Corneliszoon dienaar Floris vanden Dussen', fol. 94<sup>r</sup>.

‘investment’ considering their overall income and/or capital. Most of them clearly considered the lottery to be a family event, as participation in the lottery was widespread among various family members, sometimes including servants of the family.

Some men who played an important political role around 1500, or would do so in the future, are not found among the rhyming participants, such as Dirck die Borchgreve, Roelof Noppen, Henrick van Deventer, Jan Heym, Jan Kanapart, Jan van Vladeracken, Lambert Millinck and Dirck Jan Arnt Egens alias Scoercop. One might expect that they would have represented themselves more explicitly. Most of these affluent men, however, did purchase a modest number of tickets in the lottery, with the exception of Jan Kanapart and Jan van Vladeracken. They might have considered the exchange of interest receipts for lottery tickets merely as a financial-administrative transaction and not as an urban cultural event. It might also suggest their silent disapproval of the lottery.

### 5.2.3. The Economic Elite and Craftsmen

Among the rhyming participants were a total of twenty-three persons whose position in the city can mainly be attributed to their economic and/or manufacturing activities. They did not represent a homogenous group of persons. Some of them were traders and merchants who had become very wealthy from their business (6). The rhymers included foreign merchants (4). Others were mostly craftsmen in a prominent position within their craftguild, who belonged to the (upper) middle class (7). Five servants and one apprentice are also included among the rhymers (6). When including their rhyming family members, thirty-three persons are counted in the data file with this economic profile.

A rhymmer who belonged to the economic elite of the city was Joris Sampson. In 1506, at the age of twenty-five, he was a trader, presumably in grain. He belonged to the 5% most



highly taxed persons in 's-Hertogenbosch at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>296</sup> He was married to Engel, daughter of Peter Colen and Engel Gerits van Merlaer, who also participated in the lottery with a rhyme.<sup>297</sup> Later in life Joris would hold several important position in the city. In 1525 he would become dean of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady and in 1531 rector of the hospital in 's-Hertogenbosch (*Groot Gasthuis*).<sup>298</sup>

Another affluent rhyming participant was Arnt Monix. In the beginning of the sixteenth century he belonged to the 9% highest payers of income tax.<sup>299</sup> He registered himself with thirty-eight tickets as clothier (*lakenkoper*) and his rhyme referred to the street where he lived, the 'Thorenstraet' in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>300</sup> In 1500 he was dean of the guild of cutters. It would take until 1527 for him to fulfil the position of alderman.<sup>301</sup> He was married to Aleit Peters van Wamel. A possible family relative, maybe his mother, registered with eighteen tickets and a rhyme under the name 'Kathelyn Monix widow in the Thorenstraet'.<sup>302</sup> It also appears that Arnt Monix donated lottery tickets in the name of two of his servants, namely 'Lysbet dienstmaet tot Arnt Monix inde Peperstraet' and 'Henrick Arnt Monix knecht inde Peperstraet'.<sup>303</sup> Together they spent three Rhinish guilders on tickets, which was an amount they probably could not afford from their salaries. That Arnt Monix's servants did not reside in the same street as he did as can be deduced from their registration. However, they did reside nearby, as the Thorenstraet and the Peperstraet ran parallel to each other.

Jan Ackerman, the brother-in-law of Arnt Monix, also participated in the lottery with a rhyme. Little is known about him. They were related to each other through their wives. Jan Ackerman was married tot 'Agnese huysvrouwe Jan Ackermans' who can be identified as

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<sup>296</sup> *Grafzerken*, II, pp. 592-95.

<sup>297</sup> For 'Engelken Sampsons Joris huysvrouwe' see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 96<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>298</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 372.

<sup>299</sup> *Grafzerken*, III, pp. 86-88.

<sup>300</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>301</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 472 (134).

<sup>302</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 117<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>303</sup> IDEM, fols. 138<sup>v</sup> and 70<sup>r</sup>.

Agnese van Wamel, daughter of Peter van Wamel, just as the above-mentioned Aleid.<sup>304</sup> She participated in the lottery with her daughter Lysbet, and sons Yoest and Peter, but except for the lottery rhyme, no additional data was registered.<sup>305</sup> She and her husband paid entry fees to become members of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady in 1495/96.

‘Frans Vuchts die goutsmyt’ purchased eleven tickets by receipt with a rhyme. In 1506, at the age of around thirty-five, he was just beginning his career as a goldsmith. He would become dean of the goldsmiths’ guild of ‘s-Hertogenbosch in 1523–24 and 1536–38. Later on he fulfilled this position several times for the guild of sellers (*kramersgilde*). He also was involved in the care of poor citizens.<sup>306</sup> Frans was married to Aleyt, daughter of Gerit Kethelers from Eindhoven, who participated in the lottery as ‘Aleit Vuchts in de kerckstraet’ with the same rhyme as her husband.<sup>307</sup> Frans and his wife were members of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady and had already paid their death debt when they were still alive in 1508/9. Aleit and Frans Vuchts also involved their children in the lottery: tickets were purchased in the names of their son Gerit and daughter Lysbet but without a rhyme.<sup>308</sup>

Among the rhyming participants, two persons appear to have had the same name: Jacop van Hedel. The use of a patronym, however, indicates that they were not the same person. ‘Jacop Marceliszoon van Hedel’ was registered as merchant of linen (*lynenlakencoeper*) in the records of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady. He purchased one ticket with money.<sup>309</sup> His wife, Elsken van der Wiel, was also registered with a rhyme on one ticket.<sup>310</sup> Elsken was born around 1487 as daughter of Mathijs Jans van de

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<sup>304</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, Pensioenboek OSA 2697, fol. 93<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>305</sup> For Agnese, see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Lysbet dochter Jannen Ackermans’, fol. 139<sup>v</sup>; for ‘Yoest sone Jannen Ackermans’, fol. 232<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Peter sone Jannen Ackermans’, fol. 191<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>306</sup> *Grafzerken*, II, pp. 440–41.

<sup>307</sup> For ‘Aleit Vuchts in de kerckstraet’ see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Frans Vuchts die goutsmyt’, fol. 43<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>308</sup> For ‘Gerit sone Frans Vuchts inde kerckstraet’ see IDEM, fol. 49<sup>r</sup>. For ‘Lysbet Frans Vuchts dochter inde kerckstraet’, fol. 140<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>309</sup> IDEM, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>310</sup> IDEM, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>.

Wiel. She must have been married at young age, because in the lottery register of 1506 she is mentioned as ‘huysvrouwe Jacops van Hedel’, at the age of nineteen. From a study of the slabs of Saint John’s church we also learn of Elskens’s brother, Jan van den Wyel, who would later hold the public offices of treasurer and good man later. He also participated in the lottery of 1506.<sup>311</sup> Another rhyming family member was ‘Gertruyt huysvrouwe Marcelis van Hedel’. Little information has survived in archival records save her name and rhyme.<sup>312</sup> She might have been the mother of Jacop van Hedel.

The other Jacop van Hedel did not use a patronym when registering his seventy-five lottery tickets, which complicates his identification.<sup>313</sup> He might have been the father of Jan Jacopszoon van Hedel, who was one of the six good men in 1505. According to Schuttelaars, he belonged to the top 5% of highest-taxed citizens at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>314</sup> His wealth, which might have already been obtained by his father, was based on the trading of salt. Jan Jacopszoon van Hedel himself also participated in the lottery with thirty-four tickets but no rhyme.<sup>315</sup>

Jan Heyns can be considered as a member of the economic elite with his registration of thirty-one tickets with receipts.<sup>316</sup> He held a special position in the city as he succeeded Alart Duhamel in 1495 as architect (*loedsmeester*) of Saint John’s church. Under his supervision, the choir of the Brotherhood was constructed. He also was the architect of the Maurick Castle in Vught. He was married to Colette of Nicolaa Duhamel, sister of Alart. Neither she nor their six daughters participated in the lottery.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> For ‘Jan sone Coenraet van den Wyel’ see IDEM, fol. 95<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>312</sup> IDEM, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>313</sup> IDEM, fol. 225<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>314</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 464 (R28).

<sup>315</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 95<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>316</sup> IDEM, fol. 96<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>317</sup> Some of their grandchildren might have participated in the lottery. Their daughter Margriet was married to Jan Thomas Loijen te Breugel. The lottery register includes ‘Goyart sone Jan Thomas van Brogel’, see IDEM, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>, ‘Kathelyne dochter Jan Thomas van Brogel’, fol. 116<sup>v</sup> and ‘Magriet dochter Jan Thomas van Brogel’, fol. 164<sup>v</sup>, each with six tickets.

‘Dirck van Os Janssoon’ was a merchant (*cremer*) who was twenty-five years old. It is possible that he was educated in Leuven. In 1521 he would become dean of the militia guild the Old Crossbow and in 1535 commissioner of the *Baar der Gelovige Zielen*.<sup>318</sup> He rhymed together with his wife ‘Kathelyn van den Broeck huysvrouw Dircx van Os’.<sup>319</sup> They also purchased five tickets with a rhyme for their young son ‘Jan sone Dirck van Os Janssoon’.<sup>320</sup>

Some rhyming participants might be identified as foreign merchants, trading in ‘s-Hertogenbosch, such as ‘Jan Middeltou engelsman’, ‘Pagant de la Valle’, ‘Gabriel de Mera’ and ‘Jan Bertholt te Loven in den moriaen’. Besides their foreign names, they also paid with money, which also may be an indication that they were trading at the time of the lottery in ‘s-Hertogenbosch and were tempted to gamble. In addition, the language of their rhymes could provide a clue to their provenance, but the rhyme of Gabriel de Mera in French is the only case that confirms this inference.<sup>321</sup>

Identified rhymers belonging to the economic middle class included ‘Dirck die lepper’ with five lottery tickets. His daughters, Heilwich and Laurentken also purchased tickets and rhymed.<sup>322</sup> The denotation of ‘lepper’ can refer to the word stutterer, but more obvious is that it referred to his profession of cobbler. Other craftsmen who are represented among the rhyming participants are Arnt Nollens van Bladel, referred to as butcher (*vleeshouwer*), Arnt Janszoon, who registered himself as hatter (*bonetmaker*), Gerit sone Bernt Janszoon, a cloth weaver (*trapezierder*), Lauken Reyner and meester Antonis, both dyers of cloth (*verwers*),

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<sup>318</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 474.

<sup>319</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 116<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>320</sup> IDEM, fol. 95<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>321</sup> For ‘Jan Middeltou engelsman’ see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, IDEM, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>’; for ‘Pagant de la Valle’, fol. 192<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Jan Bertholt’, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>322</sup> For Dirck see IDEM, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>; for Heilwich, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>; for Laurentken, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>; for ‘meester Anthonis verwer’, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>.

Peter Rutger Hoonszoon who registered as merchant (*cremer in den Verwerstraet*) and Willem Janszoon van Boxtel as ‘snyder in de Ridderstraet’.<sup>323</sup>

Among the rhymers also five servants and one apprentice are included, referred to as *maet*, *dienstmaight*, *knecht* and *cnapen*. They cannot be categorized as middle class, instead most certainly belonging to the lower economic class. They all purchased their tickets with interest receipts, but it may be assumed that they themselves did not possess *erf-* or *lijffrenten*. Their tickets were most likely donated by their masters.

From this section it can be concluded that among all the rhymers, persons with an commercial or craft profession were the most represented numerically, also because many rhyming family members of theirs were involved as well. Some of them were already very affluent, others were of a young age during the lottery and would have influential positions in the future. The lottery might have been an ideal moment to introduce themselves.

#### 5.2.4. The Learned and Literate Elite

Whether or not participants were learned and literate, and to what extent if they were, cannot be easily determined. None of the rhymers registered their own rhyme; it was done for them by Henrick die Bye. So, *de facto* everybody could add a rhyme if they had the skills to think of a rhyme and to orally express it. The participants classified in this subsection as learned and literate elite were the persons who used those skills professionally, in an administrative/secretarial, notarial or educational position. The total number of these persons among the rhymers is seven, also when the secretary of the municipality (*die scryffcamer*

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<sup>323</sup> For Arnt Nollens van Bladel see IDEM, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; for Arnt Janszoon, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; for ‘Gerit sone Bernt Janszoon des trapienierders’, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>; for ‘Lauken Reyner verwer’, fol. 138<sup>r</sup>; for Peter Rutger Hoonszoon, fol. 192<sup>v</sup>; for Willem Janszoon van Boxtel, fol. 216<sup>r</sup>.

*deser stat*) as a secular institution is included. With the inclusion of rhyming family members their number rises to twelve.

One of them was ‘meester Symon vande Cauderberch’, who listed himself as secretary in the lottery register and purchased twenty-four tickets with cash.<sup>324</sup> This registration is in accordance with Nauwelaerts, who noted that Cauderberch in 1522 was still qualified as rector of the Latin school but had not performed this profession for twenty years because he had become city secretary in 1501.<sup>325</sup> He had studied in Leuven and settled himself in ’s-Hertogenbosch in 1487 as *rector scholarum* or *scoelmeester*.<sup>326</sup> As city secretary he prepared legal documents for the aldermen but he was also responsible for a number of writing activities for the city as a notary.

A rhyming colleague of Symon van de Cauderberch at the Latin school in ’s-Hertogenbosch was ‘meester Gerit van Herentals’, to be identified as Gerit Wouters Zelle van Herentals. In the lottery register he indicates himself as *scoelmeester* and not yet as rector. He would be indicated with this title from 1522 onwards.<sup>327</sup> Also in the future, he would write a grammar book entitled *Elementa grammatices* that was printed in Antwerp. Gerit participated with a rhyme on thirty tickets, as did his wife Luytgart on twenty-five tickets.<sup>328</sup> She was registered as member of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady as ‘uxor mestere Gerit van Herentals’. Luytgart was a daughter of Peter van Wamel alias Haemeker, just as the above-mentioned Aleyt, who was married to Arnt Goyaert Monix. Luygart and Gerit also had a daughter, Anna, whose eight tickets were also registered with a rhyme as well.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> IDEM, fol. 208<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>325</sup> NAUWELAERTS, p. 42.

<sup>326</sup> *Grafzerken*, III, p. 59; For an extensive social profile see VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, pp. 310-14.

<sup>327</sup> NAUWELAERTS, p. 126.

<sup>328</sup> For Gerit van Herentals see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>; for Luytgart, fol. 139<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>329</sup> IDEM, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>.

Johannes van Balen can be identified as ‘Johannes Johannis Wilhelmi de Balen’, who succeeded the ducal secretary (*hertogelijk rentmeester*), Victor de Molendino. According to Van den Bichelaer, Johannes van Balen moved from the surroundings of Herentals to the city of ‘s-Hertogenbosch around 1498, probably at the request of Victor de Molendino, together with his brother Peter van Balen and relative Wouter van Balen.<sup>330</sup> Johannes registered with two tickets in the lottery, as did his wife ‘Katherina huysvrouwe Johannes van Balen’ together with their children Jan, Lysbet and Goessen.<sup>331</sup> They all registered with the same rhyme. The maiden name of Katrina was Goessens van der Voert.<sup>332</sup> The brothers of Johannes van Balen also participated in the lottery. ‘Peteren sone Johans van Balen’, clerk, purchased three tickets.

Meester Henrick Bul is considered to have been a notary, although there is only one available reference to that from a testament in 1508. Willem Jacops Bull, presumably his father, was a cloth merchant in ‘s-Hertogenbosch. His rhyme was registered on ten purchased lottery tickets.<sup>333</sup>

Among the rhymers are three members of the family Roesmont, which had been one of the most prominent families in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Den Bosch according to Van den Bichelaer.<sup>334</sup> Unfortunately, Daniel, and Goidschalck and Jan Roesmont did not register themselves with a patronym.<sup>335</sup> They might be traceable as relatives of Ghysbert Roesmont, who had been a notary of ‘s-Hertogenbosch from 1410 until 1445, as well as alderman in 1427/28.

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<sup>330</sup> VAN DEN BICHELAER, p. 154; see also VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, pp. 45-49; SCHUTTELAARS, p. 449.

<sup>331</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 95<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>332</sup> *Grafzerken*, II, pp. 436-39.

<sup>333</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 70<sup>v</sup>; see also VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, p. 101.

<sup>334</sup> VAN DEN BICHELAER, *Biographical notes*, pp. 493-99.

<sup>335</sup> For Daniel see ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>; for ‘Jan end Goidschalck Roesmont’, fol. 92<sup>r</sup>.

It can be concluded that the learned and literate elite of the city were represented in limited numbers among the rhymers, although they were much involved in the organization of the lottery. Also absent in their representation are the 's-Hertogenbosch chambers of rhetoric. With the exception of Saint Catherine's Guild, none of the four others even participated in the lottery. Although they were experienced in literary art and performances, apparently they did not yet regard the lotteries as stages for performance.

#### 5.2.5. Religious Elite and Institutions

In this thesis, religious persons are considered as those who fulfilled a position within a religious institution such as a chapel, a convent, a church or a confraternity. Some rhymes are not registered by persons, but only by the religious institute. The data file of rhymers include sixteen religious persons/institutions.

Most religious men from among the rhymers are indicated with the title *her* and their religious position. In some cases they could not be further identified, for instance 'her Jan Ghyselen priester' and 'her Jan van Hoye cappelane'.<sup>336</sup> The abbot of the monastery in Tongerlo (*abbas Tongerleren*) whose name remains obscure, rhymed on the twelve tickets he purchased with money.<sup>337</sup> From Mariawater, a double monastery for male and female religious communities who lived along the rule of the Brigittines, friar Jan Tielkens took care of their investment in 185 tickets.<sup>338</sup>

'Her Pelgrom van Driel', who was registered with three rhymes in the lottery, had been ordained as a priest in 1478. He was a sworn brother of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady.<sup>339</sup> Since 1485 he was a beneficiary of the Saint Andrews altar in the church

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<sup>336</sup> For 'her Jan priester sone wilner Goessen Ghysels' see IDEM, fol. 93<sup>v</sup>; for 'her Jan van Hoye cappelane', fol. 98<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>337</sup> IDEM, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>338</sup> IDEM, fol. 30<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>339</sup> VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 265.



of the Beguines. Later in time he would become rector of two other altars. He was buried in Saint John's church, where his slab is still intact.<sup>340</sup>

'Peter van Gompel' was a priest named Peter van Mol with the alias van Gompel. He is registered in the records of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady, as his daughter Magdalena.

'Die cruysbruederen in den Vuchterstraet' invested in three tickets with a rhyme in the lottery. This male convent had split from the Bogarden in 1467. The convent was dependent on donations, as the daily activities of the brothers consisted of praying and copying of books.

Wealthier convents that were creditors of the municipality were 'tconvent van Maria water te Roesmalen' and 'tconvent op ten Ulenborch in 's-Hertogenbosch'. The first exchanged 185 tickets for receipts, the second 148.<sup>341</sup>

Two educational institutions of the Brothers of the Common Life were represented as rhyming participants, namely the 'domus fratrum divitum' and 'domus fratrum pauperum in Buscoducis'. The first was a convict/boarding school for rich lay children from 's-Hertogenbosch and elsewhere to enjoy an education. For children whose parents could not afford the cost of board, the second was erected and was financed by a scholarship and/or benefactors.<sup>342</sup>

The religious confraternity 'tHeilich Sacraments ghilde der predikheren' registered with a rhyme two times from a total of seventeen tickets.

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<sup>340</sup> *Grafzerken*, II, pp. 240-41

<sup>341</sup> For 'tconvent van Maria water te Roesmalen' see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 30'; for 'tconvent op ten Ulenborch', fol. 212'.

<sup>342</sup> NAUWELAERTS, pp. 103-15.

Finally, three anonymous registrations among the rhymers might be classified as religious, namely a female choir (*onse vrouwen choir*) which purchased with four tickets, the chapel of Saint Barbara with one ticket and the chapel of Saint Anna with two.<sup>343</sup>

It can be concluded that among the rhymers members of the religious elite were not represented themselves in great numbers. Although many religious men and religious institutions were creditors of the municipality, they might have felt restrained from participating in the lottery of 1506 with a rhyme because gambling was not officially permitted by the Catholic Church.<sup>344</sup> The most remarkable absentees among the rhymers were the beguines and nuns.<sup>345</sup>

#### 5.2.6. Rhyming Females

Contrary to all other social profiles, this profile is gender based. Among the rhymers are sixty-six females, which can be subdivided into widows (5), housewives (16), daughters (23), maidservants (4) and other women who are only registered by their maiden name (18).

The identity of thirty-four females could be traced. Most of them are already mentioned in other subsections along with their husbands, fathers and masters. What follows are the females who have not been mentioned yet.

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<sup>343</sup> For 'Onse lieve vrouwe ende Sinte Anna in onse vrouwen choir' see 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 138<sup>r</sup>; for 'Sancta Maria ende Sinte Lenart in Sinte Barbarencappelle', fol. 189<sup>r</sup>; for 'Sunt Anna cappelle', fol. 208<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>344</sup> At least forty religious men purchased tickets either with cash or with receipts; 'tconvent te Zoeterbeeck' purchased 395 lottery tickets in exchange for receipts, as did 'tgroet gasthuys Lucia' with seventy-one lottery tickets, 'dat cloester achter die Tolbrug with fifty lottery tickets and 'tconvente te Wyck te Duersteden' with twenty-six tickets.

<sup>345</sup> The religious female participators in the Den Bosch lottery consisted at least of twenty-one beguines and five nuns.

‘Antonia dochter Jannes van Baecx’ participated in the lottery with a rhyme.<sup>346</sup> She is the daughter of the previously mentioned Jannes van Baecx and his wife ‘Geertruyt van den Aa vrou van Baecx’ although their marriage was supposedly childless.<sup>347</sup>

‘Lysbet huysvrouwe Gerit Hermans van Deventer tAntwerpen’ can be traced as Elisabeth Aelberts Ketelaer. Her husband Gerit was a wealthy merchant whose trading relations reached to Antwerp, Munster, Cologne, Bergen op Zoom and London. At the time of the lottery they lived in Antwerp. It seems as if Lysbet was more enthusiastic about the lottery than Gerit on the basis of the number of purchased tickets. Whereas Lysbet purchased twenty-seven tickets, Gerit’s investment was limited to three tickets.<sup>348</sup> Lysbet’s participation was not registered by the lottery brokers of Antwerp, Bastiaen van der Leyen or Christiaen die Hoymeker. Instead it appears she put the registration in the hands of Henrick de Leeuw, a fellow merchant (*cremer*) who could already boast of a very respectable public career in ’s-Hertogenbosch at that time. He had been alderman seven times, magistrate, dean of the Lepershous in the period 1502-09 and treasurer of the Saint Antony hospice.<sup>349</sup> Lysbet and Gerit had three sons, Aelbert, Herman and Henrick, who would all have careers in political offices in ’s-Hertogenbosch during the first half of the sixteenth century. Henrick, almost twenty years of age in 1506, purchased lottery tickets with his wife Katherina.<sup>350</sup> Together with his brother Aelbert they owned the castle of Nieuw-Herlaer.<sup>351</sup>

‘Mechtelt dochter Henricx die Leeuw naturalis’ also participated in the lottery with a rhyme. She was a bastard child of the above-mentioned Henrick de Leeuw.

‘Engelken Sampson Joris huysvrouwe’ is the only woman who was recorded as participating on her own behalf (*leghe inne op huer selven*) which might imply that she paid

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<sup>346</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>347</sup> IDEM, fol. 154<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>348</sup> IDEM, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>349</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 469.

<sup>350</sup> ‘s-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 71<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>351</sup> *Grafzerken*, IV, p. 42-5.

for her own tickets.<sup>352</sup> However, she did not register under her own name, Engelken Colen. She was born in 1483 as the daughter of cloth merchant Peter Colen and his wife Engel Gerits van Merlaer. At the age of nineteen she was married to the earlier-mentioned Joris Sampson, also a merchant. Engelken Sampson's brother, 'meester Bartholomeus van Merlair', who was a priest, also participated in the lottery.<sup>353</sup> Gertruyt, her mother-in-law and widow of Peter Colen, purchased seventy-two lottery tickets.<sup>354</sup>

'Joffre Katheryn de Bever' was a widow of Rolof die Bever, who had been alderman in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1449, 1469, 1479 and 1491. She probably purchased her 114 tickets with interest receipts from the life insurance of her late husband.<sup>355</sup> Their son Jan de Bever would be alderman in 1508, 1524 and 1527.<sup>356</sup> Rolof's bastard son, 'Hector die Bever', also participated in the lottery with a rhyme.<sup>357</sup>

'Heilwich, daughter of Adriaen Strype', rhymed on her ticket.<sup>358</sup> Her mother Margriet is registered as the widow of the late Adriaen van Strype and rhymed with six tickets.<sup>359</sup> The identity of Adriaen cannot be determined with certainty. He might have been Adriaen van der Molen, whose alias was Van Strype. In an archival record of 1478, an Adriaen van Strype is also mentioned as deacon of the *korenkopers* guild.<sup>360</sup>

'Aleit Henrick Ghecks dochter' purchased three tickets with a rhyme. She was the sister of Jan Henrick Gheck who had been treasurer in 1504 of 's-Hertogenbosch and would become alderman in 1507.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 96<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>353</sup> IDEM, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>354</sup> IDEM, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>355</sup> IDEM, fol. 116<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>356</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 450 (20 and 21).

<sup>357</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, EH, OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>358</sup> IDEM, fol. 69<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>359</sup> IDEM, fol. 165<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>360</sup> *Grafzerken*, II, p. 343.

<sup>361</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 461 (80). See also VAN DIJCK, *Van vroomheid naar vriendschap*, p. 314.

In conclusion, although females were underrepresented among the rhyming participants, all widows, housewives, daughters, maidservants and other women in the lottery imply that the lottery was considered a family event. Their participation in the lottery visualizes the extensive family branches within the urban community of 's-Hertogenbosch.

## 6. Additional Motives behind the Rhyming Practices

Up to now, rhymes and rhymers have been analysed separately from each other. In this chapter the research results of combining these data will be presented (for a full overview see Appendix XVI). Unsurprisingly, most rhymers recorded the hope of winning the biggest prize in the lottery, which reflects their belief that rhyming increased their chances of doing so. However, relating the rhymes to the rhymers behind them reveals more motives on the part of the participants, which will be elaborated further below.

### 6.1. Political Support of the Lottery and Display of Wealth and Power

On the basis of the table below, it can be concluded that the fifteen then-current members of the political elite in 's-Hertogenbosch, with the exception of two, invested in the lottery. They exchanged tickets for interest receipts in their own name and in most cases their family members did so as well.

However, only four of these men rhymed, which might be interpreted as an indication that most of them considered the lottery as an accounting operation rather than as a cultural event. With their investment alone, of course, these men were displaying their wealth and financial influence on the municipality of the city as their names were shouted out many times during the drawing of the lottery.

The rhymes of Frans Toelinck and Wouter Oems were possibly motivated by their involvement in the lottery organization: they might have represented themselves as the initiators of the lottery. Their rhymes do not include religious invocations, which corresponds with Puttevils's conclusions about the rhymes of lottery organizers in the Den Bosch lottery of 1562/64.<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> See Section 1.2.2.

The alderman Goessen van de Broeck dedicated his rhyme to his deceased brother. Jan Monix purchased a large number of tickets on which he invoked Fortuna for winning a prize. Considering that this text was read aloud ninety times indicates that Jan Monix also had the desire to represent himself before an audience.

COMMITTEE OF SIX GOOD MEN IN 1506		Number of tickets
Jan Kanapart	x	0
Yewaen Kuyst	x	103
Frans Toelinck	op dese dicht waet dair wat icks hedis hier te bat per f[rans] t[oelinck]	12
Wouter Oems	op dese prose al en hebbe ick niet ten cost mij niet per m f[rans] t[toelinck] wat doet stockvisch so in den boter per w[outer] o[ems]	9
Dirck Jan Egezoon alias Scoercoep	x	40
Jan Jacopszoon van Hedel	x	34
ALDERMEN OF 'S-HERTOGENBOSCH IN 1506		
Jan van Vladeracken	x	0
Ywaen Kuyst	x	103
Raas Raessen	x	112
Lambert die Wolff [lottery broker]	x	50
Lambert Millinck	x	7
Goessen van den Broeck	per frater mortuo/help god almeloe om een goet lot/zy syn vroe	87
Rolof Noppen	x	18
MAGISTRATES IN 1506		
Jan Heym hoigschouteth	x	34
Jan Monix scouteth in Pedelant	besiet oft fortuna gheeft yet	90

Table 7: *Members of the political elite in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1506, their rhymes and number of tickets*

What motivations could other politically influential men have had for using a rhyme? As we can see in Table 6, only Henrick Eyckmans expressed a clear wish in his rhyme, namely that he wanted to found an almshouse if he were to win the lottery. Marten van Campen, Jan van Erpe, Matheus Kuyst and Yoest den Ouden rhymed to better their chances in the lottery. Wouter Bolcx made a jest of his surname, which refers to whiting (*bolc*), a fish species.<sup>363</sup>

<sup>363</sup> See MNW <<http://mnw.inl.nl/>> [accessed 17 June 2020].

Lambert van den Heseacker's rhyme is indecipherable; it might have been an 'inside joke' intended for a small group of people. Considering the large number of tickets they all purchased, their self-representation as affluent urban citizens could certainly have been a motive as well.

Meester Henrick Pelgrom and Yoest den Ouden are the only two men who registered a Latin *prosen*. These men were the relative youngsters in the political arena; the further development of their political careers lay in the future. This might have been their chance to represent themselves and their learnedness in their own elite circle as well to a larger urban audience. In their rhymes they refer to lottery participants as fools which can be considered as a form of self-mockery as they participated as well.

POLITICAL POSITION(S) IN 'S-HERTOGENBOSCH MOSTLY BEFORE 1506		Number of Tickets
Henrick Eyckmans	dit lot gheeft meester henrick eyckmans den grote gasthuys om god	30
Lambert van den Heseacker	op dese prose lemme lecket crosen?	6
Marten van Campen	op dese dicht /mucht geluck soe syn tgroot lot quame in den camp myn	125
Wouter Bolcx	op dese dicht/den bolcx is goet visch als hij nu wael gebotert is	39
POLITICAL POSITION(S) IN 'S-HERTOGENBOSCH MOSTLY AFTER 1506		
Matheus Kuyst	die gode st Jan help Matheus Kuyst aen een silveren kan	25
Jan van Erpe	al hadde hy tgroot lot scerp hy soude hem wel bedanken terp	90
Meester Henrick ketheler Pelgrom	ut quisque stultissius ita sorte fortunatissius habetur	22
Yoest den Ouden	yoest van ouden soude gerne tgroot lot behouden	54
	die selve op dese dicht stulti fortunam habent solent	

Table 8: Other political elites in 's-Hertogenbosch, their rhymes and number of tickets

## 6.2. Representation of Family Status

The identified rhymers who can be related primarily to economic activities are the most numerous among all the rhymers and represent a broad range of an upper- (middle-)class socioeconomic backgrounds.



RHYMERS WITH ECONOMIC BACKGROUND		Number of tickets
Joris Sampson	op dese prose Maria maget reyme verleent my tgroot lot ofte een cleyne Sampson	25
Engelken Sampson	legge inne op huer selven; op dese prose/helpt vrouw Sint Anna dat ick mach crygen een silveren kanne Sampson	3
Arnt Monix	in de Thorenstraet het groet lot en waet hem nyet quaet	38
Kathelyn Monix weduwe in de Thorenstraet	tgroot lot en waet huer niet quaet	18
Jan Ackerman	soe help hem God ende die gode sunt Anna	38
Agnese huysvrouw Jan Ackermans	op dese dicht Agnese Ackermans nu help huer god ende die gode sint Anna	32
Frans Vuchts die goutsmyt	Frans Vuchts in die Kerckstraet hedde hy tgrot lot ten waer ic nyet quaet	11
Aleit Vuchts in de Kerckstraet	hed diet tgroot lot en ware niet quaet	3
Jacop Marcelissoo van Hedel	Sint Jacop in Coempostelle moet hem troesten	1
Elsken van den Wiel Jacops van Hedel huysvrouw	dess noot goeds van leden/moet huer vertroesten	1
Gertruyt huysvrouw Marcelis van Hedel	Sint Gertruyt ende sint Jan Ewangelist moeten huer vertroesten	1
Jacop van Hedel	tibi soli gloria	75
Jan Heyns	op dese prose onse lieve vrouwe ende sint jan geve den loedsmeester dat zy hem gan	31
Dirck van Os Janszoon cremer	op dese prose God gaf God nam	7
Kathelyn van den Broeck huysvrouw Dirck van Os	op dese prose /een sotten van erp ende treden Bosch bynnen soudene tgroot lot gewynnen	10
Jan sone Dirck van Os Janszoon	op dese prose wat sal osken hebben	5
Dirck die Lepper	in sint Anna	5
Heilwich dochter Dirck die Lepper	sint Anna	1
Laurentken dochter Dirck die Lepper	in Sint Anna	5
Arnt Nollens van Bladel	dese stat hedde oick gerne wat	1
Arnt Janszoon bonetmeker	op dese prose wat sal hebben die greve van baren?	4
Gerit sone Bernt Janszoon des trapenierders	de seve op sint Barbara sint Jans ten Bosch	12
	de selve op sint. Peter in de Orthenstraet	
	de selve op onse lieve vrouw sint Jans	
Die kyndere van Anthonis verwer	in sint Anna bidden God dat sy mogen wynen die grote silveren kannen	13
Lauken Reyner verwer	van den blaew cupen die soude gerne utten silveren suypen/ woens in de drie coningen op die coepportbrug	2
Jenneken Mechtelt Toelincx maet	God vermaight al dat zy tgroot lot hebben sall	1
Metken Mechtelt Toelincx maet	God gheeft heur spoet het groot lot waet heur goet	1
Olifier Matheys Kuyst knecht	Die gode sint Anna help Olifier Matheus Kuysten knecht aen een silveren kanne	5
Sebastiaen Matheus Kuyst maet	die God sint Anna help Sebastianen Matheus Kuysten maet aen silveren kanne	5
Maryke dienstmaight	Maryke maet op Royeborch had gerne een lot utten corf	2
Dirck Cangieters cnepen	op dese Yoest ende Reyner dan Christiaen hem wael op een lap kan	2

Table 9: Rhymers related to economic activities in Den Bosch, their rhymes and number of tickets

Concerning the rhymers and rhymes in Table 7, three remarks can be made. First, it shows that whether participants rhymed or not was not dependent on the number of tickets they purchased. This number varied from a peak of seventy-five to only one ticket.

A second thing to notice are the couples among the rhymers: husbands and wives who together purchased tickets together with a similar rhyme. The lottery seems to have been a real family event, also considering the involvement of other relatives who did not participate with a rhyme. This might have been a motive to rhyme as well, so as not to be represented before an urban audience as a lone individual but rather as a member of an entire family, which must have reflected some sort of prestige.

Thirdly, the list of rhymes includes a great many religious invocations, especially to Saint Anna. It cannot be determined if rhymers were motivated to use a particular saint in relation to themselves. In only one case in which this seems possible is the rhyme of Jan Heyns. He was the architect (*loedsmeester*) of Saint John's church and referred to Saint Mary, who was venerated in this church, and Saint John. Hence, his rhyme was personally related to his urban position in 's-Hertogenbosch. Also, saints were invoked for motives that lay beyond the winning of the biggest prize in the lottery, which is demonstrated by the rhyme of Joris Sampson. He expressed his wish to the Virgin Mary to become a parent (*eenen cleyne Sampson*), a longing that was fulfilled. Twelve years after the lottery of 1506, when Joris Sampson was at the height of his commercial career, he and his family were displayed on a triptych, painted by Jacop van Oostzanen.<sup>364</sup>

### 6.3. Representation of Knowledge and Erudition

Learned and religious elite and religious institutions registered a large number of Latin *prosen*, as Table 8 shows. The inspiration for these texts seems to come mostly from the Bible

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<sup>364</sup> SCHUTTELAARS, p. 274. See also *Grafzerken*, II, pp. 592-95. See Section 4.3.3.

or other religious works, but the provenance cannot be determined for all Latin prosen.<sup>365</sup>

Some might have referred to Latin proverbs.

Meester Symon vande Cauderberch, meester Gerit van Herentals and Henrick die Bye were all learned men, working in an administrative and educational environment. These men represented themselves in the lottery in correspondence to their urban position. The secretary of the municipality was where literate men worked who kept all documentary records of the city. Their rhymes in Latin are also clear examples of self-presentation. This appeals to the same mechanism to which De Boer and Bostoen referred with regard to the academic elite in the Leiden lottery of 1596. In their view, these participants were overwhelming the audience with texts that were considered intellectual among their own circle.<sup>366</sup>

LEARNED AND LITERATE ELITE		Tickets
Meester Symon vande Cauderberch	Op dese prose sic fata bearunt	24
Meester Gerit van Herentals	Op dese dicht gratia Dei sum id quod sum	30
Anna dochter meester Gerit van Herentals	op dese dicht ama Christi nos regat	8
scoelmeester		
die scryffcamer (in stadsrekening: deser stat)	op dese dicht faveat per fortuna secunda	13
Henrick die Bye	op dese prose multi quidem currunt sed unus accipit bravium	5
Saint Catherine's guild (chamber of rhetoric)	Op dese dicht victrix doctorum katherina	12
RELIGIOUS ELITE AND INSTITUTIONS		
Abbas Tongerlen	op dese prose super viam vincit veritas	12
tConvent te Wyck by Duerstede	op dese dicht/ Domine in spe constituisti me	26
tConvent op ten Ulenborch	op dese virginis ex merito dantur nunc optima castro	148
Domus fratrum pauperum in Buscoducis	op dese prose semper pauperes habebitur vobiscum	45
Domus fratrum divitum	regnum Dei intra vos est	30
tHeilige sacrament ter predikheren	Ingeleecht op dese dicht tantum e sacramentum veneremur (2x)	17

*Table 10: Learned and literate (religious) elite, their rhymes and number of tickets*

<sup>365</sup> See Section 4.2.

<sup>366</sup> See Section 1.2.3.

As for the religious persons and convents, their representation was appropriate to their religious background and literate status. The two educational institutions (*domus fratrum pauperum* and *domus fratrum divitum*) also displayed their knowledge of the Bible and their relation with the movement of Modern Devotion. It can be questioned whether any representatives of the convents and religious institutions were present in person during the drawing of the lottery tickets. With the mostly large numbers of lottery tickets they invested, they gave a clear signal that they were financially influential in 's-Hertogenbosch as major creditors of the municipality.

The last profile of rhymers includes females who were not yet mentioned in this section.

FEMALES		Number of tickets
Henrixken Ghyselen	op dese dicht/henrixken in den engel hedde gerne tgrot lot metten hengel ende en mach zy niet dat god verlene huer God een watervat	20
Lysbet huysvrouwe Gerit Hermans van Deventer	pro se aliis adherentibus de pensio Henrici de Leeuw	27
Mechtelt dochter Henrick die Leeuw naturalis	op dese prose met hedde gerne in hueren pot vet	
Beelken Toelinck	op dese dicht wat hebbe ick geset dair met niet is belet per b f t h	9
Heilwich van der Venne huysvrouwe Ancelmus Taye	Johannes Baptista	9
Lysbet huysvrouwe Jans van Erpe	op dese dicht die salige Anna helpe my aen een silveren kanne	60
Mary Kuyst	God ende Marien helpe joffre Mary Kuyst dat zij dat groet lot mach crygen	15
Barbara vanden Dussen	geluck off	30
Joffre Kathelyn weduwe Rolof de Bever	op dese prose help Maria ende vrouwe Anna dat ick maet hebben die silveren kannen	114
Kathelyn Monix weduwe in de Thorenstraet	tgroot lot en waet huer niet quaet	18
Margriet weduwe Adriaen van Stryp	op dese dicht ongesien mach geschien per m w a	6
Heilwich dochter Adriaen van Stryp	op dese dicht/ongesien dat mach geschien per h d a	1
Aleit Henricks Gecks dochter	op dese/al is Aleit Geck een heyden /zess kannen souden huer in korsten leyden	3

Table 11: Females' rhymes and tickets

Among these rhyming females we find Henrixken van Ghyselen, with whom this thesis started. More women might have had the additional motive of representing themselves as

affluent females belonging to the wealthy elite of the city, considering the large number of tickets that they purchased. Some were widows just as Henrixken was, while others were wives of men belonging to the political and economic elite of the city.

## **7. The Lottery and Rhyming Practices in a Historiographical Context**

In the previous chapters I have presented the research results of the rhyming practice in the Den Bosch lottery of 1506. Besides the valuable research information it provides about early lotteries and the sociocultural act of rhyming, this thesis seeks a broader interpretation of the rhyming practice as well. In this chapter I will try to apply some recent approaches from the field of medieval urban history to lotteries and their rhyming practices.

### **7.1. Approach from Urban Spaces and Networks**

One of the questions that can be raised from the approach of urban spaces is: In what urban spaces were medieval lotteries organized and to what extent do lottery rhymes reflect elements of these urban spaces?

Many scholarly studies have been published over the last few decades on the topic of urban space, in which subdivisions are often made into different types of urban space, for instance into the city's topography and material urban space, political and socioeconomic spheres, and cultural space related to topics such as urban mentalities and urban literacy.

As we have learned, early lotteries were mostly organized by municipalities of medieval cities. These lotteries did not take place within the urban space of the city in question alone; an extensive urban network beyond the city's borders was mobilized to encourage as many ticket buyers as possible. As the Den Bosch lottery of 1506 reveals, the network of lottery brokers and subcontractors branched out widely into other cities in Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zeeland and Utrecht. It is likely that they made use of already existing political, economic and cultural urban networks.

Lottery brokers did not promote the lottery at random urban spots in cities. As the Den Bosch lottery in 1506 shows, posters with the lottery prizes were pasted on open spaces, city gates and church doors: public urban spaces which many local urban, and perhaps rural,

residents passed and gathered on a daily basis. For the drawing of the lottery a large open public space was selected, in order to host a large audience. In the case of Den Bosch this was the economic space of the market square, near secular institutions such as the city hall.

The rhyming practices themselves might be approached from the city's topography, researching whether the rhymes reflect elements of specific street names, names of urban residences or other buildings or institutions. As we have seen in the rhymes in the Den Bosch lottery, many streetnames are mentioned, also because these names were functional in creating rhyme words. In the rhymes, references to specific churches, chapels and institutions in 's-Hertogenbosch were made as well, which also reveals the cultural significance of these places for its citizens.

## 7.2. Approach from Urban Literacy

The lottery and the rhyming practices give insight into the level of literacy of rhyming participants, although the distinction between oral and written literacy is difficult to assess, as in the case of the Den Bosch lottery, brokers and the city clerk were the ones to record all the data in their registers. In all cases, rhyming participants pioneered with their texts, whether they had found their inspiration orally, for instance from 'brainstorming' with other citizens, from sermons or songs, or from written works. The use of Latin in rhymes can be considered as a clear indication of a high level of literacy, as were the literate and documentary skills of the persons involved in the recording of the lottery buyers and their rhymes. In order to guarantee a transparent and reliable event for the participants, and to create important reference works for the city accounts, meticulous lottery registers were kept. The drawing event of the lottery required the writing, reading and shouting of the texts on the tickets.

### 7.3. Approach from Urban Performances

Lotteries and rhyming practices are already approached as events of urban performance, as discussed in this thesis, although there are still new approaches to consider.

As for lotteries and rhyming practices at the end of the sixteenth century, the involvement of the chambers of rhetoric is clearly visible. In many cities the chambers of rhetoric already existed at the end of the fifteenth century; the influence of their members on these early lotteries, however, cannot be determined. Was the influence of the chambers of rhetoric on lotteries a gradual development, just as the development of the rhyming practice itself was? Or does source evidence indicate that the performances of the chambers of rhetoric were completely separate cultural activities from the drawing events of lotteries?

Another aspect of lotteries is the urban audience involved at the drawing event. Little seems to have been revealed about this urban audience in source material, while this is a very important aspect of the rhyming practice. Participants made an effort to record their rhyme not only for correct documentation, for in that case their name alone would have sufficed. Rhymers wanted their rhyme to be heard; they wanted to be represented by their rhymes. When considering the presumed continuous duration of the drawing of the Den Bosch lottery in 1506, both day and night, this may result in a biased view. It seems far more likely that the lottery tickets were only drawn when there was an actual audience. Some rhymers seemed to have recorded their rhymes for a specific, intended audience, for instance the rhymers of the Latin *prosen*. Their rhymes might have been proclaimed to a large audience, but it may be suggested that a more selective intended audience —their equals, who belonged to the same elite circles—, was far more important to these rhymers.



## 8 Conclusions and Suggestions for New Research

In 1506, 's-Hertogenbosch staged a lottery. Although its medieval citizens were familiar with urban performances, this European phenomenon was new to them. While they might have heard of others' experiences with lotteries in cities such as Bruges, Utrecht and Leiden, it was the first time 's-Hertogenbosch organized this game of chance, at which silver prizes could be won.

Meticulous archival records have provided us a detailed view on the organization of this event, which was primary intended to amortize city debts. Although an extensive salesnetwork was mobilized in various cities in Brabant, Flanders and Holland to attract as many lottery buyers as possible, it appears that the majority of the 2000 lottery buyers resided in 's-Hertogenbosch and were creditors of the municipality. By exchanging their interest receipts for high-priced tickets, they together invested almost 30,000 Rhinish guilders in the lottery, which represented 98% of the lottery's income. It halved the city debt, which may lead to the conclusion that the lottery would have been considered as more of an accounting trick than a sociocultural event. The limited participation of the city's then-current political leaders in the rhyming practice of the lottery confirms this conclusion.

In this thesis, systematic research has been done on 252 rhymes, recorded on the lottery tickets, and the 231 persons behind them on the basis of an intact, and yet previously unresearched lottery register, created by the city clerk Henrick die Bye. This lottery register has been erroneously dated to 1521/22, but is re-dated in this thesis to 1506.

This research has enlarged our understanding of early lotteries. Considering the relatively small number of rhymes and *prosen*, less than 10% of all entries in the lottery register, and their often mediocre level, the Den Bosch lottery demonstrates that —from the start of the rhyming practice at the middle of the fifteenth century— the rhyming practice had

not yet fully developed. It was still in its infancy and would only show a gradual development in the course of the sixteenth century in the two lotteries that followed.

However, the combination in this thesis's research of both rhymes and rhymers has deepened our view on the rhyming practices in lotteries, and has led to an adjustment and broadening of existing research results of medieval lotteries on two points. The first is, whereas lotteries are often considered as events for a diverse urban population of all socioeconomic ranks, this thesis's research teaches us that lottery participants were not a broad representation of the city's residents, with most of them belonging to the upper and upper-middle classes. Secondly, in addition to existent studies that consider the use of rhymes in medieval lotteries as motivated by the desire to increase the chances of winning the lottery, to entertain an urban audience or —after the Reformation— to utter critical reflections about the Christian Church, this thesis's research results reveal additional motives for the rhyming practice.

Rhyming members of the political elite displayed their wealth and represented their influential financial position towards the municipality by participating with a large number of tickets. There might have been a sophisticated strategy behind this, indicating that the most affluent citizens took the heaviest burden for the city debt instead of charging it to the urban population as a whole through excise duties. Some of them, who were still at the beginning of their political career, seemed to have considered the lottery as an ideal opportunity to represent themselves with a Latin *prosen*.

Another obvious motive among rhyming participants, especially merchants and leading craftsmen, was to represent their family before a large audience. Extensive family networks were involved in the lottery, some spanning three generations, in which housewives and daughters were well represented.

The display of knowledge and erudition also appears to have been a motive, most of all among the members of the learned and literate elite, and religious persons and institutions. Although they were limited in their numerical representation, their Latin *prosen*, mostly inspired by the Bible or other religious texts, were in correspondence with their literate, educational or religious position in the city. The religious, individuals and institutions alike, had invested heavily in the lottery, but apparently did not feel the need or the freedom to represent themselves too openly while participating in a game of chance.

As for the inspiration for the rhymes and *prosen* in Middle Dutch, evidence of proverbs is scant in this thesis' research results and there are almost no traces of influence from the chambers of rhetoric. Furthermore, there is a total absence of critical reflection towards the city government, whom participants might have blamed for bringing the city to a state of financial ruin. Nor do they include any Reformation-minded criticism of religious clerks, who would later be the target of uprisings in 's-Hertogenbosch.

The absence of criticism towards secular or religious institutions in this early sixteenth-century lottery brings me to suggestions for new research. It would be interesting to research several lotteries over a larger span of time, in order to assess the long-term development of lotteries and the rhyming practice. Researching the three sixteenth-century lotteries held in 's-Hertogenbosch would be perfectly suited to this goal, but researching lotteries in different cities in the Low Countries, or even within a wider European context, are also possibilities. Besides the influence of social-cultural developments, the gradual involvement of chambers of rhetoric in lotteries and their rhyming practices could be a topic in this long-term research.

Other suggestions for new research are related to the approaches discussed in the previous chapter. Even though these suggestions might not be practically feasible, I will mention three. The first of these would be the research of the extensive sales networks of

medieval lotteries in the context of the relations between cities. Secondly, because this remained rather obscure in the Den Bosch lottery, researching urban literacy in medieval lotteries in relation to the role of oral and written communication in the rhyming practices would be worthwhile. The final suggestion is to research the role of the audience in lotteries during the performance of the drawing event.

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- 3001 Register waarin verkochte loten op eerste letter van de naam van de koper ingeschreven zijn, 1506 and 1521/1522.
- 1363 Rekeningen van de algemene kas van de stad, 1505/1506.
- 1377 Rekeningen van de algemene kas van de stad, 1521/22.

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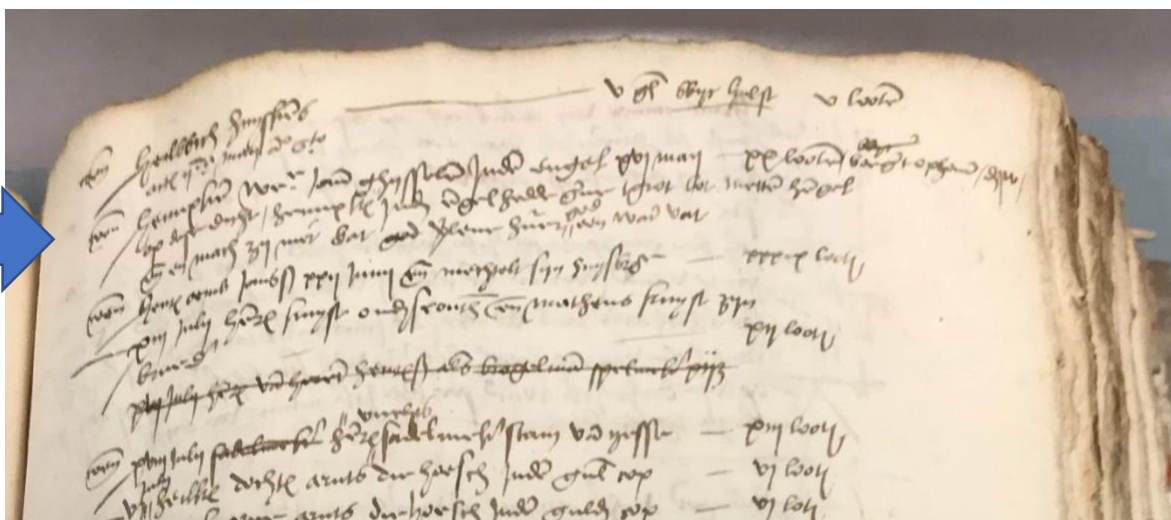
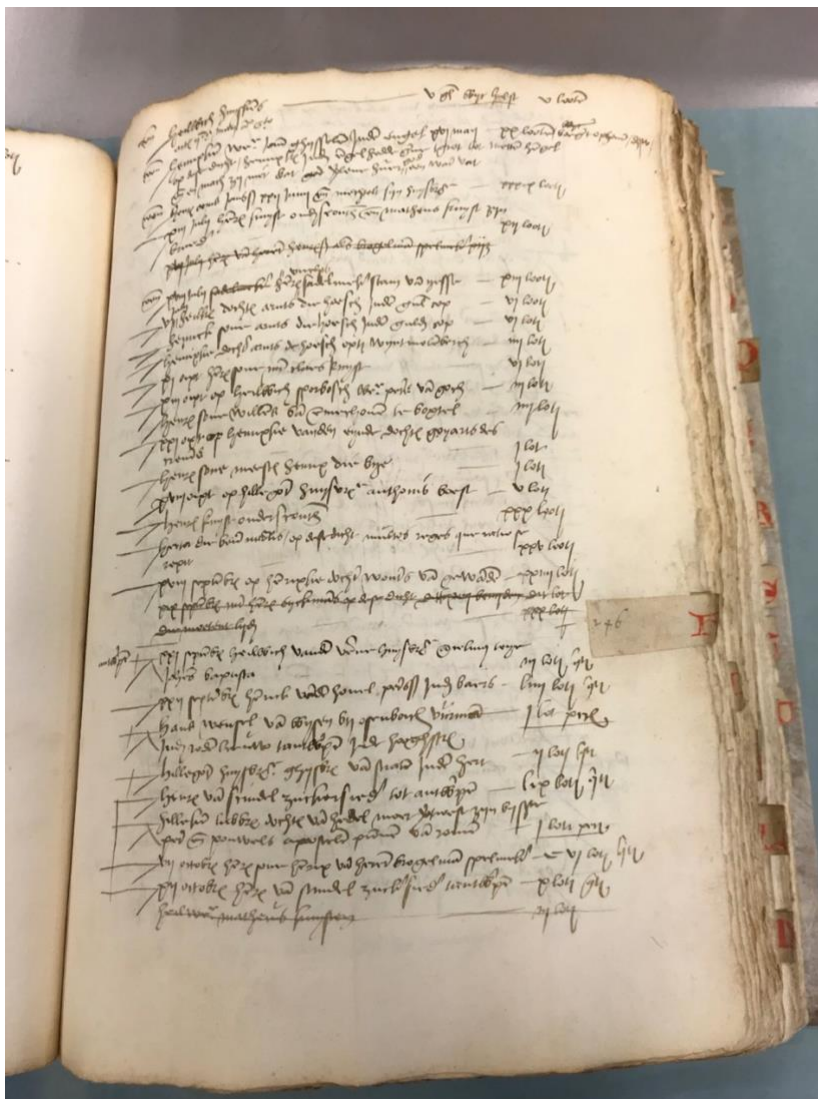
## Appendices

- I Registration of Henrixken Ghyselen in city account of 's-Hertogenbosch 1506/07, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch OSA 1363.
- II Registration of Henrixken Ghyselen in lottery register of *Henrick die Bye*, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.
- III The lottery register of 's-Hertogenbosch, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch OSA 3001.
- IV An example of a lottery poster.
- V Duchy of Brabant as part of the areas under Burgundian rule.
- VI Map of the *Meijerij* of 's-Hertogenbosch, divided into four quarters.
- VII Urban centers in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century.
- VIII Folia with expenses of the lottery in the city account of 1506/07, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363 (with transcription).
- IX Folium in the city account of 1506/07 with announcement for the lottery of 1506 and its conditions; also specific deals with Mechelen and count of Buren, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363.
- X First folium of registration of sold tickets of every lottery broker in- and outside 's-Hertogenbosch, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363.
- XI Folia in the city account of 1506/07 which list the persons who helped in the lottery in exchange for lottery tickets, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363.
- XII Examples of folia in lottery register of Henrick die Bye demonstrating the division of lottery of 1506 and 1521/22.
- XIII Codicological description of OSA 3001.
- XIV Use of margins in the lottery register with streaks, short notes and *inleggen* 0, example of the letter B
- XV Folia with *Latin prosen* from the lottery register of Henrick die Bye, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 3001.
- XVI Overview of rhymers and rhymes

**Appendix I:** Registration of Henrixken Ghysselen in the city account of 's-Hertogenbosch of 1506/07, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363.

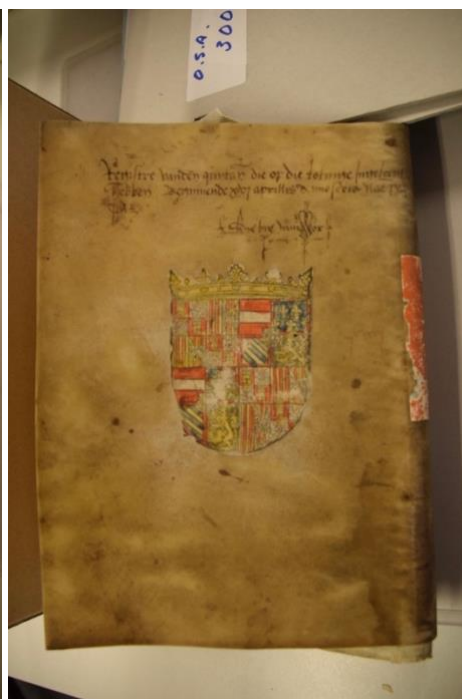
henr ghyt van straken priester	—	pm 124
ghent van. iudicab van amptst	—	pm
henr gonart mathys binguidas	—	pm
ghent hunsen dorp van odyk	—	pm
ghent burkmeke bondmeester	—	pm
ghent lan hezertke	—	pm
ghent sone brant jansz de hagenmard	—	pm
ghent van hard op bolstene hont	—	pm
ghent oet. lan dachdijck	—	pm
ghent oet. jans van thynstertze	—	pm
ghent duc stent	—	pm
gonart dertst van dunt	—	pm
ghent thyn op huythandende	—	pm
ghent hunsen. hene van dachne	—	pm
ghent sone peth rent woutst gyl	—	pm
ghent jansz van blind stent	—	pm
ghent van brant tot oet. hont	—	pm
gonart van indelstaet	—	pm
ghent dertst jans van ob hennamans	—	pm
ghent ghent vangerdantst	—	pm
ghent vanden henn	—	pm
ghent jansz van tulst	—	pm
gonart stent	—	pm
gonart indelstaet jule vststent	—	pm
henr pte lan ghyselen	—	pm
henr dachdijck stent	—	pm
henr dertst sachtmeester	—	pm
henr dertst	—	pm

**Appendix II: Lottery register, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 3001, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>**



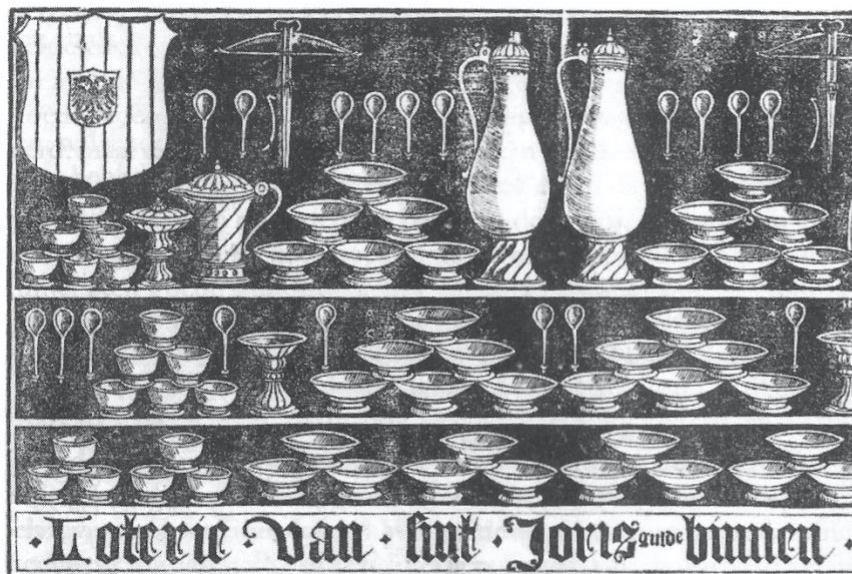
Detail lottery register, participation 'Henrixken weduwe Jannen Ghysselen inden Engel'.

**Appendix III:** The lottery register of Henrick die Bye, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 3001.





**Appendix IV:** An example of a lottery poster



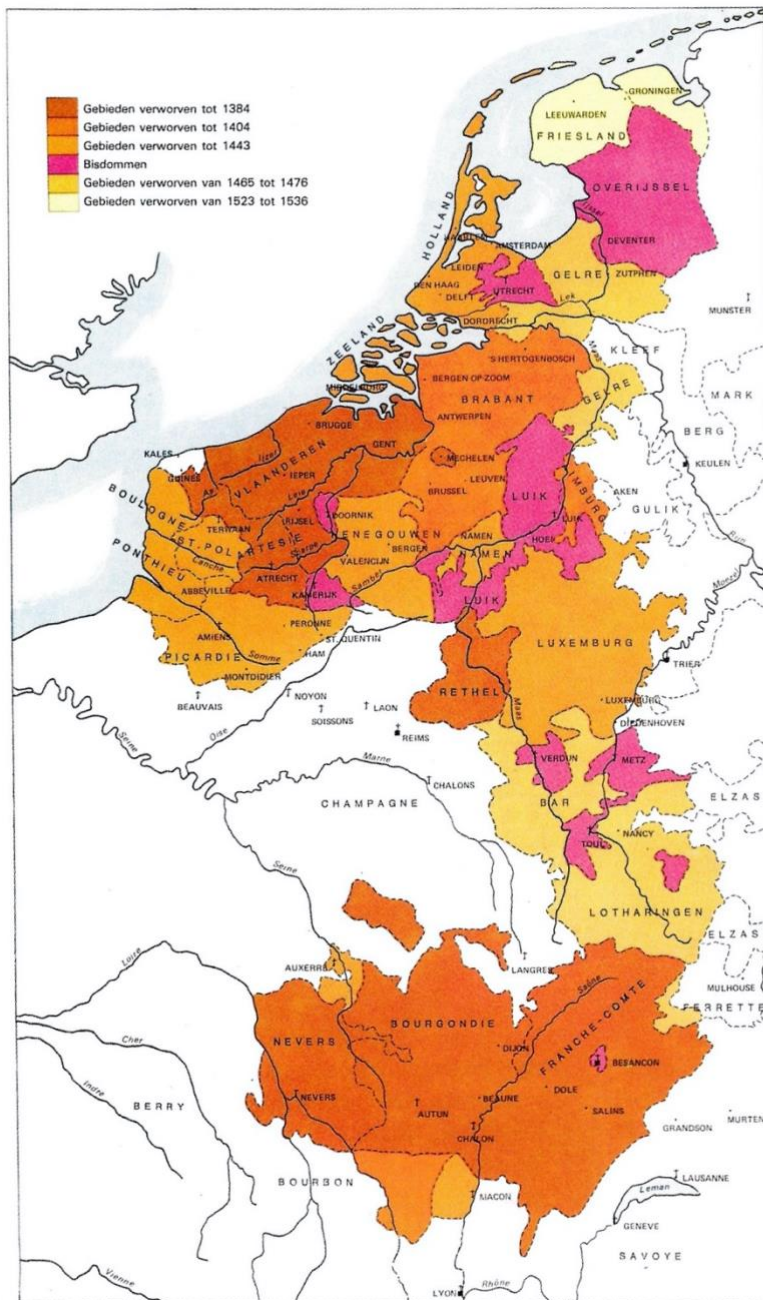
*Afb. 5. Anoniem, kaart uit 1520 voor de loterij van het schuttersgilde St. Joris te Mechelen (detail met de prijzen). Voor zover bekend is dit het oudst overgeleverde voorbeeld van een loterijkaart. [Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam]*

From: Huisman, A. and Koppenol, J., *Daer compt de Lotery met trommels en trompetten! Loterijen in de Nederlanden tot 1726* (Hilversum 1991), p. 22.



## Appendix V:

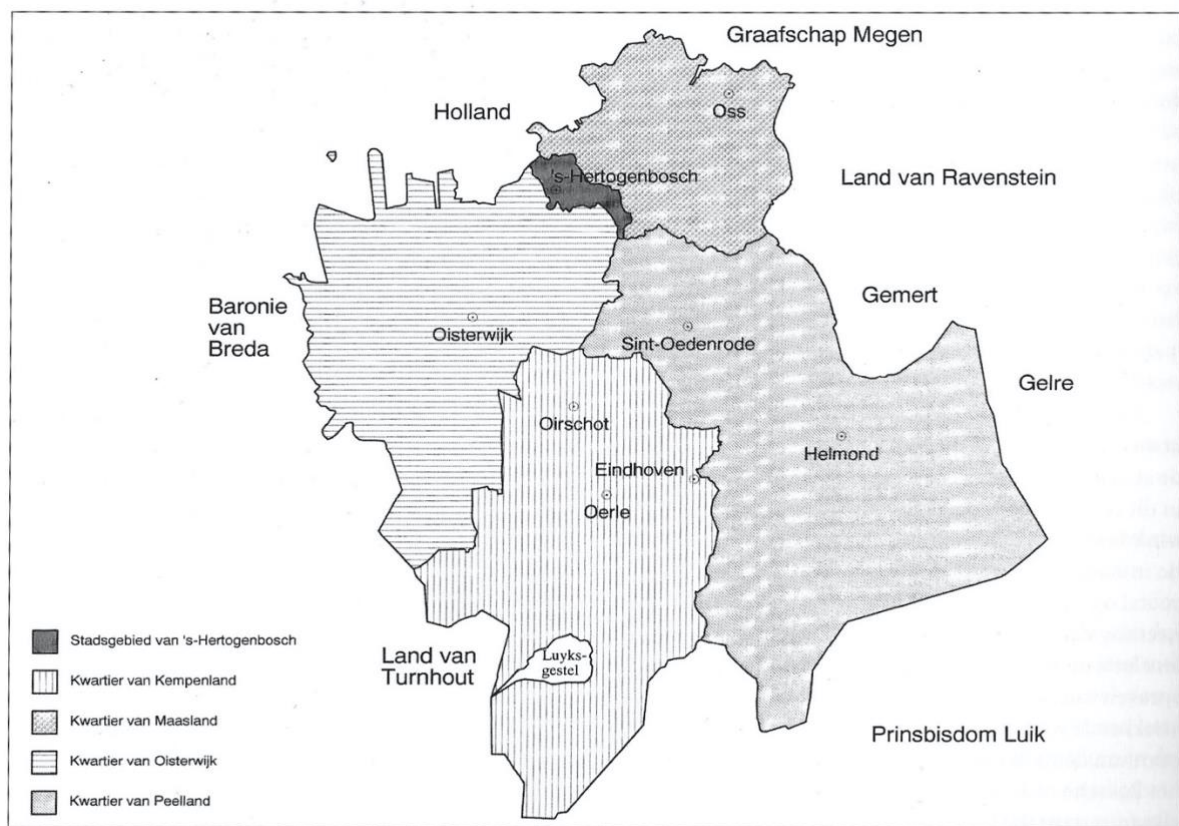
## Duchy of Brabant as part of the areas under Burgundian rule



Kaartje van de gebieden die tot de Bourgondische dynastie hebben behoord.

From: Kuijer, P. Th. J., *'s-Hertogenbosch. Stad in het hertogdom Brabant ca. 1185–1629* (Zwolle 2004), p. 120.

**Appendix VI:** Map of the *Meijerij* of 's-Hertogenbosch.



Kaartje van de Meijerij van 's-Hertogenbosch, ingedeeld in de vier kwartieren.

From: Kuijer, P. Th. J., *'s-Hertogenbosch. Stad in het hertogdom Brabant ca. 1185-1629* (Zwolle 2004), p. 196.

**Appendix VII:** Urban centers in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century

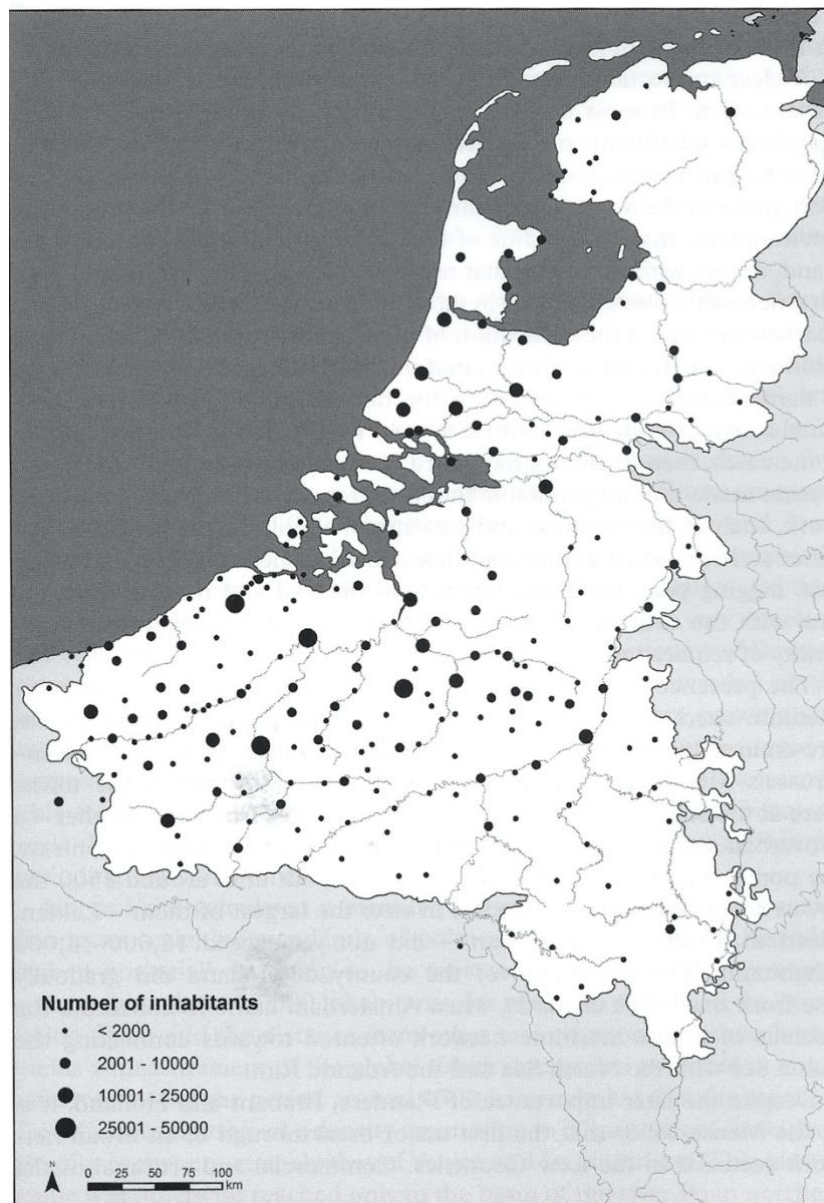


Figure 2.2 Urban centres in the fifteenth century.

From: Blondé, B., Boone, M., Van Bruaene A-L (eds.), *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100-1600* (Cambridge 2016), p. 25.



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206

By stands

✓ K. G. 12/12

my Rede rest my out

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On 4th Dec 1978

6487878

✓ H. G. Ruyssert

✓ H. G. Ruyssert

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24

my dear Sir

2017 10/17/17



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Went to the office

Done van 22 vergaen, int getal Bilscop H. van  
 17. 17. 17. 17. 17. 17. 17. 17. 17. 17.



## Transcription from city account 1506/07, expenses for the lottery

Ander uitgheven ter cause vander lotinge hiervoer in den ontfanck gestelt ende dat in diverse manieren als hier volgt

In den jersten meesteren Willemen van Thielt secretaris in den Raide van Brabant voer dexpedie van den mandamente bij des stat in vier jaren te mogen statueren ende opstellen van in te leggen van renten achterstellen ende gerede penningen twee lotinge 5 Rynguldens 6 stuvers. Item voer den zegel van den selven 5 Rynguldens 6 stuvers. Item voer den clerck 8 stuvers. Item noch voer tgeleyde bij eenen iegelicken vrij ter selver lotinge te moigen comenen 3 Rynguldens voer trecht vander zegele 3 Rynguldens ende den clerck 1,5 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 17 Rynguldens 1,5 stuver

Item Lambert Wouterszoon clerck nae dien byden voirschreven zesse gecommmitteerde die ordinantie van den voirschreven lotinge gemaict was te wetenen hoe vele prize ende juwelen men opsetten soude ende die manieren te gewynen [...] gesonden tot Antwerpen omme dairaf chartten te doen prentten openbairlicken die op te doen slaen overal in allen plecken poirten kerckdoeren ende elders als hij deede den selven dair af betaelt — 45 stuvers

Item den voirschreven prentter voer die loot chartten alsoe geprent ende overal opgeslaigen — 15 Rynguldens

Item voer een mande dairze inne gepackt waeren — 1 stuver

Enen Yoest den maelder van 300 chartten die wapenen ons genedichsten heren van Brabant ende dese stat met verwen af te setten van den 100 3 stuvers ende noch van gelycken in 2 en reysen 45 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 3 Rynguldens 1 stuver

Item Yewaen Kuyst ende Wouter Oems gecommmitteerde met Ghevairt den goutsmyt nae Antwerpen gereyst nae uitwysen den voirschreven chartten die juwelen ende tselver dair af te verdingen ende te maken als zy deden aen meesteren Jannen van Nymmegen goutsmyt ende juwelier dairaf betaelt voer Yewaen ende Wouteren voer montcost ende wagenhuer 7 Rynguldens 12 stuvers ende Gevarden voer zyn vacatie 25 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 8 Rynguldens 17 stuvers

Item den voirschreven meesteren Jannen van Nymmegen voer 170 marck 6 onsen troys wegende tsamen die voirschreven prysen ende juwelen als kannen crosens schalen waterpotten ende lepels nae inhoudt den voirschreven chartten voer elck onze 31 stuvers ½ oirt [uz] tsamen in gelde — 2058 Rynguldens 6 stuvers 3 oirt

Item Wouteren Oems voirschreven soe die voirschreven juwelen voer Sint Jansse alhier openbairlicken mosten staen tse die van Antwerpen doense gemaict waeren alhier te brengen ende meesteren Jannen van Nymmegen te betalen voer vracht ende zyn theringe tsamen betaelt— 4 Rynguldens 3 stuvers

Item Tristram van Os voer hout totter casten dair die juwelen in stonden voer Claes Coenen bydt Raetshuys die cast te makenen tsamen 42 stuvers. Item voer plancken ende hout dair die cast op stont 9,5 stuvers. Item den tymmerman dat te maken 7 stuvers ende voer byer dat die gesellen droncken doemen die cast richten 1,5 stuver [uz] tsamen - 3 Rynguldens

Item Geerlick den screynmaker voer acht boerders dairmen die carthen op plecten ende 8 rollen hangenen voer den lootmeesters doer 25 stuvers ende Amant den maelder die rollen te malen met scryfte dat dair die rollen hangenen men inne soude leggen 40 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 3 Rynguldens 5 stuvers

Item Lauwereyns die boeckbynder voer bynden ende coffuturien van seven lootboecken voer die lootmeesters ende den clerck 27 stuvers. Item Gerit van der Hellen voetboede met carthen ende brieven tot Huesden Goricum ende Woricum alwair op te slaen ende tallen plaetsen poirten kerckdoeren te plecken ende gevaceert 7 daigen sdaighs 4,5 stuvers [uz] 31,5 stuvers ende van den selven brieven te plecken ende gereetscappen dair toe dienende 4 stuvers [uz] tsamen - 3 Rynguldens 2,5 stuvers

Item den selven noch gesonden in vuegen voirschreven tot 6 oft 7 steden in Brabant die voirschreven brief ende carthen te plecken tsamen metter stoffen dair af betaelt 44 stuvers. Item den selven noch alsoe gesonden in Hollant tot Schoenhoven ter Gouwe Rotterdam Schiedam Delft in den Haigh Leyden Haerlem Amsterdamme Utrecht Arnhem Tiel ende Bomel tot allen behoirlicke plaetsen die carthen opgehangen ende gevaceert 16 daighen [uz] 3 Rynguldens 12 stuvers ende in den Haigh ende Ter Gouw van scriven hiertoe dienende betaelt 6 stuvers ende van pappe ende andere gereetscappe dair toe dienende 8 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 6 Rynguldens 10 stuvers

Item den selven noch gesonden tot Breda Berghen Antwerpen Bruessel ende Mechelen alsvoer die carthen te plecken op te slaen ende lootmeesters te doen stellen gevaceert 15 daigen [uz] 52,5 stuvers ende voer pappe stoff ende scryfgelt 7,5 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 3 Rynguldens

Item die voirschreven juwelen wederomme tot Antwerpen in den Bamismerct dairt openbairlick uutstont doen vueren Wouteren Oems dair aff betaelt 10 stuvers van craengelt doen die kyste uutvuere 1 stuver van wechgelt ½ stuver tAntwerpen in Wouters herberge te vueren ½ stuver van dair voirts byden moriaen dair uutstont te vueren ½ stuver ende voer perdegelt tAntwerpen aende poirt 1 stuver [uz] tsamen — 13 stuvers 3 oirt

Item van der casten dair die juwelen tAntwerpen instonden nae oirdinancie nae thoene elck opt zyn 5 Rynguldens 2 stuvers noch van den casten te doen halen ½ stuver noch die te setten ende te trecken 3 stuvers noch voer nagelen die leeren in de caste te nagelen ½ stuver voer pappe die chartten te plecken 1 stuver voer leer 1 stuver die lotinge uut te doen roepen 2 stuvers [uz] dit tsamen — 5 Rynguldens 10 stuvers.

Item Christiaen den Hoymeker tAntwerpen voer zyn cameran dair die juwelen den tyt van den merct duer ende uuyt stonden gehuert voer — 8 Rynguldens

Item meesteren Henricke die Bye met hem andere die de loetcamere verwaerden ende te wachten eenen iegelicken die inne soude willen leggen ende cost ende tafel aldair hielt den tyt van 23 daighen sdaighs 12 stuvers ende int thuyt reysen den knechten ende meghden van dienst inde lotinge gedaen 5 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 14 Rynguldens 1 stuver

Item die lotinge uutghaende 26 octobris die juwelen wederomme nae deser stat geschickt ende dat te packen betaelt 1 stuver inden herbergen te vueren 1 stuver van perdegelt ½ braspenning van vrachten 24,5 stuvers byn tsamen — 27 stuvers ½ oirt

Item den tyt comende dat men die lotinge uitgeven soude Gerit Otte Hollensoon deken van Sunte Katharyne Ghilde voer gereempt der selver ghilden dat te ordineren omme die lotinge voer deser stat huys dair op uuyt te gevenen 4 stuvers. Item Pouwels die tymmerman van tvoirschreven gereempt met hem ander te setten 2 dagen ende s[en] elcken 5 stuvers [uz] 20 stuvers. Item Claes Molemeker drie daighen dair ane getymmert [uz] 9 stuvers 1,5 oirt. Item de selve noch met hem ander dair aene getymmert 7 daighen [uz] 21 stuvers 3,5 oirt Pouwels voirschreven noch dairaene getymmert met hem ander elck 7 daighen [uz] 28 stuvers. Item Adriaen die Roeper die lotinge uuyt te roepen 7 daighen 7 stuvers. Ende Gerit van der Sellen van 2<sup>e</sup> daighe die placcaten ende charten allen over al te plecken 9,5 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 4 Rynguldens 19 stuvers 3 oirt

Item Marten den tymmerman van 623 voeten. Henrick aende coepoirt van 236 voeten. Wouter die tymmerman van 240 voeten ende Goyart Noesse van 390 voeten leydaxen plancken aent voirschreven schavot gebesicht ende voirts die lotinge gedaen zynde inden stat oirbaer verbesicht zyn t [...] 14 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 10 Rynguldens 7 stuvers 3,5 oirt

Item Arnt van Bruecum van 27 sparren alsboven gebesicht tstuck 1 braspenning. Item Henrick den tymmerman van hout ende plancken 9 Rijnguldens. Item Arnde den smyt van nagel ende yserwerck dair toe verbesicht 33 stuvers. Item Willem der stat knecht dairaene gearbeydt 5 daighen [uz] 10 stuvers. Claes der stat tymmerman 3 daighen [uz] 9 stuvers 1,5 oirt ende Cornelis vanden Venne 2 daighen 7 stuvers [uz] dit tsamen — 13 Rynguldens 13 stuvers 0,5 oirt

Item des 26te daighs octobris als dmeeste inleggen opten stat huys met besloeten brieven uuyt ghinck met een deel van den lootmeesters ende sommige van den heren in den vierschaeren vertheert met wyn ende oncosten 51 stuvers ende ten huysse meester Henrick die Bye dairmen insgelicx tot 12 uren snachts dat inleggen wachten moste 3 quarten wyns [uz] tsamen — 57 stuvers

Item voer ongesceden worst inde vuerpannen te voren 26 stuvers voer een thon tarren 22,5 stuvers noch voer 2<sup>e</sup> thonnen tarren 48 stuvers. Die voirschreven worst dair mede te sieden ende voer twee corven die loot cedullen in te leggen 6 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 5 Rynguldens 2,5 stuvers

Item Gerit vanden Hellen omme dat inleggen in den lotinge te halen tot Schoenhoven Utrecht Goricum Woricum ende Huesden gevaceert 8 daighen. Item Arnt van Empel van gelycke gesouden tot Leeuwen Loven Mechelen ende Airshot gevaceert 9,5 dach [uz] tsamen — 3 Rynguldens 9 stuvers 3 oirt

Item eene bode byden lootmeesters van Utrecht met zynen ontfanck ende inleggen alhier gesonden gegheven 18 stuvers. Item insgelicx die lootmeester van Leyden zynen ontfanck overgesonden betaelt 18 stuvers. Item noch den lootmeester van Leyden van zynen nae arbeydt 40 stuvers. Item die lotinge ende placcaten tot Leyden te publiceren 16 stuvers. Item den bode die de nae loten overbracht voer zynen salaris 24 stuvers noch den selven van dat hy placcaten tot Delft ende elders gepleckt hadde 12 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 6 Rynguldens 8 stuvers

Item den lootmeester van Huesden van 70 loten over te brengen 42 stuvers den lootmeester van Airshot 2 stuvers. Item Jannen Hermanszoon lootmeester tot Mechelen van 20 daighen reysen tot Loven Bruessel Antwerpen Bergen Breda alle lotinge aldaer ontfangen over te



brengen sdaighs 6 tuvers ende voer zynen salaris 4 Rynguldens [uz] dit tsamen — 12  
Rynguldens 4 stuvers

Item Jannen van Geldrop voer een copie van den uutoepen van den lotinge tot Utrecht te seynden 2 stuvers. Item eenen bode die die lotinge van Sunte Gertrude Berghe overbracht 4 stuvers. Item Mathys Hermans gereyst in Hollant ende overal die lootmeester te versueken huer lotinge goettyts over te seynden ende leveren hem van dier reysen betaelt 5 Rynguldens 4 stuvers ende Thyszoon int gulden hoofd voer een pert dair hy mede ten Berghe gereden was 5 stuvers [uz] dit tesamen — 5 Rynguldens 15 stuvers

Item int vergaderen van den inleggen der voirschreven lotinghe ende te gelycke die nyeute dair tegens by den lootmeester vertheert 2 quarten malvezeyen ende 0,5 stuver voer schoenbroet 7,5 stuvers. Item Lenart van Huesden voer drie lateernen int uutoepen van den loten verbesicht 12,5 stuvers. Item Gerit op die tralie voer zyn zeylen opt scavot gebesicht 10 stuvers. Item Yoest den Maelder van malen aent scavot 1 stuver. Item die weduwe Jannen Ghyselen voer huer huys dair die lootmeester hueren handel hadden 4 Rynguldens. Ende voeren clanmeren ende naelden opt scavot verbesicht 1 stuver 0,5 oirt maickt dit tsamen — 5 Rynguldens

Item Bruysten den cremer voer camfas die lootmanden dair mede boven toe te maken 8 stuvers. Item Willem Baeljart op Sunte Lenarts dach doemen die lotinge nae middach begonst uuttegevenen tzyen huys byden loetmeesters ende anderen die noch egheen maeltyt gedaen en hadden vertheert in cost ende dranck 12 quarten wyns 5,5 35 stuvers. Item voer bye ropt scavot in tyde van den uutoepen der lotinge verdroncken 41 stuvers. Item Adriaen van Hees voer eenen pels die aen hadden die de loten uutlangde 50 stuvers. Ende der statpypers die ten selven tyden speelden als enich lot uuytquam elcken 18 stuvers maict dit tsamen — 19 Rynguldens

Item Anselmo Taye van dat hy tAntwerpen gesolliciteert hadde van inleggen van achterstelle inde voirschreven lotinghe 2 Rynguldens. Item Christiaen die Hoymaker tAntwerpen van 54 loten int gelde nae overgeseynt van elcken lot gehouden van zynen salaris 0,5 stuver. Item de voirschreven lotinge van tot twee reysen uut te doen roepen ende eenen egelicken te int[.] dat uuytgaen vanden inleggen 4 stuvers. Ende van scriven 5 stuvers byn dit tsamen — 3 Rynguldens 16 stuvers

Item Ghysbert van Strathen voer 16 riemen pappiers dair die lootboecken die lootcedullen omtrent 64,000 soe die nyeuten ende andere metten advysen ende prosen ende van meer andere scryften dair toe dienende aff gemaict zyn den riem 22 stuvers. Ende Claessen soen voer 3,5 pont was groen dair die loten nyeute ende andere brieven mede toegesegelt worden elck 55 6 stuvers [uz] tsamen - 18 Rynguldens 13 stuvers

Item meesters Jannen van Brugge van 2,800 cedullen van loten die name ende dadvisen te scriven ende van vouden tsamen 24 stuvers. Item Wouteren van Balen van 1450 lootcedullen alsboven te scriven ende vouden tsamen 18 stuvers. Item Henrick die Coninck van 4000 lootcedullen te scriven 28 stuvers. Item meester Arnt Coelborner van 3000 der selven cedullen te scriven ende vouden tsamen 20 stuvers. Item Henrick die Bye van 2,000 cedullen alsoe te scriven 12 stuvers. Item Peteren van Balen van prosen ende namen in de cedullen te scriven ende die uuyt te lesen voer zynen arbeyt 6 Rynguldens. Insegelcx Dircke die Wolff van scriven ende lesen 6 Rynguldens. Van gelycke Danelen van Vlierden 5 Rynguldens. Item meesteren Henricke die Bye van 8,000 namen ende prosen te scriven te vouden ende te

besegelen 3 Rynguldens. Ende Jannen die Wolff van scriven ende lesen 5 Rynguldens 5 stuvers [uz] tsamen — 30 Rynguldens 7 stuvers

Item Raessen Persoens van uutlesen 4 Rynguldens. Item Tristram van Oss van uutroepen 36 stuvers. Adriaen Dircxsoen in de Maen van uutroepen 4 Rynguldens. Item Henrick die Coninck van aenrygen die cedullen nae oirdinancie als zy uitgelesen wordden 36 stuvers. Jacop van Doerne van gelycken 36 stuvers. Van gelycken Wouteren van Balen 36 stuvers. Jannes van Geldrop 36 stuvers. Arnt Pasteybecker van aenrygen 36 stuvers. Item Willem Baelyart/Claes Watermael ende Jannes van Baecx die loten terciatien uuyt langende elcken voer zynen arbeyt 4 [uz] dit tsamen — 31 Rynguldens 4 stuvers

Item meesteren Pouwels Mechelman secretaris ende lootmeester te Bruessel van scriven ende plecken die carthen 5 stuvers. Den lootmeester van Utrecht voer wissel van den gelde van zynen ontfanck 6 stuvers. Item van een bret ende die lotinge te publiceren tot Delft 5 stuvers. Item den lootmeester tot Hairlem voer zynen salaris 42 stuvers. Item lootmeester tot Rotterdamme Cornelis Janszoen ter cause van den lotinge eenen bode te seynden tot Schiedam 4 stuvers noch van Rotterdam tot Schoenhoven ter Gouwe ende nae Dordrecht 15 stuvers noch van een bret 2 stuvers ende van uutroepen eenen stuver [uz] tsamen — 4 Rynguldens

Item Cornelis vanden Venne aent voirschreven scavot gewrocht drie daighen uz 10,5 stuvers. Willem Vossart 4 daighen uz 8 stuvers ende Claes der Stat tymmermeester met zynen knecht 2 daighen [uz] 12,5 stuvers maickt dit tsamen — 31 stuvers

Item voer twee halff lakenen gecocht ende gebesicht opt scavot ende weder vercocht soese wat metten vurpannen verbrant waren ende dair aene verloren 10 stuvers.

Item Claes conen van t voirschreven silverwerck ende prysen van Johannes te midzomer te thonen des smorgens voer zyn huys uuyt te setten ende des avonts wederom in te setten ten eynde dat die lotinge al uuyt geroepen was/ uutgenomen een maent dat tselver silverwerck bynnen middelen tyde te thoen stont tAntwerpen hem dair aff voer zynen arbeydt toe gevueght 9 Rynguldens

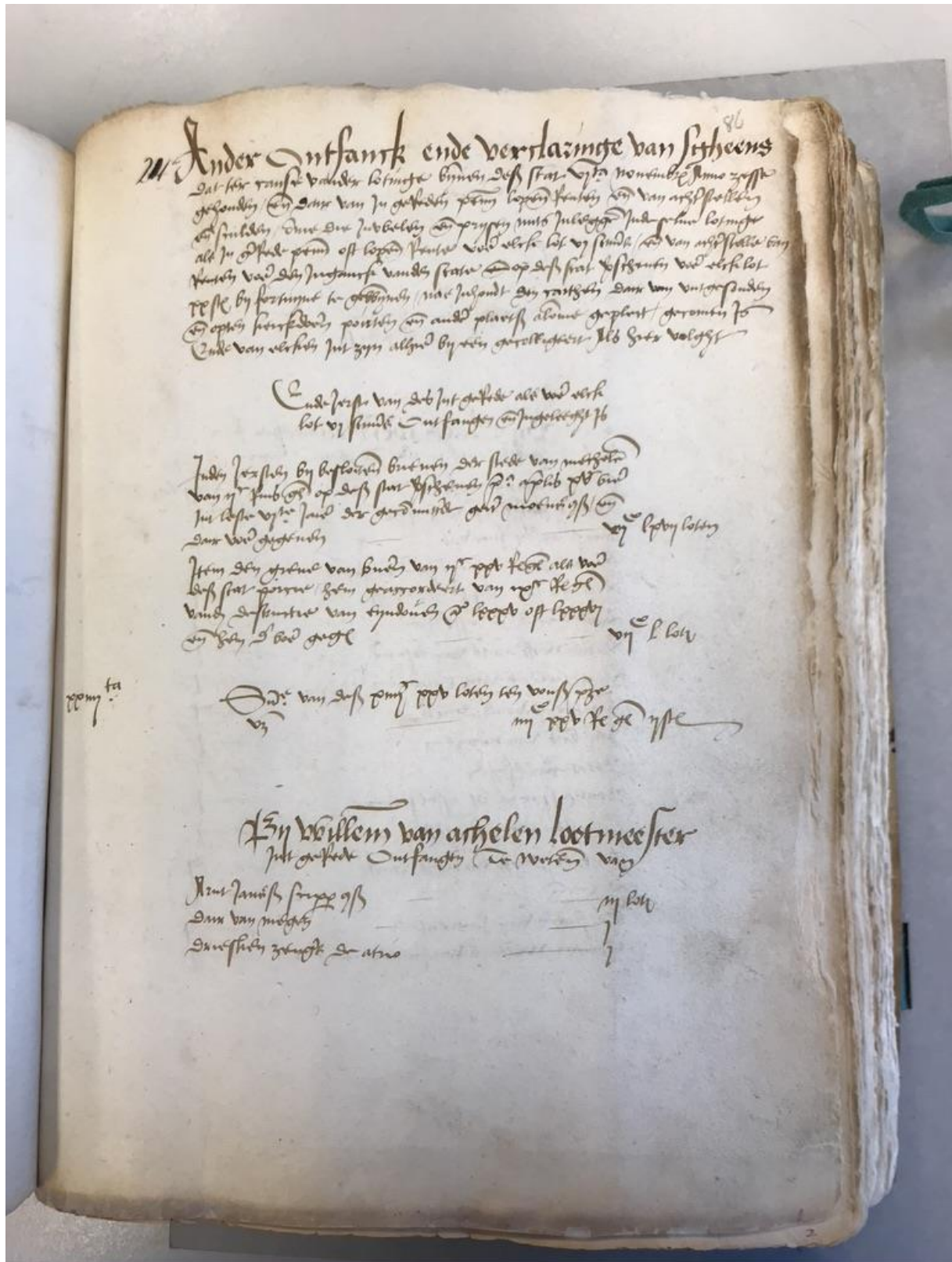
Item meesteren Henricken die Bye soe die goede luden soe int gerede metten lopender renten ende van achterstellen inne leggen muchten met quytancien sonder hueren cost heeft hy die selve quitancien voer des stat gescreven ende inden boecken uutgedaen van elkcken int zyne soe die ingeleeght zyn omtrent 30,000 Rynguldens gedragen hem dair aff voer zynen dienst toegevueght 25 Rynguldens

Item Willem van Achelen/Lambrecht die Wolff ende Pouwels Wynants lootmeesteren die op hueren diesnt niet ingeleeght en hebben mair die selve lotinge hebben helpen bewaren ingrosseren tellen ende die nyeute te gelycken tegens die prosen elcker dair aff toegevueght voer zynen salaris 9 Rynguldens [uz] — 27 Rynguldens

Item alsoe alhier voer inden ontfanck van den lotinghe geset 7 ennighen van den lootmeesters ingeleeght ende ander gereetscappen dair toe geleverd hebbende ontfangen 278 loten ende egheen penningen mits dien dair aff ontfangen dair omme die alhier wedergesteld uitgegeven [uz] — 83 Rynguldens

Appendix IX:

City account of 's-Hertogenbosch 1506/07, folium with announcement for the lottery of 1506 and its conditions; also specific deals with Mechelen and count of Buren, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363.



86  
 Ander Ontfank ende verclaringe van sijheens  
 dat hier ransse vanden lotinge binnen des stat vsta nomenbre anno zesse  
 gesondt den dach van in ghetiden pams lopen kanten van van arghstelt  
 en sulden dme die iudicelen en prinsen mit iudicelen iud pams lotinge  
 als in dhal pams oft lopen kanten vud vste lot vj stude van arghstelt van  
 kanten vud dch iustamse vanden state en op des stat vstganten vud vste lot  
 te se by fortunet te ghetiden nare iudont en rantsen dach van vntersonden  
 en op den kanten pams en ande plavish alome gephent gromen te  
 Ende van vste lot iud zyn allend by den gromen iud dach volge

Ende iud van des iud ghetiden als vud vste  
 lot vj stude Ontfank ende verclaringe te

Iud iustamse by hystonden bint men der stude van metgaten  
 van nre iud op des iud vstganten pams ghetiden vud  
 iud te se vsta iud der gromen gromen iustamse  
 dach vud ghetiden vj liden loten

Iem dch gromen van bint van nre iustamse als vud  
 des stat gromen iustamse gromen van nre iustamse  
 vud dch iustamse van gromen dch liden oft liden  
 vj liden dch gromen vj liden

Detail of folium



First folium of every lottery broker in- and outside 's-Hertogenbosch,  
Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363.

Nur wenig frucht  
 aus dem meiste  
 aus dem zucht der also











## 94

46







Janp gelyck tot gure  
 gure gelyck tot gure  
 Jan gelyck vande gure  
 gure gelyck vande gure  
 gure gelyck vande gure

1  
 1  
 1  
 1  
 1

De vanden ontfangt tot gure  
 tot gure

1

In lammehmans te methele lootme  
 In lammehmans te methele lootme

Valuwe start smontpot  
 Antoon gure andruss  
 Gelyck gabriel v  
 Jan gure andruss tot lammeh  
 gure gure gure gure gure  
 gure gure gure gure gure  
 gure gure gure gure gure  
 gure gure gure gure gure

1  
 1  
 1  
 1  
 1  
 1  
 1  
 1

Brede

De vanden ontfangt tot brede  
 gure gure gure gure gure

1  
 1

Fruesfel

De vanden ontfangt tot fruesfel

1



Joel bishpoek van voerspoel

Die van den by Jan (Sint) vanst ontfangen  
vanden vanden vanden vanden

xxxv

**Jan bishpoek vander leen loetmeester**  
vanden vanden vanden vanden

- Jan bishpoek van vanden vanden vanden
- Jan bishpoek van vanden vanden vanden
- Jan bishpoek van vanden vanden vanden
- Jan bishpoek van vanden vanden vanden
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- Jan bishpoek van vanden vanden vanden
- Jan bishpoek van vanden vanden vanden

**Jan xpien die hommeke ontfangen**  
vanden vanden vanden vanden

- Jan xpien die hommeke ontfangen
- Jan xpien die hommeke ontfangen
- Jan xpien die hommeke ontfangen
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- Jan xpien die hommeke ontfangen
- Jan xpien die hommeke ontfangen

xxxv



|                          |       |
|--------------------------|-------|
| Wilt die lot loyde       | 7 lot |
| Wilt die van Rorvichelot | 7     |
| Wilt die van Colis       | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum      | 7     |

97

Wilt die van Wierum

Wilt die van Wierum

|                     |       |
|---------------------|-------|
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7 lot |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |
| Wilt die van Wierum | 7     |

Die die bouwmeester  
 Die meester van den bouwmeester  
 Die meester van den bouwmeester  
 Die meester van den bouwmeester

Die dordrechtse int die ongheschiede  
 Die dordrechtse int die ongheschiede  
 Die dordrechtse int die ongheschiede  
 Die dordrechtse int die ongheschiede

Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede  
 Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede  
 Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede  
 Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede

Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede  
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 Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede

Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede  
 Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede  
 Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede  
 Inden haaghe int die ongheschiede

Die dordrechtse





— 1 Bu  
— 1  
— 1  
— 1

Der Vauß auß fangt zu fangen von der ege - bey holt  
 (9. 12)

En laetop van blesboomk lootmeest' tot self  
 In de eerste ontfangst van ontfangst van

|                             |   |    |
|-----------------------------|---|----|
| Die Gensone hat sich selbst | — | 66 |
| Die Gensone hat sich selbst | — | 1  |
| Die Gensone hat sich selbst | — | 11 |
| Die Gensone hat sich selbst | — | 11 |

Londen int Jaer ontfonden  
E. W. van

|                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| Van het Anspioneren              |   | y |
| Eerst van Roepen                 |   | i |
| Gedrag van poortheft             | v | x |
| Iste band deel                   | m | m |
| In p'stich                       | m | m |
| Zal heiligerzucht van Valerianus |   | l |
| god gaf god nam y m              |   | l |
| Dankte en dankte om god          |   | l |

Erstlich von Dingy ist gesagt

— my son

By Cornelis Jansen tot Rotterdam  
Leetmeester ontfangen in de Cr. W. van

Leetmiesche ontfangen in der Erbsitzung

Was nicht fort advenenß  
 Ein mallohen jußte jußte dotten dante  
 merckel sumen dorge vollen hant  
 Sy dille mit guden vollen Bullen  
 Jan ydantelß tinget  
 Von der hat fast frouen vuy wort veyß  
 merckel ydte vuy beßer wuyß purß  
 Was hat d' spartt nist qualite vuyß  
 Ist god vuy all p 162



|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| Comen slant op eenenich hant | v |
| gheset hant kint op hant     | v |
| hant kint meester petrus d   | v |
| adams hant op gaelehof       | v |
| Te potten maffen ven d       | v |
| jan aelckes die dant         | v |
| hant kint op hant            | v |
| adams hant op gaelehof       | v |
| leu dant dant                | v |
| meester kint symon           | v |
| blanc dant gaelehof d        | v |
| Macht dant laet dant p f b   | v |
| Offen dant kint kint         | v |

## Vander goudke

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| Goudke                   | v |
| dat gaelehof kint kint d | v |
| jan dant kint dant       | v |

## Van schoenhoven

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| jan dant                 | v |
| dant kint                | v |
| goudke p f van kint kint | v |
| jan dant kint kint       | v |
| meester kint van kint    | v |
| jan dant                 | v |
| dant kint van kint       | v |
| vander kint kint kint    | v |

reby.

dat van dant kint kint  
vander kint kint

Folia in the city account of 1506/07 which list the persons who helped in the lottery in exchange for lottery tickets, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 1363.



Die lofmeestel van swenhouen  
 (meestel) lofmeestel der bergstraten  
 Die lute van lofmeestel  
 Die lofmeestel vander hege

7 64

7

my

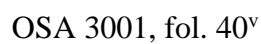
1

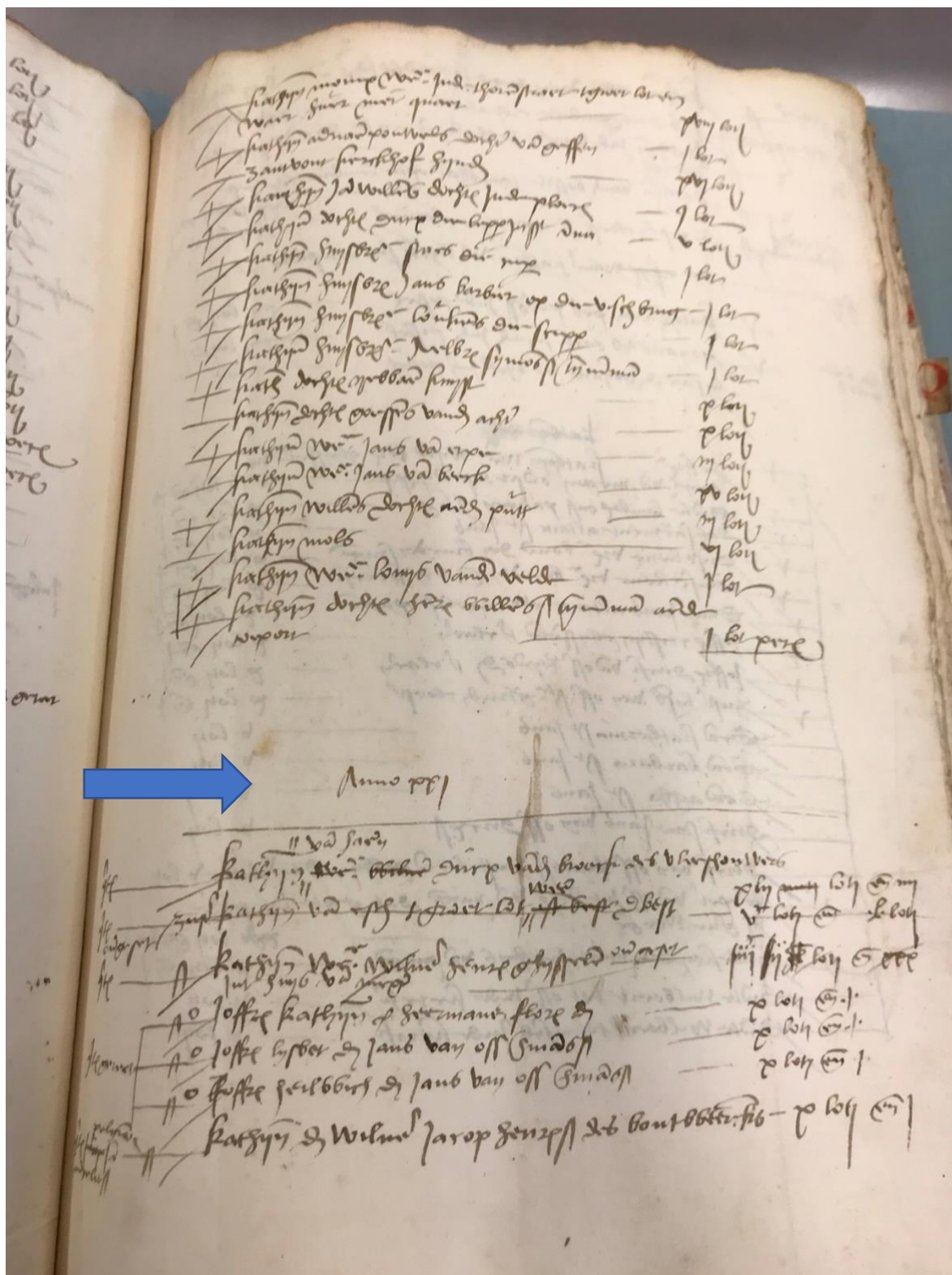
Summe van 24 77 lofmeestel 64 64  
 lofmeestel 64 64

lofmeestel



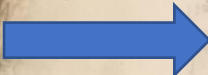
Examples of folia in the lottery register of Henrick die Bye demonstrating the division of lottery of 1506 and 1521/22.





OSA 3001, fol. 55<sup>r</sup>.





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## **Appendix XIII:**

## **Codicological description of OSA 3001**

### **1. Heading**

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Titel of the manuscript:    | The manuscript itself is not titled. In the inventory of the city archive of 's-Hertogenbosch the manuscript is described as 'Register waarin verkochte loten op eerste letter van de naam van de koper ingeschreven zijn, 1521-1522'   |
| Place of origin:            | 's-Hertogenbosch  |
| Kept at:                    | The municipal archive Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 3001  |
| Language of the manuscript: | Middle-Dutch, with some lottery rhymes and 'prosen' in French and Latin   |
| Date:                       | In the inventory of the municipal archive Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch this manuscript is dated in the years 1521-1522, in accordance with the years when the second lottery in 's-Hertogenbosch was held. However, the manuscript also contains the registration of lottery buyers of the lottery in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1506. The dating of the register can be determined fifteen years earlier than mentioned in the inventory. |

### **2. Description of the manuscript**

#### **2.1. The manuscript**

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| Material:             | Cover of parchment, flyleaves and folia inside the manuscript of paper with watermark  |
| Number of leaves:     | 241  |
| Quire structure:      | The manuscript consists of twenty quires which are bound by two leathers.  |
| Lay-out of the pages: | <p>The flyleaves have two columns of text with blank space on all sides. On parts of the blank space glosses are written.</p> <p>The folia of the register itself contain the summing up of names of lottery buyers (sometimes with additional information) and on the same ruling the number of tickets that they purchased. Per folium approximately twenty-five names are listed.</p> |

## 2.2. Script

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| Number of hands:         | The flyleaves are written by one hand. The majority of the folia of the lottery register has been written by one hand, the hand of Henrick die Bye. Some names in the register have a divergent script so these might have been written by another hand. Perhaps certain lottery buyers insisted on writing their name themselves, or were they invited to so because of difficulties in spelling. |
| Structuring of the text: | Alphabetically by the letter of the first name. Every first page of each alphabet letter has a custode attached with the corresponding letter.   |

## 2.3. Decoration

There are no decorations in the manuscript, with exception of a few decorated capitals on the flyleaves.

## 3. Description of the cover

The cover is made of parchment. The only original element on it is the writing of Henrick die Bye on the back cover, namely: *Registre vanden quitancien die op die lotinge ingeleegt hebben/Beginnende xxi aprillis anno sexto nae pa[..]*. It is signed by Henrick die Bye.

On the front cover two coats of arms are pasted, as well as one coat of arm on the back cover. These pasted papers cannot be dated but is highly assumable that this occurred in the nineteenth or twentieth century.

## 4. History of the manuscript

The manuscript has been created in 1506 by Henrick die Bye, assigned as clerk of the lottery of 1506. In the register all names of lottery buyers were written as well as the amount of purchased tickets. The register is probably used as record for the drafting of the city account of 1506/07 which includes a detailed listing of lottery participants and the amount of purchased tickets. Henrick die Bye did not use all folia bounded in the register. For the second lottery in 1521/22 the same Hendrick die Bye used the register again. It must have been preserved carefully in the meantime, between 1506 and 1521. This manuscript has been kept ever since by the municipal archive in 's-Hertogenbosch. For the third lottery another register has been created.

## 5. Contents

|   |  |
|---|--|
| fols 1 <sup>r</sup> -1 <sup>v</sup> :   | blank  |
| fols 2 <sup>r</sup> -5 <sup>v</sup> :   | first names starting with letter A [of lottery of 1506]                |
| fols 6 <sup>r</sup> -8 <sup>v</sup> :   | <i>lotinge anno xxi</i>  |
| fols 9 <sup>r</sup> -12 <sup>v</sup> :  | blank  |
| fols 13 <sup>r</sup> -13 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter B [of lottery of 1506]                |
| fols 14 <sup>r</sup> -15 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter B [of lottery of 1521]                |
| small scrap paper                       |  |
| fols 16 <sup>r</sup> -21 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fols 22 <sup>r</sup> -22 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter C [of lottery of 1506]                |
| fols 23 <sup>r</sup> -24 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>post Re<sup>ii</sup> xxi</i> [lottery of 1521]                      |
| fols 24 <sup>v</sup> -29 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fols 30 <sup>r</sup> -31 <sup>r</sup> : | first names starting with letter D [of lottery of 1506]                |
| fols 31 <sup>v</sup> -33 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>anno xxi</i> [lottery of 1521]                                      |
| fols 34 <sup>r</sup> -36 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| small scrap paper                       |  |
| fols 37 <sup>r</sup> -37 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>Dirck van van Hedel overgebrocht xv july anno xxii<sup>dc</sup></i> |
| fols 38 <sup>r</sup> -39 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fols 40 <sup>r</sup> -40 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter E [of lottery of 1506]                |
| fol. 40 <sup>v</sup> :                  | <i>Remigii anno xxii<sup>du</sup></i> [lottery of 1521]                |
| fols 41 <sup>r</sup> -42 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fols 43 <sup>r</sup> -43 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter F [of lottery of 1506]                |
| fols 44 <sup>r</sup> -45 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>anno xxii<sup>du</sup></i>  |
| fols 46 <sup>r</sup> -49 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter G [of lottery of 1506]                |
| fol. 49 <sup>v</sup> :                  | <i>lotinge xxii</i>  |
| fols 50 <sup>r</sup> -50 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>lotinge xii Re<sup>ii</sup> xxi</i>                                 |
| fols 51 <sup>r</sup> -52 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>Gerit van Berlicum overgeset</i> [lottery of 1521]                  |
| fols 52 <sup>v</sup> -55 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>G. Zantvoirt</i> [lottery of 1506]                                  |
| fols 55 <sup>v</sup> -67 <sup>r</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 67 <sup>v</sup> :                  | one name   |
| fols 68 <sup>r</sup> -71 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter H [lottery of 1506]                   |
| fols 72 <sup>r</sup> -74 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>ontfanck lotinge post Re<sup>ii</sup> xxi</i>                       |
| fols 75 <sup>r</sup> -90 <sup>r</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 91 <sup>v</sup> :                  | one name   |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| fol. 92 <sup>r</sup> -98 <sup>v</sup> :   | first names starting with letter J [lottery of 1506]   |
| fol. 99 <sup>r</sup> -104 <sup>r</sup> :  | <i>lotinge xxi</i>   |
| fol. 104 <sup>v</sup> -115 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 116 <sup>r</sup> -117 <sup>r</sup> : | first names starting with letter K [lottery of 1506]   |
| fol. 117 <sup>r</sup> -117 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>anno xxi</i>  |
| fol. 118 <sup>r</sup> -137 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 138 <sup>r</sup> -138 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter L [lottery of 1506]   |
| letter of Willem Baliart                  |  |
| fol. 139 <sup>r</sup> -140 <sup>r</sup> : | first names starting with letter L [lottery of 1506]   |
| fol. 140 <sup>v</sup> :                   | blank  |
| fol. 141 <sup>r</sup> -142 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>Jan Hermansz lootmeester te Mechelen overgegeven dese loten</i><br>[loten uit Brussel, Mechelen, Breda in 1506]                           |
| fol. 143 <sup>r</sup> :                   | <i>Tot Antwerpen noch ontfangen by Jannen Hermansz</i> [lottery of 1506]   |
| fol. 143 <sup>v</sup> -145 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>In de letteren L anno xxi inleggen van lotinge</i> [lottery of 1521]  |
| fol. 145 <sup>v</sup> -153 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 154 <sup>r</sup> -155 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>looten overgelevert by Zegeren Jacopsz als lootmeester in den stat van Huesden</i> [lottery of 1506]                                      |
| fol. 155 <sup>r</sup> :                   | <i>Leyden</i> [lottery of 1506]  |
| fol. 155 <sup>v</sup> :                   | names of buyers of various cities [lottery of 1506]  |
| fol. 156 <sup>r</sup> :                   | <i>Amsterdamme by hueren lootmeester overgelevert</i><br><i>Loven</i><br><i>Arschot</i><br>[lottery of 1506]                                 |
| fol. 156 <sup>v</sup> -162 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 163 <sup>r</sup> -166 <sup>r</sup> : | first names starting with letter M [lottery of 1506]   |
| fol. 166 <sup>r</sup> -168 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>post Re<sup>ii</sup> xxi</i> [lottery of 1521]  |
| fol. 169 <sup>r</sup> -170 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>joffre campen</i>   |
| fol. 171 <sup>r</sup> -171 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 172 <sup>r</sup> -174 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>xviii July anno 22 ende gerit inden gulden cop geleverd</i><br><i>Johan Heynck bourgemeester ten Berge overgesonden</i> [lottery of 1522] |
| fol. 175 <sup>r</sup> -179 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>ix, x, xi, xii, xiii ende xiiii July anno 22/tot hyntham innegeleecht</i>   |
| fol. 180 <sup>r</sup> -183 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 184 <sup>r</sup> :                   | first names starting with letter N [lottery of 1506]<br><i>lotinge xxii</i> [lottery of 1522]  |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| fol. 184 <sup>v</sup> -186 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>lotinge xxii</i> [lottery of 1522]                |
| fol. 186 <sup>v</sup> -188 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 189 <sup>r</sup> :                   | first names starting with letter O [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 189 <sup>v</sup> :                   | <i>Anno xxi</i>                                      |
| fol. 190 <sup>r</sup> -190 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>Oisterwijck</i> [lottery of 1521]                 |
| fol. 191 <sup>r</sup> -192 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter P [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 192 <sup>v</sup> :                   | <i>Lotinge anno xxi scorcops qs</i>                  |
| small scrap paper                         |  |
| fol. 193 <sup>r</sup> :                   | <i>Lotinge anno xxi scorcops qs</i>                  |
| fol. 193 <sup>v</sup> :                   | <i>Peter van Achelen tolbrug overgeset</i>           |
| fol. 194 <sup>r</sup> -196 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>o.a. Peterken Coenen begyn qs overgeset</i>       |
| fol. 196 <sup>v</sup> -203 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| small scrap paper                         |  |
| fol. 204 <sup>r</sup> :                   | <i>anno 22</i>                                       |
| fol. 204 <sup>v</sup> :                   | blank  |
| fol. 205 <sup>r</sup> -205 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter R [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 206 <sup>r</sup> -206 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>Anno xxi</i>                                      |
| fol. 207 <sup>r</sup> -207 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 208 <sup>r</sup> -208 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter S [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 209 <sup>r</sup> -209 <sup>v</sup> : | [lottery of 1521]                                    |
| fol. 210 <sup>r</sup> -211 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 212 <sup>r</sup> -212 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter T [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 212 <sup>v</sup> -213 <sup>r</sup> : | <i>lotinge xxi<sup>o</sup></i>                       |
| fol. 213 <sup>v</sup> -214 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| small scrap paper                         |  |
| fol. 215 <sup>r</sup> -216 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter U [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 216 <sup>v</sup> :                   | ii <sup>te</sup> lotinge                             |
| small scrap paper                         |  |
| fol. 217 <sup>r</sup> -218 <sup>r</sup> : | ii <sup>te</sup> lotinge                             |
| fol. 218 <sup>v</sup> -219 <sup>r</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 219 <sup>v</sup> :                   | ii <sup>te</sup> lotinge                             |
| fol. 220 <sup>r</sup> -224 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 225 <sup>r</sup> :                   | first names starting with letter X [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 225 <sup>v</sup> :                   | blank  |

small scrap paper

|   |  |
|---|--|
| fols 226 <sup>r</sup> -231 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fols 232 <sup>r</sup> -232 <sup>v</sup> : | first names starting with letter Y [lottery of 1506] |
| fol. 233 <sup>r</sup> :                   | <i>lotinge post Remigii xxi</i>                      |
| fols 233 <sup>v</sup> -234 <sup>v</sup> : | blank  |
| fol. 235 <sup>r</sup> :                   | first names starting with letter Z [lottery of 1506] |
| fols 235 <sup>r</sup> -235 <sup>v</sup> : | <i>post Remigii xxi</i>                              |
| fol. 236 <sup>r</sup> :                   | [helpers lottery anno xxii]                          |
| fol. 236 <sup>v</sup> :                   | [lottery 1521]                                       |

## **6. Literature**

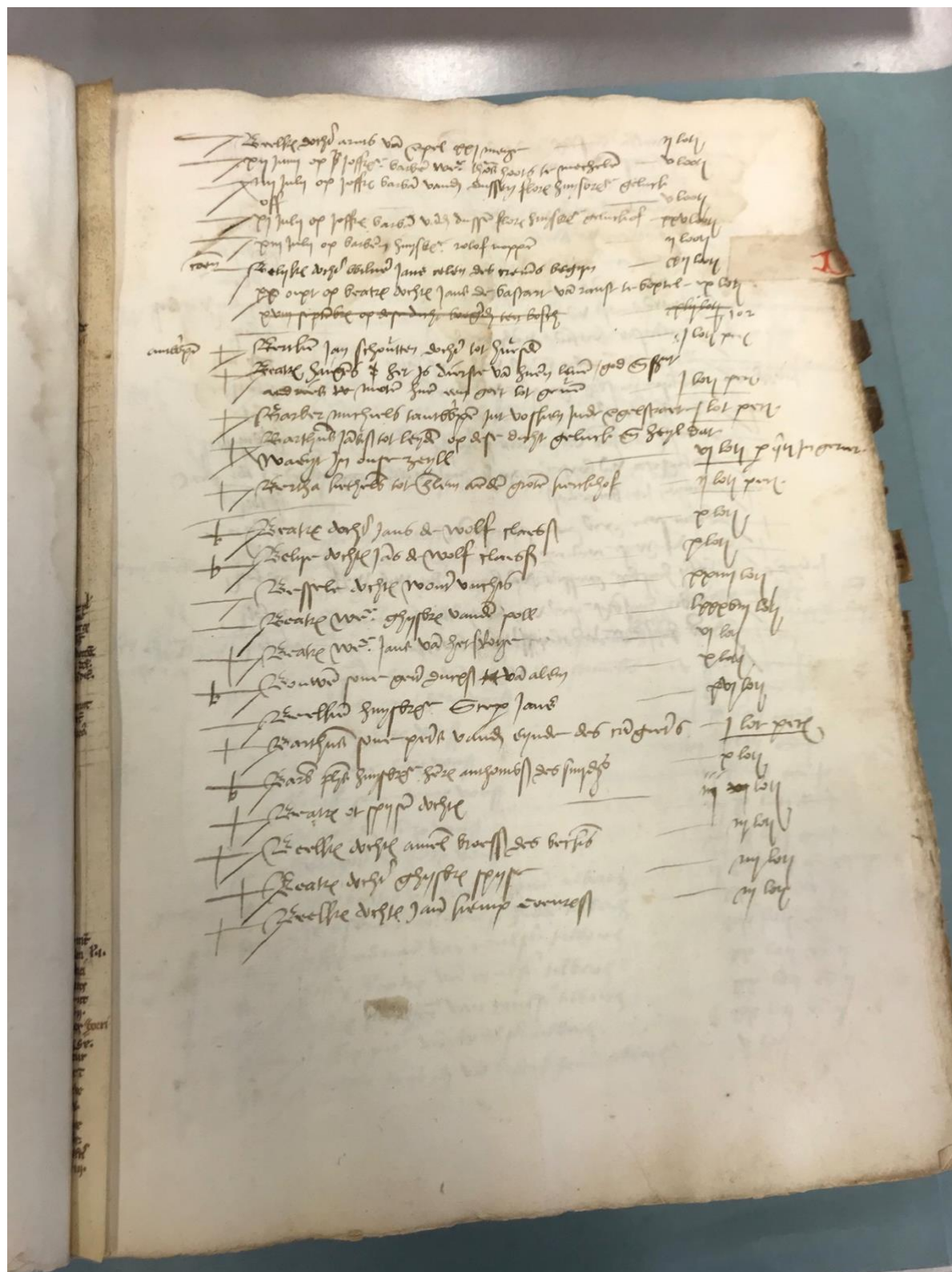
The part of the register concerning the lottery of 1506 has never been discussed in secondary literature.

## **7. Illustrations**

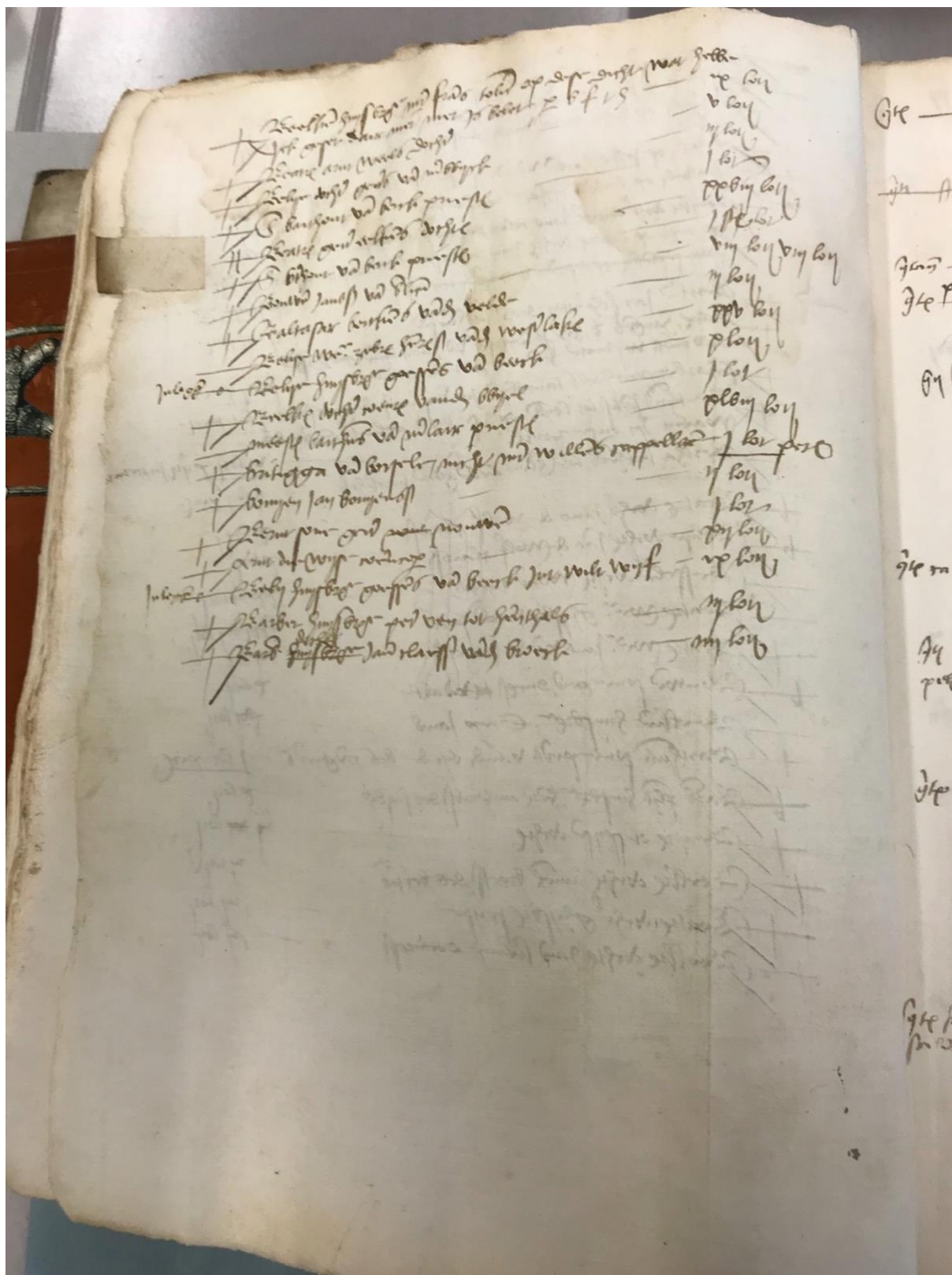
See Appendix III.



**Appendix XIV:** Use of margins in the lottery register with streaks, short notes and *inleggen* 0, example of the letter B.

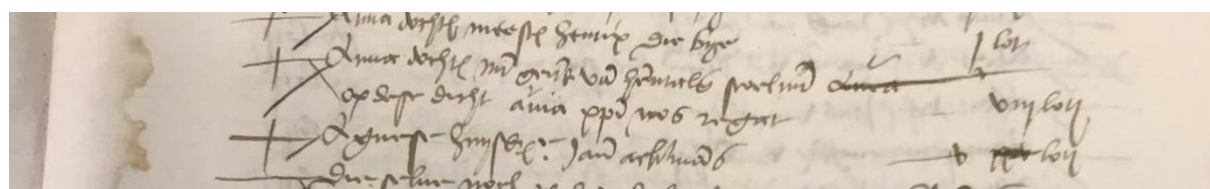
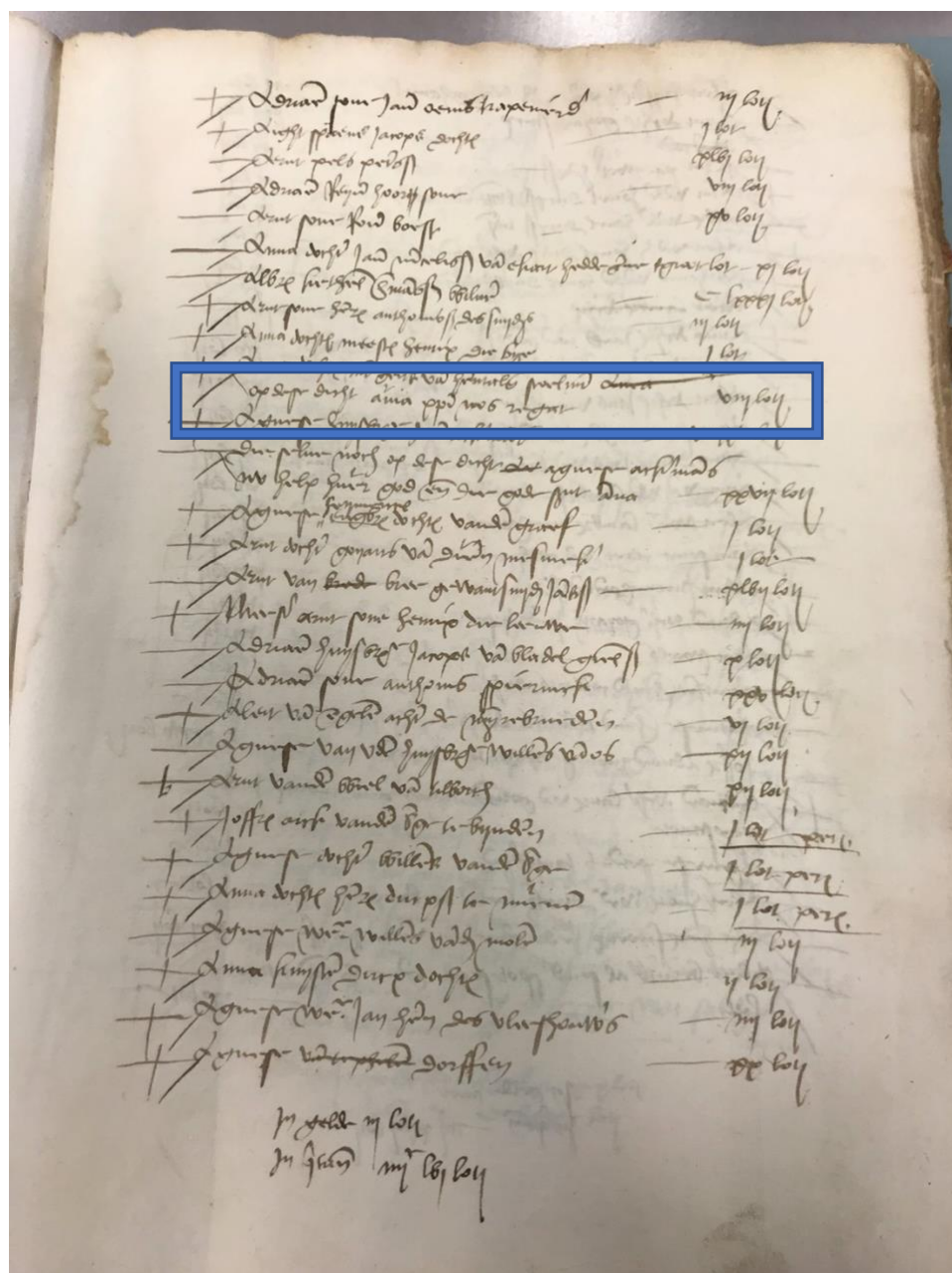






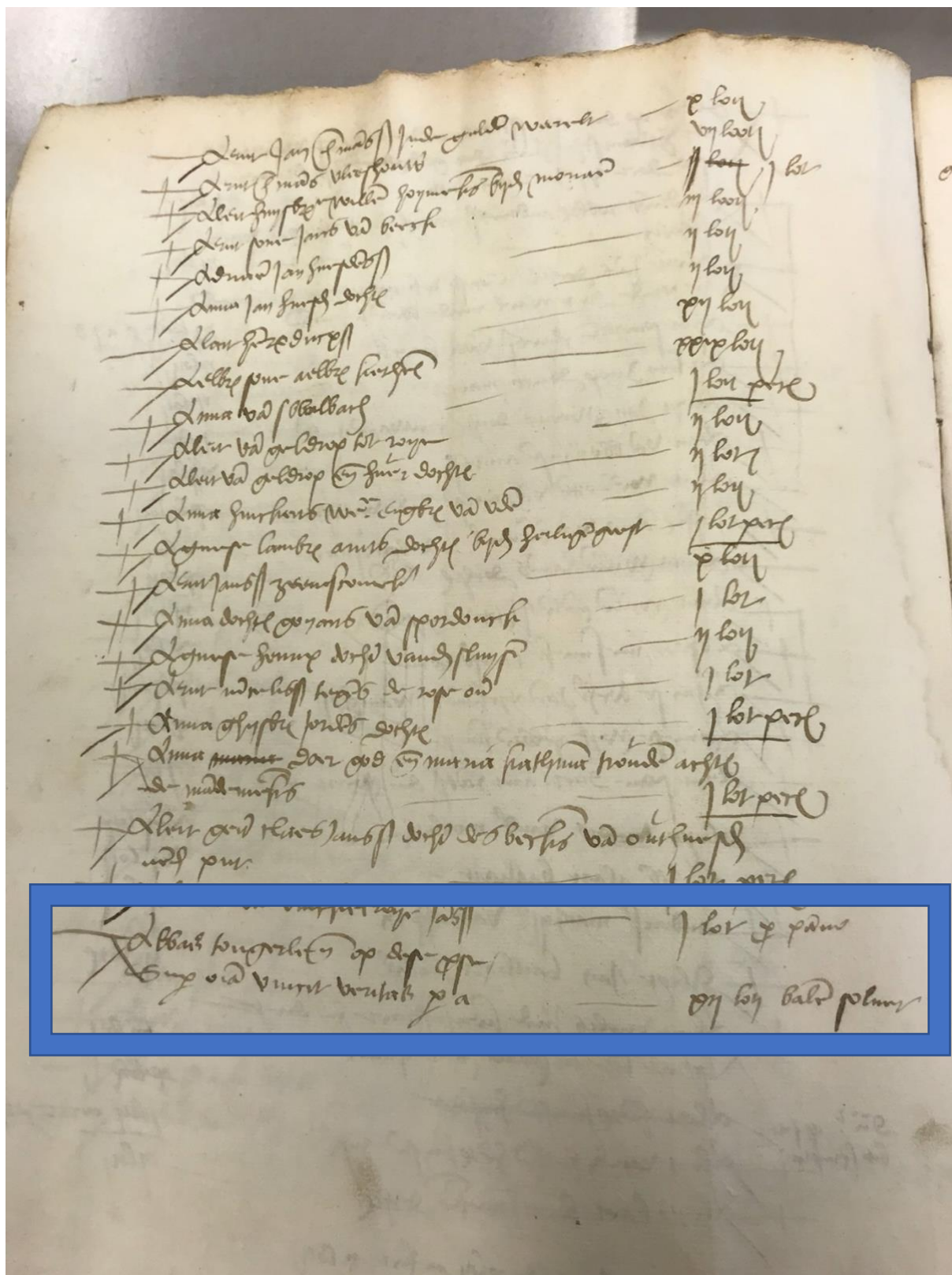
OSA 3001, fol. 13v.

**Appendix XV:** Latin *prosen* in lottery register of Henrick die Bye, Erfgoed 's-Hertogenbosch, OSA 3001.

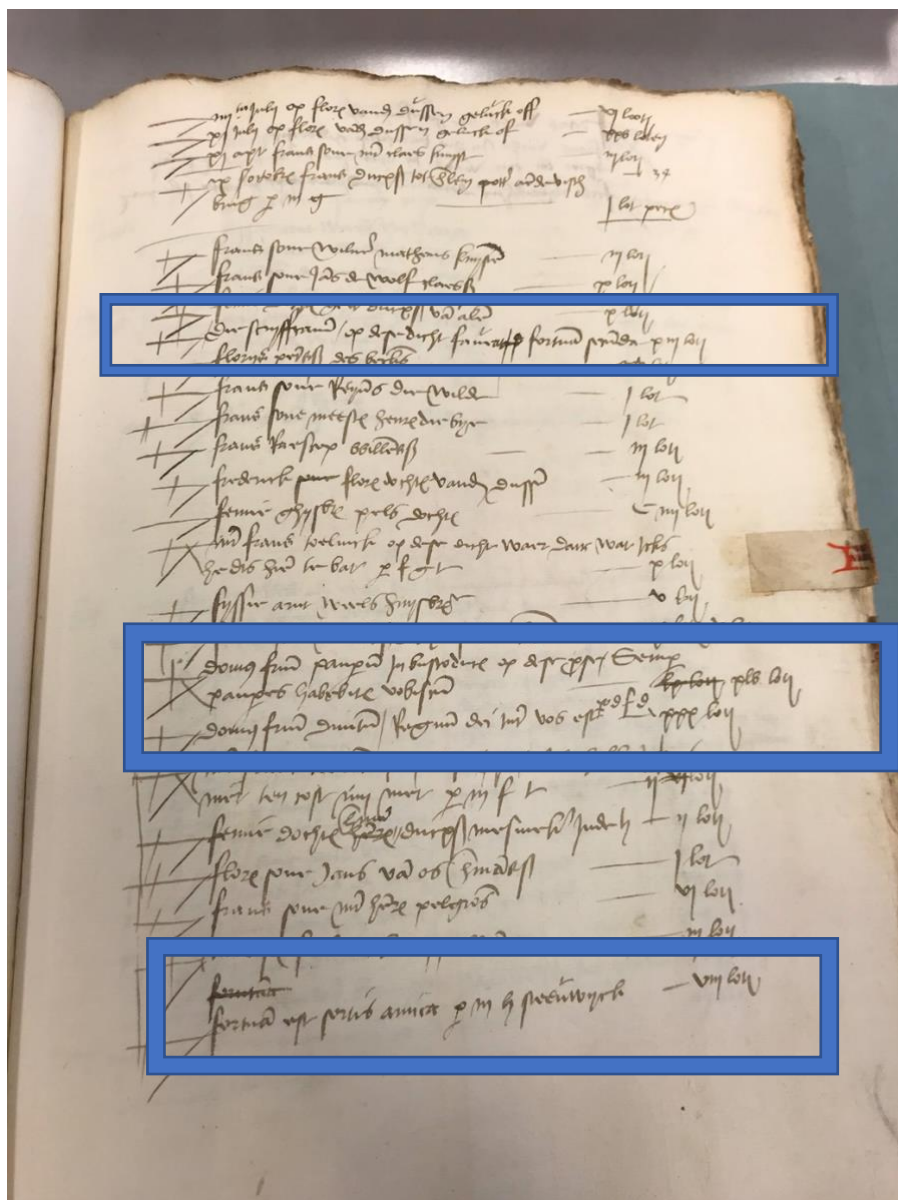


OSA 3001, fol. 3r.





OSA 3001, fol. 5v.

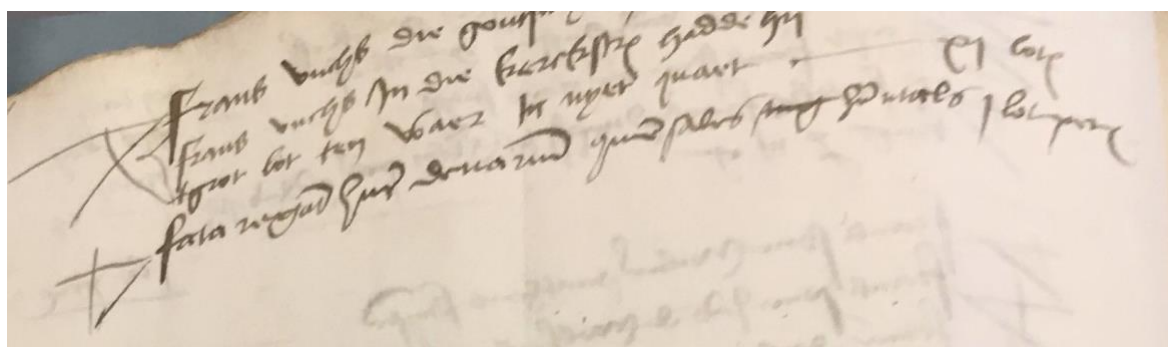
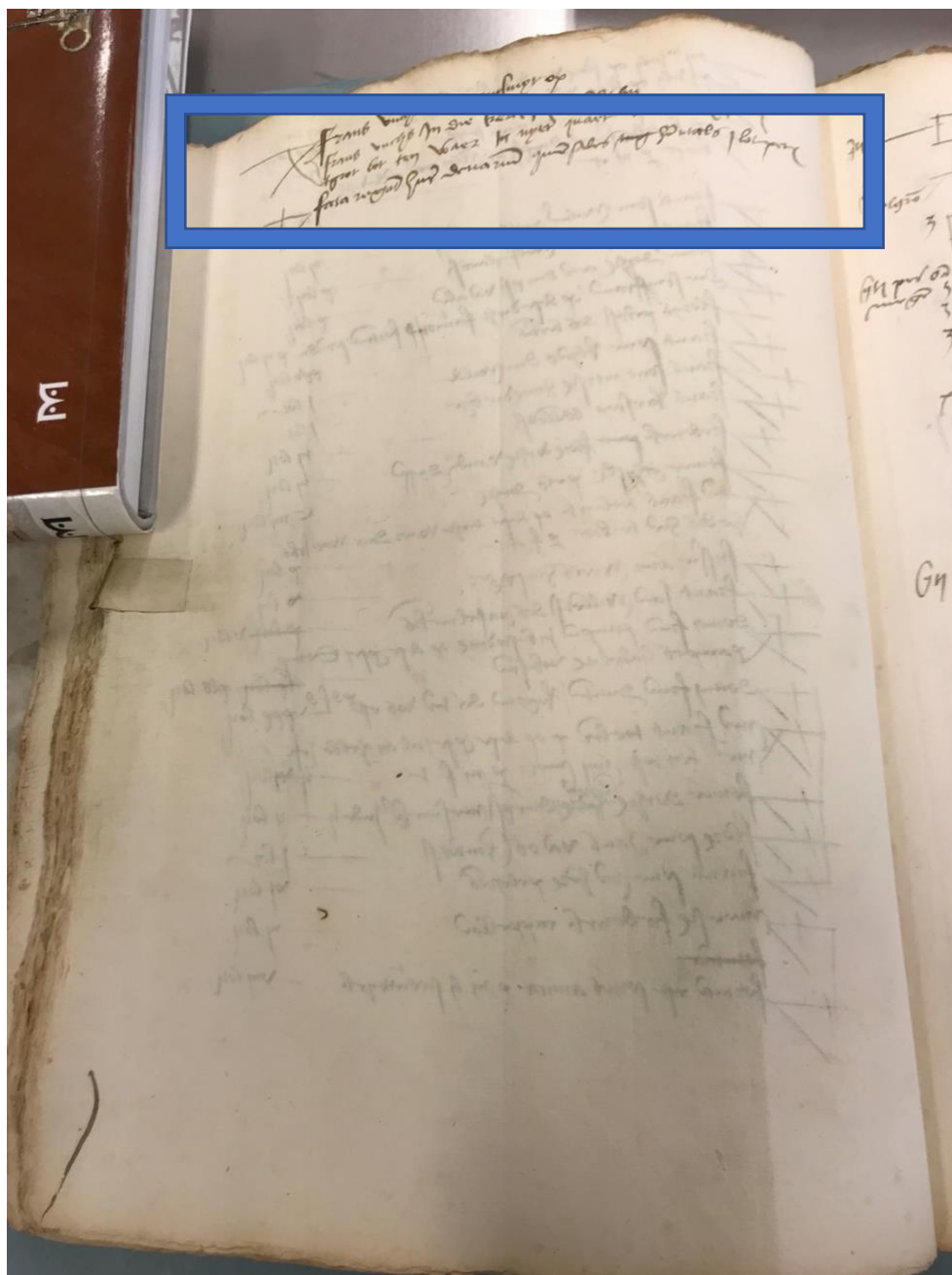


~~Der frufftman / op d'p-durft frumtff fortuud pruden p m by~~  
~~flouye p'dess d's b'nd~~

~~Donny fund ramped in b'p'odure op d'p d'p'p' Eximp~~  
~~pampes Gabebure vobifud~~  
~~Donny fund d'm'd / k'gund d'i ind vob opt~~

~~frumtff~~  
~~frumtff op p'nd amix p m h p'nd'v'g'h~~

OSA 3001, fol. 43r.



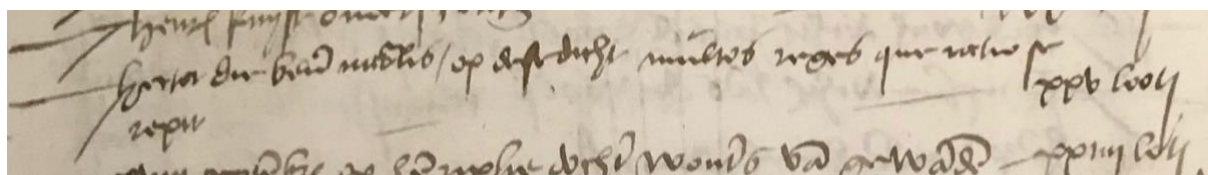
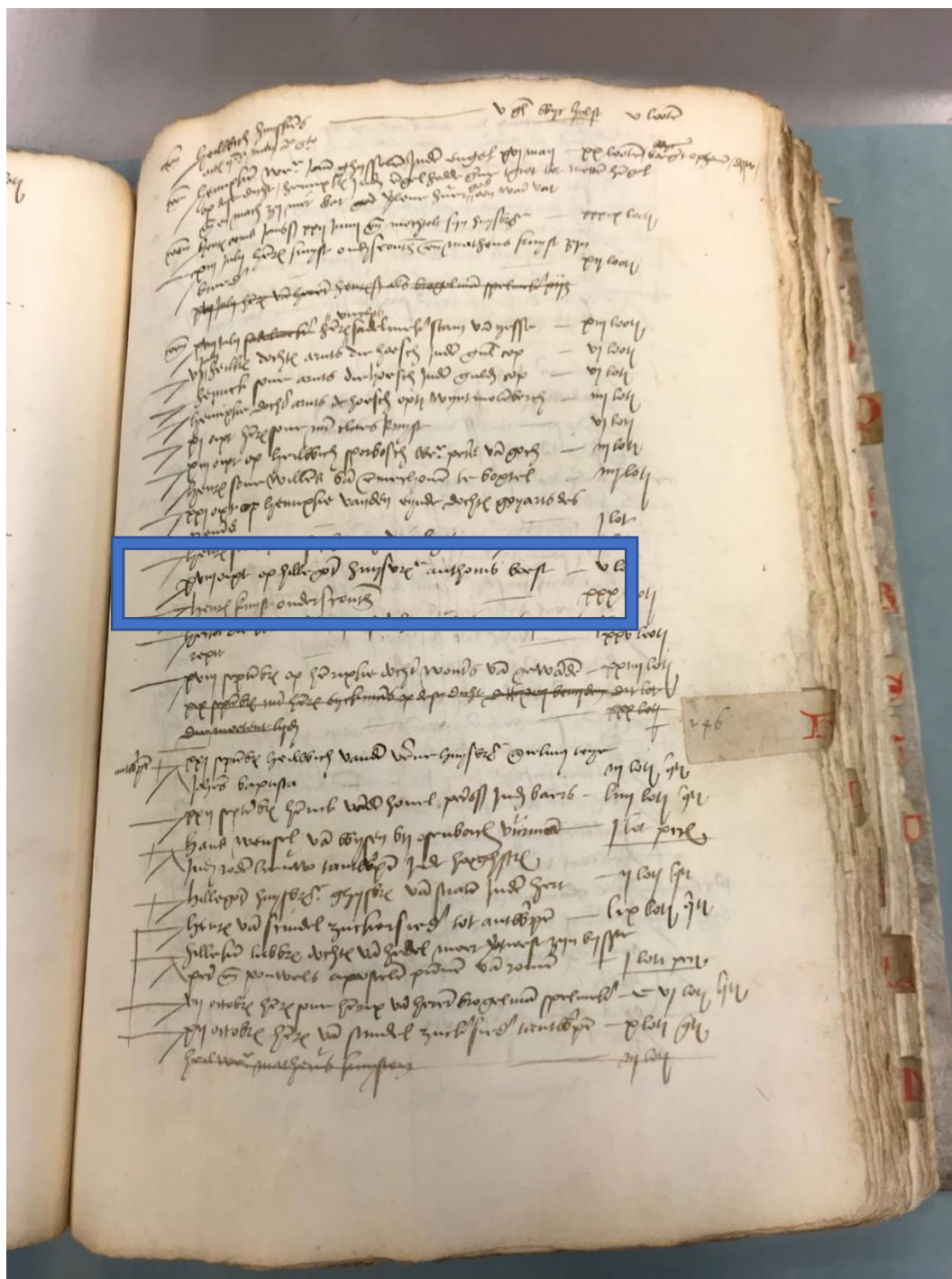
OSA 3001, fol. 43v.





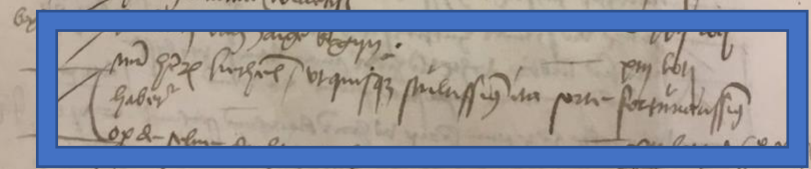
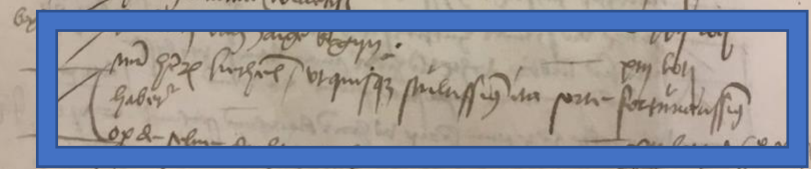


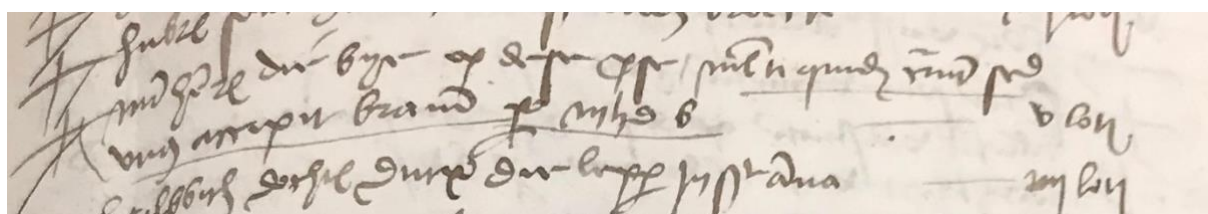
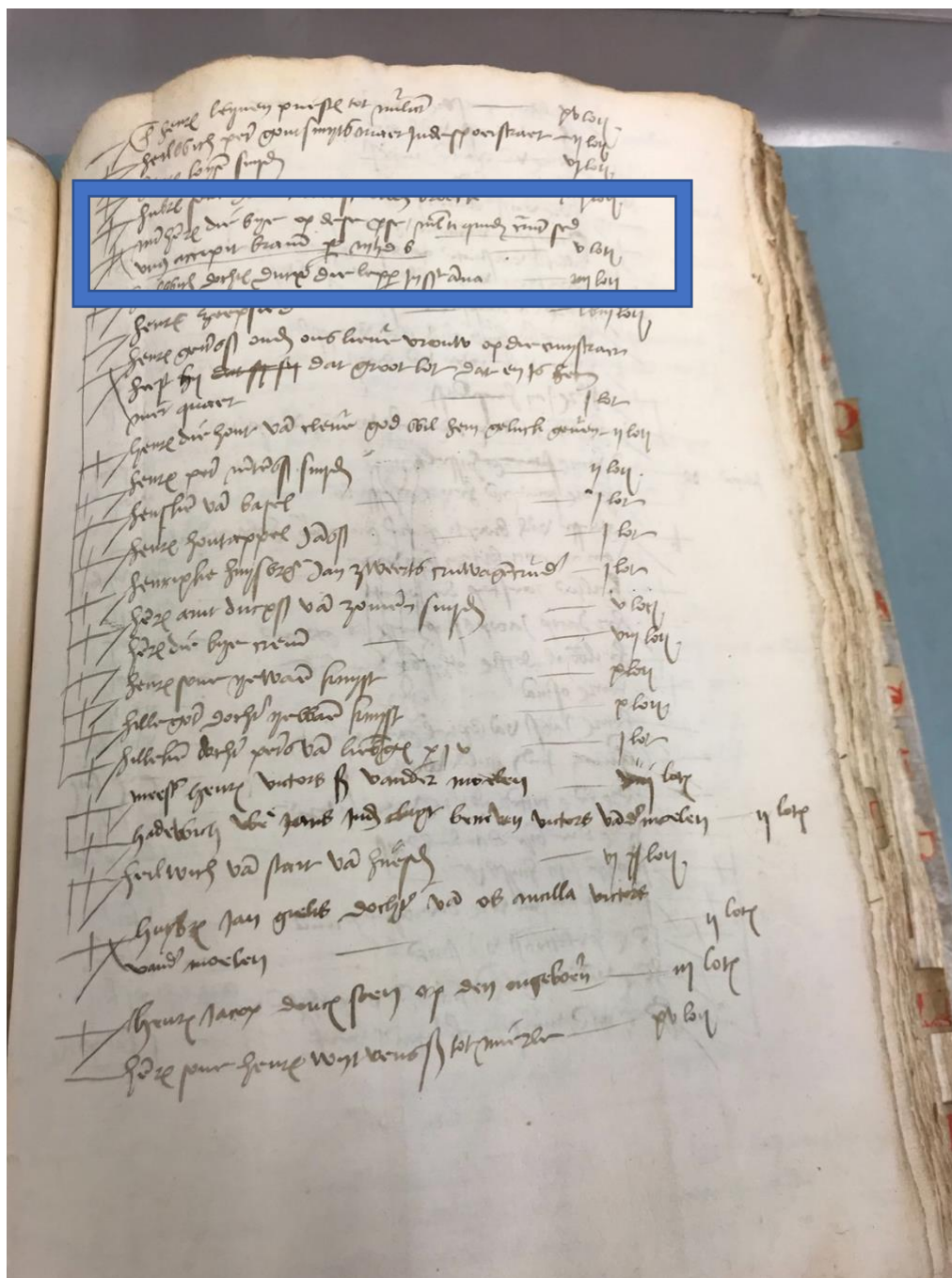




OSA 3001, fol. 68r.





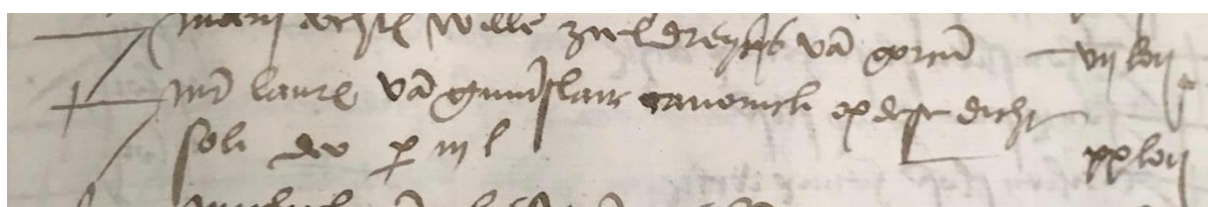
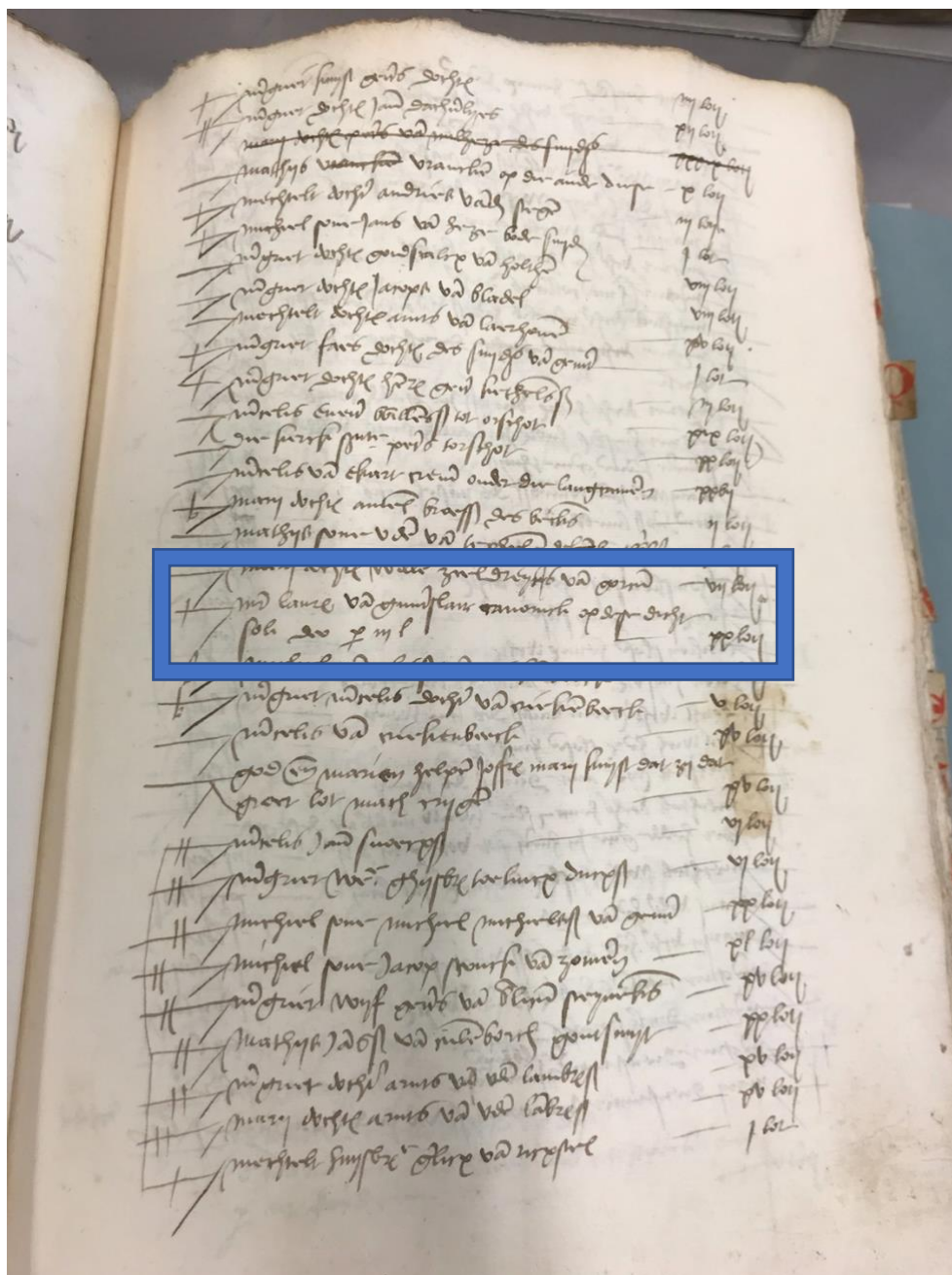


OSA 3001, fol. 71r.









OSA 3001, fol. 164r.



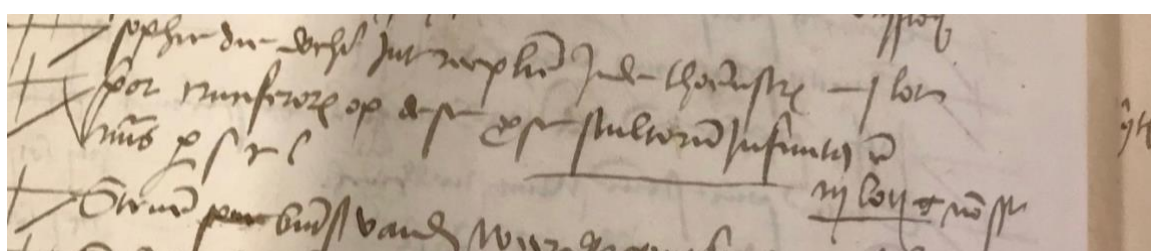
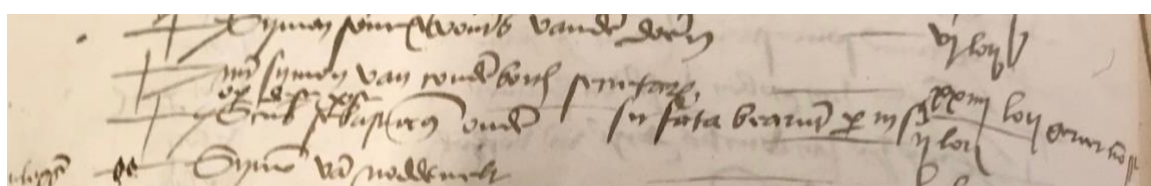
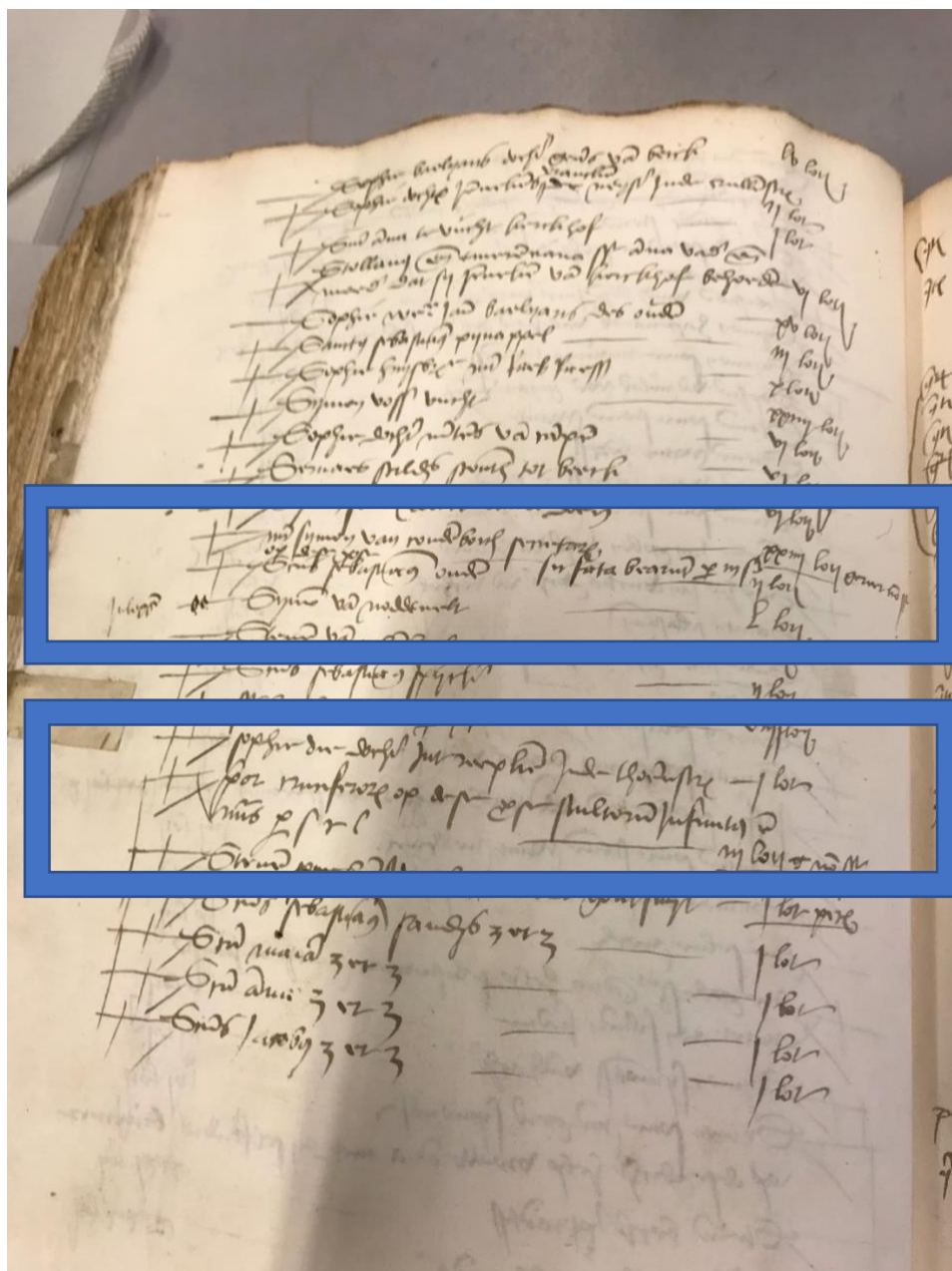






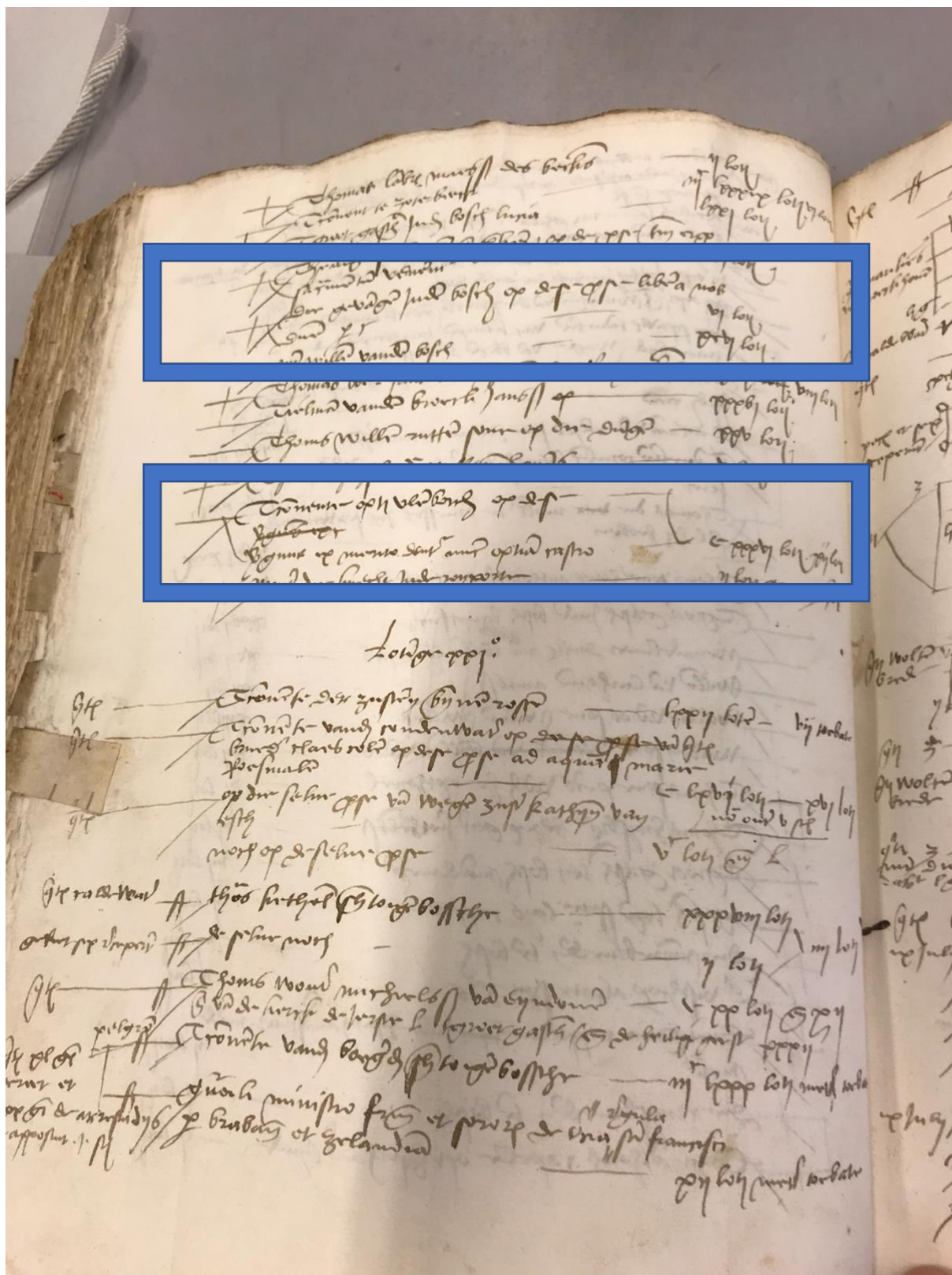








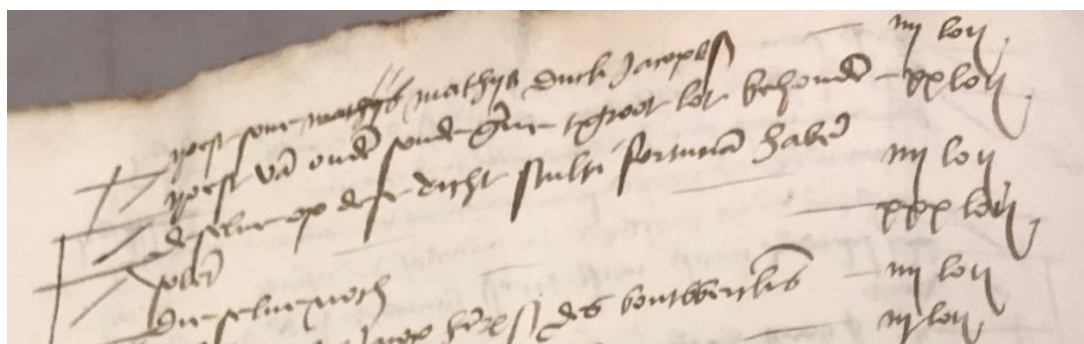
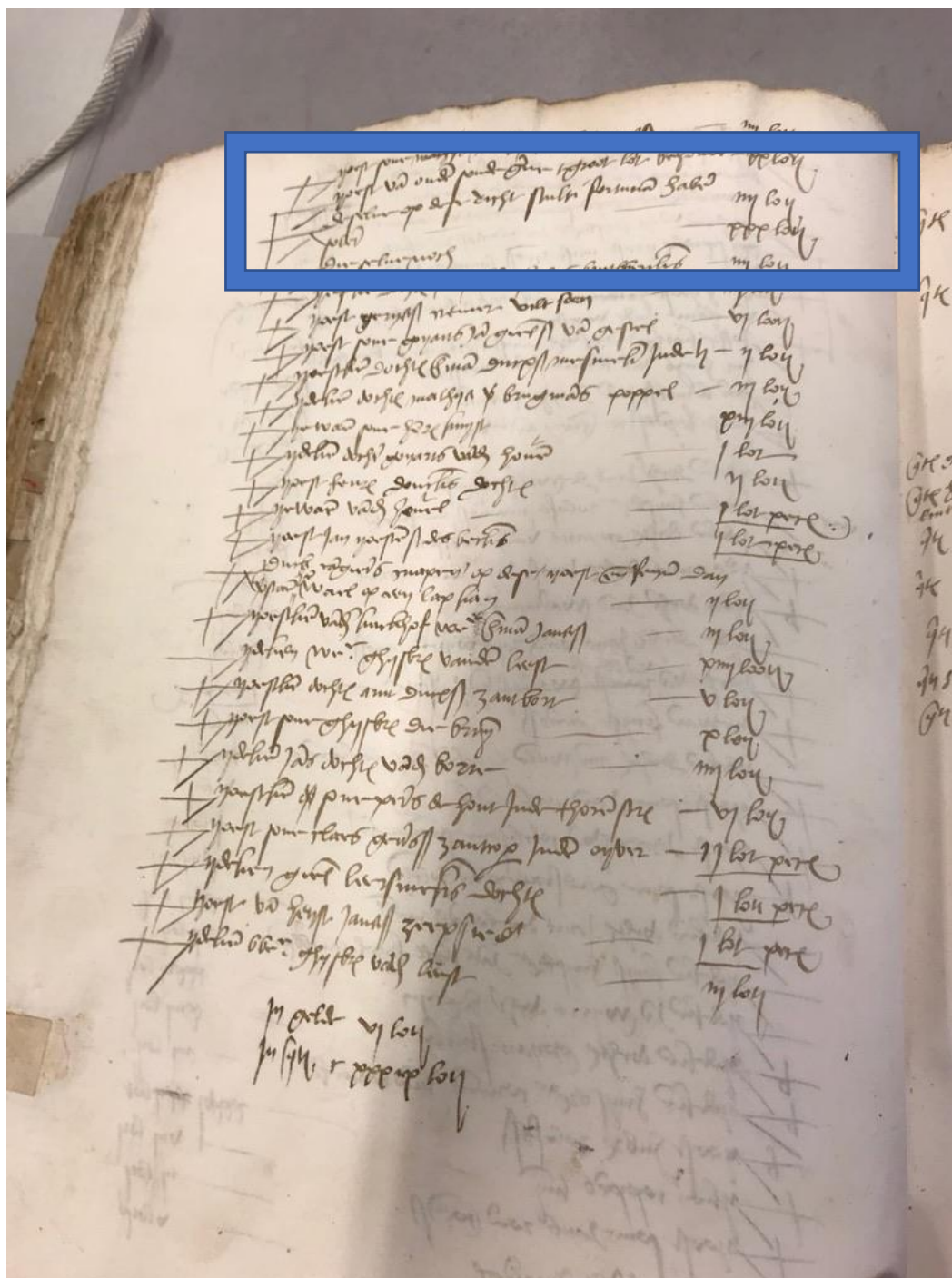




OSA 3001, fol. 212v.







## Appendix XVI: Overview of rhymers and their rhymes

| Rhymers   | Rhymes   | Number of tickets |
|---|--|-------------------|
| <b>DRIVING FORCES</b>                           |  |                   |
| Frans Toelinck                                  | op dese dicht waet dair wat icks hedis hier te bat per f t   | 12                |
|   | op dese prose al en hebbe ick niet ten cost mij niet per m f t   |                   |
| Beelken Toelinck                                | op dese dicht wat hebbe ick geset dair met niet is belet per b f t h   | 9                 |
| Wouter Oems                                     | wat doet stockvisch so in den boter per w o  | 9                 |
| Anna, dochter Jan Marceliszoon van Ekart        | hedde gerne tgroot lot   | 11                |
| Jan van Nymegen                                 | meester Jan van Nymmegen op dese dicht/Regina in hof tAntwerpen  | 14                |
| Henrick die Bye                                 | Op dese prose multi quidem currung sed unus accipit bravium p m h d b  | 5                 |
| Ancelmus Teye                                   | Christus Maria Anna Johannes Ewangelist et Jacobus per a t   | 5                 |
| Heilwich van der Venne huysvrouwe Ancelmus Teye | Johannes Baptista  | 9                 |
| Elyaes sone Ancelmus Teye tAntwerpen            | St. Jeronimus  | 3                 |
| Marie dochter Ancelmus Teye tAntwerpen          | St. Michiel  | 1                 |
| Henrixken Ghyssele                              | op dese dicht/henrixken in den engel hedde gerne tgrot lot metten<br>hengel ende en mach zy niet dat god verlene huer god een watervat | 20                |
| Sunte Katherina gilde                           | Sunte Kathelina ghilde op dese dicht victrix doctorum katherina  | 12                |
| Jan de Wolf Claeszoon                           | op dese dicht/beraet god ende die goede sinte gereaeen/dat tgroot lot sal<br>hebben jan de Wolf tot zyn verdien                        | 120               |
| Henrick Coninck                                 | op dese prose watt scaedt versocht   | 2                 |
| Adriaen   | O gulden God gheeft Adriaen dat grote lot in den maen  | 3                 |
| <b>POLITICAL ELITE</b>                          |  |                   |
| Jan Monix scouteth in Pedelant                  | besiet oft fortuna gheeft yet  | 90                |
| Janna dochter Rutgers van Haeren                | op dese dicht al come ick after nae nootken ick hedde oock gerne een<br>lootken  | 44                |
| Meester Henrick Eyckmans                        | dit lot gheeft meester henrick eyckmans den grote gasthuys om god  | 30                |
| Lambert van den Heseacker                       | op dese prose lemme lecket crosen?   | 6                 |
| Gerit van den Heseacker                         | help God ende die moeder maria wil gerit van den heseacker metten<br>grooten lot verblyden   | 50                |
| Wouter Bolcx                                    | op dese dicht/den bolck is goet visch als hij nu wael gebotert is  | 39                |
| Goessen van den Broeck                          | per frater mortuo/help god almeloe om een goet lot/zy syn vroe   | 87                |
| Jan van Erpe                                    | al hadde hy tgroot lot scerp hy soude hem wel bedanken terp  | 90                |
| Lysbet huysvrouwe Jans van Erpe                 | op dese dicht die salige anna helpe my aen een silveren kanne  | 60                |
| Marten van Campen                               | op dese dicht /mucht geluck soe syn tgroot lot quame in den camp myn   | 125               |
| Matheus Kuyst                                   | die gode st Jan help Matheus Kuyst aen een silveren kan  | 25                |
| Mary Kuyst                                      | god ende marien helpe joffre mary kuyst dat zij dat groet lot mach<br>crijgen  | 15                |
| Meester Henrick ketheler Pelgrom                | ut quisque stultissius ita sorte fortunatissius habetur  | 22                |
| Yoest den Ouden                                 | yoest van ouden soude gerne tgroot lot behouden  | 54                |
|   | die selve op dese dicht stulti fortunam habent solent  |                   |
| Laurens van Gunterlair canonick                 | op dese dicht soli deo per m l   | 20                |
| Jan Matheuszoon van Gunterlair                  | Jan Matheusz in den bere tgroot lot is zyn begere  | 25                |

|   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
| Floris vanden Dussen                            | geluck off   | 31 |
| Barbara vanden Dussen                           | geluck off   | 30 |
|   |  |    |
| ECONOMIC ELITE AND CRAFTSMEN                    |  |    |
| Joris Sampson                                   | op dese prose maria maget reyne verleent my tgroot lot ofte een cleyne sampson                               | 25 |
|   | op dese prose wat sal die onesele hebben sampson   |    |
| Engelken Sampson                                | legge inne op huer selven; op dese prose/helpt vrouw St. Anna dat ick mach crygen een silveren kanne sampson | 3  |
| Arnt Monix                                      | in de thorenstraet het groet lot en waet hem nyet quaet  | 38 |
| Kathelyn Monix weduwe in de Thorenstraet        | tgroot lot en waet huer niet quaet   | 18 |
| Jan Ackerman                                    | soe help hem god ende die gode sunt anna   | 38 |
| Agnese huysvrouwe Jan Ackermans                 | op dese dicht agnese ackermans nu help huer god ende die gode sint anna                                      | 32 |
| Frans Vuchts die goutsmyt                       | Frans Vuchts in die kerckstraet hedde hy tgrot lot ten waer ic nyet quaet                                    | 11 |
| Aleit Vuchts in de Kerckstraet                  | hed diet tgroot lot en ware niet quaet   | 3  |
| Jacop Marcelissoon van Hedel                    | St. Jacop in Coempostelle moet hem troesten  | 1  |
| Elsken van den Wiel Jacops van Hedel huysvrouwe | dess noot goeds van leden/moet huer vertroesten  | 1  |
| Gertruyt huysvrouwe Marcelis van Hedel          | Sint Gertruyt ende Sint Jan Ewangelist moeten huer vertroesten   | 1  |
| Jacop van Hedel                                 | tibi soli gloria   | 75 |
| Jan Heyns                                       | op dese prose onse lieve vrouwe ende Sint Jan geve den loedsmeester dat zy hem gan                           | 31 |
| Dirck van Os Janszoon cremer                    | op dese prose god gaf god nam per d v o  | 7  |
| Kathelyn van den Broeck huysvrouwe Dirx van Os  | op dese prose /een sotten van erp ende treden bosch bynnen soudene gerne tgroot lot gewynnen                 | 10 |
| Jan sone Dirx van Os Janszoon                   | op dese prose wat sal osken hebben per j   | 5  |
| Jan Middleton engelsman                         | Ursula Sint  | 33 |
| Pagant de la Valle                              | Bartolus et Baldeus waren beyde zeer wijss gheeft pagant de la valle den hoighsten prijs per r               | 12 |
| Gabriel de Mera                                 | il la prose c'est tout fortune car il y a dix mille contra une per g de m                                    | 2  |
| Jan Bertholt te Loven in den moriaen            | soude ten bossche gerne van den loten ontfaen  | 4  |
| Dirck die Lepper                                | In Sint Anna   | 5  |
| Heilwich dochter Dirck die Lepper               | Sint Anna  | 1  |
| Laurentken dochter Dirx die Lepper              | In Sint Anna   | 5  |
| Arnt Nollens van Bladel                         | dese stat hedde oick gerne wat   | 1  |
| Arnt Janszoon bonetmaker                        | op dese prose wat sal hebben die greve van baren?  | 4  |
| Gerit sone Bernt Janszoon des trapienierders    | de selve op St. Barbara St Jans ten Bosch p g b  | 12 |
|   | de selve op St. Peter in de Orthenstraet   |    |
|   | de selve op St. Peter in de Orthenstraet   |    |
|   | de selve op onse lieve vrouw St. Jans  |    |
| Die kyndere van Anthonis verwer                 | In Sint Anna bidden God dat sij mogen wynen die grote silveren kannen  | 13 |
| Lauken Reynier verwer                           | van den blauew cupen die soude gerne utten silveren suypen/ woens in de drie coningen op die coepportbrug    | 2  |
| Jenneken Mechtelt Toelincx maet                 | god vermaight al dat zy tgroot lot hebben sall   | 1  |
| Metken Mechtelt Toelincx maet                   | God gheeft heur spoet het groot lot waet heur goet   | 1  |

|   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| Olifier Matheys Kuyst knecht                          | Die gode sint Anna help Olifier Matheus Kuysten knecht aen een silveren kanne   | 5   |
| Sebastiaen Matheus Kuyst maet                         | die God Sint Anna help Sebastianen Matheus Kuysten maet aen silveren kanne  | 5   |
| Maryke dienstmaight                                   | Maryke maet op Royeborch had gerne een lot utten corf   | 2   |
| Dirck Cangieters cnapen                               | op dese yoest ende reyner dan christiaen hem wael op een lap kan  | 2   |
| LEARNED AND LITERATE ELITE                            |   |     |
| Meester Symon vande Cauderberch                       | Op dese prose sic fata bearunt  | 24  |
| Meester Gerit van Herentals                           | Op dese dicht gratia dei sum id quod sum  | 30  |
| Luytgart huysvrouwe meester Gerit van Herentals       | loff heb god van all per l h m  | 25  |
| Anna dochter meester Gerit van Herentals scoelmeester | op dese dicht ama christi nos regat   | 8   |
| Johannes de Balen                                     | op dese dicht die van balen selle tgroot lot halen per j d b  | 2   |
| Katherina huysvrouwe Johannes van Balen               | die van balen sulle tgroot lot halen per k h j  | 2   |
| Jan van Balen Janssoon                                | die van balen sellen tgroot lot halen per j v b j   | 2   |
| Lysbet dochter Jans van Balen                         | die van balen sellen tgroot lot halen per l d j   | 2   |
| Goessen sone Jans van Balen                           | die van balen selle tgroot lot halen per g s j  | 2   |
| Meester Henrick Bull                                  | op dese prose/wat brueckt Henrick Bull dat hy met zynen cull schoen hertekens maickt dull   | 10  |
| Daniel Roesmont                                       | bevelet der motiveren?  | 55  |
|   | Geluck raeck die boter in de pack + text in the margin  |     |
| Jan ende Goidschalck Roesmont                         | geset op dese dicht/dat geluck is ront soe wael vallet in den aers als den mont/stront  | 17  |
|   | op de selve dicht/der by settende ende ...by my bye van achter scriven/ als van hueren xv qs /ende by my dertoe ...; nu of dit lot wint wat zy/ sulle hebben jan ende goidsscalck.... |     |
| die scryffcamer (in stadsrekening: deser stat)        | op dese dicht faveat per fortuna secunda  | 13  |
| RELIGIOUS ELITE AND INSTITUTIONS                      |   |     |
| Abbas Tongerlen                                       | op dese prose super viam vincit veritas   | 12  |
| her Jan priester sone wilner Goessen Ghysels          | help ons lieve vrouw  | 12  |
|   | help die redder St Joris  |     |
|   | help Sint Katherina   |     |
|   | help San  |     |
| her Jan van Hoye cappelane                            | Christus Maria  | 12  |
| her Jannen Borman                                     | Onse heer God verleen meesteren Jan Borman een goet lot/alsulck als hy hem gan  | 20  |
|   | Onse heer God verleen meester Jan Borman ende de fabryke een goet lot alsulck als hy hem gan  |     |
| her Pelgrom van Driel                                 | op dese dicht quaempt ick naempt  | 124 |
|   | die selve op dese dicht wat compt der   |     |
|   | die selve op dese dicht helpt god de armen  |     |
| her Peter van Gompel                                  | op dese dicht mulleken verwacht een geluckich rulleken  | 10  |
| Op Maria water  | heeft brueder jan Tielkens van den caldenwater ingeleeght   | 185 |
| tConvent te Wyck by Duerstede                         | op dese dicht/ Domine in spe constituisti me  | 26  |
| tConvent op ten Ulenborch                             | op dese virginis ex merito dantur optima castro   | 148 |
| Domus fratrum pauperum in Buscoducis                  | op dese prose semper pauperes habebitur vobiscum  | 45  |



|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| Domus fratrum divitum                        | regnum dei intra vos est per d f d  | 30  |
| Den cruysbruederen in den vuchterstraet      | het groot lot di waer hem niet quaet  | 3   |
| tHeilige sacrament ter predikheren           | Ingeleecht op dese dicht tantum ergo sacramentum veneremur (2x)                   | 17  |
| Micharius cappellis                          | is hy niet sot/dat hy staet aene dat groet lot per m c                            | 1   |
|  | Onse lieve vrouwe ende Sint Anna in onse vrouwen choir                            | 4   |
| FEMALES                                      |   |     |
| Anthonia dochter Jannes van Baex             | op dese dicht die huer heeft gegheven maet hebben dat ewige leven                 | 10  |
| Lysbet huysvrouwe Gerit Hermans van Deventer | pro se et aliis adherentibus de pensione Henrici de Leeuw                         | 27  |
| Mechtelt dochter Henrick die Leeuw naturalis | op dese prose met hedde gerne in hueren pot vet per m d h                         | 3   |
| Margriet weduwe Adriaen van Stryp            | op dese dicht ongesien mach geschien per m w a                                    | 6   |
| Heilwich dochter Adriaen van Stryp           | op dese dicht/ongesien dat mach geschien per h d a                                | 1   |
| Joffre Kathelyn weduwe Rolof de Bever        | op dese prose help maria ende vrouwe anna dat ick maet hebben die silveren kannen | 114 |
| Aleit Henricks Gecks dochter                 | op dese/al is aleit geck een heyden /zess kannen soudn huer in korsten leyden     | 3   |