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Antwerp commercial legislation in Amsterdam in the 17th century: legal transplant or jumping board?

Dave De ruyscher*.

Summary
The 1582 Antwerp costuymen influenced Amsterdam law during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the Antwerp law has often been considered as an applicable law in the Amstel city, its role was more limited. At the end of the sixteenth century and during the first half of the seventeenth century, it was used as a common and subsidiary applicable law for certain mercantile issues. Later on, as the Amsterdam legislator issued ordinances on these themes, this function declined. Yet, references to the Antwerp law book were still common in the eighteenth century, although they were more a consequence of a cultural attraction than of an actual application of the Brabant law book.

Keywords
Commercial law, legal transplant, Antwerp 16th and 17th centuries, Amsterdam 16th and 17th centuries

Introduction
The relations between Antwerp and Amsterdam in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have drawn considerable attention from historians and – to a lesser extent – from legal historians. After the downfall of the Brabant

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Used abbreviations:
ACA = City Archives in Antwerp (FelixArchief)
AmCA = City Archives in Amsterdam
PK = Privilegiekamer
SS = Schout and schepenen
V = Vierschaar
city and its protestant rulers in august 1585 and following the reintegration in the catholic Spanish-Habsburgian complex, fiscal barriers on the river Scheldt remained by and large untouched until the end of the ancien régime. The economic attraction of the former emporium was seriously shaken by these setbacks and had already been shocked by the hostilities after 1566, which had marked the start of the weakening of Antwerp’s commercial position. A shift in European commercial networks following these events reduced Antwerp to an outpost of international firms which did their businesses mainly abroad, although the city preserved much of its former importance in exchange and insurance affairs. Amsterdam, by contrast, grew to new heights in the seventeenth century. The contribution of merchants from southern provinces to this rise is controversial among economic historians.


4 The most recent monographs on this subject are: O. Gelderblom, Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamsche stapelmarkt (1578–1630), Hilversum 2000 and C. Lesger, Handel in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Opstand, Kooplieden, commerciële expansie en verandering in de ruimtelijke economie van de Nederlanden, ca. 1550–1630, Hilversum 2001. Of the latter, an English translation has recently been published: C. Lesger, The rise of the Amsterdam market and information exchange, merchants, commercial expansion and change in the spatial economy of the Low Countries, c. 1550–1630, Aldershot 2006. Gelderblom has stated that the influence of
although they agree on the introduction of Antwerp commercial techniques in the Amstel city by them.

The legal historian J.W. Bosch has emphasized that Antwerp commercial law played an important role during the seventeenth century, in the province of Holland and in Amsterdam in particular. Although much of his insights are still relevant, this article aims to go somewhat beyond these (now well-known) indications of Antwerp legal influence in the North. A central question is whether the Brabant law was merely copied or whether the Amsterdam legislator used it as a starting point for his own legislation. Due to the lacunary preservation of seventeenth-century Amsterdam court records, the findings

southerners in Amsterdam was limited because most of the immigrants were young and not pertaining to the highest commercial classes. Lesger on the other hand has reviewed some of Gelderblom’s conclusions and is somewhat more positive in his evaluation of the part merchants from Brabant and Flanders had in Amsterdam’s lift-off. See also the more classical: G. Asaert, *1585: de val van Antwerpen en de uitocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders*, Tielt 2004.


7 Of the insurance chamber, which was installed in 1598, the earliest preserved judgments date from 1700. The oldest surviving archival materials from other departments, the so-called ‘roles’ (rollen), usually date back to the last decade of the seventeenth century only. Of the
here presented are based mainly on Amsterdam ordinances and on doctrinal sources, of which many were used by Bosch as well. A new interpretation of these texts is predominantly fostered by the comparison of Amsterdam legislation with Antwerp legal texts, by recent research and by data drawn from Amsterdam’s cultural history. The contextual approach leads, inevitably, to a more subtle assessment of legal relations between the two commercial centres.

I. – Mercantile law from the south: a printed ‘code’ with commercial chapters

After the promulgation of royal ordinances imposing registration of local law and its approval (‘homologatie’) by the central government, the Antwerp City Council installed commissions to draw compilations of Antwerp law. In the course of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century, four versions of the city’s law, so-called costuymen, saw the light. Because of the evident commercial touch of Antwerp court practice, these compilations contain paragraphs on mercantile contracts such as bills of exchange and maritime insurances, and deal with legal issues with a strong commercial connotation such as bankruptcy. The version of the Antwerp costuymen with the most extensive mercantile paragraphs was the fourth, which was presented to the central government in 1608 at the latest. Almost one third of this small affairs chamber (kleyne rolle), which was installed in 1611, registers start as late as 1767 and there exist no judgments. For the department competent for seizures and arrests (arrestrol), there are, however, records from 1649 onwards. The commissioners in maritime affairs (commissarissen van de zeezaken) made notes from 1641 onwards. Samples of these departments’ registers demonstrated that they contain merely law clerk notes on the procedure and very few legal arguments. See: AmCA, SS, nr. 1843 (arrestrol), nr. 1867 (ordinaris rolle), nr. 2063 (kleyne rolle) and nr. 2490 (commissarissen van de zeezaken). No records of the chamber for outward affairs (buitenrolle), which judged cases on bills of exchange, could be found. Series of extended sentences, in which the arguments of the parties were usually copied, only start in 1696. See: AmCA, SS, nr. 605–630. A few bundled excerpts from now lost older volumes of extended sentences, of which some date back to 1534, have been drawn from criminal judgments only. See: AmCA, SS, nr. 630 A, nr. 630 B, nr. 630 C, nr. 630 D and nr. 630 E.


9 Usually this version is dated 1608 although no document allows to determine the date of completion precisely. There are, however, important indications that this text had already been finished in 1607. An edition of the 1582 Antwerp law, which had been printed in Amsterdam in 1607, contains references to these new costuymen. See: Rechten ende costumen van Antwerpen,
text, some 1124 articles, consist of commercial and contractual rules, which are put together in a separate part on ‘Contracts, obligations and relating matters’. Shortly after their submittal, the Antwerp aldermen urged for a provisional recognition of the mentioned mercantile parts, mainly in order to support the city’s merchants community, as in 1608 and 1609 economic slowdowns had resulted in floating prices and a shortage of funds. The commercial elite and the Antwerp City Council blamed the Archducal government in Brussels for its licenten, i.e. taxes on incoming and outgoing merchandises. When in the first days of 1609 negotiations for a truce with the North were proceeding in Antwerp, the City Council drafted a request in order to obtain provisional approval of the mercantile paragraphs of the 1608 compilation. The answer of the Archdukes, dating from 14 February 1609, was positive and the Antwerp rulers were given authorization to publish these ‘points relating to commerce’. On 10 March 1609 the Antwerp City
Council publicly ordered the use of this Antwerp commercial legislation in its courts.\textsuperscript{16}  

The history of these commercial \textit{costuymen}, and of the 1608 compilation in general, is puzzling. Notwithstanding the more exhaustive approach of its compilers, the 1608 text on commercial issues was not the unchallenged reference for questions on these matters. Instead, the 1582 compilation was used the most, and this until the end of the eighteenth century. Although the 1608 version was still considered important for some mercantile topics such as maritime insurance\textsuperscript{17}, the 1582 version proved the most widespread and was generally considered as the Antwerp law, also for commercial rules\textsuperscript{18}. The 1582 \textit{costuymen} contained four mercantile chapters, on bills of exchange, maritime insurance and bankruptcy proceedings. Because the 1582 law had been published and the 1608 version, as well as other Antwerp \textit{costuymen} dating from 1548 and 1570, remained in manuscript form, these latter texts were not well known to seventeenth-century Antwerp barristers and proctors, and even less to their Amsterdam counterparts\textsuperscript{19}.

\textbf{II. – Printing for the enemy: Amsterdam publications of Antwerp law}

Already in the first phase of the Revolt merchants fled to Amsterdam. In 1590, some 200 merchants from the southern provinces of Flanders and Brabant were residing in the Holland city\textsuperscript{20}. When the Amsterdam economy started to boom shortly after the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609), this number had already more than doubled as in 1609 no less than 450 southerners were active in Amsterdam’s commercial scenes\textsuperscript{21}. They had a considerable influence on the organisation of trade in the Amstel city, notwithstanding earlier advantages and strengths being present there before their arrival. The reorientation of international maritime trade on the Amsterdam port in the early seventeenth century allowed for older structural opportunities to be fully

\textsuperscript{16} ACA, V, nr. 55. This manuscript of the 1608 Antwerp law part on mercantile issues contains a copy of the City Council resolution of 10 March 1609. See also: Wauters, \textit{Le droit commercial} (supra, n. 15), I, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{17} See ACA, V, nr. 70, fol. 160 (31 May 1652). This \textit{turbe} confirms a maritime insurance custom which is formulated in the 1608 Antwerp law compilation.


\textsuperscript{19} A common view is that the 1582 \textit{costuymen} prevailed and that the 1608 version was forgotten. It has been stated that the publication of the 1582 version was responsible for this. See: Gotzen, \textit{De costuimiere bronnen} (supra, n. 15), p. 198. However, a considerable number of manuscript copies of the 1608 \textit{costuymen} were made. Other evidence points in the direction of a minor but not negligible use of this text in the seventeenth century.

\textsuperscript{20} Gelderblom, \textit{Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden} (supra, n. 4), p. 89.

\textsuperscript{21} Gelderblom, \textit{Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden} (supra, n. 4), p. 119.
explored. In those days, Amsterdam proved a leading centre in commercial networks, which were though still linked to Antwerp. Also on a cultural level the Brabant city was connected with Amsterdam. Many intellectuals, artists and booksellers found a safe haven there and Amsterdam’s book production was, to a large extent, focused on export to the newly conquered provinces.

The 1582 Antwerp costuymen knew, initially, only one local edition. In November or December 1582, 400 copies were printed in the Plantin printing shop in Antwerp. Christophe Plantin († 1589) nor his successors reissued the book, which was due to the attitude of the Antwerp government after 1585. The 1582 law had been published on the demand of the Antwerp aldermen by Christophe Plantin, as he was in charge of printing the City Council’s ordinances at that time. On 30 May 1586, however, the new catholic Antwerp government prohibited the use of the 1582 costuymen because they had been written under a Calvinistic rule (1578–1585), which is why they were considered unsuitable. The close relations between the City Council and the firm of Plantin were maintained by the latter’s successors Jan I Moretus († 1610), Balthasar I Moretus († 1641), Balthasar II Moretus († 1674) and Balthasar III Moretus († 1696), who remained the city’s printers. Although the Antwerp aldermen of the second half of the seventeenth century were not as reluctant to use the 1582 costuymen as their predecessors had been, ordering the reprinting of the old text was probably too far a step for them, also because of its complex legal status and because of the still partial application of the 1608 compilation. Private initiatives by Antwerp printers were equally discouraged. In 1674, for example, the Antwerp printer Michael Knobbaert tried to obtain authorization from the Council of Brabant for a new publication of the 1582 costuymen in a planned compilation of Brabant law. After this institution had informed the Antwerp aldermen on the request,

Knobbaert faced fierce opposition from them\textsuperscript{28}. Although Knobbaert finally ignored the refusal and included the \textit{costuymen} in Jan-Baptist Christyn’s \textit{Brabandts recht} (1682) anyway\textsuperscript{29}, these reactions show that publication of the law book was far from evident in the Brabant city, and still in the late seventeenth century.

Printers in Amsterdam took an early interest in the Antwerp \textit{costuymen}, as already in 1584 a pirate edition was printed there which was given the false \textit{locus} of Cologne\textsuperscript{30}. In 1597, another Amsterdam edition was printed and it was also adorned with the Cologne-stamp. Most of the latter version was printed by Nicolas Biestkens, except for the frontispiece which was delivered by the Amsterdam printer Cornelis Claeszoon\textsuperscript{31}. Somewhat later, a new edition was presented as the Cologne-edition of 1597, supplemented by Cornelis Claeszoon. This book seems, however, to have been printed either by Herman de Buck or by Nicolas Biestkens, who were also residents of the Holland city\textsuperscript{32}. The three mentioned editions were intended for practical use, as they had the manageable octavo-format instead of the 1582 Plantin folio size. Claeszoon, who sold the two latter editions\textsuperscript{33}, was originally from Brabant\textsuperscript{34} and had possibly acted on the instruction of Christophe Plantin, with whom he got along during the latter’s Leiden stay between 1581 and 1583\textsuperscript{35} and with whose firm he had contracts until his death in 1609\textsuperscript{36}. Claeszoon specialized in manuals on subjects such as geography, seafaring and accounting\textsuperscript{37}, but his stock equally consisted of practice-orientated legal treatises by authors such as Philip Wielant and Joost De Damhouder\textsuperscript{38}.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[28] ACA, V, nr. 66bis, request with decision of 1 October 1674. See also: Gotzen, \textit{De costumierie bronnen} (supra, n. 15), p. 193; Laenens and Leemans, \textit{Geschiedenis van het Antwerps gerecht} (supra, n. 15), p. 27.
\item[29] J.B. Christyn, \textit{Brabandts recht dat is generale costumen van den lande ende hertogldomme van Brabandt…}, Brussels 1682, I, p. 375–497.
\item[32] Valkema Blouw, \textit{Typographia Batava 1541–1600} (supra, n. 31), I, p. 485 (4275); Bosch and Feenstra, p. 41 (297).
\item[33] Valkema Blouw, \textit{Typographia Batava 1541–1600} (supra, n. 31), I, p. 485 (4274 and 4275).
\item[35] Briels, \textit{Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers} (supra, n. 34), p. 238.
\item[36] Voet, \textit{The golden compasses} (supra, n. 24), II, p. 515.
\item[38] He printed De Damhouder’s \textit{Practijcke ende handboeck in criminele saecken} (1598), or Wielant’s \textit{Practijcke civile} (1598 and 1606) and \textit{Dat nieuwe landrecht van de Ommelanden},
\end{footnotes}
Cornelis Claeszoon’s publications seem not to have been linked to the Amsterdam government and there is no indication that the issuing of the 1597 and later edition was more than a private initiative. The same can be said of the 1584 version. If the Amsterdam legislator had approved these collections, the publishers would most certainly have mentioned this. In the meantime, a first edition of collected Amsterdam ordinances, privileges and turben (i.e. testimonies on law), which is generally referred to as Handvesten or Willekeuren, contained the chapters of the 1582 Antwerp compilation on bills of exchange and maritime insurance in annexe, together with some older royal ordinances on insurance matters. The book was printed in 1597 for the most part, some pages being added afterwards in 1599.

In 1607 and 1613, another Amsterdam printer, Hendrik Barendszoom, made two new editions of the Antwerp costuymen; the 1617 edition was also issued with a Cologne-address. These editions were of the quarto-format and belonged to the few books which he printed. Barendszoom was mainly interested in practice-orientated legal literature on commercial topics. He clearly intended to sell his copies in Antwerp. This is evident from the fact that he printed separate booklets of the By-toechsel, a pre-constitutional text on the composition and functioning of Antwerp institutions. The Antwerp City Council had ordered the compilation of this text in November 1581, but it had been the subject of controversy until December 1583. As a result, it had not been a part of the 1582 Plantin edition and it had not yet been integrated in the 1584 and 1597 editions either. Barendszoom later printed the 1618 so-called Albertine royal ordinance, which had altered some of
Antwerp’s institutions, as a supplement to the *costuymen*. The mentioned annexes clearly show that the Amsterdam editions were exported to Antwerp, because the former were useful only in the Brabant city itself. Barendszoon’s 1607 edition moreover contains marginal notes made by Karel Gabri, an Antwerp barrister and one of the leading members of the 1582 *costuymen* compilation committee\(^\text{46}\). His remarks were clearly written for Antwerp readers, as they also referred to the 1548 and 1570 Antwerp *costuymen*, of which were, as already mentioned, only a few manuscripts available and predominantly in Antwerp\(^\text{47}\).

It is very likely that also the earlier Amsterdam prints of the Antwerp *costuymen* were delivered on the boards of the river Scheldt. Not a lot is known about bookselling in Antwerp in those days\(^\text{48}\). Some of the preserved catalogues of the *Officina Plantiniana*, Plantin’s printing firm, which also mentioned books from other printers, do not list the *costuymen*\(^\text{49}\). Even if more catalogues would be available, it would be surprising to find a reference to the controversial law book in them. Probably copies of the *costuymen* were sold via informal and discrete contacts. This was due to the mentioned views of the Antwerp aldermen, but also to the commercial policy of the Spanish government. Naval commerce with the North was officially prohibited between 1598 and 1603, and again between 1625 and 1629, and commerce over land was only allowed between 1610 and 1622, and after 1632\(^\text{50}\). Relaxations of these...
measures did not, until the end of the eighteenth century, lead to the abolition of the licenten. The fiscal regime was therefore the main cause for the mentioned type of smuggling, as import taxation could be avoided if production in the Republic was covered up. The choice for Cologne was evident, as the Electorate of Cologne was a catholic stronghold and an ally of the Spanish monarchs at that time. Another strategy for the mentioned purpose was the use of false printing addresses by Holland printers, mostly of houses in Antwerp.

New Amsterdam editions of the Antwerp law followed in the 1630s and 1640s. In his 1639 edition of Amsterdam Willekeuren, printer Jacob Pieterszoon Wachter († 1649) added the complete text of the 1582 Antwerp costuymen, which he also released as a separate book in that same year. The joint publication was probably Wachter’s initiative and he was not commissioned for it by the Amsterdam City Council, as this is not mentioned in his introductory remarks. The edition of Wachter contained the By-voechsel and the Albertine ordinance, which made it as useful for Antwerp practice as Hendrik Barenszoon’s editions. Also in the late seventeenth century, the Amsterdam copies of the 1582 costuymen were sold in the Southern Netherlands, as the 'Cologne'-stamp was given to two new editions dating from 1644 and 1660. This demonstrates that the tax regime of licenten remained a major impetus to present Amsterdam prints as editions from other regions.

Despite the mentioned Amsterdam publications of Antwerp costuymen and references to it in editions of Amsterdam Willekeuren, there is not much evidence of a considerable influence of this law book. Admittedly, Johannes Phoonsen’s († 1702) Wissel-styl tot Amsterdam (1676) has the Antwerp chapter on bills of exchange as annexe, which is the only foreign legislation included in the book. Widespread seventeenth-century Amsterdam books on mercantile techniques and practices do not mention the Antwerp costuymen. The Antwerp sea law is referred to in the title of the 1626 and 1635 editions of the

51 On the Electorate of Cologne during the Eighty Years War, see: J.I. Israel, Conflicts of empires, Spain, the Low Countries and the struggle for world supremacy, 1585–1713, London 1997, p. 23–44.
52 E.g. A. Rouzet, Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle, Nieuwkoop 1975, p. 72.
53 Handvesten, ofte privilegien, handelingen, costumen ende willekeuren der Stadt Aemstelredam ..., Amsterdam 1639 (hereafter Handvesten 1639).
54 Rechten ende costumen van Antwerpen, Amsterdam, Jacob Pieterszoon Wachter, 1639. Not mentioned in Bosch and Feenstra, Livres anciens (supra, n. 30).
55 Rechten ende costumen van Antwerpen, Cologne [= Amsterdam] 1644 and 1660. See also: Bosch and Feenstra, Livres anciens (supra, n. 30), p. 41 (300 and 301).
58 References to Antwerp law are lacking in the famous Le négoce d’Amsterdam (1723) by Jean Pierre Ricard, and in subsequent editions. See: J. Le Moine De L’Espine, De coophandel van Amsterdam ..., Rotterdam 1753, II vol.
Zeerechten, a practical guidebook published by the already mentioned Hendrik Barendszoon, but these volumes do not contain the chapter on maritime insurance of the 1582 Antwerp costuymen or any other Antwerp legislation. Amsterdam histories dating from the seventeenth century, containing – sometimes elaborate – descriptions of the city’s law, do not cite the Brabant compilation either. A further analysis of the actual role the Antwerp law book played in the Amstel city will allow to properly evaluate these findings.

III. – Legal hegemony across the frontline? Antwerp commercial legislation as a common commercial law for Amsterdam

Particularly revealing for an assessment of what Antwerp law meant for seventeenth-century Amsterdam are some notes made by Jacob Pieterszoon Wachter and by Nicolaes Duysentdaelders. In the introduction of his joint 1639 edition of both the Antwerp costuymen and Amsterdam Willekeuren, Wachter stated that in Amsterdam the Antwerp law enjoyed almost the same authority as the ‘law of the land’ and as Amsterdam legislation itself. Both published texts together formed, in his opinion, a corpus iuris of the Amsterdam laws. In the first pages of his 1662 comment on the Amsterdam law, Amsterdam barrister Nicolas Duysentdaelders declared that he would indicate which commented Amsterdam rules differed from the Roman and from the Antwerp law, and which were conformable with them.


60 See for sections on Amsterdam commercial legislation, without references to Antwerp law: J.L. Pontanus, Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde Coopstadt Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1614, p. 299–300; O. Dapper, Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam ..., Amsterdam 1663, p. 486–508.

61 Handvesten 1639 (supra, n. 53), introduction: ‘Hier komen oock by de Costuymen van Antwerpen, hier by ghedaen om der selver gehebruyck in saken van Coopmanschap, als hebbende, vermits haer billickheyt en wel gefondeertheid, geen oft seer weynigh minder authoriteit by ons, als ons eyghen Landt-recht ende deser Stede Costumen. Sulcx dat ghy dit Boeck koopende, ende daer in vindende neffens uw recht, des zelfs rechtmatigh gebruyck, reecenken mooght u te versien van een geheel Corpus Iuris van deser Stede Wetten, ende door dat middel in korterijdt, vermits die kennis ende wetenschap, verhopen mooght, of van veel moeilichheden van processen te sullen ontslaghen wesen, ofte in velen u zelfs te konnen redden, ende voor voor-spreacch dienen ...’. See: Oldewelt, De pogingen (supra, n. 6), p. 72; Stevens, Revolutie en notariaat (supra, n. 15), p. 28 n. 168.

62 N. Duysentdaelders, Liber primus ad Leges Statuta Consuetudinesque Amsteladamenses, Amsterdam 1662, p. 4–5 : ‘... In deze onse beschrijvinghe dan, hebben wy voorgenomen te houden de ordre Institution. Justiniani, ende oversuls ons werk in drie deelen verdeelt: het eerste sprekende de iure personarum, tweede, de rerum divisione, et quomodo rerum dominia acquirantur, en ’t derde de contractibus et obligationibus, en alles soo te voegen, dat in yder
part of his comment Duysentdaelders merely referred to comparable articles of the 1582 Antwerp costuymen. The remarks of Wachter and Duysentdaelders were both an exaggeration, but they provide a clue for the understanding of the role which the Antwerp costuymen, and the Antwerp law in general, had in Amsterdam at that time. It was considered, to some extent, as a subsidiary applicable law for matters that were not dealt with in Amsterdam sources.

When examined more closely, the mentioned opinions are clearly no sign of an application of Antwerp law in Amsterdam’s legal practice. Duysentdaelders referred to the Brabant costuymen because they were ‘very laudable’ (‘seer loffelijk’) in his opinion. Wachter underlined the Antwerp costuymen’s ‘authority’, which he said was based on their equity and quality. These texts do not speak of the implementation of the Antwerp law, but merely of its attractiveness because of its contents. Other evidence suggests that it is unlikely that the Antwerp costuymen formed a secondary source of law for all civil law issues, because nearly all references to the Antwerp costuymen deal with commercial questions (albeit in a broad sense). The Antwerp costuymen were, to some extent, a common law in mercantile matters which were relatively new and for which no equivalent could be found in the Amsterdam legal texts. Nevertheless, this role changed according to the state of Amsterdam legislation and gradually diminished in the course of the seventeenth century.

An Amsterdam turbe of 11 July 1601 dealt with the acceptance of bills of exchange for the account of a third party. This technique had no basis in the 1582 Antwerp costuymen and therefore the issue had to be solved with reference to mercantile custom. Of the ten merchants who were asked their views, each one had come from the South and no less than nine of them were former Antwerp residents. The same affinity of southerners with bills of exchange can be found in a 1608 petition at the Amsterdam government, in which merchants asked to suspend legislation that had abolished the kassiers, i.e. agent brokers, who dealt mostly in financial effects such as bills obligatory and bills of exchange. Of the demanding merchants, almost two thirds had been citizens in the southern provinces. For the period of 1609 to 1615,
between 35 and 40% of the Wisselbank registers contain names of southern merchants. After 1615, there was a slow decline, but in 1627 still 27.2% of the accountholders had immigrated from Flanders or Brabant. Although the Amsterdam government had installed the Wisselbank in 1609 and new legislation had been necessary in the first half of the seventeenth century, very few Amsterdam ordinances contained articles on exchange relations, as nearly all legislation dealt with the functioning of the new institution and with the regulation of the behaviour of kassiers. Only from 1651 onwards, new ordinances on exchange relations were promulgated and new rules were written down in a number of turben. Until that time, the Antwerp costuymen were used for questions on exchange rules and they remained a solid basis for retrieving legal answers for these often-complex matters. The Amsterdam secretary Daniel Mostart († 1646) mentioned in his 1633 compilation of Amsterdam law that the Antwerp costuymen were generally consulted in cases of bills of exchange. In a 1663 turbe, Amsterdam barristers declared that a 1582 Antwerp rule on the delay during which a refused bill of exchange had to be protested should be applied. The inclusion of the 1582 Antwerp chapter on maritime insurance in the first edition of the Amsterdam Willekeuren was another effect of this supporting role of Antwerp law. It would be an overstatement to describe the Brabant costuymen as the only legal text on maritime insurance used at that time. Also


68 Handvesten 1624 (supra, n. 64), p. 305 (15 July 1608).

69 See: Wagenaar, Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst (supra, n. 67), IX, p. 442.

70 AmCA, Archief van Burgemeesters, Privilegeboeken and keurboeken, nr. 34, fol. 167v.: ‘Int stuk van wissel worden binnen deser stede meest ghevolght de Costumen van Antwerpen’.

71 Ordonnantien ende willekeuren van Wissel en Wissel-Banck (supra, n. 64), p. 23–28 (17 March 1663). This turbe has been misinterpreted. Nine barristers and a proctor were asked whether the printed Antwerp costuymen were usually (‘ordinaris’) used for the mentioned delay. Bosch has erroneously stated that, according to this turbe, the Antwerp costuymen were generally used for questions on bills of exchange. See: Bosch, Enige rechtshistorische aantekeningen (supra, n. 6), p. 1012; Bosch, Remarques (supra, n. 6), p. 146. This was copied by Wallert. See: Wallert, Ontwikkelingslijnen (supra, n. 6), p. 96.
the older royal ordinance of 20 January 1571 (n.s.), which was annexed together with the Antwerp law to the 1597 Willekeuren, served as a still useful starting point for rules on this subject\textsuperscript{72}. Nevertheless, there was an Antwerp tradition for matters of maritime insurance. Amsterdam insurance policies referred, for example, to the insurance customs of Lombard Street in London and of the Antwerp Exchange\textsuperscript{73}. On 23 October 1599, an inquiry was held on the retreat of an insurer after he had signed the insurance policy. For such a problem, no solution was written down in the Amsterdam legislation, nor in the Antwerp costuymen or in the 1571 royal ordinance. Fourteen merchants were asked their opinions on the issue, five of them Antwerp immigrants\textsuperscript{74}. Although they did not present their findings as Antwerp legislation or customs, their participation clearly demonstrates that the Amsterdam government relied on the Brabant immigrants for topics of insurance which had no basis in available legal texts.

Another example of an additional use of the Antwerp costuymen relates to the famous article 5 of chapter 58 of the 1582 Antwerp costuymen, which states that no revendication is allowed for a principal who has permitted his agent to sell merchandises, even if they have been sold at too low a price\textsuperscript{75}. According to Mostart, this rule was in use in Amsterdam and he referred to the Antwerp costuymen to explain it\textsuperscript{76}. In one instance, the Hof van Holland followed the Antwerp and Amsterdam law, which stated that the estate of a suspected insolvent should be divided among his creditors, against the debtor’s argument that he had sufficient credit. The Antwerp costuymen and the Amsterdam Willekeuren were both alleged by a demanding creditor although

\begin{enumerate}
\item Handvesten 1597 (supra n. 39), p. 171–182.
\item This is mentioned in a 1592 maritime insurance policy. See: Van Niekerk, The development (supra, n. 6), II, p. 1418–1420.
\item Handvesten 1624 (supra, n. 64), p. 198 [= p. 98]. Noordkerk’s edition has 21 October 1599 as date. See: H. Noordkerk, Handvesten; ofte Privilegen ende octroyen; mitzgaders willekeuren, costuimen, ordonnantien en handelinge der stad Amstelredam … (AmCA, Library, nr. 77930), Amsterdam 1748, p. 541–542. The Antwerp merchants were Isaak Le Maire, Pieter Van de Moere, Reynier de Loquere, Hans de Schot and Dirck Van Os. Another southerner was Pieter Wilbraet, who came from the county of Flanders. The names of the merchants involved were compared with Gelderblom’s database. See also: Lesger, Handel in Amsterdam (supra, n. 4), p. 160.
\item AmCA, Archief van Burgemeesters, Privilegeboeken en keurboeken, nr. 34, fol. 157v.: ‘Twelck alhier ter stede altydts zoo gepractiseert, ende oock in judicio contradictorio in dier voeghen verstaen ende geweten is, ende nimmermeer anders, zie d’Antwerpse handvesten de rei vendicatione’.
\end{enumerate}
the case had no geographical connections with these towns. They provided, according to the judges, a ‘received’ mercantile custom that well-known insolvency allowed the bankruptcy liquidation procedure to be started. In other matters, the resemblance of the Amsterdam rule with the Antwerp costuymen is striking. An Amsterdam ordinance of approximately 1617 consecrated the Roman law *paritas*-principle, which encompassed equality for non-privileged creditors at the distribution of a bankrupt’s assets. This same rule had been written down in the Antwerp 1582 costuymen and went back a long way to a 1516 Antwerp ordinance. An important Antwerp provision on the restricted possibility for a debtor of a bill obligatory to hold defences against its holder, was introduced in an Amsterdam ordinance of 27 July 1635.

Other Amsterdam rules were contrary to the Antwerp ones. In a 1617 *turbe* Amsterdam barristers and proctors declared that a vendor was not permitted to revendicate his sold but unpaid goods from a bankrupt buyer if the vendor had given credit and had fixed a payment date after the delivery. According to the 1582 Antwerp costuymen, in that case the vendor was given authorization to retrieve his merchandise. A similar difference with the Antwerp solutions was observed in the 1617 *turbe*.

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77 J. Loenius, *Decisiën en observatiën* ..., Rotterdam 1735, p. 566 (case 88, judgment of 20 June 1638): ‘Het Hoff heeft verstaan, volgens de voorseide Coustume en Keure, quod par fuerit omnium Creditorum conditio van de voornoemden Purmereynde, soo haast de voorseide Purmereynde notoirlyck was insolvent: en dat de selve Coustume in Patria nostra, en andere Landen, daar de Negotie en Koopmanschap vigeeren, zyn gereciepeerd. Hoewel de Jure Civili anders, ut in d. lege is gestatuere’d’. Bosch has misinterpreted this sentence and mistaken the mentioned custom (on *paritas creditorum*) for the Antwerp costuymen. He therefore said that the *Hof van Holland* had accepted the Antwerp costuymen as applicable law in matters of bankruptcy. See: Bosch, *Enige rechtshistorische aantekeningen* (supra, n. 6), p. 1011; Bosch, *Remarques* (supra, n. 6), p. 145. The Antwerp costuymen were, together with the Amsterdam *Willekeuren*, merely seen as a text in which a mercantile custom was laid down, which was also in use in other countries. This custom was an accepted custom and prevailed as *ius proprium*.

78 *Handvesten 1639* (supra, n. 53), p. 100. The exact date of promulgation is not mentioned. In this compilation of Amsterdam legislation, the summary of this ordinance follows the *turbe* on the rights of the unpaid vendor against a bankrupt, which dates from 15 April 1617 (see further below, n. 82). There is, surprisingly, no reference to this ordinance in the 1624 *Handvesten*, although this latter compilation does contain the text of the aforementioned *turbe*. See: *Handvesten 1624* (supra, n. 64), p. 196 [= p. 96].

79 *Costuymen Antwerp 1582* (supra, n. 75), p. 538 (art. 2).


81 *Handvesten 1639* (supra, n. 53), p. 118 (27 July 1635). This rule excluded the debtor’s right to introduce defences of earlier payment of the debt and of set-off. See: *Costuymen Antwerp 1582* (supra, n. 75), p. 526 (art. 11).

82 *Handvesten 1624* (supra, n. 64), p. 196 [= p. 96] (15 April 1617).

83 *Costuymen Antwerp 1582* (supra, n. 75), p. 446 (art. 7). On this rule see R. Feenstra, *Reclame en re vindicatie, Onderzoekingen omtrent de rol in de ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis van het recht van reclame gespeeld door den Romeinsrechtelijken regel omtrent eigendomsovergang en prijsbetaling bij*
related to revendication of transferred goods by an unpaid vendor who had not set a date for payment. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Amsterdam aldermen ordered at several instances that the vendor was due to claim his price within six weeks after the sale. If the buyer was unwilling or if the delay had expired, the vendor had to start a procedure before the court. In Antwerp, the vendor’s right of recovery was not subject to comparable rules.

This is one example of how commercial matters in the course of the seventeenth century were slowly monopolized by legislation from the Amsterdam City Council, which left less and less space for an additional use of the Antwerp costuymen. The early Antwerp legal influence in maritime insurances quickly ended, as in January 1598 the Amsterdam aldermen issued an elaborate ordinance on this subject, in which old rules were copied and joined with new ones. In this legislation, some provisions of the 1582 Antwerp costuymen were elaborated, e.g. on insurance of valuables and on insurance ‘on good and bad tidings’. As a result, no references to a secondary role of Antwerp law in insurance affairs can be found after 1598. Another example relates to bankruptcy legislation. On 6 November 1643, the Amsterdam City Council issued an ordinance establishing a Chamber for insolvencies. It formulated a liquidation procedure which was applied to all types of insolvency and which went further than the Antwerp solutions. Lawsuits on liquidation would henceforth suspend the public sale and should be brought before the Chamber, which also managed the evaluation and payment of the creditors’ claims. This was not the case in Antwerp, where the estate was usually managed by an official whose actions were not hindered by litigation of involved parties before the City Council. The Amsterdam ordinance also encompassed principles of the Antwerp costuymen, such as comparable rules for ranking creditors. Therefore, references to the Antwerp law book were
no longer necessary in bankruptcy cases after 1643. Following these and other legal interventions by the Amsterdam aldermen, the direct need for legal borrowing disappeared and the 1613, 1624 and 1639 editions of the Amsterdam Willekeuren did no longer include the excerpts of Antwerp law which had been attached to the 1597 edition. This phenomenon can equally explain why the mentioned practical treatises and histories of Amsterdam contain virtually no references to Antwerp law.

A popular theory with an undeniable Weberian touch presumes that the Antwerp costuymen were easily adopted in Amsterdam’s legal scenes because of their Calvinistic contents. The protestant colour of the 1582 costuymen has, however, been exaggerated as they contained only a handful of provisions with confessional characteristics. It is also very questionable whether these ‘protestant’ articles, if they had had more catholic contents, would have prevented Amsterdam lawyers from using the 1582 law book. For commercial topics no Calvinistic provisions can be found in the 1582 costuymen. A value for legal practice is, as seen from the cited examples, the most likely explanation for the application of Antwerp law in the city on the Amstel.

IV. – … but still an appealing example

The intellectual aura of the 1582 Antwerp costuymen was responsible for the copying of the structure of many of its sections into the compilation of Amsterdam law made by the Amsterdam secretary Gerard Rooseboom (1644). Editions of Amsterdam Willekeuren were,
up until the eighteenth century, less well structured and less accessible than the Antwerp 1582 *costuymen*. The mentioned influence of this law book went hand in hand with its actual use in Amsterdam in the first half of the seventeenth century, but later on the beauty of the *costuymen* remained nearly their only asset in the Dutch city. In the eighteenth century, many Amsterdam lawyers still referred to the Antwerp *costuymen*, but no longer thought that they contained a subsidiary applicable law. Instead, these jurists hinted mainly at the former authority of the Brabant compilation, albeit they still consulted the *costuymen* because of their intrinsic qualities or because they had been used by De Groot. In 1712, the Amsterdam barrister Tobis Boel remarked in his annotations at Johannes Loenius’ *Decisiën* that, for a question on mutual testaments, the Antwerp customs were to be used in conformity with De Groot’s insights. In a legal opinion on revendication, which dated from before 1744, Cornelis van Bynkershoek mentioned the fact that the Antwerp *costuymen* were often referred to by De Groot and that they once had a good reputation in Holland, but he put their rules easily aside because they were contrary to Amsterdam law and to the *ius commune*.

Similar opinions were blended with historical references to the growth of Amsterdam after 1600, which was already a *topos* in Amsterdam eighteenth-century historical literature. In a 1704 legal advice, several Amsterdam

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97 Other editions of the *Willekeuren* than the mentioned 1597, 1624, 1639 and 1748 versions were: *Handvesten, Privilegien Willekeuren ende Ordonnantien der stad Amstelredam...*, Amsterdam (s.n.) 1613; *Hand-vesten, privilegien, octroyen, costumen ende willekeuren der Stad Amstelredam...*, Amsterdam (Otto Smient and Judocus Smient) 1663.

98 Loenius, *Decisiën* (supra, n. 77), 792 (case 137). ‘Soo vermeenen wy nogtans, dat alle die bepaalingen, gelyk ook de Leere van den Heer de Groot, niet anders, of verders en konnen verstaan werden te procedeeren, of plaats te hebben, dan, in conformiteit, en na inhoud van het gedisponeerde by de Coustumen van Antwerpen … Vermids, onses bedunkens, het selve in alles over een komt met de Leere der DD. De meenigvuldige Gewysdens, en ook met het Regt, de Reeden en billykheyt, welke alle in het gedisponeerde van de selven Coustumen van Antwerpen te vinden zyn …’. Bosch has said that, according to this passage, Boel had stated that the Antwerp law had the same authority as Roman law in matters of mutual testaments. See: Bosch, Enige rechtshistorische aantekeningen (supra, n. 6), col. 1012; Bosch, *Remarques* (supra, n. 6), p. 146.


100 Le Moine De L’Espine, *De coophandel van Amsterdam* (supra, n. 58), I, introduction: ‘Aldus is Amsterdam van tydt tot tydt aanmerkelyk vermenigvuldigt, door den aanwas van de Negotie, en die wederom door de geduurige toevloeyingen van Vreemdelingen, uyt alle gewesten des Werelds; en daar door eindelyk geworden gelyk als het Pakhuis, niet alleen van geheel Europa, maar van de geheele Wereldt’. 
lawyers felt the need to justify their references to the Antwerp *costuymen* on a question of company, for which a mercantile custom had in their opinion come from Antwerp to Amsterdam in the slipstream of commerce\(^1\). It seems that views on Amsterdam’s commercial history merged with the respect the Brabant law book enjoyed because it had constituted a source for De Groot’s writings. The presence of Antwerp law chapters in the 1597 and 1639 *Handvesten* made lawyers believe in a former use of this law for more topics than had actually been the case. Near the end of the eighteenth century, barristers mentioned a rule of the Antwerp *costuymen* on the legal capacity of minors in commercial affairs and stressed that the authority of Antwerp law in commercial matters had always (‘*altoos*’) been great in Holland and Amsterdam, this because the Antwerp law book had never been used before for this specific question\(^2\). The same can be said of the mentioned 1704 legal opinion, in which references to the historical application of the Antwerp *costuymen* in Amsterdam served the purpose of making an alleged rule on company acceptable\(^3\).

**Conclusion**

The mentioned data show that the 1582 Antwerp *costuymen* were indeed considered a common law in Amsterdam, but in general only in the first half of the seventeenth century and for mercantile topics. This influence was, in this first phase, a result of the often haphazard and not exhaustive Amsterdam legislation on commercial issues, in combination with the role played by Brabant newcomers. The application of Antwerp law was widely accepted for questions on bills of exchange, and originally also for insurance matters. Yet, even for those themes, the Antwerp *costuymen* never gained the status of Amsterdam’s commercial code, as the Amsterdam government nor the lawyers in the city perceived them as such. Furthermore, the role which these *costuymen* played declined over time, as more rules were codified by the Amsterdam legislator. Admittedly, the actual contents of this new legislation reveal a strong affinity with the Antwerp sources and the *costuymen* were definitely a material source of Amsterdam law on these matters. This picture is in conformity

\(^{1}\) J.M. Barels, *Advysen over den koophandel en zeevaart* ..., Amsterdam 1781, II, p. 231–237 (7 April 1704): ‘… zynde kennelyk dat verscheiden dingen tot de Commercie en Negotie behoorende van Antwerpen, door verloop van Commercie van die Stad en ’t aenwaschen van de Commercie hier te Lande, tot ons in gebruik zyn overgebragt, even als ook byzonderlyk alhier tot Amsterdam in de Practycque zekerlyk en buiten alle twyffelinge is gerecipieerd, volgens de daeglyksche menigvuldige Gewysdens, ut socii teneantur in solidum …’.

\(^{2}\) Barels, *Advysen* (*supra*, n. 101), II, p. 392–393 (8 May 1778): ‘… in de Coustumen van Antwerpen, (welker auctoriteit hier te Lande en ook particulierlyk binnen deeze Stad altoos in materie van Commercie zeer groot is geweest) …’.

\(^{3}\) See note 101.
with that of the contribution which Antwerp immigrant-merchants made by introducing techniques in their new hometown, especially concerning exchange and insurance. Notwithstanding this undercurrent, the Amsterdam legislation proved innovative. The availability of the 1582 printed Antwerp costuymen, of which several editions were published in Amsterdam itself, led to the fact that not the Antwerp law in general, or the more mercantile 1608 costuymen, were used. In the eighteenth century, the 1582 law book had lost much of its significance for solving legal questions on commerce in Amsterdam. Still, the cultural aura of this text facilitated references to it, even for issues that had never before been solved on the basis of the Antwerp costuymen. Lawyers justified their citations of this text and they did so with references to Hugo de Groot’s appreciation of the work or with general remarks on the commercial influence of Antwerp on Amsterdam’s growth in the seventeenth century. The legal relations between the two commercial centres provide a remarkable example of how the authority of and the actual references to legal sources are closely related to cultural and economic phenomena. Amsterdam’s commercial legislation built on its Antwerp example, without being determined by it.